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Trust and Participation in Urban Regeneration

Dominic Aitken

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Citizen participation is encouraged in a variety of areas of public policy, not least in urban regeneration projects. Resident involvement is seen as possessing the potential to improve the managerial efficiency of schemes, to increase their legitimacy, to offer developmental benefits to participants and the wider community, and to progress civil rights. Local people who appear uninterested in becoming involved in such initiatives pose a significant challenge to policymakers and practitioners in the field. It has been suggested that developing trust in relevant organisations, officials or other local residents may offer a potential solution to citizens' disengagement. Very little research has been conducted into trust and its relationship with participation in the field of urban regeneration.

The thesis presents research which explores resident trust in regeneration officers and its relationship with participation. The research took place in Chandless and Dunston in Gateshead and in West Kensington, London. A sequential mixed methods approach was employed, consisting of three phases: 14 qualitative interviews with residents across all three areas; a self-completion resident questionnaire distributed to 1,566 households in the Dunston and West Kensington regeneration areas from which 144 questionnaires were returned; and a further 12 qualitative interviews with questionnaire respondents living in the West Kensington regeneration area.

Drawing upon a constructionism-influenced model of trust, this thesis argues that the specific characteristics which contribute to perceived trustworthiness will vary dependent upon the specific party and scenario in question. Trust in regeneration officers was found to be more closely connected with perceived similarities, such as those of experience, perception, priorities and understanding, than the notions of technical competence associated with trust in some other fields. The findings also demonstrated that residents' interpersonal trust in regeneration officers may be unlikely either to encourage or dissuade participation in projects. Instead the thesis highlights the potential importance of "system trust" in regeneration, where residents' more generalised trust in the entire network of relevant parties to be receptive, based upon their past experience of participatory mechanisms, is the important element in generating their involvement. In addition, the research makes wider contributions to knowledge in relation to interpersonal trust, public participation and professionalism in regeneration.

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List of Abbreviations

ABI	Area-based Initiative
CapCo	Capital and Counties
CDP	Community Development Project
CIM	Collective Interest Model
CLG	Communities and Local Government
CTI	Conditions of Trust Inventory
DETR	Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DTLR	Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions
HP	Hypothesis
LDC	Landscape Development Concept
LSP	Local Strategic Partnership
NDC	New Deal for Communities
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
RQ	Research Question
SEI	Situational Encapsulated Interest
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SVS	Salient Value Similarity
TRA	Tenants and Residents Association
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
WKGG	West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Dad, whom I always trusted.

Candidate's Statement

I declare that this thesis: "Trust and Participation in Urban Regeneration" is the direct result of my own work except where referenced to others and that all references and sources used have been appropriately acknowledged. Furthermore I declare that none of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award. Aside from the advice of my supervisors, Professors Ian Cole and David Robinson, I also received some guidance on the quantitative aspects of the research from Deborah Platts-Fowler and Ian Wilson at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR).

Sections of this thesis draw upon an academic journal article published during the completion of the research. Parts of Chapters 2 and 3 use portions of Aitken (2012) Trust and participation in urban regeneration. *People, Place and Policy Online*. 6:3; 133-147. I have permission from the journal to reproduce sections of the article here. I also presented papers on aspects of the research and its findings at three academic conferences:

Trust and Participation in Urban Regeneration to Research Committee on Housing and the Build Environment (RC43) of the International Sociological Association (ISA) Conference, University of Amsterdam, July 2013

Trust and Participation in Urban Regeneration to Early Career Researchers Stream of Housing Studies Association (HSA) Conference 2013, University of York, April 2013

Trust and Participation in Urban Regeneration to Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield Postgraduate Conference, June 2012

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Overview of the Research

> ...[a] lack of trust between residents and between residents and public agencies...were shown to underpin [the historic absence of community engagement].
>
> (Jarvis *et al.* 2011, p13)

The above was concluded in relation to community engagement in the deprived town of Canley in Coventry. It was statements such as this which drew the author to conduct the research explored in this thesis. In recent decades, public participation has increasingly become a favoured approach to governance across a range of policy fields (Brannan *et al.* 2006). It has often been intimately connected with urban regeneration programmes, from the Community Development Projects which began in the late 1960s, through the City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget initiatives of the 1990s, to New Labour's New Deal for Communities (Foley and Martin 2000; Jones and Evans 2008; Ball 2004). Attempts to involve local stakeholders may have a variety of aims, which include improving the managerial efficiency of projects, increasing their legitimacy, providing developmental benefits for participants and the wider community, and offering greater civil rights (Burton *et al.* 2006). Governments' efforts to involve citizens in local service delivery remain pertinent today, at least superficially, with the Big Society agenda of the prime minister seeking "a dramatic redistribution of power from elites in Whitehall to the man and woman on the street" (Cameron 2010).

Many have identified trust as an important factor in resident participation in urban governance (Curry 2012; Fordham *et al.* 2009; Gallagher and Jackson 2008; Lister *et al.* 2007; Pollock and Sharp 2012; Russell 2008). It was this which prompted some preliminary research into relationships of trust and distrust between officers and residents in two South Yorkshire regeneration projects. One of the aims of that study was to determine how trust could be built between the two groups. It found that personal interaction and perceived similarities were of high importance and that the agreement of modest objectives at the outset of schemes could provide a firm basis upon which trust could be developed.

Upon reflection, it was decided to take a step further back from the discussions around trust and participation. The previous study had simply accepted that trust was important in participatory regeneration projects. Why exactly should trust be built? Academics, such as Jarvis *et al.* (2011) quoted above, have reported that trust is necessary for resident participation to take place. Mathers *et al.* (2008, p603), for example, believe that to increase participation in regeneration, "it may be necessary to change the perception of the delivering organisation and indeed to shift the organising role to a 'trusted' body". But where was the robust academic evidence which clearly demonstrated that trusting residents participate more in regeneration projects? How much effect does trust have?

An initial review found that few such studies had quantitatively explored the relationship between trust and participation at all, with only one having investigated it in urban regeneration. Lelieveldt (2004) found that trust in other residents was significantly associated with

participation in a Dutch neighbourhood regeneration programme. However, the research method employed exhibited a crucial flaw, having measured participation historically, allowing the possibility that previous participation had given rise to trust, rather than the reverse. A handful of other studies were found to have been conducted in fields outside regeneration, but several had also considered previous participation, whilst others had found that trust had no impact upon participation (Höppner *et al.* 2008; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). Despite the claim of Andrews *et al.* (2005, p54), that it is "the erosion of trust and confidence that dissuades people who feel let down from getting involved again in the future", it seemed that much of the empirical basis for the suggested relationship between trust and participation was weak.

Furthermore, another stream of literature was examined, from the field of environmental management in the United States. This asserted the opposite direction of relationship between trust and stakeholder participation: that trust actually exhibits a *negative* impact, dissuading involvement (Anex and Focht 2002; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005). It was predicated upon the principle that stakeholders who trusted the relevant officials to protect their interests would not waste their time participating. Once again, little robust evidence was found to support this assertion (Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008).

The seemingly common sense assertion that trust motivates participation had emerged via reflection upon the findings of more general qualitative research, rather than any concerted attempt to explore how trust related to resident involvement. Similarly, the smaller branch of the literature purporting to indicate the opposite relationship also demonstrated no clear evidence. It was at this point that a gap in knowledge had been identified and the objectives of a new research project had begun to form. What was the impact of trust upon resident participation? A wider view of the topic area was then considered. If one was to consider the relationship between trust and participation fully, it would be necessary to put forward a robust measure for the concept of trust. This posed further challenges to the existing literature which had often left trust underdeveloped. First, between whom should trust be built? Secondly, what is meant by the term trust? What should "they" be trusted to do?

The literature which has either discussed or investigated the relationship between trust and participation has commonly focussed upon trust in: government generally (Koontz 2005; Samuelson *et al.* 2005), relevant organisations (Cole *et al.* 2004; Dekker 2007; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Jarvis *et al.* 2011; Mathers *et al.* 2008; Purdue 2001), other residents or stakeholders (Lelieveldt 2004; Hibbit *et al.* 2001; Jarvis *et al.* 2011; Purdue 2001), or important officials or individuals (Barraud-Didier *et al.* 2012; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008). These four broad directions were considered for the new research. It was decided that a focus upon regeneration officers would be most fruitful. This was because officers are the 'flesh and blood' people with whom residents would interact and form relationships in relation to the regeneration project, unlike abstract and complex organisations such as local authorities. Secondly, it was thought that resident perceptions of officers would be of greater import than those of other residents because of professionals' greater knowledge and influence on schemes.

The second question, over what previous studies had meant precisely by the term "trust" and how it might be measured, prompted further reading. The use of the term in the

academic literature on resident engagement was generally found to be undeveloped. This had led to the assertion that trust is seen as a "monolithic panacea" (Höppner 2009). There were no studies which specifically attempted to understand the nature of trust in relation to urban regeneration. There were thus two potential routes for the research study. One was to measure trust in professionals by borrowing the characteristics of trustworthiness which research had found to be salient in other parties and in other fields. Indeed, some scholars have argued that certain characteristics are universally associated with trust (Mayer *et al.* 1995). Another approach was for the study to seek to understand what constituted trustworthiness in regeneration officers, which could then be used as part of a measure of trust and allow the investigation of its relationship with participation, as used by Höppner (2009). The author was persuaded to adopt the latter approach by the notion of Höppner's (2009) "subjective theories of trust" and her resultant investigation into trust and participation in land use planning. Why should trust hold the same meaning for one party in one situation be the same as trust in a different party in a different situation? As Onora O'Neill argues:

> Now somebody may say that, for example, he trusts his wife totally with anything, and then a moment later says, "Of course, she's never punctual!" So we do differentiate, even within our most trusting relationships.
>
> (*Analysis* 2011)

Höppner's (2009) approach holds that to fully understand what constitutes trust in a particular field one must understand the perspective of the trusting individuals – the "trustors". This methodologically constructionist approach would allow the elucidation of specific characteristics which, in part, constitute trust in the particular trustee. The absence of any concerted attempts to do this within the field of urban regeneration highlighted a second gap in knowledge which the new research had the potential to fill.

In terms of selecting the relevant field for this study, the author already had great interest in conducting research in urban regeneration, but there were other reasons for the decision. First, as described above, urban regeneration has a long history of connections to the principle of public participation. This meant that projects which could be used to gather data were likely to have at least some focus on efforts to involve local people and secondly, that the findings which were to be generated would be relevant to an audience already likely to be interested.

Second, area-based initiatives (ABIs), unlike many public services, possess a time-lag between input from residents and the evidence of any change. A parents group may engage with a school resulting in an evidenced change in a particular policy within weeks or months. Many regeneration projects can take several years to move from conception to completion. Since trust is related to the concept of uncertainty, as will be discussed in the thesis, it was felt that this time-lag may mean that trust is more likely to be important in the field of regeneration than other areas of public policy which promote citizen involvement.

Finally, large regeneration projects can involve major life-disrupting events for residents including their relocation and the demolition of their homes. Cole (2012, p356) comments that

demolition in the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder initiative could be seen as "a potent symbol of [a] wider assault on local cultures and shared histories in working-class communities, not just on the residential built form around them". The risks for local people poised to experience such change could scarcely be higher. It was therefore thought that residents would be more aware of projects and opportunities to participate related to major regeneration than in other public policy fields which encourage citizen involvement. This would allow richer data to be gathered.

The author thus sought regeneration projects which contained a major residential element, involving substantive neighbourhood redevelopment, which could be used to gather data on trust and participation. A short list of 13 projects was whittled down to three based on how long the project had left to run as well as some practical considerations. The projects chosen for the study were: Chandless, Gateshead; Dunston, Gateshead; West Kensington, London. The empirical work was based on a primarily constructionist approach but was also informed by the pragmatic selection of appropriate methods. Residents' views on what they believed constituted a trustworthy officer were explored qualitatively, through face-to-face interviews, whilst a structured self-completion questionnaire distributed to households gleaned quantitative data which could test the impact of trust upon participation. It was hoped that the research could produce findings which added to the understanding of trust in the field of urban regeneration and could shed light upon its relationship with public participation. This approach had the potential to influence policy and practice in urban regeneration by determining *whether* trust in officers matters for encouraging resident participation and, if so, which perceptions of officers it would be important to focus upon in any effort to build trust.

During data analysis three supplementary research questions emerged. It was noted that whilst residents were asked about regeneration officers, they were keen to discuss other potential trustees involved in the regeneration project. It was decided that this avenue offered a potential expansion of the specific focus on officers pursued by the research so far and that considering residents' views of other relevant parties might offer additional insights. This formed the third research question, asking who else, other than officers, may be relevant to trust and participation in urban regeneration. The fourth research question encapsulates a line of enquiry that arose during data analysis, when it became apparent that many residents viewed participation opportunities in an unexpected way which did not connect with the academic literature or the statistical framework employed. This was opened up into a wider question which asked more generally how residents saw participatory opportunities. Finally, the fifth research question was developed in response to the other factors which emerged from the data as potential predictors of participation, which were not related to the concept of trust.

1.2 Research Questions

The objective of this study was to understand resident trust in regeneration officers and determine whether it influenced their participation in projects. The study was designed around the two primary research questions:

- *What characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals contribute to resident perceptions of their trustworthiness?*

- *To what extent does resident trust in officers influence the form and nature of residents' future participation in urban regeneration projects?*

The first question sought to determine what features of regeneration officers might lead to residents perceiving them as trustworthy. This would allow an empirically influenced and context-specific model of trust to be formulated. The second primary research question for the study focussed upon trust's potential role in resident participation. This comprised three constituent questions: *whether* there is a relationship between trust in officers and participation; the *direction* of the effect; and its *size*. Findings generated shed light upon the theoretically contested association between trust and resident involvement. Three supplementary research questions generated further important insights:

- *What are the other objects of trust which may be relevant to resident participation in regeneration?*

- *How do residents living in regeneration areas relate to participation?*

- *Other than trust what factors may drive residents' participation in urban regeneration?*

1.3 Thesis Structure

In order to explore the research questions, the thesis adopted the following structure:

Chapter 2, *What are Trust and Trustworthiness?,* discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the concepts of trust and trustworthiness, and develops a definition of trust applicable to this study. A tripartite model of trust built upon previous scholarship is explored which is followed by a review of past research which has attempted to determine dimensions of trustworthiness in different fields.

Chapter 3, *Trust and Participation: Theory and Evidence,* explores the relationship between trust and participation. It begins by considering the history of and rationales for public participation in local governance, as well as some critiques and challenges. The chapter then considers several theoretical relationships between trust and participation before exploring the limited empirical research which has attempted to determine whether an association exists.

Chapter 4, *Methodology and Methods,* considers the constructionist methodological approach for the research and details the three phase research design, exploring how data collection and analysis took place.

Chapter 5, *Trust and Dimensions of Trustworthiness,* demonstrates the multifaceted conceptualisation of trust in regeneration officers used by residents living in areas experiencing, or set to experience, physical redevelopment, using analysis of qualitative interviews.

Chapter 6, *Exploring the Relationship between Trust and Participation,* aims to answer the second research question using data collected from the resident questionnaires. It critically assesses whether trust in officers really does have the potential to motivate residents to participate in regeneration projects, as is presumed in some of the academic literature.

Chapter 7, *Other Objects of Trust,* explores residents' responses related to trust in other parties involved in the regeneration. It highlights the frequent overlap between perceptions of officers and other objects of trust. It discusses the potential for a generalised "system trust" to be more influential in determining residents' participation in regeneration projects.

Chapter 8, *Participation,* explores the way in which residents related to the notion of participation and their identification of other factors which may influence such behaviour. It illuminates the way in which citizens may view participation as a method of acquiring information, rather than influencing a regeneration project, but also explores several non-instrumental factors which may have a bearing on whether residents become involved.

Chapter 9, *Conclusion,* sets out the conclusions regarding the themes highlighted by this research. The chapter emphasises the complex, multidimensional nature of trust and the potentially greater importance of residents' experience of, and trust in, an overall system for motivating their participation, rather than a specific group of professionals. It also sets out wider contributions to knowledge made by the study on interpersonal trust; non-instrumental participatory practices; and the nature of professionalism in regeneration. The implications and challenges of the research discussed and several research and policy proposals are put forward.

Chapter 2: What are Trust and Trustworthiness?

2.1 Introduction

The overall purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of resident trust in officers and its relevance to participation in urban regeneration projects. This chapter explores conceptualisations of trust and its application in research. The concept appears to have gained significant popular traction in recent decades (O'Neill 2002). Yet our use and understanding of it appears to be inconsistent and confused. What *is* trust? What does it mean to trust another individual? From where does trust arise? This chapter's primary objective is to provide a theoretical framework for this study that helps to answer these questions. It first deals with questions over the morality of trust, issues of vulnerability, uncertainty and expectations, and the related concepts of control, distrust, and system trust, before developing a working definition of trust for application in this study. The chapter then explores previous attempts by researchers to determine "dimensions" of trustworthiness in different organisations and individuals across a variety of different fields. The final section then turns to consider the nature of professional work and its relationship with trust. This literature review serves to identify shortcomings in previous research and contextualise both the methods used and the findings discussed later in the thesis.

2.2 Defining Trust

It is difficult to overstate the perceived importance of trust. Hardin (1993, p519) suggests that a complete lack of trust would "utterly subvert individual existence"; Dasgupta (1988, p49) believes that "trust is central to all transactions"; Giddens (1990) argues that a basic form of trust is necessary in order for us to maintain our "ontological security"; and Rotter (1971) asserts that the weakening of trust would result in social collapse.

References to trust seem ubiquitous. Political disgraces, such as the MPs expenses scandal or former Secretary of State Chris Huhne's conviction for perverting the course of justice, have invoked discussions about trust in public life (BBC News 2009; Landale 2013). Restoring the public's faith in politics became a prominent issue in the 2010 general election, with parties pledging to reform the voting system, give constituents the right to recall MPs and reduce the size of the House of Commons. The MMR vaccine controversy raised questions of trust for the medical establishment, while the Enron scandal and recent banking crisis may have done little to improve the public's trust in big business (BBC News 2014; Swain and Tait 2007). Recent revelations regarding the Hillsborough disaster and the so-called "plebgate" affair have begged questions of trust in the police (BBC News 2013), whilst Easton (2012) highlights the importance of trust in former BBC Director General George Entwistle's decision to resign following the Jimmy Savile scandal.

What exactly is trust and what does it mean to trust someone? A wide variety of definitions of trust have been applied across an array of academic fields (Laeequddin *et al.*, 2010). However, Metlay (1999, p101) comments, "it is striking just how often 'trust' is either an undefined term or a term defined using concepts that circle the reader back to the notion of trust". The following subsections review and critique previous trust research to deduce a definition of trust which is applicable for use in this study.

Knowledge versus Morals

There is a branch of thinking amongst trust research which contends that trust is a moral or ethical concept. Whilst Uslaner (2005; 2008) admits that trust *can* be rational and based upon experience, which he terms "strategic trust", he also argues for the existence of "moralistic trust":

> Moralistic trust is a statement about how people *should* behave. *People ought to trust each other.* The Golden Rule (which is the foundation of moralistic trust) does *not* demand that you do unto others as they do unto you. Instead, you do unto others *as you would have them* do unto you...
>
> (Uslaner 2008, p103)

A moral conceptualisation of trust is therefore unspecific regarding the individual one trusts and what they are trusted to do: "Moral dictates are absolutes..." (Uslaner 2008, p103). Moralistic trust is based upon values rather than experiences. Uslaner (2002) recalls how he once left a cooler to reserve a place on a beach, only to find it missing when he returned. Two years later someone broke into his house. Yet he claims these events did not alter his trust in others. This is because moralistic trust is general and not predictive: "Even if other people turn out not to be trustworthy, moral values require *you* to behave *as if they could be trusted* (Uslaner 2002, p6). Indeed, it is a "moral commandment" to act "*as if* they were trustworthy" (Uslaner 2008, p.102). It is simply *right* to trust. Moralistic trust's independence from knowledge allows its application in exchanges with strangers, when information regarding the potential trustee and/or situation is limited or even non-existent. This gives rise to Uslaner's conceptualisation of generalised trust, which he defines as "the perception that *most* people are part of your moral community" (2008, p103). His version of generalised trust is based mostly on moralistic trust rather than experience (2002).

However, if Uslaner's generalised trust is not based upon experience then how is it generated? He argues that collective discrimination, education and large societal events may all affect one's level of generalised trust, but believes early family-life to be the most influential factor (Uslaner 2008). He presents evidence to argue that those who grow up with trusting child-parent relationships and are encouraged to trust others will be more likely to have an optimistic view of others' moral values and hence be more trusting than those who were less fortunate.

On critical reflection, Eric Uslaner's conceptualisation of a moralistic trust appears problematic. By definition, this form of trust acts as an ethical maxim, which, by definition, has to be universalisable. This idea of trust is therefore quite different to how the term is often applied. Luhmann (1979) dismisses the notion of trust as a moral or ethical concept, arguing:

> There are obviously some cases which call for trust and other cases which call for distrust. This is rationally indisputable. It therefore follows that trust cannot be a maxim for conduct which is valid without exception...the decision as to whether it should be followed or not must be delegated and left to the situation
>
> (p86)

Surprisingly Uslaner (2002; 2008) admits that it would be foolish to trust everyone all of the time and asserts that this is not demanded by moralistic trust. He adds that there may be extreme circumstances which give rise to exceptions to absolute moral dictates such as moralistic trust. In doing so, however, he begins to undermine his own concept. Furthermore, the immutability of moralistic trust to the influence of experience appears rather unlikely. Uslaner (2002) asserts that it would be foolish to extrapolate experiences with those one knows to strangers and that "no amount of social interaction is likely to reshape our values" (2008, p104). Yet it would be quite strange if this was how people actually behaved. Do they not base their opinion of unknown others on aggregated experiences of people with whom *they have* interacted? That is not to say that values as to how we should behave are not important or influential but that continued experiences, throughout life, should be of central focus when considering the concept of trust. It is this focus on experience which defines the concept of "strategic" trust (Uslaner 2002; 2008), which is based upon knowledge, rather than values. This study's conceptualisation of trust derives from this branch of the literature which is explored further in the remainder of this chapter.

Uncertainty, Vulnerability and Expectations

Peter Li presents four dimensions of trust which comprise a conceptualisation around which there is some degree of consensus amongst scholars (2007). These are: uncertainty; vulnerability; expectations; and willingness. Uncertainty will be explored first. Modern society is complex (Luhmann 1979). Two of the underlying components of this complexity are time and the freedom of human action (Coleman 1990; Gambetta 1988; Luhmann 1979; Sztompka 1999). In a timeless world where nothing ever changed or in a society where all the decisions of every social actor were predetermined, there would be far less complexity. Instead we live in a society where there are innumerable "alternative possibilities" and it increasingly feels as though "everything could become something other" (Luhmann 1979, p14). We are uncertain about the future yet we need to engage in self-preservation. It is in response to this complexity and the uncertainty it breeds that trust functions, arising as a means of reducing it to a manageable degree. In this account of trust we lack knowledge; our ignorance gives rise to a

mechanism of "pruning" the future into realistic possibilities (Luhmann 1979, p13; Dasgupta 1988; Gambetta 1988; Möllering 2013).

The second of Li's dimensions is vulnerability. The uncertainty around us must create risk and hence vulnerability if trust is to be relevant. An individual in Britain might be uncertain as to whether his friend in the United States will take the car or the bus to work, but this uncertainty does not make them vulnerable. There is no dependence upon the second individual and, as such, no need for them to be trusted.[1] Trust is intimately connected with stakes which are at risk (Mayer *et al.* 1995). Coleman (1990) considers the ratio between potential losses to potential gain of a trust-related situation. Engaging in trusting behaviour may bring about gains or losses which are of varying value. Coleman (1990) asserts that the higher the potential losses compared to the potential gains, the greater the level of perceived trustworthiness of the other party required to bring about trusting behaviour. In short, higher stakes require higher trust.

Li (2007) contends that uncertainty and vulnerability are *conditions* of trust – if these two factors are not present then trust is irrelevant. The other two dimensions in Li's account – expectations and willingness - are described as *functions* of trust (2007). A trusted individual might be known as a "trustee". Expectations as to how a trustee will behave are central to understanding trust:

> ...trust goes beyond the information it receives and risks defining the future. The complexity of the future world is reduced by the act of trust. In trusting, one engages in action as though there were only certain possibilities in the future.
>
> (Luhmann 1979, p20)

These remaining possibilities become our expectations. Without expectations of how one behaves trust becomes simply hope – how we would *prefer* another to behave, regardless of how we actually may *expect* them to do so. It is the expectations aspect of trust which provides it with its probabilistic dimension. The expectations, following the analogy of a bet suggested by Coleman (1990), are the chances of 'winning' – of having the risk of vulnerability fulfilled. The trustor's expectations of the trustee are synonymous with the perceived trust*worthiness* of the trustee: whether they will be worthy of one's trust. Knowledge of the trustee is therefore central in generating expectations of how another party will behave. Li (2007) suggests that our expectations may be based upon the outcome of another's behaviour, intentions, ability or 'goodwill'. The manner and sources for such expectations are a matter of debate amongst trust scholars and it is upon this aspect of trust that the first research question of this study focuses. This issue will be returned to in the following sections of this chapter.

The fourth component of trust is willingness (Li 2007). This is where there exists the clearest divide amongst those who have considered the concept of trust in the past. Kramer (1999) notes that conceptualisations of trust in the organisational field have been influenced by

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[1] This may form a way of distinguishing between the concept of confidence - which is not dependent upon vulnerability - and trust. Indeed this is virtually the distinction made by Sztompka (1999). See Luhmann (1988) and Das and Teng (2001) for other attempts to differentiate between the two.

both psychological and 'choice behaviour' literature. Building on this observation, Li (2007) refers to two positions: "trust-as-attitude", which defines trust as a psychological state, and "trust-as-choice", which defines it as a conscious decision. He describes them as a "duality of trust" which is at the heart of the debate over the concept (Li 2007). In addition, it can also be argued that a further distinction needs to be recognised (Sztompka 1999), given that Li (2007) does not include *behaviour* in his "trust-as-choice" account. Hence the question becomes, is trust an attitude, choice or behaviour?

Attitude, Choice or Behaviour?

The confusion and indecision over whether trust is an attitude, choice or behaviour is observable in the ways in which we apply the term in everyday speech. We may state that we do not trust X or suggest trust as a reason why we decided not to lend X a book, for example. This suggests trust is an attitude or psychological state, either generally or toward a specific other, which informs our decisions and behaviour. However, we may also speak of how we will "never trust X again", suggesting that we are in control of our trust in others and that it is the result of a conscious decision-making process. Furthermore, we may also speak of how we "trusted X and they let us down" and suggest trust is contained within acts.

In order to develop and apply a working definition of trust for this study, it was necessary to clarify whether trust was to be regarded as an attitude, choice or behaviour. The confusion over this question has not been aided by the lack of clarity amongst some trust scholars. Luhmann (1979) is one of the most influential trust theorists, yet his seminal work in the field appears somewhat inconsistent. He writes of, "Action on the basis of trust" (p25) and that the concept, "is not a means that can be chosen for particular ends" (p88). This appears to separate trust from both choice and action and infers that it is a psychological state. Yet he also writes of, "Considering whether to trust" (p36) and of a "*choice* between trust and distrust" (p71, original emphasis), putting it back in the trust-as-choice territory. The debate seems settled, however, when he states that "Trust is therefore an attitude" (p27). Unfortunately, he also writes that, "trust [can be] an operation of the will" (p32). To add further confusion he also argues that, "in trusting, one engages in action..." (p20), and that, "Trust is an *act* of self-presentation" (p82, emphasis added), defining trust as neither attitude nor choice but behaviour. Surprisingly, Li (2007) apparently feels confident enough about Luhmann's view to place his conceptualisation in the "trust-as-choice" camp.

Coleman (1990, p98) is slightly clearer of his position when he states that, "Placement of trust involves putting resources into the hands of parties who will use them to their own benefit, to the trustor's benefit, or both". He continues:

> ...cases...involving decisions to place trust show that the elements confronting the potential trustor are nothing more or less than the considerations a rational actor applies in deciding whether to place a bet.
>
> (p.99)

It may be that Coleman (1990) uses the phrase "placing trust" as a synonym for "trusting" and aligns himself in the trust-as-choice definition. Li (2007) argues that a key component of the trust-as-choice account is the way in which trust can be chosen by an individual to demonstrate their own trustworthiness. Luhmann (1979) details how in the beginning an actor can make a "risky investment" *purposely* in order to initiate a trust-building process. He warns of how revealing the motivation to engage in this behaviour to the trustee may call the process into question.

Rejecting the psychological and choice accounts of trust, others argue that trust is not present unless there is observable behaviour. Sztompka (1999, p26) argues that trust is not just "anticipatory belief" but involves "commitment through action". He goes further than Coleman (1990), to offer the definition that "trust *is* a bet" in itself (Sztompka 1999, p25). Dietz (2011, p215) agrees, claiming that only when there is a "behavioural manifestation" involving risk-taking is trust "genuine".

This thesis rejects both of these accounts of trust and, following Hardin (2006), Mayer *et al.* (1995) and Rousseau *et al.* (1998), defines trust as a psychological state, which Li (2007) would interpret as the "trust-as-attitude" perspective. In doing so it follows Hardin (2006) who argues that if trust comprises the expectations of others then it can be considered "cognitive". Trust is cognitive because it comprises a view of others' trustworthiness, rather than a choice or behaviour. This perspective argues that trust is only one of many factors which can influence behaviour. It is not conscious; we are not decisive in reaching a trusting position toward someone. Instead, trust is passive (Li 2007). Our level of trust is already present and this is what we draw upon in order to *decide* how to act:

> If trust is cognitive, then we do not choose to trust. Rather, once we have relevant knowledge...that knowledge *constitutes* our degree of trust or distrust. To say we trust you means that we know or think we know relevant things about you, especially about your motivations toward us.
>
> (Hardin 2006, p17-18; original emphasis)

In this light, trust can be seen as "knowledge-based" rather than just "knowledge-informed" as in the case of the choice and behaviour conceptualisations. Rather than *being* a choice or a behaviour, trust can instead either *promote* or *result* from choices and behaviour, which distinguishes trust from 'acts of trust' (Rousseau *et al.* 1998). This thesis still maintains that trust is rational (Hardin 2006). It involves the logical establishment of a level of willingness to take a risk, dependent upon another party. However, unlike Coleman's (1990) rational account, the thesis holds that this is a subconscious process.

The psychological account is especially relevant for this thesis. Scholars have suggested a positive relationship *between* trust and participation, treating the terms as distinct (Cole *et al.* 2004; Jarvis *et al.* 2011). Participation in governance involves certain risks and engaging in it places oneself in a position of dependency upon others. If one accepts the behavioural account, which holds that trust *is* behaviour, then participation appears to be an example of trust. If one accepts the premise that trust is a choice, then a resident who has made the decision to participate is trusting. However, this would render all calls to increase

participation through building trust as tautologies; they can be reduced simply to arguments for more participation or for more residents to *choose* to participate. The casual uses of the term in the literature which sparked this study appear to have an inherently non-behavioural interpretation of the concept (see Chapter 3).

This psychological account of trust also does not suffer from some of the methodological risks inherent in adopting the behavioural trust perspective. In the latter conceptualisation, acts which could be viewed as examples of trust may not involve expectations at all, despite appearances. For example, Sztompka (1999), when he argues that trust *is* a bet about the future actions of others, he is perhaps guilty of too readily accepting an overly simple financial analogy. Almost by definition a bet is placed when it is expected that it will be won; the act is the evidence of trust. The social world is rather more complex, however. For example, if one were to oblige a colleague who asks to borrow some money for their lunch, the behavioural view could potentially perceive this as an example of trust. The colleague who lends the money appears to be betting that the receiving co-worker will repay the loan. The psychological perspective rejects this, holding that trust may or may not be present and influential in the individual's decision and behaviour. The lending colleague may not *expect* to receive the money back at all, but may, for example, seek the approval of onlookers in the workplace. It could be that they fear the potential embarrassment of acting otherwise. They may feel coerced into lending the money given their previous relationship with the colleague or they may feel guilty about not lending the sum, given their knowledge of the other colleague's recent financial problems. The psychological account of trust has the potential to recognise these subtleties.

The decision to adopt the psychological account of trust was methodologically decisive. As will be explained in Chapter 4, the research involved the distribution of a resident questionnaire to measure trust. This was predicated upon the potential for trust to be psychometrically measured. Other accounts of trust may have led to research methods involving the monitoring of actual behaviour.

It is important to note that whilst this study adopts a psychological view of trust, it does not posit that trust is entirely dispositional, proving stable across a wide array of different people and situations (as will be shown later). Our subconscious estimations and outlooks toward other individuals and circumstances vary dependent upon their specific nature.

Control

Having considered several conceptual debates regarding trust, it was also necessary to consider another associated concept which was useful in interpreting some of the qualitative findings. Control is an alternative mechanism for confronting complexity, meaning that it is sometimes confused with trust.

It has already been argued that human freedom and the uncertainty which arises from it are fundamental elements of the social world which produce the requirement for trust. However, the freedom of other human beings' future action can be made more predictable in

some situations. The less freedom the trusted individual possesses, the less trust matters. If one can somehow control the behaviour of another, the result is a reduction of uncertainty, which is one of the key conditions of trust. Control is therefore an alternative to trust (Mayer *et al.* 1995; Schoorman *et al.* 2007). Drawing up a legally enforceable contract, which details sanctions in the event of betrayal, is a common method of replacing trust with control (Coleman 1990; Luhmann 1979).[2] Anyone who states that they trust another because they have both signed a legally binding contract misses the point; the contract was signed because they *lacked* trust in the other party, felt the need to exert control and did so by calling upon the state to enforce behaviour (Rousseau *et al.* 1998).

In the above case the control is administered by a third party but it can also be invoked on a personal level, for example in the form of a threat. This thesis argues that Coleman (1990) is wrong to confuse the Mafia's use of death threats with the concept of trust, where he argues that the threats create a norm to incentivise trustworthy behaviour. This is not trustworthiness; it is fear, brought about through the threat of control over one's life. Others have considered the most extreme case of personal control over another and how this almost entirely negates any role for trust. Sztompka (1999, p20) notes the absurdity of the statement "I trust my prisoner not to escape". Indeed, for a slave society:

> Trust in the slaves...[is restricted] to the belief that the slaves are not going to commit mass suicide...that most humans, even under extreme conditions, have a preference ordering which ranks life before death...By contrast, trust becomes increasingly salient for our decisions and actions the larger the feasible set of alternatives open to others
>
> (Gambetta 1988, p219)

Suicide is the only potential freedom left to a slave and as such is the only behaviour around which there is uncertainty and any requirement for trust. Trust and control therefore exhibit an inverse relationship with one another.[3]

This distinction between trust and control was included in the definition of trust used in this study (see below). The importance of the relationship between trust and control proved to be useful when considering some of the residents' views in Chapter 5.

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[2] This implies, of course, that both parties trust the state to effectively enforce the law. It is unlikely that legal contracts in Somalia, for example, have much bearing on the behaviour of others since the state is perceived as being so weak. Trust in the other party still exists – they have to be trusted to avoid sanctions against them – but it is simpler and less important.

[3] See Das and Teng (1998) for an alternative conceptualisation of trust and control which argues that they may actually supplement one another to mutually reduce the level of uncertainty and, using the authors' definition of the term, increase confidence. In that account increases in trust or control do not imply a reduction in the other.

A Working Definition

Having considered previous trust scholarship and reflected upon some of the theoretical debates over the concept, it is now possible to present a working definition of the term which will be applied in this study. Trust is defined as:

A psychological state comprising willingness to accept vulnerability based upon expectations of another party's behaviour, irrespective of their ability to monitor or control that other party

The above definition therefore comprises an amalgamation of those put forward by Mayer *et al.* (1995) and Rousseau *et al.* (1998). The party who trusts is the trustor and the party who is trusted is the trustee or 'object' of trust. The expected behaviour upon which trust is founded is the 'subject' of trust.

2.3 Developing a Model of Trust

Having arrived at a working definition of trust, the next challenge was to develop a model of trust. Whilst the definition explains what trust *is*, it was also necessary to understand what trust *comprises*. The starting point for the development of the model was the focus upon the term "expectations" within the definition. What are these expectations? From where do they arise? The author reviewed a variety of trust scholarship in an attempt to distil trust down to three components: dispositional trust; perceptions of the trustee; and situational encapsulated interest (SEI).

Disposition to Trust

Much of the literature on trust argues that the concept is, at least in part, dependent upon an individual's 'disposition to trust' (Currall and Judge 1995; Gillespie 2003; Kramer 1999; Mayer *et al.* 1995). This has also been referred to as one's capacity (Hardin 1993) or propensity to trust (Mayer *et al.* 1995), social trust (Putnam 2000) or generalised trust (Sturgis *et al.* 2012; Uslaner 2002; 2008). It can be traced back to the work of Rotter (1971) who considered trust in relation to social learning theory. Within this context expectations are composed of two elements: "[first] a specific expectancy and [secondly] a generalized expectancy resulting from the generalization from related experience" (ibid p445). The latter is the focus of this subsection.

Luhmann (1979) argues that a process of generalisation is central to the concept of trust, where the trustor effectively 'overdraws' on the information they possess. The crudest form of generalisation is to consider all potential trustees within society as possessing the same level of trustworthiness. Our experiences with certain individuals lead us to form a general view of the trustworthiness of all the others we are yet to meet in person. It is this generalised trust in society which Putnam (2000; 2001) focuses on in his exploration of social capital. If an

individual has had favourable experiences with others they will have a higher disposition to trust than those who have had interactions where their trust has been betrayed. As this form of trust is stable regardless of the trustee, it can be seen as the disposition of the trustor – they may be a trusting or distrusting person.

In an influential paper, Hardin (1993) explores an epistemology for this element of trust. He focuses on the importance of early family experiences for shaping individuals' capacity for trust:

> Because relevant investments were made in my development, I may have optimistically trusted enough times to begin to learn fairly well when trust is warranted and when it is not, so that I use trust very well. If relevant investments were not made, I may have so pessimistically distrusted or at best been so wary that I have little or no learning of the value of trust. I may seldom have put it to test.
>
> (Hardin 1993, p515)

That is not to say that future events cannot alter these initial perceptions of the trustworthiness of people in general. Differing interactive experiences may give rise to 'over-trustors' and 'under-trustors'. The former might trust when it does not, in hindsight, appear to have been justified, resulting in a corrective lowering of their disposition to trust. The under-trustors, however, would not engage in acts of trust where it may well have been justified and resulted in gain. The latter can therefore state: "I am objectively wrong in my assessments, but my assessments make eminently rational sense given the perverse experience I have had." (Hardin 1993, p517). It is important to note that the under-trustor is worse off than the over-trustor (Hardin 1993). They do not engage in the opportunities which could revise their pessimistic outlook upwards and encourage them to interact with others in the future. An over-trustor is likely to continue optimistically placing themselves in positions of vulnerability until they achieve a 'truer' account of others' trustworthiness. The under-trustor, whilst minimising their risk, is less likely to acquire the necessary experiential knowledge in order to modify their assessment of others.

Perception of the Trustee

Dispositional expectations alone do not present a full account of trust because they are too universalised. It does not address the context-dependent nature of trust (Butler 1991; Höppner 2009; Laeequddin 2010; Peters *et al* 1997). Burns *et al.* (2003) argue that:

> Some kinds of trust are specific and contingent: trust placed in certain others, under certain circumstances, for certain purposes. The trust we invest in family members is not likely to be the same as the trust we place in people at work, nor should that trust bear much resemblance necessarily to the trust we give to our neighbors.
>
> (p2)

Dispositional trust takes no account of these differences. Luhmann argues that trust is not only specific with regard to the objects of trust but also the subjects:

> One can trust someone in matters of love but not in money matters, in his knowledge but not in his skill, in his moral intention but not in his ability to report objectively, in his taste but not in his discretion. The reason for this specificity can be simply that trust was learned in this restricted sphere and has foundered in other respects
> (Luhmann 1979, p92)

Hardin (1993, p506) puts it, "A trusts B to do X". The 'X' - what the trustee is trusted to be or do – is the subject of trust. Whilst often heard, the statement 'I trust you', is rather like stating 'I hope you' – it needs to be rooted in a specific context before it has an obvious meaning. Dispositional trust therefore appears rather crude in its 'complexity-reduction', easily liable to oversimplify trustworthiness irrespective of object and subject. This study focusses on specific individuals (regeneration professionals) and a specific context (urban regeneration projects). It is therefore important that the model of trust used in this study goes beyond generalised dispositions and considers the particular situation at hand.

"Particularised" trust can assist in making more nuanced generalisations (Uslaner 2002; 2008). Our expectations about how a particular individual will act in the future are often linked to our perception of them: "whoever wants to win trust must take part in social life and be in a position to build the expectations of others into his own self-presentation" (Luhmann 1979, p62). Some scholars have suggested that the possession of a set of universal qualities (in part) makes someone trustworthy (Mayer *et al.* 1995). Others have attempted to determine which perceived attributes, characteristics and values of a specific 'other' influence feelings of trust in different contexts (Butler 1991; Höppner 2009; Leahy and Anderson 2008; Peters *et al* 1997; Petts 1998; Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003). Such studies often refer to these as 'dimensions' or 'bases' of trustworthiness (or trust).

One particular set of perceptions which may engender trust are observed similarities between an individual and the potential trustee (Cook *et al.* 2005; McKnight *et al.* 1998). This may be based on relatively superficial information such as another's age, gender or nationality (Cook *et al.* 2005). However, Earle and Cvetkovich (1995, cited in Earle and Cvetkovich 1999) put forward a theory for a deeper similarity-based trust, centred on values. They name this the "salient value similarity" (SVS) model of trust (Siegrist *et al.* 2000). In this model, a potential trustor implicitly determines salient values, which are of importance for the particular situation. Different values will possess different levels of saliency in different situations. The trustor will also have a view as to the degree to which the salient values are shared between themselves and the potential trustee. This may be based upon "that person's verbal statements, actions, and/or identity" (Siegrist *et al.* 2000). The higher the degree of perceived similarity in salient values between the trustor and trustee, the greater the level of trust. The SVS model is based upon the notion that:

> People tend to trust other people and institutions that 'tell stories' expressing currently salient values, stories that interpret the world in the same way as they do...social trust tends to be a within-group phenomenon. Individuals are inclined to trust within group boundaries and to distrust outside them.
>
> (Earle and Cvetkovich 1999, p21)

Similarly, McKnight *et al.* (1998, p480) refer to the process of determining similarities as "unit grouping".

Earle and Cvetkovich (1999, p20) put forward their model as an alternative to what they refer to as the "traditional rationalist hypothesis...based on [perceived] competence and responsibility". Whilst the model does propose an alternative to the notion that only perceived competence and responsibility are relevant to trust, SVS can be incorporated into a broadly rationalist approach. SVS can be a generalisation from oneself – the trustor knowing roughly how they would act if they were the trustee – to the individual who appears similar. Witnessing similarities, whether represented through weak symbols like age or gender, or through stronger symbols such as the endorsement of a salient value, increases the predictability of others.

Situational Encapsulated Interest

Dispositional trust and the perception of the trustee consider only the trustor's and trustee's history. Returning to the gambler analogy of Coleman (1990) and Sztompka (1999), this kind of information might be what is called upon when choosing to bet upon an athlete in a competition: your own experience of gambling and your knowledge of the record of the specific sportsperson in question. The individual interests of each athlete make no difference to our calculation, as we assume that they all intend to win: it is in their interests to do so and our aims are aligned.

When forming trust, however, we do not only consider historical information but the likely intentions of the potential trustee in the specific context. Trust takes into account the, allegedly, rational nature of the trustee who will consider the benefits and losses of exploiting the vulnerability of the trustor and decide upon the action which results in the highest personal gain. Therefore, a potential trustor will implicitly consider the potential trustee's options. When formulating our expectations of someone, "we need to look at the world from his perspective" (Dasgupta 1988, p51).

A third component of trust was thus added in the trust model developed for this thesis, based mostly on the work of Russell Hardin (1993; 2006; with Cook *et al* 2005) who developed the 'encapsulated interests' account of trust. This has also been referred to as "institutional" or "institution-based" trust (Dietz 2011; Rousseau *et al.* 1998). In this account:

> My trust turns...on whether my own interests are *encapsulated in the interests of the Trusted*, that is, on whether the Trusted counts my interests as partly his or her own interests *just because they are my interests*.
>
> (Hardin 2006, p19)

This 'encapsulation' may occur for broadly two reasons. First, the potential trustee may have certain preferences or values which mean that they wish to behave in a trustworthy manner:

> I might...consider you my friend or I might love you and I might therefore actually take your interests as partly my own because I value you and your well-being sufficiently.
>
> (Hardin 2006, p19)

If these aspects of the potential trustee are known to the potential trustor then they may see that their partner has a clear desire to be trustworthy. However, this aspect of Hardin's account is already covered in the second element of the model (perceptions of the trustee) developed for this study. It is clearly dependent upon the perception of the trustee and aspects of their character, such as moral concern, which lead the trustor to believe that they will be trusted. The other aspect of Hardin's account is his main focus and will be referred to as 'situational' encapsulated interest (SEI) in this thesis. This is where:

> I might encapsulate your interests...[because] I wish to maintain my ongoing relationship with you. In this case your interests have great weight for me because it is not merely the present fulfilment that matters but also all that might come from our long-run future interactions.
>
> (Hardin 2006, p19)

The perceived longevity of a potentially beneficial relationship is therefore central to this account of trust, because it means, "the trusted party has an important incentive to be trustworthy" (Cook *et al* 2005, p5). Coleman (1990) demonstrates this point in a story about a hitchhiker who is picked up by a stranger on the road. At the end of the journey the hitchhiker asks to borrow some money, promising to pay it back in the post if the driver provides his address. The driver obliges – but never has his money returned. Coleman (1990) argues that without the incentive of an ongoing relationship the hitchhiker easily forgets about the incident and betrays the trust of the driver. Thus:

> The overriding consideration is that one is going to meet again. The participants will have to go on seeing each other. This makes it more difficult for trust to be breached, at any rate when any breach could not be hidden from the partner or acceptable excuses offered.
>
> (Luhmann 1979, p37)

Hardin focuses on exploring his account of trust in connection with reputation, although not in terms of one's *historical* reputation, as one might expect. He suggests that reputation should also be considered from the perspective of its future potential as well. The longevity of the relationship between two parties may not provide the incentive to be trustworthy in short encounters, but instead may be present due to the potential impact of the trustee's behaviour upon their reputation. The sustenance of a good reputation is incentivised (Hardin 2006). Coleman (1990) argues that this is of particular relevance in situations where there is extensive communication between the trustor and others, using merchant bankers and diamond dealers as

examples where the traders are members of very closely connected communities and where information flows easily.

Formal and informal sanctions can also be employed by social networks which incentivise trustworthy behaviour (Cook *et al.* 2005). Informal controls amongst a small group can normalise the exclusion of those who betray trust. The potential trustee cares about the welfare of the trustor because it also impacts upon their own welfare. If the potential trustor is aware of such situational factors then they may well possess different *expectations* of their behaviour. Trust is influenced by the potential trustor's consideration of the external incentives and sanctions faced by the potential trustee to behave in a trustworthy manner in a specific situation.

It is important to note that any sanctions or incentives are not drawn up or created by the potential trustor; they must already be present within the social context in question. This is a crucial distinction and follows the differentiation between "deterrence-based trust" and "institution-based trust" made by Rousseau *et al.* (1998). The potential trustor does not draw up potential sanctions or monitoring mechanisms for the potential trustee; this is not trust, but control.

Finally, it is important to note a subtle distinction between Hardin's work and this thesis. Hardin strongly asserts that trust is relational (1993; 2006; with Cook *et al.* 2005). From this perspective, trust is contained within the relationship between (at least) two parties. If the parties have never met or one party is not aware that they are trusted by the other, then for Hardin there is no trust. He argues, for example, that we do not *trust* other drivers not to crash into us when we are driving. This is not the encapsulation of interest; instead they are merely "coincident interests":

> ...we need not care very much about the others involved in that coordination effort, and in fact we are likely not to know them at all. Trust entails a stronger claim. For us to trust you requires both that *we suppose you are competent to perform what we trust you to do and that we suppose your reason for doing so is not merely your immediate interest but also your concern with our interests and well-being.*
>
> (Cook *et al.* 2005, p6)

Hardin and colleagues argue that the trustor's wellbeing needs to somehow be in the interest of the trustee. For the encapsulated interest account of trust there are situational conditions which incentivise concern for the trustor. Coincident interests are where everyone follows their own interest and sometimes they happen to align.

This thesis does accept that coincident and encapsulated interest are different but rejects the argument that the former is not a basis for trust. This study argues that it is perfectly legitimate for someone to state that they do not intend driving to a particular location because they do not trust the other drivers on the roads in that area. This is entirely consistent with the working definition of trust applied in this study. Trust in this account does not always need to be relational.

The Model of Trust

The overall trust felt toward a party will be a combination of the three elements described above (Dietz 2011). It should be noted that the bearing of each component on trust in another party will be dependent upon both the subject and object of trust (Rotter 1971). When knowledge of both the other party and the situation is weak, one's disposition to trust may be the most influential element - we extrapolate based on our experiences of others. This contrasts with our feelings toward friends with whom we have many years of interaction. In this situation, individuals may possess a well-informed view of their friends in certain domains, making this the most important element, whilst one's disposition to trust is rendered insignificant. Rotter (1971, p446) puts it simply, "the more novel the situation, the greater weight generalized expectancies have". The model allows for each element to have a greater or lesser bearing on trust in another party, within a specific context.

System Trust

This chapter has so far only focussed upon trust in a specific party. This can be referred to as dyadic or interpersonal trust. However, scholars have also discussed the notion of "system trust", which was important in interpreting some of the findings of this research. In modern society individuals constantly put themselves in positions of risk based upon expectations connected to abstract systems. Giddens (1990) uses the examples of walking upstairs in one's home, driving a car and boarding an aeroplane, without expecting the house to collapse, computer-controlled traffic systems to fail or the aircraft to crash. Personal trust appears insufficient in response for the complexity of such systems, due to the increasingly long chains of "selective processes" contained within them (Luhmann 1979, p49). System trust presents a backdrop to modern social interaction and thus "stands beyond personally generated trust" (Luhmann 1979, p58).

Both Giddens (1990) and Luhmann (1979) write of how system trust is not trust in *people*, but in a system and its function. Indeed, trust in abstract systems appears to be mostly related to "faceless commitments", which do not involve the "facework" of personal trust (Giddens 1990, p88). The connections between lay individuals and systems, *via people*, are key: "Does one trust the chemist, or his assistant, or the doctor, or is it medicine, science or technology?" (Luhmann 1979, p53). Giddens (1990) refers to the opportunities to interact with such experts as "access points" at which facework and faceless commitments connect. This offers the opportunity for the system trust to be strengthened or weakened, dependent upon one's experience of the expert at the access point:

> Although everyone is aware that the real repository of trust is in the abstract system, rather than the individuals who in specific contexts, "represent" it, access points carry a reminder that it is flesh-and-blood people (who are potentially fallible) who are its operators...[At access points] It is understood by all parties that reassurance is called for, and reassurance of a double sort: in the reliability of the specific individuals involved and in the (necessarily arcane) knowledge or skills to which the lay individual has no effective access.
>
> (Giddens 1990, p85)

Giddens argues that systems are therefore periodically encountered by interactions with people, who help to *make real* the abstract nature of the system they represent.

Luhmann (1979), however, argues that such encounters are largely unimportant for system trust:

> The shift to system trust...makes trust diffuse and thereby resistant; it becomes almost immune to individual disappointments, which can always be explained away and passed off as a special case, while personal trust can be sabotaged by trivial treacheries.
>
> (Luhmann 1979, p 56-57)

Giddens (1990) admits that it would be difficult to withdraw from many abstract systems entirely and admits that access points are not the only way in which system trust is developed or weakened. This form of trust might also be influenced by the perceived norms, procedures, standards and ethical codes of a system (Giddens 1990; Tait 2011).

Malcolm Tait and colleagues have considered trust in the planning system (Tait and Hansen 2007; Swain and Tait 2007; Tait 2011; Tait 2012; Tait and Hansen 2013). Tait (2012, p614) argues that:

> Much writing on trust concerns itself with individual-to-individual or individual-to-institutional relationships, prioritising the autonomy of the individual to decide whether to trust or not. These understandings illustrate the micro-interactions of trust and point to the importance of improving individual and interpersonal relationships to build trust. However, such individualised notions of trust do not capture the complexities revealed in this case, where much distrust resulted not from individual decisions made by autonomous people choosing their own vulnerability in relation to other people and institutions, but by collectives focused on particular values and objectives.

The findings were generated from research into trust between a house-builder and council planning officers regarding an application for a residential development. The research showed that trust was based upon a mix of interpersonal and institutional perceptions but critically also wider perceptions of what planning as a system represents.

Individual urban regeneration projects initially appear less related to the concept of system trust. They are less obviously a "system" and are less abstract than the planning system discussed by Malcolm Tait. However, they are both organised by a network of relatively

hidden actors. They also share the lack of a distinct client group, which may impede the development of a more generalised trust (Tait and Hansen 2007; Swain and Tait 2007). Neoliberal institutions which model citizens as customers can easily present patients, pupils and victims as clients in the fields of health, education and policing. Who are regeneration projects for? The most obvious answer is the "community", but this is often difficult to define. Does it include the people who work, visit or own businesses in the area, as well as residents? Furthermore, residents living in major regeneration areas, who are decanted elsewhere such that their homes can be demolished, may not feel very much like clients, especially if they cannot return to the area upon completion of the project. In such cases it may be the people who live adjacent to the redevelopment site who benefit most. It might be argued that the regeneration of one part of an urban area benefits the whole town or city, especially if the project is connected with sport, culture or tourism. Indecision over who projects should be trying to help has the potential to create an identity crisis which threatens the development of trust in the "system" (Swain and Tait 2007).

Urban regeneration projects also possess an unusual time-lag. Whilst pupils and patients begin receiving their service upon first contact with the relevant provider, regeneration projects may not even *begin* for several years after plans are first voiced. The people who eventually receive any benefits may be an entirely different group of people from those who were first thought to be the "clients" (Ball 2004). The significance of uncertainty and vulnerability to trust has been discussed above and these are the conditions which result from the extended length of many regeneration projects, potentially increasing the importance of system trust. Some of the issues discussed here will be returned to in Chapter 7, in light of the findings generated from the empirical research.

Trust, Power and Legitimacy

The previous discussion on system trust necessitates brief reflection upon the associated concepts of power and legitimacy. The political power of institutions or states rests upon their perceived legitimacy. There are, however, differing conceptualisations of legitimacy and legitimate power. Misztal (1996) outlines three broad theories of legitimacy. The first was proposed by John Locke who conceptualised the legitimacy of political power as a deal between citizens and rulers based on trust. He posited that legitimate political power was that which was trusted to deliver certain practical services to its citizenry. In return the citizens would only rebel and initiate a revolution when this trust was broken and the power thus became illegitimate (Misztal 1996).

Locke's ideas stand apart from the other two conceptualisations of legitimacy, which are more relevant to this thesis. Misztal (1996) outlines how Max Weber's conceptualisation of legitimacy focuses upon a "belief in the proper procedural production of political decision" (p247). Legitimacy of political power is thus accepted because of the validity of the office held, rather than personal appeal or a clear focus on values. Niklas Luhmann (1979), who takes a broadly similar view, argues that institutions create their own legitimacy, disposing of any need

for subjectivity when considering the concept. This conceptualisation focuses upon the overall system and its constituent procedures in legitimisation.

Misztal (1996) contrasts the procedural view of legitimacy with the work of Jurgen Habermas, Robert Neelly Bellah and others, arguing that a purely procedural view of legitimate power was effectively challenged during the political crises of the 1970s. During this period nation states appeared to be facing a crisis of legitimacy despite their adherence to the traditional 'rules'. Habermas and others argue that this crisis was, and is, a moral crisis, brought about through the contradiction between capitalism and politics and the corrosive nature of individualism (Misztal 1996). Subjectivity and values, they argue, are therefore central to understanding legitimate power. From this perspective power is only legitimate if it is based upon values on which there is consensus. The norms upon which political power acts are only legitimate if they "express generalizable interests and thus could rely on the considered agreement of all concerned", which therefore connects with Habermas' discourse ethics (Misztal 1996, p251). Communication, deliberation and negotiation of norms through democratic processes are therefore critical.

Misztal (1996, p254) combines both approaches together to argue that:

> ...legitimacy of power [is] a multi-dimensional concept, including legal properties and performance of the system and people's normative and instrumental expectations as well as their political behaviour.

Legitimate power is thus a combination of conformity to rules and the extent to which the rules themselves can be justified in terms of the shared values expressed by the citizenry (Beetham 1991 in Misztal 1996). Legitimacy thus rests upon legality, justification and consent.

How does trust relate to this discussion of power and legitimacy? If legitimacy is a combination of process and values then it follows that the development of perceived legitimacy rests upon trust in both the system, facilitated by institutions, and in one's fellow citizens who must consent to the values under which it operates. Misztal (1996) argues that the development of this trust can be achieved by the redesign of institutions such that their processes involve greater participatory and deliberative elements. The author argues that this is the most effective solution to the crisis of legitimacy which is presented to states and institutions by globalisation. The process of negotiation and learning which this encompasses would allow the development of trust both between citizens and in the institution itself. The trust developed in the institution as 'the guide' instils trust in the process which it is responsible for facilitating and the trust in others is built upon the shared norms which are identified through deliberation. This ensures legitimacy of the political power which enacts the decisions made (Misztal 1996).

Distrust and Mistrust

Trust scholarship has also discussed the related concepts of mistrust and distrust and it is useful to briefly reflect on their meaning. If one distrusts they expect that another's intentions

or actions will cause them some form of harm or will not be in the actor's interests (Sztompka 1999). Luhmann (1979, p72) defines the concept as the "positive expectation of injurious action". Conceptualisations of trust and distrust commonly place the terms on a continuum, upon which they occupy opposing poles, whilst 'mistrust', which denotes uncertainty regarding one's expectations, is placed at the midpoint between the two (Gambetta 1988; Lenard 2008; Sztompka 1999)[4]. Lewicki *et al.* (1998) critique this bipolar conceptualisation. Whilst the authors do define the concepts in reciprocal terms, they perceive them to be separate, individual and distinct constructs. Crucially, this allows trust and distrust to exist simultaneously. The authors posit that the two concepts might be better represented as two scales, one which runs from low trust to high trust and another which runs from low distrust to high distrust.

This study rejects this proposition and maintains the bipolar trust-distrust construct. The co-existence of trust and distrust is only possible when one refers to different subjects of trust. An individual may indeed trust a friend to return a loaned sum of money but be distrusting of them keeping a personal secret to themselves. Trust and distrust *can* coexist in this way – but this and the bipolar conceptualisation are not mutually exclusive. There are instead two scales for each subject of trust: one for returning loaned money and the other for keeping secrets. Trust and distrust *cannot* coexist when referring to the same subject. For example, one cannot simultaneously trust and distrust another to return loaned money. If one accepts, as this study does, that trust varies dependent upon subject, then the coexistence of trust and distrust appears illogical and the bipolar trust-distrust continuum can remain.

Mistrust constitutes ambivalence which is characterised by caution, doubt and hesitation, and is more sensitive to contextual changes than full distrust (Lenard 2008). Sztompka (1999, p26-27) states that "mistrust is either a former trust destroyed, or former distrust healed" but posits that it may be easier for mistrust to slide into distrust than to develop into trust. It is often argued that trust is easier to destroy than build, with Slovic (1999) coining this, 'the asymmetry principle'. One reason for this is the propensity of distrust to reinforce and perpetuate once initiated; it is the resultant dearth of the very interactive behaviour which might reverse its growth (Hardin 1993; Ruckelshaus 1996 cited in Kasperson 1999; Slovic 1999). Many scholars acknowledge distrust's damaging potential (Lenard 2008; Luhmann 1979; Sztompka 1999). Others have also questioned whether distrust is entirely problematic, noting the apparently institutionalised distrust within liberal democracies, evidenced by periodic elections, the division of powers, the rule of law, independent courts and judicial reviews (Hardin 2006). The potential benefits of the absence of trust will be discussed in specific relation to public participation in Chapter 3.

[4] Note there is some variation in the application of the term 'mistrust' across the literature. Confusingly, it is sometimes used to mean what this study defines as distrust. This use of the term appears especially prevalent in British research.

2.4 Perceptions of the Trustee: Dimensions of Trustworthiness

This final section of the chapter considers in detail one component of the trust model presented in this thesis. The trustor's perception of the trustee is central to the trust invested in them. It establishes the specificity of trust regarding another party and prevents it being much more dependent upon the trustor's previous overall experience of others in general and their resulting disposition. The perceptions which are important for trust will be different depending upon the trustee and the situation. The first research question for this study applies this to the field of urban regeneration, by asking:

What characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals contribute to resident perceptions of their trustworthiness?

The first research question addresses which perceptions of officers matter for trust. What is it about people that makes them trustworthy? Such perceptions are commonly referred to as dimensions of trust or dimensions of trustworthiness - the latter term will be used in this study. These dimensions do not only show *how* people are trustworthy but *what* they are trusted to be or do. They provide the subjects of trust – the expectations of others upon which trust is based. This section explores the academic literature on such dimensions.

Tolbert and Mossberger (2006) used Pew survey data which operationalised the variables of trust in federal, state and local government by using a scale of one (none at all) to four (a great deal). The authors also collected data on the perceptions of three potentially trust-related attributes: transparency and effectiveness; accessibility; and responsiveness. Regression analysis found that only responsiveness was significantly correlated with trust and this was only in the case of local government. A similar approach was taken by Eiser *et al.* (2007). Trust in local councils regarding contaminated land risks was measured using a simple 5-point scale on a questionnaire. Five other attributes which may impact on trust were also measured: expertise; interpretation bias; communication bias; openness; and shared interests. Using multiple regression analysis, the study found that almost 60 per cent of the variance in trust was accounted for by these five attributes. Perceptions of openness, lack of communication bias and the extent to which the council had residents' interests at heart were all found to correlate significantly with trust in the council.

Peters *et al.* (1997) employed similar research methods in the field of environmental risk communication. The authors found significant and strong correlation between trust (in industry, government and citizen groups) and the hypothesised trust determinants of concern and care; openness and honesty; and knowledge and expertise. Research into a National Wildlife Refuge by Payton *et al.* (2005) also measured trust invested in two objects: other visitors to the Refuge (individual trust); and the Refuge and the US department which monitors it (institutional trust). The authors divided the former into welcomeness, belonging, working together and feeling part of the community; the latter was broken down into confidence in the government department,

confidence in decisions made by the staff at the local refuge and the belief that the staff do what is right.[5]

Mayer *et al.* (1995) provided one of the most influential breakdowns of trust, in which they proposed the existence of three dimensions: ability, benevolence and integrity. Cummings and Bromiley (1996) used three dimensions in the creation of their "organisational trust inventory": keeping commitments; honesty in negotiation, and avoidance of opportunism. This structure is corroborated by the authors' analysis of survey data generated by students and employees at the University of Minnesota. Höppner *et al.* (2008) operationalised institutional trust by asking how survey respondents rated land-use planning authorities' "competence, their care as well as their openness and responsiveness to people's concerns" (p612). When researching the development of trust through participation in a Swiss "landscape development concept" (LDC), Höppner *et al.* (2007) considered not only institutional trust in the LDC committee but also the trust between other participants. Institutional trust was measured using the dimensions of respect, reliability and competence, whilst the dimensions of trust in other participants were reliability, commitment, respect, openness and honesty. Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) used just two dimensions for trust measurement in their study in the field of watershed management. Both technical competence and shared values correlated significantly with trust in officials and other stakeholders.

Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) used eight dimensions of trust in government regarding risk regulation: competence; credibility; reliability; integrity; care; fairness; openness; and value similarity. Respondents were questioned on one of five areas of risk regulation, including climate change and genetically modified food. Factor analysis suggested that 58 per cent to 68 per cent of the variance in trust could be explained by two underlying dimensions. The authors thus collapsed competence, care, fairness and openness into a 'general trust' group and credibility, reliability and integrity into a 'scepticism' group. Value similarity was later theorised to be a third underlying dimension. Regression analysis showed that all three underlying dimensions were significantly correlated with trust, although value similarity appeared to explain less of the variance than the other two dimensions. The authors used the results of this research to build their case for the existence of "critical trust" (see Chapter 3).

In all of the work discussed so far, the dimensions were originally proposed based upon either the authors' own hypotheses or previous academic literature, often from different fields and focussing on other trustees. Some, such as Mayer *et al* (1995), have argued for the universality of trust based upon their own dimensions, which may be applied regardless of the context. Luhmann (1979) is very critical of such an approach:

> To put forward a rationale for trust...with an appropriate theoretical representation by means of the idea of trustworthy qualities or virtues, presupposes an environment which is immoveable and neither dangerous nor very complex
>
> (p61)

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[5] Many of these items would not be considered dimensions of trustworthiness in this study, with many appearing closer to associations with, or consequences of, trust.

Indeed, this "standardisation" of dimensions across fields appears to contradict the very nature of the complex world with which trust attempts to contend. If trust can be reduced to three dimensions universally then building trust would surely not be such an issue. It seems more reasonable to suggest that the relevant dimensions vary dependent upon the situation. It can also be argued that the dimensions comprising trustworthiness in that specific situation should hence be generated by those who hold the perceptions of the trustee. Exploring dimensionality through qualitative methods instead offers the possibility of taking the relative, (inter)subjective nature of trustworthiness into account. This was the approach taken by this study, where interviews with residents guided the researcher towards their own conceptualisation of regeneration officer trustworthiness (see Chapter 4).

Mishra (1996) took an intermediate step towards this approach by allowing his dimensions of trust in organisations to be generated through both previous literature and qualitative interviews with managers in automotive firms. Both sources converged on four dimensions: competence, openness, concern and reliability. Tait (2012) found these four dimensions to be important in trust relations between a house-builder and council planning officers in negotiations over a residential development.

Purdue (2001) considered trust in regeneration partnerships, comprising the local councils and other local organisations, from the perspective of community representatives. This is the only study to have discussed what comprises trust in the parties involved in urban regeneration. Whilst the research did not concertedly attempt to generate dimensions of trustworthiness, Purdue (2001) found that community representatives discussed trust in the local authority based upon its competence and 'goodwill', regarding the regeneration. The latter aspect comprised shared values and goals.

Leahy and Anderson (2008) used an interpretive case study approach to analyse the relationship between community members and the US Army Corps of Engineers who managed a local watershed. 31 semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants who had a range of familiarity and past interaction with the Corps, who were asked how they felt about the Corps, whether they trusted it, why they trusted, how such feelings might be increased or maintained and so on. Transcripts were then analysed, identifying some key themes. The authors found that trust in the Corps was dependent upon five factors: trust in federal government; generalised trust; technical competence of the Corps; shared interests; and the belief that the Corps engages in procedural justice. The latter factor appears to encompass qualities such as fairness, openness and the ability to listen.

Petts (1998) takes a similar qualitative approach, interviewing 30 participants from various interest groups regarding their feelings toward waste management agencies. The author divided responses into four trust characteristics: openness; objectivity; caring; and competence. Her study goes even further by highlighting some positive and negative comments which contributed to the designation of the four characteristics, which could be used as items in future survey work.

Indeed, some have used mixed methods to generate and test dimensions in a situation-specific manner. Butler (1991) takes this approach in his comprehensive attempt to generate a 'Conditions of Trust Inventory (CTI)' for the management field. Semi-structured interviews were

conducted with 84 managers, asking participants to think of one trusted and one distrusted person whom they knew and to describe their personal characteristics. They were also asked to describe critical incidents which led to trust formation and/or trust destruction. Analysis of the transcripts, along with the findings from two previous studies in managerial trust, generated ten "conditions" of trust[6]: availability; competence; consistency; discreetness; fairness; integrity; loyalty; openness; promise fulfilment; and receptivity. Four survey items were then generated for each condition of trust, based partly upon past literature and partly upon the interviews. Uniquely, Butler (1991) chooses to include one distrust item for each condition, "to break up acquiescence response sets" (p.648), whilst the other three were positively worded. A simple measure of 'overall trust' was added. The quantitative data collected was analysed using a variety of methods including factor analysis, which confirmed the ten conditions of trust. More controversially, Butler (1991) infers that his inventory might be useful outside of the field in which it was created, although he does accept that it may not be appropriate for use when considering friendships and family relationships.

Höppner (2009) also used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. She conducted nine semi-structured interviews with participants who had a range of levels of involvement with a Swiss planning committee but who had all expressed some interest in local land use. They were asked to what extent they trusted the committee and the reasoning behind their judgements. Höppner (2009) described this as an examination of "interviewees' subjective theories of trust", which demonstrates the author's belief that, "trust is widely regarded to be influenced by the actual history of exchange between the person who trusts and the object of trust" (pp3-4).

Coding of the transcripts produced eight dimensions: reciprocity; fairness; honesty; respect; openness; reliability; competence; and commitment to participants' personal interest. Questionnaires were then posted out to 190 local residents who had expressed some interest in local planning. Regression analysis showed that all eight dimensions were strongly and significantly correlated to agreement with the trust statement. Fairness, respect and competence exhibited the strongest relationships with trust. Similar to Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003), Höppner (2009) then separated the dimensions into two groupings, one containing only the commitment to participants' interest variable, labelled interest-dependent trust, and another labelled interest-independent trust which contained all other dimensions. Regression analysis using the means of these macro-dimensions found that interest-independent trust was strongly and significantly correlated to overall trust, whereas interest-dependent trust was less strongly correlated with only marginal significance.

Finally, it is worth noting another observation by Niklas Luhmann on the perceptions of others in relation to trust. He remarks on the importance of interpreting expectations "in a very general, loose, way" (Luhmann 1979, p62). If the dimensions of trustworthiness are adhered to in a very specific way, this may actually reduce, rather than build, personal trust.

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[6] It should be noted that Butler distinguished between *conditions* and of *dimensions* of trust.

> To acquire personal trust means withdrawing standardized expectations, as it were, from one's partner, and replacing them with such as only he, as one individual personality, with his unique style, can guarantee to fulfil
>
> (Luhmann 1979, p62)

Indeed, if someone approached another individual and attempted to demonstrate their trustworthiness in a standardised manner, ticking off the specific dimensions of trustworthiness mechanically, it would arouse suspicion that the potential trustee was actually in pursuit of trust for an ulterior motive. Therefore, whilst perceptions of the trustee are central to trust it is important to note that there is likely to be a degree of variance in the way that they are subjectively assessed.

There is not a solid consensus on the traits which constitute trustworthiness. However, an overall pattern can be identified with the key studies that have used qualitative and/or quantitative methods, in an attempt to determine what this thesis refers to as dimensions of trustworthiness, across a variety of fields[7]. Table 2.1 shows the most commonly identified dimensions. The majority of studies found perceived openness and competence or expertise of the trustee to be prominent within notions of trustworthiness. However, it should be noted that there was also some variation in the dimensions identified in these studies. Care/concern and the notions of shared interests and values only emerged in a minority of studies. Furthermore, characteristics such as respect, loyalty and credibility were only identified once by different studies, suggesting that the specific context may matter. This summary of previous research into the perceived characteristics of parties which contribute towards trustworthiness will prove useful when considering the results of this study.

Finally, this review of the literature demonstrates the lack of research completed into the nature of trust in relation to urban regeneration and the relatively low number of studies to have been completed within the UK. It is unknown to what extent the cultural and political context of different nations may impact upon trustworthiness-related perceptions of certain parties. By exploring the notion of resident trust in urban regeneration officers in Britain, this study attempted to address a critical gap in knowledge. The final section of this chapter discusses the nature of professionalism and its relationship with trust, both generally and in the specific field of urban regeneration. This is warranted given that competence and expertise are commonly found to be associated with trustworthiness.

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[7] The studies were: Butler (1991); Cummings and Bromiley (1996); Eiser *et al* (2007); Focht and Trachtenberg (2005); Höppner (2009); Leahy and Anderson (2008); Mishra (1996); Peters *et al.* (1997); Petts (1998); Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003); Tait (2012); Tolbert and Mossberger (2006). The studies by Payton *et al.* (2005), Mayer *et al.* (1995), Höppner *et al.* (2008) and Höppner *et al.* (2007) were not included in this analysis because they did not derive their dimensions from qualitative interviews, nor test them thoroughly using quantitative methods. The study by Purdue (2001) was not thought to represent a concerted enough attempt to understand what comprised trust in a specific party. It instead consisted of a discussion around trust and other factors related to the relationships between community representatives and regeneration partnerships.

Table 2.1 The Most Common Dimensions of Trust/Trustworthiness in Other Studies

Dimensions	Number of Studies Identifying Dimension
Competence/Expertise	9
Openness	8
Objectivity/Fairness/Lack of bias/Procedural Justice	6
Consistency/Reliability/Keeping Commitments	6
Care/Concern	5
Shared Interests/Values	5
Total Studies	**12**

2.5 Professionalism and Regeneration

The focus of this study upon trust in regeneration officers, rather than in an organisation or other residents, necessitates some discussion of the nature of professionals and professional work. This section consists of two subsections. The first considers professional work generally and its relationship with trust. The second explores the nature and identity of regeneration as a professional activity.

The Nature of Professional Work

The focus of this study upon trust in regeneration officers, rather than in an organisation or other residents, necessitates some discussion of the nature of professionals and professional work. Drawing upon the work of Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, McClymont (2014) argues that:

> Most traditional sociological concepts of the professions centre on the idea of educated individuals working altruistically for a greater good... providing collective values in a modernity which was marked by increasing individualism. Professions, with varying degrees of autonomy, were sanctioned by the state, giving them powers of both problem setting and problem solving.
>
> (p190)

The final point is critical, pointing toward the importance of technical expertise which was not possessed by individuals outside of that particular profession.

> It is almost a truism in the sociological literature that one of the key characteristics of 'the professions', and occupations that aspire to become professions, is their attempts to monopolise a pool of esoteric expert knowledge to which access is restricted...
>
> (Allen 2003, p7)

This exclusivity is what separates professionals from ordinary individuals, who are unable to solve the problems of society.

> Hence, professional practice was about both specialist decision-making (by a qualified individual who took decisions for laypersons) and better outcomes (notions of solutions to achieve better states, better health and a more just society).
>
> (McClymont 2014, p190)

This once again recalls abstract systems and raises the concept of trust. It has been argued that historically, in what might be described as early or primary modernity, professionals were recipients of "given trust", which is left unquestioned by laypeople (Allen 2003). However, with the advance of modernity and the rise of "successfully advanced fallibilism" expert systems have been forced to engage in "institutional reflexivity" which has produced "radical doubt" (Beck 1992 and Giddens 1994, both cited in Allen 2003, p6). This radical doubt is exemplified in McClymont's (2014) brief discussion of how the 1970s saw academic critiques of the professions which held that they were based more on self-interest than altruism, focussed on advancing their members' interest through a tighter grip on exclusivity than other occupations.

Such reflexivity has led to discussions of a more general "crisis of trust" (O'Neill 2002; Tait 2011). References to a critical loss of trust in politicians, the police, the BBC and others appear ubiquitous in the media (BBC News 2009; BBC News 2013; Easton 2012; Landale 2013). Some have argued that the public's behaviour suggests that the narrative of decreasing trust is unconvincing (O'Neill 2002). Polling evidence would certainly suggest that substantial majorities of the public still trust doctors (90%), teachers (86%), scientists (83%), judges (80%), priests (71%), news readers (67%) and the police (66%) to tell the truth, even if they have a less favourable opinion of business leaders (32%), bankers (31%), journalists (22%), estate agents (22%) and politicians (16%) (Ipsos MORI 2015). The *perception* that trust has decreased in professions does seem to be pervasive, however, not least amongst some sociologists. Giddens (1994, cited in Allen 2003) identifies a transformation from "given trust" which was unquestionably present and did not require development or sustenance, to the "active trust" of late modernity which needs to be vigorously nurtured by professionals via facework at "access points". Professionals can no longer take the trust invested in them and their abstract system for granted, it is argued.

The public policy response to this perceived reduction in trust focusses upon tighter central control of the public sector. This has been part of the "modernisation" of public services which has taken place since the 1980s, an approach commonly referred to as "new public management" (NPM). This involves an increased focus upon targets and auditing.

> [NPM] is intended to maximise governmental control of resources, holding public spending in check while obtaining maximum value for money, reducing the scope for professional discretion, while continuing to expect professionals to adopt increasingly entrepreneurial ways of working, to meet the varying range of user wants and needs.

(Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p137)

The approach rests upon the notion that by engaging in increased marketisation of public services, the transformation of the citizen to consumer and greater partnership and cross-sector working, the quality and responsiveness of services can be improved and trust in professionals and their expert systems can be restored (Hoggett *et al.* 2008; O'Neill 2002; Tait 2011). However, NPM has been criticised for failing to bring about a remedy to any crisis of trust by refusing to focus upon the individuals whose trust is sought:

> In the very years in which the accountability revolution has made striking advances, in which increased demands for control and performance, scrutiny and audit have been imposed, and in which the performance of professionals and institutions has been more and more controlled, we find in fact growing reports of mistrust....underlying this ostensible aim of accountability *to the public* the real requirements are for accountability *to regulators, to departments of government, to funders, to legal standards.*
>
> (O'Neill 2002, p53, original emphasis)

Tait (2011) finds evidence to support this argument in his research in a planning department which concluded that the target culture adopted only allowed relatively weak forms of trust to be built based upon incentives and sanctions. Allen (2003) agrees with these criticisms of increasing managerialism but does appear to support the partnership working element of NPM due to its potential to involve facework and thus the development of interpersonal trust:

> ...'joint work' has become increasingly important because the growth of radical doubt in welfare organizations has led to the critique of isolationist methods of working...I would argue that managerial strategies that attempt to 'write out' inter-personal relations (for example, by creating protocols and procedures that can be followed anonymously) are doomed to failure. Such strategies simply hanker for an era of primary modernity in which faith in 'the system' [was] more easily sustained
>
> (Allen 2003, p13)

Aside from its success, or lack thereof, in restoring public trust, the impact of NPM upon professionals and the nature of professional work has been discussed and critiqued. The potential effects of this modernisation process cited by scholars can be grouped into three categories. First, some have argued that such developments have created the opportunity for a "new professionalism" to be developed. This holds that:

> ...the role of a public sector professional is no longer to make (technical) decisions on behalf of the public in any given area (for example, planning, housing), but to facilitate discussion among interested parties: other public sector officers, private and voluntary sector 'partners' and members of the public...
>
> (McClymont 2014, p192)

Hoggett *et al.* (2008) have discussed the prospect for the ostensibly greater flexibility inherent in NPM, through its emphasis upon facilitation and entrepreneurial innovation, to provide opportunities to work more freely and in partnership with other professionals, which are still driven by a clear commitment to their role.

Secondly, it could instead be argued that NPM actually holds a greater potential for "de-professionalisation", defined as a reduction in "the scope for professional judgements based on a public service ethos and values" (Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p161). In this conception, NPM represents a threat to professional autonomy, reducing professionals to more generic project managers or administrators who are concerned with short-term outputs over the development of sustainable outcomes. The de-professionalisation process may therefore result in former professionals taking a more 'backstage' role, whilst "unqualified or semi-qualified staff, perhaps cheaper and less independent than their professional counterparts" engage with communities face-to-face (Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p138). The boundaries between professions also therefore become more fluid and blurred. Allen (2003) highlights this in the "de-differentiation" of welfare professionalism, exemplified in the way the clinical medicine and social work policy sectors have witnessed a merging into "community care", built upon "care packages" and multi-disciplinary teams comprising social workers, community nurses, occupational therapists and housing officers, amongst others.

McClymont (2014) synthesises these two potential effects to argue that the most appropriate response to NPM which prevents de-professionlisation is to ensure that the new professionalism not only stresses facilitation but also the aims of the professional activity and the values by which it is driven. The author argues that new professionalism as it stands has borrowed too heavily from the earlier critiques of early modernist professionals, which suggested that there was no altruistic basis for their work. In the context of urban planning, this has allowed "other goals, such as bureaucratic efficiency or economic competitiveness to displace values of achieving better, or more just, places ..." (McClymont 2014, p192). The author therefore argues that a balance needs to be struck between effective democratic facilitation of increasingly varied opinions and interests, which lack the more paternalistic elements of earlier professionalism, but critically contain a certain allowance for professional judgement underpinned by a clear value system. This idea will be referred to as 'value-based facilitation' and will be returned to later in the thesis.

Regeneration as a Professional Activity

The history of regeneration professionals, to the extent that the title can be attached to them, and the professions associated with such work, broadly follows the pattern described above. Nadin and Cullingworth (2006) describe the favourable post-war opinion of town planners as being based upon the notion that the progress achieved in the scientific field could be transferred to the social, economic and political arenas, as well as the view that such professionals were essential to the rebuilding of the country in the wake of military success.

The solution to Britain's social and economic problems lay in the obscure, jargon-laden techniques in the possession of such professionals. This group was definitely amongst those afforded "given trust":

> At the time…the lack of political debate and participation was not widely recognised as a problem. Professionals were perceived as acting in everyone's interest – the general public interest.
>
> (Cullingworth and Nadin 2006, p432)

However, it was slowly realised that this perspective of those working towards the physical, economic and social regeneration of the country had actually been based upon a decoupling of technical competence from value judgements.

> [It had] lead to the dual assumption that planning decisions could be technical, scientific value-free decisions, and that judgements of better and worse outcomes were therefore beyond the remit of the rational professional.
>
> (McClymont 2014, p 191)

Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) describe the breakdown of the consensus on such professions from the 1960s onwards, which saw their objectivity and neutrality increasingly questioned. Giddens' radical doubt had set in, as the public began to raise questions of legitimacy and progress. An increased focus upon community engagement and the rise of NPM followed, the 1960s and 1980s respectively, both offering attempts at building active trust with the general public and restoring legitimacy from different political perspectives.

Paul Hoggett and colleagues have produced one of the most extensive discussions of professional activity in the field of regeneration. Through interviews with a variety of "development workers", which they define as those involved in strategies which aim to produce social change in disadvantaged communities, they demonstrate the impacts of NPM and the modernisation agenda. Whilst admitting that "regeneration work is not perceived as a profession per se" (Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p160), they suggest that their interviewees may have identified with their more professional backgrounds such as youth work, housing and planning. Their research participants expressed worries over the demise of a professional ethos and distinct professional cultures in favour of increased bureaucracy, regulation and assessments. This "suffocated the capacity for discretionary autonomy", "drained the [essential] passion and emotional commitments" (Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p152) and reduced professionals' focus on the elements of the role which "made their jobs 'so much more than a job'" (ibid. p159). The authors question whether such impacts work towards the development of social capital, trust and commitment. Interviewees commented on how newer colleagues appeared to be more focussed on their career than more experienced professionals.

Whilst some of the authors' research participants discovered the potential for flexibility in the modernised form of regeneration, others found that even the:

> ...community engagement work, in the current policy framework offered less space for creativity or innovation...[instead] driven by top-heavy bureaucratic structures and managerial requirements...
>
> (Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p157)

McClymont (2014) focuses less on the flexibility of public participation and more on how its focus has sacrificed the development of professional legitimacy based on the potential for value-based judgements in planning and regeneration. Drawing upon research of one regeneration initiative, the author finds that:

> The work of the [regeneration partnership] was presented as legitimate because it aimed to bring all voices together, and facilitate discussion about the future of the area, rather than have substantive ideas about what should happen in the area...[despite severe local deprivation] staff did not describe their role in social justice terms
>
> (McClymont 2014, p195)

The author makes the case for the supposedly neutral facilitation inherent within the modernised professions to be a fallacy, arguing that it is inevitable that not all views are equally received. Furthermore, she demonstrates how the public is not satisfied by this professed impartiality by drawing upon findings from research into the public participation involved in the development of a strategic regeneration framework. Residents asked regeneration officers about whether plans involved the development of housing and leisure facilities. McClymont (2014) argues:

> ...the public expect the professionals to be taking decisions which protect or promote their interests and quality of life, they do not want to be doing it all themselves...these incidents tentatively illustrate public support for professional decision-making, rather than complete devolution of power to the community.
>
> (p195)

Hoggett *et al.* (2008) argue that regeneration "occurs on a social terrain that is more contested, ambiguous and subject to flux and change than possibly any other location." (p174). Citing Honig (1996), the authors refer to this as 'dilemmatic space', which requires both principles and "capacities" to navigate the ambiguous situations development workers encounter. These capacities are defined as human qualities which, rather than being a more specific capability, "represents a latent power or resource that the person can draw on" (Hoggett *et al.* 2008, p174). These might be summarised as the capacity to: accept but contain uncertainty; find courage; be reflexive; and maintain balanced emotions. The authors argue that the capacities are required across a network of development workers rather than individuals alone. McClymont (2014) instead focusses upon the values which should guide the decisions of such professionals, identifying commitments to justice, flourishing and equity as potential foundations.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the theoretical understanding of the concept of trust that will be applied in this study. Trust is conceptualised as a knowledge-based, rather than moralistic concept, which exists as a psychological state, rather than as a choice or behaviour. Drawing upon previous theories of trust, a tripartite model has been developed to guide the research. The first element of the model is dispositional trust. This is built up through experiences with others over the life-course, providing individuals with a generalised view as to the trustworthiness of human beings. The second element is perceptions of the trustee, which allows trust to become focussed upon a particular party. The perception of certain characteristics, features, behaviours and so on, will present the other party as more or less trustworthy, dependent upon the situation. The third element is situational encapsulated interest (SEI). This takes into account the wider context of the trust-situation, which may provide incentives for, and sanctions against, the honouring of a trust-related decision. Previous attempts to determine the perceptions which contribute to the trustworthiness of parties across a variety of fields have been examined. Openness, competence and objectivity were revealed to be the most common dimensions identified by other studies. However, work in this area was found to be limited in scope, and there has been little or no previous analysis of the key focus of this study: the trustworthiness of regeneration officers in the UK.

Chapter 3: Trust and Participation: Theory and Evidence

3.1 Introduction

The second research question of this study sought to explore the relationship between trust and resident participation in urban regeneration projects. This chapter begins by exploring two different conceptualisations of public participation. Attention then turns to the history of public participation in governance, as well as its common rationales and critiques. Public participation has been touted as an important, if not vital, aspect of the delivery of public services and area-based initiatives (ABIs) (Brannan *et al.* 2006). This could not be truer than in urban regeneration, one of the fields in which participation experienced its modern awakening in the late 1960s. More recently, the John Major and New Labour governments stressed the importance of engaging with communities in a variety of public policy fields. There are a variety of rationales behind citizen involvement strategies, from civil rights, legitimacy, managerial efficiency and developmental perspectives (Burton *et al.* 2006). However, many have critiqued what they see as the overly-simplistic view that public participation offers a panacea to a variety of social issues (Ball 2004; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Jones 2003). Others have discussed the inability of some participation strategies to achieve their supposed aims of building social capital or enhancing community cohesion (Alcock 2004; Dinham 2005; Lawson and Kearns 2010).

This study focuses upon the problems of apathy towards, or avoidance of participation opportunities amongst citizens (Skidmore 2006). What can be done to encourage residents to participate? Trust may be important; there are two opposing views on the relationship between trust and participation and this study aimed to explore which had more traction in the field of urban regeneration. Building trust, either amongst citizens or between residents and organisations, has been espoused as a route to increased participation (Mathers *et al.* 2008; Jarvis *et al.* 2001). However, an inverse relationship between trust and participation has also been suggested, where a lack of trust stimulates vigilance and the desire to participate in order to protect one's interests (Anex and Focht 2002; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005). This chapter presents several hypothetical relationships between trust and participation, before critically analysing previous empirical research conducted into the topic across a variety of different policy fields. This analysis sought to inform the generation of hypotheses (Chapter 4), which were later tested against the empirical data collected (Chapter 6).

3.2 Conceptualising Participation

Before considering the history of public participation in public policy and the various rationales for its use, it is helpful to briefly reflect upon how participation might be conceptualised. A framework for understanding different local authority approaches to tenant participation in the provision of social housing is useful in this regard. Cairncross *et al.* (1997) set out a classification of councils' approaches, categorising them as either "traditional",

"consumerist" or "citizenship" models of participation. These 'ideal types' are set out in Table 3.1. These will be explored alongside Burns *et al.*'s (1994) exploration of empowerment in relation to participation.

The traditionalist approach to tenant participation consists of a relatively small number of weak involvement mechanisms, with little support for tenants and residents associations and no focus upon effective resolution of complaints. The flow of communication is commonly *towards* the tenant through written documentation by the housing authority, which does not seek tenants' views. Burns *et al* (1994) class this approach as citizen non-participation, encompassing poor information, cynical consultation and/or civic hype. The perceived absence for any need for direct tenant participation rests upon the notions of representative democracy, through locally elected councillors, and professional autonomy, through housing managers. The arguments in favour of this approach are that tenants are uninterested in participation; that tenant participation threatens the professional knowledge of housing managers and the political legitimacy of councillors; and that tenants' associations can be unrepresentative and therefore lack legitimacy. The traditionalist approach very much connects with the post-war trusted professional thesis discussed by Allen (2003) and McClymont (2014) which was considered in Chapter 2.

The other two models of participation set out by Cairncross *et al.* (1997) are more relevant to conceptualisations of participation. Consumerist local authorities take their influence from the private sector and market mechanisms. From this perspective tenants are commonly portrayed as customers receiving a service from a provider in the marketplace, an approach which it is argued can generate greater choice and promote responsiveness to tenant concerns. In this approach, the communication flow between tenants and local councils is two way. Housing authorities collect information via tenant surveys which might be considered a form of market research, understanding what consumers want in much the same way as a company would. They may communicate to tenants through adverts and newsletters in order to generate a positive image of their organisation and staff. Dialogue also takes place on a face-to-face basis but generally only with individual tenants. The consumerist perspective does not support tenants' associations or promote participation through collectivist means. The content of discussions is also limited to issues which only affect the participating tenant. As Cairncross *et al.* (1997, p41) put it:

> ...[they] may give individuals choice over when a repair is carried out, or the colour of their decoration. There is little or no participation over general policy such as rent levels, allocations policy and so on.

This individualistic approach places a strong emphasis upon the provision of an effective service. It can be said that this approach, whilst offering a modest degree of influence, does not offer the individual true empowerment since there is no real control devolved over the operational practices, expenditure decisions and policy-making by the service provider (Burns *et al.* 1994). Cairncross *et al.* (1997) argue that this model is politically associated with 'New Right' economic liberalism.

The citizenship approach encompasses elements of the consumerist conceptualisation but emphasises collective representation of tenants, especially through tenants' associations. It is built not only on the principle of good service delivery, but also on community development and tenant empowerment. In addition to the processes adopted in the consumerist model, citizenship focussed local authorities will participate in regular meetings with tenants involving consultation, dialogue and potentially joint management. In this approach tenants have the ability to "set the participation agenda" (Cairncross *et al.* 1997, p190). The content of discussions is not limited to the narrow concerns of the participating tenant but of general policies affecting other tenants, prospective tenants and other citizens generally. This is based on the principle of citizen obligations and not just consumer rights. The communication which occurs in the citizenship approach is more than just a two way flow and involves negotiation and compromise between parties. Burns *et al.* (2004) argue that it is this approach which may offer genuine empowerment to service-users and which has the potential to even allow citizen control. This might be in the form of: delegated control, where the provider still sets clear boundaries; entrusted control, which allows greater freedom of innovation; or interdependent control encompassing complete autonomy without a pre-existing structure of authority. Cairncross *et al.* (1997) posit that the citizenship approach to tenant participation is politically associated with social democracy.

Table 3.1 Three Approaches to Participation (Cairncross *et al.* 1997)

	Traditionalism	Consumerism	Citizenship
Primary focus	Focus on producers, i.e. housing managers and councillors	Focus on role of consumer	Focus on consumer and citizen
View of tenants	Focus on needs of tenants as a whole Paternalism and authoritarianism	Focus on individual tenant Emphasis on tenant choice	Focus on tenants as individuals as a collective Tenants' rights and obligations
Information flows	Reliance on professional and political judgements Information transmitted through professional and formal political channels i.e. ballot box	Market research Advertising	Dialogue Two-way information flow through many channels
Issue focus	Focus on general issues relating to tenants as a whole	Focus on issues directly relevant to individual tenant	Focus on individual and collective issues

These approaches thus demonstrate two alternative conceptualisations of participation in public services and ABIs more generally. In the consumerist model public participation comprises the introduction of market mechanisms into the public sphere in an attempt to make professionals more responsive to service users. This remodels the service user as a customer who can exercise influence through individual discussions with professionals. In the citizenship model public participation is an attempt to empower service users by allowing them to organise and negotiate with professionals to the extent that they are involved in a service's management and policies. This remodels the service user as a citizen who is obligated to consider other citizens as well their own self-interest.

Hickman (2006) makes a useful contribution to the model by arguing that by the end of the 1990s local authorities' approaches to tenant participation had increased in complexity. He posits that categorisation has become more difficult and that there is less distinction between the methods used by traditional and consumerist authorities, with some previously associated with a citizenship approach. Hickman (2006) attributes part of the increased complexity to the introduction of various government policies which have extended and broadened tenant participation in housing and thus increased its variability within local authorities. Despite these changes, the author notes the pervasiveness of the traditional approach with its reluctance toward relinquishing control. Despite Cairncross *et al.*'s (1997) potential oversimplification of local authorities' *actual* approaches to participation, the framework is nevertheless useful in exploring how public participation might be conceptualised as a manifestation of consumerism or citizenship.

How might trust relate to these two different conceptualisations of participation? In the consumerist conceptualisation the relationship is between that of the service user and the service provider only. The interaction of the two parties centres on service issues and complaints which relate directly to the user and does not involve negotiation. Trust is therefore likely to be relevant to the extent that the individual trusts the provider to listen and to follow up on any complaints. If trust breaks down, the consumerist model encompasses the principle that the individual is free to choose a different service provider. If the provider fulfils the service user's expectation then the trust built is confined only to the provider and no other party.

The interaction of trust and the citizenship model of participation is more complex. Trust between citizens might be considered one element of 'societal solidarity' which is "rooted in mutual ties of trust, reciprocity and obligation and as guiding autonomous individuals into the practice of citizenship" (Misztal 1996, p217). Arguments in favour of building solidarity include the belief that it increases cooperation and wellbeing, improves individual integrity and moral growth, turns attention towards long-term solutions, lowers social tensions and conflicts, and forms an element of 'the good life' (Misztal 1996). The development of trust and solidarity might be created through a "renewal of public involvement" which requires:

> ...policy to create conditions for shared deliberation and construct opportunities for active involvement by people who are trying to sort out their differences themselves via negotiation and deliberation.
>
> (Misztal 1996, p218)

Institutions would need to create a system where there is greater interdependence of citizens, "in which people learn to deal with one another" (Misztal 1996, p227). As explored in the previous chapter, the development of trust in this way can also increase the legitimacy of institutions (Misztal 1996). These processes represent the citizenship approach to participation with its focus on bringing together a variety of parties and the consideration of multiple perspectives on an issue. The citizenship conceptualisation of participation shows social or dispositional trust, solidarity and legitimacy as products of the engagement process. In contrast to the consumerist perspective, the trust built does not relate only to the service provider but to the other participating members and potentially more widely across society and other institutions generally.

Warren (1999) sets out five ways in which the deliberative process can generate trust. First participation allows citizens the opportunity to explore alternative perspectives, consider new possibilities, and potentially transform and align interests with one another. Second, deliberative arenas allow participants the opportunity to explain one's own narrative, providing assurances to others and dispelling some of the differences which may have been magnified in non-deliberative forums. Third, citizen participation can mitigate fear of possible betrayal because of the transparency of the deliberative process and the openness of public reasoning, dispelling perceptions of corruption or insincerity. Fourth, the face-to-face and verbal nature of this form of participation instils an initial trust in others in which speakers recognise one another as other citizens with whom they have at least the potential to reach consensus; the communication itself embeds a weak, foundational trust. Finally, collective and deliberative participation are more likely to result in promises due to their discursive nature. The acceptance of promises, which is often necessary for the successful conclusion of deliberative exercises, relies on the formation of trust.

The dispositional trust built through deliberation can then promote further participation by easing cooperation through the sense of reciprocity and fairness created (Misztal 1996; Putnam 2000). The existence of trust can indicate that the riskier outcomes of the deliberative process will be somewhat limited, which can reassure individuals who feel vulnerable participating and promote negotiation and compromise (Warren 1999). Citizenship-based participation which involves greater empowerment, allowing it to become independent of both hierarchical bureaucracy and the market, may therefore rely heavily on trust (Burns *et al.* 1994). As discussed in the previous chapter, trust is often needed to continue ongoing interaction where control of one party over another is absent. The extent to which trust encourages participation is one of the central questions of this research and will be explored in greater depth later in this chapter.

Having explored the consumerist and citizenship conceptualisations of participation, this thesis takes the citizenship perspective. The reason for this lies in the topic of enquiry. Urban regeneration is not a service or product; it is instead a project, which necessarily involves a group of individuals within a geographic area. It is different in this regard to other areas of public policy including healthcare, education and, to some extent, housing. The regeneration projects explored in this study involved demolition of residential housing, which clearly could not

be completed on an individual basis. That is not to say that there may not be consumerist elements to participation in regeneration, which could involve individual choices over the furnishing of new properties for instance. It is, however, best understood as a project in which there are numerous competing interests which require discussion, deliberation and negotiation amongst the various players involved, pointing necessarily toward the citizenship conceptualisation of the process. Having explored the ways in which participation can be conceptualised, the following section explores its application, rationales and critiques.

3.3 Public Participation in Governance

Public participation has increasingly become a favoured approach to governance across a range of policy fields over the last few decades (Brannan *et al.* 2006). This section of the chapter will explore the history of citizen participation in the UK, the rationales put forward to justify its use in public policy and the dominant critiques and challenges of its application. Whilst the focus of this study is urban regeneration projects, this discussion draws upon work from a variety of public policy fields. It goes on to focus on citizen 'apathy' and/or the avoidance of engagement, which has direct relevance for this study.

A Brief History of Public Participation

The concept of direct democracy, in which citizens are directly involved in policy decisions, is far from new both in practice and theory. Direct political participation was an important aspect of democracy both in Ancient Greece (Marinetto 2003) and the Roman Republic (Rousseau 1968 [1762]). Direct democracy also forms the centrepiece of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's social contract theory, in which he argues that the English people are only truly free when they choose their members of parliament (1968 [1762]). Whilst the UK has not experienced a decentralisation of power as radical as full-blown direct democracy, public participation has witnessed increased prominence across a range of policy areas in recent years (Brannan *et al.* 2006). The late 1960s are often cited as the modern beginnings of a policy discourse more oriented toward 'community'. Alcock (2004) suggests that the UK borrowed heavily from the US 'War on Poverty' from earlier in the decade, which aimed to involve as many citizens as possible in local projects. Lawson and Kearns (2010) comment on their lack of surprise that urban regeneration was one of the first public policy areas to emphasise participation, due to its focus on community. The following provides a brief overview of some of the main initiatives of the past forty years.

Between 1969 and 1972 twelve Community Development Projects (CDPs) were created in the UK. These area-based initiatives (ABIs) strived to empower deprived inner-city communities to achieve improvements to local services (Foley and Martin 2000). Taylor (2000, p1020) suggests that Education Priority Areas, the Skeffington Report and the Urban Programme also exemplify the "joined-up thinking" and participation zeitgeist of this period. Barnes *et al* (2007) believe that this represented an emerging consensus that the poverty and

inequality which persisted in many areas of the UK, despite the radical development of the welfare state twenty years earlier, might be better tackled through cooperation between public bodies and communities.

Public participation in governance has not been consistently advocated since the 1960s (Foley and Martin 2000). The 1980s witnessed a shift towards economically grounded initiatives, as private sector involvement in schemes became a prerequisite and community involvement was pushed firmly into the background (Taylor 2000). For example, Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), which had responsibility for regenerating inner cities, drew their directors from the private sector and appropriated the role of local authorities in determining planning applications (Cullingworth and Nadin 2006). Foley and Martin (2000) argue that a growing disillusionment with the lack of presumed 'trickle-down' benefits to communities led to a reprioritisation of social exclusion toward the end of the decade. Marinetto (2003) argues that the rise of neoliberalism and the resultant remodelling of the citizen as customer created an important political backdrop for the more community-focussed turn in policy which was to follow in subsequent years. What is certain is that the advent of the 1990s brought a fresh consideration of 'community' and 'partnership' (Robinson and Shaw 1991). Jones and Evans (2008) suggest that the stakeholder focus of the City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget initiatives of the 1990s were a direct response to the policy mentality which had produced controversial schemes such as the London Docklands redevelopment, which had been criticised for focussing on infrastructure over people. There were now "requirements in many services and programmes...that communities and/or service users be consulted" (Taylor 2000, p1020).

This tension between public participation in governance and the operation of the market as competing means to offer change exemplifies Hirschman's useful distinction between 'exit' and 'voice' (1970). Where the quality of the product or service provided by an organisation is perceived to have worsened there are two options available to an individual: stop buying/receiving the good/service and choose an alternative (exit); or try to effect change (voice). In a market, an unsatisfied consumer may be more likely to exit from their relationship with a firm if unsatisfied, whilst a discontented citizen or public service-user may use voice to press for improvements through democratic mechanisms. These ideas can be applied to communities and regeneration:

> When general conditions in a neighborhood deteriorate, those who value most highly neighbourhood qualities such as safety, cleanliness, good schools, and so forth will be the first to move out; they will search for housing in somewhat more expensive neighborhoods or in the suburbs and will be lost to the citizens' groups and community action programs that would attempt to stem and reverse the tide of deterioration
>
> (Hirschman 1970, p51)

Hirschman (1970) argues that it is individuals' level of 'quality consciousness' which determines their use of exit or voice, which is mediated by their 'loyalty' to the service provider. However, the author ignores individuals' *ability* – over their *willingness* - to exit, which is

especially pertinent for deprived communities. Poorer families may be just as concerned about the levels of crime or school performance in an area but unable to move away due to the social and economic costs involved. Regeneration focusses upon improving the economic and/or social fortunes of disadvantaged communities, who, by definition, are unlikely to be able to achieve change through market mechanisms. Regeneration programmes comprising an exclusively private sector focus may therefore deny from influence the very people that they are alleged to be helping. They may even be designed not to benefit local people, but areas and investors.

Tony Blair's period of office from 1997 brought about not only an intensification of the participatory public policy turn witnessed during the Conservative Government of the 1990s, but also its expansion across other policy areas. The 'Best Value' initiative allowed citizens to become actively involved in improving local service delivery and aimed, "to build mutual respect and trust, and to bolster confidence in local services" (DETR 1998, p56). Meanwhile, patient engagement in NHS Trusts was directed through public health forums (Barnes *et al* 2007). The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 made it a statutory requirement for each local planning authority to produce a Statement of Community Involvement (ODPM 2004). This document explains how the community are consulted on planning applications and involved in the preparation and review of local development documents. The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (2001) demonstrated the government's commitment to community involvement in neighbourhood renewal through its advocacy of Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs), single bodies which brought together the public, private and community sectors at the local level. The Community Empowerment Fund was devised to allow citizens and community groups influence over LSPs (SEU 2001). Major ABIs of the New Labour era, such as Surestart, New Deal for Communities (NDC) and the Neighbourhood Regeneration Strategy, also reflected the government's desire to involve the public, both in their local development and delivery. The NDC regeneration programme even mandated community representation on its management boards (Ball 2004).

Much of the rhetoric of this policy trend persisted into the early years of the Coalition government. David Cameron's Big Society' advocated "a dramatic redistribution of power from elites in Whitehall to the man and woman on the street" who will then, "feel both free and powerful enough to help themselves and their own communities" (2010). The Prime Minister outlined three strands to this agenda, involving social action, public service reform and community empowerment. His comments echo the previous government's criticisms of top-down, unresponsive and bureaucratic solutions to social problems, combining them with attacks on large government spending during the New Labour years.

The Big Society policy discourse is built upon a perception of residents as motivated, willing individuals, keenly anticipating the opportunity to engage and shape their local area:

> Question:
> ...do you think there is really an appetite for people out there to get involved in the voluntary sector? Aren't their energies more taken up with just worrying about themselves at this time, in particular?

> Prime Minister:
> I don't think the British people are like that; I think there's an enormous appetite. Every time you ask people 'would you like the opportunity to step forward' they actually say yes...There is an appetite for this. So, I think that the proof is always there. Whenever you give people an opportunity to step forward and play a greater role, in my experience they almost always take it. I believe that they will with all these opportunities that will be coming forward.
>
> (Gov.uk 2011)

The prime minister cited public interest in opportunities such as free schools, the community right-to-buy and employees taking over and converting parts of the NHS into mutuals as evidence for his position.

Whilst the rhetoric of participation may have continued, this has been coupled by policies which appear to demonstrate a further turn toward neoliberalism. The Localism Act 2011 has made provision for neighbourhood planning, allowing communities to make development plans, development orders and "Community Right to Build" orders (CLG 2011). However, this has been accompanied by the National Planning Policy Framework's deregulatory approach to planning and its *presumption in favour* of sustainable development (CLG 2012). The Enterprise Zone regeneration programme focusses on measures such as business rate relief and simplified planning procedures, whilst City Deals and Local Enterprise Partnerships similarly emphasise the importance of economic growth (HM Government 2014; Gov.uk 2013; HM Government 2011). The Chair of the Communities and Local Government Committee has argued:

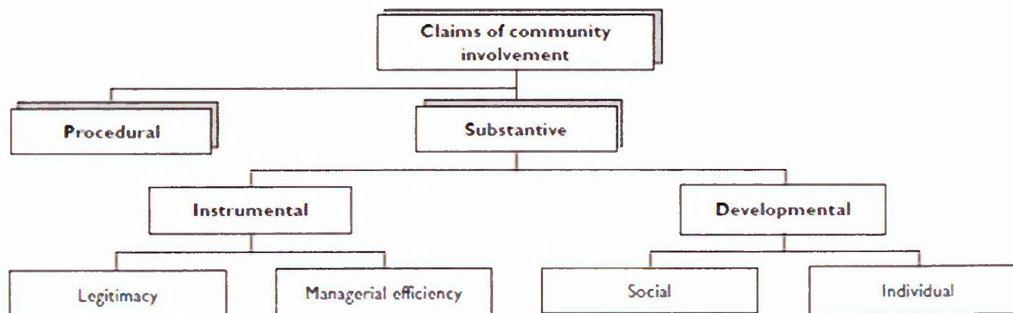
> The Government has cut public funding for regeneration programmes dramatically and has produced no adequate 'strategy' for regeneration sufficient to tackle the deep-seated problems faced by our most deprived communities. The measures identified by the Government focus overwhelmingly on the pursuit of economic growth. The Government's measures will not attract sufficient investment for renewal into those communities where the market has failed. There is no sign that the private sector is filling the gap as public resources are being withdrawn. Indeed private investment is only likely to be attracted in partnership with public funding. Without further investment targeted at those places most in need, Ministers will store up serious social, economic and environmental problems for the future.
>
> (Parliament.uk 2011)

If economic development has become more dependent upon the extent to which only the market allows it to occur, with the government concentrating more on facilitation than intervention, despite the rhetoric there may actually be fewer opportunities for local communities to shape their area. The current policy context may be again highlighting the tension between market and democratic oriented mechanisms for influence and change, and again recalling the work of Hirschman (1970).

Rationales for Public Participation

Why would policymakers be so keen to involve the general public in local decision-making? Two reasons emerge from the academic literature: procedural and substantive advantages (Burton *et al.* 2006; see Figure 3.1). The procedural argument is developed from the need for greater direct democracy and centres itself on a "deontological" moral framework. This approach to ethics is non-consequentialist, focussing upon the nature of an action rather than the ends which are served by it. From this perspective, involving the public is simply a civil right which is bestowed upon citizens regardless of the benefits or disadvantages which might stem from it. It can be seen in much the same way as our indirect, representative democracy as a whole is perceived. This rationale for participation is inherent and not subject to empirical analysis (Burton *et al* 2006).

Figure 3.1: Possible Benefits of Community Involvement (Burton *et al* 2006)



The substantive benefits can be divided into instrumental and developmental advantages. There are two alleged instrumental advantages. First, if the development and delivery of initiatives have included suggestions from the community or have indeed been led by them, then the resultant programme will be afforded more legitimacy by the public. The participants, "are drawn into accepting the operating principles or rules of that decision-making system and hence bolster its legitimacy" (Burton 2009, p267). Policymakers may be keen to generate the popular acceptance of a policy, service or ABI. Secondly, it is argued that because the input will be from a wider range of participants, decision makers (whether officers or the community itself) will benefit from the local knowledge generated by the residents' experiences of life there. "Diverse groups co-operating lead to outputs that have greater overall benefits than would result from a narrower management base" allowing the expertise, skills and relevant knowledge of different actors to be united (Ball 2004, p123). Burton *et al.* (2006) refer to this as a claim for increased "managerial efficiency". Indeed, this claim has sometimes been stressed by governments:

> The more they [public, private, community and voluntary sector organisations] can work together, with local people, the more they can achieve and the more likely it is that...public services work better and are delivered in way [sic] which meets people's needs
>
> (DETR 2001, p4)

The DTLR (2001, p20) was even clearer: "Effective community engagement leads to better decisions and better implementation". However, Burton *et al.* (2004) argue that such evidence of the instrumental benefits of public participation is in very short supply, arguing that researchers often ignore the alleged managerial benefits in their (relatively scarce) evaluations.[8] Indeed, such advantages can be exceptionally difficult to identify and measure.

Researchers instead often focus upon the alleged developmental benefits of public involvement. Burton *et al.* (2006) break these benefits down into individual and wider social gains (Figure 3.1). Richardson (1983, cited in Burton 2009) suggests the former may comprise four benefits: greater awareness and knowledge of public decisions; a true reflection of individuals' own beliefs and decisions; expression of identity; and dignity. Such claims demonstrate the argument that participation can provide an educative role to those involved. It is perhaps this claim which ties community involvement most closely to the previous government's focus on 'responsibility' (Barnes *et al* 2007). Regarding financial decision making, DETR (1998, p34) states that "Local people need to take responsibility for the consequences of those decisions" whilst the SEU (2001, p57) praises methods of "devolving power and responsibility to a neighbourhood manager or organisation". Much of the rhetoric surrounding this aim of participation is built around the concept of 'capacity building', in which individuals are personally more able to tackle some of the problems they face and can therefore accept more responsibility for solving them.

Closely related to these ideas is the claim that the participating communities can experience wider social benefits as a whole through involvement. This potential benefit refers to the creation of social capital and suggests that communities can become stronger and more integrated as a result of their participation. Purdue (2001) argues that as participation by residents and others grows, so does their ability to socially network with people in their local community. It might be argued that future collective action by the community will thus be more effective at tackling local issues (Burton *et al.* 2006). Hence, participation can be considered not only a means to achieving a more successful initiative, but also more active citizens (Alcock 2004). New Labour's second term Home Secretary made this potential advantage very clear when outlining his civil renewal agenda:

> At its heart is a vision of strong, active, and empowered communities – increasingly capable of doing things for themselves, defining the problems they face and then tackling them together.
>
> (Blunkett 2003, p1)

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[8] See Burby (2003) for an attempt to empirically evidence the managerial efficiency benefits of community involvement in hazard mitigation policies developed by local government in the US States of Florida and Washington. See Burton (2009) for a critique of the measures employed.

Despite a change of government, individual and community benefits remain central to the rationale behind involving residents in local governance:

> Decentralisation will give every citizen the power to participate and change the services provided to them through better information, new rights, greater choice and strengthening accountability via the ballot box. Engagement of the local community can bring benefits for those who get involved and can contribute to more successful outcomes for local communities... *individuals and communities will increasingly take responsibility for improving their own area, as part of helping to build the **Big Society**.*
>
> (DCLG 2011, emphasis in original)

Critiques and Challenges

The perceived conflict-free nature of participation promoted by policymakers has been critiqued by academics. Jones (2003) suggests that in the early twenty first century its ascendency was reaching near hegemonic proportions, which saw its enthusiastic support coupled with an overly simplistic view. Cooke and Kothari (2001) similarly lament what they see as a reification of community involvement, noting, "quasi-religious associations of participatory rhetoric and practice" (p14). The authors argue that the continued dogmatic respect for participation by supposed critics of its practice has the potential to facilitate the exercising of illegitimate power. They believe that before reflecting on the possible benefits of participation one has to abandon a commitment to it. Indeed, there have been calls for more caution, realism and maturity in the ongoing participation debate (Ball 2004).

Others have questioned the vague notion of 'community' continually used by government in this context (Barnes *et al.* 2007). One study in health care and social services found that communities are not the homogeneous entities policy makers perceive, with regard to their willingness to be involved and their acceptance of responsibility in decision making (Abelson *et al.* 1995). The authors found that significant differences in opinion on these issues existed between local citizens, experts, elected officials and other groups and concluded that the questions over the nature of community remain controversial.

More specifically, there has also been significant criticism of the alleged potential for public participation to deliver the benefits outlined above, particularly regarding individual and social development. Using evidence from regeneration projects in Glasgow, Lawson and Kearns (2010) argue that developmental benefits for the wider community can be marginalised as the engagement process focuses upon the issues of legitimacy and the specific policy objectives of the scheme. The regeneration projects, which aimed to produce "transformational change" in three large social housing estates, demonstrated, "no sustained attempt to use community engagement to enhance community empowerment or cohesion on an ongoing or sustainable basis" (Lawson and Kearns 2010, p34). The authors blame a systemic lack of research and government advice on how to facilitate this aspect of public involvement and

argue that this has resulted in a failure to realise it in practice. They also suggest that the lack of involvement of residents beyond the development stage of plans, rather than also being included in their delivery, had resulted in a lack of continuity which may have hindered capacity building.

Dinham (2005) finds similar results in research into the NDC programme, suggesting that the undermining of the commitment to community development had even led to feelings of exclusion within the local community. This was reported to be due to a widespread underestimation of the skills possessed by local residents. He also blames the speed and formality of the NDC's processes, arguing that the programme was not connected to local residents' perceptions and histories. Indeed, these observations are in accordance with wider criticisms of the participation discourse which focus on the inconsistency of community involvement and government targets. For example, ABIs often rely upon prompt results which portray success - 'early hits' or 'quick wins' (Alcock 2004). This allows the government to bolster the political legitimacy of the scheme. Evidence of success is also required to justify continued public investment in programmes with short-term budgetary arrangements. However, capacity building and social inclusion outcomes require longer term investment in order to generate substantial results. This common contradiction within ABIs may go some way to explaining why instrumental aims of participation can be prioritised far above developmental benefits for participants and the wider community (Alcock 2004).

This contradiction links to one of the most problematic and widely cited issues pertaining to public participation: the distribution of power. For participation to be truly effective in achieving any of the potential benefits outlined above, participants must wield genuine power. This requires the transfer of power from those previously in control. Concern over the extent to which power is devolved to participants is far from new, dating back at least as far as Arnstein's seminal "ladder of participation" which scales involvement from manipulation by those in authority to full citizen control of projects (1969).

Devolution of power could be positioned as a question of trust (Foley and Martin 2000; Yang 2005). The success of participatory initiatives may be dependent upon the extent to which local government or professionals trust residents. If they are believed to be ineffective at bringing about the rapid and significant improvements to local service delivery to which central government is committed, then it may well start to claw back any cessations of autonomy made to the public. A preliminary lack of confidence in participants may result in paternalism from local service providers, who are keen to closely regulate the engagement process.

Research into community involvement in the Pathways regeneration programme in Merseyside found that community involvement was rarely 'interactive' (Jones 2003). Instead, the author found co-option of participants was common, as residents were encouraged to comply with pre-existing policy objectives. Another study of participation in the NDC programme reaches a similar, if not more pessimistic, conclusion:

> If the NDC is a 'bottom-up community-led' programme, it is community led in the sense that government decides how the community will be involved, why they will be involved, what they will do and how they will do it.
> (Wright *et al* 2006, p358)

A solution to the deep seated contradiction of bottom-up but target driven programmes is yet to be found and may be impossible to achieve. It has been argued that very radical changes to urban policy, government and even parliament may be needed (Taylor 2000, Wright *et al* 2006).

Others have highlighted the substantive negative consequences of involving the public directly. This includes citizens' potential lack of knowledge surrounding technical and policy issues, a tendency to think emotively rather than rationally and the possibility of self-interested, conservative or prejudiced outlooks (Burton 2003, cited in Ball 2004). It is also important to acknowledge the resource intensive nature of community engagement, which can be both lengthy and costly to facilitate (Barnes *et al* 2007). Alcock (2004) argues that the shift towards agency-centred policies for social change, demonstrated by the 'empowered community' and 'active citizen' rhetoric, have the potential to create another contradictory tension in public participation. If too much of a burden is placed on residents to be involved and take responsibility in ABIs then the perception can be that they are the determiner of their own misfortune (Alcock 2004). As a result there may be a tendency for the problem of social exclusion to become pathologised.

'Apathy', Avoidance and Trust

There is one critique or challenge to public participation in governance which has particular relevance to this study. 'Citizen apathy', resulting from distrust or the perception that few benefits are associated with engagement, may present a major hurdle to participation (Foley and Martin 2000). It would seem that in some areas these fears may be justified; one survey has shown that most people do not want to be involved in their local schools or health service, for instance (Ipsos MORI 2010). The same poll also showed that a considerable majority of people wanted the health service and recycling services to be the same across the country, potentially implying distaste for the localism inherent in policy geared toward resident participation. Other evidence suggests that people do not wish to be involved in local decision making more generally (Hansard Society 2014).

Mathers *et al.* (2008) identify a more problematic finding in their investigation of participation in NDC: active avoidance. It seemed that potential participants were not just indifferent or uninterested in being involved, but had developed what the authors term "survival strategies" as a result of coping with long-term multiple disadvantage. This resulted in:

> ...the need for some residents to avoid the gaze of the state...[which] can be dangerous...for example, having your children taken off you or put on the 'at risk' register, being arrested for criminal activities, or losing the right to receipt of state benefits...some residents perceive the NDC Partnership as a coming together of state agencies aiming to get into their lives and community under the guise of being something different.
>
> (Mathers *et al.* 2008, p597-598)

The residents believed that the risk of losing economic and/or social stability outweighs any possible benefits from engaging. The authors argue that the policy-orientation of officers fails to take account of residents' socio-cultural background, making potential participants very wary of interaction.

In response, academics and policy makers have attempted to find methods of improving the engagement process. Skidmore *et al* (2006) arrive at a rather surprising conclusion. They effectively admit defeat over the apathy criticism, arguing that it is pointless to fruitlessly continue attempting to increase the number of public participants involved in governance. They argue that there will always be a relatively small number of participants from communities who become fully involved, perhaps just one per cent, and hence the real challenge is to ensure that those who *are* involved are effectively connected to the informal social networks of their community.

Others are less willing to accept this compromise and instead focus on changes which could encourage the engagement of more citizens. Mathers *et al* (2008) suggest that radical changes are needed to the methods of interaction employed by those working on initiatives such as NDC, which better reflect potential participants' social networks and cultural backgrounds. This approach is supported by Maginn (2007) who advocates a mix of collaborative planning and applied ethnography. Whilst acknowledging the problems associated with the latter, he argues that it may provide "a deeper understanding of the 'culture' within local communities, and their attitudes and experiences of participatory structures and processes." (Maginn 2007, p39). Both articles therefore raise points which are reminiscent of the concept of salient value similarity (SVS), discussed in Chapter 2. The residents and state agencies appear to lack shared values; Mathers *et al.* (2008, p603) even suggests the need to change the perception of organisations and "shift the organising role to a 'trusted' body".
It is envisaged that by gaining insights into the real experiences of local people, organisations can reflect a sense of shared experience and appear more trustworthy to those who would not ordinarily participate. It is this potential relationship between trust and participation to which the next section of this chapter turns. The discussion below considers each of these propositions in turn and reflects on the resulting impasse, before presenting a way forward via engagement with the notion of critical trust.

3.4 Trust and Participation: Theory

Having provided an overview of the history, rationales and critiques relating to public participation, the chapter can now turn more directly to its potential relationship with trust. The second research question for investigation in this study is:

To what extent does resident trust in officers influence the form and nature of residents' future participation in urban regeneration projects?

The academic literature appears to present two main hypothetical relationships between trust and participation: the trust-participation hypothesis, which holds that those who are more trusting of the relevant organisations or other residents will be more willing to participate; and the trust-non-participation hypothesis which holds that there is actually an inverse relationship between trust and participation, whereby trust in the relevant organisations or other residents is likely to result in reduced willingness to participate. This section is divided into three further subsections. The first two consider each of the two trust-participation hypotheses in turn. These are followed by the third subsection which considers the resultant impasse, applies the notion of "critical trust", and argues that the relationship between trust and participation is more variable and nuanced.

The Trust-Participation Hypothesis

Many academics have identified trust as an important factor in resident participation in urban governance (Curry 2012; Fordham *et al.* 2009; Gallagher and Jackson 2008; Lister *et al.* 2007; Pollock and Sharp 2012; Russell 2008). Some have focussed on the relationship between residents and institutions. For example, Mathers *et al.* (2008 p603) believe that to increase participation in regeneration, "it may be necessary to change the perception of the delivering organisation and indeed to shift the organising role to a 'trusted' body". Research into the NDC programme identified distrust in local housing providers and the NDC itself as reasons for residents' reluctance to participate (Cole *et al.* 2004). Jarvis *et al.* (2011) identified both a "lack of trust between residents and between residents and public agencies" as partly responsible for a long-standing dearth of public involvement in one regeneration area. Others have written of "the erosion of trust and confidence that dissuades people who feel let down from getting involved again in the future", and the "necessary trust and capacity for people to become effective citizens" (Andrews *et al.* 2006, p54). A lack of trust has also been identified as a major barrier to involvement from black and minority ethnic (BME) communities, where the assumed connection between trust and involvement is again present, with organisations advised to "'deliver on the deliverables' to increase trust and engagement" (Mullins *et al.* 2004, p1). It seems that the general view might be summed up as: 'if trust in relevant organisations/other residents is higher, citizens will be more likely to participate in governance'.

Many of these references to trust are fleeting and underdeveloped. Generally, they are not the result of concerted attempts to thoroughly explore the concept of trust in relation to participation but instead emerge as a result of either reflection upon the findings of more general qualitative research or the casual assertion of a widespread assumption. Indeed, common sense holds that an individual would be more willing to become involved in local services or a regeneration project if they trust those with whom they would be interacting. Perhaps this seems so obvious to the academic community that no one has fully considered why it might be the case. However, it is useful to briefly reflect upon this assumption.

Following the previous chapter, uncertainty and vulnerability need to be present for trust to be relevant to a situation (Li 2007). The prospect of participating in an urban regeneration project appears to fulfil these conditions of trust. A resident considering participatory opportunities has the potential to put certain stakes at risk. In participating, a citizen risks wasting their time, energy or even money, for the prospect of being "successful" in their participation (for example, influencing the regeneration project). There may also be psycho-emotional stakes at risk to the citizen. They might participate only to feel ignored, embarrassed or isolated if their involvement is not valued in the way they had expected. The findings of Mathers *et al.* (2008), discussed above, provide further potential costs, such as having one's benefit payments cease, being arrested for prior criminal activity or having one's child taken into care. Even if these are not realistic possibilities, it is the *perceived* costs of participation which matter for trust; citizens may generalise from the prior experiences with other arms of the state (Mathers *et al.* 2008).

The uncertainty about the participation and the vulnerability of the individual to these factors exists because of the unpredictability of the other individuals whom the resident might encounter through their engagement. It is impossible to know, for example, how one's own views will be received. Whilst some of the authors referenced above have focussed on trust in other residents or the organisations facilitating the public participation, this study considers the regeneration professionals as potential trustees. Thus the expectations element of the trust situation (see Chapter 2) relates to the behaviour of regeneration officers. How citizens expect regeneration officers to behave both during and following their engagement will influence the perception of their own vulnerability to some of the potential costs. The hypothesis thus holds that citizens' lack of interest in involvement or active avoidance of such opportunities can be counteracted by building stronger perceptions of officers' trustworthiness. Trust will therefore lead to participation. Therefore, whilst the academic literature appears to exhibit a critical lack of theoretical explanation as to why trust and participation are positively associated, brief logical enquiry using the theoretical framework from Chapter 2 appears to support the assumption.

The Trust-Non-Participation Hypothesis

The widespread trust-participation hypothesis appears obvious, proving robust under some theoretical scrutiny. However, there is an alternative hypothesis for the relationship between trust and participation which proposes an inverse association: trust actually predicts

citizens' decision not to participate. The real predictor of participation is actually a lack of trust or even distrust. This hypothesis has its roots in political participation. It was first suggested by William Gamson (1968) who argued that "a combination of high political efficacy and low political trust is the optimum combination for mobilization – a belief that influence is both possible and necessary" (cited in Levi and Stoker 2000, p486).

This argument, whilst apparently counter-intuitive, can appear fairly plausible. It rests on the assumptions that those who feel they can make a difference are more likely to do so but only when they lack confidence that the intentions or actions of the 'authorities' will be favourable. However, the 'mistrustful-efficacious' hypothesis has met with considerable criticism (see Levi and Stoker 2000 for an overview). For example, in testing the hypothesis, Fraser (1970) and Hawkins *et al.* (1971) find little evidence to support it. Shingles (1981) argues that the hypothesis goes some way to explaining the higher levels of certain types of political participation amongst black communities in the US. However, he does refine Gamson's original conjecture, contending that the mistrustful-efficacious hypothesis only applies to high initiative political activities oriented toward specific policies, such as involvement in political campaigns, lobbying efforts and violent and non-violent protest. The hypothesis does not hold for participation at patriotic rallies and demonstrations in support of the country (which aim to exhibit allegiance) or voting (which the author regards as low initiative participation). However, all three studies do appear to exhibit a surprising underdevelopment of the concept of trust. In their review of the literature on (dis)trust and political participation, Levi and Stoker (2000, p487-488) argue that the complexity of the relationship is all that remains clear, "distrust may, indeed, generate higher levels of participation but only under some circumstances, for some kinds of people, and with respect to some kinds of political activities".

Political participation differs significantly from participation in public service delivery and ABIs. If an individual is motivated to vote by their distrust in the incumbent representative, it could be argued that they still express some trust in another candidate and, critically, in the *process* by which ballots are counted and the winner elected. Similarly, if a citizen's distrust in those in power encourages them to organise or attend a protest, they may maintain a trusting attitude towards the other organisers or attendees. The central difference is that political participation does not necessarily reflect any willingness to directly interact or cooperate with those who are distrusted. In contrast, participation in a regeneration programme involves exactly this: direct communication and/or collaboration, often face to face, with representatives of an organisation and/or other residents who are trusted or distrusted.

Secondly, there is also far greater choice for a citizen when voting. If the electorate distrusts one party then it may vote or campaign for a candidate from an opposing party. This is true in many of the fields in which trust has been explored. If a customer lacks trust in a particular business they may choose an alternative provider of the service or product. Residents, however, have a simple choice: there is only one regeneration project (and generally one local police service/health provider/local council and so on) in which to participate. They do not have the opportunity to choose a different organisation or select the specific individuals for collaboration. They either participate or they do not.

Despite these differences, what might be called a "trust-non-participation" hypothesis has been developed by Will Focht and associates, in the context of life cycle assessment and environmental management. Consistent with the first hypothesis, Anex and Focht (2002) argue that stakeholders' assessment of the trustworthiness of other participants (including other stakeholders, technical experts and public officials) is crucial in determining their preferences for participation. Four perceptions are said to influence trust judgements: "the certainty of relevant facts, scientific competence, lack of bias" and responsiveness (ibid, p869). These trustworthiness perceptions directly affect stakeholders' level of vigilance and deference, which itself influences their participation preference (Anex and Focht 2002). This is where the two hypotheses differ. For the trust-non-participation hypothesis:

> Stakeholders' willingness to defer to others' policy judgments influences their desire to participate in the policy process. If trust is high and stakeholders are more willing to defer, then their desire to participate will be lower.
>
> (Focht and Trachtenberg 2005, p92)

For Focht and associates, trust leads to deference and abstinence from participation. If stakeholders trust officials then they believe that their interests are already protected:

> Where official trust exists, stakeholders have confidence that officials have their best interests at heart and the ability to make policy decisions that will successfully protect those interests. Thus, they see no reason to participate intensively in the policymaking process.
>
> (Focht and Trachtenberg 2005, p95)

Stakeholders may question why they would take the risks associated with engagement (time, energy, money, embarrassment and so on) when they are confident that the officials and other stakeholders present will not act to harm their interests (Focht and Trachtenberg 2005). As Warren (1999) puts it, "when one trusts, one forgoes the opportunity to influence decision making, on the assumption that there are shared or convergent interests between truster and trustee" (cited in Parkins and Mitchell 2005, p536). A lack of trust, on the other hand, represents a perception of increased risk, resulting in vigilance and the intention to protect one's interests. There is hence greater desire to participate:

> Low trust increases stakeholders' motivation and willingness to be vigilant to safeguard their interests vis-à-vis others' interest and thus increases their desire to participate.
>
> (Anex and Focht 2002, p869)

Samuelson *et al.* (2005, p142) therefore describes the hypothesis as a "transactional costs argument". The trust-non-participation hypothesis is epitomised in research considering public participation in the management of a tallgrass prairie in the United States, administered by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service (Davenport *et al.* 2007). An activist interviewed in the study explained how her lack of trust in government to act in the right way had motivated her participation:

> ...do I ever trust government to always do the right thing? No. I mean that's why I've been interested in government all my life and an active participant. I trust them to do [the right thing] if they have public input, if they understand what their charge is
> (Activist from Chicago area in Davenport *et al.* 2007, p361)

For this trust-participation relationship, engagement can be seen as a form of monitoring or control. This hypothesis therefore appears consistent with the theoretical framework for this study which presents control as a substitute for trust: when trust is low, monitoring and/or control, through participation, increases.

The application of this hypothesis is also quite different to that of the more widespread trust-participation assumption. The latter often leads to recommendations of building trust in the relevant parties, combatting distrust or shifting the participatory responsibility to a trusted party, in order to increase participation. The trust-non-participation hypothesis could lead to the rather perverse suggestion that those wishing to seek increased involvement from citizens should attempt to appear as untrustworthy as possible. Instead, Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) view the level of trust toward officials and other stakeholders statically, without entertaining the notion that it can be increased or reduced (in the first instance at least). The authors instead suggest that before designing a participation programme officials should assess the trust both amongst stakeholders and between stakeholders and officials. This assessment is then built into the participation framework, allegedly increasing the effectiveness of the policy in question.

Different combinations of trust and distrust in officials and other stakeholders correspond to different frameworks. For example, if trust in both is high, Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) argue that because the demand for participation will be low, a confirmation strategy should be used where stakeholders act merely to authorise policy proposals. On the other hand, if distrust is felt both between stakeholders and toward officials, and the demand for participation high, plans should be drawn up for a lengthy negotiation period (which, rather surprisingly, they advise should be mediated by a trusted third party[9]). Having applied the ideas above, Tsang *et al.* (2009) recommend this strategy for participation in environmental governance in Hong Kong, finding that there exists a significant 'trust deficit' between stakeholders, officials and experts. Strategies which focus on consultation and facilitation are advised where both trust and distrust exist (Focht and Trachtenberg 2005).

One of the most interesting consequences of the trust-non-participation hypothesis is its potential impact on any reciprocal relationship between trust and participation. Echoing Sztompka (1999), Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) comment on the paradoxical relationship between trust and participation: any trust which results from participation, is likely to reduce the

[9] This might be explained by a slight alteration to the trust-non-participation hypothesis. In private email correspondence Will Focht (2011) contemplated the notion that the relationship between trust and participation may not be entirely negative and suggested that very high levels of distrust may actually result in very low participation: some small degree of trust is needed for involvement. This suggests a parabolic element to the relationship.

demand for any further participation. Schumann (2010) warns that as trust is developed, participants may soon begin to question the value of their own involvement and choose not to make further contributions. This negative feedback loop is somewhat worrisome for those who position participatory trust-building as a method of increasing the number of 'active citizens'.

The Trust-Participation Paradox and Critical Trust

Existing literature suggests two relationships between trust and participation relevant to resident involvement in urban regeneration. The first hypothesis holds that citizen trust in regeneration officers is associated with participation in the regeneration project. Building trust between residents and officers may therefore offer a solution to the problem of apathy or avoidance of participation opportunities. This is the trust-participation hypothesis. The second proposed relationship is that trust exhibits an inverse relationship with participation. This position holds that if residents trust regeneration officers they will be more deferential and avoid participating in the regeneration project. From this perspective building trust between officers and residents is likely to result in *less* participation and does not offer a solution to apathy and avoidance. This is the trust-non-participation hypothesis.

The two contrary hypotheses seem to produce a theoretical paradox. There appear to be sound theoretical reasons as to why building trust might increase citizens' participation in governance. Yet it also seems reasonable that trust would actually encourage people to reduce their participation. The soundness of the internal logic of both hypotheses has sometimes prompted a rather confusing mix of assertions in the academic literature. Writing in the context of rural participation, Warburton (1997) states:

> Clearly, participation will only be increased, and be more effective, if trust and credibility can be restored by creating new types of relationships between institutions and the public.
>
> (p. 32)

Here the author clearly argues that increasing participation depends upon building trust. This appears to be an endorsement of the trust-participation hypothesis. On the very next page of the same document she appears to contradict herself, stating:

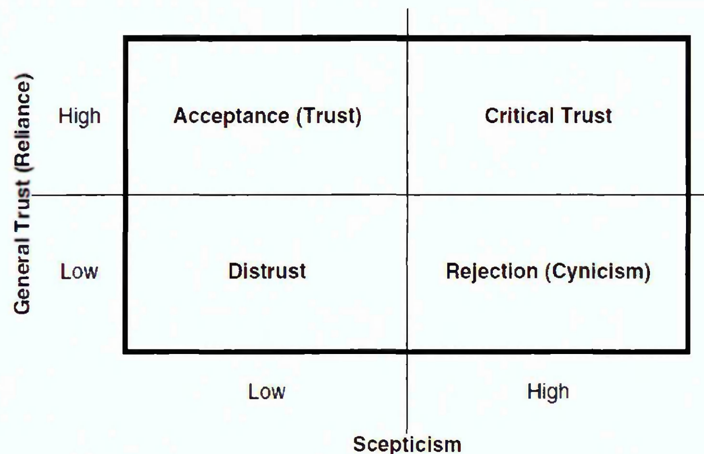
> Public distrust of traditional democratic institutions, and their loss of credibility, has led to demands for more participation (participatory democracy and representative democracy) from the people...
>
> (ibid. p. 33).

This statement appears to offer evidence to support the trust-non-participation hypothesis.

The reason for such confusion is partly explained by the insufficiently developed concept of trust in both hypotheses. In the first hypothesis trust is treated as a "monolithic panacea" (Höppner 2009). Whilst the second hypothesis holds that trust would not offer a solution to participatory governance, the term is treated in a relatively superficial manner. The reason that trust can be theoretically shown to have a variety of impacts has resulted from its

lack of full development: each uses a different interpretation of the meaning of trust and takes this to be its *only* meaning. As put forward in the theoretical framework, trust is a context-dependent phenomenon (Hardin 2006). Thus to be "trustworthy" has different meanings for each of these hypotheses. The findings from the first research question of this study, which asked what constitutes regeneration officer trustworthiness, were critical in informing the second research question.

Figure 3.2: A Typology of Trust in Government (Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003)



Whilst not a fully articulated hypothesis, as it does not fully consider participation, the notion of "critical trust" goes some way to presenting a third position on the relationship between trust and citizen involvement. Nick Pidgeon and his associates (Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003; Walls *et al* 2004) have developed some ideas which appear to represent a synthesis of the work of Lewicki *et al* (1998), Lenard (2008) and Focht's trust-non-participation hypothesis. Critical trust is defined as a healthy form of distrust, which is wholly necessary in facilitating accountability (Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003). The authors argue that critical trust comprises a combination of a high general trust or "reliance" in a party with 'healthy' scepticism of their intentions. The authors suggest that general trust is affected by perceptions of the trustee's competence, care, fairness and openness. Scepticism denotes feelings regarding the process by which policies are developed and can be divided into three factors: (low) credibility, reliability and integrity. When general trust and scepticism are both high, critical trust is the result (Figure 3.2). Writing regarding the relationship between citizens and government in the context of risk regulation, Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) argue that critical trust may be useful in generating involvement from citizens who are willing to interact with agencies constructively, rather than simply accept or reject policy suggestions: "For a functioning society it could well be more suitable to have critical but involved citizens in many situations" (p971).

It should be noted that there may be some conceptual differences between critical trust and the theoretical framework of this study. Equating "general trust" with reliance might be questioned, for example. It should also be made clear that the relationship between critical trust and participation is not the focus of the authors above and has not been fully expressed. However, the groundwork for another potential trust-participation hypothesis is presented. This

hypothesis encapsulates a more multifaceted conceptualisation of trust, which contains a variety of dimensions separated into two groups, and may be set out as follows.

Each group of dimensions has a different potential relationship with participation. One group of dimensions, comprising competence, care, fairness and openness in the example above, exhibits a positive relationship with participation, based on the grounds of the first trust-participation hypothesis. These are the characteristics associated with another party which make them unlikely to betray one's trust. The other group of dimensions, comprising credibility, reliability and integrity, display an inverse relationship with participation, justified through the trust-non-participation hypothesis. These are the characteristics of a trustee which are likely to result in deference and a lack of inclination to participate in governance. When the first group of dimensions are perceived to be high and the second set of dimensions are perceived to be low, then this will result in the highest willingness to participate.

In order to be consistent with the definition of trust used in this study, *critical trust* is a potentially misleading term, since it really constitutes a mix of trust and distrust, albeit in different subjects. However, the notion of critical trust does move toward presenting a third, more nuanced relationship between trust and participation. It can be argued that to maximise participation it is best that citizens trust the other relevant parties *in some ways* and distrust them *in others*. Trust can have both a positive and negative relationship with participation, depending on the meaning of the term trust in the specific field in question. It is of course crucial to remember that trust is context-dependent and therefore the specific dimensions of trust presented above will not be consistently relevant to every field. The notion of critical trust therefore confirms the importance of the first research question in this study.

3.5 Trust and Participation: Evidence

Having explored the theoretical backdrop to the relationship between trust and participation it is useful to consider the findings of previous investigations into the issue. Unfortunately, empirical research which specifically attempts to determine the extent to which trust can promote public participation is in short supply. Hibbit *et al.* (2001) investigated the role of social capital in regeneration initiatives through interviews with residents and reported that:

> It is [trust between individuals and groups within neighbourhoods] that local residents have mentioned, unprompted, as a key factor both in their willingness to become involved in the Pathways initiative and other regeneration programmes...
>
> (Hibbit *et al.* 2001, p154)

Solitare (2005) also presented qualitative evidence to suggest that resident trust in city authorities and developers inhibited citizen participation in brownfields redevelopment.

Much of the previous research into the relationship between trust and participation has taken a quantitative approach. Focht and Trachtenberg (2005, p114) present evidence which they argue supports their trust-non-participation hypothesis in the field of environmental management:

> 15 of the 19 stakeholders who trust policy officials preferred *subdued* participation strategies, a prediction rate of 78.9 per cent...Among those who distrusted policy officials, 111 of 113 stakeholders preferred *enhanced* participation strategies, a prediction rate of 84.7 per cent.
> (emphasis added)

The authors thus conclude that their hypothesis that trust dissuades participation is correct. However, this research suffers from a methodological shortcoming, in that it ignores other factors. The study merely considered the one-to-one relationship between trust in officials and stakeholders' participation strategy preference. It is entirely possible that this is a spurious relationship which was really produced by a third, unrecorded factor.

Some empirical research has reported a significant relationship between trust and participation when controlling for other factors. Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka (2008) investigated the impact of citizens' trust in public officials on their participation in decision-making over an issue of land rezoning, which was to facilitate a major tourist and residential development in Northern Utah. They found a negative association between public trust in officials and involvement in decision-making. This appears to provide some support for the trust-non-participation hypothesis. Barraud-Didier *et al.* (2012) considered the impact of trust on participation in the governance of French agricultural cooperatives. Members' trust in the directors of the cooperatives was shown to be positively associated with involvement, albeit mediated by "affective organizational commitment". Lelieveldt (2004) found similar support for the trust-participation hypothesis. In his study trust in other residents was positively associated with participation in the Dutch neighbourhood regeneration programme 'OBAZ'. This is the only trust-participation relationship study conducted in the field of urban regeneration that was found.

However, there is a major methodological flaw with these studies: their measurement of participation. In all three it is *previous* participation which was recorded. This presents two problems. First, this approach relies on research participants accurately remembering their involvement. Depending on the nature of the participation, it is likely that some people will struggle to remember the amount or nature of their involvement. Secondly, and more importantly, this approach does not take account of any potential reciprocal relationship between trust and participation. The participation recorded took place *prior* to the *current* levels of trust. Is it not possible that the distrust (in Marquart-Pyatt and Petzelka 2008) or trust (in Barraud-Didier *et al.* 2012 and Lelieveldt 2004) was formed as a *result* of the participation rather than being a *predictor* for it? The studies appear to confuse cause and effect. Barraud-Didier *et al.* (2012) do recognise this, admitting that the data is cross-sectional and that the relationship is dynamic. They propose future longitudinal research to take account of the flaw.

Some research which has found no relationship between trust and participation has suffered from the same issue. For example, Dekker (2007) looked at the relationship between resident trust in authorities in "distressed urban areas" and their *current* involvement in the neighbourhood or membership of certain local groups. This study also mixed together informal local participation, such as voluntary work, with formal activities such as membership of a neighbourhood organisation, rather than looking at them separately. Koontz (2005) considered citizens' trust in government and their participation in watershed groups, finding no significant

relationship. The study not only suffers from the limitation of asking survey respondents about their *previous* participation, but also asked them to recall how many hours they spent engaging over the previous year, which is open to considerable unreliability. However, to account for the potential for participation to drive trust, the researcher asked respondents to report their trust in government *before* they began participating. This opens the study up to considerable criticism over the issue of false recall in the measurement of both participation and trust.

Other studies have overcome the challenge of measuring participation by recording respondents' *willingness* to participate, using it as a proxy for actual participation. In this approach at least the presence or absence of trust and the willingness to participate are both current, putting aside the issue of the direction of impact. Two such studies have failed to identify a relationship in either direction in different fields: local landscape development (Höppner *et al.* 2008) and watershed management (Samuelson *et al.* 2005). However, these studies arguably leave trust underdeveloped, having simply chosen their own measures for the concept. Höppner (2009) took a different approach, and used qualitative interviews to determine nine dimensions of resident trust in a land use planning committee and considered their relationship with citizens' readiness to participate and cooperate. Unfortunately the nuance that this insight may have provided to the potential relationship between trust and participation was reduced as the researcher gathered eight of the nine dimensions into one composite group, separating it from one other dimension. This study also failed to control for the impact of any other factors. In the event, Höppner (2009) found that trust in planning committees had no influence over residents' willingness or intention to participate in local planning workshops in Switzerland.

The small amount of empirical work conducted so far into the relationship between trust and participation is problematic in its scope, its methodology and its theoretical consideration of trust. The work which has been undertaken appears to point, albeit vaguely, toward the absence of a relationship between trust and participation. There has also been no work completed in this area in the UK and very little work has been conducted in the field of urban regeneration. This latter finding seems especially odd given public participation's entwined history with regeneration programmes. Overall this review of the literature on trust and participation makes a strong case for undertaking a study of this kind.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has contributed towards the thesis in several key ways. First, it has explored two different conceptualisations of participation, favouring the citizenship understanding. It went on to present the policy context of public participation. It briefly outlined the ebb and flow of support for citizen participation strategies across a variety of policy domains over the last 45 years, before presenting a variety of different rationales for participation and a review of various critiques and challenges relating to such strategies. This illuminates the potential practical use of the empirical research presented in this thesis, demonstrating why

determining whether trust is a factor which motivates participation may be of interest to policymakers.

Secondly, the chapter demonstrated how academics have commonly asserted that the development of trust, either between residents, or between citizens and organisations, can offer the potential for increasing public engagement in regeneration. Yet trust was often applied casually in such articles, without critical thought toward it as a concept or as to *why* it might exhibit a positive relationship with participation. This serves to highlight the gap in knowledge which exists and confirms the need for the first research question in this study.

The chapter went on to make several theoretical contributions to knowledge. By using the definition of trust provided in Chapter 2, it demonstrated how it can appear logical to expect the development of trust to result in participation. This had not been fully articulated in much of the previous academic literature. This was named the trust-participation hypothesis. However, drawing upon some environmental management literature from the United States, it was shown how it is equally logical to expect trust to result in *less* participation from the public, which has not received much academic attention. This was presented as the trust-non-participation hypothesis. The chapter thus highlighted an apparent paradox in the potential relationship between trust and participation, which was explored further by applying the concept of critical trust.

The final section of the chapter reviewed empirical studies which have been conducted into the trust-participation relationship. Several pieces of research have found evidence for the trust-non-participation hypothesis. However, the chapter identified how such studies have suffered from methodological shortcomings centred upon the measurement of participation. There are relatively few other studies into the trust-participation relationship. Those which have been completed have found no association between trust and participation in either direction, across a variety of different policy domains. The final contribution of the chapter was therefore to demonstrate another key gap in knowledge and highlight the importance of the second research question in this study.

In conclusion, this chapter has confirmed clear deficits in knowledge in the academic literature, which has failed to critically assess the concept of trust in relation to participation and to have thoroughly investigated its relationship *with* participation, both theoretically and empirically. This presents a clear opportunity for this research. The following chapter details the methodology and methods employed to answer the research questions for this study.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological decisions, issues and concerns which were made and encountered during this study. Its purpose is to provide a clear account of the approach taken by the researcher, such that the research process is transparent and that the key decisions taken are explained. It seeks to provide an account of *what* was done, *why* it was done and *how* ontological and epistemological concerns influenced the research design.

It was guided by constructionist ontological and interpretivist epistemological positions and enacted using the pragmatic selection of methods associated with both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This mixed methods approach aimed to take the advantages associated with each methodology and counterbalance these against the weaknesses of the other. Several rationales behind the selection of a mixed methods approach are presented in this chapter.

The research was influenced by the work of Höppner (2009), who completed a similar study in the field of land use planning. Data was collected from residents living in three areas which were either experiencing or set to experience a major regeneration project: Chandless and Dunston in Gateshead; and the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates in London. The three phase research design comprised two qualitative phases either side of a quantitative phase. First, semi-structured interviews were completed with 14 residents. Second, the dimensions of trustworthiness which arose from interviews with residents were encompassed in a questionnaire and formed part of a measure for trust in regeneration officers. This was distributed to over 1500 households across Dunston and London. It recorded data from residents on their trust in officers, their willingness to participate in the project in the future and a variety of other factors which were also thought to potentially influence involvement. After the quantitative data analysis was complete, a further 14 residents were interviewed in London. These interviews sought to explain the findings drawn so far and explore the research questions further.

4.2 Research Questions

There were two primary research questions under investigation in this study:

Research Question 1: *What characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals contribute to resident perceptions of their trustworthiness?*

Research Question 2: *To what extent does resident trust in officers influence the form and nature of residents' future participation in urban regeneration projects?*

Both of the primary research questions were developed in response to the dearth of research specifically considering trust and participation in relation to regeneration, despite several references to its importance as a concept in this context. It is notable that regeneration officers are the trustees focussed upon in this study and justification for this choice is necessary. The literature which has either discussed or investigated the relationship between trust and participation has commonly focussed upon trust in: government generally (Koontz 2005; Samuelson *et al.* 2005), relevant organisations (Cole *et al.* 2004; Dekker 2007; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Jarvis *et al.* 2011; Mathers *et al.* 2008; Purdue 2001), other residents or stakeholders (Lelieveldt 2004; Hibbit *et al.* 2001; Jarvis *et al.* 2011; Purdue 2001), or important officials or individuals (Barraud-Didier *et al.* 2012; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008). These four broad directions were considered for the new research. It was decided that a focus upon regeneration officers would be fruitful for two reasons.

First, it was thought that the professionals would be the visible presence with whom residents would or would not develop a relationship. It was thought that the local authority, for instance, may be less directly seen as related to regeneration projects and less directly involved in the public's lives, mitigating the potential impact of its perceived trustworthiness upon behaviour. It may have appeared as too abstract and complex a party in which trust could be developed.

This connects with a wider sociological discussion as to the importance of interpersonal interaction in influencing perceptions of, and interactions with, abstract systems which are mired in technical complexity from the perspective of ordinary citizens. This interpersonal interaction with representatives of abstract system takes place at what Giddens (1990) calls "access points", where "facework" occurs. He describes these as "places of vulnerability for abstract systems, but also junctions at which trust can be maintained or built up" (Giddens 1990, p88), describing them as "peculiarly consequential in modern societies" (ibid., p84), since "personal life and the social tries it involves are deeply intertwined with the most far reaching of abstract systems" (Ibid. p120). It is these encounters which provide the much needed reassurance of the trustworthiness not only of the individuals involved but of the system they represent.

The professed importance of resident-professional relationships to perceptions of a larger organisation and its activity within the urban environment is longstanding:

> Rent collection is a fundamental part of the work of a housing office, through which it should be possible to build up a sound relationship between landlord and tenant...The assistant who collects the rent may be regarded as the first link in a good relationship between landlord and tenant.
> (Rowles 1959, p108-9 cited in Allen 2003 p4)

When asked about their trust, it was envisaged that residents living in regeneration areas would be more engaged in speaking of the actual individuals wholly involved in the scheme and whom they may even have come to know, than 'the council', as a vague, intangible and more abstract organisation, which is involved in the delivery of countless other projects and services. It was thought that residents' interactions with, and therefore trust-related perceptions of, other 'flesh

and blood' people would be the larger determiners of their willingness to participate in the project.

This reasoning does not necessarily rule out a focus upon residents' trust in other residents or elected members, which would also depend upon interpersonal perceptions and/or relations. Such approaches were rejected because it was thought that officers were more knowledgeable and better informed regarding a regeneration project than other residents or councillors. The second reason for choosing officers was because it was thought that residents' decisions over participation were more likely to be predicated on trust in the individuals who had knowledge and influence over the regeneration project.

Whilst the first two research questions acted as the organising principles around which the research design was formulated, three further, supplementary research questions emerged during data analysis:

Research Question 3: *What are the other objects of trust which may be relevant to resident participation in regeneration?*

Research Question 4: *How do residents living in regeneration areas relate to participation?*

Research Question 5: *Other than trust what factors may drive residents' participation in urban regeneration?*

The development of these supplementary questions is testament to the critical reflexivity which occurred throughout the study. The social world experienced whilst in the field is not always entirely as expected when research questions are chosen, methodologies selected and methods planned. This issue, however, is not confined to the challenge of being unable to acquire data which answers one's questions. Findings can emerge which are thought to be relevant to the research topic, yet do not neatly correspond to the specific research questions under enquiry. This was the case in this study.

The third research question was formulated in recognition of the fact that the project had focussed specifically on regeneration officers as potential trustees. Whilst some trust studies have focussed on organisations, such as the US Army Corps of Engineers (Leahy and Anderson 2008) or a local planning committee (Höppner 2009), this research project drew attention to the *people* involved in regeneration. It was also thought that trust had the potential to connect with residents more when applied to individuals, with whom they may have personally interacted, rather than "faceless" organisations or groups. This created a narrower focus for the study. However, other potential objects of trust arose during data collection and it felt relevant and valuable to create a research question around this theme.

The fourth research question was perhaps the most surprising line of enquiry to arise during data analysis, when it became apparent that many residents viewed participation opportunities in an unexpected way which did not connect with the academic literature or the statistical framework employed. It was felt that the findings on this point could make an especially valuable contribution to the wider literature on the topic. Finally, the fifth research question was developed in response to the other factors which emerged from the data as

potential predictors of participation, which were not related to the concept of trust but were nevertheless relevant to the topic of enquiry.

4.3 Methodological Considerations

This study was influenced by a constructionist ontological position. From this perspective individuals are viewed as social actors who are actively engaged in constructing social phenomena through interaction with one another (Bryman 2008). Constructionism argues that social reality is "a constantly shifting product of perception" (Walliman 2006, p37). Social 'objects' and categories are not independent of social actors, as the objectivist position argues; they are, instead, their products, which are constantly being altered and revised. Categories do not have "built in essences" or a "distinct inert entity", but possess meanings which vary relative to time and place (Bryman 2008, p20).

This ontological position leads to epistemological challenges. If social phenomena are not independently existent and are instead constructions, how is one to acquire knowledge of the social world? Interpretivism is the epistemological perspective which often accompanies constructionist ontology (Bryman 2008). This position offers a critical reaction against positivist philosophy, which argues that the social world should be studied in much the same way as the natural sciences. Interpretivists instead argue that:

> a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action
>
> (Bryman 2008, p16)

If people are social actors continuously engaging in the construction and reconstruction of social phenomena and categories through their interaction with one another, any epistemological framework needs to recognise the subjectivity this implies, in order to understand knowledge and how it can be attained.

The first research question asks about trustworthiness-related features of regeneration officers. Consistent with the ontological and epistemological positions of the study, it effectively asked how residents living in regeneration areas *construct* their own notion of officers' trustworthiness. It aimed to generate an understanding of trustworthiness in a field in which it has previously been unexplored. The question is therefore exploratory in nature (Creswell 2014). It was unknown whether the characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals found to be associated with perceived trustworthiness would be similar or different to those identified in other domains. The question does not point to a pre-existing theory which requires assessment. Instead, the question suggests inductive research. This is where research generates, rather than tests, theory (Bryman 2008).

Inductive research can utilise qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. Quantitative researchers can generate theory via a process which Bryman (1988, cited in Bryman 2008, p160) refers to as "reverse operationism". This is where measures of concepts

are devised, data is collected and then a more detailed conceptualisation is generated from the results, which might take place through factor analysis. The measures are developed from existing theory and research. In the case of this research, this might have entailed developing measures for the most commonly identified trustworthiness dimensions presented in Chapter 2 and then exploring their statistical associations. Transplanting dimensions from research in other domains in order to measure or explore trust has been the approach taken by many researchers in the past (Cummings and Bromiley 1996; Höppner *et al.* 2007; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Peters *et al.* 1997; Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003).

This thesis argues that this approach is insufficient by itself for the research question at hand. It restricts the dimensions of trustworthiness generated, or their aggregates, to those which have previously been found in other research. This ignores the possibility that there are dimensions of trustworthiness relevant specifically to the field of urban regeneration which have not previously been shown to be relevant in other domains. The model of trust presented earlier in this chapter argues that trust is a context-dependent phenomenon, therefore allowing for this possibility.

The decision was therefore taken to primarily use a qualitative methodological approach to answer the first research question. This has traditionally been the methodology employed by academics taking an inductive approach to a research question which is explored from the background of a constructionist-interpretivist position (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2014). The strengths of using a qualitative methodology for this research question is the open ended nature of the questions asked. This means that:

> ...the focus [is] on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue, not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research or that writers express in the literature.
>
> (Creswell 2014, p186)

Instead of imposing objective categories upon specific perceptions and relationships, this approach allowed the researcher to investigate participants' "subjective theories of trust" (Höppner 2009, p1049). A qualitative methodology allows for the flexibility which exploratory research entails. The researcher acknowledged that: people will interpret trustworthiness differently in different contexts; and secondly, that there may be differing interpretations of trustworthiness even amongst residents who share the same situation. The use of a qualitative methodology has been the approach taken by some researchers exploring the concept of trust or trustworthiness in the past (Leahy and Anderson 2008; Mishra 1996; Petts 1998). Leahy and Anderson (2008, p102) have argued that the "dynamic and interactive nature" of their qualitative approach to determine trustworthiness factors made it superior to quantitative strategies.

The first research question was not tackled solely through the use of a qualitative methodology, however. Whilst this approach allowed the dimensions to emerge from the bottom up, they were then *tested* amongst a wider sample using a quantitative methodology. One of the main criticisms or weaknesses of qualitative research is that it produces knowledge which is difficult to generalise to wider populations (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Some

have countered this criticism with the argument that qualitative research, which is often employed within an inductivist framework, is not attempting to make generalisations to other populations but to wider theory (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2014). The dimensions of trustworthiness generated a theoretical insight into perceptions within urban regeneration projects. Drawing on Höppner (2009), the study then employed a quantitative methodology involving the measurement of perceived trustworthy dimensions via survey items. This tested the association of the qualitatively-derived dimensions with trust across residents living in the regeneration areas, which while not necessarily a representative sample, were far greater in number than the qualitative research participants. The researcher thus employed a mixed methods approach, comprising quantitative and qualitative methodologies, in order to answer the first research question.

The second research question of this study asks a different type of question. It has three notable aspects. First, the question asks about the relationship between two variables: trust in officers and participation. Secondly, the question orders the direction of the relationship from trust to future participation. This temporal ordering points towards investigating whether a causal link exists between the variables. Cause and effect can never truly be proved and so the term "probable causation" is often used in social research (Creswell 2014). Thirdly, the question implies that there exists a causal hypothesis regarding the relationship and its direction, pointing toward the use of a deductive approach which tests existing theory.

Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies can be used when considering probable causation. Qualitative research of this nature tends to use an approach known as process theory, which emphasises *how* events or variables are connected via processes (Maxwell 2004). This approach critiques the 'black box' nature of quantitative studies which may be able to demonstrate a relationship between variables but are unable to explain how the process by which they are connected operates. It has the advantages of achieving greater detail, with attention paid to complexity and contextuality (Elliott *et al.* 2008; Maxwell 2004). The application of qualitative research in this way tends to focus on specific events and circumstances and limits itself to a small sample of individuals or number of cases in order to achieve in-depth study (Maxwell 2004).

It can also be argued that qualitative research methods can be used deductively to test previously established theories, rather than just exploring causation. This involves considering the evidence on causal processes in terms of its support, refutation or explanation of the hypothesis in question (Piper 2006). This can require the inclusion of various approaches to defend against or mitigate threats to validity. These might include: the identification of alternative explanations which could have produced the same result and the assessment of their presence and role in the causal processes; identifying and analysing 'discrepant data' and searching for negative cases; triangulation of data from different sources or via different methods; and/or 'member checks' where research participants have the opportunity to respond to the findings and conclusion of research, to identify misinterpretations, biases, assumptions and flaws (Maxwell 2004). Hibbit *et al.* (2001) and Solitare (2005) took a qualitative approach to exploring the relationship between trust and participation.

Quantitative research has, however, been the traditional methodological approach to research questions on probable causation (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2014). This approach is associated with variance theory, which:

> ...deals with variables and the correlations among them; it is based on an analysis of the contribution of differences in values of particular variables to differences in other variables.
>
> (Maxwell 2004, p248)

This generally involves precise measurement and statistical analysis focussed on prediction. The arguments in favour of using a quantitative approach to answer questions of causation include the systematic approach to measurement, correlation analysis and more nuanced accounting for moderating, mediating and control variables. Quantitative research, whilst not generally able to explain the intricacies of a causal process, is able to produce the size of an impact, relative to other variables. This allows the researcher to rank the potential predictors of a phenomenon for the future.

A quantitative approach was taken to answer the second research question, which explores the trust-participation relationship. This has generally been the approach taken in previous studies (Barraud-Didier *et al.* 2012; Dekker 2007; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Höppner *et al* 2008; Höppner 2009; Koontz 2005; Lelieveldt 2004; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). A quantitative approach appeared best placed to answer the second research question for two reasons. First, the wording of the question does not merely ask about whether a relationship between two phenomena exists but of the *extent* of one's impact upon the other. It necessarily appears to warrant quantification, rather than an exploration of causal processes, which quantitative methods can achieve with measurement. Secondly, a quantitative approach is more able to assess the *relative* impact of trust and other variables, such as age and gender, upon participation. A qualitative approach would struggle to compare the *strength* of different variables' relationships with participation.

One of the main criticisms or weaknesses of quantitative research is that the theories and categories applied may not be recognised and understood by respondents (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). They are often decided upon by the researcher, who attempts to observe the respondents and their data from afar, in the objectivist-positivist tradition. This study took account of this weakness by allowing the trustworthiness dimensions, which formed the main variables of the research, to be generated from qualitative data.

In short, this study employed a mixed methods approach. Bergman (2008, p1) defines mixed methods research as "the combination of at least one qualitative and at least one quantitative component in a single research project or program". Creswell *et al.* (2003, p165) develop this definition further:

> A *mixed methods study* involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research
>
> (original emphasis)

The partial use of a quantitative methodology might be considered unusual for research influenced by a constructionist-interpretivist perspective, but it is not unknown. Bryman (2008, p593) observes:

> ...the connection between research strategy, on the one hand, and epistemological and ontological commitments, on the other, is not deterministic...there is a *tendency*...but the connections are not perfect.
>
> (original emphasis)

Instead of maintaining allegiance to one particular methodology which has been historically associated with constructionism and interpretivism, this study instead took a more practical approach which considered the appropriateness of different methods in the specific context of this research. This approach has been referred to as "everyday pragmatism" (Biesta 2010, p96) and requires careful reflection upon the research questions and an assessment of the most appropriate means of answering them satisfactorily. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) endorse everyday pragmatism:

> In general, we recommend *contingency theory* for research approach selection, which accepts that quantitative, qualitative and mixed research *are all superior under different circumstances* and it is the researcher's task to examine the specific contingencies and make the decision about which research approach, or which combination of approaches, should be used in a specific study
>
> (p22-23; original emphasis)

Qualitative and quantitative methodologies lend themselves more readily to certain questions. A pragmatic approach to the selection of methods can harvest the practical advantages of accepting some unconventional flexibility in methodological combinations. In this study, quantitative methods were applied in a selective and targeted manner within a research process which originated from a constructionist-interpretivist perspective. The decision to use mixed methods reflects a personal commitment on the part of the researcher to avoid being a "methodological purist" (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

This section of the chapter has outlined the ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations made in this study. In summary, the research was developed from a constructionist-interpretivist perspective and applied a pragmatic, mixed methods approach. Weaknesses associated with the two methodological approaches were "offset" by the strengths of the other (Bryman 2008, p609). The following section sets out the analytical framework for the study.

4.4 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework which guided data analysis for this study was based upon the model of trust presented in Chapter 2. The framework comprises dispositional trust, the perception of the trustee and perceived situational encapsulated interest (SEI) (Figure 4.1). Trust in regeneration officers, the trustee under investigation, will be dependent upon one or a combination of these elements. First, residents who trust regeneration officers may do so regardless of the specific professionals involved. Instead, their trust may, at least in part, be based upon their view of people more generally, depending upon their previous experiences and their resulting disposition. Ignoring the influence that this element may have upon residents' overall trust in regeneration officers may lead to overstating the importance of their perceived characteristics, behaviours and attributes. It is therefore important to include dispositional trust in the analytical framework.

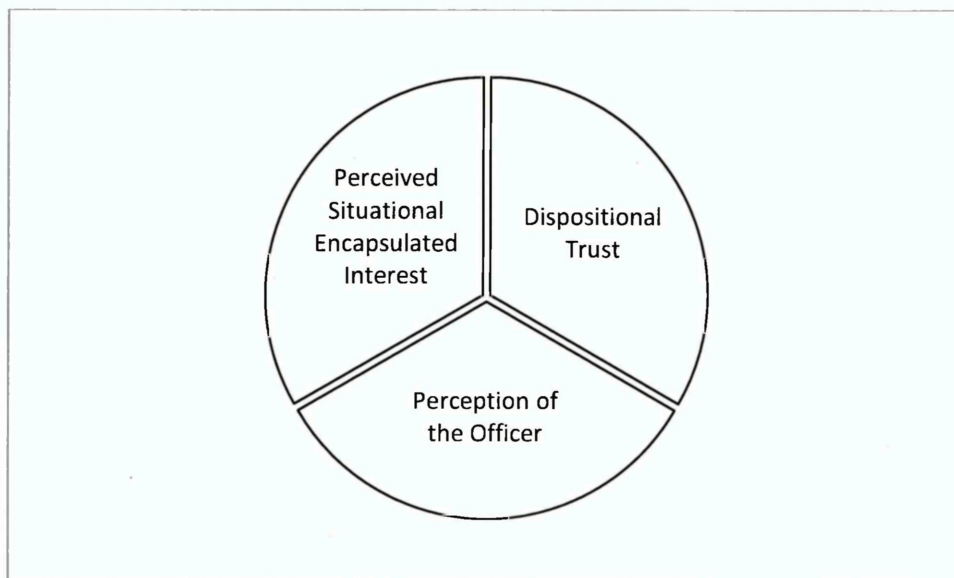
Secondly, resident trust in officers may be based upon the perceived characteristics, attributes and behaviours of the specific regeneration officers involved in the scheme. This is the area of the analytical framework which was given greatest prominence because of its central importance in the first research question. The study set out to generate a deep, contextual understanding of this element of the trust model for two reasons. First, no previous research had aimed to generate a trust-focussed understanding of residents' perceptions of regeneration officers. Secondly, it was based upon the notion that trust in officers, rather than trust in institutions or residents, would be a major determinant for participation because of their specific role in relation to the projects. Residents' existing perceptions of the individuals who were charged with managing the regeneration project and the resident participation process were thought to be central to residents' decisions over participation.

Thirdly, the contextual framework within which regeneration officers work may reward and sanction certain behaviour. For example, if a regeneration officer were to behave in a way toward residents which created great controversy, it may be difficult for them to work with those residents again, which may be a likely prospect given the length of some major regeneration projects. Due to the effects on their reputation, they may find it embarrassing when interacting with colleagues, it may be challenging to work on similar projects again or they may struggle to progress their career in the future. Therefore, there is the potential that if residents trust regeneration officers, they may do so, at least in part, because of their view of the extent to which the situational context in which they work encourages trustworthy behaviour towards the residents.

The analytical framework was applied to both qualitative and quantitative data. For the qualitative element, questions were focussed upon the perceptions of the officer in order to answer the first research question. However, as was expected, when discussing their trust in officers some residents discussed how their trust was based upon perceived SEI or their overall disposition to trust other people generally. The data on trust was considered based upon whether it concerned the officer, the trustor's disposition or the context. The structure of Chapter 5 which presents the primary qualitative data analysis follows that of the analytical framework, demonstrating the researcher's approach to the data. The collection and analysis of

quantitative data also used this analytical framework. Survey items designed to measure perceived SEI and dispositional trust were included such that their statistical relationship to trust could be confirmed. They were then included in the regression analysis which explored the relationship between trust in officers and participation. This determined whether dispositional trust and perceived SEI had greater influence than trust-related perceptions of officers. Having set out the analytical approach of the thesis, the following section details the research design.

Figure 4.1: Analytical Framework for Understanding Trust in Regeneration Officers

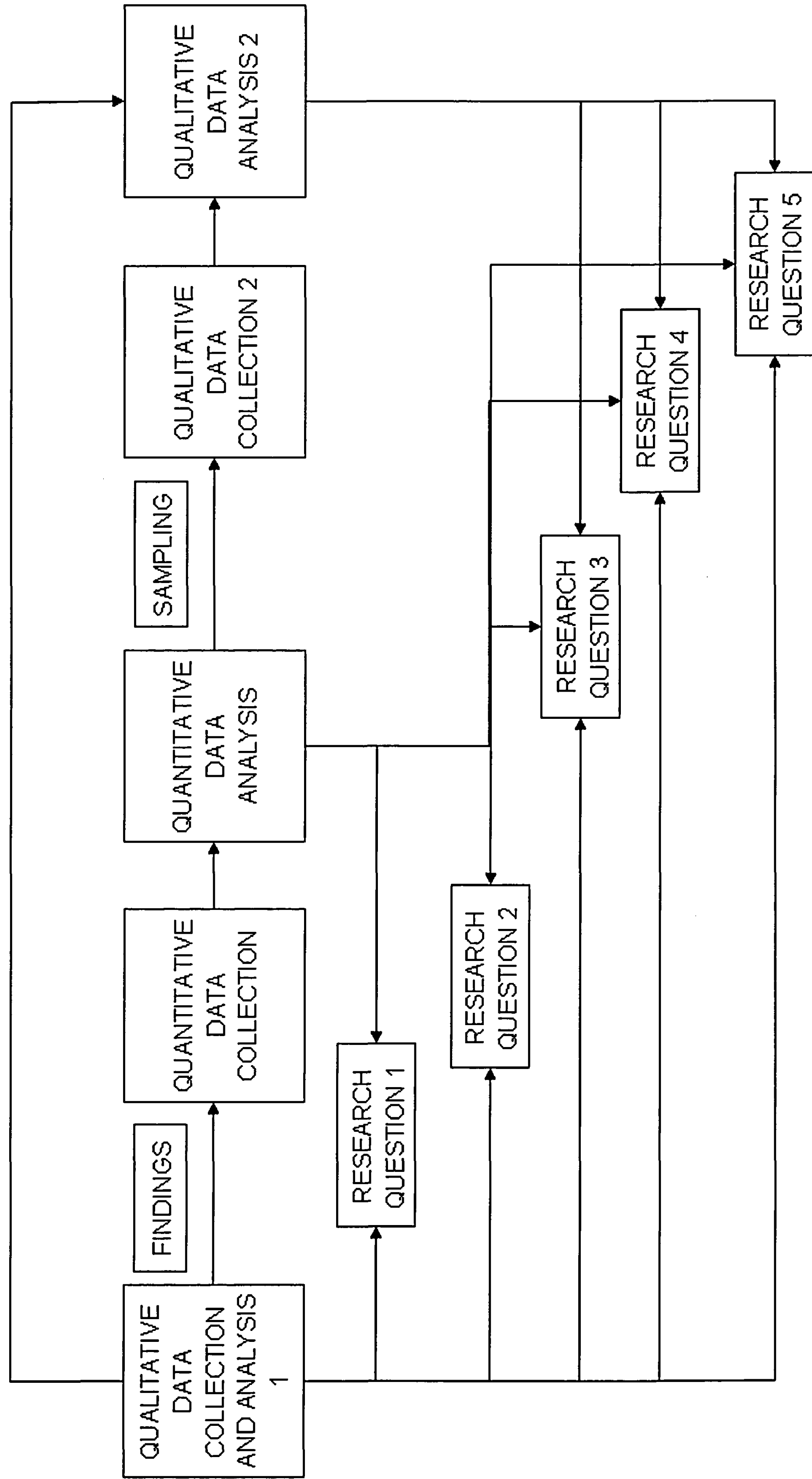


Developed using the work of Rotter (1971); Mayer *et al.* (1995); Hardin (2006); and Dietz (2011).

4.5 Research Design

As explained above, the research combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. Mixed methods research can integrate methodologies in a variety of different ways (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Creswell *et al.* 2003). The research design for this study comprised a sequential phasing of methodologies, meaning that qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis were completed separately but in a specific order. The study used what might be colloquially referred to as a “quant sandwich”, with one quantitative phase placed between two qualitative phases. Figure 4.2 depicts the phasing and shows how the findings from different phases answered different research questions.

Figure 4.2 The Research Design



The mixed methods research design rests upon a variety of different rationales, summarised in Table 4.1. First, the three-phase ordering means that the research drew upon exploratory and explanatory designs (Creswell *et al.* 2003). The first two phases represented an exploratory design, where quantitative data analysis is used to aid in the interpretation of qualitative findings. Whilst not conducted in answer to a specific research question, univariate survey analysis investigated how widespread the qualitatively-derived trustworthiness perceptions of officers were amongst questionnaire respondents (see Chapter 5). Phases two and three demonstrate an explanatory research design, where qualitative data is used to explain formerly acquired quantitative data. In this study the final qualitative phase aimed to further explain the relationships between variables found in the earlier quantitative analysis. The "quant sandwich" design means that the study contains both exploratory and explanatory elements.

There are several other reasons, other than exploration and explanation, as to why the mixed methods research design was sequenced qualitative-quantitative-qualitative (Table 4.1). The rationale underpinning the application of mixed methods to the first research question, which asks about factors related to officers' trustworthiness, is what Bryman refers to as "confirm and discover" (2006, cited in Bryman 2008). This is where theories or hypotheses are generated using qualitative methods, which are then tested through the application of quantitative data collection and analysis. Drawing upon Höppner (2009), this study used data from the resident questionnaire to test whether the dimensions of trustworthiness identified in qualitative data analysis correlated with respondents' overall trust in officers.

The use of mixed methods in this study also rests upon the similar rationale of triangulation. This entails looking for overlap and corroboration between the two different groups of findings. This was the way in which the three supplementary research questions were tackled, where findings from both qualitative stages and the quantitative stage were considered.

Instrument development "refers to contexts in which qualitative research is employed to develop questionnaire and scale items" (Bryman 2008, p609). The qualitatively derived trustworthiness dimensions were fed into the questionnaire as individual items. They collectively provided a measure of residents' perceived officer trustworthiness which allowed the researcher to assess its relationship with participation in answer to the second research question.

Finally, sampling was also facilitated through the mixed methods approach. The questionnaire data was used in order to select potential participants for the final qualitative stage of research, using the information they had provided in the survey. This generated further qualitative data which could attempt to answer the supplementary research questions.

This section of the chapter has outlined the sequential mixed methods research design for the study and how each phase contributes to answering the research questions. It has also detailed the rationales behind the specific ordering of the phases. The following section of the chapter discusses sampling.

Table 4.1 The Mixed Methods Approach – developed from Bryman (2008)

Rationale for Mixed Methods	Research Question (RQ)	Justification
Exploratory	Not intended to answer a specific RQ	Quantitative analysis showed how widespread the trustworthiness perceptions derived from the first phase of qualitative research were
Explanatory	RQ5	The findings from the quantitative analysis attempted to be explained by the second phase of qualitative research
Confirm and Discover	RQ1	The trustworthiness dimensions emerging from the first qualitative phase were tested statistically in the following quantitative phase
Triangulation	RQ3, RQ4, RQ5	Findings from all three phases of research were taken together to consider overlap and corroboration
Instrument Development	RQ2	First qualitative phase findings generated items to measure trustworthiness in quantitative data collection
Sampling	RQ3, RQ4, RQ5	Second qualitative phase participants selected from questionnaire respondents

4.6 Sampling

Sampling might be defined as the process by which a "segment of the population is selected for research" (Bryman 2008, p698). This section on sampling is divided into four subsections which cover regeneration project selection, participant recruitment for the first qualitative phase, questionnaire distribution, and the selection of further qualitative participants from the returned surveys.

Regeneration Areas

An adapted version of the definition of urban regeneration provided by Roberts (2000, p17) was used for this study:

> *Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which aims to resolve urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and/or environmental condition of an area*

The word "area" here is crucial. Unlike other aspects of public policy, urban regeneration is geographically specific. Projects are often referred to as "area-based initiatives" (ABIs), which communicates their focus on place. It therefore seemed appropriate for the study to seek specific instances of regeneration activity in order to explore the research questions. Potential regeneration projects were considered based upon the above definition and several other criteria. The study sought projects which comprised a major residential element, involving substantive neighbourhood redevelopment, especially demolition. It was thought that this would ensure that many residents were aware of the regeneration project, and any opportunities for them to participate, due to its direct and large impact upon their lives.

Urban regeneration projects were sought through internet searches, scanning publications such as *Inside Housing* and regularly checking websites such as *Regeneration and Renewal.* Unfortunately this occurred at a time when some major regeneration programmes were completing or being closed prematurely, reducing potential options. Despite this, the search produced a long list of 13 projects. Contact was made with the lead professionals of potential case studies via email and telephone and one regeneration area was visited. The number of projects was narrowed down based upon practical considerations, such as the ease of making visits to the location, and the current stage of the project. For the research to be meaningful, participants had to be aware of and have interest in the regeneration which was either planned or occurring in their area. Projects in their very early stages or near to completion would therefore not be suitable. Three projects were eventually selected: Earls Court regeneration scheme in London and two projects within Gateshead's regeneration programme: Chandless and Dunston. Table 4.2 shows which regeneration areas were used in each of the phases of the research.

The West Kensington and Gibbs Green (WKGG) estates were earmarked for inclusion in the Earls Court regeneration project. The 760 homes on the two estates (including houses, flats and maisonettes) were to be demolished and replaced with 7,500 new properties as well as a variety of new facilities such as shops, a new school and a healthcare centre (Hammersmith and Fulham Council 2013). The residents living on the estates comprised a mix of leaseholders, freeholders and tenants of private landlords, housing associations and the council. The local authority promised to compensate and rehouse all council tenants directly into the new properties, either on the same site or on the nearby Seagrave Road, which was set to be the location for 808 of the new homes.

Many residents were fiercely opposed to the demolition of their homes, whilst others were concerned about the large scale of the project and its 10-15 year timescale. Some of these residents sought to take ownership of their homes through the creation of a community housing association and organised themselves through the two tenants and residents associations (TRAs). Other residents were very supportive of the redevelopment proposals, frustrated by the current appearance of the estates and excited by the prospect of a new home and local amenities. Some such residents were involved with the resident steering group. This was set up to "influence the future of the two estates" to "get the best deal" for residents and was in active dialogue with the local authority's regeneration officers and developers CapCo (Hammersmith and Fulham Council 2011). The disagreement between residents resulted in considerable coverage of the project in the local press, as well as some national publications (see GetWestLondon 2011; Brown 2011).

The research also focussed upon two regeneration projects in Gateshead. The 1960s-built Chandless estate, comprising maisonettes and tower blocks of flats, was located adjacent to Gateshead city centre. The vast majority of residents were council tenants, whilst some properties were owned privately having been sold within the Right-to-Buy programme. In 2010 a resident consultation exercise was conducted by Gateshead Council which found that 64% of respondents supported the demolition of the estate (Dowling and Bunce 2010). Rehousing of residents began shortly after and demolition followed the completion of the fieldwork for this study. It was envisaged that the site would be redeveloped, but no firm plans were in place at the time of the research. In nearby Dunston, demolition of the Ravensworth Road estate was even more popular with residents. Consultation exercises put the level of support for complete demolition of the estate at between 78% and 92%. A visioning document for the area was drawn up, influenced by further engagement events and was approved in 2010, and the rehousing of residents and demolition of the estate followed. The developer was selected and the project approved by planners in October 2013 (Gateshead Council 2014).

Table 4.2 Research Phases and Regeneration Areas

Research Phase	Regeneration Area
Qualitative Data Collection 1	Chandless, Gateshead Dunston, Gateshead West Kensington, London
Quantitative Data Collection	Dunston, Gateshead West Kensington, London
Qualitative Data Collection 2	West Kensington, London

Qualitative Phase 1

The first phase of qualitative research took place in all three fieldwork sites and sought findings to answer the first, officer trustworthiness research question. Participants were selected from people who either resided or formerly resided in the regeneration areas after having been relocated for the demolition work. In Chandless and Dunston a local regeneration officer was asked to contact residents, seeking permission to pass on their details to the researcher. Residents were then contacted by the researcher individually via telephone, who explained the nature of the research and asked if they would be willing to participate. A prospective problem of this approach is the potential for the 'gatekeepers' to select residents with whom they have had favourable interaction and a trusting relationship. The importance of achieving a sample which included people who may not be trusting of the officer was stressed to her beforehand. From the interviews conducted the officer seemed to have been fairly successful as a range of views emerged, although it is impossible to comment upon their wider representativeness.

In London, contact was made with a local government officer who had deep knowledge of the scheme and the ructions it had caused between residents. He informed the researcher of two local community activists, one on each side of the debate, who may be able to help with recruiting research participants. It was very important that residents who supported and opposed the proposed regeneration scheme in London were included in the research. One of the activists was able to provide the name of a resident who was willing to participate but also invited the researcher to a meeting where he was able to recruit more participants. The other activist was able to connect the researcher to other residents who were supportive of the regeneration project. More information on the interviewees from phase 1 can be found in Appendix A, which uses pseudonyms to protect their identity.

Quantitative Phase

A postal questionnaire was used to collect the quantitative data in London and Dunston. The survey was not administered to all three regeneration areas for ethical and practical reasons. The regeneration of Chandless in Gateshead was already underway whilst data

collection occurred. Two of the three research participants from Chandless were still waiting to be relocated, whilst the other had already moved to a new residence. Very little of the area which was to be demolished was still inhabited. Capturing survey responses from people who had previously lived in the regeneration area would have involved the transfer of addresses of these individuals to the researcher by a regeneration officer. This was considered entirely unethical since the individuals would not have consented to this transfer. Alternative approaches were considered such as the regeneration officer contacting each household to acquire consent or them sending out the survey to residents on behalf of the researcher. Unfortunately, both of these approaches were considered impractical. The questionnaire was thus only distributed to residents in West Kensington and Dunston.

As the London regeneration project was still at the proposal stage, questionnaires were intended to be distributed to every property on the two estates. Whilst there were problems with access to some properties, 746 of the 760 households had a questionnaire delivered to them by hand (see Figure A1, Appendix A). In Dunston the regeneration project was underway, with the residents living on the Ravensworth Road estate having already been relocated and their properties partially demolished. It was therefore the surrounding properties which were targeted with questionnaires. Addresses were selected based upon their proximity to the demolition site on Ravensworth Road (see Figure A2, Appendix A). Again there were some properties which presented access problems but 820 received a questionnaire.

In total therefore, 1,566 questionnaires were distributed across both areas. The survey contained 51 items for completion by a member of the household and a stamped addressed envelope was included for its return to the researcher. A total of 144 completed questionnaires were returned – 58 from London and 86 from Gateshead – a response rate of 9.2 per cent. It is important to note that the data are unlikely to be representative - either of residents living in these regeneration areas or of people living in regeneration areas more generally. The findings generated from this stage of the research can therefore only be considered indicative.

Qualitative Phase 2

Residents were selected for this phase from the sample of respondents completing the postal questionnaire. Residents who had not ticked the box at the end of the questionnaire to say that they would be willing to talk further about the project were excluded. The same was done for respondents who had not provided their telephone number or who had already participated in a qualitative interview in the first phase of the project. This left 32 remaining from an original 144 respondents. The sampling then attempted to achieve diversity both in terms of residents' participation histories and their perception of regeneration officers, which was achieved by using responses to relevant sections of the questionnaire. Some residents were not available to meet, whilst others were unable to honour the interviews arranged, despite their best efforts. In October 2012 a further 12 qualitative interviews were conducted over the course of one week with a variety of residents. Appendix A contains further information about the

interviewees from the second qualitative phase, which uses pseudonyms to protect their identity.

It was notable that the findings from both qualitative elements did not relate to the housing tenure of the research participants. All of the Gateshead research participants lived in social rented accommodation, whilst the London interviewees comprised a mix of leadsholders and council tenants and also included a private tenant. Attitudes toward the regeneration project were mixed amongst the participants, showing no clear relationship with housing tenure. The qualitative data suggested that housing tenure also appeared to have no impact on residents' willingness to participate.

4.7 Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

This section of the chapter explains the approach to data collection in the two phases of qualitative research.

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis 1

The first qualitative phase centred on interviews with residents in all three fieldwork sites in a bid to gain an understanding of their perceptions of regeneration officers which contribute to trust. It was felt that individual interviews with residents would be the most appropriate way of eliciting residents' perception of officers' trustworthiness. This was the approach taken in similar studies (Butler 1991; Höppner 2009; Leahy and Anderson 2008; Petts 1998). There are three broad types of interview, classified by their form of questioning: structured, unstructured and semi-structured (Walliman 2006). Semi-structured interviewing, which was used in this study, offers moderate amounts of flexibility and consistency regarding the specific questions asked and their order (Bryman 2008). This approach was well suited for a study where there is already a reasonably clear focus for the investigation and is especially useful in research where some degree of consistency is required.

Research ethics were a major methodological concern during the study. Diener and Crandall (1978, cited in Bryman 2008) draw attention to four ethical considerations: harm to participants; lack of informed consent; invasion of privacy; and deception. Throughout the study it was important to consider every possibility from which harm to participants might arise, as the full ethical repercussions of research may not become apparent until during or after a study has taken place (De Laine 2000). Confidentiality was assessed as being the main ethical consideration for the study. Whilst breaching confidentiality may not cause physical harm, the communication of residents' opinions to other parties could bring about considerable emotional and psychological distress. Participants may feel deceived and betrayed if their views of officers, participation or the urban regeneration project were revealed to officers or other residents in the area. This was especially pertinent in London, where residents' passionate disagreement regarding the regeneration proposals had resulted in a febrile atmosphere. For

example, several participants asked the names of other individuals with whom the researcher had spoken. This information was not disclosed. Respecting confidentiality also offered potential advantages to the researcher (De Laine 2000). It was thought that building up trust and rapport with residents by making them aware of the confidential nature of the interviews held the prospect of achieving more candid responses and hence richer data.

The confidential nature of the interviews was stressed in four ways: upon first contact with the Gateshead officer via email and the London community activists on the telephone (which they were then asked to express to potential participants); when first contacting the participant by telephone; in person at the outset of the interview; and on a consent and information form distributed to participants (see Appendix B).

Interviews with 14 residents across the three regeneration areas were conducted between October 2011 and January 2012. Three were conducted in Chandless, three in Dunston and eight in London[10]. Interviews took place in a location of residents' choosing. At the beginning of the interview the researcher attempted to put the participants at ease by having the researcher's background, the aims of the study and the purpose of the interview explained both orally and on a written information and consent form. Two copies of the consent form were provided to each participant. Once completed, the researcher retained one copy, whilst the other was left with the participant for their records. The form set out the background of the researcher, the topic under investigation and how confidentiality would be upheld during the study. It also set out participants' right to withhold information and to withdraw from the research up to two weeks after the interview. In signing the form, the residents agreed not to reveal the names of other participants should they be aware of any. The researcher's contact details were also provided, as were those of his director of studies. Participants were allowed ample time to ask questions before the interview began.

Questions were listed in an "interview guide" (Appendix B). These aimed to deduce the characteristics, attributes and behaviours of professionals which contributed to trustworthiness from the perspective of residents. Several approaches were taken in order to elicit such responses, influenced by similar previous research (Butler 1991; Höppner 2009; Leahy and Anderson 2008). The approach aimed, "not to get simple yes and no answers but description of an episode, a linkage, an explanation" (Stake 1995, p65). The interview guide was divided into two sections. The first purposefully avoided the use of the term "trust" and instead asked questions relating to residents' opinion of and previous participation in the regeneration project, as well as on their feelings toward the regeneration officers. This was intended to allow residents the opportunity to volunteer the word trust when referring to officers and regeneration. The second section specifically used the terms "trust" and "trustworthy" in order to elicit further trustworthiness perceptions from the interviewee. It was recognised that some residents may be upset about the demolition and relocation taking place. In order to minimise participants'

[10] A ninth interview was conducted in London but this was with a local resident who did not live on the estates in question. The data did not therefore undergo analysis to generate dimensions, but was simply used to provide further background on the local community and regeneration project

distress during the course of the interview, the wording of questions in the discussion guide was carefully considered.

In total, 13 of the 14 interviews were recorded using a mix of analogue and digital methods; one resident felt uncomfortable about this process. For this interview copious notes were taken instead. The recordings were transcribed by the researcher and a professionally experienced typist. Confidentiality was ensured through the anonymisation of all names and other identifiable details of participants in the final transcripts. Pseudonyms were used during the write-up of the research to protect participants' identities. All files containing such details were password protected. After transcription the cassettes were destroyed and the memory cards were wiped. The transcriber was also asked to sign a form which committed her to treating respondents' views and personal information as confidential. After the initial transcription had taken place, each recording was heard by the researcher whilst reviewing the transcript, who made alterations where necessary. This provided sufficient time for familiarisation with the data before analysis.

The term trust rarely arose unprompted from the more general conversations about the local regeneration project. Whilst many residents were keen to have their say about the regeneration project and mentioned several trust-related ideas, the actual words 'trust', 'mistrust/distrust' and 'trustworthy' did not tend to be used until raised by the interviewer. This was despite participants having been told that this was the focus of the research. This was important because of the specific coding criteria employed to identify dimensions of trustworthiness. The framework for dimension identification was influenced by the work of Butler (1991) and rested upon three criteria:

- That the resident referred to 'trust', 'trustworthy', 'distrust', 'trusting' or another word which directly encapsulated the concept of trust in connection to the dimension; **or** that the dimension was brought up in answer to a question which contained any of those terms. References to words which often substitute for trust in everyday speech, such as faith, belief and confidence, were not included.
- That the resident was specifically referring to regeneration officers when the dimension and its connection to trust were made. It was decided that the data need not contain those specific words, but it had to be clear as to whom the resident was referring. Again, if officers were mentioned in the question, then any dimensions identified in the response were acceptable. Officers were defined as the people employed to work on the project, regardless of whether they work for a developer, the local council or an arms-length housing management organisation. References to participants' trust in organisations, councillors or other residents, for example, were not identified as dimensions of regeneration officer trustworthiness.
- That the dimension identified is consistent with the definition of trust outlined in the theoretical framework.

The dimension itself could be any aspect of regeneration officers, whether related to their characteristics, attributes or behaviour. They could be identified in either their positive or

negative formulations. For example, data which linked perceived officer dishonesty to a lack of trust was treated in the same way as data which linked trust in officers with their perceived honesty. The qualitative nature of the research meant that the identification of a dimension was not dependent upon the frequency of its occurrence in interviews. A dimension briefly referred to once by one resident was treated in the same way as a dimension mentioned several times each by many participants. Dimensions were identified without regard to the regeneration area to which they referred. Analysis of the qualitative data was facilitated by Nvivo 10.

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis 2

The third and final part of data collection involved a second qualitative phase of fieldwork which aimed to explore some of the findings from the first two phases in more depth. After the completion of quantitative data analysis, a further 12 semi-structured interviews[11] were conducted with residents living on the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates in London. This regeneration project had the potential to provide especially rich data because there seemed to be greater awareness of the scheme amongst residents there and because all five forms of participation under investigation were available to them (both a steering group and two TRAs were operational). It was also thought to be the most effective approach given the constraints on time and resources. Interviewees were provided with a similar information and consent form for completion as in the first phase of qualitative research (Appendix B). During the interviews residents were asked a similar set of questions to those conducted in the first stage of qualitative research. These attempted to ascertain residents' previous and intended participation related to the regeneration scheme, the reasoning behind this and their perception of the regeneration officers involved (see Appendix B for interview guide). Questions were also asked regarding the three dimensions of trustworthiness determined during the quantitative stage of analysis.

One of the 12 interviews was discontinued after around ten minutes partly because it was felt that the participant was having difficulty communicating to the researcher and secondly because he appeared to be unwell. The remaining 11 interviews lasted between 24 and 80 minutes in length and these were recorded and transcribed as before.

The transcripts were taken together with the first 13 interviews for which transcripts existed and these were all analysed together as one data set. Unlike the first stage of qualitative analysis which used specific criteria for the identification of trustworthiness dimensions, a more inductivist approach was adopted here and the data were analysed without a coding scheme. It was during the analysis of the interviews that the supplementary research questions were developed.

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[11] Two of these interviews were attended by two residents. In one, the wife of the primary participant made several contributions. For another of the interviews a neighbour of the primary interviewee was present and decided to formally participate.

4.8 Survey Design

Introduction

Survey research tends to comprise either self-completion questionnaires or structured interviewing. This study developed and used the former during the quantitative phase of the research due to constraints on time and resources. The two questionnaires used in the research are shown in Appendix C. Ensuring that the items contained within a questionnaire cover the research objectives, are understandable and are answerable is of prime importance (De Leeuw 2009). This section of the chapter details the development of the resident questionnaires.

There were three main reasons for the development and use of a resident questionnaire in this project: to provide findings toward the first research question, which asked about features which comprised officer trustworthiness; to provide findings toward the second research question, which asked about the relationship between trust and resident participation; and to provide sampling for the second qualitative phase of research. Later it was also found to have generated useful findings toward the supplementary research questions as well.

The questionnaire aimed to assess the assumed correlation between the qualitatively-derived dimensions of officer trustworthiness and *overall trust* in regeneration officers. The first qualitative phase of the study had involved interviews with 14 residents across the three regeneration areas. A questionnaire offered the potential to confirm whether the perceptions of officers generated were associated with trust more widely in regeneration areas. Thus it became clear at the beginning that an overall "trust in officers" item would need to be included in the questionnaire for this question to be answered.

The main objective of the quantitative analysis was to answer the second research question, which asks whether trust in officers is influential in residents' future participation. The quantitative analysis would allow findings to be generated for the fifth research question which asks what other factors, other than trust, might be associated with residents' participation. Questionnaire development therefore needed to consider three types of variables: explanatory or independent variables – the potentially influencing factors which are of particular interest; outcome or dependent variables – the outcome which is potentially influenced by other variables; and extraneous variables – other potentially influencing variables but which are not of special interest in the study and were included to ensure that the relationships between explanatory and outcome variables are not spurious.

Explanatory and Outcome Variables

The explanatory variables used in the study can be divided in two (Tables 4.3 and 4.4). The primary explanatory variables aimed to measure trust in regeneration officers. However, the study aimed to produce a finely tuned measurement of trust and as such broke the concept down into three smaller components. These were informed by the tripartite model of trust developed in the theoretical framework (see Chapter 2). This model divides trust into three

elements: dispositional trust; situational encapsulated interest (SEI); and perceptions of officers. One item for each of the first two elements was developed for the questionnaire. Residents' perceptions of officers were operationalised using the dimensions which emerged from the qualitative analysis. One item for each of the 14 dimensions was added to the questionnaire. These 16 items might be considered the "indicators" of trust in regeneration officers. Indicators are indirect measures of concepts which are hard to quantify (Bryman 2008).

All of the indicators asked for respondents' agreement with a relevant statement, using a five-point Likert scale. The scale included a mid-point through which respondents could communicate a lack of knowledge or indecision, labelled as "neither agree nor disagree". It was felt that allowing this response gave a better chance of gleaning data which was closer to respondents' feelings and did not force them to choose between more certain but less accurate answers. Some items were formulated using negative phrasing. For example one item asks for respondents' level of agreement with a statement describing officers as "unfriendly" rather than "friendly". This was to ensure that respondents considered what was contained within each item and to prevent the effects of affirmation bias (Butler 1991).

The secondary explanatory variables also considered the concept of trust, but in relation to other trustees (Table 4.4). As discussed previously residents might exhibit trust toward a variety of trustees in regeneration, and this trust also has the potential to influence participation. The study considered five other objects of trust which may influence residents' participation, since they all have the potential of being involved in the engagement process: other local residents; the local council; the developers; the steering group residents; and the tenants and residents association (TRA). One item was created for each. However, items for the steering group residents and the TRA residents only had survey items included on the London questionnaire due to the absence of these organisations in Dunston. Again respondents were asked for their level of agreement with a relevant statement, measured using a five-point Likert scale.

Table 4.3 Variables, Concepts and Indicators for Primary Explanatory Variables

Variable Type	Concept	Indicators
N/A (For use in RQ1)	Overall Trust in Regeneration Officers	I trust the regeneration officers working on the project
Primary Explanatory Variables	Generalised Trust	In general, most people are trustworthy
	Encapsulated Interest	Being trustworthy is important to the regeneration officers
	Trustworthiness	Availability Understand concerns Care Transparency Fairness Honesty Friendliness (inverted) Consistency (inverted) Promise-keeping (inverted) Ability to answer questions (inverted) Shared experience (inverted) Responsiveness to Concerns Shared Perceptions Shared Priorities

Table 4.4 Variables, Concepts and Indicators for Secondary Explanatory Variables

Variable Type	Concept	Indicators
Secondary Explanatory Variables	Trust in Local Council	I trust [council]
	Trust in Developers	I trust the developers [developers] working on the regeneration project
	Trust in Other Residents	I trust most of the other residents who live in the area
	Trust in Steering Group Residents	I trust the residents who are members of the steering group
	Trust in TRA Residents	I trust the residents who attended the West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meetings

The other area of interest for this study was participation. As with trust, the research aimed to consider participation in a multi-faceted way. Five participation outcome variables were developed (Table 4.5). These were thought to capture a variety of forms of participation, which take account of: the different potential they hold to influence officers over a project; whether they were face-to-face or written; and whether they involved the one individual or a group of residents. Theoretically the best way of capturing residents' participation in a regeneration project would be to conduct a longitudinal study which monitored *actual* participation over a considerable period of time. Unfortunately, this was not feasible in this study due to limited time and financial constraints. The only other way to measure residents' actual participation was to ask about their previous participatory activity. Several researchers have taken this approach in the past (Barraud-Didier *et al.* 2012; Lelieveldt 2004; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008). This is problematic for two reasons. As noted earlier in Chapter 3, residents may exhibit 'false recall' and, secondly, trust and participation may well possess a reciprocal relationship. The *previous* participation may influence the *current* level of trust.

Table 4.5 Concepts and Indicators for Outcome Variables

Concept	Indicators
Participation in Exhibition/Drop-in Event	Willing to attend exhibition/drop-in event
Participation in questionnaire/consultation document	Willing to complete a questionnaire/consultation document
Participation in conversing with a regeneration officer	Willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer
Participation by joining the steering group	Willing to join the steering group
Participation by attending a TRA meeting	Willing to attend a resident meeting/TRA meeting

In this study it was therefore decided that an instrument would be created to measure *willingness* to participate in the future. This is used as a proxy for future actual participation. It is acknowledged that there may be a gap between what people may *say* they are *willing* to do and how they actually act in the future. However, this approach does eliminate the above problem regarding the direction of the relationship – it is unlikely that a willingness to participate influences feelings of trust. It has also been a method used in previous studies (Höppner 2009; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). One willingness item was created for each form of participation (Table 4.5), with slight variation between the two questionnaires, dependent upon the area to which the survey would be distributed.

The main focus for the development of the questionnaire was to provide data for analysis which could answer the trust-participation research question. The central issue hinges on two propositions: that trust leads to greater participation; and that trust leads to less participation. Due to the more widespread prominence of the former theory, it was thought most pertinent to adopt this hypothesis for critical examination in the study. Using the variables detailed above, the hypothesis (HP) to be tested for the second research question of the study was:

HP1: *Residents' trust in officers is positively associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

The study also widened its focus to produce a secondary hypothesis:

HP2: *Residents' trust in other groups, such as other residents and the local authority, is positively associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

Having detailed the explanatory and outcome variables and shown how they have been operationalised into corresponding indicators, the following subsection will explore the extraneous variables and how they were influenced by the "collective interest model".

Extraneous Variables

"Extraneous variable" is the name given to other explanatory variables in this study which are not the focus of the project. In this research they were variables which are not directly connected to the concept of trust but which have the potential to influence resident participation. The greater the number of extraneous variables included in the analysis, the greater the chance of isolating the association between the explanatory variables and the outcome variable. However, their inclusion also allowed the quantitative contribution toward answering the "other factors" research question. Rather than choosing lots of factors from a variety of previous studies which have investigated the drivers of participation, the decision was taken instead to draw upon a model of participation for inspiration: the collective interest model (CIM) (see Appendix D). The adapted version of the CIM used in this study holds that participation in collaborative institutions is influenced by the selective costs and benefits of participating, as well as individuals' grievances and the efficacy of certain parties (Weible 2008).

There were four key reasons as to why the CIM was chosen as a model to draw upon when considering factors which may influence participation in urban regeneration:

- The original CIM has roots in rationality and rational choice theory (RCT) as an explanation of human behaviour; trust has been discussed as a rational concept in this study
- The CIM has had success in explaining political participation and activism in housing management (Bäck *et al.* 2004; Finkel *et al.* 1989; Finkel and Muller 1998; Yau 2011)
- Weible (2008) has worked to adapt the CIM such that it is suitable for use in understanding participation in "collaborative institutions"
- Work has been conducted into integrating trust within the CIM (Lubell *et al.* 2006)

The extraneous variables were therefore influenced by terms in the adapted CIM (Table 4.6). Grievance was translated into its inverse form of satisfaction. Individual efficacy was considered in two ways: previous and future participation. Collectively these indicators attempted to assess how much residents believed that it was possible to influence the regeneration projects. Instrument efficacy translated into perceptions of urban regeneration projects generally. This was operationalised through two indicators which were framed in opposite directions. They aimed to capture residents' perceptions of regeneration as a policy tool. Selective benefits translated into the development of three indicators to measure

residents' perceived personal advantage of participating.[12] One selective cost was considered in the study: time.[13]

Several other variables were considered which are not included in the adapted CIM. These were gender, education and ethnicity. The inclusion of the ethnicity variables is based upon the possibility that minority groups could be less likely to participate due to perceived institutional discrimination. The education variable is included to take account of the potential for those who have received less formal education to feel less able to participate. Some have treated this demographic variable as another selective "cost" (Lubell *et al* 2006; Yau 2011). One could also view the perceived discrimination against ethnic minorities as a perceived cost of participation.

This concluded the development of the resident questionnaires (Appendix C). The overall model upon which the questionnaire development was based is depicted in Figure 4.3. The next section of this chapter considers the analysis of the quantitative data gleaned from the resident questionnaire.

[12] These included the potential for participation to reward them with money, improved accommodation and protection from demolition.

[13] Those who participate obviously sacrifice their time do so. It follows that those with more free time may be more likely to participate. Residents' free time proved very challenging to operationalise in the questionnaire. It was thought unlikely that individuals had clear ideas of how much time they have "free" per week or month, even if what exactly constitutes "free time" was easily determinable. Therefore it was decided that a standard economic activity question would be used as an imperfect proxy for the concept.

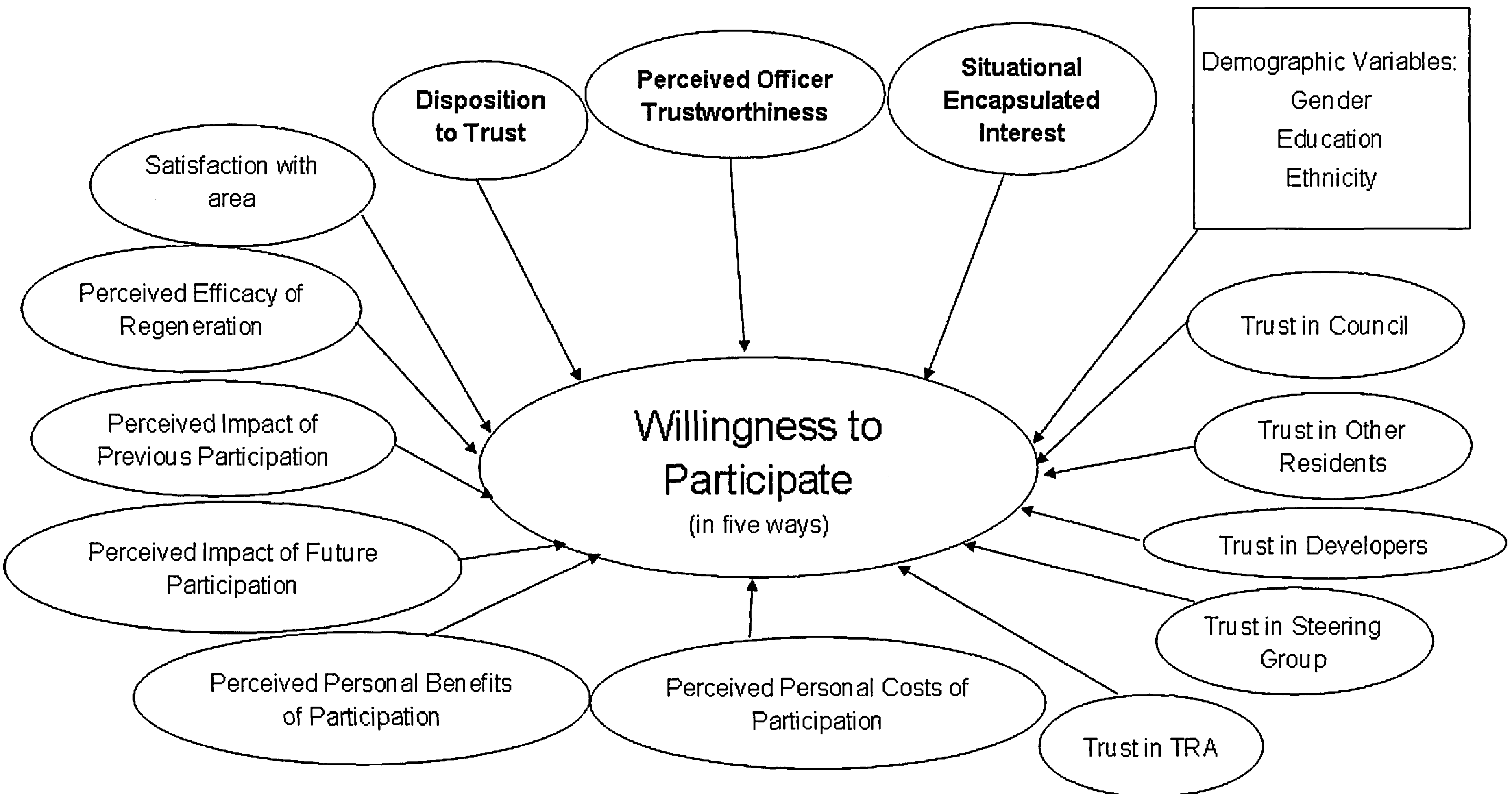
Table 4.6 Concepts and Indicators for Extraneous Variables

Adapted CIM Term	Concept	Indicators
Grievance	Satisfaction	I am currently satisfied with the quality of the area in which I live
Individual Efficacy	Previous Participation	Have you previously attended an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project? Have you previously completed a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views on the regeneration project? Have you previously had a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project? Are you or have you previously been a member of the steering group (WKGG Steering Company) for the regeneration project? Have you previously attended a West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meeting regarding the regeneration project?
	Perceived Impact of Previous Participation[14]	If yes, do you believe that your attendance had an impact on the regeneration project? If yes, do you believe it had an impact on the regeneration project? If yes, do you believe the conversation had an impact on the regeneration project? If yes, do you believe it has/did have an impact on the regeneration project? If yes, do you believe that your attendance had an impact on the regeneration project?
	Perceived Impact of Future Participation	Would your attendance at an exhibition or drop-in event have an impact on the regeneration project? Would your completion of a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views have an impact on the regeneration project?

[14] These items were placed underneath each one of the previous participation items respectively (see questionnaires in Appendix C)

		If you were to have a conversation with a regeneration officer, would this have an impact on the project? If you were to join the steering group (WKGG Steering Company), would this have an impact on the regeneration project? Would your attendance at a West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meeting have an impact on the regeneration project?
Instrument Efficacy	Perceived Efficacy of Urban Regeneration Projects	Regeneration projects have the potential to improve the quality of residential areas Regeneration projects have the potential to disrupt communities
Selective Benefits	Perceived Personal Advantages of Participating	Participating in the regeneration project will provide me with better quality accommodation Participating in the regeneration project will prevent my home from being demolished Participating in the regeneration project will improve my personal financial situation
Selective Costs	Free Time (through economic activity)	Which of the following best describes your current situation?
-	Gender	Are you male/female?
-	Education	What is the highest level of education you have achieved?
-	Ethnicity	What is your ethnic group?

Figure 4.3 All Relationships Under Investigation



4.9 Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data analysis contributed to both primary research questions and later the "other factors" question also. It was facilitated using the computer software program SPSS. This section covers the data, the recoding processes, the theoretical updates to the model and the quantitative analysis.

The Data

The response rate and frequencies for the main variables are shown in Appendix E. A higher proportion of residents returned questionnaires in Dunston than in London, which corresponds with the lower response rates found for previous self-completion surveys in the capital (GLA Intelligence Unit 2012). This may have been further exacerbated by 'consultation fatigue' in London, given the numerous invitations to join the steering group, attend drop-in events and complete questionnaires, not to mention the local media coverage and the scheme's polarising impact on residents (Hill 2012). However, the response rate for Gateshead was not much larger. Dunston residents may not have been fully aware of the regeneration project, with resident participation efforts in their infancy at the time of distribution, and perhaps also due to some households' peripheral location relative to the Ravensworth Road estate. The overall response rate of 9.2 per cent provided enough data for statistical analysis to take place.

Overall, respondents were mostly female and the vast majority were of white ethnicity (although this was markedly different for the London sample). The data showed that most respondents living in Dunston were non-graduates, whilst the London cohort was more evenly split between those with or without a degree. Overall, most respondents had not completed a degree. 35 per cent of respondents stated that they were in full-time work, whilst approximately one fifth were retired.

Preliminary Bivariate Analysis: Dimensions and Overall Trust in Officers

The first research question focuses upon determining dimensions of trustworthiness. These had already emerged from the qualitative analysis and had been fed into the questionnaire. However, drawing upon the work of Höppner (2009), a further "test" of the dimensions was enacted. This involved conducting correlation analysis on responses to each of the dimension items and respondents' overall trust in officers. Correlation analysis allows the relationship between two variables to be explored. If a dimension was not significantly associated with overall trust then it would be dropped from further analysis. Whilst Höppner (2009) used Pearson's *r* correlation coefficient, this study took a different approach.[15] A two-

[15] Pearson's *r* is only intended for use when dealing with interval or ratio data. Whilst the data obtained on dimensions and overall trust may appear as interval data, there are not "equal intervals on the scale [representing] equal differences in the property being measured" (Field 2009, p9). Consider two residents who respond to items on a five-point (0 to 4) scale: one who

tailed correlation analysis was employed using Spearman's rho which analysed the association between each dimension of trustworthiness and overall trust in officers. All of the dimensions were found to be significantly associated with overall trust (the findings are presented in Chapter 5).

Univariate Analysis

Once the basic bivariate analysis of dimensions and overall trust in officers was complete, univariate analysis could take place. First, the results for the trustworthiness items which had been purposefully phrased in the 'negative' formulation were inverted. For example, a score of four (denoting strong agreement) for the statement "The regeneration officers are unfriendly" became a score of zero (denoting strong disagreement). This ensured that the scores used in the analysis all corresponded to positively formulated items. Frequency tables were then used to assess respondents' perceptions of officers, their previous participation and their willingness to participate in the future. The proportion of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with the trustworthiness dimension statements are presented in Chapter 5, which augments the qualitative findings presented and allows a better understanding as to the prevalence of certain perceptions. The data on engagement can be found in Chapter 8 and aids in answering the fourth research question on how residents relate to participation.

Recoding Responses and Collapsing Items

Before bivariate analysis was undertaken to consider potential relationships between variables, some of the data from the questionnaire were 'recoded'. This is a process by which the response categories for items are collapsed into one another. Whilst the procedure produces amalgamations which are less discriminating representations of respondents' answers, it allows the data to be handled much more easily and for patterns and trends to be spotted with less difficulty.

In this study most items had their answers dichotomised, as statistical analysis can benefit from fewer distinctions when dealing with categorical data. For the questions which provided five potential answers, the two 'agree' responses were amalgamated. Separately, the 'neither agree nor disagree' and the two 'disagree' responses were grouped together and labelled 'other'. Similarly the tripartite questions had 'yes' responses separated from a combination of 'don't know' and 'no' responses. This separated affirmative responses from

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agrees with a statement (point three on the scale) and another who *strongly* agrees with the same statement (point four on the scale). There is no evidence that the second respondent agrees one third *more* than the first. The scales are subjectively interpreted. The same answer does not communicate an objectively equal level of agreement in the same way that items about income or age could be compared, for example. Hence, this is not interval data but ordinal data. Field (2009) comments on how a lot of data which should be considered as ordinal is mistakenly treated as interval. Pearson's r is only to be used when working with two interval data variables, whereas Spearman's rho is favourable when working with two ordinal data variables (Bryman 2008; Field 2009).

those communicating indecision or negative attitudes toward the question. For the economic activity item, recoding was employed as an attempt to capture more robustly the original theoretical concept to be measured - free time (see Appendix F).

Categorising Dimensions of Trustworthiness

The most significant amalgamation of items was for the trustworthiness dimensions. 14 had been generated by analysis of the qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with residents. All had then been "tested" by considering their correlation with the overall "trust in officers" item. Unexpectedly, all of them were found to correlate with trust in officers and were hence taken forward. It was felt that this was an unmanageable number of variables for the advanced statistical analysis planned[16]. Previous studies have collapsed dimensions into groups (Höppner 2009; Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003). The 14 dimensions were thus collapsed into three new forms of trustworthiness created by returning to the transcripts, the literature and the two trust-participation theories.

In the seemingly common-sense view that trust in an institution or its officers encourages participation, the concept centres on the trustee's perceived willingness or ability to receive the views of the participant. As Solitare (2005, p922) puts it:

> ...in order to participate, citizens must feel as though the effectors are sincere about sharing the decision-making authority and that effectors will truly listen to citizens' concerns.

In this context, a trusting individual expects the officers to possess attributes and characteristics or exhibit behaviour which suggest they will be influenced by the opinions communicated by the trustor through participation. This will be referred to as 'perceived receptivity'. It makes sense to suggest that there is a direct relationship between receptivity and participation - the more citizens trust officers to take their views on board, the more they will be willing to share them. Even if a resident believed officers to be highly receptive, theoretically this would not, as suggested by the trust-non-participation view, discourage them from participating.

There is another form of trustworthiness which could theoretically fit into the dominant trust-participation hypothesis. Urban regeneration often occurs over a very long time scale, can cost many millions of pounds and can require the cooperation of a wide variety of organisations, both public and private. Aside from trusting officers as to whether they will be responsive to their views, residents may also question whether they have the ability to bring about such significant changes to a neighbourhood. A resident who does not believe the scheme will ever really occur may be reluctant to participate: "The locals had grown wise to officials presenting them with grand-sounding schemes that mostly came to nothing" (Fisher 2009, p20, cited in Pollock and

[16] A reduction was first sought through the method of factor analysis. This aims to identify potentially larger, latent variables upon which the original variables rest. This attempt was unsuccessful as it produced groupings of dimensions which were theoretically difficult to explain.

Sharp 2012). Cole *et al.* (2004, ii) found that a lack of resident trust in New Deal for Communities (NDC) Partnerships was based upon the inability of the NDC "to deliver". This is quite different to involvement in other forms of local governance or political participation aimed at creating or modifying policies or laws. Citizens are perhaps more likely to see the regeneration of their area as a much more complex task than passing legislation for instance. This will be referred to as 'perceived ability'- a resident's perception of the ability of officers to be capable of effectively managing projects and bringing them to fruition.

The 'alternative' theory, which posits a negative relationship between trust and participation, draws attention to the extent to which the trustees are seen to represent the interests of the trustor. If an individual does not consider their welfare to be at stake from officers' plans and work, they may well defer to them and forgo opportunities to participate. If an individual believes that their views are already being considered by officers why would they seek involvement? This will be referred to as 'perceived representativeness'. Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) infer that it is perceived representativeness at the centre of their trust-non-participation hypothesis:

> Where official trust exists, stakeholders have confidence that officials *have their best interests at heart* and the ability to make policy decisions which will successfully protect those interests
>
> (p95; emphasis added)

The more officers are perceived to be representative of a resident, the less willing they will be to participate. Even if an individual had an exceptionally high perception of officers' representativeness, they will remain unwilling to participate (in fact they may be even more unwilling to do so).

It should be noted that perceived representativeness does not refer to the *potential* for officers to act in a representative manner on behalf of a trustor. This leaves open the possibility that the trusted party requires input from the trustor in order to know in what ways they wish to be represented. Instead, it refers to a belief by the trustor that the trusted party is *currently* acting or *intends* to act in a way which is representative of them. Representativeness, with its basis most obviously in similarity, invokes the concept of salient value similarity (SVS) suggested by Earle and Cvetkovich (1995 cited in Earle and Cvetkovich 1999).

The dimensions were organised into the three groups above based upon the original transcripts (Table 4.7). It is fully acknowledged that it may be possible to make a case for some dimensions to occupy a different group, or for them to be present in more than one or even none of the three categories. The decision was made to retain all of the dimensions previously identified as it was felt important that the measurement of trustworthiness was still informed by the qualitative findings. All of the dimensions also passed the correlation "test" with overall trust. Secondly, it was decided that the three groupings should remain distinct, with none of the original dimensions present in more than one.

There were several steps involved in generating response categories for each new variable. Each original dimension of trustworthiness had their results dichotomised, in the same way as the other items described above. The responses for the items within each new category

were then totalled up. Thus the set of responses for receptivity ranged from a minimum of 0, if a respondent had not agreed with any of the receptivity items, to a maximum of 7, if a resident had agreed with all of them. The frequencies for the three new dimensions of trustworthiness are shown in Table 4.8. It was felt that the number of response categories was too large, with some occupied by a very small number of respondents. The decision was taken to reduce the number of categories using the frequencies for responses as a guide. It was originally envisaged that the new categories would use the 33.3rd and 66.6th percentile to create three new response categories of "low perceived officer [dimension group]', "medium perceived officer [dimension group]" and "high perceived officer [dimension group]" for each of the three variables. New categories, representing a short scale, would therefore be named relative to how other residents had responded to those items.

However it was soon realised that the bottom category (the 33.3rd percentile) for each of the variables would only contain responses of 0 - respondents who had not agreed with any of statements within that grouping. This was mostly due to the very large proportions of '0' responses to the items contained within each grouping. Whilst the responses were reduced to three categories, they were finally labelled "no perceived officer [dimension group]", "low perceived officer [dimension group]' and "high perceived officer [dimension group]". Whilst it should be acknowledged that these new categories did use the 33.3rd and 66.6th percentiles of the frequency distribution, the resulting groupings are far from equally distributed, as Table 4.9 shows. Again this is mostly due to the number of '0' responses to the items contained within each category.

Table 4.7 The Three Groupings of Dimensions of Trustworthiness

Perceived Officer Receptivity	Perceived Officer Ability	Perceived Officer Representativeness
Honesty	Consistency	Shared Experience
Fairness	Promise Fulfilment	Shared Perceptions
Responsiveness to Concerns	Ability to Answer Questions	Shared Priorities
Transparency		Understanding Residents' Concerns
Friendliness		
Availability to Answer Questions		
Care		

Table 4.8 Frequencies for Groupings of Dimensions

Total when Response Items Summed	Perceived Officer Receptivity		Perceived Officer Ability		Perceived Officer Representativeness	
Score	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
0	57	43.5	89	66.4	87	64.0
1	24	18.3	15	11.2	23	16.9
2	17	13.0	11	8.2	7	5.1
3	4	3.1	19	14.2	13	9.6
4	5	3.8			6	4.4
5	5	3.8				
6	3	2.3				
7	16	12.2				
Total	131	100.0	134	100.0	136	100.0
Missing	13		10		8	
Total	144		144		144	

Table 4.9 Frequencies for Reduced Categories for Groupings of Dimensions

Perception Level	Receptivity		Ability		Representativeness	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
None	57	43.5	89	66.4	87	64.0
Low	41	31.3	15	11.2	23	16.9
High	33	25.2	30	22.4	26	19.1
Total	131	100.0	134	100.0	136	100.0
Missing	13		10		8	
Total	144		144		144	

Table 4.10 shows the Cronbach's Alpha for each of the three forms of trustworthiness. This is used to assess the reliability of whether a measure consistently reflects the construct that it is measuring (Field 2009). In this study it is important to consider whether the items contained within the three new trustworthiness variables are consistently measuring the three dimensions of receptivity, ability and representativeness respectively. As the table shows, all three α values are above .7, and two are over .8. Such high values for Cronbach's alpha probably suggests good reliability (Field 2009).

Table 4.10 Internal Consistency of the Trustworthiness Groupings

Perception	Cronbach's Alpha
Perceived Officer Receptivity	0.896
Perceived Officer Ability	0.843
Perceived Officer Representativeness	0.768

Updating the Model and Rethinking the Hypotheses

Before turning to bivariate and logistic regression analysis, it is useful to revisit the original model and consider it in conjunction with the more nuanced, multifaceted view of trustworthiness described and applied above. Figure 4.4 depicts the updated model. It now shows the hypothesised relationships between the three forms of trustworthiness and the "willingness to participate" outcome variables[17]. These are based upon the two trust-participation theories. The original main hypothesis for the quantitative analysis (HP1) proposed a positive association between trust in officers and resident participation. This can now be broken down into three more finely tuned hypotheses, which focus solely on trustworthiness:

HP1a: *Residents' perception of officers'* ***receptivity is positively*** *associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

HP1b: *Residents' perception of officers'* ***ability is positively*** *associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

HP1c: *Residents' perception of officers'* ***representativeness is negatively*** *associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

[17] The updated model also depicts three other differences with the original: the omission of trust in developers, steering group and TRA variables. These variables were excluded from the updated model because the items were only relevant to the London regeneration area. Since the decision was taken to combine the data sets for both Dunston and London, these variables were removed from the model.

Figure 4.4 All Relationships Under Investigation: Updated

The three hypotheses were able to draw upon both the trust-participation and trust-non-participation hypotheses by considering the *subjects* of trust more carefully. The hypotheses focus purely on the trustworthiness element of trust and ignore dispositional trust and situational encapsulated interest. It was difficult to make renewed hypotheses for these variables because it was challenging to predict how residents would interpret the words "trust" and "trustworthy" contained within them. If trust was interpreted to mean receptivity or ability then this would be expected to exhibit a positive relationship with participation. If they were interpreted to mean "trust to be representative" then they would be expected to exhibit a negative relationship with participation. However, for dispositional trust this is part of the point – it is a *general* concept and residents will interpret it differently. It was decided that two more hypotheses were formulated which remained consistent with the original trust-participation hypothesis:

HP1d: *Residents' dispositional trust is positively associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

HP1e: *Residents' perception of the extent to which officers' interests encapsulate their own is positively associated with their participation in regeneration projects*

The secondary hypothesis (HP2) remained unchanged. Having considered the updates to the original model and hypotheses, bivariate and logistic regression analysis could then be considered.

Bivariate and Logistic Regression Analysis

First, bivariate analysis was conducted upon the three forms of perceived trustworthiness and overall trust in officers for data from both regeneration areas combined together[18]. Bivariate analysis was then conducted for every relationship in Figure 4.4. The five officer trust-related variables were of particular interest: perceived receptivity; perceived ability; perceived representativeness; SEI; and dispositional trust.[19] [20]

After conducting bivariate analysis for all the relationships depicted in Figure 4.4, the study turned to logistic regression modelling. Regression analysis is where "we fit a model to our data and use it to predict values of the dependent [outcome] variable...from one or more independent [explanatory] variables" (Field 2009, p198). Binary logistic regression was used in this study because it is a special form of regression analysis where there are only two categorical outcomes. In this case these outcomes were "willing to participate" and "other". As there were five different outcome variables - one for each form of participation - five final models

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[18] The correlation of all of the individual dimensions with trust in officers had been considered using but it was thought important to consider the relationships for the three groupings also.
[19] See Appendix G for further information on bivariate analysis
[20] All of the statistically significant relationships *which were reported* met the two assumptions of the chi-square test: the data were not from a "repeated-measures design"; and none of the contingency tables had over 20 per cent of expected frequencies less than five (Field 2009). However, there were some problems for the questionnaire/consultation outcome variable (see Appendix G).

were developed. The analysis allowed relationships between each explanatory variable and outcome variable to be explored, whilst taking account of the relationships between participation and the other explanatory and extraneous variables in the model. The modelling thus tests whether the bivariate relationships previously discovered were actually spurious. All of the models were assessed for multicollinearity, inconsistencies with the bivariate findings were investigated further and the final models underwent "criticism".[21] The findings are reported in Chapter 6.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a thorough account of both *what* the researcher did during this study, but also critically, *why* decisions were taken. It has been explicit in detailing the philosophical issues encountered, the research design constructed, the employment of the research methods chosen and the analysis conducted. This contributes to the transparency of the research and the accountability of the researcher. Critically, the chapter effectively outlined how the researcher believed that a mixed methods approach, which draws upon a constructionist-interpretivist position, can pragmatically provide answers to the five research questions of this study. It demonstrated the complementary nature of the constructionist-interpretivist worldview and the subjective nature of trust, allowing for a qualitative methodological approach to be chosen. The chapter was careful to acknowledge how a quantitative methodological approach could be effectively combined with qualitative work in order to answer different research questions within the same study.

Having detailed every stage of research design, data collection and analysis, this chapter completes the preliminary section of this thesis. The four following chapters focus entirely on the analysis of the empirical data collected during the research. Where possible the chapters have been set out in a way which corresponds to answering each research question:

- **Chapter 5**, *Trust and Dimensions of Trustworthiness,* seeks to answer the **first research question**, exploring how residents in regeneration areas relate to the notion of trust in officers and what elements they believe comprise trustworthiness.

- **Chapter 6**, *Exploring the Relationship between Trust and Participation*, seeks to answer the **second research question**, exploring the extent to which trust-related perceptions influence residents' willingness to participate in regeneration projects. It also provides data and analysis which contribute to answering the **fifth research question**, which asks what other factors may influence resident participation.

- **Chapter 7**, *Other Objects of Trust,* presents the data collected and analysed which can answer the **third research question**, reporting and analysing residents' perception of

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[21] See Appendix G for more information on the logistic regression analysis and the problems encountered.

other organisations or individuals in relation to the concept of trust which may be relevant to participation.

- **Chapter 8**, *Participation,* seeks to answer the **fourth and fifth research questions**, investigating how residents relate to participatory opportunities in regeneration and what other engagement-influencing factors arose from the qualitative data analysis.

Chapter 5: Trust and Dimensions of Trustworthiness

5.1 Introduction

Trust has been suggested as a key factor for resident participation in urban regeneration (Cole *et al.* 2004; Jarvis *et al.* 2011; Mathers *et al.* 2008). However, the concept has suffered from a lack of critical enquiry in this particular context which has left its meaning and relevance unclear. This chapter seeks to fill this gap, reporting and analysing the findings of this study which directly relate to the concept of trust, using data from both qualitative phases of the research and some of the data acquired from the resident questionnaire. Its chief aim is to outline the dimensions of trustworthiness which were seen to underpin either existing or potential resident trust in regeneration officers. This is directed toward answering the first research question, which asks:

What characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals contribute to resident perceptions of their trustworthiness?

This chapter also presents detailed analysis exploring how research participants conceptualised trust and the extent of their trust in different groups. The findings have implications for future trust research, which are explored further in Chapter 9.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section takes data from both of the qualitative stages of the research to focus on how trust was discussed and conceptualised by research participants. The findings reported and explored in the second section are taken from the first stage of qualitative research, which sought to identify dimensions of officers' trustworthiness from residents' perspectives. The 14 dimensions of officer trustworthiness which emerged are organised into the three groupings detailed earlier in Chapter 4: perceived receptivity; perceived ability; and perceived representativeness. Some statistics are included from the questionnaire data which show respondents' perceptions of officers and the correlation between dimensions and overall trust in officers. This section also reports interviewees' responses which refer to the other two components of trust outlined in the theoretical framework - dispositional trust and situational encapsulated interest (SEI).

5.2 Resident Perceptions of Trust: Invisible Trust and Misconceived Trust

This section of the chapter considers the way in which participants discussed trust during semi-structured interviews. It does not focus purely on trust in officers, but also details important observations regarding the general usage (or lack thereof) of the term trust by participants. The section highlights the difference between an academic interpretation of trust as a concept and the perception of trust as a term by residents, putting forward two concepts: 'invisible trust' and 'misconceived trust'.

One of the most notable findings from the qualitative interviews with residents was the omission of the specific term "trust" when participants discussed the regeneration projects and their perception of officers. This was especially surprising given that participants had been briefed both verbally and in writing that trust was one of the main foci of the research. Some of the participants had also completed the resident questionnaire prior to the interview, which had asked several questions about trust. If anything, one might have expected participants to refer to the concept to a greater extent, perhaps under the impression that this might be desired by the researcher. Instead, many of the residents refrained from mentioning the term specifically, prior to the researcher directly enquiring about the concept.

When the term was discussed by participants, it was notable how their conceptualisations of trust sometimes differed from that contained within the theoretical framework of this study. This became starkly apparent during an interview with Sam in Gateshead. After making a number of critical comments about local councillors, he was asked about the concept of trust:

> Interviewer: What, in what way do you trust [councillors] or don't trust them? Do you trust them to do some things and not trust them to do others?
>
> Sam:...*I don't know if it's about trust*...I think they lack the skills needed to decide on policy...It's like me telling a plumber what to do...I'm a joiner. How can I tell him what to do?...you have to have some skills...when you become a Councillor do they not get some sort of training like a Magistrate gets...so there should be some sort of system, *I wouldn't say that trust is the right word*...I think the word is...lack of knowledge, like a qualification...You know like somebody says, oh we'll vote for him, he's a bus driver, and the Mayor of Gateshead now is a bus driver, was a bus driver. Well, I'm sorry but what?...*it's just, not trust*...there's got be a word for that I cannae think of the word...
>
> (Sam, male, 50-64, Chandless; emphasis added)

Sam seemed adamant that his view of local councillors was not related to the concept of trust. However, this clearly appeared to be the case when using the definition of trust presented in the theoretical framework for this study, which, in essence, defined it as "the willingness to accept vulnerability based upon expectations of another party's behaviour". Sam questioned why people should vote for candidates who he feels are poorly placed to make policy decisions. He reported that they lack the relevant skills, experience and qualifications. He appeared unwilling to accept the vulnerability which would come from voting for such an individual, clearly based upon poor expectations of how they would perform in the role. However, Sam repeatedly disagreed with the suggestion that this is an issue of trust. It seemed to be a case of what one might term 'invisible distrust' – where distrust is clearly present to the academic observer but is not recognised by the individual. It is akin to a "false negative" or Type II error, where what is present has not been identified. One must therefore be cautious in presupposing that the absence of the term trust when not directly asked about in discussions with residents demonstrates its perceived unimportance in participatory urban regeneration. Perceptions of

(dis)trustworthiness as defined by the academic community may well exist and be influencing behaviour, but these may simply remain unexpressed by residents in this way.

The opposite issue was also identified in this research. Some residents discussed and applied the concept of trust where it appeared to be out of place according to the definition used in this thesis. The definition of trust used in this study specifies that the expectations upon which the intention to accept vulnerability are based have to be irrespective of the trustor's ability to monitor or control the trustee. The act of drawing up a legally binding contract, therefore, is inimical to trust. Such an act infers a lack of trust, which is replaced by the control and monitoring implied by a contract. The trust burden shifts from the trustee to a third-party who must enforce the contract. If the third-party can be trusted to monitor those who signed the contract, and enforce it should either break any of the terms, then the would-be trustor is now basing their expectations of the other party's intentions or behaviour on those of the third-party. There is limited trust between the two original parties who signed the contract.

Despite this tension between trust and control, London resident Teresa appeared to identify legal contracts as an aspect of officers' trustworthiness:

> What would make them more trustworthy...I think we're doing as much as we can to get out of them because we've made them sign agreements, tenancy agreements...leaseholder agreements...we've tied them in to get the best deals, make sure the tenants aren't being screwed over...you know if they sign contracts then they are legally binding then in which case you do trust...we're going down the legal route...
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

Indeed, the use of the phrase "tied them in" clearly demonstrated Teresa's acknowledgement of how a contract allows the would-be trustor control over the other party. The perception that tenants have the possibility of "being screwed over" suggested a deficit of trust in officers (indeed she claimed not to trust them fully). Teresa went on to suggest that the contract meant that officers could not do any more to build trust in them from residents:

> They can't, I don't think they can do anything more than they're already doing...They're agreeing to things, they're putting things in writing, it's been legally kind of binding
>
> (ibid)

She appeared to suggest that her trust in officers was increased by their decision to sign contracts. The interviewee's perception of trust was therefore different to the one applied in this study - Teresa perhaps used the term 'trust' where this study would identify only 'expectations', which here are based upon legally contracted obligations[22]. Sameena, who

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[22] This is why the drawing up of contracts was not identified as a dimension of trustworthiness from the interview with Teresa, despite her acknowledgement of its positive impact on her trust in officers. The third coding criterion stated that dimensions had to be consistent with the conceptualisation of trust presented in the theoretical framework.

also lived on the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates, made a similar reference when asked how officers could increase residents' trust in them:

> ...make a proper documentation, this is what we can offer you, with detailed information not just in few words shortcut...All the details so that we understand properly plus have a meeting where they explain everything properly...And if there is any issues or questions we would like to ask, to be asked it there...And put in writing as well...So we know there's definitely, so that we are sure we have some kind of form in writing in later stages that don't do...what they're supposed to do, so we can show we've got this agreement that this is what you said...So we can take it to court or something like that
> (Sameena, female, 30-39, London)

The reference to court suggested Sameena was vaguely talking about some kind of legally binding document with officers, which she reported would increase her trust in them. However, once again one could argue that it is not the officers who become trustworthy in this act. They merely provide some sense of a guarantee that due process is being followed and that this may allow residents to challenge officers in the future if they are seen to stray from the agreement. Again the possibility was raised that residents' subjective definition of trust may not include the final clause used by this study: "irrespective of [the trustor's] ability to monitor or control the trustee". Tariq, however, made it clear that he distinguished between trust and contracts:

> Tariq: ...they've got this, this contract coming in and I like the idea of a contract but not one that's got loads of holes in it, because the contract is nothing to do with the trust really. It's all on paper, it's all legal, it's black and white. You've got the law to back you up. If you put your trust in somebody, it's faith isn't it? You can still get done over.
>
> Interviewer: [It's] the risk, isn't it?
>
> Tariq: Yeah exactly. I think that's the key word – the risk. With the contract, the contract is supposed to come in and alleviate that risk, if they could sort that out, the developers and council, I think they'd get a lot more support.

The "mistaken" linking of legally binding documents to trust by some residents allowed the concept to be incorrectly identified as an aspect of trustworthiness, either in the present or in a potential future. This exemplifies what might be referred to as "misconceived trust". This is the opposite of invisible trust. Misconceived trust is akin to a false positive or Type I error, where what has been identified is not actually present. That is not to say that trust is misplaced or has been betrayed. Misconceived is merely intended to communicate a mistaken labelling of the term by the participant *from the academic perspective*.

Other residents also appeared to discuss trust in a way which suggested that they defined the concept differently. London resident Bernadette appeared to blur the line between her expectations, which have a direct connection to trust, with what she would *like* to occur:

> Interviewer: ...If you were to go along to the meeting in November like you're planning on and you were to talk to an officer and tell them what you thought, would you trust them to listen to you and to take on board what you say?
>
> Bernadette: Oh yeah yeah yeah I would and *I'd hope they'll take on board what I have to say* myself and my husband what we have to say and if they don't then, you know, it's not like my opinion will be like I don't find my opinion like very important to them, they're still gonna go ahead ...And whether [the officers] put it down or not they're still gonna go and do it...
>
> (emphasis added)

The discussion continued later in the interview:

> Interviewer:...so you say that you'd trust the officers to take on board what you say...the people from the council. Why do you think that?
>
> Bernadette: I suppose because they're there for that, they're there to take on board what us residents have something to say...when I do [attend] yeah *I would like them to listen* to what I've got to say
>
> (emphasis added)

Bernadette appeared to believe that officers may not listen to her, yet she trusted them to do so. This appears paradoxical and does not appear to be trust as conceptualised in the study. Instead, Bernadette was interpreting trust as *hope*. She wanted and hoped that officers would listen to her and her husband, but this does not imply feelings of trust using this study's theoretical framework. This thesis, supported by much of the academic literature, posits that trust is comprised of expectations of others' future behaviour, rather than hopes as to how we would like others to act.

Robert, another West Kensington resident, made a similar connection:

> I mean to be honest in one way I kind of still kind of trust them to do [the project] right 'cause I hope that... *I would hope* they would do it right to be honest especially as they have actually got quite close to some of the residents on the estate...just from their own kind of personal point of view...
>
> (Robert, male, 40-49, London; emphasis added)

Here Robert seemed to not only explain his trust in terms of hope but also very vaguely suggested that his trust may be based upon what he believed officers *should* do, due to their personal connections with residents. He hoped that from their own personal point of view officers might strive to "do it right". However, these comments appear to be based around what he thought the "right" outcome should be, rather than what he thought would happen in reality. However, Robert went on to partially step back from this overlapping of concepts and inferred some sense of a distinction:

> In general I trust the people I've met and I think I trust the council but you know trust is only a kind of...kind of non-tangible thing...so you could trust them all the way 'til you have proof to see if they're trustworthy...so I *hope* so, I hope so and I think so, but you know, who knows?
>
> (ibid., his emphasis)

Here Robert seemed to acknowledge that trust involves the absence of proof and implies some sense of risk, which (noting his emphasis) means that "hope" is a more accurate expression of his feelings. However, his final comment shows how his hopes and expectations align, making it difficult for them to be entirely teased apart.

A comment made by Tracey also contributed to some confusion over the concept of trust, specifically focussing on her perception of how to develop it with officers. When asked how the people working on the project could increase the trust invested in them, Tracey suggested that they allow residents to vote on whether the estates should be included in the regeneration plans or not. Indeed, the residents who oppose the proposals in West Kensington had consistently called upon the council to hold a vote to determine whether or not residents are supportive of the plans. Originally, Tracey's comment appeared to link together a sense of fairness with trustworthiness, which Tracey confirmed. It could be argued that the devolution of the responsibility for the nature of the plans to the residents clearly communicates a sense of fairness from the officers themselves. It may suggest that officers are completely committed to being receptive to residents' wishes and concerns. However, the author later decided that this was not further evidence of the fairness dimension described in the next section. Rather, her comment appeared to simply represent a switching of the object of trust – from the distrusted local authority to the, presumably, trusted residents, of which Tracey is one. From this perspective the comment does not capture an aspect of trustworthiness; it simply describes changing the party who is responsible for decision-making. Her comment invokes the work of Mathers *et al* (2008, p603) who state that to increase participation in regeneration:

> ...it may be necessary to change the perception of the delivering organisation and indeed to shift the organising role to a 'trusted' body. This could necessitate a greater role for the community and voluntary sector...

If the residents were to vote over the plans, the regeneration may occur in the way Tracey would like and this may mean that as a result she may trust officers more. However, it is debateable whether her trust in officers would be increased if she did not agree with the result. Indeed, it could be that some residents would even see such a result as a symbol of the untrustworthiness of the local authority. It seems that some residents may not only possess different views on the meaning of trust but also on the difference between building it and shifting it.

The findings presented and analysed in this section of the chapter demonstrate the way in which the term trust was discussed and interpreted by participants. Many residents simply did not raise the term specifically until it was asked about directly. This may be

because they believed trust to be implicit in the other terms used. It could be that residents simply did not view trust as relevant to the discussion. For others trust may be defined in such a way that they believe it is not an appropriate term for the feeling or issue they aimed to describe. Indeed it was shown how one resident denied that trust was relevant to a discussion when, from the academic perspective, trust was clearly fundamental. This is referred to here as invisible trust, where trust/distrust as academically conceptualised may be present or relevant, but where the word itself either remains unmentioned or is denied by the individual according to their own view of the concept. Conversely, residents may raise or identify the concept when it appears unjustified from an academic perspective. Some residents appeared to believe that the production of legally binding documents would build trust, whilst others interpreted hope as trust. This is labelled here as misconceived trust. The phenomena of both invisible trust and misconceived trust exist due to the variety of perspectives on what precisely is meant by 'trust'. It is a problem of semantics. Indeed, Laeequddin *et al* (2010) documents the extent of the conceptual ambiguity of trust within the academic community alone, listing over 40 definitions for the term. Furthermore, one comment by a resident suggested potential confusion over the difference between building trust and simply changing the trustee to a party who is already trusted.

These findings present fundamental methodological questions which are unlikely to be confined to this study or urban regeneration in general. They question the value of using the term trust in trust research. Should the term, as defined by the researcher, have been explained to participants before interviews commenced? Should the interviewer have asked residents to define the term or challenge them when their view of trust did not correspond with that of the researcher? If trust is a social construction is it really appropriate or valid to begin a piece of trust research with a theoretical framework which defines the term so specifically? Some of these questions will be discussed in Chapter 9. In summary this section used qualitative data to discuss how some residents' interpretation of the term trust differed from the definition provided in the theoretical framework of the study. The next section considers the dimensions of officer trustworthiness to emerge from interviews with residents.

5.3 Dimensions of Regeneration Officer Trustworthiness

Trust has often been used by academics in participatory urban regeneration without much critical reflection on the nature of trust or trustworthiness in this particular context. This section considers regeneration officer trustworthiness in an attempt to fill this gap in knowledge. It aims to tackle the first research question of the study:

What characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals contribute to resident perceptions of their trustworthiness?

This section reports on and analyses 14 dimensions of trustworthiness which emerged from the first stage of qualitative interviews with residents living across the Chandless, Dunston and

West Kensington regeneration areas. It also reports the statistical data for each dimension, obtained via the resident questionnaire. As detailed in Chapter 4, the dimensions were arranged into three groups: receptivity; ability; and representativeness, which provide the structure for this section.

Dimensions Relating to Receptivity

Receptivity refers to the perception that regeneration officers actively receive the views of residents. The following dimensions of trustworthiness were placed into this group: transparency; fairness; honesty; friendliness; availability to answer questions; responsiveness to concerns; and care. All of these dimensions were seen to correlate strongly with trust in regeneration officers with high statistical significance ($p<.01$; Table 5.1). Taking all of these dimensions together, more than four in ten of questionnaire respondents (43.5 per cent) did not believe officers to be receptive. Perceived officer receptivity as a grouping was seen to have a moderate and highly significant association with trust in officers ($r_s=.39$, $p<.01$).

<u>Transparency</u>

One Gateshead resident raised the issue of officer transparency in connection to trust. Leanne explained how she thought that officers should write to residents to keep them updated on the latest decisions which have been taken regarding the relocation element of the project. In answer to a question about how officers might increase the trust invested in them, she replied:

> ...I think sometimes when they're saying things like, when we could be rehoused back down there and now we're here and that we cannot...They should give word in writing
>
> (Leanne, female, Dunston)

She explained how residents were originally told that they would be offered the chance to move back into one of the new properties once construction was complete.

Table 5.1 Frequencies of Receptivity Dimensions and Correlation with Trust in Officers

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston		Correlation with Trust in Regeneration Officers (Spearman's Rho)
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Transparency (The regeneration officers work transparently)	Total Disagree	29	21.0	12	21.8	17	20.5	.590**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	76	55.1	27	49.1	49	59.0	
	Total Agree	33	23.9	16	29.1	17	20.5	
	Totals	138	100.0	55	100.0	83	100.0	
Fairness (The regeneration officers are fair)	Total Disagree	24	17.6	11	20.0	13	16.0	.648**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	78	57.4	22	40.0	56	69.1	
	Total Agree	34	25.0	22	40.0	12	14.8	
	Totals	136	100.0	55	100.0	81	100.0	
Honesty (The regeneration officers are honest)	Total Disagree	22	16.3	11	20.4	11	13.6	.581**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	84	62.2	25	46.3	59	72.8	
	Total Agree	29	21.5	18	33.3	11	13.6	
	Totals	135	100.0	54	100.0	81	100.0	
Friendliness (Regeneration officers are unfriendly - *reversed*)	Total Disagree	10	7.3	4	7.3	6	7.3	.405**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	79	57.7	24	43.6	55	67.1	
	Total Agree	48	35.0	27	49.1	21	25.6	
	Totals	137	100.0	55	100.0	82	100.0	
Availability to answer questions (The regeneration officers are available to see me to answer my questions)	Total Disagree	36	25.9	10	18.2	26	31.0	.452**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	60	43.2	19	34.5	41	48.8	
	Total Agree	43	30.9	26	47.3	17	20.2	
	Totals	139	100.0	55	100.0	84	100.0	
Responsiveness to concerns (The regeneration officers respond to my concerns)	Total Disagree	23	16.8	12	22.2	11	13.3	.488**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	80	58.4	20	37.0	60	72.3	
	Total Agree	34	24.8	22	40.7	12	14.5	
	Totals	137	100.0	54	100.0	83	100.0	
Caring (The regeneration officers care about people like me)	Total Disagree	39	28.3	16	29.1	23	27.7	.639**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	66	47.8	21	38.2	45	54.2	
	Total Agree	33	23.9	18	32.7	15	18.1	
	Totals	138	100.0	55	100.0	83	100.0	
Overall Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	57	43.5	16	30.8	41	51.9	0.391**
	Low	41	31.3	15	28.8	26	32.9	
	High	33	25.2	21	40.4	12	15.2	
	Totals	131	100	52	100	79	100	

** Significant at p< .01

Leanne felt that this was no longer clear and explained how rumours had begun to circulate which suggested that residents would not be offered this opportunity. She therefore believed that the officers should make the situation clear by contacting directly the people who used to live on the estate. This appeared to be a clear example of how the transparency of officers' work through regular communication with residents has the potential to engender resident trust in them.

Previous trust research has tended not to identify transparency as a dimension, but many have referred to the concept of "openness". Petts (1998) and Höppner (2009) combine within openness the ideas of both transparency and willingness to hear about people's interests, thus uniting two separate dimensions identified in this study. Butler (1991, p648) is vaguer, stating simply that "openness refers to the giving of ideas".

Fairness

Fairness is closely linked with the concept of trust in the academic literature. Höppner (2009) reports how fairness was a critical dimension of trust for most interviewees in her research and Butler (1991) also found that over one third of his participants mentioned the term. Petts (1998) identified the related dimension of "objectivity", whilst Leahy and Anderson (2008) encapsulated fairness within their dimension of "procedural justice". In this study, fairness was not raised by residents living in Gateshead but was discussed by residents in the London regeneration area. This is perhaps understandable, given the wider support for regeneration reported in both Gateshead estates, compared to the passionate and sustained disagreement between residents living on West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates. However, fairness was not discussed at length by the participants in London who did refer to it. For example, when asked what makes a trustworthy regeneration officer, Tara simply stated that it was, "somebody that can listen to both sides", before moving on to discuss other aspects of trustworthiness. The indirect links which she made between officers' fairness and their responsiveness to residents' concerns were particularly interesting:

> Someone that can reflect on what is heard and not do the party line of well that's not going to happen, that's not going to happen, so they're already not in a position of trust because whatever you say isn't going to have any impact whatsoever.
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

As one might expect, she appeared to feel that the neutrality of the officers was closely connected to their ability to be influenced by participating residents.

Honesty

Whilst only Höppner (2009) identifies honesty as a dimension in previous qualitative research, the concept was contained within the dimension of objectivity proposed by Petts (1998). In this study the honesty of officers was discussed by residents living in both

Gateshead and London. As a dimension of trustworthiness it tended to be remarked upon explicitly by participants. Trisha in Dunston described a trustworthy officer as "a person that doesn't tell lies" whilst Tina said that "they've got to tell you the truth". When asked what makes a trustworthy regeneration officer, a pro-regeneration resident of West Kensington recounted her experience of working with officers through the steering group:

> ...I think if they're going to be trustworthy then they need to tell you the good and the bad...not just sell it to you...I've found that if you ask a straight question they'll give you a straight answer...I mean it's not all been kind of hunky dory...at the moment there are ...phasing issues...they've been straight with us... they came they said that they wanted it...they proposed to do it, to do Phase 1 and Phase 2 in in a certain way
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

Teresa's reference to the honesty of the regeneration officers is somewhat similar to the transparency dimension, with both connected to effective communication of the details of the proposal to residents. However, in this case it is prompted by the "straight question[s]" asked by the residents. The participant went on to explain how this perceived honesty on the part of the officers allowed the residents to press for alternatives to the phasing arrangements of the regeneration plans.

Tara, who also lived in London but opposed the regeneration project, said that it was too late for officers to restore her trust in them:

> Because once you've lost trust and you can evidence why you've lost it, it would take an awful amount for me to be anywhere near convinced that they weren't still lying to me. I find it very hard to trust people once they've consistently, continually either lied or misrepresented or been very negative....
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

The misrepresentation commented upon by the interviewee referred to photographs which were distributed depicting problems with the estate. This form of honesty has obvious similarities with the 'shared perceptions' dimension of trustworthiness discussed later in this section of the chapter. However, the data still suggests a distinct honesty dimension as the participant lacks trust in officers due to their allegedly purposeful distortion of what the resident sees as the truth, not simply because of the differences in perception.

Friendliness

Vincent in London and Nora in Gateshead referred to the friendliness of officers when discussing their trustworthiness. Other studies have not identified friendliness as a dimension. Indeed, in the two interviews in which friendliness was mentioned, the reference was brief, and the conversation swiftly moved on to discuss other dimensions. In Gateshead, Nora appeared to associate officers' friendliness with their understanding of residents' concerns, as well their responsiveness to these concerns. Vincent linked the officers' friendliness with their ability to

answer questions, providing residents with information that they sought. However, despite the fleetingness with which friendliness was discussed, two residents clearly mentioned this as an aspect which influenced their trust in officers and therefore it constitutes a distinct dimension.

Availability to Answer Questions

Butler (1991) refers specifically to availability as important regarding trust. Other studies (Höppner 2009; Petts 1998) have not isolated availability as a distinct dimension but it did emerge as one in this study. Residents in both Gateshead and London discussed officers' availability in connection to the trust invested in them. Nora in Chandless simply mentioned that "you can phone them up at any-[time] if you want to ask anything". The availability of officers was often referred to in the context of asking them questions by residents. Whilst discussing what she felt makes a trustworthy regeneration officer, West Kensington resident Teresa said that "[officers have] always been there to answer the questions...they meet...residents face to face". Indeed, the 'visibility' aspect of availability inferred in the phrase "face to face" was echoed throughout an interview with another London resident. Whilst Tracey said that officers should be open to being asked questions, she also said "you should be able to see them", argued that they should hold public meetings where "they're facing us" and spoke of the importance of being able to "eyeball someone". This invokes the connection between "facework" and trust made by Giddens (1990). It may be that the trust placed in officers which stems from their availability rests upon notions of their *visibility* within a community or *apparent* availability, rather than officers' *actual* openness to receiving questions from residents.

Responsiveness to Concerns

If public participation is connected to ideas of influence, then it seems obvious that the perceived willingness or ability of officers to respond to the concerns and issues raised by residents is central to participation in regeneration projects. Evidence from the interviews with residents suggests that it is also central in perceptions of officers' trustworthiness. In Chandless, Mandy felt that officers' unwavering commitment to their own plan, despite what residents might say, resulted in a lack of trust in them:

> ...it's always gonna be the case that it doesn't matter...if [officers are] gonna sit down to you and have this great big meeting, it doesn't matter what you're gonna say, it's just a foregone conclusion. It's gonna happen, end of.
> (Mandy, female, 50-64, Chandless)

She felt that even if local people had voted against the demolition of their homes then officers would still have gone ahead with their plans:

> ...me and [resident]'s known from the beginning like I said that [tower block] was coming down and nowt anybody said, any meetings, all that money spent on meetings, were gonna make no difference...It was coming down.
> (ibid.)

As one might expect, the controversial nature of the regeneration scheme in London meant that this dimension of trustworthiness was repeatedly raised by interviewees on both sides of the debate. Tracey explained that she did not trust the officers working on the project because "it's about them and the vision that they have" and that they saw the residents as "messing up their vision". Far from seeing the participation process as one of piecemeal consensus-building, she felt that she had been "dismissed" by an officer who failed to follow up on a telephone conversation with the resident, believing him to be uninterested. Steering group member Teresa described a trustworthy officer as somebody who is "prepared to work with you...to come to a compromise". As has already been noted, officers' perceived fairness appeared to be connected to their responsiveness to residents' concerns according to some participants. Tara described a trustworthy officer as:

> ...somebody that you don't feel that it's a fait accompli from the beginning and that their job is not to get our trust but is to convince us that what they have already decided is going to be good for us and that isn't what I call trust
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

Whilst there was some consensus amongst participants on the importance of responsiveness to officers' perceived trustworthiness, there were vastly differing accounts of the extent to which this was demonstrated by officers. Vincent, who trusted the officers and was supportive of the London scheme, said that officers were "taking your word and what you think should be changed...they're drawing in the plans" and later, "I feel they're...taking our points of view on and changing and we feel we...trust them". Similarly, Teresa explained that the relationship between residents and officers "has become a partnership". She recalled how the phasing of the redevelopment had been subject to revision via the resident steering group:

> ...they proposed to do it, to do Phase 1 and Phase 2...in a certain way...We weren't terribly happy with it...so it's been sent back to the drawing board...and they've come back again and...we've said no...it's still not, not good enough and so it's gone back to the drawing board again, so...it's a working relationship, it's as much as they need to trust us as we need to trust them
> (Teresa, female, London)

Teresa linked trust with a process in which officers respond to the concerns of residents. Interestingly, the final comment infers some sense of reciprocity. This was the only reference to *officers'* trust in *residents* in either Gateshead or London. Whilst reciprocity has been suggested as a dimension of trustworthiness in other fields (Höppner 2009) this extract does not demonstrate that Teresa's trust in officers is based upon her perception that officers trust residents. Instead, it is a comment on the nature of compromise and the participatory process. Teresa suggested that the on-going partnership between officers and residents requires reciprocal trust. She did not directly state that her trust in them is underpinned by the trust they place in her and the other residents. However, she may have been suggesting that officers' responsiveness to resident concerns is enhanced when residents are trusted. The

"responsiveness to concerns" dimension therefore subsumes any potential "trusting residents" dimension.

One might think that the condition of receptivity identified in the study by Butler (1991) might parallel the dimension of responsiveness to concerns put forward here, but he compared it to the idea of accessibility, which is quite different. Höppner (2009) came close to including a similar dimension in her identification of reciprocity which she describes as 'give and take', implying willingness to compromise. However, Petts (1998, p315) identified a characteristic most closely connected to responsiveness, in "willing to alter proposals after public comment" which was placed within her openness dimension.

Care

Residents who referred to the caring or uncaring nature of officers tended not to do so in relation to the concept of trust and therefore these instances were not coded as evidence of care as a dimension of trustworthiness. However, one resident living in the London regeneration area did refer to care when speaking about the trustworthiness of officers. Unfortunately, Paisi requested that her interview was not recorded and therefore there is no verbatim extract which can be included in this analysis. Both Petts (1998) and Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) also identified care as dimensions in the fields of waste management and risk regulation respectively.

Dimensions Relating to Ability

The dimensions contained within this category were thought to connect to officers' ability, which here refers to the perception that they can manage and deliver the regeneration project. It is based upon the notion that residents need to believe that a project has some chance of occurring if they are to participate, (Cole *et al.* 2004; Fisher 2009, p20, cited in Pollock and Sharp 2012). Three dimensions were placed within this group: consistency; promise fulfilment; and the ability to answer questions. Taking the questionnaire data for all three dimensions together, two thirds of the respondents were ranked as believing the regeneration officers had no ability (89 out of 134; Table 5.2). However, twice as many were assessed as perceiving officers to have high ability (22.4 per cent) as low (11.2 per cent). The ability grouping showed moderate and significant association with trust in regeneration officers (r_s=.43, p<.01).

Table 5.2 Frequencies of Ability Dimensions and Correlation with Trust in Officers

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston		Correlation with Trust in Regeneration Officers (Spearman's Rho)
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Consistency (Different regeneration officers say different things regarding the project - *reversed*)	Total Disagree	37	27.2	21	38.9	16	19.5	.286**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	71	52.2	18	33.3	53	64.6	
	Total Agree	28	20.6	15	27.8	13	15.9	
	Totals	136	100.0	54	100.0	82	100.0	
Promise fulfilment (The regeneration officers break their promises - *reversed*)	Total Disagree	17	12.5	9	16.4	8	9.9	.522**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	86	63.2	28	50.9	58	71.6	
	Total Agree	33	24.3	18	32.7	15	18.5	
	Totals	136	100.0	55	100.0	81	100.0	
Ability to answer questions (The regeneration officers are unable to answer my questions - *reversed*)	Total Disagree	26	19.3	15	27.8	11	13.6	.452**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	76	56.3	20	37.0	56	69.1	
	Total Agree	33	24.4	19	35.2	14	17.3	
	Totals	135	100.0	54	100.0	81	100.0	
Overall Perceived Officer Ability	None	89	66.4	30	61.2	59	72.8	.428**
	Low	15	11.2	6	12.2	9	11.1	
	High	30	22.4	17	34.7	13	16.0	
	Totals	134	100.0	53	108.2	81	100.0	

** Significant at p< .01

Consistency

The consistency of the regeneration officers was raised during a discussion of their trustworthiness with Mandy in Gateshead. She explained how it drove her "insane" when officers would provide conflicting information and suggested that to "have two people tell the same story" would increase her trust in them. Consistency has been identified and discussed in previous trust research (Butler 1991), and has been sometimes referred to as 'reliability' in other studies (Höppner 2009; Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003). Consistent behaviour by individuals may encourage others to form more robust expectations of their future action than those formed by witnessing erratic behaviour. Such expectations may engender a willingness to accept vulnerability, and hence trust. A dimension of trustworthiness related to consistency was identified for the land use planning committee studied by Höppner (2009) but this was referred to as "reliability" and involved the maintenance of agreements. Presumably Butler (1991) intended his consistency dimension in a similar way. This aspect of behaviour – the

consistency of one person over time - is encapsulated within the dimension of promise fulfilment in the following subsection. Here, consistency captures intra-organisational consistency with other officers. Whilst it could be argued that this form of consistency is a trait of the department or organisation, rather than the individual officers, it was clearly identified by one resident as relating to officers. Whilst officers might disagree with one another, a professional's ability and willingness to effectively communicate with other officers and ensure that they present information to residents which is consistent with that of their colleagues can be seen as a personal characteristic.

Promise Fulfilment

Officers' past record on keeping the promises they made to residents was identified as a dimension of trustworthiness by participants in both Gateshead and London. This has salience with past research, as Butler (1991) identified promise fulfilment as a condition of trust in his study, whilst it is encapsulated within the dimension of reliability in the work of Höppner (2009). Leanne described a trustworthy officer as simply one that "stick[s] by their word", whilst Trisha explained that they trusted officers during the participant's relocation because "[what] they did say at the time was going to happen did happen". When asked what it was about the officers that made them trustworthy, Sam explained how an officer followed up on organising property viewings for his impending relocation:

> Well everything they've told me, they've done...That's about it really...Do you know what I'm saying? I mean when [officer] came to see me...she said...have you not had a viewing [Sam]? I said well no, nothing, I've applied but I've no viewings. Within a week we had a viewing and we got the flat.
>
> (Sam, male, 50-64, Chandless)

A similarly personal agreement was recalled by a resident who did not trust the regeneration officers working on the project in London. Tracey spoke of how she felt let down after she made the effort to call an officer on the telephone:

> I did take the opportunity to phone one of the officers...and I asked him to send me some documents...and he never did...and he never contacted me again...and I just thought jobsworth...you know he spoke to me very nicely on the phone "mmmm" and then he didn't follow through. I made my judgement from that ...and that is how I...judge people, whether they follow through or not
>
> (Tracey, female, 50-64, London)

Importantly, Tracey referred to this experience again when asked to explain her lack of trust in officers, saying, "it was then I thought, when he didn't come back to me, oh well no. You...dismissed me, you're not really interested".

The above examples tend to infer that promise fulfilment primarily concerns officers' ability to ensure that previously agreed arrangements are maintained and satisfied. However,

another aspect appeared to be inferred by other residents. Tina explained how her lack of trust in officers stemmed from her experiences of relocation:

> ...[Officer]...told me that there was a three bedroomed house coming...'you'll definitely get one [Tina]', there was me, the [family name], [resident] and [resident] left. 'You'll definitely get one 'cause [resident] needs a four bedroom'. Three times she told me I would get that house. I didn't get it. She gave it to somebody else...Three times...she promised me somewhere to live and then she took it off us. So no I don't trust [officer] one bit
>
> (Tina, female, Dunston)

Whilst this might initially seem similar to the examples given above, the resident went on to explain that "[officers] just lie, they just tell you what you wanna know and then they take it off you" and felt they were "just blatantly lying to you all the time". This may suggest that the resident felt the officer was not fulfilling their promises because they were agreeing to unrealistic or unachievable goals in order to temporarily satisfy residents. Therefore, another aspect of this dimension may be the professionals' competence in making accurate and sensible promises.

This was somewhat similar to another discussion of promise fulfilment in London. Tara identified the perceived flouting of an agreement for the regeneration plans not to include the construction of tower blocks as a reason for her lack of trust in officers:

> ...So if you ask them, for example, they say there will absolutely be no tower blocks, that's what we were told and then when I saw the model I said, '[officer] they're tower blocks' and they said, this was the developer, 'ah no they're not tower blocks' and I said 'well what are they then?' and he said 'oh that's a good question' [laughs].
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

Tara later recalled this incident when discussing trust, commenting "I've learnt not to trust [the officers] because for example, 'there will be no tower blocks'". It is questionable as to how well placed the officer who made the promise was to ensure that tower blocks were not built. Rather than being a personal commitment to organise viewings or follow up on a telephone conversation, this example is a perceived betrayal of an agreement which relates to the regeneration plans as a whole, rather than just the resident in question. It is entirely possible that this is actually another case of an unrealistic, short-term assurance being given which undermines trust once it is broken. This contrasts with the earlier examples where promise fulfilment captured a lack of willingness to satisfy perhaps more realistic agreements.

Notably, the latter aspect of promise fulfilment overlaps with the honesty dimension of trustworthiness. However, there is a subtle difference between the two. Honesty encapsulates apparent statements of fact which refer to the past or present, which are interpreted as true or untrue. The aspect of promise fulfilment which relates to honesty refers to making statements regarding *future* behaviour or events which cannot be shown to be true or untrue at the time the promise is made. This allows for the differentiation between the allegedly dishonest representation of the London estates by officers recounted by Tara earlier in the chapter and her frustration over the perceived breaking of a promise regarding tower blocks on the estates.

The former refers to the current nature of the estates, whereas the latter relates to the forthcoming regeneration scheme.

Ability to Answer Questions

Regeneration officers' ability to answer residents' questions was discussed in connection with trust by participants in both Gateshead and London. As will be discussed in Chapter 8, many of the residents who participated in the research explained how they attended meetings with officers primarily to glean information about the regeneration project. This may explain some residents' frustration at not having their questions answered. For example, when asked what makes a trustworthy officer, Tina said:

> ...they've got to talk to you about things that are going on, not, you know, 'we don't know anything about that', that's all you get off them when you ring up ...they don't know what you're talking about
>
> (Tina, female, Dunston)

In London Vincent agreed that the ability to satisfy residents' enquiries was important for trust. He described a trustworthy officer as someone who, "you ask them questions and then they answer it" and the officers, whom he trusted, "seem to give you the information...what you want". Teresa agreed defining them as "somebody who will always answer your questions". She went on to explain her favourable interaction with officers over the course of the project:

> ...[officers have] been forward enough with us and given us enough, as much information as we've required...as questions have come up as issues have come up as concerns have come up...they've always been there to answer the questions
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

It seems these residents valued the reassurance that officers can sometimes provide by filling in gaps in residents' knowledge or explaining issues which may be unclear. Again, this would allow residents to form more confident predictions about the regeneration project and its impact upon them, leading to a state of trust.

Interestingly, the ability to answer questions has not been specifically identified as a dimension in previous trust research. However, the dimension of competence reported by Höppner (2009, p1050) included the expectation that the planning committee "know related legal and planning procedures". This is far more technical than the information sought by residents in this research and does not imply any sense of communication. However, it is still based upon the idea of a suitably knowledgeable trustee. The potential importance of this principle to trust in regeneration is corroborated by the comments of a New Deal for Communities (NDC) officer quoted by Cole *et al.* (2004, p16), "You can't develop trust if you can't give people answers".

Representativeness refers to the perception that regeneration officers effectively represent the views of residents when contributing to the development and delivery of regeneration projects. Four dimensions were placed within this grouping: shared experience; shared perceptions; shared priorities; understanding residents' concerns. Taking the dimensions together, most of the questionnaire respondents were assessed as perceiving regeneration officers to have no representativeness (87 out of 136; Table 5.3). Slightly more residents were categorised as believing officers to be highly representative (19.1 per cent) than possessing low representativeness (16.9). Like the other groupings, perceived representativeness was seen to have a moderate and significant association with trust in regeneration officers, but had the strongest correlation of the three (r_s=.44, p<.01).

Table 5.3 Frequencies of Representativeness Dimensions and Correlation with Trust in Officers

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston		Correlation with Trust in Regeneration Officers (Spearman's Rho)
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Shared Experience (The regeneration officers don't know what it's like to live here - *reversed*)	Total Disagree	77	55.4	35	61.4	42	51.2	.496**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	45	32.4	12	21.1	33	40.2	
	Total Agree	17	12.2	10	17.5	7	8.5	
	Totals	139	100.0	57	100.0	82	100.0	
Shared Perceptions (The regeneration officers and I view things in a similar way)	Total Disagree	33	23.9	19	34.5	14	16.9	.531**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	78	56.5	20	36.4	58	69.9	
	Total Agree	27	19.6	16	29.1	11	13.3	
	Totals	138	100.0	55	100.0	83	100.0	
Shared Priorities (The regeneration officers and I have shared priorities)	Total Disagree	36	26.1	20	36.4	16	19.3	.443**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	78	56.5	20	36.4	58	69.9	
	Total Agree	24	17.4	15	27.3	9	10.8	
	Totals	138	100.0	55	100.0	83	100.0	
Understanding Residents' Concerns (The regeneration officers understand my concerns regarding the project)	Total Disagree	39	28.3	16	29.1	23	27.7	.577**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	67	48.6	20	36.4	47	56.6	
	Total Agree	32	23.2	19	34.5	13	15.7	
	Totals	138	100.0	55	100.0	83	100.0	
Overall Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	87	64.0	28	50.9	59	72.8	.441**
	Low	23	16.9	10	18.2	13	16.0	
	High	26	19.1	17	30.9	9	11.1	
	Totals	136	100.0	55	100.0	81	100.0	

** Significant at p< .01

Shared Experience

The interviews with participants in Gateshead did not suggest that shared experiences, or lack thereof, between residents and officers were important for trust. However, this was mentioned by some London residents. Tracey identified the perceived differences in the backgrounds of the officers working for the developer as a source of her distrust:

> For me the trust was gone [when] we met the developers...I had some lovely conversations with them and some of them were quite interested in the conversations I was having but again...they're not part of these communities. They live in their beautiful Hertfordshire and gated communities...and their lives aren't touched by the average person...It's as simple as that
>
> (Tracey, female, 50-64, London)

She believed that despite the officers' apparent interest in the concerns of residents and their willingness to listen, she did not trust them because their perceived geographical and financial situations differed from those of the people living on the estates. Tracey may be implying that without the 'lived experience' or unique local knowledge that would be gleaned through living on the estates, officers are poorly placed to make decisions which they would argue to be beneficial for residents. This extract clearly raises the issue of how culture, status and class-based perceptions, relating to experiences, may influence trust.

Another resident's comments marked the potential connection between dispositional trust and trust based upon shared experiences. Sharon began by saying "I don't trust anybody" but then explained how the personal relationship which may develop through experiencing daily life with another individual may engender trust:

> In general I don't trust anybody that I have not been eating and drinking and...socialising with because these are people in their offices. I'll only trust the person in front of me when they say it's going through, this is what's happening, we are signing...I don't trust people in the public eye...Unless if I know you very well and we do things like, I trust a person that's working with me every day and they know me and I know them through and through, I can't just say I trust people that are in their offices, we just hope they keep to their words that is all
>
> (Sharon, female, 50-64, London)

Sharon's comments suggest that she felt most people are untrustworthy, unless intimate knowledge of them can be acquired through shared experience, providing evidence to the contrary. Her concluding remarks referenced the concept of hope, as discussed earlier.

It is important to note that fellow London resident Tariq did not specifically state that perceived differences in experience were contributory to his distrust in officers. His interview did not therefore provide further evidence for the shared experience dimension. However, his comments may serve to underline the above extracts and explain how trust which is based upon shared experience relates to resident perceptions of regeneration officers. He said the following about the local authority's regeneration officers:

> ...they work in the council, it's the...public sector, they could maybe be transferred or go somewhere else and it's not their problem anymore...it's quite difficult for them to engage, because if they were to move jobs come next week [laughs] they can forget about it completely...[the project has] been a lot of effort and a lot of meetings, a lot of bother for the last two years. Now I'd like to be able to say oh I can stop that and just do this and...then it's gone, problem is it won't...I think with all the professionals involved it's just a job...if I've got a client at work...I know how to handle the problem so that it's not an issue for me anymore, if you live on the estates you can't do that...you can't move on, you can't forget it, you can't cut it out, it's there...it's a threat that sort of looms over you and your family
>
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London)

Tariq spoke about trust both in councillors and in other residents:

> If there was someone who was living on the estate, a councillor...who started to get involved then...I would be satisfied that I could trust them to a certain extent...I could buy into what they say because they're in exactly the same boat. If it's not their home at the end of the day they get to go home...and as soon as they're home the job's behind them. They can do whatever they want, their home's not under threat see. ...when I come home it's like TRA, development, CapCo, Earls Court, this, that and the other...I've been living and breathing this 24/7 for the last 2 and a half, 3 years. So...if there was a councillor who was in the same shoes there would be an affinity there...he'd understand or she would understand what it's like
>
> (ibid.)

He continued later:

> I really sort of trust the people on the estate who I see on the estate, who are living the same life as me. Not exactly the same. We live in the same area, we're in the same housing and we've still got the same sort of thing looming over us. So, so the trust is, is there, but anyone else is kind of an outsider. Some we do trust, some we don't. Some we...keep at arm's length.
>
> (ibid.)

Tariq speaks of the ease by which anyone working on the project that does not live on the estates can escape the stress connected to it. He explains how residents do not have this luxury and share in facing the threat of demolition together. Whilst he does not express it explicitly, Tariq may believe that officers do not begin their work in a position of trust due to their personal distance from the project's effects. It is interesting to note that this private detachment is an inherent element of being a regeneration officer and it is questionable as to whether this could ever be fully overcome. It might be that this issue could be addressed through closer connections to a councillor, as Tariq described, who has the potential to be one of the residents themselves. This might be seen as central to the notion of representative democracy. It would also have been interesting to have asked Tariq whether he trusted *all* of

the residents living on the estates because of their shared experience. Some of the local people are passionately in favour of the project whereas he was much more dubious. Such a discussion might allow for the exploration of whether shared experience is sufficient for trust to exist or if it must be supported further by shared perceptions and/or shared priorities.

Shared Perceptions

Two London participants suggested that the way in which officers perceived residents or the estates contributed to their distrust in them. As described earlier, when asked what officers could do to restore her trust in them, Tara said that it was probably too late:

> I find it very hard to trust people once they've consistently, continually either lied or misrepresented or been very negative...They've done that right from the beginning, the language that they used that we were a sink estate...there was quite a lot of second world war reminiscent language, you know a ghetto of mass deprivation...they made socially massive assumptions about us...
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

Earlier in the interview Tara had commented:

> Big assumptions were made that this was a sink estate that we were all sort of like no hopers and like [for] a lot of people that really, really, really wound people up. There's a lot of really hard working people on this estate. The other thing that really annoyed me was about this business "oh there are so many people that aren't working" but they didn't say, don't quote me on this, they didn't say people are retired. So I felt very...mistrustful[23] about it.
>
> (ibid.)

Her belief in the alleged distortion of the image of the estates has already been discussed within the honesty dimension. Whilst it is impossible to fully tease out perceived dishonesty from ignorance, her use of the term "assumptions" and the fact that Tara distinguishes between lying and "being negative" suggest that she may also believe that not all the misrepresentation was wilful. Her comments imply that the officers believed stereotypes about the estates or perhaps about social housing estates in general. The extracts show how Tara's perception of her fellow residents differs sharply from how she believes officers see them. Continuing from the first extract above, Tara also highlighted some officers' and residents' differing views on the estates' problems:

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[23] Note that Tara does not specify toward whom her 'mistrust' was directed and as such this was not used as the primary evidence for the shared perceptions dimension. Tara more clearly linked together trust and officers' perceptions in the first extract, in answer to a question about how her trust in officers could be restored. The second quotation is used to provide further detail as to the difference in views.

> ...they sent photographs around saying 'oh look at this dreadful estate' and they took pictures of dripping things and overflowing waste bins and right from the start I thought well actually that's the Council's job to empty those bins [laughs] why and the Council's job to mend the fabric of the building
>
> (ibid.)

Tara implies that council officers used photographs documenting issues with the estates to confirm the need to implement their plans for demolition and redevelopment. Tara sees these problems as the responsibility of the council officers and may therefore argue that if these are symbols of deprivation, then they are to blame for it, having allowed the estates to fall into disrepair. For her, these are not signs that demolition and redevelopment are necessary. Tara's distrust in the regeneration officers appears at least partly underpinned by the disparity of their perceptions regarding the estates and residents.

When asked about how her trust in officers had changed over the course of the project, Gina commented upon the officers' potentially differing perception of the complexity of the consultation documents, the variety of languages spoken on the estates and cultural differences between residents and officers. She seemed to suggest that these factors may dissuade residents from responding and may make the length of the consultation process inadequate:

> ...they're trying to push it through aren't they, they're trying to get all these responses back by February 17th ...look how cold it is...the pack isn't translated into different languages...it's very complex...I think because there's some people that might come from countries where you cannot write a letter saying I object to this against the authorities, your life experiences [have] taught you never never to do that...And so therefore all of this is a sham
>
> (Gina, female, 40-49, London)

Shared Priorities

Very much linked to, and possibly resultant from the previous two dimensions, London residents also identified how the perception of officers' priorities impacted upon trust. Interestingly, this was the only dimension categorised within representativeness which had some salience with previous qualitative trust research. Höppner (2009) identified "commitment to participant's personal interest" as a dimension, whilst Leahy and Anderson (2008) entitled their dimension' "shared values and interests". Indeed, the importance of priorities which were seen to be (dis)similar to both officers and residents was one of the dimensions of trustworthiness commented upon most often. Tracey put it very simply, when asked why she did not trust the people working on the project, "because they're working for their interests". Another resident gave an insightful account of the relationship between interests and trust in officers when asked the same question:

> I trust them 90%...100% would be foolish, especially when money's involved...because obviously the developers are going to want it done their way, the Council's gonna want it done their way...because they want the best value for money...for the land and we want it our way...but I trust them 90% because everyone wants...what's right for them but a compromise is coming together
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

She later continued:

> ...it's like I say we all have our own, we're all coming from different directions, we all have our separate interests, so it's never going to be 100%...that's just kind of reality...nobody's you know necessarily always just fighting for the tenants and the leaseholders, we have to do that ourselves...so no we're all kind of fighting our corner
>
> (ibid.)

Teresa infers that the '90% trust' she feels is due to the growing compromise in the regeneration plans. She agreed that the demolition and redevelopment should go ahead, but disagreed with details contained within the plans. She explains how the differences in priorities of the three groups - residents, developer and council officers - prevent them from trusting the people working on the project completely. Teresa suggests that this is inherent in the nature of the situation and the roles of the individuals concerned and she was unable to suggest ways in which their trust in officers could ever reach '100%' because of the unalterable difference in interests. Interestingly, this small 'trust gap' appears to be part of why she felt it necessary to stand up for the interests of the people living on the estates, as they may not be accounted for by officers. She detailed how they have worked with officers through the resident steering group to demand changes to the scheme. Teresa's account provides some qualitative support for the trust-non-participation hypothesis. Feeling that the council's and developer's officers are working with different priorities to her own, she does not trust them to take account of her or the other residents' interests and so 'fights their corner' by participating and attempting to influence the regeneration plans.

Other residents appeared to feel no trust whatsoever towards officers partly because of their dissimilar priorities, fundamentally disagreeing with the central regeneration proposals of demolition and redevelopment. Tara explained how she felt officers were aiming simply to meet consultation targets and convince residents of their plans, rather than to listen to their concerns:

> ...I just don't have trust in that at all, it's a tick box exercise and I'm pretty sure they've got a list...it says we've engaged with X residents tick, sent this consultation paper out tick, and I don't think actually they've got any intention of...asking residents' views. I think their job description is go and make them agree with us.
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

This extract clearly demonstrates the potential overlap between shared priorities and officers' responsiveness to residents' concerns as dimensions of trustworthiness. If residents believe

that officers prioritise merely the occurrence of consultation events and opportunities, rather than their potential to change regeneration plans, they may well see them as untrustworthy. Gina was asked whether her distrust of council officers was due to her distrust of the council as an organisation. The participant responded:

> I think it's because I can't trust the people that do it because it's a business deal...it isn't to do with people. It's to do with contracts and land and big companies from Australia or wherever and people are just...it's a minor consideration
>
> (Gina, female, 40-49, London)

Gina appeared to feel as though the officers prioritise profit, success or legal responsibilities over the concerns or needs of the people living on the estates. When asked what officers could do to increase or restore trust in them, she responded by commenting on the difference in priorities revealed in the plans to regenerate the areas:

> What's a real shame is that nobody ever sort of thought about really improving it round here ...Just improving it...Not flogging off a load of stuff, flogging off a school that was...for autistic children and, that they actually thought right how could we really take some money and make this really special... they've just not tried and I do agree I think there is sections of this estate where it could do with some work
>
> (ibid.)

This extract appears to show how officers' prioritisation of *some* residents' concerns or issues or working toward their solution, over the sale of land or assets could make them more trusted amongst the people living on the estates. Officers could draw their own priorities from the interests of some of the residents. Indeed, some of the residents who were steadfastly opposed to the central demolition and redevelopment aspects of the proposals did support other improvements, with Tracey having stated, "I don't mind the area being regenerated, what I object to is the levelling of the estate".

Understanding Residents' Concerns

This dimension of trustworthiness was identified by one resident in Chandless. Nora had lived in her home for 49 years and spoke of the sadness and stress of having to leave for demolition to take place. When asked whether she trusted the regeneration officers, the participant answered yes, but went on to recall how one professional discussed her relocation to another property:

> It was when she said it might be the best thing you've ever done, I thought that is ludicrous, it's the worst thing that's ever happened to me, but she seems now that we've got to know her she understands more about...about the older ones see
>
> (Nora, female, 65+, Chandless)

Nora reported that her age may have made it harder for the officers to understand her concern over the relocation. She thought that other residents - the "younger ones" - are more interested in receiving the compensation payment from the council and suggested that the council officers may have originally thought of some residents as "silly old dears". When Nora was asked why she trusted the officers, she explained how an officer had given her a choice over where she would like to be moved and believed that "now they realise that...we didn't want to go". It seemed that as the relationship between Nora and the officers had developed, the professionals have appeared to show greater understanding of her concerns, increasing her trust in them. Nora continued, "now they've got to know who we are...and we sort of got to know them...it's better". Whilst this dimension is similar to "shared perceptions" it captures more than just seeing the world in a similar way but of a willingness and ability to truly understand the concerns of residents which might at first seem unusual or strange. It invokes a sense of empathy.

5.4 Other Elements of Trust

Aside from the 14 dimensions of officer trustworthiness which were outlined above, the research also found some evidence for the other two elements of trust presented in this study's model: dispositional trust and situational encapsulated interest (SEI). Frequencies and correlations with trust in officers are shown in Table 5.4.

Dispositional Trust

There was relatively little evidence from the qualitative interviews conducted in both Gateshead and London that residents' perceptions of officers' trustworthiness were linked to a generalised, dispositional trust in 'others', which was inherent to the trustor. This seems consistent with other qualitative trust studies, as Butler (1991), Höppner (2009) and Petts (1998) do not refer to it. However, it could be argued that their studies aimed to focus only upon the perceptions of trustees, rather than the generalised beliefs of the trustor. Leahy and Anderson (2008) do identify social trust "or a person's trust in people in general" as a dimension of community trust in the US Army Corps of Engineers. The authors state that, "for some participants, trusting the Corps had a meaning similar to their general trust and disposition toward society" (Leahy and Anderson 2008, p103).

When asked what makes a trustworthy regeneration officer, Teresa answered, "Now there's a question [laughs] what makes a person trustworthy really full stop...", apparently connecting dispositional trust and trust in officers, by suggesting that the same factors might make both officers and 'people' trustworthy. However, she then went on to answer the question specifically in relation to regeneration professionals.

Rotter (1971, p445) argues that "the more novel the situation, the greater weight generalized expectancies have". In Dunston and Chandless the regeneration project was already underway (to some extent) when the interviews took place. In London, whilst the project there was still a proposal, it had already been deeply controversial for years before and

had received substantial local media coverage. Therefore, whilst the demolition and redevelopment of one's neighbourhood represents a very "novel" situation, it may have become more familiar (as had the regeneration officers perhaps) by the time interviews were conducted. Furthermore, as will be discussed in the next section, some of the regeneration officers were employed by the local authority, an organisation about which a resident is already likely to hold at least some views and will therefore be seen as far from novel. In general the data could be seen as supportive of Rotter's (1971) assertion.

Data from an interview with one London resident, however, epitomised the essence of dispositional trust. Whilst Sharon explained how shared experience can be an important element of trust in officers, as detailed above, she went on to clearly link trust in regeneration professionals to trust in people. When asked how officers could change in order to increase the trust invested in them, Sharon answered:

> ...I don't trust politicians, nor do I trust priests, nor do I trust, because you see how these people they in trouble all the time, they don't keep up to their words and...they don't fulfil what they say they are going to be doing or do, you just hope like I'm a Christian, I pray and hope that it will take place but to put a stamp on it I wouldn't do that because they change like they change their underwear...You can't trust people in business, you can't trust people in politicians, because they change all the time...The person I trust in is God only, to be quite honest because I know what I'm doing with him and he knows me, but a human being...I don't even trust my boss...
>
> (Sharon, female, 50-64, London)

Whilst the discussion had been directed toward the regeneration officers and the redevelopment project, Sharon quickly shifted the focus to individuals in a number of different professions. She spoke of trust in others in a very general sense, apparently feeling as though nobody can be relied upon, no matter who they were:

> ...You can't say you trust people, we've put so much trust in various people that are looking after us in authority and this and that and suddenly they change. People trusted their...place of work, they built their hopes most of them, they've got no jobs now because the boss has promised them this and that and next thing they cutting jobs...so you can't trust human beings
>
> (ibid.)

The starkness of Sharon's final comment was reinforced by a later remark, "I don't even trust my children...because they change...". Indeed, at one point during the interview Sharon simply stated, "I don't trust anybody". The interviewee appeared to believe that to be trustworthy was to be superhuman, a characteristic only present in a God. Indeed, the changeable nature of individuals recurred throughout the interview, apparently the source of the Sharon's distrust in people. She explained how she was hopeful of certain events occurring or of particular action by others, but did not trust them. Sharon seemed to be a distrusting person *in general*.

However, Sharon said that she could trust herself:

> But I trust myself very much because all my life of working nobody has complained "oh [Sharon] this is not done". If you give me a job I do it to my best and if you give me responsibility you rest assured those responsibilities will be carried out, I only trust myself, I don't trust anybody else
>
> (ibid.)

Whilst to trust oneself makes little sense using the definition applied in this study, here Sharon does provide some evidence for the thinking behind salient value similarity (SVS), put forward by Earle and Cvetkovich (1995 cited in Earle and Cvetkovich, 1999). The more similar an individual appears to be to oneself, the more accurately the potential trustor can predict their behaviour, creating more robust expectations and willingness for vulnerability. This rests upon the notion that one is aware of one's own intentions and future behaviour but can never be certain about how another individual may behave. Sharon's distrust in others seems so high that she could not extrapolate her own behaviour to anyone else. Others will always have the ability to change and she will never be certain how they will act in the future.

Just over half of the respondents agreed with the statement: "in general, most people are trustworthy" (73 out of 140; Table 5.4). Dispositional trust exhibited significant, positive correlation with trust in regeneration officers (r_s=.33, $p<.01$), suggesting those who trust people in general are also more likely to trust officers.

Situational Encapsulated Interest

There was some qualitative evidence to suggest that residents' trust in officers was dependent upon perceived SEI. This is where the trustee may behave in a trustworthy manner toward the trustor; officers may believe it is in their own interests to protect the interests of the residents. After claiming that the regeneration officers working on the scheme in Dunston were trustworthy, Trisha went on to say, "Otherwise they wouldn't be in a job would they? If people didn't trust them they wouldn't be in a job". Whilst this could be interpreted as evidence that she trusted the organisation for which the officer worked, which she believed was responsible for hiring only trustworthy employees (see Chapter 7), it may also infer her trust in regeneration officers was dependent upon their personal interest in remaining trustworthy. It may suggest that Trisha believed that the officers would risk their professional reputation should they betray residents' trust.

This was more clearly articulated by Paisi. When asked why she did not trust the officers working on the project, Paisi explained it was because she believed the officers wanted to keep their jobs. It appears that Paisi's distrust was based upon the perception that officers had a clear and powerful incentive to act against residents' interests. Indeed, some similar comments by fellow London resident Tara have already been reported in other dimensions. For example, she said that "...I think their job description is go and make them agree with us" and:

> ...[officers'] job is not to get our trust but is to convince us that what they have already decided is going to be good for us and that isn't what I call trust
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

Trust based on perceived SEI relies upon expectations that the trustee will make a rational choice to serve their own interests, which encapsulate those of the trustor. In this example, the officers were expected to rationally favour carrying out the tasks related to their employment over risking the consequences of trying to listen to residents. For Tara, the situational context therefore incentivised officers to behave distrustfully.

The item used to measure situational encapsulated interest asked residents whether they thought that being trustworthy was important to the regeneration officers (Table 5.4). Almost half of the respondents reported that they agreed with the statement (68 out of 138). The item exhibited statistically significant strong and positive correlation with trust in officers, confirming its position within the trust model ($r_s = .57$; $p<.01$).

Table 5.4 Frequencies of Other Trust Variables and Correlations with Trust in Officers

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston		Correlation with Trust in Regeneration Officers (Spearman's Rho)
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
I trust the regeneration officers working on the project	Total Disagree	31	22.0	17	30.9	14	16.3	-
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	72	51.1	22	40.0	50	58.1	
	Total Agree	38	27.0	16	29.1	22	25.6	
	Totals	141	100.0	55	100.0	86	100.0	
Dispositional Trust (In general, most people are trustworthy)	Total Disagree	24	17.1	7	12.7	17	20.0	.326**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	43	30.7	21	38.2	22	25.9	
	Total Agree	73	52.1	27	49.1	46	54.1	
	Totals	140	100.0	55	100.0	85	100.0	
Perceived SEI (Being trustworthy is important to the regeneration officers)	Total Disagree	14	10.1	7	12.7	7	8.4	.567**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	56	40.6	18	32.7	38	45.8	
	Total Agree	68	49.3	30	54.5	38	45.8	
	Totals	138	100.0	55	100.0	83	100.0	

** Significant at p< .01

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored how residents living in regeneration areas interpreted, used and discussed the concept of trust, especially in relation to regeneration officers, and presented data in answer to the first research question. One of the key findings of the chapter is the confirmation of "subjective theories of trust" (Höppner 2009). This was not limited to resident perceptions of officers, however. It appeared that some research participants possessed different definitions of trust, both from one another and from the researcher. The chapter showed how some residents could reject the term trust when it appeared as though this was the concept under discussion, whilst others employed the term in ways which would not be accepted using the definition applied in this study. Many residents simply did not use the term in reference to officers or the projects until it was asked about directly. The findings raise questions as to the value of using the term generically in trust research in an "everyday", rather than academic, context. This has ramifications for any research conducted into trust in the future, which will be pursued further in Chapter 9.

The second section set out to explore the first research question of the study, considering the characteristics, attributes and behaviour of regeneration officers which relate to their trustworthiness as perceived by residents. 14 dimensions of trustworthiness emerged: transparency; honesty; fairness; friendliness; consistency; promise fulfilment; availability; ability to answer questions; responsiveness to concerns; care; shared experience; shared perceptions; shared priorities; and understanding residents' concerns. These were organised into three groups: receptivity; ability; and representativeness.

Some of the dimensions identified have resonance with the findings of previous trust research presented in Chapter 2, which have demonstrated the importance of openness/honesty, some sense of objectivity and consistency. There were, however, two notable differences. First, residents in this study did not refer to notions of technical ability or competence regarding officers, which were referred to in previous studies (Höppner 2009; Leahy and Anderson 2008). The previous trust research reviewed focussed upon fields such as waste management, risk regulation, environmental risk communication and water resource management. It may be that these policy areas are seen as more specialised and likely to require specific expertise. In the field of urban regeneration, however, social similarities between residents and officers did arise as important – in experience, perceptions, priorities and understanding – which were only found to be salient in a minority of other studies reviewed (Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003). It may be that *because* officers are not seen as experts that more emphasis is placed upon social similarities with residents. This echoes the work of Focht and Trachtenberg (2005). The authors found that for stakeholders in a watershed management project, perceptions of shared values correlated more strongly with trust in officials than perceptions of their technical competence. Overall, the differences with previous literature demonstrate the subjectivity of trust in relation to the particular context, underlining the importance of applying the first research question specifically to the field of urban regeneration. It also confirms the need for an approach informed by a constructionist-interpretivist position.

Chapter 6: Exploring the Relationship between Trust and Participation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between resident trust in officers and participation using empirical data. It primarily aims to answer the second key research question, which asks:

To what extent does resident trust in officers influence the form and nature of residents' future participation in urban regeneration projects?

The potential for trust to have both a positive and a negative impact on resident participation in local governance has already been discussed. Do residents who believe officers are able to bring about change in an area and are receptive to their views more likely to be willing to participate? Perhaps residents who believe officers are representative of their opinion refrain from participating, saving them the costs of involvement? What is the impact of perceived situational encapsulated interest (SEI) and dispositional trust on participation? Previous research has generally been unable to find a relationship between trust and participation in either direction (Höppner 2009; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Koontz 2005; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). This chapter investigates the extent to which resident perceptions of officer trustworthiness exhibit a relationship with their willingness to participate in their local regeneration project, whilst controlling for other factors. The chapter also contributes findings toward the fifth research question, which asks:

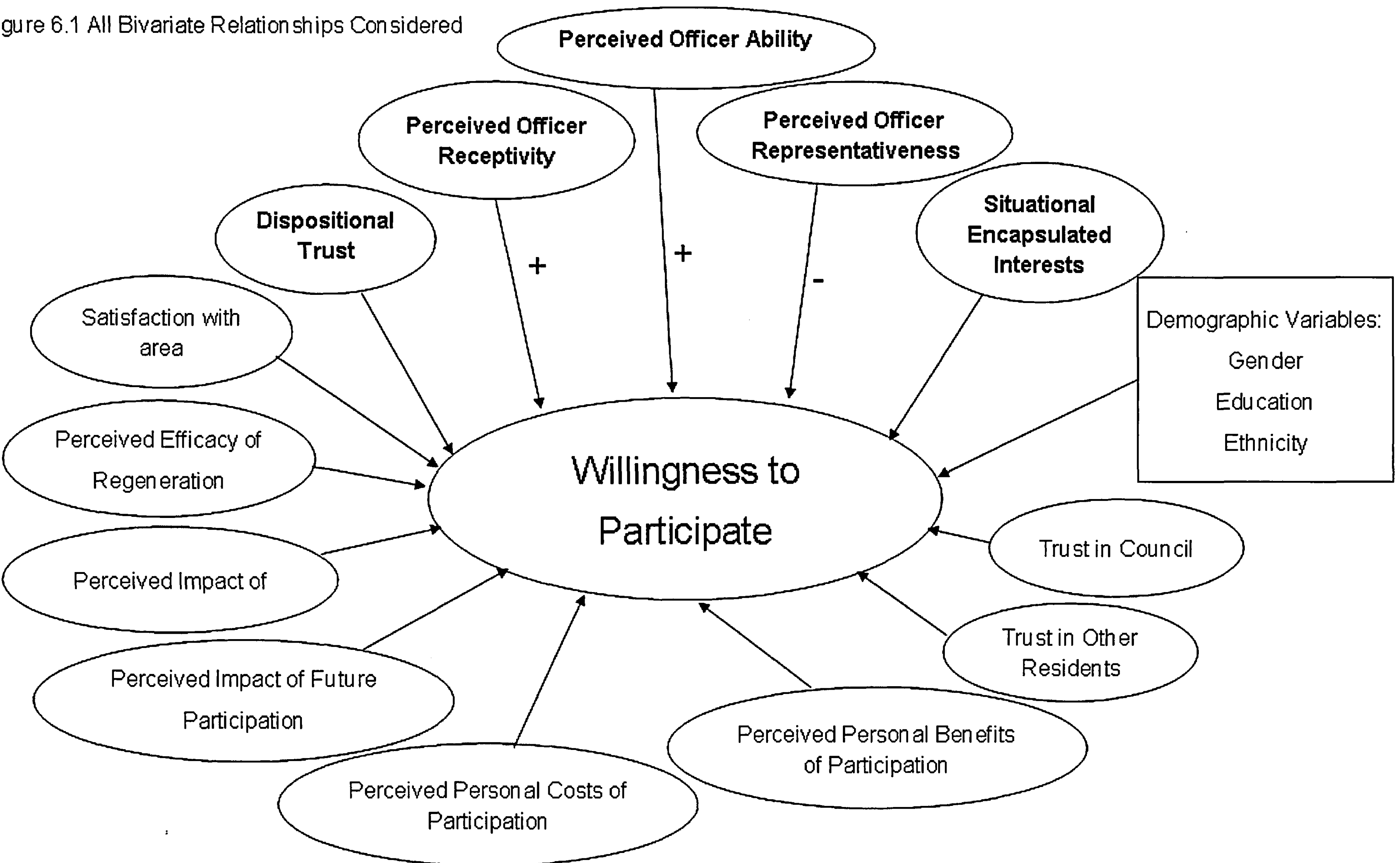
Other than trust what factors may drive residents' participation in urban regeneration?

The discussion draws on data from the questionnaire and is guided by Figure 6.1. As previously stated, the outcome variable under investigation is residents' willingness to participate. This is used as a proxy for future participation. Five forms of participation were investigated: exhibition/drop-in event; questionnaire/consultation document; conversation with an officer; joining the steering group; attending a TRA/resident meeting. There were thus five separate outcome variables. Explanatory variables of particular interest were those which related to trust in officers: the dimensions of trustworthiness, perceived SEI and dispositional trust. The majority of the other variables incorporated in Figure 6.1 were included in order to account for their potential impact upon a respondent's willingness to participate. As approximately nine per cent of residents responded to the questionnaire across two regeneration areas, findings generated from the research can only be considered indicative, shedding some light on an under researched area.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first uses crosstabulation to conduct bivariate analysis, which looks at the strength of association between every explanatory variable and each outcome variable. The following section provides the most in-depth analysis of the

hypothesised relationship between trust and participation, using logistic regression to explore the robustness of the bivariate findings and identify potentially spurious links. It considers interactions between all the predictor variables and each outcome variable and attempts to create five overall models.

Figure 6.1 All Bivariate Relationships Considered



6.2 Bivariate Analysis

Bivariate analysis was conducted for every relationship proposed in Figure 6.1 on combined data from both regeneration areas. The five officer trust-related variables were of particular interest, because these had the potential to answer the second research question of the thesis. These were: perceived receptivity; perceived ability; perceived representativeness; perceived situational encapsulated interest (SEI); and dispositional trust. This section of the chapter reports and analyses the statistically significant relationships to emerge. Each of the five participation outcome variables is explored in turn, with every statistically significant relationship reported.[24]

Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

Respondents who perceived officers as highly receptive or highly representative were significantly more likely to be willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event ($p<0.05$; Table 6.1; see Appendix H for full table). 28 of the 33 respondents with high perceptions of officer receptivity were willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event (85 per cent; Figure 6.2). This is substantially higher than for the proportions who perceived officers to have low receptivity (68 per cent) or not to be receptive at all (57 per cent). This broadly fits the original hypothesis that residents who believe officers are more receptive to their views will be more likely to participate.

The vast majority of respondents with higher perceptions of officers' representativeness (22 of 25) were willing to attend. This appears to contradict the hypothesis in Chapter 4 which posited that this form of trust is responsible for generating a disinclination to participate (HP1c). In this study, the vast majority of respondents who believed officers to be representative of them were still willing to participate. The reasons for this are unclear. It may be that respondents did not view this particular form of participation as an opportunity to influence a regeneration scheme and, as such, the representativeness of officers does not matter.

A statistically significant relationship was evident between five other variables and willingness to attend an exhibition or drop-in event ($p<.05$; Table 6.1). Respondents who trusted the local council and respondents who trusted other residents were both more likely to be willing to participate in this way (see Appendix H). The latter finding suggests that respondents do not trust other residents to influence the local regeneration project on their behalf - otherwise they would not care to participate themselves. This may suggest that the use of the term "trust" in this context is not being interpreted as perceived representativeness. Alternatively, the finding may be explained by respondents believing that *participating* residents are unrepresentative of residents living in the area more generally, and that the former group *cannot,* in fact, be trusted. The finding may also be explained due to the potential perception of this form of participation as informative rather than influential, as suggested above.

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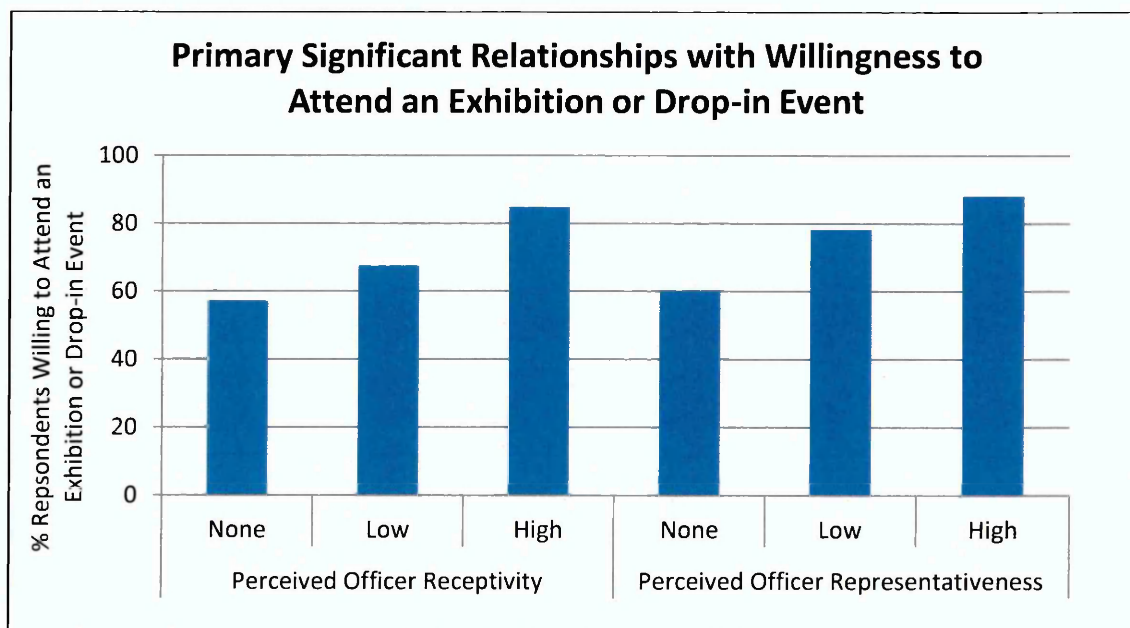
[24] Additional details regarding the analysis can be found in Appendix G and supplementary tables can be found in Appendix H.

Table 6.1 Statistically Significant Bivariate Relationships with Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

(Explanatory) Variable	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	V = 0.237*
Perceived Officer Representativeness	V = 0.249*
Overall Perceived Impact of Previous Participation	V = 0.238*
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	Phi = 0.239**
Satisfaction with the area	Phi = 0.168*
Trust in Council	Phi = 0.217*
Trust in Residents	Phi = 0.185*

* Significant at $p< 0.05$
** Significant at $p<0.01$

Figure 6.2



Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

Willingness to complete a questionnaire or consultation document was found to have the fewest number of relationships with explanatory variables of any of the five forms of participation (Table 6.2; Appendix H)[25]. The perceived benefits variable exhibited a significant relationship. Respondents who felt that there were individual benefits to participating were, on average, more likely to be willing to complete a questionnaire or consultation document than those who perceived no benefits. Again, trust in residents did not appear to inhibit willingness to complete a questionnaire or consultation document, showing a positive significant relationship (Table 6.2). This was despite the fact that others may complete the survey and account for the respondent's own views in doing so. Instead a much higher proportion of respondents who trusted "most of the other residents in the area" were willing to engage in this form of participation than for those who were not (Appendix H). This adds to the evidence above that respondents may not interpret trust in residents to be representativeness-based, as the trust-non-participation hypothesis assumes.

Table 6.2 Statistically Significant Bivariate Relationships with Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

(Explanatory) Variable	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Benefits of Participating	V = 0.218*
Trust in Residents	Phi = 0.188*

* Significant at $p< 0.05$
** Significant at $p<0.01$

Willingness to Hold a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

Perceived officer receptivity; perceived officer representativeness; and dispositional trust all exhibited statistically significant positive relationships with willingness to hold a conversation with a regeneration officer (Table 6.3; Appendix H). The strength and very high statistical significance of the association for perceived receptivity and dispositional trust are especially noteworthy. They both interact in broadly the way predicted from the trust-participation hypothesis (Figure 6.3; Appendix H). The vast majority of respondents who

[25] Relationships for perceived officer ability and perceived officer representativeness were not included in the bivariate analysis of willingness to complete a questionnaire or consultation document. See Appendix G for details.

perceive officers to be highly receptive are also willing to engage in a conversation with one. For those who perceive no or low receptivity the proportions willing to engage in this way were only just over half. This pattern is similar for dispositional trust.

The perceived representativeness of officers does not associate with willingness to participate in the negative way expected. Figure 6.3 shows how increasingly higher proportions of respondents were willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer, the more positive their perception of officers' representativeness. It appears again that believing that: officers understand residents' concerns; view things in a similar way to residents; know what it's like to live in the area; and have shared priorities with residents, does not mean respondents are, on average, less willing to participate.

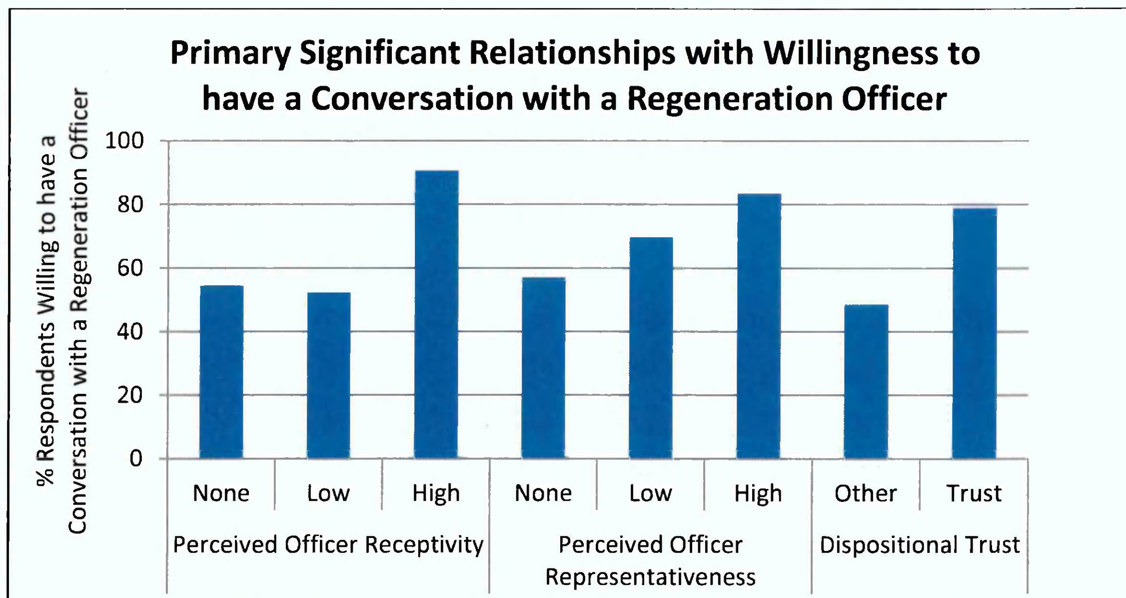
Trust in the council and other residents both exhibit statistically significant relationships with willingness to hold a conversation with a regeneration officer (Table 6.3; Appendix H).

Table 6.3 Statistically Significant Bivariate Relationships with Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

(Explanatory) Variable	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	V= 0.331**
Perceived Officer Representativeness	V= 0.213*
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	Phi = 0.169*
Perceived Benefits of Participating	V = 0.275**
Perceived Efficacy of Regeneration Projects	V = 0.21*
Dispositional Trust	Phi = 0.317**
Trust in Council	Phi = 0.295**
Trust in Residents	Phi = 0.223**

* Significant at p< 0.05
** Significant at p<0.01

Figure 6.3



Willingness to Join a Steering Group

Respondents who perceived officers to be receptive, able or representative were, on average, significantly more likely to be willing to join a steering group ($p<0.05$; Table 6.4; Appendix H). Furthermore, this was the only outcome variable with which the perceived SEI variable exhibited a statistically significant relationship.

Just over half of the respondents who perceived officers to be highly receptive were willing to join a steering group (17 out of 32; Figure 6.4; Appendix H). If residents believe that officers are willing to listen to the views of local people and allow them to influence a project then they will be more willing to exercise that influence. Similarly, the higher a respondent's perception of officers' ability, the more likely they were to be willing to participate in this way. This provides support for the dominant trust-participation hypothesis.

Respondents who reported that officers see being trustworthy as important (situational encapsulated interest) were also, on average, more likely to be willing to join a steering group. A majority of those who perceived officers to be highly representative were willing to join the steering group, whereas only about a fifth of those who perceived them to have no representativeness wished to do so (Figure 6.4). The trust-non-participation hypothesis forwarded by Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) is not therefore borne out when considering the direction of their relationship. It is interesting that the variable actually exhibits the *reverse* relationship. Furthermore, the relationship is highly significant and has the highest strength of association with the outcome variable when compared to the other officer trust-related explanatory variables.

The trust-non-participation hypothesis is built around the view that residents see participation as an opportunity to influence projects. It could be argued that the two previous forms of participation which exhibited a statistically significant *positive* relationship with perceived officer representativeness were not *necessarily* active methods of influencing a

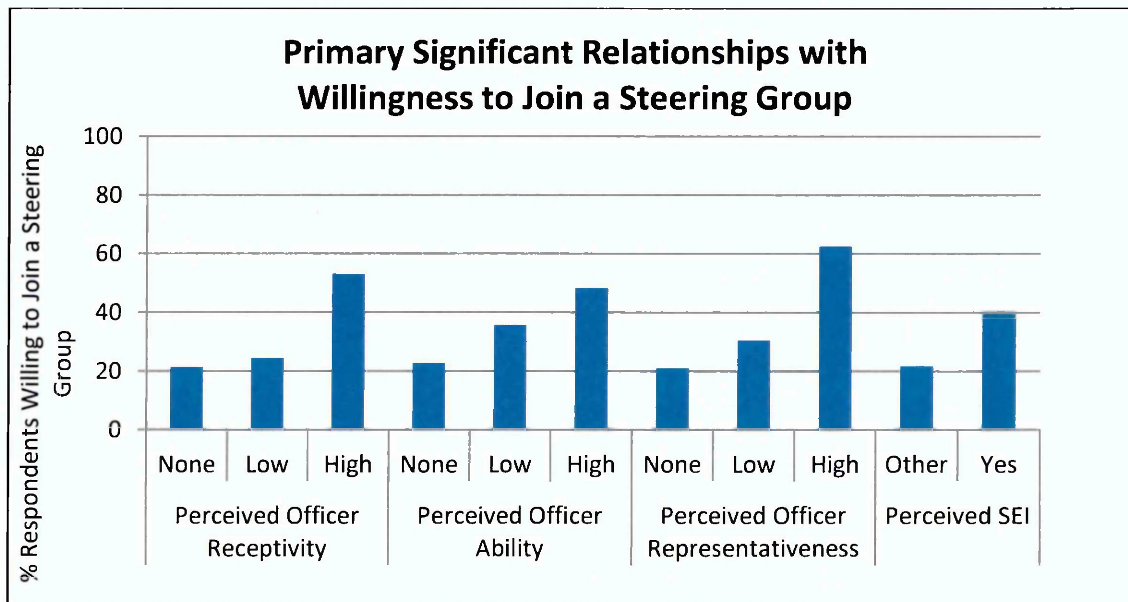
project. This may explain why the hypothesis was not borne out by the evidence presented for these two previous forms of participation. However, this provides a weaker explanation for the steering group variable: it was the most active form of participation investigated.

Table 6.4 Statistically Significant Bivariate Relationships with Willingness to Join a Steering Group

(Explanatory) Variable	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Join a Steering Group (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	V = 0.228**
Perceived Officer Ability	V = 0.232*
Perceived Officer Representativeness	V = 0.340**
Overall Perceived Impact of Previous Participation	V = 0.361**
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	Phi = 0.269**
Perceived Benefits of Participating	V = 0.220*
Perceived SEI	Phi = 0.192*

* Significant at $p< 0.05$
** Significant at $p<0.01$

Figure 6.4



Willingness to Attend a Resident/TRA Meeting

Respondents' overall perceived impact of future participation; perceived efficacy of regeneration projects; and trust in other residents were all found to be statistically significantly associated with willingness to attend a resident or TRA meeting ($p<0.05$; Table 6.5; Appendix H). None of the officer trust-related variables exhibited a significant relationship with this outcome variable.

The apparently positive relationship between trust in residents and willingness to attend a TRA/resident meeting (Appendix H) is consistent with the findings for three other forms of participation. Once again it seems that the trust in residents variable appears to behave in line with the trust-participation hypothesis. The relationship between overall perceptions of the impact of future participation and willingness to participate is also as expected: respondents who believe that at least one form of their future participation will have an impact upon the project are more likely, on average, to be willing to attend a resident/TRA meeting.

However, the apparent direction of the association for perceived efficacy of regeneration at first seems surprising (Appendix H). The vast majority of those who have a negative view of the potential of regeneration projects are willing to attend a resident or TRA meeting. This result appears to be explained by the fact that 13 of the 17 respondents recording this view were part of the London cohort. As has been detailed earlier, participation in the local TRAs for the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates has been seen as an act of protest for those resisting the proposed regeneration project. It therefore seems consistent that many of those willing to participate in this way may take a dim view of the potential of regeneration projects in general.

Table 6.5 Statistically Significant Bivariate Relationships with Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting

(Explanatory) Variable	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting (Phi/Cramer's V)
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	Phi = 0.206*
Perceived Efficacy of Regeneration Projects	V = 0.225*
Trust in Residents	Phi = 0.182*

* Significant at $p< 0.05$

Summarising Bivariate Analysis

This section has detailed the statistically significant ($p<0.05$) bivariate relationships between the explanatory variables and the five willingness to participate variables which were outlined in the proposed model. The only variables not to associate with participation in the

analysis were those which related to the demographics of the respondents or the potential costs of participating. Gender, educational attainment, ethnicity and free time had no statistically significant relationship with any of the outcome variables (p<.05). There were nine statistically significant bivariate relationships between the five officer trust-related variables and the five willingness to participate variables (Table 6.6). There are several points to note.

First, five officer-related trust variables only appear to exhibit significant relationships with three of the five participation items. It could be inferred that the three forms of participation with which relationships do exist are those which could be perceived to involve direct interaction with an officer. Indeed, this is true by definition for the conversation variable, but it is also probable when considering exhibitions or drop-in events. Becoming a member of a steering group for a regeneration project may be seen as involving frequent and perhaps lengthy interaction with officers managing the scheme over a long period of time. This is certainly the case for the London project, where the steering group regularly communicates with officers from the developers and the local authority. However, whilst responses to questionnaire and consultation documents might be reviewed, analysed and acted upon by officers, their completion does not involve direct interaction with them. Similarly the West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA meetings are not regularly attended by regeneration officers, with the resident group and local authority holding starkly opposing views on the project there. There is nothing which necessarily suggests the presence of regeneration officers in the "resident meeting" item used for the questionnaires distributed to residents in Dunston either. Therefore bivariate analysis suggests that face-to-face interaction with potential trustees could be a significant factor when considering the impact of trust on participation.

Analysis of the data so far appears to suggest that perceptions as to the receptivity and representativeness of officers could be the most important officer trust-related factors for participation. They both exhibit significant, low to medium strength relationships with three different forms of participation. Whilst the data for perceptions of receptivity is in line with the dominant trust-participation hypothesis, perceptions of representativeness appeared to exhibit associations in the opposite direction to those predicted by the trust-non-participation hypothesis. For all three forms of participation with which a significant bivariate relationship with perceived officer representativeness was determined, a majority, if not vast majority of those with higher perceptions were willing to participate.

Overall, at this stage, there is little evidence to suggest that the trust-non-participation hypothesis proposed by Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) is correct for the data analysed in this study. Instead the dominant trust-participation hypothesis appears to be borne out. As acknowledged above, bivariate analysis can produce results which in fact show spurious relationships. This is because other factors which may influence the outcome variable are not accounted for. The next stage of this chapter reports and examines the findings from this more advanced, multivariate part of the quantitative analysis.

Table 6.6 Statistically Significant Bivariate Relationships between Officer Trust-Related Variables and Willingness to Participate in Five Ways

(Explanatory) Variable	(Outcome) Variable	Strength of Relationship (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	Willingness to Attend Exhibition/Drop-in Event	V = 0.237*
	Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer	V = 0.331**
	Willingness to Join Steering Group	V = 0.228**
Perceived Officer Ability	Willingness to Join Steering Group	V = 0.232*
Perceived Officer Representativeness	Willingness to Attend Exhibition/Drop-in Event	V = 0.249*
	Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer	V = 0.213*
	Willingness to Join Steering Group	V = 0.340**
Dispositional Trust	Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer	Phi = 0.317**
SEI	Willingness to Join Steering Group	Phi = 0.192*

* Significant at $p < 0.05$
** Significant at $p < 0.01$

6.3 Multivariate Analysis: Logistic Regression

The analysis presented above only considers bivariate relationships, where there is one explanatory variable and one outcome variable. Multivariate analysis determines statistical relationships whilst controlling for the influence of other variables. This section details the findings for each form of participation individually. Each outcome variable is considered in turn.[26]

Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

Taking other factors into account, respondents who reported that at least one method of participation they had previously tried had impacted on the regeneration project were, on average, almost ten times as likely to be willing to participate in an exhibition or drop-in event than a resident who had not participated at all ($p<0.05$; Table 6.7). A caveat should be added to the odds ratio data, as the 95 per cent confidence interval shows an exceptionally large error bar, most probably due to the small data set. However the significance and direction of the relationship are clear. This was the only variable to remain in the final model for this form of participation (see Appendix I for the original model).

It was very interesting to find that none of the five officer trust-related variables were left in the final model, despite the bivariate relationships reported earlier. Those who had participated previously but who had either not found any method to be influential, or who were unsure as to the impact ("Participated – Other"), were no more likely (at $p<0.05$) to be willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event than those who had not participated at all. Furthermore, the "perceived impact of future participation" variable did not remain in the final model. This suggests that it is neither previous participation nor overall perceptions of future participation alone which may influence willingness to attend an exhibition or drop-in event in the future. A positive perception as to the *impact* of at least one form of *previous* participation is what mattered for respondents to be willing to participate.

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[26] Additional details regarding the analysis can be found in Appendix G and the main effects model tables are presented in Appendix I.

Table 6.7 Final Model for Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

Model Chi-Square = 11.99

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.035	1.0		
	Participated – Other View	-.474	.484	.327	.622	.241	1.608
	Participated – some impact	2.280	1.080	.035	9.778	1.178	81.154
Constant		.811	.347	.019	2.250		

Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

The model investigating residents' willingness to complete a questionnaire or consultation document could not be completed in the ordinary way (see Appendix G). The remaining variable in the final model was regeneration efficacy but, as it happened, this was not found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level (Appendix I).

Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

A different approach was taken for the analysis of the willingness to have a conversation variable (see Appendix G), producing two final models (Tables 6.8 and 6.9; see Appendix I for original model). The first model shows that, accounting for other factors, a respondent was, on average, statistically significantly ($p<0.05$) more likely to be willing to have a conversation with an officer if: they were dispositionally trusting than if they were not or were unsure; trusted the local council than if they did not or were unsure; or perceived an impact on the project from at least one form of previous participation than if they had not participated at all (Table 6.8). The second analysis found the same three variables to be statistically significant but with the addition of a fourth factor: perceived benefits (Table 6.9). Those who were classed as believing that high personal benefits can achieved through participation in general were, on average, significantly ($p<0.05$) more likely to be willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer than those who perceived no benefits, when accounting for other factors. The size of the influence is difficult to determine for all these variables due to the size of the confidence intervals.

Caveats for the method used notwithstanding, it appears that only one of the five primary explanatory variables exhibited a relationship with respondents' willingness to have a conversation with a regeneration officer: dispositional trust. Even then, this is the variable which has very little to do with officers directly, with the influence resultant from simply believing that most people are trustworthy in general. Similarly it is interesting that trust in the local council

has an impact on willingness to converse with an officer, yet perceptions of officers' receptivity, ability or representativeness exhibit no such relationship. Nevertheless two variables which mention the word trust or trustworthy displayed a positive relationship with willingness to participate in this way, which offers some support for the trust-participation hypothesis.

Table 6.8 Final Model A for Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

Model Chi-Square = 32.70

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-.972	.610	.111	.378	.114	1.252
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	1.855	.591	.002	6.391	2.007	20.354
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.070	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	.146	.551	.791	1.157	.393	3.408
	Participated - some impact	2.176	.962	.024	8.811	1.337	58.077
Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.124	1.0		
	Low Benefits	.781	.689	.257	2.183	.566	8.426
	High Benefits	1.914	1.005	.057	6.781	.946	48.609
Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-1.163	.599	.052	.313	.097	1.011
Trust in Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	1.636	.647	.012	5.132	1.443	18.251
Constant		-.450	.464	.331	.637		

Table 6.9 Final Model B for Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

Model Chi-Square = 33.16

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-1.126	.626	.072	.324	.095	1.105
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	1.938	.605	.001	6.945	2.123	22.722
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.054	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	.141	.563	.803	1.151	.382	3.468
	Participated - some impact	2.290	.970	.018	9.876	1.474	66.152
Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.125	1.0		
	Low Benefits	.628	.699	.369	1.873	.476	7.369
	High Benefits	2.030	1.028	.048	7.611	1.016	57.026
Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-1.174	.602	.051	.309	.095	1.005
Trust in the Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	1.690	.663	.011	5.420	1.479	19.867
Constant		-.474	.466	.309	.622		

Willingness to Join the Steering Group

There was a positive, statistically significant relationship between trusting other local residents and willingness to join a steering group when taking account of other factors ($p<0.05$; Table 6.10; see Appendix I for original model). Respondents who reported that at least one form of participation previously tried had an impact on the scheme were also, on average, statistically significantly more likely to be willing to join the steering group than respondents who had not participated at all, when controlling for other factors ($p<0.05$; Table 6.10). Again the size of the confidence intervals makes it difficult to assess the magnitude of the increased likelihood. It was interesting to find that respondents' views of their previous engagement exhibited a relationship with willingness to participate yet again. The result for trust in other residents is entirely what one would expect from the trust-participation hypothesis. Other residents are likely to play a strong part in a steering group for the regeneration project. It therefore seems reasonable that respondents' trust in them may influence their future participation.

Table 6.10 Final Model for Willingness to Join a Steering Group

Model Chi-Square = 11.69

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.024	1.0		
	Participated - other View	-.256	.554	.644	.774	.261	2.292
	Participated - some impact	1.297	.581	.026	3.657	1.170	11.427
Trust in Residents	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.965	.473	.041	2.624	1.039	6.626
Constant		-1.540	.456	.001	.214		

Willingness to Attend a TRA/Residents Meeting

Positive views about the impact of previous participation were also important to willingness to participate in a TRA or residents meeting. Taking other factors into account, respondents who reported that they had exhibited an influence on the regeneration project through at least one form of participation in the past were, on average, significantly more likely to be willing to attend a TRA or residents meeting than those who had not participated at all in the past ($p<0.05$; Table 6.11; see Appendix I for original model). The final model for this outcome variable also produced the only statistically significant ($p<0.05$) association for one of the demographic variables. Respondents who reported being a non-graduate were, on average, statistically significantly *less* likely to be willing to attend a TRA or resident meeting than graduates, when controlling for other factors. Again, the confidence intervals make discussion of the magnitude of the increased likelihood difficult for both variables.

Table 6.11 Final Model for Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting

Model Chi-Square = 16.27

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	0		.115	1.0		
	Low	.146	.531	.784	1.157	.408	3.277
	High	-1.464	.779	.060	.231	.050	1.065
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.011	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	-.627	.512	.220	.534	.196	1.456
	Participated - some impact	1.851	.899	.040	6.366	1.092	37.104
Education	Graduate	0			1.0		
	Non-Graduate	-1.104	.501	.027	.332	.124	.885
Constant		1.337	.549	.015	3.808		

The logistic regression analysis of the resident questionnaire data suggests six predictor variables were influential on willingness to participate using the 95% significance level (Table 6.12).

Table 6.12 All Statistically Significant Predictors of Willingness to Participate

Explanatory Variable	Outcome Variable (willingness to participate in...)	Direction of Association with Willingness to Participate
Perception of Impact on Regeneration Project of at Least One Form of Participation Tried in the Past (compared to no participation)	Exhibition/Drop-in Event	+
	Conversation with Regeneration Officer*	+
	Joining Steering Group	+
	Attending TRA/Resident Meeting	+
Dispositional Trust	Conversation with Regeneration Officer*	+
Trust in Local Council	Conversation with Regeneration Officer*	+
Trust in Local Residents	Joining Steering Group	+
Perception of High Personal Benefits of Participation	Conversation with Regeneration Officer*	+
Non-graduate	Attending TRA/Resident Meeting	-

* Indicates alternative method used to achieve result

There are three aspects of the findings which appear worthy of comment. First, one predictor variable emerged as having an important positive influence over willingness to participate generally. Respondents who believed that at least one form of participation they had previously tried was effectual were more likely to be willing to participate than those who had never participated. This was the case for all but the questionnaire outcome variable. It is interesting that the perception of the potential impact of *future* participation does not appear in the quantitative findings. It seems that in order to influence their willingness to participate, respondents' view as to the efficacy of participation needs to be grounded in concrete, positive personal experiences from the past.

There are two potential explanations for this finding. It may be that residents' self-efficacy is a major driver of participation. This might be comprised of their perceived self-esteem, confidence and ability. Believing that one had the necessary skills and conviction to impact a project in the past may encourage participation, regardless of how one perceives officers. Alternatively, (or in combination) this finding may suggest that perceptions of other

involved parties are important for participation – but that focussing on officers is too narrow. Perhaps the data actually suggests that what matters for encouraging engagement is a more general perception of an entire network of actors. Hence, believing that one made a difference in the past is important, but perceptions of officers in particular are not. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

This finding also draws attention to an important component absent from this study: time. The data obtained from the resident questionnaire was cross-sectional, and ignored the stage in the life course of the regeneration project and its participatory opportunities for residents. Indeed, believing that one's previous participation had an impact on the regeneration project relies on one having participated in the past. What drove the *original* participation? Could it be that different factors influence participation at different stages of a regeneration project or at different points in a resident's participatory history?

Second, the relationships between participation and both trust in residents and trust in the council are notable. When controlling for other factors, respondents who reported that they trusted most of the other residents who live in the area were significantly more likely to be willing to join a steering group than those who responded otherwise. Similarly, when controlling for other factors, residents who reported that they trust their local council were significantly more likely to be willing to have a conversation with an officer. These findings offer some support for the trust-participation hypothesis. The evidence for trust in local residents is a particularly important finding, given the small number of respondents who had engaged in this way in the past and this form of participation's desirability from a policy perspective. The undeveloped nature of the term "trust" used in the questionnaire calls for more research into what might comprise resident and council trustworthiness.

The final prominent finding from the statistical analysis is the lack of influence of trust in regeneration officers on willingness to participate. None of the three officer trustworthiness variables exhibited a statistically significant relationship in any of the final models and this was also true for perceived SEI. The overall finding was supported by the qualitative data: none of the participants interviewed specifically referred to trust or distrust, not just in officers but in any other party, as a reason for either their participation or their disinclination to be involved. Whilst this finding does not offer support for either the trust-participation or trust-non-participation hypotheses, it is broadly consistent with previous studies (Höppner *et al.* 2008; Höppner 2009; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). Dispositional trust was the only one of the five key trust-related factors to exhibit a statistically significant relationship with one of the forms of participation, but it does not specifically relate to officers.

It seems that despite the bivariate relationships reported and discussed earlier in the chapter, once other factors were controlled for the association between trust-related variables and willingness to participate disappeared. This does seem quite surprising given the finding for respondents' perception of previous participation. Why, for instance, would believing in the effectiveness of one's previous participation influence one's willingness to participate but believing officers to be receptive (honest, fair, responsive to concerns, transparent, friendly, available to answer questions and caring) not do so? It seems belief in the previous success of influencing a project was more important than perceptions of the personal qualities of those

partly responsible for allowing this influence to take place. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

6.4 Conclusion

The key finding to emerge in this chapter answers the second research question of the study: trust in officers did not influence participation. This finding appears to contradict the hypotheses discussed in Chapter 3 and the hypotheses of this study which were outlined in Chapter 4 (HP1a-e). The findings do however broadly align with previous research in different fields which have also failed to demonstrate an association in either direction (Höppner 2009; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Samuelson *et al.* 2005).

The chapter also addressed the third research question, which asked what other objects of trust may be relevant to resident participation in urban regeneration. Trust in other residents was found to be statistically significant for predicting respondents' willingness to join a steering group. Trust in the local council was significantly, positively associated with willingness to have a conversation with a regeneration officer. These findings provided some limited support for the trust-participation hypothesis and partially verified hypothesis HP2 from Chapter 4.

In answer to the fifth research question, the most important other factor was residents' perception as to the impact of their previous participation. Respondents who believed that an impact had been made on the regeneration project by at least one form of participation in which they had previously engaged were, on average, more likely to be willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event, have a conversation with an officer, join a steering group, and to attend a TRA meeting. The chapter noted how this factor is time-dependent and can clearly only be influential at the mid-point of a regeneration project, once participatory opportunities have been taken up. It suggests that there are other factors which influence participation earlier in projects.

The findings presented in this chapter are likely to make interesting reading for policymakers charged with increasing resident participation in urban regeneration. They point to the importance of allowing residents influence over a project or, more cynically, of allowing them to *believe* that their participation is having an impact. This does not, however, help attract residents who are not currently participating. None of the other influential factors found can be influenced easily by officers or policymakers, suggesting major challenges. The following chapter considers further which other objects of trust may be important for resident participation.

Chapter 7: Other Objects of Trust

7.1 Introduction

Whilst the primary focus of the study was resident trust in officers, analysis also explored what other objects of trust may be relevant to resident participation in regeneration. There were numerous instances when participants in both Gateshead and London discussed their perception of other individuals or organisations in relation to the concept of trust. These findings are worthy of analysis for two key reasons. First, to help understand how trust in parties other than regeneration officers may influence residents' willingness to participate. Secondly, to revisit the concept of "system trust" discussed in Chapter 2 and explore the extent to which perceptions of trusted parties interrelate with one another.

This chapter explores data from both stages of qualitative research and combining this with some quantitative findings, first considers trust in other residents, which were seen to be distinct. It then explores other objects of trust, the perceptions of which were found to interrelate with resident trust in officers. These were the local authority; developers and investors; political parties; and the leader of the council. The ramifications of these findings are then discussed in a final section.

7.2 Trust in Other Residents

This section discusses respondents' trust in other local residents, which were not seen to overlap with the views of officers. Trust within communities has been discussed and explored as a potential influence on resident participation in previous research (Hibbit *et al.* 2001; Lelieveldt 2004). Frequencies for questionnaire responses are shown in Table 7.1 (see Appendix E for full table).

Table 7.1 Frequencies of Trust in Residents Correlation with Trust in Officers

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Trust in Residents (I trust most of the other residents who live in the area)	Total Disagree	23	16.1	4	7.0	19	22.1
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	48	33.6	21	36.8	27	31.4
	Total Agree	72	50.3	32	56.1	40	46.5
	Totals	143	100.0	57	100.0	86	100.0

The statistical analysis presented in Chapter 6 showed how, when controlling for other factors, questionnaire respondents who claimed to trust most other residents in the area were significantly more likely to be willing to join a steering group than those who did not report trust. This relationship is particularly interesting, given that involvement in a steering group potentially represents a more intense and potentially influential form of participation. For this reason, trust in other residents appears to be worthy of further exploration.

Trust in other residents living on the estates was discussed by several London participants in qualitative interviews. In Chapter 5, Tariq's trust in other residents was revealed to be partly based upon the shared experience of dealing with the looming regeneration project. He spoke about how he trusted the other residents who attend the TRA meetings:

> ...I suppose I could say I do trust the people who I've sat through meetings with before...They're dedicated, they're getting involved in the rest of it...that trust builds up 'cause you know what...people's concerns are... Around...that meeting table...there's no crap, there's no propaganda, there's nothing. You get to learn what people's...true concerns are. What their angle is. And I think that goes a long way to trusting somebody...If you don't spend that time with someone, you don't think you can trust them...plus I know they're in the same boat
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London)

Much of the discussion about the trustworthiness of other residents was linked to the steering group, corroborating the finding in Chapter 6 that trust in other residents predicted willingness to join the group. The steering group was set up as a way for residents to engage in the project and was very supportive of the regeneration proposals but argued for alterations to the scheme to officers on behalf of residents. When asked whether he trusted the people on the steering group, Derek said that this was because he knew them too well. When pressed he replied:

> There've always been people on that steering group...who put themselves first. Every time. I don't believe in doing that ...I'd say to them do you remember how you felt when you first got your...keys to your council property...How pleased you felt about it. That'll never happen here, there'll never be another council tenant in your place when you die...You'll be the first and the last one in there
> (Derek, male, 65+, London)

The charge from Derek appears to be self-interest. The reference to council tenancies relates to his belief that the local authority plan to sell the development's newly built social housing when tenants eventually move out, instead of letting it, due to its increased value. He reported that residents who were members of the steering group were putting themselves ahead of future generations by supporting the redevelopment.

Derek and other residents recounted a specific breakdown in relations between residents who were pro-regeneration and those against the project. When asked about the steering group, he said:

> I didn't like what they did in the first instance, what caused the break up. [The resident] who's the lead figure on [the steering group]...she was the chair of our group against the demolition…And then one day, she came 'round and said "we've been to the council and the developers and we think it's a good deal, so we're we're gonna do it." Woah, hold on a minute. W-who asked you to go to the meeting with the developers and the council? Not this committee didn't. No, no she said…"I went because they invited me." Oh right and they invited you and they give you a lot of…waffle, you've taken it all in and now you wanna go. Well you can go but you go on your own. "You know, if you're sure that's the way you feel I'm packing it in." Right fair enough. Bye bye
>
> (Derek, male, 65+, London)

Tara, who is an active member of the TRA, also recalled how some residents parted ways before they went on to set up the steering group:

> [Resident] used to be the Secretary of the TRA and I was there when he resigned and I…also received a few bullying phone calls from him prior to that resignation. Him and [resident] were the Secretary and the Chair, they went to meet the council behind the committee's back, they admitted it, the committee said look you shouldn't do that but fine we'll let you off this time. They came back from that meeting at the council and in the committee meeting said we need to vote to get rid of [community activist], so the vote went ahead, [three residents] voted to get rid of [community activist]. The rest of the committee voted in favour to keep him…So they got aggressive because the vote didn't go their way, it was astonishing to the point that that vote was held three times, same result every time…
>
> (Tara, female, 50-64, London)

The community activist referred to above was recruited by the TRA to help the residents oppose the redevelopment and then to help them take ownership of the estates themselves. It seems that a distrust between the two groups developed due to their passionate disagreement over the regeneration, the recruitment of the community activist and the alleged behaviour of those residents who met local authority officers 'in secret'.

Tracey, also living in London, connected her distrust of one of the steering group residents to her lack of interest in participation:

> It was one resident and the kind of people she attracted…that put me off being actively engaged with the early meetings
>
> (Tracey, female, 50-64, London)

When asked about why she felt this way toward the resident in question she explained:

> I felt that she wasn't canny enough to deal with...the council and the developers and then what happened was then she went over to their side, let's say, and then started telling people...that everyone is being promised new carpets, new...white goods, curtains...and that's her main thing now in "oh you know you're going to get..." it's like come on!
>
> (ibid.)

Tracey believed that the resident in question had effectively been duped by the local authority and developers. Other participants had also mentioned how they felt that some pro-regeneration residents appeared to be seeing the smaller picture, such as the new furnishings which were being promised, rather than focussing upon what they saw as the more important aspects of the scheme, such as the demolition of one's home. Tracey felt that this particular steering group member could not be trusted to effectively protect residents' interests. Her reference to "their side" shows how pronounced and deep the divide between residents had become.

Pro-regeneration residents seemed just as distrustful of those opposed to the scheme. Steering group member Teresa felt that the residents linked to the TRA who claimed to "have 80% of the estate or 65% of the estate" in support, was "fraudulently acquired":

> ...They were going round...getting...kids to sign the petitions...surely you have to be a tenant...or the leaseholder...or at least over 18 and representing the...household...kids as young as...12 who can't sign and aren't particularly relevant...It's...just a case of making up numbers and...the council are aware...if people actually...looked at the names and...the addresses they wouldn't tally...so it's nonsense
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

Other residents believed that those opposed to the scheme were spreading false rumours to bolster their argument. Nicholas spoke of "the ones who want to keep the estate, the neighbourhood group that go 'round with letters which are all lies and everything". He recalled one such incident:

> One of [community activist's] members...he was with us then he's gone over to them. I see him the other day, he says you know pets are not allowed do you? Not even goldfish. So when I went to the drop-in centre down here [they] said load of bollocks. Course you're allowed pets...He's got a short memory, his bird had a dog for years...
>
> (Nicholas, male, 50-64, London)

When asked about the prospect of holding a vote to decide the fate of the estates, pro-regeneration resident Vincent said "I agree with it but I feel [the other group are] going...[to] give those people false information...so they vote against it I feel". It was also interesting to hear Nicholas' slightly different take on the splitting of the residents into opposing groups:

> All we had before was a tenants association and they split up, some stayed with us and some went to... Some that were with us went over to them
>
> (Nicholas, male, 50-64, London)

Taken with some of the other extracts, it seems that both sets of residents may have wanted their group to be seen as the more mainstream, official group from which others had broken away.

Overall, the questionnaire respondents were quite trusting of other residents in their area, with half reporting trust (72 out of 143) and only a small minority (23 out of 143) disagreeing with the statement (Table 5.4). However, one third was unsure. Respondents in London were more trusting of others living in the area than the Dunston cohort (56.1 per cent against 46.5 per cent). Despite the opposing groups in London, only a small number of respondents disagreed with the statement "I trust most of the other residents who live in the area" (4 out of 57), far lower than the proportion for Dunston (19 out of 86). It is possible that the questionnaire respondents may have interpreted "most residents" as those whom share their own view. The negative comments explored above are perhaps true only for a group whom they see as being in the minority.

7.3 Objects of Trust Relating to Officer Perceptions

Residents frequently discussed their trust or distrust in several parties which were discussed in relation to their trust in officers. Amongst these were resident trust in: the local authority; developer and investors; political parties; and the leader of the council. The frequencies for trust in the council and trust in the developer are shown in Table 7.2 (see Appendix E for full table).

Table 7.2 Frequencies for Trust in the Council and the Developers and their Correlation with Trust in Officers[27]

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Trust in the Council (I trust [Hammersmith & Fulham Borough/ Gateshead] Council)	Total Disagree	43	30.1	22	38.6	21	24.4
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	41	28.7	9	15.8	32	37.2
	Total Agree	59	41.3	26	45.6	33	38.4
	Totals	143	100.0	57	100.0	86	100.0
I trust the developers [Capital and Counties] working on the regeneration project	Total Disagree	N/A		22	40.0	N/A	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree			19	34.5		
	Total Agree			14	25.5		
	Totals			55	100.0		

Local Authority

Residents turned to experiences of the local authority to explain attitudes toward regeneration officers but this took subtly different forms. For many residents, they related to activities the local authority had engaged in which were separate from the regeneration project. After being asked how her trust in officers could be increased, Mandy recalled how the local authority had told residents that they must have restrictors installed on the windows of all tower blocks to prevent suicides. She spoke of how she felt this was unnecessary as she had no intention of committing suicide and could remember only one such incident, which had occurred over 30 years ago:

> ...we cannot get the windows open to clean them...I think it's 3 years since the outside of my windows were cleaned, because the council's suddenly decided it's going to cost far too much money to put the scaffolding up twice a year to clean your windows...
> (Mandy, female, 50-64, Chandless)

Mandy clearly sees the restrictors as an annoyance which has prevented her from cleaning her windows.

[27] The responses regarding the developer in Dunston are not reported here because no developer had been announced at the time fieldwork took place

Similar experiences cropped up in London. After discussing her perception of regeneration officers, Gina was asked whether her feelings had changed at all, or if she had always found them to be "dishonest and cynical", as she had described. She immediately spoke about the local authority as a whole, stating that the council's "attitude toward these estates is dishonest, with everything". She went on to complain about how the edges to some windows that had been installed in her home were flimsy and had become brittle and complained about how little the council cleaned communal areas for the amount paid in service charges, "they're quite happy to take your money and they'll do nothing for it...Dishonest". When asked what makes a trustworthy regeneration officer, Gina answered simply, "Well for a start off they've got to come from a trustworthy organisation". When asked directly afterwards what makes a trustworthy organisation she replied, "Somebody who adheres to the contract". Far from believing that trust in officers stems from their organisation's ability to root out untrustworthy employees, Gina appears to suggest that as long as the organisation is aiming to fulfil certain obligations, then its employees will be working toward the same end and will therefore also be trustworthy. Despite the earlier discussion of how contracts are inimical to trust, this extract still shows how perceptions of the trustworthiness of an organisation may influence the trust felt toward its employees. Gina's more general perceptions appear to have influenced her trust in a specific party.

Fellow London resident Nigel spoke of how he did not feel he could make a difference to the project by attending meetings or talking to officers. When questioned further about this, he spoke of how he'd been arguing with the council for 12 months over a number of issues related to the airing cupboard and tiling in his home.

Whilst her opinion of the local authority was very different, it seemed that Bernadette's thinking was very similar to the residents above. When asked whether she trusted the officers to manage the project well and communicate to residents she said that she did, explaining:

> Hammersmith and Fulham, they've always been very good anyway...They've always been very good...I haven't got no complaint about the council people...any time I needed something...it's just now since this redevelopment has been going on they're a bit slacking on fixing up the houses or if something is broken they...take their time. Because deep down inside they know that what's the point in fixing it...that's the way I see it but the council, Hammersmith and Fulham has always been very good...And anytime I had anything to do they [clicks fingers] in a spot
>
> (Bernadette, female, 40-49, London)

Bernadette apparently goes so far as to forgive the local authority for its recent tardiness with repairs, given the looming demolition. This view may be partly influenced by Bernadette's support for the project.

As detailed earlier, Trisha claimed the council officers working on the project in Dunston were trustworthy, going on to say:

Trisha: Otherwise they wouldn't be in a job would they? If people didn't trust them they wouldn't be in a job

Interviewer: You think that's a good measure of their trustworthiness?

Trisha: Yeah, yeah

Chapter 5 explained how this could be evidence for the situational encapsulated interest element of trust. It is also possible that Trisha is implying that the organisation for which the officers work is responsible for hiring only trustworthy professionals. Trisha's comments infer that she trusts her local council to filter out untrustworthy candidates from their selection process and then act to ensure that only trustworthy officers remain in their jobs. It is also notable that she appears to objectivise trustworthiness when she says "if people didn't trust them" after being asked whether the resident *herself* trusted the officers. She implies that for one person (or organisation) to trust an officer is the same for another to do so. Officers are either trustworthy or they are not. From this perspective, residents' individual perceptions of officers have no overall impact on their trust in them. Simply holding the job in an organisation which one trusts to hire trustworthy individuals is enough to trust an officer.

Neven's comments were quite different to those of other residents, however. He had a much more generalised view of local authorities. Whilst discussing representativeness-based trust in officers and whether the steering group, of which Neven was a member, was really necessary he explained how he felt the local authority is never going to let residents down entirely:

> ...the council is going to...demolish our properties, my personal opinion is that ...they won't say 'actually you're a secure tenant, from now on we've sold this land...you won't be getting any replacement of your home'...I always try to trust the council to be honest. So I know [the] main point [of the steering group] is what we get and where we get it ...I was never...having any doubts...the council would do something...that will...put me...in the bad position or even worse position that I'm currently in
>
> (Neven, male, 40-49, London)

When asked why he felt this way about the council, Neven replied:

> I mean first of all...I used to work for the...local government....but second thing is...I don't think that any council will simply say we are going to demolish your home and you'll get nothing out of it...so I'm not worried at all that I won't be getting a replacement home
>
> (ibid.)

For Neven, therefore, it seems that due to his personal experience and his favourable view of local authorities in general (and perhaps the wider institutional or legal framework in which they operate) that any representatives of a council, such as regeneration officers, may start from a position of trust.

Overall it seemed that residents' perceptions of regeneration officers were repeatedly connected to the local authority as a whole. A comment by Nadia epitomised this view when

she said, in response to a question about trusting the officers, "If they can't manage simple repairs I don't trust them with...something more important". Later, when asked whether she distinguished between the officers working on the project or the council as a whole, she responded:

> ...as officials they are the same and as...private persons of course everybody's you know, different but yes, because it's a policy of council and it's official policy
>
> (Nadia, female, 50-64, London)

She suggests that in terms of the project itself, it is reasonable to see officers and the local authority as the same. However, it is unlikely that the regeneration officers as professionals have any responsibility for many of the complaints and incidents described in the extracts above. Yet it seemed residents' views of regeneration officers, as representatives of the organisation, may be easily influenced by their experiences with the local authority.

It is also possible, however, that the ways in which participants were questioned may have been partly responsible for this finding. Throughout the interviews officers were usually referred to as "officers" or "people working on the scheme" but often this would be replaced by "them" or "they" as similar questions were asked and the interviews continued. It could be argued that this led to some confusion as to whether the interviewer was asking about the individual officers or the organisations as a whole. Indeed, the words "they" and "them" can be used in everyday speech simply to refer to (unknown) organisations which make decisions on a specific matter. Notwithstanding this criticism, it is felt that the evidence presented above clearly demonstrates both the potential importance of trust in a local authority – not only as to how it impacts upon officer perceptions but also upon willingness to participate directly.

Approximately four in ten of questionnaire respondents reported trusting their local council (59 out of 143; Table 7.2). The London cohort was more trusting of Hammersmith and Fulham Borough Council than the Dunston respondents were of Gateshead Council (45.6 per cent against 38.4 per cent). However it appears as though the controversial nature of the project in London may be reflected in the data. Over one third disagreed with the statement (22 out of 57) whilst only a small minority of West Kensington respondents were unsure as to their trust in the council (9 out of 57). Dunston respondents were more equivocal, with over a third (32 out of 86) selecting the "neither agree nor disagree" option.

Developer and Investors

When asked whether he would trust officers to take on board what he has to say, Geoff replied that he "wouldn't trust them as far as I could throw them". When asked why, he explained:

> Because they...definitely want the tenants off of the estates even though we voted four to one against moving. They're approaching different groups of people with money, some have got a yearly debt of ten million pounds...Some are crooks from Hong Kong and Capco if they was rich enough to do the estate their self they wouldn't have to apply to crooks or bankrupt or nearly bankrupt people...So it's possible that they haven't got sufficient cash to carry out what they want to have done...Otherwise they wouldn't go to Hong Kong with the Kwok Brothers
>
> (Geoff, male, 65+, London)

Geoff was bitterly opposed to the demolition and redevelopment of the estate. Whilst his response does infer a lack of trust due to a difference of interests with officers and their lack of willingness to respond to residents' wishes, Geoff quickly moved on to discuss the developer and potential investors for the project. Thomas and Ryan Kwok had agreed a 50 per cent stake in the Seagrave Road car park element of the West Kensington development with Capco (Courtney 2012). In March 2012 the brothers were arrested in Hong Kong on suspicion of bribery, unconnected to the London scheme (BBC News 2012). Geoff argues that Capco's deal with the Kwok brothers suggests that the company does not have sufficient funds to invest in the project itself. However, it seems fair to suggest that it is the allegations around the Kwok brothers which add to his unease about the scheme. What is most noteworthy however is that when answering a question about trusting the regeneration officers to listen, Geoff moved very quickly to talk about the potential untrustworthiness of the developer and some investors. This clearly demonstrates how these different objects of trust can connect very easily in residents' minds.

The London questionnaire named the developer as Capital and Counties (CapCo). Four in ten (22 out of 55) did not trust the organisation, whilst around a quarter reported that they did trust CapCo.

Political Parties

The interview data from London demonstrated how some residents' distrust in a political party may be relevant to the regeneration project:

> I think there was a lot of distrust towards politicians, particularly...from what I heard Conservative politicians. I think a lot of people on the estate or at least a lot of people who had got themselves involved [in the TRA], who either came to the meetings or we spoke to through the petitions and door knocking were either Labour voters or other groups, there wasn't a huge amount of support...for the Conservatives
>
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London)

After briefly referring to Dame Shirley Porter and the infamous 'Homes for Votes' scandal of the 1990s (BBC News 2004), Tariq discussed the reputation of the Conservative Party, which controls the local borough council, amongst some local residents:

> ...previously it was a Labour Borough...and since [taking power]...[the Conservative Party has] obviously done what every political party does...to make changes...to secure their foothold and...there were lots of accusations of gerrymandering and the like...and to be honest the evidence was there to support it and the evidence to disprove it was pretty thin on the ground, so that in the first instance meant that in the early days a lot of people were against [the regeneration project]...there was a lot of 'how can we trust a Conservative Government' they've done this before, they've done that before...
>
> (ibid.)

By 'Conservative Government' Tariq appears to mean a 'Conservative controlled local council'. He suggested that the poor reputation of the party, potentially due to the scandal in the nearby London Borough of Westminster, has led to suggestions that the local authority's regeneration project may be advantageous to the governing party, rather than residents. Distrust in the Conservative Party may have necessitated distrust in the local authority, because of the former's political control over the council. Tariq himself appeared to have almost cultural reasons for his distrust of Conservatives:

> One thing my parents taught me was don't trust Tories...and I haven't...seen yet a Tory that I think I can trust, to be perfectly honest
>
> (ibid.)

Fellow London resident Chris said that he felt that the local council's decisions over the project were politically motivated. He said that whilst he would not count himself as a Labour Party supporter, he felt that he would probably choose Labour over the Conservatives "almost every time":

> I find...that the council, Hammersmith and Fulham Council is just so fucking conservative that I can't get over it...And they are unvaryingly so, not that I think that the tenants are not but the tenants are responding to a proposal by the council and the council is all about money, developers and stuff like that, that isn't really in my opinion about how people live
>
> (Chris, male, 65+, London)

Chris asserted that his distrust of the local authority was based upon what he perceived as its "political" nature rather than its conservative ideology. However, when it was suggested that it would make no difference to him if it were a Labour majority on the council, he questioned whether it would but then said:

> ...but there are some things that I would consider probably more in my interests than in others...And I do think that the Conservative position is less in my interest than the other position, although I regard both as exaggerated and...theoretical rather than practical
>
> (ibid.)

It seemed that, at least in part, his perception of the ruling political party, motivated by his

political ideology, influenced his view of the local authority and the project as a whole.

For Derek, a direct link was made between his perception of officers and his political preferences. He had been very active in the local Labour group for many years. When asked about trust between residents and officers, Derek commented:

> Well, if you had the officers that we had when it was...a Labour Council [inaudible] working with them...then because we'd...a lot more trust in them. And they've brought all these new people in, nobody knows who they are, where they've come from and they've got [to] pay them for their jobs.
>
> (Derek, male, 65+, London)

Somehow, for Derek, officers employed at a time of Labour Party control could be trusted more than those employed currently, when the Conservative Party is in power. He later explained this slightly further:

> ...if the council changed, took over, then you can keep an eye on the officers more that way. Then I would trust our councillors to do that.
>
> (ibid.)

The political control of the council was of utmost importance to the trustworthiness of the regeneration officers for Derek. He said that officers were limited in the extent that they could take on residents' views on the scheme due to what he believed was a ruthless control of the councillors over the officers:

> I'm not sure about the officers...I'm not sure about them. I think they'd sell their mother if they...had to. [they would do] a bit of dodgy work through any statements or agreements or anything...'Cause they'll bend their sway to the proper council...The council are very, very stern and very, very strict...And if anybody steps out of line, sack 'em. They sack them...They get rid of 'em
>
> (ibid.)

Tracey commented upon the lack of representativeness of the Conservative party for residents living on the estates:

> ...most of the people on this estate wouldn't have voted for them anyway to be in power...If they voted at all, so to say that they're doing it on our behalf, that is what is so hurtful...That is...where the trust completely breaks down because you know they're not us...And they're not working in our best interests.
>
> (Tracey, female, 50-64, London)

It is interesting that these comments were made after Tracey was asked what she felt makes a trustworthy regeneration officer. She began by talking about the availability of officers to answer questions and then suddenly appeared to switch to talking about (presumably Conservative) councillors. Again this shows how the trustworthiness of different trust objects – such as the political party controlling the council and the officers – can interconnect. The

comment "you know they're not us" is also telling. This highlights the subtle difference between distrusting because of the reputation of the governing political party, and distrusting the organisation because one did not vote for the governing political party and does not share its values. The extract implies a clear association between trust in political parties and the dimensions contained within the representativeness grouping discussed in Chapter 5.

The political party lens through which many residents saw the scheme and the regeneration officers was not lost on Teresa, who as a steering group member, was very much in favour of the regeneration project going ahead. She suggested that the redevelopment was being opposed by some residents purely because of the political party in control of the council. Teresa implied that political opposition outweighed substantive concerns about the project:

> You know as far as I see it, it's been attacked because it's a Tory-led redevelopment. If it wasn't Tory-led and Boris wasn't the Mayor they wouldn't be involved, that's the way I see it
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

The extracts analysed above demonstrate the distinctly political lens through which a regeneration project can be perceived and the potential importance of resident trust in a political party. The trust or distrust in the Conservative Party detailed above appeared to be based upon their reputation, as described by Tariq, their representativeness of residents on the estates, as suggested by Tracey, and/or residents' own political ideology, as explained by Tariq, Chris and Derek. The data also show how trust or distrust in a political party can easily affect perceptions of the organisation it controls and the officers whom work for it.

The Leader of the Council

Some of the residents who were opposed to the regeneration project recalled some specific remarks made by the leader of the council at one of the early meetings:

> ...what finally made me go up like a rocket and wanted to have nothing more to do with them was when [leader of council] said that...we weren't decent people or...some term he used, I can't remember what it was now and that just made me [see] red because I'm a professional. I know that there are masses of other professionals who live on this estate, there are doctors, there are lawyers, there are architects...there are teachers. Yeah there are crackheads [laughs]...this estate has a mix of all kinds of people, senior nurses... how can this man just blatantly...tar us all like that?
>
> (Tracey, female, 50-64, London)

Tracey clearly felt insulted by the remarks. This invokes a lack of shared perceptions and/or shared experience between Tracey and the leader, recalling those dimensions of officer trustworthiness documented in Chapter 5.

When asked whether she could think of an event which had contributed to her lack of trust in officers, to take on her opinions or protect her interests, Nadia replied:

> Yes....I was invited and I went to the meeting with the then-leader [of the council]...he clearly said what he thinks about...people who live on council estates... it seems to me that he doesn't think that...council tenants are normal human beings.
>
> (Nadia, female, 50-64, London)

It is noteworthy once again that objects of trust overlap in the minds of residents, with Nadia here asked about officers, but recalling the words of the leader of the council. Such a powerful figure clearly has the potential to contribute to perceptions of the entire organisation and the regeneration officers working on the scheme.

Statistical Insights into Overlapping Perceptions

The qualitative data which suggested overlapping perceptions of various objects of trust warranted a return to some of the statistical data to consider any potential corroboration for the finding. There was significant correlation between trust in the local council and developers and: perceived officer receptivity; perceived officer ability; perceived officer representativeness; and perceived situational and encapsulated interests (SEI) (Table 7.3; $p<.01$). It is notable that the SEI item correlated most strongly with trust in the council and developers, as these organisations will be where the *situational* incentives and sanctions will be created and sustained (with council $r_s = .35$, $p<.01$; with developers $r_s = .61$, $p<.01$). Furthermore, trust in the council, developers also correlated strongly and significantly *with each other* ($p<.01$). The quantitative evidence from the questionnaire clearly confirms the qualitative insights detailed above: trust in regeneration officers does not exist in a vacuum.

Table 7.3 Correlation between Several Trust-Related Variables

		Trust in local council	Trust in developers (WKGG Only)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	Spearman's Rho	.346**	.521**
	N	131	52
Perceived Officer Ability	Spearman's Rho	.336**	.634**
	N	134	53
Perceived Officer Representativeness	Spearman's Rho	.295**	.711**
	N	136	53
Perceived SEI	Spearman's Rho	.353**	.609**
	N	138	55
Trust in local council	Spearman's Rho	1.000	.760**
	N	143	55
Trust in developers (WKGG Only)	Spearman's Rho	.760**	1.000
	N	55	55

* Significant at $p< 0.05$
** Significant at $p<0.01$

7.4 Discussion: System Trust and Regeneration

It is useful to reflect upon the findings presented in this chapter and to consider them in unison with the conclusions from Chapter 6. The previous chapter showed how questionnaire respondents' perceptions of officers were not, on average, associated with their willingness to participate when controlling for other factors.[28] The major driver of willingness to participate revealed by quantitative analysis was the perception of having influenced the regeneration project in the past through at least one form of engagement. Residents' previous influence therefore appears important for participation, yet their perception of officers does not. This suggests that residents may not see achieving influence on a project as primarily dependent upon their view of officers.

Chapter 6 discussed two potential explanations for this finding: the data may demonstrate the importance of the residents' perceived efficacy – that regardless of officers,

[28] Whilst it would have been interesting to explore the influence of trust in the other objects detailed in this chapter upon participation, this was not possible. Resident trust in the developers for the projects was not included in the quantitative analysis and trust in the controlling political party and the leader of the local council was not recorded in the questionnaire.

participants' self-esteem, confidence and perceived ability is what drives participation; or that perceptions of others do matter, but that focussing on officers is too narrow – instead it may be a more general perception of an entire network of actors which motivates engagement.

The second possibility is bolstered by both the qualitative and quantitative data presented in this chapter. As extracts above show, it was often challenging to disentangle trust in officers from trust in a variety of other objects, including the local authority, developers/investors, political parties and the leader of the council. Furthermore, many of these objects of trust were perceived as having considerable influence over residents' perception of the regeneration officers and the questionnaire data confirmed this for the local council and developers. This is reminiscent of previous research, which found that residents' lack of trust in New Deal for Communities (NDC) Partnerships was partly based upon their failure "to distinguish between the NDC and local social housing landlords involved in the regeneration process" (Cole *et al.* 2004). Taking the findings from this chapter and Chapter 6 together, it is useful to return to the notion of system trust discussed in Chapter 2.

System trust is based upon expectations in a more generalised, abstract system made up of a network of often hidden actors. Could this be how residents living in regeneration areas view participatory opportunities? Findings from this study suggest that perceptions of officer trustworthiness are unimportant for motivating participation and, secondly, that such views may be tightly connected to opinions of the local authority, controlling political party, leader of the council and developers/investors. Yet perceived influence from prior participation *was* shown to be a distinct driver of willingness to participate. It may be telling that an item which did not mention a specific party, through which residents' views are mediated, was associated with willingness to participate in the largest number of ways: it simply referred to 'impact'. Perhaps residents' trust in the *system* – the entire network of the 'powers that be' – to allow them influence and listen to their views is what really motivates participation in regeneration projects. Trust in one group of actors may be insufficient, due to the extent to which they are connected to the other players in the system, which may or may not allow residents to genuinely affect change. Instead, it is possibly a sense that the overall system has been receptive to one's views in the past which can encourage future participation. Whilst the system referred to here is not as large or abstract as the planning system, for example, trust may be based upon a network of "effectors" which is larger than just individuals or a single institution.

This poses the question as to what extent trust in a participatory urban regeneration system can be built. Further research would be needed to determine whether the system worked in a more Giddensian or Luhmannian manner – that is to what extent so called "access points", involving interaction with a representative of the system, are important for strengthening and weakening system trust. Regeneration projects do not rely on potentially inaccessible knowledge and any professional expertise upon which officers' draw is less probably seen as 'expert' by residents than in more established professions. However, the findings presented in this study would suggest that experiences at access points are important. Simply believing that *future* participation would be influential was not seen to be associated with any form of participation in Chapter 6. Only respondents who reported perceived influence in their *prior* participation were more likely to be willing to participate in several ways in the future, with all

other things equal. Experience of an access point therefore mattered.[29] This may suggest that officers have an important role to play, as residents' perception as to the extent to which they have influenced a project may be dependent upon their "facework".

Developing system trust might also be attempted through a variety of other mechanisms. Tait and Hansen (2007) argue that the private sector influenced "new public management" solutions, comprising target-setting and a focus upon customer service, may be unlikely to build deeper trust. Tait (2011, p162) critiques the use performance management to restore trust in the planning system, commenting on its:

> ...inability to deal with the fundamental dilemma of planning: how the field derives the moral and political authority to mediate a conflict of interests between different parties in the planning process.

Referring to a variety of public institutions, O'Neill (2002, p52) argues:

> In the very years in which the accountability revolution has made striking advances, in which increased demands for control and performance, scrutiny and audit have been imposed, and in which the performance of professionals and institutions has been more and more controlled, we find in fact growing reports of mistrust.

This may be because:

> ...underlying this ostensible aim of accountability *to the public* the real requirements are for accountability *to regulators, to departments of government, to funders, to legal standards.*
>
> (ibid. p53, original emphasis)

Tait (2011) found that the target culture of a planning department built only weaker forms of trust based upon incentives and sanctions, closely related to Russell Hardin's (2006) encapsulated interest account of trust.

Other methods of developing system trust may focus on norms, procedures, codes and standards (Tait 2011). Developing a clear set of values under which a system operates may allow a deeper form of trust to emerge (Tait and Hansen 2007, 2013). For the planning system, Swain and Tait (2007, p244) argue that the aim is "to seek to establish new, situated collective and relational values that are trusted by more than one group or interest". With the lack of a single client group allowing contested decisions to be made in urban regeneration projects (as discussed in Chapter 2) a similar approach, in which the ethos of a project is clearly developed and communicated, may be beneficial for increasing system trust in this field as well.

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[29] It is acknowledged that participation through completion of a questionnaire or consultation document does not really constitute interaction with an access point. However, only three respondents who were categorised as having perceived some impact in at least one of the forms of engagement had perceived impact through the questionnaire alone.

7.5 Conclusion

There are two key conclusions to be taken from the findings presented in this chapter. First, five further objects of trust have been revealed as relevant to participation in urban regeneration, which may have the potential to influence participation. By detailing the multitude of actors in whom trust may be relevant for participation, the findings presented in this chapter further confirm the complexity of trust. Whilst Chapter 5 showed the extent to which trust can vary dependent upon *subject*, this chapter has shown the differences relating to *object*. The number of trustees other than officers whose images have at least the potential to impact upon participation was considerable. Given that the quantitative findings from Chapter 6 suggested that trust in *officers* is not related to participation, this chapter provides the exploratory groundwork for further investigations.

Second, the chapter highlights the potential salience of system trust in participatory urban regeneration. This is demonstrated by the way in which residents' trust-related perceptions of some other parties appeared to overlap both with one another, and with trust in regeneration officers. As Tait (2012, p612) comments regarding research in urban planning, "...trust was based not only on previous, direct experience of another person, but also perceptions of the institution, and institutional values, they represented". Taking the findings both from this chapter and Chapter 6, it is proposed that residents may have a more generalised perception of a network of actors who can influence a regeneration project, which may be influential in predicting their participation. Chapter 6 showed that trust in officers was unrelated to residents' willingness to participate and dispositional trust was only influential for one form of engagement. Perhaps such variables are either too specific (officers) or too vague (people in general), and trust in a "system" is at the right level to impact resident engagement. Nadia summed this up rather well when asked whether the comments made by the leader of the council had resulted in a lack of trust in the local authority and the people working on the project amongst some residents. She replied "I don't think [that] it's one single thing what...the so called leader said, I think it's everything together".

The potential salience of system trust raises two questions. First how can it be measured? Thought would be needed as to whether the dimensional approach taken in this study for interpersonal trust should be applied to system trust. Would residents be able to answer why they do or do not trust the major effectors collectively within an urban regeneration system? However, the larger issue is that even if system trust could be measured and was seen to impact participation, unlike interpersonal trust, it would be difficult and/or slow to build. The "evidence-based" system trust to emerge as important in this study relies upon residents already being engaged in participatory opportunities. A system trust built upon the development of collective values amongst the variety of actors involved, as inferred by Swain and Tait (2007), is likely to take considerable time. The greatest irony would be if system trust *is* influential in participation but, due to the challenging process of changing wider perceptions, it is also near impossible to build.

Chapter 8: Participation

8.1 Introduction

Having explored the concepts of interpersonal and system trust, this chapter presents findings from the empirical research which relate to residents' views and experiences of participation. It aims to answer the fourth research question of the study:

How do residents living in regeneration areas relate to participation?

The other purpose of the chapter is to present further findings in answer to the fifth research question, in addition to those already outlined in Chapter 6:

Other than trust what factors may drive residents' participation in urban regeneration?

These supplementary questions, which emerged during qualitative data analysis, aim to discover *how* participatory opportunities are interpreted and engaged with by residents. This may allow a fuller understanding of what actually drives citizens' willingness to be involved. The chapter details which forms of participation were favoured by respondents and which methods they felt would be more likely to have an impact on the regeneration project. Using qualitative data, it considers whether residents really view participatory opportunities as routes to exert influence on a project or whether they are seen in terms of their informative potential. Exploring other factors which may influence participation, the chapter also raises questions about whether policymakers' and academics' may have assumed an overly instrumental gaze when considering participation.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first reports and analyses the quantitative data relating to participation generated from the questionnaires. Discussion then moves on to explore the ways in which residents perceived participatory opportunities and the reasons given for engaging. A final section considers non-instrumental reasons why residents might want to participate. The conclusion places some of the findings from the chapter into the wider context of the thesis and considers the potential relationship between trust and participation.

8.2 Univariate Analysis of Participation

This section of the chapter conducts univariate analysis of the quantitative data on participation recorded in the resident questionnaire. Table 8.1 shows the numbers and percentages of respondents' previous involvement in their local regeneration project for the five different forms of participation investigated. It also shows residents' perceived impact of their involvement on the regeneration project, for each form of participation. As explained earlier in the thesis, the perceived impact of participation was recorded due to its potential influence on

residents' willingness to participate. Finally, at the bottom of the table, an 'overall participation' item shows the numbers and percentages of respondents who participated in at least one way and who felt that their participation through at least one of these methods had resulted in an impact on the project. For the latter, the "other" response captures a combination of "no" and "don't know" responses.

Taking the two regeneration areas together, the data showed that a minority of respondents had engaged in each of the five forms of participation considered: attendance at an exhibition or drop-in event; completion of a questionnaire or consultation document; having a conversation with an officer; joining the steering group; and attending a TRA or resident meeting. Of those who attended an exhibition or drop-in event, or engaged in a conversation with a regeneration officer, more than four in ten respondents felt that their efforts had no impact upon the project (29 out of 63 and 20 out of 48 respectively). Less than half (15 out of 49) of the residents who said they attended a resident or TRA meeting reported that their involvement had no impact and more than one third reported being unsure whether their involvement had an impact (18 out of 49). Less than 20 per cent of respondents who reported completing a questionnaire or consultation document thought that doing so had an impact (11 out of 57). Respondents who had been or were currently members of a steering group appear to feel very differently. Seven of the nine residents who were currently members of a steering group reported having an impact on the regeneration project. This question was only relevant to London respondents as a steering group did not yet exist in Dunston. The data showed that the two forms of participation which entail or are likely to entail face-to-face interaction with an officer - conversations with them and membership of the steering group - are most likely to be seen as influential (37.5 per cent and 77.8 per cent respectively). This again raises Giddens' (1990) notion of facework and how it may be key to creating perceived influence and potentially further participation.

This overall picture hides striking differences between the two regeneration projects. Except for membership of the steering group, most London respondents had been involved in each of the forms of participation listed in the questionnaire. Almost all - 50 respondents out of the 51 who replied - had participated in at least one way. A majority of these respondents (52 per cent) believed at least one form of participation resulted in an impact on the project. For the four types of participation other than steering group membership, less than half of those who had been involved stated that there had been an impact on the project as a result. Holding a conversation with a regeneration officer was most widely seen to have an influence out of these four, with 15 of the 32 residents who had done so reporting an impact.

Table 8.1 Previous Participation and its Perceived Impact

Participation	Response		Total		WKGG		Dunston	
			Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Exhibition/ Drop-in Event	Participation	Yes	63	46.0%	41	75.9%	22	26.5%
		No	74	54.0%	13	24.1%	61	73.5%
		Total	137	100.0%	54	100.0%	83	100.0%
	Impact (% of Participated)	Yes	14	22.2%	10	24.4%	4	18.2%
		No	29	46.0%	20	48.8%	9	40.9%
		Don't Know	20	31.7%	11	26.8%	9	40.9%
Questionnaire/ Consultation Document	Participation	Yes	57	42.5%	45	83.3%	12	15.0%
		No	77	57.5%	9	16.7%	68	85.0%
		Total	134	100.0%	54	100.0%	80	100.0%
	Impact (% of Participated)	Yes	11	19.3%	9	20.0%	2	16.7%
		No	23	40.4%	19	42.2%	4	33.3%
		Don't Know	23	40.4%	17	37.8%	6	50.0%
Conversation with Regeneration Officer	Participation	Yes	48	34.8%	32	59.3%	16	19.0%
		No	90	65.2%	22	40.7%	68	81.0%
		Total	138	100.0%	54	100.0%	84	100.0%
	Impact (% of Participated)	Yes	18	37.5%	15	46.9%	3	18.8%
		No	20	41.7%	14	43.8%	6	37.5%
		Don't Know	10	20.8%	3	9.4%	7	43.8%
Past or Current Membership of Steering Group	Participation	Yes	9	6.4%	9	15.8%	0	0.0%
		No	131	93.6%	48	84.2%	83	100.0%
		Total	140	100.0%	57	100.0%	83	100.0%
	Impact (% of Participated)	Yes	7	77.8%	7	77.8%	0	0%
		No	2	22.2%	2	22.2%	0	0%
		Don't Know	0	0.0%	0	0%	0	0%
Resident/TRA Meeting	Participation	Yes	49	35.0%	31	57.4%	17	20.0%
		No	91	65.0%	23	42.6%	68	80.0%
		Total	140	100.0%	54	100.0%	85	100.0%
	Impact (% of Participated)	Yes	15	30.6%	11	35.5%	4	23.5%
		No	15	30.6%	8	25.8%	7	41.2%
		Don't Know	18	36.7%	12	38.7%	6	35.3%
At least one of above	Participation	Participated in at least one	75	57.7%	50	98.0%	25	31.6%
		Never participated	55	42.3%	1	2.0%	54	68.4%
		Total	130	100.0%	51	100.0%	79	100.0%
	Impact (% of Participated)	Perceived impact in at least one form	33	44.0%	26	52.0%	7	28.0%
		Other	42	56.0%	24	48.0%	18	72.0%

This is quite different to the data from Dunston, where for each individual form of involvement a minority of respondents had participated. Furthermore, 54 of the 79 residents (68.4 per cent) who completed the questionnaire stated that they had not participated in any of the five ways and only 7 out of 25 (28 per cent) of those who had done so believed at least one of their participatory efforts had an impact on the scheme.

However, it is important to recognise that it was not possible to assess the number of participation opportunities engaged in by residents as a proportion of those offered. For example, there was no resident steering group in Dunston and there was no formal TRA in existence. Analysis should therefore focus upon the three other forms of participation. However, it is also likely that there have been fewer exhibitions or drop-in events held and fewer questionnaires or consultation documents distributed in Dunston than in London. This may partly explain the large majorities of respondents who reported not having participated in exhibition/drop-in events (61 out of 83), not having completed questionnaire/consultation documents (68 out of 80) and not having engaged in a conversation with a regeneration officer (68 out of 84) in Dunston.

It is also vitally important to remember that the Dunston respondents lived around, rather than *in* the Ravensworth Road estate. Comparison of the data from the two regeneration areas shows that a higher percentage of the London cohort has participated through at least one method (98 per cent compared to 31.6 per cent in Dunston). However, there is no data which suggest that the amount of participation *relative to participatory opportunities* is higher for the respondents living on the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates than for those in Dunston. This element of the research is not attempting to define the two groups of respondents as either participatory or non-participatory.

Taking both regeneration areas together, a minority of respondents reported that their future involvement in the scheme will have an impact - for each form of participation (Table 8.2). The most popular answer was consistently 'don't know'. These findings are identical when taking the Dunston cohort alone. In London, respondents differ slightly in their answers. For completion of a questionnaire/consultation document, joining the steering group, and attending a TRA meeting, more respondents reported a potential impact on the scheme than those who did not. Residents in London were more likely to believe that participation will impact on the scheme. This was true for every form of participation.

Table 8.2 Perceptions on the Impact of Future Participation

Item	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Would your attendance at an exhibition or drop-in event have an impact on the regeneration project?	No	52	36.6%	20	35.1%	32	37.6%
	Yes	28	19.7%	19	33.3%	9	10.6%
	Don't Know	62	43.7%	18	31.6%	44	51.8%
	Totals	142	100.0%	57	100.0%	85	100.0%
Would your completion of a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views have an impact on the regeneration project?	No	43	30.5%	17	29.8%	26	31.0%
	Yes	35	24.8%	19	33.3%	16	19.0%
	Don't Know	63	44.7%	21	36.8%	42	50.0%
	Totals	141	100.0%	57	100.0%	84	100.0%
If you were to have a conversation with a regeneration officer would this have an impact on the project?	No	53	37.6%	19	33.3%	34	40.5%
	Yes	27	19.1%	16	28.1%	11	13.1%
	Don't Know	61	43.3%	22	38.6%	39	46.4%
	Totals	141	100.0%	57	100.0%	84	100.0%
If you were to join [the/a] steering group [WKGG Steering Company] would this have an impact on the regeneration project?	No	41	29.1%	14	25.0%	27	31.8%
	Yes	35	24.8%	18	32.1%	17	20.0%
	Don't Know	65	46.1%	24	42.9%	41	48.2%
	Totals	141	100.0%	56	100.0%	85	100.0%
Would your attendance at a [West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes)/resident] meeting have an impact on the regeneration project?	No	41	29.1%	14	24.6%	27	32.1%
	Yes	33	23.4%	21	36.8%	12	14.3%
	Don't Know	67	47.5%	22	38.6%	45	53.6%
	Totals	141	100.0%	57	100.0%	84	100.0%
Any of the above	None	78	56.1%	21	37.5%	57	68.7%
	At least one	61	43.9%	35	62.5%	26	31.3%
	Totals	139	100.0%	56	100.0%	83	100.0%

Overall, a minority of respondents (61 out of 139) identified at least one form of participation they thought would have an impact on the regeneration project. However, respondents in London were more optimistic about the potential of participation to influence the local project. In Dunston, 26 out of 83 identified at least one form of participation that they thought would have an impact. In London more than six in ten identified at least one form of participation that would have an impact on the project (35 out of 56).

Given the scepticism of many respondents' about the likely impact of participation, it is interesting that a clear majority of residents stated that they were willing to participate in each form of participation in the future, except for joining the steering group (Table 8.3; see Appendix E for full table). This was true both overall and for each regeneration area individually. Completion of a questionnaire/consultation document was the form of involvement through which the highest proportions of respondents were willing to participate, at over 80 per cent. The data showed how residents' feelings regarding membership of a steering group were different, with numbers of those willing to participate in this way far lower than for other forms of participation. A similar proportion of respondents were willing to join a steering group in both London and Dunston (32.7 per cent and 28.2 per cent respectively). However, there was less certainty amongst residents in Dunston where the most popular response was 'neither agree nor disagree' (37 out of 85). In contrast, 22 out of 55 London respondents reported a lack of willingness to become members of the steering group there, which was the most popular response.

This may highlight the specific differences in the nature of the two schemes. In Dunston the prospect of a steering group was purely hypothetical, with respondents unsure as to the role it could take in the scheme, how often it might meet, the level of responsibility devolved to it and so on. In London, the West Kensington and Gibbs Green Steering Company, as it was officially known, had been functioning and meeting regularly for some time when the questionnaires were distributed. It had assumed a role which evoked strong passions on either side of the debate in this regeneration scheme, which may explain the more determinate responses to this question here. Taking both schemes together, 124 out 142 of respondents were willing to participate through at least one of the forms listed on the questionnaire. Again this vast majority is mirrored for each regeneration area taken individually.

In conclusion, despite the fact that respondents were generally unsure as to whether their participation would make a difference and that most of those who had participated were unconvinced that it *had* made a difference, the vast majority were willing to participate in at least one of the five forms of participation listed. Why would residents who do not believe participation would have any impact still participate? Using qualitative data, the next section considers this question by analysing resident perceptions and experiences of participation and presents a key motivation for their engagement.

Table 8.3 Willingness to Participate in the Regeneration Project in Different Ways

Item	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
I am willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project	Total Disagree	13	9.3%	7	12.7%	6	7.1%
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	31	22.1%	9	16.4%	22	25.9%
	Total Agree	96	68.6%	39	70.9%	57	67.1%
	Totals	140	100.0%	55	100.0%	85	100.0%
I am willing to complete a questionnaire or consultation document expressing my views on the regeneration project	Total Disagree	9	6.3%	6	10.5%	3	3.5%
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	15	10.6%	3	5.3%	12	14.1%
	Total Agree	118	83.1%	48	84.2%	70	82.4%
	Totals	142	100.0%	57	100.0%	85	100.0%
I am willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project	Total Disagree	14	10.0%	6	10.9%	8	9.4%
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	37	26.4%	9	16.4%	28	32.9%
	Total Agree	89	63.6%	40	72.7%	49	57.6%
	Totals	140	100.0%	55	100.0%	85	100.0%
I am willing to join a/the steering group [WKGG Steering Company] for the regeneration project	Total Disagree	46	32.9%	22	40.0%	24	28.2%
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	52	37.1%	15	27.3%	37	43.5%
	Total Agree	42	30.0%	18	32.7%	24	28.2%
	Totals	140	100.0%	55	100.0%	85	100.0%
I am willing to attend a [West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA/resident] meeting regarding the regeneration project	Total Disagree	21	14.9%	11	19.6%	10	11.8%
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	36	25.5%	11	19.6%	25	29.4%
	Total Agree	84	59.6%	34	60.7%	50	58.8%
	Totals	141	100.0%	56	100.0%	85	100.0%
Overall willingness to participate	Agree with none of the above	18	12.7%	5	8.8%	13	15.3%
	Agree with at least one of the above	124	87.3%	52	91.2%	72	84.7%
	Totals	142	100.0%	57	100.0%	85	100.0%

8.3 Participation: Information over Influence?

Opportunities for resident participation were frequently connected to the acquisition of information by participants across the regeneration areas. This was demonstrated in two ways: some residents appeared to view many of the forms of participation as organised around providing information about the schemes to local people and hence appeared to judge the effectiveness of the participatory event in this way; and many residents across all three regeneration projects described their participation, either historical or intended, as being motivated by a desire to find out more about their local scheme.

Participation as Information

Many of the opportunities for residents to participate in the regeneration programmes were perceived as events where information regarding the schemes could or should be gleaned. These views were especially pertinent regarding exhibitions, public meetings and drop-in events. Tina seemed to judge the meetings that were held regarding the regeneration of the Ravensworth Road estate in Dunston on the basis of how much information was provided:

> Interviewer: So...how did you feel those meetings went that you went to, what were your impressions?
>
> Tina: Well, basically they never told we [sic] anything we didn't already know

Tina's perception of officers was consistent with her view of the public meetings:

> Interviewer:...What do you expect from [the people working on the scheme]?
>
> Tina: More information, more one-to-one talking not over the phone...There was just none of that

She acknowledged officers' attempts to allow residents input into decision-making but for her this did not seem to be the point of the meetings:

> ...at the start they were just asking how we'd feel if [homes] were demolished. The second meeting was basically the same and the third meeting was the, the same. You weren't getting told anything, "we don't know", "we haven't made a decision yet" but it was on the television...like the next day
>
> (Tina, female, Dunston)

When asked a question about what she thought of the meetings she attended, Leanne, who also used to live on the Ravensworth Road estate, appeared to agree with Tina, simply answering "they didn't really tell you a lot". Whilst fellow Dunston resident Trisha disagreed in her opinion of the events, her view of their function and how they should be judged was consistent with that of Tina and Leanne:

Interviewer: Do you think it was worth going along to [the meetings]?

Trisha: I think it was yes because it did tell you what was going on but...everybody was just in the same boat, it seemed to take forever to get things organised of what was going to go on...what was going to happen...

Interviewer: I see. So you were pleased that you went along then?

Trisha: I was pleased I went, at least I knew where I stood

Her assessment of the officers present at the meeting was made in a similar way:

> [The people in charge are] okay, the ones that had the meeting they explained what was going to happen, what they were gonna do...they're okay...they did keep you informed what they were gonna do if it happens...
>
> (Trisha, female, Dunston)

She continued later:

> Well the ones that were there at the meeting that were doing it they were really good, they did explain to people what was going to happen...
>
> (ibid.)

This view of participatory events and the officers who ran them was not confined to residents in Dunston. Tariq in London described one of the exhibitions for the West Kensington and Gibbs Green redevelopment he attended at Earls Court:

> ...they had various professionals on board, they had the representatives of the developer, representatives of the Council housing...regeneration people...some of the architect's staff involved as well, answering questions and that sort of thing...I think that was a very good engagement actually because up until then people had, you could tell someone something and then in their mind they'd develop a picture of what that means...to show you a picture of it...you might have a different interpretation...so you know it was good to see everything...set out on paper...
>
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London)

Here, Tariq recalls and assesses the event purely in terms of how well the displays of the plans for the estates provided further details for attendees. The role of professionals is mentioned briefly but purely in terms of their disseminating of further details regarding the regeneration. Vincent also attended some of the meetings organised for West Kensington residents:

> Interviewer:...did you find the meetings useful?
>
> Vincent: Yeah
>
> Interviewer: Yeah why did you find them useful do you think?
>
> Vincent: Just to find out all the details and...the size of the flats they're going to build and things like that

Sameena had the opposite view of an officer drop-in meeting that she attended, although she seemed to evaluate the event in the same way. She explained that she left the meeting soon after arriving because it was so crowded that she felt she would have had to wait a considerable length of time before speaking to an officer. When asked how she felt leaving the meeting Sameena replied:

> I was disappointed, 'cause I thought I was going to get some reply back...The questions that I had in my mind...I didn't get any answers
>
> (Sameena, female, 30-39, London)

The way in which these participatory events were viewed by some of the interviewees was very far from the perception of engagement opportunities as a mechanism by which residents can shape a regeneration project. Whilst Arnstein's seminal 'ladder of participation' is a contested framework, it is a useful guide to residents' views here, apparently seeing some events as hovering around the third rung: "informing" (1969). Residents are simply the receivers of information, rather than active participants. However, this may not be especially surprising. What is more unexpected is that some of the residents above did not see this as a problem, sometimes even appearing to prefer to be informed than to be able to produce an impact on the scheme. A 'good' event seemed to be one where further information about a project could be obtained, details could be clarified and officers could answer questions. Much of the academic literature on participation has focussed on citizens possessing more devolved responsibility and their influence over policy decisions, critiquing the level of control provided to residents in the past (Jones 2003; Wright *et al.* 2006). One might be forgiven for lazily imagining all residents to see involvement mechanisms as a sham, angered by the lack of power afforded to them by local bureaucrats. The evidence presented above demonstrates that citizens may not always see the role of community engagement as an opportunity to effect change and may, rather fatalistically, not even believe this to be problematic. The next section shows how this view of participation influenced residents' engagement.

Participate to Know

Having detailed how some of the interviewees perceived and evaluated some engagement events one may not be surprised by participants' overriding response as to why they participated. This was perhaps the most recurrent theme across the interviews as a whole. Vincent summed this up succinctly when he was asked why he attended drop-in sessions early

on in the project's lifetime, simply responding, "to get more...information". This tended to be the primary motivation for many interviewees. Fellow London resident Derek answered similarly:

> Interviewer:...why did you decide to go along to those first meetings?
>
> Derek: Well I wanted to...know what people were saying, what they were talking about, you know.
>
> Interviewer:...Did you chat to the officers there?
>
> Derek: Yes...
>
> Interviewer: And what...did you say?
>
> Derek: I always spoke to the officers. Whatever came into my head like, you know...the queries I had. Invariably, I got the answer, we don't know yet.

Again the view of communication with officers as being primarily focussed upon the answering of questions about the scheme is demonstrated here. Neven made clear how acquiring greater knowledge of the project is of utmost importance to him:

> Interviewer: Yeah and why did you decide to go along to those [drop-in] meetings?
>
> Neven: First of all to...be informed personally...What's going on that's the main point so to know that there will be no...mischiefs with the council and within the council...and in many meetings that I have attended there were Capco representatives which is the developers representative there...You know we could even ask a questions directly to you know the developers, what's going on, what are your thoughts and so on so yeah it's personal to be, to get informed

Residents claimed the desire to know more about a regeneration project to be the reason not only for past attendance at meetings but also motivation for future participation:

> Interviewer: ...So just looking forward to the future ...d'you think if there was another meeting for you to go along to or a chance to talk to officers would you go along?
>
> Indira: Yes I will.
>
> Interviewer: And why would you do that?
>
> Indira: I want...to confirm what they're saying, what is their plan, I would like to listen from their mouth, face to face. And what is their idea now, have they change anything or have they still stick to what they said before, I want to listen from their mouth

Indira's reference to desiring 'confirmation' from officers at participatory events regarding the London regeneration scheme echoes comments made by Robert. Robert was concerned about

his elderly, unwell parents moving home as a result of the redevelopment. He spoke of why he would attend some of the meetings: "sometimes it was just to reassure myself…that it'd be OK". This invokes the trust-non-participation theory, with Robert's motivation for participation apparently the result of his vigilance and concern for his parents.

Up to this point the comments detailed by interviewees have tended to refer to public meetings organised by regeneration officers, drop-in events where residents could speak one on one to officers and exhibitions. It could be argued that these forms of participation are fully intended to be information provision events where residents are expected to adopt a more passive position and do not necessarily have the ability to exhibit influence over plans. Other engagement methods might provide such opportunities instead. However, it is important to note that some residents identified the pursuit of news and information regarding a scheme as a reason for their participation through other, more intensive, means. For example, in London Sharon made no reference to any desire to represent residents or influence regeneration plans in their favour through the steering group when the following was asked:

> Interviewer:…so what would you say your major motivation for attending the meetings is and joining the steering group?
>
> Sharon: Because I'm interested to know what is really going to happen…If it's going to be carried through. That is why I want to open my ears and listen with my ears and open my eyes to see how further they're going to go with this

Some residents were even more explicit in this regard. Tariq explained his attendance at meetings and exhibitions as being motivated by his unwillingness to be oblivious to developments in the regeneration plans which may affect him and his living arrangements. However, it is interesting that he voluntarily also connects this desire for knowledge with his more active participation in the TRA:

> Interviewer:…Just going back to the participation, the meetings the exhibitions and events and your attendance, why would you say you attended those? What was your motivation for attending? Is it what you were just saying…
>
> Tariq: Yes it's affecting me, I don't want to sit in ignorance…I've been involved with the TRAs, I've done, I've been involved in the petition that we did round, we went round initially to find out how many people were interested in [the regeneration]…we've done door knocking, so I've spoken to a lot of people on the estate…some are just renting privately so they're not bothered, other people have lived here a number of years and they say "oh I'm not bothered". I don't want to sit in ignorance and sit here and then suddenly have a letter saying this is what's happening and you're moving now…So pack your bags 'cause you've got to go…I don't want that shock as it were

It is difficult to envisage how such activity might allow Tariq to stay informed but it appears that his motivation to engage in it is indeed bound up with his desire to stay connected to developments in the project. Chris, another London resident, who had been actively involved in the TRA in a senior position up until his recent illness, admitted that the organisation's opposition to the scheme would probably fail in the end. However, he explained that he intended to continue with his involvement in the group. When asked why, he responded:

> Why, because I have been involved with them because I'd like to know what's going on and that seems to me the best source of information I can have is my involvement with the Tenants Committee
>
> (Chris, male, 65+, London)

Indeed, some other London residents appeared to see attendance of the TRA meetings in this way, rather than as a channel through which instrumental change can be brought to bear on the council and the regeneration plans through resistance and protest. This appeared to be Geoff's motivation:

> Interviewer:...do you think attending the TRA meetings has made a difference?
>
> Geoff: It lets me keep in touch with what is taking place, now I know that there's another meeting being held in the Gibbs Green Tenants' Association's hall...I shall attend that so we can get an update on what the tenants are doing in the High Court...You know so they'll keep us informed

Despite the fact that the redevelopment in London was not fully confirmed at the time of the interview, this view could have stemmed from the feeling that most of the decisions regarding the project had already been taken and all that was left to do was to try to keep informed.

Indira, who was supportive of the plans to redevelop the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates, made by far the most explicit connection between seeking information and more active forms of participation. She recounted how she had been in contact with one of the local authority's regeneration officers who had shown interest in Indira becoming more actively involved in the scheme. Indira enquired about whether there were any jobs available in this regard and the officer suggested that there could be in the future and that she could meet her to arrange something. Indira explained in the interview that due to her language skills she had the potential to translate for residents who could not speak English. However, Indira revealed the motivation:

> So I like to involve in all this actually, I like to know what my...the more you involved the more you can find out what is [officer's] ideas [laughs]
>
> (Indira, female, London)

Whilst it is important to recognise that Indira had not yet involved herself, she appeared to be considering it because of her desire to stay informed.

Some of the interviews appeared to demonstrate that residents recognised that such opportunities had been created by officers in order to allow residents influence over decision-making, but their search for details was a motivating factor for their participation. In Dunston, the extract below succinctly demonstrated this point:

> Interviewer: And was this like the drop-in events I've heard about, where they set up and go in when you want?
>
> Tina: Yes it was just to talk about it and what kind of houses you wanted to see built and things like this
>
> Interviewer: And did you go along to all 3 of those?
>
> Tina: Yeah yeah
>
> Interviewer: Why did you go?
>
> Tina: To find out what was going on

Tina recognised that the event was set up to allow participants a say on the scheme and yet Tina's priorities were simply to learn more. In London, Tariq recognised that part of the role of the steering group was to achieve representation and influence:

> ...[the steering group] are representing people who live on the estates who are interested in seeing what the Council's offer is...residents can get involved and look at ways of improving...services and so on
>
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London)

Yet he joined the steering group and attended meetings for a different (familiar) reason:

> ...I signed up [to the steering group] close to the beginning I think...[it] all seemed very interesting...the reason I went along...my position all along has been let's...entertain multiple options let's see what's going on...before we make a firm decision...
>
> (ibid.)

The level of importance afforded to the information about the local schemes varied for interviewees and this in turn seemed to influence how keen they were to participate. Some residents were quite casual, such as Bernadette who described her interest in the project as simply being "nosey":

> So I wanna know what's happening and I wanna know what's going on and everything, it's being nosey really [laughs]
>
> (Bernadette, female, 40-49, London)

She continued later:

> I wanna go to this meeting, the next meeting because of being, it's my nosey instinct, just to see what's going on...
>
> (ibid.)

Regarding the same upcoming meeting Robert commented similarly that he was "kind of half tempted to go just to see what they're saying…".

This is quite different to other residents' perception of the project, information relating to it and participatory events. For many residents there seemed to be a heavy backdrop of concern over their homes which motivated their desire to know more about a scheme. As some of the quotations from the interview with Tariq above show, the self-interest with which they viewed the regeneration projects tended to outweigh any social perspective which might include concerns over 'community'. In Chandless, Mandy made clear the value that she places on the information she seeks:

> Well at the end of the day this is where we live. We want to know what's going on, we need to know what's going on…I mean I'm not, not everybody's like me got this attitude that I've got, some, some will go across just to put their point of view across…I want to put my point across and I want to hear what's going on as well…Otherwise what's the point in sitting in ignorance…No I need to kno-, I need to find out exactly what's happening where I live…I'm entitled to know what's happening
> (Mandy, female, 50-64, Chandless)

Indeed this was also the way in which some London residents viewed the opportunity to learn more about the projects. Teresa was only too aware of the impact of the regeneration proposals on her:

> Teresa: I've gone along to every meeting
>
> Interviewer: Everything that's been out there
>
> Teresa: Yeah you need to get hold of the facts, I mean you know the whole area's going to redeveloped…the infrastructure's going to be changed…every aspect of your life will change…I know they're sorting out the stations, new roads are going to be built, new parks…new schools, new shops…so it's going to have an impact…on every aspect of your life

Fellow member of the steering group Sharon focussed even more specifically on her own situation:

> Interviewer: And would you plan on attending all the future meetings and exhibitions?
>
> Sharon: Of course I will. As I said I've been from the beginning…I don't want to miss any meeting I don't want to miss anything that's concerning my lodgings here

Gina, who is against the redevelopment of the estates, used a similar rationale to explain why she made contact with an officer to ask for more details about the scheme:

> I called him because I wanted to know how it would affect me, I wanted to know, look I've lived here for 10 years...if a new development...happens, would I be entitled to anything. And I was basically told no.
>
> (Gina, female, 40-49, female)

Some of these comments might be seen as potential evidence for the trust-non-participation hypothesis, with some residents' motivation for involvement pretexted by vigilance over their home. This might imply a lack of trust in officers and an uncertainty over their intentions. However, in their comments the interviewees appeared more concerned about future *events* themselves rather than the individuals who may be responsible for making such decisions. Indeed, the great interest in knowing more did not seem to be directly linked to a lack of trust in regeneration officers. If there is some evidence which is supportive of the theory then it appears to be for the 'low trust' account, rather than for that of 'distrust'. It appeared to be feelings of precariousness and uncertainty, rather than assured danger, which shaped the passive participation described.

It is also interesting to note that some of the views documented above could well be specific to the policy field which is being investigated and the particular *form* of regeneration being enacted or proposed here. If this study was investigating public participation in more socially or environmentally focussed regeneration projects, such as the re-landscaping of a local park, a more civic-oriented view might have been discovered. Projects which are set to involve, let alone demolish, something as fundamental and precious as one's own home are inherently more likely to provoke a more materialist, individualistic response.

Aside from the projects' nature, there appeared to be another common situation experienced by residents which had contributed to their desire for information. Research participants from across the three areas tended to feel like they were frequently faced with attempting to interpret conflicting information and gossip regarding the regeneration which circulated in the neighbourhood. Indira and her neighbour Nigel described the general feeling amongst residents on the estates in London:

> Indira: [it's] so confusing living here I'm telling you not...only for me but lots of people are very confused...one [said] 'they're not going to demolish', 'they don't have right'...'we are going to the court', 'we [are] not going to let them', council is saying something...[else]
>
> Nigel: Yeah council is saying one thing, and then some people...they just put a letter through this morning saying they're going to the High Court now. You don't know which one's telling what, they're saying one thing
>
> Indira: We are very confused, we don't know ...we're hearing lots of people are really upset...one of neighbour, she's from Somalia she lives in [block] she come here to me so many times to ask me what do you think, what is going on, what will happen, oh I'm so worried with my kids, I don't know what will happen, where we have to move...

These comments suggest that in London the confusion has arisen due to the complexity of the project and its polarising reception. Residents linked this lack of clarity to their desire to attend participatory events. Trisha explained why she went to a meeting:

> ...people were saying oh they've said this and they've said that, I wanted to go myself and to see what they were gonna say, that's the reason why I went for...to find out what was, from the horse's mouth what was going to happen, not from somebody else
>
> (Trisha, female, Dunston)

An extract from the interview with Teresa in London perfectly illustrates her individualised view of the regeneration, her feelings of confusion and her preference to participate:

> I went to the exhibition, I spoke to the Council, I spoke to the developers because I believe if you know, as opposed to listening to the hearsay and gossip, you know, this is your home this is your future, your children's future, so the only thing you can actually do is really to go out there and get the facts yourself, which means speaking to the developers, speaking to the council and making up your own mind and whether you believe them or not.
>
> (Teresa, female, London)

Teresa evoked the concept of trust in relation to the information provided. Tariq also made this connection in detail, linking the severe confusion felt on the estates to his desire to get what appeared to be 'the facts':

> ...I think the reason I was interested [in attending a steering group meeting] in the first place was to try and cut through a lot of the rumours, a lot of the propaganda, because from the very beginning everyone was starting a propaganda machine up and everyone was telling...their story which was the truth...from their point of view and they're not entertaining anyone else's version of events, so, and everyone was doing that you know the council was doing that, the developer was doing that, the tenants and residents association's doing that, the steering group was doing that...but then...you'd hear people talking, this person said that, that person said this and then you'd speak to that person about what they said and they'd say 'oh I didn't say anything like that' and *then you'd just think well what information out there is true?* We're being bombarded with so much information people don't know what to think...
>
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London, emphasis added)

Having evidenced the importance attached to participatory events as a means to glean information, it is important to emphasise that some respondents did also make reference to the opportunity that participation provided to try and influence a project. Both Teresa and Neven, for example, who were both heavily involved with the steering group in London, made reference to the way in which their involvement has managed to secure a better deal for residents. They spoke of participation as influence. However, when most residents spoke of telling officers about their opinions of the projects, this was incidental and did not appear to be the primary motive for interaction with them. It was felt that the "participate to know" story of involvement

was more influential, sometimes even when residents discussed ostensibly more active forms of participation.

8.4 Non-instrumental Participation: Beyond Information and Influence

The final section of this chapter moves beyond the "participate to influence" and "participate to know" motivations. It became evident during the qualitative interviews that the reasoning given by several residents for participation or non-participation in a regeneration project did not seem to be connected to the extent to which their involvement would be subjectively 'successful'. Mandy in Chandless provides a good example from the "participate to influence" perspective, explaining how she voted for her high rise block to be saved from demolition, despite her documented distrust of the local authority to listen to residents' wishes. Mandy continually repeated that she's "known from the beginning…that this was coming down and nowt anybody said, any meetings…were gonna make no difference". Yet she also states:

> We all signed for it to stay up. I mean we're not daft, we knew it was going to come down and what, what we said really wasn't going to be taken into consideration. We're not daft but we still had to put down that we…didn't want it to come down.
>
> (Mandy, female, 50-64, Chandless)

Why would Mandy bother to vote or sign a petition against the redevelopment if she believed she would not be listened to? Perhaps Mandy actually did trust the council to count the votes or take consideration of the petition but did not want to admit to it. Or perhaps there was something else which motivated her rather than the potential for the participation to have an "effect". This question is likely to be familiar to political scientists: why do people vote in elections for parties which have no chance of winning? The comment "we had to put down…" could be telling. Did Mandy feel compelled to do so in some way?

Tanya made a similar comment (seemingly) from the "participate to know" perspective. After explaining how the exhibitions set up by the council and developers did not really provide much new information, it might be presumed that she would not be attending in the future. This was not the case:

> Interviewer:…so is it safe to say that you wouldn't attend any of the participation events in the future then?
>
> Tanya: No I would
>
> Interviewer: You would go?
>
> Tanya: But I don't have any great expectation that they would tell me anything new. I would go and I haven't not gone to any…

Again, why did Tanya's apparent distrust of the local authority or developers to provide relevant information not dissuade her from attending?

Interviewees offered a variety of non-instrumental reasons for their participation or lack thereof in their local project. This section of the chapter attempts to bring together several other themes which could explain participatory reasoning which does not appear to be linked to expectations of other's behaviour. Hence, these are the areas where the influence of trust is weak or entirely non-existent.

A Deontological Flavour

Some residents inferred that, to some extent, they saw participation as an end in itself. Nadia clearly does not trust the council to listen to her views yet states that she would complete a questionnaire should she receive one:

> Interviewer:...and if you received a questionnaire from the...council asking your opinions do you think you'd fill that in?
>
> Nadia: Yes
>
> Interviewer: Do you think that they'd listen to what you...
>
> Nadia: No
>
> Interviewer: I see. So why would you fill it in?
>
> Nadia:...to record my protest.
>
> Interviewer: I see, I see but you don't really think that that will change their mind...
>
> Nadia: No, no...they decided that this is what they want to do and they are doing it regardless...and I think only the court can stop them

For Nadia it appears that the filling in of the questionnaire in a way which disparages the project is an act of protest which does not aim to bring about further consequences but which is preferred in and of itself. "Participation as protest" through the anti-redevelopment TRA was spoken about in a similar way by some residents. Tariq spoke of his activity in the group:

> I said all along I don't want to be one of the ones that sits there not doing anything. If this is affecting so many people in such a big way I want to be someone that does something about it, rather than someone who doesn't
>
> (Tariq, male, 30-39, London)

Here the emphasis appears to be placed upon motives and a sense of one's own identity, rather than the substantive impacts of one's resistance to a project. Chris is even more emphatic, specifically denying any impact of his actions and invoking a more moralistic tone:

> Interviewer:...you say that you don't think it will make a difference and you think the Council was intent on doing it from the beginning. Do you ever look back and think that you shouldn't have been involved with [the TRA]...waste of time or anything like that?
>
> Chris: No, maybe it's a waste of time but I still think I should be involved
>
> Interviewer: Why?
>
> Chris:...because I think it's my responsibility as a citizen

Whilst Chris did row back from this slightly later on in the interview, claiming that such activity *could* sometimes make a difference, his comments clearly raise the concept of duty. Whilst it would be misleading to suggest that an ethical dimension to participation arose from the interviews as a dominant theme, the comments above show that for some participants there did appear to be a slightly deontological flavour to their view of participation. However, it is important to note that Chris and Tariq are referring explicitly to participation in the TRA, which was a more distanced, informal method of participation in governance.

Like Nadia above, Indira and her neighbour Nigel had a dim view of the extent to which a returned questionnaire could impact the project:

> Interviewer: And have they sent out questionnaires and things like that to you, to ask your opinion?
>
> Indira: I think they did it before yes I just send them back as well
>
> Interviewer: And why did you, why did you send it back? Why did you...
>
> Indira: Well I think when they ask me question and I think it's better to send them back just let them know my opinion what I think so that's the reason I send them back
>
> Interviewer: And you think that will make a difference?
>
> Indira: I don't know about that. That letter will be in a basket somewhere [laughs].
>
> Nigel: It'll be filed in the rubbish
>
> Indira:...Are they going to take action about each and every individual letter? I think they should do because we are very important.

Whilst Indira's comment that she believes it to be "better" to complete and return the questionnaire does not aid in understanding her view, the final remark may do so. It appears as though she may have acted based upon how she believed officers *ought* to act, rather than how they *do* act. This recalls the concept of hope. What is clear is that in the examples above, trust and distrust have no role where participation is seen as something which 'should' be done, rather than as a route to achieving an instrumental aim, such as influence or information.

Emotional Factors

Some comments made by residents inferred an emotional dimension to their participatory practices. Geoff's wife Kath, who is similarly opposed to the regeneration plans in London, very briefly explained why she does not attend TRA meetings: "I don't go up there I get too emotional...I think it's very sad...It's very sad to me". Geoff and Kath have lived on the estate for 40 years since it was first built and spoke fondly of their home. It was the first house they had lived in, having previously resided in tenement buildings. The emotional weight of discussing the demolition of her home appears to dissuade Kath from attending TRA meetings. Discomfort of a different sort seems in part to dissuade Robert from attending steering group meetings which have a public dimension to them:

> I'm kind of half tempted to go just to see what they're saying but ...I don't think I'm very good with groups of people anyway...go to the meetings and probably not say anything at all whereas some kind of drop-in, just a one-on-one, you know, if I can get somebody's attention then I can kind of ask the questions...
>
> (Robert, male, 40-49, London)

Self-confidence appears to be the dominant issue here. Robert appears to prefer one form of participation over the other because he feels ill at ease in a certain environment. Whilst it is not clear as to why this is the case, it could hint towards a fear or embarrassment of speaking in front of large audiences. This seems to be the case for Bernadette, who briefly comments on her previous decision not to attend steering group meetings:

> I mean why am I gonna go there and just make a pratt of myself and, nah, I wanna go to this meeting...just to see what's going on, but speak I won't speak...
>
> (Bernadette, female, 40-49, London)

Again, the examples above do not appear to be connected to trust. For Kath, one might argue that the way in which other members of the TRA discuss the project and comfort her, connect her decision regarding participation with expectations of the members' behaviour. However, this appears to be a rather weak argument. After all, the TRA agree with her point of view and are unlikely to be hostile toward her. It seems to be the topic, rather than any individual, which makes her feel upset. Similarly for Robert and Bernadette, officers could arguably present themselves in a way which made residents feel less uncomfortable but it seems as though it is the very nature of the participation that makes them feel uneasy.

Whilst Robert was put off from attending some meetings for an emotive reason, he also seemed to be motivated to attend another session *because* of his feelings. He explained that he had attended a drop-in session, believing that residents could exhibit no influence over the project – but still gave his opinion to the officers:

> Interviewer: So when you spoke to the officers and gave them your opinion, did you [think] that made any difference?
>
> Robert:…no…
>
> Interviewer: Why did, why did you give them your opinion then?
>
> Robert: I don't know, maybe a bit of anger
>
> Interviewer: I see yeah, that's interesting
>
> Robert: You know, even though I was always very polite with them, I didn't get involved...yeah a bit of anger and hurt maybe but...have to move and that, 'cause my parents are elderly you know and they've got medical issues…a little bit of anger maybe, maybe let him know that an individual person has kind of questions, [I didn't] say that I thought the whole thing was just nonsense I just said, you know, it might right it might be wrong, I don't know, I just wish it wasn't happening

Robert clearly outlines that he wanted to speak to officers partly because of his frustration over the impact the regeneration plans are likely to have on his unwell parents. Again, his participation is not dependent upon the officers' behaviour. The only extent to which trust is relevant is that Robert has to believe that they will simply be present at the drop-in session. It is an opportunity to 'vent'; participatory opportunities might be considered an escape valve for some residents.

Not Residents' Responsibility

Several residents inferred during the interviews that they did not consider it to be their responsibility to participate in the regeneration projects. Instead, engagement was seen to be part of the officers' role. Discussing her interaction with officers, Mandy said that "I'm always the one that's had to make contact" and Tina commented that "nine times out of ten it's been me getting onto them", both of which appear to suggest that the residents did not expect or want this to be the case. In London, Tara complained about how "nobody's come round and actually sat down one to one…all been word of mouth because they're only interested in…the steering group". Tara seemed to believe that it was up to the officers to seek out residents who were not willing to engage through the steering group. Bernadette was even more explicit about where responsibility lay:

> ...they said in the letter that I received...they're gonna have like officers coming round to explain. I haven't seen anything...I haven't heard anything...I'm not gonna go to them...Because I think if it's their thing, they wanna move us so they should come to us and tell us what's going on...I'm not gonna go to them, so I'm just...waiting to see if anybody does come round and see what they have to say
>
> (Bernadette, female, 40-49, London)

Bernadette's passivity is very much framed by the "participation as information" perspective of involvement. Indeed the comment that "it's their thing" is very telling; influence appears to be entirely unthinkable. However, again here it seems to be the case that residents are not refraining from actively participating for instrumental reasons such as believing participation would be a waste of time. It seems to be more that it should not *have* to be the residents who take this role - it is simply part of the officers' job to seek out and speak to residents.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings relating to resident perceptions and experiences of participation in regeneration projects. On first sight it might have appeared strange that most of the questionnaire respondents did not believe that engaging in any of the forms of participation would have an impact on the scheme, yet the vast majority were willing to engage in at least one of the five forms of participation discussed. However, qualitative analysis revealed that many residents were willing to participate in order to glean information, rather than to influence a scheme.

The findings suggest the existence of an "influence fallacy" embedded into mainstream perceptions of resident participation. This fallacy bedevils much of the thinking around "active citizenship" and other similar notions, most recently articulated in David Cameron's "Big Society" agenda. It rests upon the assumption that people actively want to be involved locally and influence decision-making, and that all that is required is a "catalyst", in the form of resources, a facilitator or trust, for example. Regarding the literature on participation in land use planning, Davies (2001, p212) states that "it does not engage with the possibility that people might not want to participate in planning processes even given the time and the belief that they have power". In the case of this study, it is information more than influence which dominated resident perceptions and experiences of participation.

The chapter also presented several other motivations for resident participation which emerged from interviews which went beyond seeking information or influence; they were non-instrumental in nature. These comprised deontological references to duty or protest, as well as emotional factors such as embarrassment, anger or distress; some residents even suggested that it was not their responsibility to participate. Such reasoning does not depend upon attempts to bring about any sort of change, such as influencing a project or even learning more about one. Instead, willingness to participate is influenced by a feeling in and of itself. The qualitative findings presented in this section show how participation can be viewed outside of

both the "participation as influence" and "participation as knowledge" perspectives, potentially influenced by a desire to vent or protest.

What are the ramifications of these findings for trust and the two original hypotheses? The first two sections present some rather ambiguous evidence for the trust-non-participation hypothesis. Residents may possess less than favourable (subconscious) expectations of officers' future behaviour regarding the plans and wish to monitor progress by participating and collecting information. However, it is felt that the trust-non-participation hypothesis is built upon the assumption that the vigilance motivates attempts at *influential* participation, as stakeholders actively try to protect their interests (Anex and Focht 2002; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005). This differs from attempting to obtain information simply because "knowing" is inherently more desirable than the uncertainty surrounding a potentially traumatic event. Some residents wish to understand the risks posed by the projects rather than attempt to reduce them through influence.

The findings present problems for the trust-participation hypothesis. This is because it relies heavily upon the notion of participation being motivated by a desire to influence a project. If the desire to have bearing on a regeneration project is not the dominant motivating force behind participation, then trusting the officers to listen to comments and opinions – based upon perceived receptivity - becomes irrelevant. The trust-participation hypothesis assumes that residents have a default preference to engage and influence decision-making and that this will be facilitated by trust. True to its instrumentalist roots, trust cannot *create* the preference itself. Trust is simply the catalyst. However, the findings do not preclude the existence of a trust relationship with participation based upon perceived officer ability. If acquiring information is the dominant motivation for resident engagement, then officers' perceived consistency, ability to answer questions and their willingness or ability to fulfil promises may be important.

The third section, however, presents findings which completely step away from any relationship between trust and participation. These non-instrumental factors go beyond the influence of trust and distrust because there is no dependency upon expectations of another party's behaviour. Items which could have recorded such influences were not included in the questionnaire (having, admittedly been created from the instrumental gaze) so it is impossible to determine whether these were associated with participation more widely across the regeneration areas. However, their *potential* influence might be inferred from the extent to which trust *did not* exhibit an association with participation. The following chapter will draw together the main findings from each component of the empirical research and reflect on their implications for the theoretical context of the study and the challenges posed for future research on these issues.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In recent years policymakers have extolled the virtues of citizen engagement across a range of policy fields, touting it as an important, if not vital, aspect of the delivery of public services and area-based initiatives (ABIs) (Brannan *et al.* 2006). Public participation strategies have been pursued in a bid to increase the legitimacy or managerial efficiency of projects or services, encourage social and individual development and enhance civil rights (Burton *et al.* 2006). Critical to the success of these strategies is the engagement of local residents (Ball 2004; Foley and Martin 2000; Mathers *et al.* 2008; Skidmore 2006). This fact has prompted considerable interest in the factors promoting engagement and participation. Trust has been highlighted as particularly important to resident participation in urban governance (Curry 2012; Fordham *et al.* 2009; Gallagher and Jackson 2008; Hibbit *et al.* 2001; Lister *et al.* 2007; Pollock and Sharp 2012; Purdue 2001; Russell 2008). The development of trust, either within local areas or between residents and institutions, is reported to help overcome the reluctance of residents to become involved and to increase public participation (Andrews *et al.* 2006; Cole *et al.* 2004; Jarvis *et al.* 2011; Mathers *et al.* 2008).

This interest in trust can be critiqued in several ways. First, the term trust is used casually, without full conceptual development, leading to the assertion that trust is viewed as a "monolithic panacea" (Höppner 2009). Second, trust may not necessarily lead to participation, with some having challenged this theoretical assumption and suggested that trust is actually likely to decrease citizen engagement (Anex and Focht 2002; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). Third, there is little robust evidence that resident trust predicts participation, with studies in different fields having failed to find a relationship (Höppner *et al.* 2008; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). Research reporting a link (in either direction) between trust and participation has been largely qualitative in nature (Hibbit *et al.* 2001; Solitare 2005), has not controlled for other factors (Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Höppner 2009) or has measured *past* participation, rather than *willingness* to participate in the future (Barraud-Didier *et al.* 2012; Lelieveldt 2004; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008). Finally, research has neglected key policy realms within which resident engagement and participation has been a critical feature of policy development and programme implementation. Of particular significance in the UK context is urban regeneration, a field within which participation has been widely advocated and pursued but within which there has only been one study to have explored the relationship between trust and engagement, and this suffered from poor measurement of participation (Lelieveldt 2004).

This study set out to address these gaps in knowledge and understanding. The aim was to determine what characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration officers contribute to their perceived trustworthiness among residents, reflecting a decision to focus on relevant professionals, rather than organisations or other residents. This involved generating an empirically influenced and context-specific measure of trust which could be used to help assess

the extent to which resident trust in officers influenced the form and nature of their future participation in urban regeneration projects. In addition to answering these two primary research questions, other potential avenues for investigation became apparent during the study. The research also sought to discover: which objects of trust, other than officers, may be relevant to resident participation; how residents living in regeneration areas relate to participation; and what other factors, besides trust, may drive resident participation in regeneration projects. Using a constructionist-influenced mixed methods approach involving semi-structured interviews and a household survey, the research gathered and analysed data from two regeneration projects in Gateshead and one in London.

This chapter draws together the key conclusions to emerge from the study and profiles the contribution to knowledge made. It begins by outlining the contribution to the evidence base and subject knowledge provided by the empirical findings to emerge from the study. Attention then turns to consider the contribution to conceptual understandings of trust and participation. Reflections are then provided on the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods employed, including consideration of the value of mixed methods approach. The implications of the findings for policy and practice are then considered, before discussion concludes with a series of recommendations regarding areas for further investigation building on the contribution made by this study.

9.2 Contribution to Subject Knowledge: The Findings

The first research question of the study was:

What characteristics, attributes and behaviours of regeneration professionals contribute to resident perceptions of their trustworthiness?

Fourteen dimensions of regeneration officer trustworthiness were generated, which were organised into the three groups of receptivity, ability and representativeness, through reflection upon the dimensions, urban regeneration and the literature concerning participation. There was also evidence for the two other elements of the trust model used: *dispositional trust*, which comprises a generalised attitude regarding the trustworthiness of others; and *situational encapsulated interest* (SEI), which refers to the contextual incentives and sanctions which may influence trustworthy behaviour.

In addition, the research also reflected upon the way in which residents related to the concept of trust in interviews. It was notable that interviewees did not tend to raise the concept of trust when asked about their relationship with regeneration officers, prior to it being mentioned by the researcher. Differences were also noted between residents' conceptualisation and use of the term trust and those of the researcher and academics more widely (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, for example). The study found some evidence of "invisible" trust, where trust appears present from the academic perspective but is not identified by the individual in question. The research also identified what it termed "misconceived" trust, where trust was

identified by the individual but was not considered trust by the researcher. These alternative conceptualisations included incorporating notions of hope and contracting within trust, which were rejected for the definition of the term used in this study.

The second research question was:

To what extent does resident trust in officers influence the form and nature of residents' future participation in urban regeneration projects?

Perceived officer receptivity, ability and representativeness all showed no statistically significant relationship with willingness to participate in any of the five forms of involvement investigated, once other factors were included in the analysis. This was also true for perceived SEI. A statistically significant positive relationship was found to exist for dispositional trust and willingness to have a conversation with a regeneration officer, when accounting for other factors. When focussing upon trust in officers, this study does not provide support for either the trust-participation or trust-non-participation hypotheses.

The third research question of the study asked:

What are the other objects of trust which may be relevant to resident participation in regeneration?

Considerable overlap was found between residents' trustworthiness perceptions of officers and their trust in the local authority, developer/investors, political parties and the leader of the council. Trust in some other parties was found to be influential for participation. Resident trust in the local council was found to display a statistically significant, positive relationship with willingness to have a conversation with a regeneration officer. Trust in local residents exhibited a statistically significant positive relationship with willingness to join a steering group. The positive associations offered some support for the trust-participation hypothesis.

The fourth research question of the study asked:

How do residents living in regeneration areas relate to participation?

Most residents were willing to participate in four of the five methods of engagement investigated. However, only a minority believed it would have any impact on the regeneration project. Whilst some interviewees saw forms of participation as an opportunity to influence the project, the dominant view from the qualitative data was that engagement in the project primarily had the potential to offer information regarding the scheme. This "participation as information" view meant that many residents judged their participation in the project upon the basis of how much information officers provided.

The final research question asked:

Other than trust what factors may drive residents' participation in urban regeneration?

The major driver of resident participation to emerge from the quantitative analysis was a positive perception of the impact of previous participation. This factor exhibited a statistically significant, positive relationship with: willingness to attend an exhibition or drop-in event; have a conversation with an officer; join a steering group; and attend a TRA/resident meeting.

Qualitative data provided further potential drivers of participation. Interest in acquiring further information regarding a regeneration project appeared to be a motivating factor for many interviewees, even for more intensive forms of engagement. Non-instrumental reasons for participation also emerged from the qualitative analysis. These included: a deontological view of participation; emotional factors (such as distress over the plans, embarrassment or lack of confidence and anger); and believing that it is not residents' responsibility to participate.

9.3 Contribution to the Conceptual Debate: Understanding Trust and Participation

Introduction

The findings summarised above form contributions to knowledge in underexplored areas. However, many of the findings share similarities with work produced in other fields. For example, other academics have also struggled to show a statistically significant link between trust and participation in different fields (Höppner 2009; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Koontz 2005; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). The two primary research questions were relatively specific and demonstrated the absence of a link between trust and participation. The more distinctive contributions to knowledge from this thesis were not generated in direct answer to the research questions. This section sets out four areas where it is thought the thesis makes more notable contributions to knowledge: on the concept of trust; on participation; on trust and regeneration; and on the notion of system trust; and on methodology.

Interpersonal Trust

Previous work on trust has differed over where the concept should be placed upon a subjective-objective scale (Dietz 2011). Some academics have set out universal models (Mayer *et al.* 1995) or inferred an objectivist leaning in empirical work (Höppner *et al.* 2007; Höppner *et al.* 2008). Mayer *et al.* later admitted that in their attempt to achieve the most parsimonious and generalisable model they "neglected many specific context variables that would be relevant to a more restricted trust domain" and stated that "studies in particular contexts will develop additional variables that help better explain the antecedents and consequences of trust." (Schoorman *et al.* 2007, p351). Other studies have taken a contrasting approach which assumes little of trust *a priori* and instead allowed characteristics, dimensions or conditions of trust to emerge in relation to the specific domain in question (Butler 1991; Höppner 2009; Leahy and Anderson 2008; Petts 1998). Whilst the divergence in the literature between the objective and subjective conceptualisations has been recognised by some (Dietz 2011), it has never been fully confronted. This constrains cumulative development which would command wider

academic support. Is trust to be conceptualised differently in every interaction or is one detached conceptualisation to be transferred across different fields and relationships?

The conceptualisation presented in this thesis synthesised elements of both the objective and subjective perspectives of trust. The objective outlook is embodied in two ways. First, it adopted a standardised definition which provided a basis for exploring the concept. This was the result of reflection upon a range of theories and the application of both reasoning and personal experience. It was thought that a working definition of trust was needed before empirical work commenced. For example, if trust had not been defined as a psychological state before the empirical research began and had instead been considered as behaviour, there would have been little point conducting interviews with residents and possibly more to be gained from observing interaction at participation events.

Secondly, the objectivist perspective on trust also influenced the model of trust developed and applied in the research. The tripartite model of trust comprises dispositional trust, perceptions of the trustee and perceived situational encapsulated interest (SEI). The three elements have their foundations in constituents which are *necessarily* present for trust to exist: trustor; trustee; and situation. This provides a strong, objective framework for understanding interpersonal trust, since no other relevant element can exist independently of those three. It rejects the notion of conceptualising trust solely through individuals' subjective views because it is known *a priori* that those three elements will be present in any trust-related situation.

This broad, overarching structure is where the objectivist influence on the conceptualisation of trust ends. The subjectivist perspective of trust is incorporated in two ways. First, the model accepts that its three components will not possess the same weighting in every situation. For example, at an early stage of a relationship or when first interacting with a stranger in an unfamiliar environment, one's general disposition to trust may be most influential.

Secondly, the model is careful to leave the specifics of the perceptions of the trustee element to the situation at hand. Whilst context influences the model through all three elements, it is the perceptions of the trustee which have commonly been set out *a priori* by other scholars (Mayer *et al.* 1995; Höppner *et al.* 2007; Höppner *et al.* 2008). This model instead holds that the perceived characteristics, attitudes and behaviours of a trustee will be dependent on context. The variability of dimensions of trustworthiness identified across different domains was demonstrated in Chapter 2. This showed that there is no solid consensus about the relevant perceptions of the trustee.

The findings presented in this thesis further demonstrate how Mayer *et al.*'s (1995) ability, benevolence and integrity (ABI) model (Dietz 2011) is insufficient as a universal conceptualisation. The most potent evidence for this is the 'representativeness' facet of the trustworthiness of regeneration officers. This comprised the dimensions of understanding residents' concerns, shared experience, shared perceptions and shared priorities, and points strongly towards the importance of social similarity. Mayer *et al.* (1995) argued that perceived similarity simply impacts upon perceived benevolence of the trustee towards the trustor. This is not necessarily the case. It seemed that the level of social similarity influenced the extent to which residents believed they could be understood. Residents also felt they were not 'in the

same boat' as officers regarding the regeneration scheme which meant that residents would not necessarily be protected through others' actions. This does not necessarily equate with care or benevolence towards residents. Other dimensions, such as 'responsiveness to concerns' and 'consistency' would also struggle to sit straightforwardly within the ABI framework. Overall, these findings demonstrate the problem with setting out universal dimensions of trustworthiness.

The conceptualisation of trust developed and applied in this thesis therefore represents an innovative route through the differing perspectives on the concept. On the universal side it sets out a clear definition which holds that trust is a psychological state, which allows for some individuals' subjective views on trust to be rejected, giving rise to the terms 'misconceived trust' and 'invisible trust'. The conceptualisation also sets out three components based upon the elements of a trust situation which are *necessarily* present: trustor, trustee and situation. Critically, it also allows for considerable flexibility dependent on context. The model necessitates the need for significant data collection and analysis on trustor's perspectives of trustees in different contexts; they cannot simply be taken from other fields. Statistically significant associations between each of the three elements and 'overall trust' in officers determined through empirical work demonstrated support for the model. The thesis therefore argues that this model offers a combination of objective and subjective elements, and thereby offers a distinctive and practical contribution to the debate about the nature of trust. The author would welcome future attempts to apply the model in other contexts and to develop it further. Contributions relating to system trust are discussed later in this chapter, as are the methodological ramifications of this contribution on interpersonal trust.

Participation

Much of the academic research on participation is 'impact based' and assumes an instrumental approach from residents (Foley and Martin 2000; Lowndes *et al.* 2001; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). This ends-based approach may represent the local authority gaze, focussed upon what the organisation wants to achieve from the participation exercise rather than how residents interact with an engagement process. The contribution of this thesis is to demonstrate that non-instrumental factors may be relevant to participation in regeneration and thus demand further attention. The qualitative data pointed toward how several non-instrumental factors may influence residents' willingness to engage, rather than a desire to 'achieve' information or influence. This thesis found that residents suggested notions of duty, protest or hope, emotional factors such as upset, discomfort and anger, and feelings of responsibility may be influential in resident participation. Previous research has only tended to consider the concept of duty and this often remains relatively under-developed (Koontz 2005; Lelieveldt 2004).

The notion that residents may participate because of *how they feel about participation itself* rather than *what they think it has the potential to achieve* is a contribution to our understanding of the concept and the process. This notion might be expected if one considers the prospective emotional impact of housing demolition. The contribution shows that trust may

have no role to play in participation for some residents because it is ends-based by definition. Participation as an end in itself is under-explored in the academic literature on resident engagement in service delivery and ABIs. This conceptual contribution has the potential to lead to the consideration of such factors in future studies investigating the drivers of participation in ABIs and local services, borrowing from the political science literature (Finkel and Muller 1998).

Trust and Regeneration

Whilst one of the primary foci of the research was to explore the impact of trust on residents' willingness to participate, the research has made a more distinctive contribution to knowledge by considering the reverse relationship in relation to professionalism. As discussed earlier in the thesis, McClymont (2014) has argued that the response to new public management's attempt to restore trust in the public sector professional has failed and instead advocates a move toward what might be referred to as 'value-based facilitation', driven by the values of flourishing and equity which are to be treated as substantive aims for any development. She contends that this will provide professions such as planning with "more value, voice and validity" (McClymont 2014, p200) and, one might infer, more public trust.

How can the findings on trust in regeneration officers presented in this thesis generate a better understanding of participation processes and the role of the regeneration professional? Three findings generated through the research offer broad support for McClymont's ideas. First, the findings of this thesis support the move away from redeveloping a strong technical orientation to regeneration officer professionalism as a method of restoring trust. Secondly, the receptivity element of trustworthiness to emerge from this study also supports the role of facilitation and the principle of listening to the views of residents as an important component to professionals' work. Thirdly, the thesis provides substantial evidence to support the argument that citizens do not desire full responsibility for decisions and look toward professionals for leadership.

However, this thesis presents an important, albeit nuanced, re-examination of values-based facilitation, arguing that the values guiding professionals should be derived from the residents themselves. The professional values put forward in McClymont's thesis are flourishing and equity, which can be considered a top-down, objectivist approach. The findings relating to the representativeness element of trustworthiness in this study suggest that the substantive aims of a development or regeneration project should not be considered *a priori.* Representativeness comprised shared experience, perceptions and priorities between residents and officers, and a sense that officers understood residents' concerns. Whilst 'shared values' was not expressly identified as a dimension of trustworthiness, it appears clear that social similarity more generally is important for resident trust in regeneration professionals. The importance of social similarity to trustworthiness which emerged from this study might suggest that the values which guide regeneration professionals should be developed on a more ad-hoc basis, with the perspectives, priorities, concerns and experiences of local residents in mind for each project.

It should be made clear that this approach need not jettison the return of professional judgement which McClymont advocates. Simply because the values may be best derived based upon acquiring a deeper understanding of participating residents' views, does not mean that the professional's role should avoid contributing to debates and discussions, rather than simply facilitating consultations and transmitting information. It suggests instead that these contributions, rather than being made in accordance with the pre-chosen values of flourishing and equity, should be made in line with the values deduced as underpinning the opinions of residents. Attempting to deduce the reasons *why* residents form the opinions and make the comments which they do regarding a project by gaining a fuller understanding of their values has the potential to generate different contributions to a discussion. Such contributions may widen the debate and potentially generate reflexivity within the participation process as residents reconsider and further develop their own views in light of the professional judgements enacted.

This addition to McClymont's ideas demonstrates the distinction that can be drawn between planning and regeneration. McClymont (2014) developed her argument through research into resident participation in the development of a strategic regeneration framework to guide development in an area and become part of the local development plan, focussing on new housing, leisure, retail and transport developments. Regeneration activity which specifically centres on residential demolition has a much more acute impact on existing residents than a loss of retail or an increase in traffic congestion, for example. It is thus likely to evoke a much more emotive response from residents, given the deeply personal attachment many feel to their home. This explains the need for the values guiding the work of regeneration professionals to be much more reflective of residents' own values, in order to strengthen the perception of social similarity and develop greater trust. Injecting top-down values into the work of officers dealing with such emotive issues are likely to embed a sense of alienation amongst residents and unlikely to restore a trust which has been shown to be dependent upon representativeness.

System Trust

Research considering the relationship between trust and participation has commonly explored trust in one party (Dekker 2007; Höppner 2009; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Lelieveldt 2004; Marquart-Pyatt and Petrzelka 2008). It has tended to ignore the concept of system trust, which is trust in a complex system comprising a network of hidden actors. Giddens (1990) has discussed how system trust can be based upon "facework", where trust in the system is dependent, at least partly, upon one's experiences with representatives of the network at "access points" which have the potential to strengthen or weaken system trust. Others have argued that system trust is resistant to such experiences (Luhmann 1979) and that it is distinct from interpersonal trust (Tait and Hansen 2013).

This thesis makes two contributions to the research on system trust. First, system trust is of greater importance to resident participation in urban regeneration than interpersonal trust in

officers. This study focussed upon resident perceptions of officers because it was originally thought that people would be more likely to hold strong opinions regarding a specific group of individuals of whom they are either aware or with whom they may have interacted. Resident perceptions were found to be far more general and the evidence which emerged challenged the presumed importance of interpersonal trust to participation. System trust amongst residents in this study was found to relate to trust in a network of "effectors" who might together bring about change to a local area. These included the local authority, developers/investors, political parties and the leader of the council. Previous studies exploring the relationship between trust and participation have focussed too narrowly upon interpersonal trust.

The second contribution this thesis makes in relation to system trust is that Giddensian, rather than Luhmannian, system trust is likely to be especially apposite in resident participation in regeneration. The study found residents' perceptions of their previous engagement to be influential in motivating further willingness to participate. This study therefore shows that it is an evidence-based system trust which is influential in regeneration, rather than more general perceptions of a system and its ostensible values. Furthermore, the contribution takes Giddens' ideas further in demonstrating that the facework which takes place at the participatory access point must demonstrate the receptivity of the system to the individual. Simply participating previously was not associated with willingness to participate; only those who perceived an *impact* from their participation were significantly more likely to be willing to participate. The contribution points toward the potential importance of the episodic relationship between resident and officer and the extent to which system trust is historically contingent. Residents who receive intermittent evidence from officers which clearly demonstrates how participants' input is shaping a regeneration project will be more likely to continue their participation. This suggests that whilst officers' interpersonal trustworthiness may be unimportant in generating resident participation, they still have a role to play in making the system, of which they are a part, appear receptive and hence trustworthy.

9.4 Reflections on Methodology and Method

Scholars have commonly taken a quantitative approach to exploring or measuring trust in the past (Eiser *et al.* 2007; Focht and Trachtenberg 2005; Höppner *et al.* 2007; Höppner *et al.* 2008; Peters *et al.* 1997; Payton *et al.* 2005; Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003; Tolbert and Mossberger 2006). Others have taken a qualitative approach to investigating the concept (Leahy and Anderson 2008; Mishra 1996; Petts 1998). Very few studies have used mixed methods to explore trust (Butler 1991; Höppner 2009). One of the major strengths of this thesis was the use of a context-dependent model of trust, which was operationalised via mixed methods. This is therefore the first trust-participation study, in any field, to combine the following elements:

- A fully developed measure of trust based upon qualitatively derived dimensions from the field
- A quantitative exploration of the association between each dimension and overall trust through a self-completion questionnaire
- Inclusion of non-trust related factors which may also influence participation

The mix of qualitative and quantitative methods employed mirrors the model of trust which synthesised elements of both subjective and objective understandings of the concept. The mixed methods approach offset the weakest elements of each methodological approach with the stronger elements of the other. The argument that qualitative research is not generalisable to a wider group was partially neutralised through the statistical "testing" of each dimension's association with overall trust. The argument that quantitative research is not grounded enough in participants' understanding of the world and inherently limits the responses they can provide was partially neutralised through the in-depth qualitative interviews which preceded and influenced the development of the questionnaire.

Following Höppner (2009), this mixed methods approach could represent the future of trust research across a number of fields. It rests on the principle that dimensions of trustworthiness cannot be imported between fields. Research thus requires semi-structured or unstructured interviews with potential trustors to gain an understanding of their perception of trustees in a particular situation. The differences between the dimensions found in this study and those identified in relation to other objects of trust in previous research, especially regarding social similarities and technical competence, fully support the constructionist approach used in this study. Without this methodology, social similarities may not have been included as dimensions of trustworthiness due to their less frequent appearances in previous empirical studies. However, the approach also rests on the principle that there needs to be wider support for dimensions of trustworthiness than the qualitative research participants, which are often limited in number. By exploring support for dimensions of trustworthiness across a larger (although admittedly not necessarily representative) sample can only strengthen the understanding of trust which originally emerged from the qualitative work.

The study's epistemology was not without its challenges. Trust itself was not a term which was readily volunteered by residents when they discussed officers and regeneration projects. Research participants did not always see trust as relevant to the particular scenario. Others used their own definitions of the term which were inconsistent with the conceptualisation put forward in this thesis. This made the determination of dimensions more difficult than expected. On a wider level, this issue made the researcher question how the term trust should be applied in trust research.

One option for overcoming this issue would be for the researcher to set out their own definition of trust to participants before the interviews began. This would create a clearer framework for the researcher and participants to work within, creating less opportunity for "misconceived" and "invisible" trust to be put forward. But does this not challenge the very constructivism upon which the *qualitative* interviews were based? Reflecting on the research, it might be argued that the approach used was only influenced by constructivism to a point: the

definition and model of trust were both determined prior to gathering qualitative data. An even more constructionist methodology may be able to capture a more grounded understanding of what residents mean by "trust" in regeneration officers. This might involve initiating research from a much more flexible starting point, which defines trust very loosely and does not employ a formal model. The challenge then becomes how researchers interpret what appear to be clear logical inconsistencies in the definitions put forward by participants.

Further reflection upon the research conducted allowed the author to identify three major challenges to the study. First, the ability to generate an adequate sample size from which generalisable conclusions can be drawn. This was not an issue in relation to the qualitative elements of the study, which set out to understand and explain, rather than prove the nature of the social world. The resulting findings were generalised to theory rather than to other cases. In contrast, findings from the quantitative phases were restricted by both the small number of questionnaire respondents and the fact that just two regeneration areas were investigated. Whilst this did not prevent the generation of statistically significant results, it did make it difficult to generalise the findings, across the two regeneration areas and across regeneration areas *in general*. It should be noted, however, that this limitation would be difficult to overcome, even with greater time and resources than PhD study permits. Achieving a large enough sample of residents to allow weighting to the demographics of the actual population is unlikely to be achieved given typical questionnaire response rates of around 10 per cent. Furthermore, generating a random sample of regeneration projects is impossible and so generalising up from case studies is an inevitably challenging process for such research.

Linked to this issue are the potential drawbacks of combining data from two separate regeneration projects. Whilst this partially overcame the low response rates for the quantitative phase, it begged questions about the difference in perception over the meaning of the individual questionnaire items. The items relating to a steering group, which existed and was well known in London but was just an aspiration in Gateshead, provide a good case in point. It is particularly questionable as to whether data from the West Kensington regeneration project was suitable to be combined with that of other projects. This scheme was the largest and probably most controversial urban regeneration programme in the UK at the time that empirical data was gathered. During the qualitative analysis phases it was sometimes difficult to tease apart residents' views of the regeneration project from their perception of the officers as people. Whilst this project provided rich data, in hindsight it may have been better either to focus entirely on the West Kensington redevelopment or to have chosen other, less contentious regeneration projects to combine with those in Chandless and Dunston.

Finally, the study would have benefited from a longitudinal approach, rather than being cross-sectional in design. Taking a snapshot of resident views and opinions about regeneration officers and participation was a particular concern for unearthing the drivers of engagement. It may be the case that trust or other factors are more or less influential in motivating participation at particular times either during the life-course of the regeneration project or residents' participation histories. The study shows how residents who had already participated and witnessed an impact were more willing to participate – but why did they engage initially? Longitudinal research requires more resources than are available in a PhD study of this kind.

Other research programmes may be more able to capture any dynamic aspects of resident trust and its relationship with participation in regeneration. It could test whether participation is driven by different factors at different points in the life-course of a regeneration project. Questionnaires might be distributed periodically, with the intention of receiving responses from the same people over several years. Other studies might improve the outcome variable in this research, dispensing with the use of *willingness to participate* as a proxy and instead attempting to measure *actual* participation. Such studies might focus upon one particular form of participation, such as attendance at steering group meetings or drop-in events with participants' involvement monitored in combination with the completion of structured questionnaires.

9.5 Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this study have a number of implications for policymakers and practitioners working in the field of urban regeneration. The findings suggest that the efforts of officers to gain the personal trust of residents in a bid to encouraging participation are misplaced; resident perceptions of how trustworthy officers might be does not appear to be important for participation. Instead, resources should be focussed upon the more challenging task of ensuring that residents believe that a larger network of actors – the "system" – can be influenced through participation. Officers (and others) should focus attention on creating an environment where residents who are already participating feel they are being listened to and believe that they are impacting the regeneration project. The urban regeneration "system" also needs to appear responsive if residents are to continue participating. Front line staff who are listening and responding to resident concerns thus need to ensure that they are recognised as part of the system rather than individuals acting outside this system, for example, when receiving residents' suggestions and demonstrating their impact. The findings of this study present support for a "quick wins" strategy, which demonstrates tangible evidence of the impact residents have had through their involvement, with reference to the other effectors' role in the system. Encouraging non-participating residents to engage may be much more difficult. This study found no clear evidence for what may drive this but of the possibilities inferred many of them are not really controlled by officers. Trust-related perceptions of other local residents may be important for encouraging engagement through steering groups and methods of developing intra-community trust could be explored. They may also focus on making forthcoming participatory proceedings appear as though they will be informative, but this may serve to diminish the rationale behind such endeavours.

Is personal trust specifically in officers entirely unimportant therefore? Not necessarily. The findings of this study should not be interpreted by researchers, policymakers and officers as evidence that trust in officers does not matter at all. The findings simply suggest that it may not motivate participation. It is vital to acknowledge that resident trust in officers may be beneficial to participation in other ways. It may, for example be important for increasing the *quality* of the engagement, by reducing tensions between parties and making negotiations more productive. The dimensional composition of regeneration officer trustworthiness may therefore remain

relevant. The research shows how social similarity is key in generating trust in regeneration professionals and not top-down, objectively constructed values. Instead, participation practices should allow officers an opportunity to deduce and understand the values of residents, such that these can be applied to the regeneration proposals in question and further discussion stimulated. Guided by residents' own values, the officers' experience in regeneration might allow them to make suggestions which may not have occurred to residents. This is a full reflection of the representativeness element of trustworthiness deduced from the research – acting on behalf of individuals and guided by an understanding of their concerns, perceptions, priorities and experiences – which has the potential to restore trust in regeneration officers.

Finally, whilst this study focussed specifically upon urban regeneration, it can also make contributions to the more general policy objective of increasing public participation in local service delivery. The Big Society agenda is based upon motivated and enthusiastic citizens, ready and willing to become involved in local decision-making (Cameron 2011). Politicians appear to view the active engagement of citizens as a default. The qualitative findings from this study challenge this presumption. None of the residents discussed "participation" in such aspirational terms, generally ignoring any potential it may possess for change. Instead, they viewed such opportunities as potential channels through which information can be communicated from officers to residents. Residents were less interested in attempting to influence a project than gathering information on decisions that they may believe have already been taken by others – and this, for some, was entirely unproblematic. Others saw participation from a non-instrumental perspective, with orientation toward engagement not determined by what it substantive outcomes it could achieve. The findings of this study suggest that the assumptions about the propensity for citizens to become actively involved are perhaps overstated. The findings suggest that more cautious expectations regarding public participation might prove useful - which take account not only of what politicians may want to achieve but also genuinely understands the perspective of citizens.

9.6 Suggestions for Future Research

There are five potential avenues for further research relating to trust, participation and their relationship.

Repeating the Research

More research is needed which explores regeneration officer trustworthiness. There is no other research, other than this study, which has set out with this objective. Resting upon the three "meta-dimensions" of receptivity, ability and representativeness at this stage risks undermining the flexibility of the trust model discussed above. However, the three groups do offer an initial step towards the development of a "dimension framework" for regeneration officers which can be critiqued and amended as further qualitatively-derived, quantitatively tested, findings emerge from empirical research.

Future research could also look to transpose the entire research design of this study to other fields. Whilst interpersonal trust may not drive participation in urban regeneration, there is the potential for it to be a factor in planning, housing, education, health, policing and any other policy field which encourages citizen involvement. Assessing what constitutes trustworthiness in these areas and determining whether it influences participation could have further implications for research and policy.

System Trust

This study contributed the notion of "evidence-based" system trust, suggesting the public's experience at system access points is important for participation and that system trust is based upon perceived impact. Future research may seek to test this finding and further understand potential trustors' attitudes toward an entire network of actors rather than just officers, asking what they expect from "the system" in relation to participation in urban regeneration. This could allow "system dimensions" of trustworthiness to emerge which relate to the local political and institutional policies and actions. Are notions of technical competence more significant for trust in a regeneration system than they are for trust in officers? Such research might seek to challenge the access point hypothesis and explore whether the following is true for urban regeneration:

> For a deeper trust to be restored in planning as an activity and as a system, public discourse on its values and goals seems essential... The critical task is...to seek to establish new, situated collective and relational values that are trusted by more than one group or interest.
> (Swain and Tait 2007, p244)

The likelihood of contested decisions in urban regeneration mean that an approach in which the ethos of a project is clearly developed and communicated may be beneficial for increasing system trust. However, a further question is whether it is the nature of the system's values which are important or whether it is their similarity to the public's own. Are notions of social similarity – such as shared perceptions, experiences, priorities and understanding – as distinctly important for trust in an "urban regeneration system" as they are for trust in regeneration professionals?

Efficacy and Trust

Research is needed which explores the relationship between efficacy and trust. This study found that respondents who believed they had impacted the regeneration project by participating in the past were more likely to be willing to participate in several ways in the future. As has been discussed this may suggest either a role for an evidence-based system trust (as no specific party is mentioned) or evidence for the importance of one's perceived efficacy (which was the origin for this questionnaire item). To what extent is belief in having impacted a

project comprised of one's sense of personal ability and confidence and how much is it linked to your opinion of the other party's interest in listening? Where does efficacy end and trust begin? Belief in the power of influence is likely to be a combination of the influencer's confidence and their perception of the receptivity of the influenced. Greater theoretical attention to these two concepts could be enlightening, following Lubell *et al.* (2006), and qualitative investigations into resident perceptions may be helpful. The impact of these two factors upon participation might be teased apart in future empirical research through a more nuanced wording of questionnaire items.

Participation

More in depth qualitative research into residents' general perception of participation is critically needed. As stated above, previous research (this study included) has generally transplanted an instrumental gaze onto residents, assuming that they view participation from the perspective of what it has the potential to achieve (Foley and Martin 2000; Samuelson *et al.* 2005). The qualitative evidence in this study suggests that this is not necessarily the case. Future research should focus on resident notions of "participation" more generally: why do they believe it exists in regeneration projects and local governance?; how do they feel about this?; what is its function?; what should be its function?; what are the problems associated with it?; would they like more or less opportunities to participate in the future and why?. Investigations which primarily aim to unearth how residents feel about participatory opportunities are key to a better understanding of why some citizens engage and others refrain.

Several additional factors which may influence resident participation in regeneration emerged from qualitative interviews with residents. Future research could further explore information-oriented and non-instrumental factors. First, these potential influences could be included as items on another resident questionnaire which again explores willingness to participate. Such factors were not included in the quantitative aspect of this research and it would be interesting to assess whether there is any statistical evidence to suggest that residents may be motivated to participate for these reasons. Höppner *et al.* (2008) found that interest in local landscape development was significantly ($p<.01$) related to willingness to participate in that field in Switzerland. Lelieveldt (2004) found no significant relationship between residents' sense of duty and participation in the OBAZ neighbourhood regeneration project in the Netherlands, but no such research has been conducted in the UK.

Trust and Participation

Questions as to the role of trust in participatory urban regeneration may not be confined to whether or not it promotes engagement. It may be that trust has an impact on the *quality* of participation, *once residents or other stakeholders have engaged.* This study has only investigated willingness to participate, rather than the success of projects. For example, one study found that, "the level of trust established between the developers and the [stakeholder]

groups was sufficient to guide the [redevelopment] project to fruition" (Gallagher and Jackson 2008, p628). Others have argued that cooperation between different parties does not require trust (Cook *et al.* 2005). Studies which consider whether meetings and events attended by trusting participants are more likely to experience fewer disagreements, work more effectively together and produce more tangible outcomes, could yet demonstrate an important reason why the development of interpersonal trust is a valuable goal. It should be noted that this is unlikely to be straightforward, however. Burton (2009) has outlined the considerable challenges of determining "successful" public participation. These questions require more academic attention, especially from quantitative researchers, since they require constituting robust "measures" for the quality of participation and the success of ABIs and public services.

9.7 Concluding Remarks

Both trust and participation appear likely to persist in future academic and policy discourse and remain an important focus of attention. This study has showed that it is vital that researchers take account of residents' views on trust and participation in academic debate. Previous research has too often neglected their perspectives on how trust is defined, the variable perceptions upon which it is built and the extent to which it exists toward specific others or takes a more systemic form. This thesis has detailed how residents' trust may be based upon a more general orientation to a network of relevant actors, rather than just the people with whom they are likely to interact. Participation needs to be considered from both instrumental and non-instrumental perspectives and the limits of the public's appetite to genuinely engage in ABIs and public services should be treated with greater acceptance. Such developments would allow researchers to more fully understand the relationship between trust and participation, if one should exist, reducing misunderstanding and adding clarity to an area of the social sciences which has received very little focussed attention, especially in a British context.

Postscript

In May 2014, the Labour Party took control of Hammersmith and Fulham Borough Council which is responsible for the West Kensington and Gibbs Green regeneration project. Having campaigned against the scheme, the new administration is now looking to review the project and enter into negotiations with developers CapCo in order to make major amendments, potentially increasing the amount of affordable housing within the redevelopment (Prynn and Kitson 2014; Wilson 2014).

Words: 93,918

Glossary

Critical Trust – was developed by the work of Nick Pidgeon and colleagues (Poortinga and Pidgeon 2003; Walls *et al.* 2004), which is based upon a mix of general trust and scepticism. It is based upon the principle that individuals can be trusting and distrusting of parties at the same time and the authors have suggested that critical trust may promote a more desirable form of citizen engagement.

Dispositional Trust – also referred to as one's capacity or propensity to trust, social trust or generalised trust, it represents trust in other people in general. It is based upon the principle that repeated experiences over time, perhaps especially during childhood, will affect one's assessment of the trustworthiness of others.

Salient Value Similarity (SVS) – is a concept developed by Earle and Cvetkovich (1995 in Earle and Cvetkovich 1999) which is at the centre of their theory of trust. They argue that trust can be based upon an assessment of which values are salient in the specific circumstances in question and the extent to which these values are shared between trustor and trustee.

Situational Encapsulated Interest (SEI) – is an aspect of the definition of trust used by Russell Hardin (2006). It holds that trust is partly based upon the perception that the environment incentivises the trustee's concern for the trustor's welfare.

System Trust – is defined as trust in a system, rather than in a specific party, which are 'faceless' from the perspective of the trustee. There is debate over the extent to which it is influenced by experiences of individuals within the system.

Trust – there is some consensus that trust comprises uncertainty, vulnerability, expectations and willingness, although there is debate over whether it is a psychological state, choice or behaviour. This study defines trust as a psychological state comprising willingness to accept vulnerability, based upon expectations of another party's behaviour, irrespective of their ability to monitor or control that other party.

Trustee – the trusted party.

Trustor – the trusting party.

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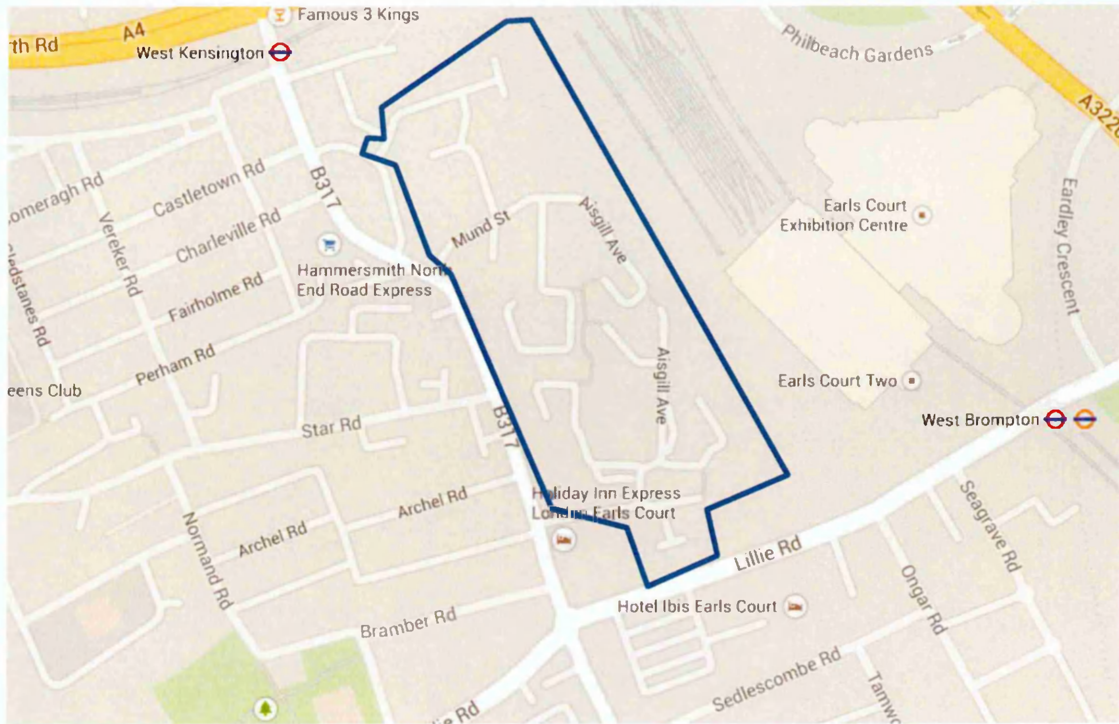
Appendices

Appendix A Interviewees and Regeneration Areas

Table A1 Interviewees

Regeneration Project	Interviewee Pseudonym	Gender	Age Bracket	For/Against Local Regeneration Scheme	Date Interviewed
Chandless	Mandy	Female	50-64	Against	Oct-11
	Nora	Female	65+	Against	Oct-11
	Sam	Male	50-64	-	Oct-11
Dunston	Leanne	Female	-	For	Oct-11
	Tina	Female	-	For	Oct-11
	Trisha	Female	-	Against	Oct-11
London	Bernadette	Female	40-49	For	Oct-12
	Chris	Male	65+	Against	Oct-12
	Derek	Male	65+	Against	Oct-12
	Geoff	Male	65+	Against	Oct-12
	Gina	Female	40-49	Against	Jan-12
	Indira	Female	-	For	Oct-12
	Kath (contributed with Geoff)	Female	-	Against	Oct-12
	Nadia	Female	50-64	Against	Oct-12
	Nathan	Male	40-49	"In the middle" but more associated with pro group	Oct-12
	Neven	Male	40-49	For	Oct-12
	Nicholas	Male	50-64	For	Oct-12
	Nigel (contributed with Indira)	Male	50-64	Unsure	Oct-12
	Paisi	Female	40-49	Against	Jan-12
	Robert	Male	40-49	Unsure (but more against)	Oct-12
	Sameena	Female	30-39	Unsure	Oct-12
	Sharon	Female	50-64	For	Jan-12
	Tara	Female	50-64	Against	Oct-11
	Tariq	Male	30-39	More against	Jan-12
	Teresa	Female	-	For	Oct-11
	Tracey	Female	50-64	Against	Oct-11
	Vincent	Male	40-49	For	Jan-12

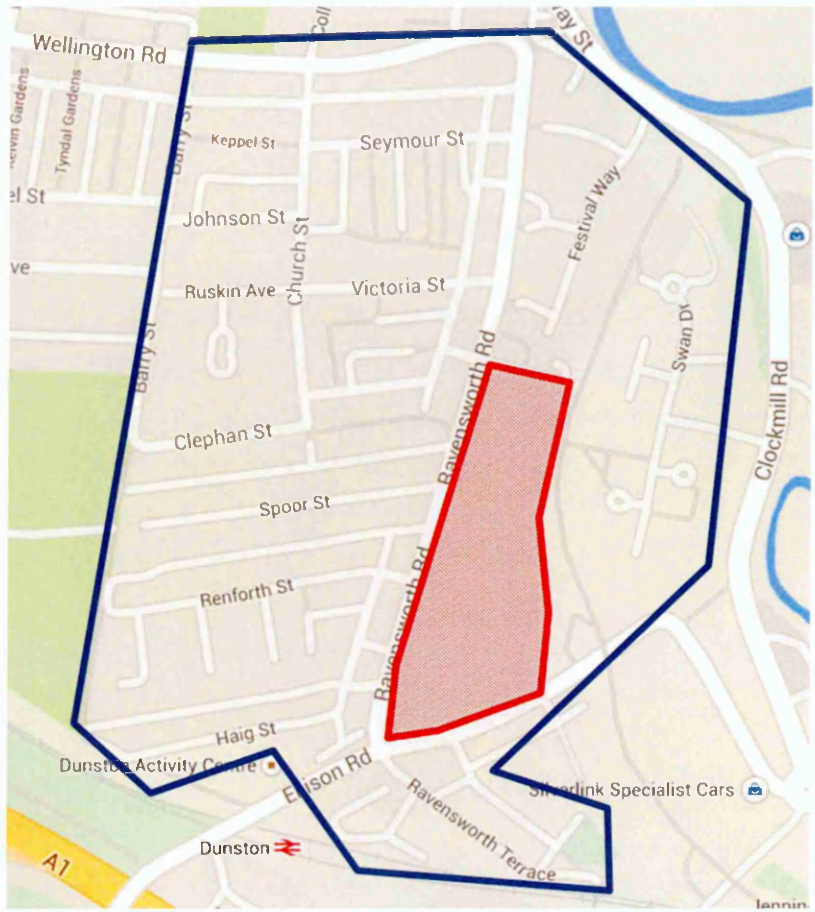
Figure A1 Questionnaire Delivery Map: West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates, London



Questionnaires delivered to 746 properties within the blue shape.

Source: Google Maps

Figure A2 Questionnaire Delivery Map: Dunston, Gateshead



The red area depicts the redevelopment site. Questionnaires were delivered to 820 properties within the blue shape but outside the red area.

Source: Google Maps

Appendix B Consent Forms and Interview Guides

Information and Consent Form for Research Participants
Dominic Aitken
Autumn 2011

The Research Project

Dominic Aitken is a PhD student at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University (SHU). He is completing a piece of original research in order to be awarded a doctorate in the field of urban regeneration. The topic of interest in Dominic's research is the concept of trust and how it relates to regeneration projects.

Dominic is interested in finding out what residents think about local regeneration professionals. He is trying to discover what residents mean when they say that they trust or distrust professionals. Dominic is interested in what professionals can do in order to become more trustworthy in the eyes of residents. In order to find these things out, Dominic would like to conduct some short interviews with residents to ask them about their opinions on the work taking place locally and the people in charge of it.

Participant Consent

Please take some time to read the following and if you agree please sign at the bottom to give your consent to participate in Dominic's research:

I understand that the nature of this research is purely for academic purposes, allowing for the completion of a thesis, which is necessary for the fulfilment of requirements for the award of a PhD at Sheffield Hallam University. I am aware of the possibility of partial or full publication of the research in an academic journal. I understand the topic of research to be residents' perception of professionals working on regeneration projects, with a focus on the issues of trust and trustworthiness.

I am aware that the interview will be tape recorded and transcribed, and I am comfortable with this. I am fully aware that the research is entirely confidential and that the following measures will be taken to ensure this:

- Anonymisation of all names and identifiable details in the transcript of the interview
- All files containing confidential information will be password protected and all hard copies will be securely stored
- Cassettes will be wiped after transcription

- Both the researcher and transcriber are aware of the confidential nature of the research and will not divulge any identifiable details of participants of interviews to anyone

I am also aware that I have my own personal responsibility to abide by the confidential nature of this research by agreeing not to divulge the names and details of other residents whom I know to be participating.

I am aware that my selection for participation in this research may have been dependent upon another participant's knowledge of my name and involvement in the regeneration scheme but that this should not compromise the confidentiality of the research.

I understand that I have the right to withhold information during the interview and the right to withdraw from the research up to two weeks after its completion. I am aware that I have the right to stop the interview at any stage, for any reason and will not be obliged to explain why I have chosen to do so.

If I have any concerns regarding the above or the research in general I understand that I am able to contact the researcher, Dominic Aitken by:

Email: dominic.j.aitken2@student.shu.ac.uk
Phone: 07999652316

If I have further concerns I am also aware I can contact Dominic's supervisor, Professor Ian Cole, by:

Email: i.d.cole@shu.ac.uk
Phone: 0114 225 4529

I hereby give consent to participate in the research:

Name:______________________________________

Regeneration scheme (delete as appropriate): Earls Court/Gateshead

Signed:____________________________

Date:______________________________

Thank you!

Phase 1 Interview Guide

- To begin with, could you just tell me a little bit about yourself?
  - How long you've lived in the area?
  - What have your experiences of living here been like?
  - What do you like about the neighbourhood?
  - What do you dislike about the neighbourhood?

- What are your experiences of the current regeneration/plans for regeneration?
  - How do you feel about the current regeneration plans?
  - Why?
  - What has led to such feelings?

- Have you had much contact with people working on the project?
  - What kind of contact?
  - Have you attended any events?
  - Have you attended any meetings?
  - Tell me about your experiences of attending these
  - Would you be interested in attending events/meetings in the future?
  - Why?
  - What could change this?

- Overall, what are your impressions of the people working on the project?
  - Probe for which organisations they work for (public/private?)
  - Why?
  - What has prompted you to feel this way?
  - How have your impressions changed?
  - What led to the changes?

- What do you expect from the officers?
  - Have they met these expectations?
  - If not, how have they failed to meet them?

- What do you think makes a trustworthy officer?

- Do you trust the people working on the project?
  - Why?
  - What has prompted you to feel this way?
  - Has this changed at all?
  - What led to these changes?
  - What could they do to increase your trust in them?

- Further resident details:
    - Gender:
    - Age:
    - Ethnicity:
    - Tenure:
    - Length of time living in neighbourhood:

Information and Consent Form for Research Participants
Dominic Aitken
2012

The Research Project

Dominic Aitken is a PhD student at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University (SHU). He is completing a piece of original research in order to be awarded a doctorate in the field of urban regeneration. The topic of interest in Dominic's research is the concept of trust and how it relates to regeneration projects.

Dominic is interested in finding out what residents think about local regeneration professionals. He is trying to discover what residents mean when they say that they trust or distrust professionals. Dominic is interested in what professionals can do in order to become more trustworthy in the eyes of residents. In order to find these things out, Dominic would like to conduct some short interviews with residents to ask them about their opinions on the work taking place locally and the people in charge of it.

Participant Consent

Please take some time to read the following and if you agree please sign at the bottom to give your consent to participate in Dominic's research:

I understand that the nature of this research is purely for academic purposes, allowing for the completion of a thesis, which is necessary for the fulfilment of requirements for the award of a PhD at Sheffield Hallam University. I am aware of the possibility of partial or full publication of the research in an academic journal. I understand the topic of research to be residents' perception of professionals working on regeneration projects, with a focus on the issues of trust and trustworthiness.

I am aware that the interview will be tape recorded and transcribed, and I am comfortable with this. I am fully aware that the research is entirely confidential and that the following measures will be taken to ensure this:

- Anonymisation of all names and identifiable details in the transcript of the interview
- All files containing confidential information will be password protected and all hard copies will be securely stored
- Cassettes will be wiped after transcription
- Both the researcher and transcriber are aware of the confidential nature of the research and will not divulge any identifiable details of participants of interviews to anyone

I am also aware that I have my own personal responsibility to abide by the confidential nature of this research by agreeing not to divulge the names and details of other residents whom I know to be participating.I am aware that my selection for participation in this research may have been dependent upon another participant's knowledge of my name and involvement in the

regeneration scheme but that this should not compromise the confidentiality of the research.

I understand that I have the right to withhold information during the interview and the right to withdraw from the research up to two weeks after the completion of the interview. I am aware that I have the right to stop the interview at any stage, for any reason and have the right not to explain why I have chosen to do so.

If I have any concerns regarding the above or the research in general I understand that I am able to contact the researcher, Dominic Aitken by:

Email: dominic.j.aitken2@student.shu.ac.uk
Phone: 07999652316

I am also able to contact Dominic's supervisor, Professor Ian Cole by:

Email: i.d.cole@shu.ac.uk
Phone: 0114 225 4529

I hereby give consent to participate in the research:

Name:_______________________________________

Regeneration scheme (delete as appropriate): Earls Court/Gateshead

Signed:____________________________

Date:______________________________

Please complete the following:

Gender: M/F

Age:______________

Ethnicity:___________________________

Tenure Type:________________________

Length of time Living in Neighbourhood:________________________

Phase 2 Interview Guide

- To begin with, could you just tell me a little bit about yourself?
    - How long you've lived in the area/this home?
    - Why did you move to the area/this home?
    - What have your experiences of living here been like?
    - What do you like about the neighbourhood?
    - What do you dislike about the neighbourhood?

- When did you first hear about the current regeneration plans for the estates?
    - What else was going on in your life at the time?
    - How did you hear about it?
    - What were your first impressions of the scheme?
    - Why?
    - How have those impressions changed?
    - Why?
    - How involved did you think you'd be?
    - Has this changed?
    - Why?

- Your involvement so far:
    - How?
    - How has this changed over time?
    - Why? (in general)
    - Why that method?
    - How has it made a difference?

- What were your original impressions of the (council and/or developer) officers working on the project?
    - Why?
    - How has this changed?
    - Why?
    - Originally, did you trust them to take on board what you say? (receptivity)
        - To listen/to put your opinions into the project/for plans to change after meetings/to look at both sides
    - How has this changed?
    - Why?
    - Originally, if you had decided not to participate, would you have trusted them to look out for your interests? (representativeness)

        - Do they represent you/do they share your interests/do they see things the same way as you/do they understand your concerns
    - How has this changed?
    - Why?

    - Originally, did you trust them to manage the project well? (ability)
    - How has this changed?
    - Why?
    - How might they increase your trust in them?

- What are your plans for the future?
    - Do you have any plans to leave this home/the area?
    - Do you plan to participate in the future?
    - How?
    - Why?
    - What difference will it make?

Appendix C Flyers and Questionnaires

YOUR CHANCE TO WIN £100 CASH!

You could win **£100 IN CASH**, by taking just **10 MINUTES** to complete the enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the stamped addressed envelope provided. All of the questions simply require you to put a cross in a box.

I am an **independent** academic researcher based at Sheffield Hallam University who is gathering resident views on the regeneration of the Ravensworth Road estate. **I am not connected to the local council, developers or resident groups in any way.**

My research aims to find out what residents mean when they say that they trust or don't trust regeneration officers working on a project. I also hope to discover whether residents' trust in officers impacts on willingness to participate in a local regeneration project. This questionnaire is intended to help me find out about residents' feelings towards their local regeneration officers and their willingness to get involved. I am using the regeneration of the Ravensworth Road estate as a case study in which to explore these ideas.

Your response to the survey will be COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ANONYMOUS. Your answers will be added together with responses from other residents to produce anonymous statistics for my thesis and potentially academic journal articles.

If you wish to contact me, you can do so using the following e-mail address:

dominic.j.aitken2@student.shu.ac.uk

The chance to win £100 for just 10 MINUTES of your time - why not?!

I am so grateful for you giving up your time to complete my questionnaire!

THANK YOU!

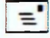
Dominic Aitken

Survey of Residents
Dunston, Gateshead

I am an **independent** academic researcher based at Sheffield Hallam University who is gathering resident views on the regeneration of the Ravensworth Road estate in Dunston. **I am not connected to the local council, developers or resident groups in any way.**

To say thank you for your time, all returned questionnaires will be entered into a free draw with a **CASH PRIZE OF £100.**

Your response to the survey will be COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ANONYMOUS.

 **Please return in the enclosed FREEPOST envelope**

Thanks so much for taking part in my survey - I'm very grateful to you for giving up your time!

If you have any questions you can contact me at the following e-mail address:

dominic.j.aitken2@student.shu.ac.uk

Dominic Aitken

A **This section is mostly about your opinion of the local regeneration officers.**

By 'regeneration officers' I mean the people working for the council, who may have asked your views on the Ravensworth Road regeneration project. They may have organised meetings or asked you to vote or fill in questionnaires.

Please indicate your level of agreement with each of the statements below.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am currently satisfied with the quality of the area in which I live	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers are available to see me to answer my questions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers understand my concerns regarding the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers care about people like me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers work transparently	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers are fair	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers are honest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The regeneration officers are unfriendly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Different regeneration officers say different things regarding the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers break their promises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers are unable to answer my questions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The regeneration officers don't know what it's like to live here	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers respond to my concerns	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers and I view things in a similar way	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers and I have shared priorities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being trustworthy is important to the regeneration officers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B This section is about trust.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In general, most people are trustworthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust Gateshead Council	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the developers working on the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the regeneration officers working on the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C The following section asks about your involvement in the project to date.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Yes	Don't Know	No
Have you previously attended an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe that your attendance had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Have you previously completed a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views on the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe it had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Have you previously had a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe the conversation had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Are you or have you previously been a member of a steering group for the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe it has/did have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Have you previously attended a resident meeting regarding the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe that your attendance had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐

D This section asks about how much impact you feel you can have on the project.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Yes	Don't Know	No
Would your attendance at an exhibition or drop-in event have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Would your completion of a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
If you were to have a conversation with a regeneration officer, would this have an impact on the project?	☐	☐	☐
If you were to join a steering group, would this have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Would your attendance at a resident meeting have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐

E The next section is about your feelings towards other residents.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither Agree nor Disagree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
I trust most of the other residents who live in the area	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

F This section asks about your willingness to participate in the regeneration project in the future.

(please put a cross in one box on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to complete a questionnaire or consultation document expressing my views on the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to join a steering group for the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to attend a resident meeting regarding the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G This section asks some further questions about the regeneration project.
(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Regeneration projects have the potential to improve the quality of residential areas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Regeneration projects have the potential to disrupt communities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participating in the regeneration project will provide me with better quality accommodation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participating in the regeneration project will prevent my home from being demolished	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participating in the regeneration project will improve my personal financial situation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

H This section asks some final questions about you and your current circumstances.

(please cross **one box** for each question)

Are you...

- Male ☐
- Female ☐

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

- Up to and including GCSEs or equivalent ☐
- A levels or equivalent ☐
- Undergraduate degree or equivalent ☐
- Postgraduate degree or equivalent ☐

What is your ethnic group?

- White British ☐
- White Irish ☐
- White Gypsy or Irish Traveller ☐
- Other White Background ☐
- White and Black Caribbean ☐
- White and Black African ☐
- White and Asian ☐
- Other Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Background ☐
- Indian ☐
- Pakistani ☐
- Bangladeshi ☐
- Chinese ☐
- Other Asian Background ☐
- Black African ☐
- Black Caribbean ☐
- Other Black/African/Caribbean Background ☐
- Arab ☐
- Other Ethnic Group ☐

Which of the following best describes your current situation?

(please put a cross in **one box**)

- Self-employed ☐
- Part-time employed ☐
- Full-time employed ☐
- Unemployed ☐
- Retired ☐
- Maternity Leave ☐
- Looking after family ☐
- Looking after home ☐
- Full-time student ☐
- Long term sick/disabled ☐
- Government training scheme ☐
- Other ☐

If you wish to be entered into the **PRIZE DRAW** with the chance to win **£100 IN CASH** please provide your first name and telephone number below! You've got to be in it to win it!

First Name: ______________________________

Telephone number: _________________________

In the next few months I'm hoping to chat to people living in Dunston to hear more of your thoughts on the regeneration of Ravensworth Road. Please tick the box below if you'd be happy to spare me some of your time

I'd be happy to chat to you ☐

I'm very grateful for you taking the time to help me out with this questionnaire. It really means a lot to me because without your answers I wouldn't be able to complete my project.

THANK YOU!

YOUR CHANCE TO WIN £100 CASH!

You could win **£100 IN CASH**, by taking just **10 MINUTES** to complete the enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the stamped addressed envelope provided. All of the questions simply require you to put a cross in a box.

I am an **independent** academic researcher based at Sheffield Hallam University who is gathering resident views on the regeneration proposals for West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates. **I am not connected to the local council, developers or resident groups in any way.**

My research aims to find out what residents mean when they say that they trust or don't trust regeneration officers working on a project. I also hope to discover whether residents' trust in officers impacts on willingness to participate in a local regeneration project. This questionnaire is intended to help me find out about residents' feelings towards their local regeneration officers and their willingness to get involved. I am using the regeneration proposals for the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates as a case study in which to explore these ideas.

Your response to the survey will be COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ANONYMOUS. Your answers will be added together with responses from other residents to produce anonymous statistics for my thesis and potentially academic journal articles.

If you wish to contact me, you can do so using the following e-mail address:

dominic.j.aitken2@student.shu.ac.uk

The chance to win £100 for just 10 MINUTES of your time - why not?!

I am so grateful for you giving up your time to complete my questionnaire!

THANK YOU!

Dominic Aitken

Survey of Residents
West Kensington and Gibbs Green

I am an **independent** academic researcher based at Sheffield Hallam University who is gathering resident views on the regeneration proposals for West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates. **I am not connected to the local council, developers or resident groups in any way.**

To say thank you for your time, all returned questionnaires will be entered into a free draw with a **CASH PRIZE OF £100.**

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Please return in the enclosed FREEPOST envelope

Thanks so much for taking part in my survey - I'm very grateful to you for giving up your time!

If you have any questions you can contact me at the following e-mail address:

dominic.j.aitken2@student.shu.ac.uk

Dominic Aitken

A This section is mostly about your opinion of the local regeneration officers.

By 'regeneration officers' I mean the people, either working for the developer or council, who may have asked your views on the proposed regeneration project. They may have organised meetings or asked you to vote or fill in questionnaires.

Please indicate your level of agreement with each of the statements below.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am currently satisfied with the quality of the area in which I live	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers are available to see me to answer my questions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers understand my concerns regarding the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers care about people like me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers work transparently	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The regeneration officers are unfriendly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Different regeneration officers say different things regarding the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers break their promises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers are unable to answer my questions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The regeneration officers don't know what it's like to live here	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers respond to my concerns	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers and I view things in a similar way	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The regeneration officers and I have shared priorities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being trustworthy is important to the regeneration officers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B This section is about trust.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In general, most people are trustworthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust Hammersmith & Fulham Borough Council	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the developers (Capital and Counties) working on the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the regeneration officers working on the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C The following section asks about your involvement in the project to date.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Yes	Don't Know	No
Have you previously attended an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe that your attendance had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Have you previously completed a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views on the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe it had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Have you previously had a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe the conversation had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Are you or have you previously been a member of the steering group (WKGG Steering Company) for the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe it has/did have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Have you previously attended a West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meeting regarding the regeneration project?	☐		☐
If yes, do you believe that your attendance had an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐

D This section asks about how much impact you feel you can have on the project.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Yes	Don't Know	No
Would your attendance at an exhibition or drop-in event have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Would your completion of a questionnaire or consultation document expressing your views have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
If you were to have a conversation with a regeneration officer, would this have an impact on the project?	☐	☐	☐
If you were to join the steering group (WKGG Steering Company), would this have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐
Would your attendance at a West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meeting have an impact on the regeneration project?	☐	☐	☐

E The next section is about your feelings towards other residents.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I trust most of the other residents who live in the area	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the residents who are members of the steering group (WKGG Steering Company)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the residents who attend the West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meetings	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

F This section asks about your willingness to participate in the regeneration project in the future.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to complete a questionnaire or consultation document expressing my views on the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to join the steering group (WKGG Steering Company) for the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to attend a West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meeting regarding the regeneration project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G This section asks some further questions about the regeneration project.

(please put a cross in **one box** on each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Regeneration projects have the potential to improve the quality of residential areas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Regeneration projects have the potential to disrupt communities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participating in the regeneration project will provide me with better quality accommodation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participating in the regeneration project will prevent my home from being demolished	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participating in the regeneration project will improve my personal financial situation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

H This section asks some final questions about you and your current circumstances.

(please put a cross in **one box** for each question)

Are you...

- Male ☐
- Female ☐

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

- Up to and including GCSEs or equivalent ☐
- A levels or equivalent ☐
- Undergraduate degree or equivalent ☐
- Postgraduate degree or equivalent ☐

What is your ethnic group?

- White British ☐
- White Irish ☐
- White Gypsy or Irish Traveller ☐
- Other White Background ☐
- White and Black Caribbean ☐
- White and Black African ☐
- White and Asian ☐
- Other Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Background ☐
- Indian ☐
- Pakistani ☐
- Bangladeshi ☐
- Chinese ☐
- Other Asian Background ☐
- Black African ☐
- Black Caribbean ☐
- Other Black/African/Caribbean Background ☐
- Arab ☐
- Other Ethnic Group ☐

Which of the following best describes your current situation?

(please put a cross in **one box**)

- Self-employed ☐
- Part-time employed ☐
- Full-time employed ☐
- Unemployed ☐
- Retired ☐
- Maternity Leave ☐
- Looking after family ☐
- Looking after home ☐
- Full-time student ☐
- Long term sick/disabled ☐
- Government training scheme ☐
- Other ☐

If you wish to be entered into the **PRIZE DRAW** with the chance to win **£100 IN CASH** please provide your first name and telephone number below! You've got to be in it to win it!

First Name: ______________________________

Telephone number: _________________________

In the next few months I'm hoping to chat to people living on West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates to find out what you think about the regeneration proposals. Please tick the box below if you're happy to spare me some of your time:

I'd be happy to chat to you ☐

I'm very grateful for you taking the time to help me out with this questionnaire. It really means a lot to me because without your answers I wouldn't be able to complete my project.

THANK YOU!

Appendix D Background to Collective Interest Model

Whilst not used as a full theoretical framework for the study, the "adapted" collective interest model (CIM) was used as inspiration for the extraneous variables included in the statistical analysis. The CIM was originally developed by academics working in a different participatory arena in order to overcome what might be termed the "free-rider problem" or "collective action problem". Both stem from a rational view of human behaviour. In the broadest sense of the term, one can be considered rational if they "act consistently and instrumentally to achieve some well-defined end" (Foley 2003, p2). Whilst discussions of rationality commonly invoke the idea of self-interest, an individual can act rationally to achieve an end which is in another individual or group's interest or which to an observer might be considered patently inimical to the actor's own interest. Rational choice theory (RCT, also known as rational actor theory) focuses on the method by which such means are chosen. It argues that, "all action is fundamentally "rational" in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do" (Scott 2000, p127). The theory suggests that rational actors will weigh up different courses of action based on their assessment of the likely outcomes, thus creating an order of preferred action. Individuals then choose the most effective option with regard their goals (Hollis 2002). In economics, the factors involved in such calculations are often goods, services or money. In other social sciences RCT has found a base within social exchange theory, which considers social action as an exchange of valued feelings such as approval.

RCT has been considered in instances where action takes place by more than one individual. Many citizens have opportunities to join a trade union, participate in a neighbourhood watch scheme or attend a political protest, for example. According to RCT, the individual decides whether to participate in collective action based on a rational calculation. In his seminal work, Mancur Olson (1971) explores this idea in relation to small and large groups, arguing that there is a qualitative difference between the two. He suggests that the rational response to action in smaller groups is to participate. In these situations each individual's contribution is proportionally larger and thus the likelihood of group failure without participation is greater. He also argues that disapproval by participating members of the group may act as a social sanction which incentivises the individual to engage in action. Hence, the benefits of engaging in collective action outweigh the costs.

For large groups, however, Olson (1971) argues that the potential individual contribution to the group is proportionally smaller and social disapproval from abstaining from action is likely to be less severe. Why should anyone endure the costs of engaging in large group action when one's contribution will be so small and the benefits shared regardless of individual participation? The rational response is to abstain and "free ride" on the efforts of others in the group. However, since every rational individual would reach the

same conclusion, no collective action would take place (Scott 2000). This is known as the "free rider" or "collective action" problem.

One area of the social sciences where this issue is particularly pertinent is political science. Olson would argue that the benefits of engaging in political action will be shared irrespective of the individual's (inconsequential) contribution and that no group action will take place without selective incentives. Yet citizens *do* engage in mass political action without *selective* incentives. The CIM attempts to explain political action in spite of the free rider problem (Finkel *et al.* 1989; Finkel and Muller 1998). The model makes three updates to Olson's account of collective action, positing that individuals will engage in political action when:

> (1) they have high levels of discontent with the current provision of public goods by the government or regime, (2) they believe that collective efforts can be successful in providing desired public goods; and (3) they believe that their own participation will enhance the likelihood of the collective effort's success
>
> (Finkel and Muller 1998, p39)

These three additional factors were added to RTC's traditional formulation of group action. The CIM can thus be written:

$$Political\ Participation = V + P_g + P_i + S_b - S_c$$ [30]

(Weible 2008, p26)

The term V represents grievance; P_g is the probability of group success (group efficacy); P_i is the probability that the individual's actions will make a difference; S_b is the selective benefits to the individual; and S_c the selective costs. The model has proved robust when tested empirically and has thus been useful for academics investigating political participation (Bäck *et al.* 2004; Finkel *et al.* 1989; Finkel and Muller 1998; Yau 2011).

Weible (2008) has taken the first steps in outlining how the model might relate to participation in a "collaborative institution". Firstly, the P_i term is equated with 'individual efficacy', dispensing with the idea that the importance of one's contribution stems from a combination of the "group unity" principle and a sense of duty. Indeed, these elements might appear to be of lesser salience when considering participation in a collaborative institution. Secondly, the author adapts the model by suggesting two additional elements. The first considers the previous assumption of group homogeneity. Indeed, Olson

[30] Finkel *et al.* (1989) explored a multiplicative version of the CIM but admitted it can be used in its additive form

(1971) makes this explicit, arguing that if there is no consensus amongst the group then collective action is even less likely. Mass political action in particular tends to presume that the participating individuals all share a common objective. However, Weible (2008) argues that this is unlikely to be the case for stakeholders engaging with collaborative institutions, who will probably represent a variety of values, interests and goals. The author thus proposes the addition of “ally efficacy” to the CIM, as rational actors will also consider the extent to which they believe their allies can influence the institution. He also argues that individuals' participation will be based upon their perception of the efficacy of the policy instrument which is selected by the institution to address the particular issue. Individuals who believe that the policy instrument is intrinsically flawed will be less willing to participate. Taking these factors into consideration, the adapted CIM can thus be written:

$$Participation = S_b - S_c + V + P_g + \ P_i + +P_a + \ P_{in}$$

In this model P_a represents ally efficacy and P_{in} is instrument efficacy (Weible 2008).

The adapted CIM proposed by Weible (2008) has potential relevance to resident participation in urban regeneration. First, there may be the perception of selective costs (S_c) and benefits (S_b) to the individual of engaging in a regeneration programme. Obvious costs might include time (Weible 2008) and money (Lubell *et al* 2006). Residents may also believe that by participating and engaging in sustained contact with officers there is the prospect of extracting significant personal gains from a project, which would not be available to non-participating citizens. Such perceived benefits will vary extensively dependent upon the nature of the regeneration scheme. The more extensive the plans, the more a resident might participate to either mitigate or increase the impact on their welfare, believing that advantages are available exclusively to participants. Whilst this has the potential to be tantamount to corruption, one must remember that it is the *perceptions* of residents which matter, not the real state of affairs. Taking the first two terms together, the model posits that residents who perceive higher benefits and lower costs will be more willing to participate in a regeneration project.

The dissatisfaction term V captures a resident's feelings toward their local neighbourhood. The term labelled 'P_{in}' takes account of the individual's view of regeneration as an instrument by which residential areas can be improved. Both dissatisfaction with the area and confidence in regeneration as a tool to remedy it may increase a resident's participation. Turning to individual efficacy (P_i), a resident who believes that their participation can be influential will be more likely to participate. Group efficacy (P_g) is not relevant to individual forms of participation as there is no group through which citizens' views are mediated, other than the regeneration officers running the project. However, by joining the steering group or attending TRA meetings the individual mediates their views on the regeneration project through a group. It is suggested in the

model that belief in the group's success in achieving influence will be positively associated with these forms of participation. When used by Weible (2008), ally efficacy (P_a) referred to stakeholders within a group, which may therefore appear irrelevant to individual forms of participation. However, there are potential allies and opponents for residents considering individual participation in a project - other residents. If other residents are thought to be efficacious in their participation then this may have an influence – in either direction – upon a citizen's willingness to participate.

Extraneous variables for the following CIM terms were included in the resident questionnaire used in this study: selective benefits; selective costs; dissatisfaction; policy instrument efficacy; and individual efficacy. The group efficacy and ally efficacy terms from the adapted CIM were not considered as extraneous variables. References to relevant groups (steering group and the TRA in London) and potential allies (other residents), in terms of residents' trust in them, had already been included in the questionnaires as secondary explanatory variables. Lubell *et al.* (2006) suggest that trust may be embedded within the CIM's concept of efficacy. Belief in the effectiveness of participation may be made up of a combination of one's confidence *and* one's opinion of those with whom one is to engage. Hence whilst the steering group, TRA and other resident indicators did not capture the totality of efficacy, it was felt that they sufficed given the limited space upon the questionnaire. Indeed, it should be stressed that the adapted CIM was only used as inspiration for extraneous variables and did not provide a full theoretical framework for the study.

Appendix E Frequencies for Key Variables

Table E1 Response Rate

	Questionnaires Distributed	Questionnaires Returned	Response Rate
WKGG	746	58	7.8%
Dunston	820	86	10.5%
Total	1566	144	9.2%

Table E2 Gender of Respondents

		WKGG	Dunston	Total
Male	Count	24	23	47
	Percentage	42.9%	26.7%	33.1%
Female	Count	32	63	95
	Percentage	57.1%	73.3%	66.9%
Total	Count	56	86	142
	Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E3 Education of Respondents

		Location		Total
		WKGG	Dunston	
Up to and Including GCSEs or Equivalent	Count	15	33	48
	Percentage	31.3%	43.4%	38.7%
A Levels or Equivalent	Count	11	19	30
	Percentage	22.9%	25.0%	24.2%
Undergraduate Degree or Equivalent	Count	15	15	30
	Percentage	31.3%	19.7%	24.2%
Postgraduate Degree or Equivalent	Count	7	9	16
	Percentage	14.6%	11.8%	12.9%
Total	Count	48	76	124
	Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E4 Ethnicity of Respondents

		WKGG	Dunston	Total
White British	Count	25	83	108
	Percentage	45.5%	96.5%	76.6%
Other White Background	Count	3	0	3
	Percentage	5.5%	0.0%	2.1%
White and Black Caribbean	Count	1	0	1
	Percentage	1.8%	0.0%	.7%
White and Black African	Count	2	0	2
	Percentage	3.6%	0.0%	1.4%
White and Asian	Count	1	0	1
	Percentage	1.8%	0.0%	.7%
Other Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Background	Count	2	0	2
	Percentage	3.6%	0.0%	1.4%
Indian	Count	1	1	2
	Percentage	1.8%	1.2%	1.4%
Pakistani	Count	2	0	2
	Percentage	3.6%	0.0%	1.4%
Bangladeshi	Count	1	0	1
	Percentage	1.8%	0.0%	.7%
Chinese	Count	1	1	2
	Percentage	1.8%	1.2%	1.4%
Other Asian Background	Count	3	0	3
	Percentage	5.5%	0.0%	2.1%
Black African	Count	4	1	5
	Percentage	7.3%	1.2%	3.5%
Black Caribbean	Count	3	0	3
	Percentage	5.5%	0.0%	2.1%
Arab	Count	3	0	3
	Percentage	5.5%	0.0%	2.1%
Other Ethnic Group	Count	3	0	3
	Percentage	5.5%	0.0%	2.1%
Total	Count	55	86	141
	Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E5 "Current Situation" of Respondents

		Location		Total
		WKGG	Dunston	
Self-employed	Count	6	5	11
	Percent	10.9%	6.0%	8.0%
Part-time employed	Count	5	13	18
	Percentage	9.1%	15.7%	13.0%
Full-time employed	Count	16	32	48
	Percentage	29.1%	38.6%	34.8%
Unemployed	Count	5	7	12
	Percentage	9.1%	8.4%	8.7%
Retired	Count	11	17	28
	Percentage	20.0%	20.5%	20.3%
Looking After Family	Count	2	5	7
	Percentage	3.6%	6.0%	5.1%
Full-time Student	Count	4	0	4
	Percentage	7.3%	0.0%	2.9%
Long Term Sick/Disabled	Count	4	3	7
	Percentage	7.3%	3.6%	5.1%
Government Training Scheme	Count	1	0	1
	Percentage	1.8%	0.0%	0.7%
Other	Count	1	1	2
	Percentage	1.8%	1.2%	1.4%
Total	Count	55	83	138
	Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E6 Frequencies for Receptivity Dimensions of Trustworthiness

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Transparency (The regeneration officers work transparently)	Strongly Disagree	9	6.5	5	9.1	4	4.8
	Disagree	20	14.5	7	12.7	13	15.7
	Total Disagree	**29**	**21.0**	**12**	**21.8**	**17**	**20.5**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	76	55.1	27	49.1	49	59.0
	Agree	23	16.7	10	18.2	13	15.7
	Strongly Agree	10	7.2	6	10.9	4	4.8
	Total Agree	**33**	**23.9**	**16**	**29.1**	**17**	**20.5**
	Totals	**138**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**
Fairness (The regeneration officers are fair)	Strongly Disagree	10	7.4	5	9.1	5	6.2
	Disagree	14	10.3	6	10.9	8	9.9
	Total Disagree	**24**	**17.6**	**11**	**20.0**	**13**	**16.0**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	78	57.4	22	40.0	56	69.1
	Agree	23	16.9	15	27.3	8	9.9
	Strongly Agree	11	8.1	7	12.7	4	4.9
	Total Agree	**34**	**25.0**	**22**	**40.0**	**12**	**14.8**
	Totals	**136**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**81**	**100.0**
Honesty (The regeneration officers are honest)	Strongly Disagree	9	6.7	5	9.3	4	4.9
	Disagree	13	9.6	6	11.1	7	8.6
	Total Disagree	**22**	**16.3**	**11**	**20.4**	**11**	**13.6**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	84	62.2	25	46.3	59	72.8
	Agree	17	12.6	11	20.4	6	7.4
	Strongly Agree	12	8.9	7	13.0	5	6.2
	Total Agree	**29**	**21.5**	**18**	**33.3**	**11**	**13.6**
	Totals	**135**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**81**	**100.0**
Friendliness (Regeneration officers are unfriendly - *reversed*)	Strongly Disagree	4	2.9	1	1.8	3	3.7
	Disagree	6	4.4	3	5.5	3	3.7
	Total Disagree	**10**	**7.3**	**4**	**7.3**	**6**	**7.3**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	79	57.7	24	43.6	55	67.1
	Agree	33	24.1	17	30.9	16	19.5
	Strongly Agree	15	10.9	10	18.2	5	6.1
	Total Agree	**48**	**35.0**	**27**	**49.1**	**21**	**25.6**
	Totals	**137**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**82**	**100.0**

Availability to answer questions (The regeneration officers are available to see me to answer my questions)	Strongly Disagree	8	5.8	1	1.8	7	8.3
	Disagree	28	20.1	9	16.4	19	22.6
	Total Disagree	**36**	**25.9**	**10**	**18.2**	**26**	**31.0**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	60	43.2	19	34.5	41	48.8
	Agree	31	22.3	19	34.5	12	14.3
	Strongly Agree	12	8.6	7	12.7	5	6.0
	Total Agree	**43**	**30.9**	**26**	**47.3**	**17**	**20.2**
	Totals	**139**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**84**	**100.0**
Responsiveness to concerns (The regeneration officers respond to my concerns)	Strongly Disagree	6	4.4	3	5.6	3	3.6
	Disagree	17	12.4	9	16.7	8	9.6
	Total Disagree	**23**	**16.8**	**12**	**22.2**	**11**	**13.3**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	80	58.4	20	37.0	60	72.3
	Agree	26	19.0	18	33.3	8	9.6
	Strongly Agree	8	5.8	4	7.4	4	4.8
	Total Agree	**34**	**24.8**	**22**	**40.7**	**12**	**14.5**
	Totals	**137**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**
Caring (The regeneration officers care about people like me)	Strongly Disagree	14	10.1	6	10.9	8	9.6
	Disagree	25	18.1	10	18.2	15	18.1
	Total Disagree	**39**	**28.3**	**16**	**29.1**	**23**	**27.7**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	66	47.8	21	38.2	45	54.2
	Agree	22	15.9	11	20.0	11	13.3
	Strongly Agree	11	8.0	7	12.7	4	4.8
	Total Agree	**33**	**23.9**	**18**	**32.7**	**15**	**18.1**
	Totals	**138**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**

Table E7 Frequencies for Ability Dimensions of Trustworthiness

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Consistency (Different regeneration officers say different things regarding the project - *reversed*)	Strongly Disagree	8	5.9	6	11.1	2	2.4
	Disagree	29	21.3	15	27.8	14	17.1
	Total Disagree	**37**	**27.2**	**21**	**38.9**	**16**	**19.5**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	71	52.2	18	33.3	53	64.6
	Agree	18	13.2	8	14.8	10	12.2
	Strongly Agree	10	7.4	7	13.0	3	3.7
	Total Agree	28	20.6	15	27.8	13	15.9
	Totals	**136**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**82**	**100.0**
Promise fulfilment (The regeneration officers break their promises - *reversed*)	Strongly Disagree	6	4.4	4	7.3	2	2.5
	Disagree	11	8.1	5	9.1	6	7.4
	Total Disagree	**17**	**12.5**	**9**	**16.4**	**8**	**9.9**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	86	63.2	28	50.9	58	71.6
	Agree	20	14.7	9	16.4	11	13.6
	Strongly Agree	13	9.6	9	16.4	4	4.9
	Total Agree	33	24.3	18	32.7	15	18.5
	Totals	**136**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**81**	**100.0**
Ability to answer questions (The regeneration officers are unable to answer my questions - *reversed*)	Strongly Disagree	10	7.4	6	11.1	4	4.9
	Disagree	16	11.9	9	16.7	7	8.6
	Total Disagree	**26**	**19.3**	**15**	**27.8**	**11**	**13.6**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	76	56.3	20	37.0	56	69.1
	Agree	19	14.1	12	22.2	7	8.6
	Strongly Agree	14	10.4	7	13.0	7	8.6
	Total Agree	33	24.4	19	35.2	14	17.3
	Totals	**135**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**81**	**100.0**

Table E8 Frequencies for Representativeness Dimensions of Trustworthiness

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Shared Experience (The regeneration officers don't know what it's like to live here - *reversed*)	Strongly Disagree	28	20.1	18	31.6	10	12.2
	Disagree	49	35.3	17	29.8	32	39.0
	Total Disagree	**77**	**55.4**	**35**	**61.4**	**42**	**51.2**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	45	32.4	12	21.1	33	40.2
	Agree	13	9.4	9	15.8	4	4.9
	Strongly Agree	4	2.9	1	1.8	3	3.7
	Total Agree	**17**	**12.2**	**10**	**17.5**	**7**	**8.5**
	Totals	**139**	**100.0**	**57**	**100.0**	**82**	**100.0**
Shared Perceptions (The regeneration officers and I view things in a similar way)	Strongly Disagree	11	8.0	9	16.4	2	2.4
	Disagree	22	15.9	10	18.2	12	14.5
	Total Disagree	**33**	**23.9**	**19**	**34.5**	**14**	**16.9**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	78	56.5	20	36.4	58	69.9
	Agree	19	13.8	11	20.0	8	9.6
	Strongly Agree	8	5.8	5	9.1	3	3.6
	Total Agree	**27**	**19.6**	**16**	**29.1**	**11**	**13.3**
	Totals	**138**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**
Shared Priorities (The regeneration officers and I have shared priorities)	Strongly Disagree	14	10.1	10	18.2	4	4.8
	Disagree	22	15.9	10	18.2	12	14.5
	Total Disagree	**36**	**26.1**	**20**	**36.4**	**16**	**19.3**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	78	56.5	20	36.4	58	69.9
	Agree	18	13.0	12	21.8	6	7.2
	Strongly Agree	6	4.3	3	5.5	3	3.6
	Total Agree	**24**	**17.4**	**15**	**27.3**	**9**	**10.8**
	Totals	**138**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**
Understanding Residents' Concerns (The regeneration officers understand my concerns regarding the project)	Strongly Disagree	15	10.9	6	10.9	9	10.8
	Disagree	24	17.4	10	18.2	14	16.9
	Total Disagree	**39**	**28.3**	**16**	**29.1**	**23**	**27.7**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	67	48.6	20	36.4	47	56.6
	Agree	21	15.2	12	21.8	9	10.8
	Strongly Agree	**11**	**8.0**	**7**	**12.7**	**4**	**4.8**
	Total Agree	**32**	**23.2**	**19**	**34.5**	**13**	**15.7**
	Totals	**138**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**

Table E9 Frequencies for Other Trust Variables

Variable (Item)	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
I trust the regeneration officers working on the project	Strongly Disagree	10	7.1	6	10.9	4	4.7
	Disagree	21	14.9	11	20.0	10	11.6
	Total Disagree	**31**	**22.0**	**17**	**30.9**	**14**	**16.3**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	72	51.1	22	40.0	50	58.1
	Agree	28	19.9	9	16.4	19	22.1
	Strongly Agree	10	7.1	7	12.7	3	3.5
	Total Agree	**38**	**27.0**	**16**	**29.1**	**22**	**25.6**
	Totals	**141**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**86**	**100.0**
Dispositional Trust (In general, most people are trustworthy)	Strongly Disagree	5	3.6	0	0.0	5	5.9
	Disagree	19	13.6	7	12.7	12	14.1
	Total Disagree	**24**	**17.1**	**7**	**12.7**	**17**	**20.0**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	43	30.7	21	38.2	22	25.9
	Agree	63	45.0	21	38.2	42	49.4
	Strongly Agree	10	7.1	6	10.9	4	4.7
	Total Agree	**73**	**52.1**	**27**	**49.1**	**46**	**54.1**
	Totals	**140**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**85**	**100.0**
Perceived SEI (Being trustworthy is important to the regeneration officers)	Strongly Disagree	6	4.3	4	7.3	2	2.4
	Disagree	8	5.8	3	5.5	5	6.0
	Total Disagree	**14**	**10.1**	**7**	**12.7**	**7**	**8.4**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	56	40.6	18	32.7	38	45.8
	Agree	44	31.9	22	40.0	22	26.5
	Strongly Agree	24	17.4	8	14.5	16	19.3
	Total Agree	**68**	**49.3**	**30**	**54.5**	**38**	**45.8**
	Totals	**138**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**83**	**100.0**
Trust in the Council (I trust [Hammersmith & Fulham Borough/Gateshead] Council)	Strongly Disagree	15	10.5	9	15.8	6	7.0
	Disagree	28	19.6	13	22.8	15	17.4
	Total Disagree	**43**	**30.1**	**22**	**38.6**	**21**	**24.4**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	41	28.7	9	15.8	32	37.2
	Agree	44	30.8	18	31.6	26	30.2
	Strongly Agree	15	10.5	8	14.0	7	8.1
	Total Agree	**59**	**41.3**	**26**	**45.6**	**33**	**38.4**
	Totals	**143**	**100.0**	**57**	**100.0**	**86**	**100.0**
I trust the developers [Capital and Counties] working on the regeneration project	Strongly Disagree	12	8.5	10	18.2	2	2.3
	Disagree	24	17.0	12	21.8	12	14.0

	Total Disagree	**36**	**25.5**	**22**	**40.0**	**14**	**16.3**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	62	44.0	19	34.5	43	50.0
	Agree	35	24.8	9	16.4	26	30.2
	Strongly Agree	8	5.7	5	9.1	3	3.5
	Total Agree	**43**	**30.5**	**14**	**25.5**	**29**	**33.7**
	Totals	**141**	**100.0**	**55**	**100.0**	**86**	**100.0**
Trust in Residents (I trust most of the other residents who live in the area)	Strongly Disagree	5	3.5	1	1.8	4	4.7
	Disagree	18	12.6	3	5.3	15	17.4
	Total Disagree	**23**	**16.1**	**4**	**7.0**	**19**	**22.1**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	48	33.6	21	36.8	27	31.4
	Agree	54	37.8	19	33.3	35	40.7
	Strongly Agree	18	12.6	13	22.8	5	5.8
	Total Agree	**72**	**50.3**	**32**	**56.1**	**40**	**46.5**
	Totals	**143**	**100.0**	**57**	**100.0**	**86**	**100.0**
I trust the residents who are members of the steering group (WKGG Steering Company)	Strongly Disagree	N/A		6	10.5	N/A	
	Disagree			3	5.3		
	Total Disagree			**9**	**15.8**		
	Neither Agree nor Disagree			24	42.1		
	Agree			18	31.6		
	Strongly Agree			6	10.5		
	Total Agree			**24**	**42.1**		
	Totals			**57**	**100.0**		
I trust the residents who attend the West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA (WKGG Community Homes) meetings	Strongly Disagree	N/A		4	7.0	N/A	
	Disagree			4	7.0		
	Total Disagree			**8**	**14.0**		
	Neither Agree nor Disagree			17	29.8		
	Agree			22	38.6		
	Strongly Agree			10	17.5		
	Total Agree			**32**	**56.1**		
	Totals			**57**	**100.0**		

Table E10 Frequencies for Willingness to Participate

Item	Response	Total		WKGG		Dunston	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
I am willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event regarding the regeneration project	Strongly Disagree	5	3.6%	3	5.5%	2	2.4%
	Disagree	8	5.7%	4	7.3%	4	4.7%
	Total Disagree	**13**	**9.3%**	**7**	**12.7%**	**6**	**7.1%**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	31	22.1%	9	16.4%	22	25.9%
	Agree	67	47.9%	22	40.0%	45	52.9%
	Strongly Agree	29	20.7%	17	30.9%	12	14.1%
	Total Agree	**96**	**68.6%**	**39**	**70.9%**	**57**	**67.1%**
	Totals	**140**	**100.0%**	**55**	**100.0%**	**85**	**100.0%**
I am willing to complete a questionnaire or consultation document expressing my views on the regeneration project	Strongly Disagree	3	2.1%	2	3.5%	1	1.2%
	Disagree	6	4.2%	4	7.0%	2	2.4%
	Total Disagree	**9**	**6.3%**	**6**	**10.5%**	**3**	**3.5%**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	15	10.6%	3	5.3%	12	14.1%
	Agree	86	60.6%	28	49.1%	58	68.2%
	Strongly Agree	32	22.5%	20	35.1%	12	14.1%
	Total Agree	**118**	**83.1%**	**48**	**84.2%**	**70**	**82.4%**
	Totals	**142**	**100.0%**	**57**	**100.0%**	**85**	**100.0%**
I am willing to have a conversation with a regeneration officer regarding the project	Strongly Disagree	4	2.9%	2	3.6%	2	2.4%
	Disagree	10	7.1%	4	7.3%	6	7.1%
	Total Disagree	**14**	**10.0%**	**6**	**10.9%**	**8**	**9.4%**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	37	26.4%	9	16.4%	28	32.9%
	Agree	65	46.4%	25	45.5%	40	47.1%
	Strongly Agree	24	17.1%	15	27.3%	9	10.6%
	Total Agree	**89**	**63.6%**	**40**	**72.7%**	**49**	**57.6%**
	Totals	**140**	**100.0%**	**55**	**100.0%**	**85**	**100.0%**
I am willing to join the steering group for the regeneration project	Strongly Disagree	9	6.4%	6	10.9%	3	3.5%
	Disagree	37	26.4%	16	29.1%	21	24.7%
	Total Disagree	**46**	**32.9%**	**22**	**40.0%**	**24**	**28.2%**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	52	37.1%	15	27.3%	37	43.5%
	Agree	29	20.7%	10	18.2%	19	22.4%
	Strongly Agree	13	9.3%	8	14.5%	5	5.9%
	Total Agree	**42**	**30.0%**	**18**	**32.7%**	**24**	**28.2%**
	Totals	**140**	**100.0%**	**55**	**100.0%**	**85**	**100.0%**
	Strongly Disagree	7	5.0%	6	10.7%	1	1.2%
	Disagree	14	9.9%	5	8.9%	9	10.6%

I am willing to attend a [West Kensington and Gibbs Green TRA/resident] meeting regarding the regeneration project	**Total Disagree**	**21**	**14.9%**	**11**	**19.6%**	**10**	**11.8%**
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	36	25.5%	11	19.6%	25	29.4%
	Agree	59	41.8%	17	30.4%	42	49.4%
	Strongly Agree	25	17.7%	17	30.4%	8	9.4%
	Total Agree	**84**	**59.6%**	**34**	**60.7%**	**50**	**58.8%**
	Totals	**141**	**100.0%**	**56**	**100.0%**	**85**	**100.0%**

Appendix F Recoding Responses and Collapsing Items

The education variable was dichotomised into 'graduates' and 'non-graduates', collapsing four categories into a more manageable dichotomy, which it was felt still captured the educational attainment of respondents. Ethnicity was vastly reduced from the 18 response options to two categories - white and non-white. Whilst this is a very crude recoding of the data, the theoretical basis upon which the inclusion of ethnicity in the questionnaire rests means it does not prevent the statistical analysis from supporting or discrediting the theory. Its inclusion is based upon the potential for minority groups to participate less due to perceived institutional discrimination. This does not rely on distinctions *between* minority ethnicities. It instead simply suggests that those who do not belong to a white ethnicity will be more likely to perceive potential discrimination in participatory processes and not participate (see Lubell *et al.* 2006).

The recoding of the economic activity variable was more complex. Free time was the original concept which the questionnaire aimed to measure in this item, using economic activity as a proxy. It was challenging to make the qualitative judgements implicit in this categorisation process, which begged questions about the nature of 'free' time itself. It is fully acknowledged that these interpretations, upon which the distinctions between categories are based, are not absolute. There is no doubt that the categorisations explained here can be debated at length and many alternatives suggested. The following explanation hopes not only to describe the process but also to justify the rationale behind it.

The 12 responses were reduced to three: time-poor; time-restricted; and time-rich (see Table F1). The premise upon which classification was based was the extent to which respondents' time was *necessarily* accounted for in the situations described in each response. The only category contained within the time-poor group was the 'full time employment' response. It was felt that as this option appears to suggest that work accounts for approximately 35 hours or more of a resident's time per week, free time would be inherently more limited than any of the other situations *necessarily* describe. Most of the other responses were categorised into the 'time restricted' group, although maternity leave and looking after home were not (solely) selected by any respondent. These responses appear to communicate clear restrictions on the amount of free time a resident is likely to have, whilst none *categorically* suggest a burden which would be comparable to that of full-time employment. Equally, none reflect an absence of time-restricting factors by definition. For example, whilst unemployment might be considered a 'time rich' situation, definitions of unemployment can include reference to the active seeking of work opportunities and this may be reflected in residents' responses (ILO 2013). The exception is 'other' which was added to this category simply because it was seen to be better than collapsing it into the poles of time-rich and time-poor. The 'time-rich' grouping contained the remaining response of retired. Only this option was not

thought to indicate inherent restrictions on a respondents' free time. Indeed, the response of retirement alone communicates an inherent lack of time restrictions. It is however acknowledged that there may be wide variation in the amount of free time truly available to retirees to participate in a regeneration project.

Table F1 - Recoding the Economic Activity Item into Free Time

Time Poor	Time Restricted	Time Rich
Full-time Employed	Self-employed	Retired
	Part-time employed	
	Unemployed	
	Maternity Leave	
	Looking after family	
	Looking after home	
	Full-time student	
	Long term sick/disabled	
	Government training scheme	
	Other	

It was notable that some respondents, despite the instructions to do otherwise, selected more than one option in response to this 'circumstances' question. Some residents could obviously be in part-time employment and also be responsible for looking after their family, for example. This further highlights the complexities involved in operationalising free time as economic activity in the questionnaire. For other questionnaire items (other than education) it was decided that multiple responses for the same question would be recorded simply as missing. However, for the economic activity item it was decided that some interpretation would be applied for such cases in an attempt to categorise respondents into one of the three groups described above. For instance, if a resident selected two options from within the same 'time' category then this caused no issue - they were simply classified as being within this group. However if two selections were made from different categories then the response was recoded into the group relevant for the most time-demanding response selected. For example, a case involving the selection of both 'looking after family' (time restricted) and 'retired' (time rich) would be recoded as 'time restricted'. It seems reasonable to suggest that situations which are deemed to restrict time will do so further when added to any less time restricting factors. In other words, a respondent does not communicate the presence of more free time by selecting more options. This categorisation of free time also had the practical advantage of creating groups which were not too dissimilarly sized.

As well as collapsing and recoding items' response categories, several items themselves were amalgamated to create new variables. All five of the "perceived impact of future participation" items were taken together to create one "overall future perceived impact of participation" variable. If the respondent had selected "yes" for at least one of the five forms of participation they were categorised as "some perceived future impact". If they selected no or don't know for all of them, they were classified as "no perceived future impact". This reduced the answers from five items into just one. An "overall perceived impact

of past participation" variable was also created to show the proportion of respondents who participated in at least one way and who felt that their participation through at least one of these methods had resulted in an impact on the project. This variable amalgamated the responses from two questions across the five forms of participation. Residents who responded that they had not participated in any form of participation in the past were classified as "never participated". Those who had selected "Yes" for at least one form of participation regarding impact were classified as "At least some perceived impact". Respondents who perceived no impact from any of the forms of participation previously engaged in or answered "don't know" were categorised as "no perceived impact" (Table F2). This hence turned a resident's ten answers into just one response. In both amalgamations SPSS's syntax function was used. For both variables it is acknowledged that, similar to other variables, this process treats those who are unsure of their feelings the same as those who believe there was no impact.

Table F2 Collapsing Previous Participation Items into One Variable

Previous Participation	**Perceived Impact of Previous Impact of Participation**	**New Response in the "Overall Perceived Past Participation Variable"**
Engaged in 1+ Forms of Participation	Impact in 1+ forms of Participation	At Least Some Perceived Impact (2)
Engaged in 1+ Forms of Participation	No Impact in any Forms of Participation/Don't Know	No Perceived Impact (1)
None	-	Never Participated (0)

The rationale behind the amalgamations for the two participation variables is twofold. Firstly, it was thought the association between the perceived efficacy of forms of participation and residents' willingness to participate in that way would not be so simply linked. A high perceived efficacy of previous attendance at an exhibition may not only influence one's willingness to participate in this way in the future, but also their willingness to speak to an officer, for instance. Residents may be more likely to have a general view as to the efficacy of their past and future participation. Secondly, practical issues also influenced the decision. There was a great desire to reduce the number of categories and variables significantly in order to increase the likelihood of achieving statistically significant results. It is important to acknowledge one of the flaws of this categorisation. It categorises a resident who reported perceived efficacy in *one form* of participation and another resident who

reported perceived efficacy in *all five forms* of participation in the same way: some perceived impact.

Two of the other new variables created were 'perceived benefits of participation' and 'perceived efficacy of regeneration'. Table F3 shows which items were collapsed together. The former is made up of the three items included in the questionnaire which asked about some potentially exclusive benefits of participating. All aim to assess the respondents' belief in the ability to gain individual benefits through participation. The new "perceived benefits of participation" variable was created by first dichotomising the constituent individual items as described above. The unsure and disagreement responses were recoded as 0 whilst the two agreement responses were recoded as 1. The scores for each of the three items are then summed for each case. This created an overall perceived benefits score of between 0 and 3 for each respondent. However, there were very few cases which had scores of 2 or 3, as shown in Table F4. Thus, these two categories were collapsed into one: high perceived individual benefits. Three response categories remained: no perceived individual benefits (0); low perceived individual benefits (1); and high perceived individual benefits (2).

Table F3 Collapsing Items into the Perceived Regeneration Efficacy and Perceived Participation Benefits Variables

Perceived Regeneration Efficacy	**Perceived Participation Benefits**
Regeneration projects have the potential to improve the quality of areas	Participating in the regeneration project will provide me with better quality accommodation
Regeneration projects have the potential to disrupt communities	Participating in the regeneration project will prevent my home from being demolished
	Participating in the regeneration project will improve my personal financial situation

Table F4 Perceived Benefits Reclassification Frequency Raw

Perceived Benefits		
Response	Frequency	(Valid) Percent
No Benefits	84	60.0
Low Benefits	33	23.6
High Benefits	23	16.4
Total	140	100.0
Missing	4	
Total	144	

The new 'perceived efficacy of regeneration' variable was created slightly differently. The two items from which it was created offer a positive and

negative view of the efficacy of regeneration programmes. The first considers their capacity to improve areas, the second their potential to disrupt the lives of the people who live there. The two statements are not mutually exclusive, so it seems reasonable that both taken together might communicate respondents' overall opinion of regeneration projects as an effective policy tool. To combine them each variable was dichotomised as described above. Then for each case a respondent's number for the 'disrupt' item was taken away from the figure for the 'improve' item. This resulted in three possible resulting 'scores': -1 - labelled a negative view of regeneration's efficacy; 0 - labelled a neutral perception; and 1 - labelled a positive opinion. Table F5 shows the frequencies for the new perceived regeneration efficacy variable.

Whilst effective at reducing the number of variables, it is important to acknowledge this method's flaws. The major assumption made is that the original items have the same weighting on the final variable. It also assumes that there are no other constituents of the final variable. Finally it is also important to remember the original dichotomisation. For example, the response categories for the perceived regeneration efficacy suggest that selecting two 'don't know' responses, one 'don't know' and one 'strongly disagree', and two 'strongly disagree' options all communicate the same opinion - they are all now categorised as 'neutral efficacy'.

Table F5 Frequencies for the New Perceived Regeneration Efficacy Variable

Regeneration Efficacy		
Response	Frequency	(Valid) Percent
Poor Efficacy	20	14.1
Neutral Efficacy	72	50.7
Good Efficacy	50	35.2
Total	142	100.0
Missing	2	
Total	144	

Appendix G Further Information on Quantitative Analysis

Bivariate Analysis

Bivariate analysis between 16 explanatory and extraneous variables and the five outcome variables was conducted using the chi-square test. The strength of association was assessed using either Phi or Cramér's V. Phi was used when the contingency table was two by two - in other words when there were two categories for each of the two variables. If there were three or more categories for at least one variable then Cramér's V was used. Phi varies from -1 to 1 and indicates both the strength and direction of association. Cramér's V varies from 0 to 1 and indicates only the strength of the relationship between the two variables.

Issues Encountered for the Questionnaire/Consultation Document Outcome Variable during Bivariate Analysis

Crosstabulations with the questionnaire/consultation document variable for both perceived officer ability and perceived officer representativeness showed 20 per cent of cells or more had an expected count of less than five. This problem results when there is too little data or when there is incomplete data for certain variables. The result is that there is therefore not enough data to explore every combination of variables properly and the prospective relationship is unreliable. Thus, unfortunately, the relationship between these variables could not be properly determined and so it was not reported. Furthermore, perceived officer ability and representativeness were excluded in the logistic regression modelling for the questionnaire/consultation document outcome variable.

Logistic Regression Analysis

Logistic regression analysis works by producing "odds ratios" for every category within each explanatory (and extraneous) variable. Unlike in linear multiple regression, each odds ratio is by definition a comparison to another category within the same variable. The category to which every other category is compared is known as the "reference group". The reference groups were selected before regression analysis was conducted and for ease were set to be the "first" category within each variable. In other words, categories labelled as "0" formed the reference group to which every other category was compared.

Two models were created for each outcome variable. The first utilised the "enter" method of logistic regression, where all the explanatory and extraneous variables are entered into the model in one go. These are the "main effects" models. The final, improved model for each outcome variable was produced using the backwards stepwise method. This is where all the variables

are entered together in the beginning, but then are slowly removed one by one in order to determine the most parsimonious model which best fits the data.

Checking for Multicollinearity

Multicollinearity occurs when two or more explanatory or extraneous variables exhibit strong correlation with one another. This makes it difficult to determine which predictor is genuinely important in relation to the outcome variable (Field 2009). For this study, the five main effects models were checked for multicollinearity by applying four tests:

- Do any of the variables correlate with one another very strongly? (Field 2009)
- Do any of the variables possess a tolerance level of less than 0.2? (Menard 1995, cited in Field 2009)
- Do any of the variables possess a variance inflation factor (VIF) of more than 10? (Myers 1990, cited in Field 2009)
- Are any of the condition indexes in the collinearity diagnostics output considerably higher than the others? (Field 2009)

A correlation matrix revealed that the variables exhibiting the strongest correlation were the three trustworthiness dimension variables (Table G1). Whilst the correlation was strong, it did not cause concern; Field (2009) suggests very high correlations of over 0.8 can be evidence of multicollinearity. The application of the three subsequent tests also suggested that no multicollinearity was present for the five main effects models (Tables G2-G11). However, an issue was identified for the willingness to have a conversation with an officer variable. Two variables – perceived officer receptivity and perceived officer representativeness – displayed exceptionally high standard errors (see Table I4 later), which can suggest multicollinearity or other problems. The decision was taken to run two different models using the backwards stepwise method. The first did not include the perceived officer receptivity variable whereas the second omitted perceived officer representativeness.

Multicollinearity was not found to be an issue for the five final models. For two models - willingness to attend an exhibition or drop-in event and willingness to complete a questionnaire or consultation document – only one explanatory variable remained in the final model, ruling out multicollinearity. The other three models all passed the tests outlined above (Tables G12-G17).

Table G1 Correlation Matrix for Trustworthiness Dimension Variables

		Perceived Officer Receptivity	Perceived Officer Ability	Perceived Officer Representativeness
Perceived Officer Receptivity	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.722**	.675**
	N	131	128	131
Perceived Officer Ability	Correlation Coefficient	.722**	1.000	.635**
	N	128	134	133
Perceived Officer Representativeness	Correlation Coefficient	.675**	.635**	1.000
	N	131	133	136

Table G2 Tolerances and VIFs for the Main Effects Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event Model

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Officer Receptivity	.303	3.303
Perceived Officer Ability	.341	2.933
Perceived Officer Representativeness	.333	3.001
Perceived SEI	.568	1.761
Dispositional Trust	.612	1.633
Trust in Council	.676	1.479
Trust in Residents	.589	1.698
Perceived Benefits	.706	1.416
Regeneration Efficacy	.725	1.379
Satisfaction	.611	1.638
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.553	1.808
Perceived Impact Overall of Future Participation	.745	1.342
Ethnicity	.772	1.295
Free Time	.833	1.200
Education	.721	1.387
Gender	.797	1.254

Table G3 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for the Main Effects Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	9.319	1.000
2	1.429	2.554
3	1.066	2.957
4	.838	3.334
5	.769	3.482
6	.540	4.153
7	.498	4.324
8	.478	4.417
9	.400	4.827
10	.352	5.148
11	.310	5.479
12	.267	5.907
13	.240	6.227
14	.174	7.319
15	.145	8.018
16	.115	8.994
17	.059	12.565

Table G4 Tolerances and VIFs for the Main Effects Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document Model

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Officer Receptivity	.313	3.198
Perceived Officer Ability	.341	2.932
Perceived Officer Representativeness	.335	2.983
Perceived SEI	.569	1.758
Dispositional Trust	.606	1.649
Trust in Council	.687	1.456
Trust in Residents	.578	1.731
Perceived Benefits	.716	1.396
Regeneration Efficacy	.747	1.339
Satisfaction	.598	1.672
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.553	1.809
Perceived Impact Overall of Future Participation	.745	1.342
Ethnicity	.756	1.323
Free Time	.837	1.195
Education	.717	1.395
Gender	.801	1.248

Table G5 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for the Main Effects Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	9.306	1.000
2	1.429	2.552
3	1.097	2.913
4	.830	3.348
5	.783	3.447
6	.534	4.176
7	.491	4.355
8	.480	4.403
9	.387	4.902
10	.352	5.143
11	.309	5.489
12	.267	5.900
13	.237	6.271
14	.179	7.219
15	.145	8.012
16	.117	8.936
17	.058	12.627

Table G6 Tolerances and VIFs for the Main Effects Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer Model

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Officer Receptivity	.313	3.196
Perceived Officer Ability	.339	2.947
Perceived Officer Representativeness	.336	2.975
Perceived SEI	.551	1.815
Dispositional Trust	.610	1.638
Trust in Council	.668	1.497
Trust in Residents	.576	1.736
Perceived Benefits	.705	1.418
Regeneration Efficacy	.747	1.339
Satisfaction	.597	1.674
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.563	1.777
Perceived Impact Overall of Future Participation	.745	1.342
Ethnicity	.764	1.310
Free Time	.831	1.203
Education	.722	1.384
Gender	.813	1.230

Table G7 Eigenvalues and VIFs for the Main Effects Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	9.331	1.000
2	1.433	2.552
3	1.083	2.936
4	.833	3.346
5	.780	3.459
6	.540	4.156
7	.490	4.364
8	.485	4.387
9	.392	4.880
10	.345	5.197
11	.293	5.646
12	.261	5.978
13	.233	6.322
14	.180	7.200
15	.145	8.010
16	.117	8.913
17	.058	12.682

Table G8 Tolerances and VIFs for the Main Effects Willingness to Join a Steering Group Model

Variables	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Officer Receptivity	.316	3.164
Perceived Officer Ability	.353	2.835
Perceived Officer Representativeness	.350	2.860
Perceived SEI	.579	1.726
Dispositional Trust	.612	1.635
Trust in Council	.695	1.439
Trust in Residents	.591	1.691
Perceived Benefits	.729	1.371
Regeneration Efficacy	.737	1.358
Satisfaction	.608	1.644
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.555	1.801
Perceived Impact Overall of Future Participation	.750	1.333
Ethnicity	.749	1.335
Free Time	.835	1.198
Education	.717	1.394
Gender	.791	1.265

Table G9 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for the Main Effects Willingness to Join a Steering Group Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	9.176	1.000
2	1.446	2.519
3	1.069	2.930
4	.852	3.282
5	.804	3.378
6	.558	4.057
7	.510	4.240
8	.497	4.295
9	.393	4.831
10	.356	5.076
11	.316	5.385
12	.271	5.815
13	.243	6.141
14	.181	7.124
15	.151	7.807
16	.118	8.814
17	.057	12.647

Table G10 Tolerances and VIFs for the Main Effects Willingness to Attend a TRA/Resident Meeting Model

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Officer Receptivity	.320	3.129
Perceived Officer Ability	.352	2.841
Perceived Officer Representativeness	.348	2.873
Perceived SEI	.574	1.741
Dispositional Trust	.611	1.637
Trust in Council	.697	1.434
Trust in Residents	.584	1.712
Perceived Benefits	.729	1.372
Regeneration Efficacy	.752	1.329
Satisfaction	.599	1.669
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.555	1.801
Perceived Impact Overall of Future Participation	.754	1.326
Ethnicity	.738	1.356
Free Time	.838	1.194
Education	.707	1.415
Gender	.796	1.256

Table G11 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for the Main Effects Willingness to Attend a TRA/Resident Meeting Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	9.166	1.000
2	1.456	2.509
3	1.115	2.867
4	.845	3.293
5	.789	3.408
6	.547	4.094
7	.509	4.245
8	.489	4.329
9	.386	4.871
10	.358	5.058
11	.317	5.381
12	.273	5.795
13	.241	6.173
14	.183	7.082
15	.150	7.812
16	.118	8.796
17	.057	12.698

Table G12 Tolerance and VIFs for Variables in the Two Final Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer Models

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived SEI	.744	1.345
Generalised Trust Binary	.863	1.158
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.824	1.213
Perceived Benefits	.773	1.294
Satisfaction	.758	1.319
Trust in Council	.735	1.361

Table G13 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for the Two Final Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer Models

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	4.672	1.000
2	.609	2.770
3	.480	3.120
4	.434	3.283
5	.354	3.635
6	.249	4.332
7	.203	4.794

Table G14 Tolerance and VIFs for Variables in the Final Willingness to Join a Steering Group Model

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.991	1.009
Trust in Residents	.991	1.009

Table G15 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for Variables in the Final Willingness to Join a Steering Group Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	2.318	1.000
2	.448	2.275
3	.234	3.148

Table G16 Tolerance and VIFs for Variables in the Final Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting Model

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Perceived Officer Receptivity	.736	1.359
Perceived Impact Overall of Previous Participation	.726	1.377
Education	.971	1.030

Table G17 Eigenvalues and Condition Indexes for the Final Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting Model

Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index
1	2.966	1.000
2	.634	2.164
3	.247	3.469
4	.153	4.396

Considering Inconsistencies

It was noted that some variables exhibiting significant relationships in some of the final models had not been significantly associated with the respective outcome variable in the bivariate analysis. These were:

- Perceived previous impact of participation in the conversation model
- Perceived previous impact of participation in the TRA/resident meeting model
- Trust in other residents in the steering group model
- Education in the TRA/resident meeting model

This can be evidence for what is known as a "suppressor effect". This occurs "when a predictor has a significant effect but only when another variable is held constant" (Field 2009, p272). There were two reasons why this was less likely to be the explanation for the findings in this study:

- Backwards stepwise logistic regression analysis had been used rather than the forwards stepwise method, reducing the chances of suppressor effects (Field 2009)
- The final models had all been tested for excessive multicollinearity

It was noted that there were considerable reductions in the sample size from the bivariate to the logistic regression analysis due to missing data. This had a particular impact on this study due to the relatively small sample size initially obtained. It was also noted that the first three relationships listed above all had significance levels relatively close to the .05 threshold in their bivariate analyses (.067; .054; and .051 respectively). The researcher therefore considered the possibility that the changes in significance were due to changes in the cases included in the bivariate and multivariate analysis. This was tested by assessing the four bivariate relationships above for only those respondents who had answered every question required for them to be included in the relevant logistic regression model. It was found that when only selecting these cases all four relationships were statistically significant ($p<.05$).

It was therefore decided that the change in significance was due to the differences in data in the bivariate and logistic regression analyses and that the

four explanatory variables should be considered as having independent relationships with the outcome variable in the respective models.

Criticism of the Final Models Produced from Logistic Regression Analysis

The final models produced by the logistic regression analysis underwent criticism to check for outliers and cases which were exhibiting higher influence. This consisted of two steps:

- Identification of cases with Cooks Distances of over 1
- Identification of cases with Studentised Residuals greater than 2.5 or less than -2.5

Only one final model needed to be investigated further. The final willingness to attend an exhibition or drop-in event model contained four cases which met both criteria. These four residents went against the model's prediction: they possessed high perceptions of the impact of their previous participation overall yet were not willing to attend an exhibition or drop-in event. There was no reason to exclude these cases on these grounds and so the data for these residents remained and the model was not changed.

Appendix H Further Data on Bivariate Analysis

Table H1 Full Table of Statistically Significant Predictors of Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

(Explanatory) Variable	Chi-Square Test Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Significance	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	7.259	2	0.027	V = 0.237
Perceived Officer Representativeness	8.256	2	0.016	V = 0.249
Overall Perceived Impact of Previous Participation	7.224	2	0.027	V = 0.238
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	7.814	1	0.005	Phi = 0.239
Satisfaction with the area	3.929	1	0.047	Phi = 0.168
Trust in Council	6.565	1	0.01	Phi = 0.217
Trust in Residents	4.773	1	0.029	Phi = 0.185

Table H2 Crosstabulation for Primary Significant Relationships with Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

			Other	Willing to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event	Total
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	Count	24	32	56
		% within Receptivity	42.90%	57.10%	100.00%
	Low	Count	13	27	40
		% within Receptivity	32.50%	67.50%	100.00%
	High	Count	5	28	33
		% within Receptivity	15.20%	84.80%	100.00%
	Total	Count	42	87	129
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	Count	34	51	85
		% within Representativeness	40.00%	60.00%	100.00%
	Low	Count	5	18	23
		% within Representativeness	21.70%	78.30%	100.00%
	High	Count	3	22	25
		% within Representativeness	12.00%	88.00%	100.00%
	Total	Count	42	91	133

Table H3 Trust in Local Council and Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

			Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or drop in Event		Total
			Other	Willing	
Trust Council	Other	Count	33	50	83
		% of Other	39.8%	60.2%	100.0%
	Trust	Count	11	46	57
		% of Trusting	19.3%	80.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	44	96	140

Table H4 – Trust in Other Residents and Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

			Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop in Event		Total
			Other	Willing	
Trust Other Residents	Other	Count	28	42	70
		% of Other	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Trust	Count	16	54	70
		% of Trusting	22.9%	77.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	44	96	140

Table H5 – Full Table of Statistically Significant Predictors of Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

(Explanatory) Variable	Chi-Square Test Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Significance	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Benefits of Participating	6.637	2	0.036	V = 0.218
Trust in Residents	5.014	1	0.025	Phi = 0.188

Table H6 Trust in Residents and Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

			Willingness to complete a questionnaire or consultation document		Total
			Other	Willing	
Trust Other Residents	Other	Count	17	54	71
		% of Other	23.9%	76.1%	100.0%
	Trust	Count	7	64	71
		% of Trusting	9.9%	90.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	24	118	142

Table H7 Full Table of Statistically Significant Predictors of Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

(Explanatory) Variable	Chi-Square Test Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Significance	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	14.178	2	0.001	V= 0.331
Perceived Officer Representativeness	6.037	2	0.049	V= 0.213
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	3.932	1	0.047	Phi = 0.169
Perceived Benefits of Participating	10.438	2	0.005	V = 0.275
Perceived Efficacy of Regeneration Projects	6.132	2	0.047	V = 0.21
Dispositional Trust	13.749	1	0	Phi = 0.317
Trust in Council	12.183	1	0	Phi = 0.295
Trust in Residents	6.94	1	0.008	Phi = 0.223

Table H8 Crosstabulation for Primary Significant Relationships with Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

			Other	Willing to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer	Total
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	Count	26	31	57
		% within Receptivity	45.60%	54.40%	100.00%
	Low	Count	19	21	40
		% within Receptivity	47.50%	52.50%	100.00%
	High	Count	3	29	32
		% within Receptivity	9.40%	90.60%	100.00%
	Total	Count	48	81	129
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	Count	37	49	86
		% within Representativeness	43.00%	57.00%	100.00%
	Low	Count	7	16	23
		% within Representativeness	30.40%	69.60%	100.00%
	High	Count	4	20	24
		% within Representativeness	16.70%	83.30%	100.00%
	Total	Count	48	85	133
Dispositional Trust	Other	Count	34	32	66
		% within Dispositional Trust	51.50%	48.50%	100.00%
	Trust	Count	15	56	71
		% within Dispositional Trust	21.10%	78.90%	100.00%
	Total	Count	49	88	137

Table H9 Trust in Council and Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

			Willingness to have a conversation with a regeneration officer		Total
			Other	Willing	
Trust Council	Other	Count	40	43	83
		% of Other	48.2%	51.8%	100.0%
	Trust	Count	11	46	57
		% of Trusting	19.3%	80.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	51	89	140

Table H10 Trust in Other Residents and Willingness to have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

			Willingness to have a conversation with a regeneration officer		Total
			Other	Willing	
Trust Other Residents	Other	Count	33	37	70
		% of Other	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
	Trust	Count	18	52	70
		% of Trusting	25.7%	74.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	51	89	140

Table H11 Full Table of Statistically Significant Predictors of Willingness to become a Member of a Steering Group

(Explanatory) Variable	Chi-Square Test Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Significance	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to become a Member of a Steering Group (Phi/Cramer's V)
Perceived Officer Receptivity	10.672	2	0.005	V = 0.228
Perceived Officer Ability	7.074	2	0.029	V = 0.232
Perceived Officer Representativeness	15.42	2	0	V = 0.34
Overall Perceived Impact of Previous Participation	16.548	2	0	V = 0.361
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	9.881	1	0.002	Phi = 0.269
Perceived Benefits of Participating	6.693	2	0.035	V = 0.22
Encapsulated Interests	4.972	1	0.026	Phi = 0.192

Table H12 Crosstabulation for Primary Significant Relationships with Willingness to Join a Steering Group

			Other	Willing to Join a Steering Group	Total
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	Count	44	12	56
		% within Receptivity	78.60%	21.40%	100.00%
	Low	Count	31	10	41
		% within Receptivity	75.60%	24.40%	100.00%
	High	Count	15	17	32
		% within Receptivity	46.90%	53.10%	100.00%
	Total	Count	90	39	129
Perceived Officer Ability	None	Count	68	20	88
		% within Ability	77.30%	22.70%	100.00%
	Low	Count	9	5	14
		% within Ability	64.30%	35.70%	100.00%
	High	Count	15	14	29
		% within Ability	51.70%	48.30%	100.00%
	Total	Count	92	39	131
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	Count	68	18	86
		% within Representativeness	79.10%	20.90%	100.00%
	Low	Count	16	7	23
		% within Representativeness	69.60%	30.40%	100.00%
	High	Count	9	15	24
		% within Representativeness	37.50%	62.50%	100.00%
	Total	Count	93	40	133
Perception that Officers think being Trustworthy is Important (SEI)	Other	Count	54	15	69
		% within SEI	78.30%	21.70%	100.00%
	SEI	Count	40	26	66
		% within SEI	60.60%	39.40%	100.00%
	Total	Count	94	41	135

Table H13 Full Table of Statistically Significant Predictors of Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting

(Explanatory) Variable	Chi-Square Test Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Significance	Strength of Relationship with Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting (Phi/Cramer's V)
Overall Perceived Impact of Future Participation	5.879	1	0.015	Phi = 0.206
Perceived Efficacy of Regeneration Projects	7.079	2	0.029	V = 0.225
Trust in Residents	4.672	1	0.031	Phi = 0.182

H14 Trust in Residents and Willingness to Attend a TRA/Residents Meeting

			Willingness to attend a resident meeting		Total
			Other	Willing	
Trust Other Residents	Other	Count	35	36	71
		% of Other	49.3%	50.7%	100.0%
	Trust	Count	22	48	70
		% of Trusting	31.4%	68.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	57	84	141

Table H15 Perceived Regeneration Efficacy and Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting

			Willingness to Attend a TRA or Resident Meeting		Total
			Other	Willing	
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	Count	3	17	20
		% within Regeneration Efficacy	15.0%	85.0%	100.0%
	Neutral Efficacy	Count	34	37	71
		% within Regeneration Efficacy	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%
	Good Efficacy	Count	19	30	49
		% within Regeneration Efficacy	38.8%	61.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	84	140

Appendix I Further Data on Multivariate Analysis

Table I1 Logistic Regression Analysis Main Effects Model: Willingness to Attend an Exhibition or Drop-in Event

Model Chi-Square = 25.69

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	0		.203	1.0		
	Low	1.036	.752	.168	2.819	.646	12.296
	High	-.900	1.622	.579	.407	.017	9.769
Perceived Officer Ability	None	0		.584	1.0		
	Low	1.511	1.548	.329	4.532	.218	94.144
	High	-.209	1.196	.861	.811	.078	8.449
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	0		.628	1.0		
	Low	.830	.943	.379	2.292	.361	14.564
	High	1.103	1.570	.482	3.013	.139	65.375
SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Perceived SEI	-.709	.773	.359	.492	.108	2.240
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	.110	.691	.874	1.116	.288	4.327
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.074	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	-.521	.770	.499	.594	.131	2.688
	Participated - some impact	2.395	1.355	.077	10.969	.770	156.259
Future Participation	Other	0			1.0		
	Some Perceived Impact	-.250	.684	.715	.779	.204	2.976
Gender	Male	0			1.0		
	Female	.124	.711	.862	1.132	.281	4.559
Education	Graduate	0			1.0		
	Non-Graduate	-.198	.699	.776	.820	.209	3.224
Free Time	Time Poor	0		.604	1.0		
	Time Restricted	.447	.644	.487	1.564	.443	5.522
	Time Rich	.808	.935	.387	2.244	.359	14.026
Ethnicity	White	0			1.0		
	Non-white	-.043	.787	.956	.957	.205	4.477
Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.235	1.0		
	Low Benefits	-.454	.812	.576	.635	.129	3.120
	High Benefits	1.772	1.200	.140	5.883	.560	61.755
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	0		.162	1.0		
	Neutral Efficacy	-.644	.903	.475	.525	.090	3.079

	Good Efficacy	.715	1.048	.495	2.045	.262	15.960
Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.213	.731	.770	1.238	.296	5.182
Trust in Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.657	.661	.320	1.930	.528	7.055
Trust in Residents	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.703	.724	.331	2.020	.489	8.343
Constant		-.084	1.384	.952	.919		

Table I2 – Logistic Regression Analysis Main Effects Model: Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

Model Chi-Square = 22.21

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	0		.253	1.0		
	Low	1.185	.851	.164	3.270	.617	17.334
	High	-.347	1.169	.767	.707	.071	6.987
SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Perceived SEI	-.634	.928	.495	.531	.086	3.270
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	1.074	.896	.231	2.926	.505	16.948
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.149	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	-2.097	1.411	.137	.123	.008	1.953
	Participated - some impact	-2.640	1.357	.052	.071	.005	1.019
Future Participation	Other	0			1.0		
	Some Perceived Impact	-.779	.782	.319	.459	.099	2.124
Gender	Male	0			1.0		
	Female	-.215	.794	.787	.807	.170	3.821
Education	Graduate	0			1.0		
	Non-Graduate	.334	.837	.690	1.397	.271	7.209
Free Time	Time Poor	0		.307	1.0		
	Time Restricted	.128	.757	.866	1.137	.258	5.008
	Time Rich	-1.453	1.044	.164	.234	.030	1.809
Ethnicity	White	0			1.0		
	Non-white	.370	.922	.688	1.448	.238	8.824
Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.226	1.0		
	Low Benefits	2.227	1.341	.097	9.274	.670	128.367
	High Benefits	.972	1.114	.383	2.644	.298	23.450
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	0		.133	1.0		
	Neutral Efficacy	-.428	1.063	.687	.652	.081	5.235
	Good Efficacy	1.434	1.343	.286	4.197	.302	58.368
Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-.683	.827	.409	.505	.100	2.556
Trust in Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.366	.805	.649	1.442	.298	6.984
Trust in Residents	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	1.478	.913	.105	4.383	.733	26.212
Constant		2.645	1.812	.144	14.087		

Table I3 Logistic Regression Analysis Final Model: Willingness to Complete a Questionnaire or Consultation Document

Model Chi-Square = 6.25

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	0		.092	1.0		
	Neutral Efficacy	-.581	.832	.485	.559	.109	2.859
	Good Efficacy	1.128	1.058	.286	3.091	.388	24.606
Constant		1.705	.769	.027	5.500		

Table I4 Logistic Regression Analysis Main Effects Model: Willingness to Have a Conversation with a Regeneration Officer

Model Chi-Square = 49.24

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	0		.307	1.0		
	Low	1.259	.820	.125	3.523	.706	17.569
	High	23.059	9638.051	.998	10336634216.721	.000	.
Perceived Officer Ability	None	0		.920	1.0		
	Low	-.688	1.732	.691	.503	.017	14.970
	High	-.123	1.560	.937	.884	.042	18.802
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	0		.922	1.0		
	Low	-.397	.986	.687	.672	.097	4.645
	High	-23.389	9638.051	.998	.000	.000	.
SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Perceived SEI	-1.636	.973	.093	.195	.029	1.310
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	2.640	.930	.005	14.006	2.263	86.683
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.019	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	.605	.903	.503	1.832	.312	10.744
	Participated - some impact	3.756	1.342	.005	42.772	3.083	593.356
Future Participation	Other	0			1.0		
	Some Perceived Impact	-1.088	.836	.193	.337	.065	1.735
Gender	Male	0			1.0		
	Female	-.074	.763	.923	.928	.208	4.145
Education	Graduate	0			1.0		
	Non-Graduate	.672	.819	.412	1.958	.393	9.747
Free Time	Time Poor	0		.076	1.0		
	Time Restricted	.759	.777	.328	2.136	.466	9.786
	Time Rich	-1.785	.970	.066	.168	.025	1.123
Ethnicity	White	0			1.0		

	Non-white	-.100	.878	.909	.905	.162	5.061
Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.071	1.0		
	Low Benefits	1.187	.911	.193	3.277	.549	19.545
	High Benefits	3.659	1.701	.031	38.813	1.384	1088.719
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	0		.140	1.0		
	Neutral Efficacy	-.590	.925	.524	.554	.090	3.400
	Good Efficacy	1.073	1.094	.327	2.925	.343	24.976
Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-1.594	.807	.048	.203	.042	.988
Trust in Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	2.055	.848	.015	7.804	1.482	41.090
Trust in Residents	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.360	.831	.665	1.434	.281	7.309
Constant		-1.597	1.556	.305	.203		

Table I5 Logistic Regression Analysis Main Effects Model: Willingness to Join a Steering Group

Model Chi-Square = 22.85

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	0		.886	1.0		
	Low	-.261	.718	.716	.770	.189	3.145
	High	.263	1.485	.860	1.300	.071	23.885
Perceived Officer Ability	None	0		.702	1.0		
	Low	-.681	1.495	.649	.506	.027	9.485
	High	-1.061	1.354	.433	.346	.024	4.919
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	0		.771	1.0		
	Low	-.104	.929	.911	.902	.146	5.570
	High	.901	1.512	.551	2.462	.127	47.667
SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Perceived SEI	.663	.724	.360	1.941	.470	8.022
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	.363	.693	.600	1.438	.370	5.588
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.256	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	-.354	.719	.623	.702	.171	2.875
	Participated - some impact	1.064	.878	.226	2.899	.518	16.218
Future Participation	Other	0			1.0		
	Some Perceived Impact	.451	.657	.493	1.570	.433	5.694
Gender	Male	0			1.0		
	Female	.705	.702	.315	2.024	.511	8.012
Education	Graduate	0			1.0		
	Non-Graduate	-.738	.625	.238	.478	.141	1.627
Free Time	Time Poor	0		.958	1.0		
	Time Restricted	-.163	.616	.791	.849	.254	2.843
	Time Rich	-.190	.879	.829	.827	.148	4.633
Ethnicity	White	0			1.0		
	Non-white	-.039	.702	.956	.962	.243	3.806

Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.842	1.0		
	Low Benefits	-.406	.783	.604	.666	.144	3.091
	High Benefits	.096	.892	.914	1.101	.192	6.324
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	0		.941	1.0		
	Neutral Efficacy	-.215	.996	.829	.807	.115	5.685
	Good Efficacy	-.018	1.044	.986	.982	.127	7.596
Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	-.729	.676	.281	.482	.128	1.814
Trust in Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.289	.621	.641	1.335	.395	4.509
Trust in Residents	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	1.147	.673	.088	3.148	.842	11.764
Constant		-1.733	1.432	.226	.177		

Table I6 Logistic Regression Analysis Main Effects Model: Willingness to Attend a TRA/Residents Meeting

Model Chi-Square = 37.79

Variable	Response	Coef	Standard Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.for Odds Ratio	
						Lower	Upper
Perceived Officer Receptivity	None	0		.016	1.0		
	Low	.276	.693	.691	1.317	.339	5.119
	High	-4.064	1.642	.013	.017	.001	.430
Perceived Officer Ability	None	0		.349	1.0		
	Low	1.647	1.409	.242	5.192	.328	82.147
	High	1.184	1.130	.295	3.269	.357	29.927
Perceived Officer Representativeness	None	0		.555	1.0		
	Low	.187	.895	.835	1.205	.209	6.966
	High	1.557	1.467	.288	4.745	.268	84.066
SEI	Other	0			1.0		
	Perceived SEI	-1.446	.715	.043	.235	.058	.955
Dispositional Trust	Other	0			1.0		
	Trust	.531	.692	.443	1.700	.438	6.605
Past Participation	Did not participate	0		.011	1.0		
	Participated - Other View	-.148	.719	.837	.862	.211	3.530
	Participated - some impact	3.886	1.439	.007	48.738	2.903	818.161
Future Participation	Other	0			1.0		
	Some Perceived Impact	-.700	.695	.314	.497	.127	1.938
Gender	Male	0			1.0		
	Female	.807	.690	.243	2.240	.579	8.664
Education	Graduate	.000			1.0		
	Non-Graduate	-1.339	.693	.053	.262	.067	1.019
Free Time	Time Poor	0		.515	1.0		
	Time Restricted	.640	.633	.312	1.896	.548	6.558
	Time Rich	.744	.891	.403	2.105	.367	12.061
Ethnicity	White	0			1.0		
	Non-white	-1.045	.856	.222	.352	.066	1.882
Perceived Benefits	No Benefits	0		.019	1.0		
	Low Benefits	-.866	.792	.274	.421	.089	1.984
	High Benefits	2.773	1.115	.013	16.005	1.798	142.456
Regeneration Efficacy	Poor Efficacy	0		.137	1.0		
	Neutral Efficacy	-2.093	1.087	.054	.123	.015	1.038
	Good Efficacy	-1.446	1.116	.195	.236	.026	2.098

Satisfaction	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.164	.679	.809	1.178	.311	4.459
Trust in Council	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.173	.616	.779	1.189	.356	3.974
Trust in Residents	Other	0			1.0		
	Yes	.698	.656	.287	2.010	.556	7.266
Constant		1.922	1.424	.177	6.837		