

THERE IS 'US' IN

Trust

A STUDY ABOUT THE ROLE OF TRUST IN
DUTCH URBAN LAND READJUSTMENT PROCESSES

Picture of the front page (pngimg.com, n.d.)

“There is ‘us’ in ‘trust’”

A study about the role of trust in Dutch urban land readjustment processes

Colofon

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根回し

nemawashi

Japanese / noun / noun or participle taking the aux. verb する

digging around the roots of a tree (before transplanting),
making necessary arrangements, laying the groundwork

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Apeldoorn, August 3 2018

This master thesis is about the role of trust in Dutch urban land readjustment processes. Currently, these processes are initiated and conducted on a voluntary basis by local governments as well as a wide range of other stakeholders, most notably land- and real estate owners. In Dutch, urban land readjustment processes are perceived by planning professionals as 'mensenwerk', literally translated to 'human work'. This means that soft skills and careful preparation are seen as essential to make them a success. In tandem with the Environment and Planning Act of 2021, with its bottom-up, integral and communicative approach, I saw a research about the role of trust relationships in spatial planning processes as relevant and fun to conduct.

There are several people I would like to thank for their support during this process. First of all, I thank dr. Abigail Friendly for her feedback that was valuable, straight-forward and honest. I have conducted this research during an internship at Kadaster (hereafter: land registry) in Apeldoorn. I thank my internship supervisor Marc van Geene for his feedback, assistance in approaching respondents and lovely stories about birds. I also thank Guido Kuijer for remembering me after my previous internship and giving me the opportunity to write my thesis at the land registry. Third, I thank the other colleagues from 'Ruimte & Advies' for involving me in their daily business and showing interest in me and my research.

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I hope you enjoy reading my thesis.

Sophie

Abstract

The Dutch housing market is under pressure and economic circumstances have improved. This creates new opportunities for spatial development, albeit with a different strategy than before the financial crisis. New market circumstances, a structural decline of municipal income and a dominant paradigm of inner city (re)development are factors that influence this change. The Environment and Planning Act, scheduled to take effect in 2021, emphasizes integral spatial development and positive encouragement of private initiatives. Trust and consensus prevail above an active land policy with a rigid frame of rules and guidelines. Urban land readjustment, a spatial instrument that emphasizes trading ownership rights to land, is perceived as a new addition to the spatial toolbox that complies with the ideas of this law.

This research is an exploration of how stakeholders, with a focus on land- and real estate owners and the municipality, form trust relationships and make formal- as well as informal arrangements for cooperation in the Dutch context of urban land readjustment. The purpose is to shed light on how trust between stakeholders is developed and collective action is undertaken (1) plus understand the influence of interpersonal-, institutional- and procedural trust on the different phases of an urban land readjustment (2). A thesis about the social- and behavioral side of urban land readjustment processes contributes to a research field in which the legal- and financial perspective prevail. It also contributes to identifying enabling institutions that foster collective action and explores the role of trust in relation to the concept of planning culture. On a societal level, this research offers insights about solving spatial questions in a bottom-up way and provides insights on which circumstances positively influence an urban land readjustment and where bottlenecks can arise in the face of local issues. An in-depth comparative case study is conducted for the cases of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West.

It is concluded that trust plays an important role in the complex and network-based processes of area development in Bodegraven and Helmond. Even though it is still uncertain whether urban land readjustments will take place, it can be concluded that interpersonal-, institutional- and procedural trust all play a role in uniting stakeholders and fostering cooperation. Different types of trust overlap in the interaction between stakeholders, but interpersonal trust relationships can be observed as dominant. Maintaining one voice; giving updates about big as well as small events; and focusing on the collective goal are examples that positively influence the establishment of trust and cooperation. Conflicts from the past; switches in positions by members of the project team; and combining an active and cooperative attitude with a vacancy regulation are examples of negative influences. It is also concluded that urban land readjustment processes can be seen as path dependent. Branching patterns of historical development, critical junctures and increasing returns or feedback loops that foster different kinds of cooperation illustrate this. In Bodegraven, informal arrangements for cooperation prevailed, while in Helmond a more formal approach generated better results.

While it is acknowledged that trust is an essential factor in Dutch urban land readjustment processes, it is not explicitly part of the process of generating support. Rather, trust is implicitly present in looking for the question behind a problem that is experienced and approaching stakeholders to share their wishes, concerns, and grudges. Making trust explicitly part of the process, giving incentives, and paying attention to the local culture of a place are practical recommendations that result from this research. Furthermore, this research confirms the finding by Li et al. (2018) that trust and risk aversion are characteristic of the Dutch planning culture.

Samenvatting

De Nederlandse huizenmarkt staat onder druk en economische omstandigheden zijn verbeterd. Dit creëert nieuwe kansen voor ruimtelijke ontwikkeling, maar wel met een andere strategie dan voor de financiële crisis. Nieuwe marktomstandigheden, een gemeentelijk inkomen dat structureel daalt en een dominant paradigma van binnenstedelijke (her)ontwikkeling zijn factoren die deze verandering beïnvloeden. De Omgevingswet, die naar verwachting in 2021 in zal gaan, benadrukt integrale ruimtelijke ontwikkeling en positieve aanmoediging van privaat initiatief. Vertrouwen en consensus prevaleren boven een actief grondbeleid met een strikt regelkader. Stedelijke herverkaveling, een ruimtelijk instrument dat focust op het ruilen van eigendomsrechten op land en vastgoed, wordt gezien als een nieuwe aanwinst voor de ruimtelijke gereedschapskist dat aansluit bij het gedachtegoed van de Omgevingswet.

Dit onderzoek is een verkenning van hoe belanghebbenden, met een focus op land- en vastgoedeigenaren en de gemeente, vertrouwensrelaties opbouwen en zowel formele- als informele overeenkomsten voor samenwerking sluiten in de Nederlandse context van stedelijke herverkaveling. Het doel is om licht te werpen op hoe vertrouwen tussen belanghebbenden zich ontwikkelt en gezamenlijke actie wordt ondernomen (1) plus het begrijpen van de invloed van vertrouwen tussen personen, instituties en in processen op de verschillende fasen van een stedelijke herverkaveling (2). Een scriptie over de sociale- en gedragskant van stedelijke herverkavelingsprocessen draagt bij aan een onderzoeksveld waarin de wettelijke en financiële perspectieven prevaleren. Het vormt ook een bijdrage aan het identificeren van instituties die gezamenlijke actie bevorderen en verkent de rol van vertrouwen in relatie tot het concept 'planning cultuur'. Op maatschappelijk niveau verstrekt dit onderzoek aanvullend inzicht over het oplossen van ruimtelijke vraagstukken vanuit de samenleving en over welke omstandigheden een stedelijke herverkaveling positief beïnvloeden of beperken in het licht van lokale kwesties. Een vergelijkende case study is uitgevoerd voor de stedelijke herverkavelingsprocessen in Bodegraven en Helmond Induma-West.

Geconcludeerd wordt dat vertrouwen een belangrijke rol speelt in de complexe en op netwerken gebaseerde processen van gebiedsontwikkeling in Bodegraven en Helmond Induma-West. Ook al is het nog onduidelijk of stedelijke herverkaveling daadwerkelijk zal plaatsvinden, kan geconcludeerd worden dat vertrouwen tussen personen, instituties en in processen een rol speelt in het bijeenbrengen van belanghebbenden en het faciliteren van samenwerking. Verschillende typen vertrouwen overlappen in de interactie tussen belanghebbenden, maar persoonlijke vertrouwensrelaties kunnen gezien worden als dominant. Eén stem, updates geven over grote en kleine gebeurtenissen en een focus op het collectieve doel zijn voorbeelden die het creëren van vertrouwen en samenwerking beïnvloeden. Conflicten uit het verleden, wisselingen in posities door leden van het projectteam en het combineren van een actieve- en coöperatieve houding met een leegstandverordening zijn voorbeelden van negatieve invloeden. Ook wordt geconcludeerd dat stedelijke herverkavelingsprocessen padafhankelijk zijn, vanwege vertakkende patronen van historische ontwikkeling, sleutelmomenten en positieve feedback die verschillende soorten samenwerking bevorderen. In Bodegraven prevaleren informele afspraken over samenwerking, terwijl in Helmond een formelere benadering effectiever was.

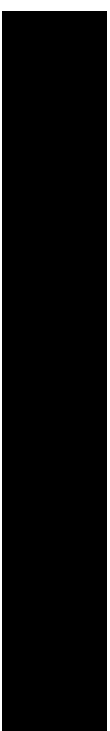
Vertrouwen wordt erkend als een essentiële factor in Nederlandse stedelijke herverkavelingsprocessen, maar is niet expliciet onderdeel van het proces om draagvlak te genereren. Vertrouwen is eerder impliciet aanwezig bij het zoeken naar de vraag achter een probleem dat wordt ervaren en in het benaderen van belanghebbenden om hun wensen, belangen en wrok te delen. Vertrouwen expliciet onderdeel maken van het proces, incentives of prikkels geven en het besteden van aandacht aan de lokale cultuur van een plaats zijn praktische aanbevelingen die voortvloeien uit dit onderzoek. Bovendien bevestigt dit onderzoek de bevinding van Li et al. (2018) dat de Nederlandse planning cultuur gekenmerkt wordt door vertrouwen en risico aversie.

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PART



I - Introduction

§1 - From 'no, unless' to 'yes, if'

Dutch dwellings have never been as expensive as today. In comparison to the lowest price level in June 2013, there has been an increase of 28 percent (Land Registry, 2018a). This has resulted in the highest price level ever observed in May 2018: higher than before the start of the global financial crises in 2008. Partly underlying this development is a housing shortage. Recently, the Dutch minister of the Interior and Kingdom Affairs and stakeholders from the building sector came to an agreement to build 75.000 houses yearly for the coming six years (Doodeman, 2018). The Dutch Council for the Living Environment (Raad voor de Leefomgeving or Rli) has however advised the minister to subordinate the 'big haste', that underlies this aim, to building neighborhoods that use at least renewable energy, and that are healthy, accessible and adapted to climate change. According to the Council, there is no 'quick fix' to solve the housing shortage.

Not only housing is under pressure in the Netherlands. Better economic circumstances in general create new challenges and opportunities for spatial development. Even though the Netherlands has presumably passed the peak of economic growth and political risks have increased internationally, it profits from a growing world trade and internal dynamic (CPB, 2018). Higher turnover, production and selling prices, coupled with a decrease in bankruptcies from 859 in 2012 to 275 in 2017 are examples of this (CBS, 2018a). Trust of entrepreneurs in the industrial sector has increased to a record of 10,9 percent in February 2018. Furthermore, growing consumption in general and changing consumption patterns in retail, such as 'fashion' and the use of 'smart data', have their impact on retail formulas in the Netherlands and their real estate (CBS, 2018a; Rabobank, 2018).

Meanwhile, Dutch governments have learned from active land policy and the influence of the financial crisis on the municipal budget. Acquiring land, preparing it for development and selling it to third parties does not generate enough profit anymore (Van der Krabben, 2011). New market circumstances, a structural decline of income and the dominant paradigm of inner city (re)development discourage the active land policy-strategy, which the Netherlands was once known for. Instead, policy strategies based on voluntary involvement are becoming the way to develop Dutch cities and their surroundings. In these strategies, trust and consensus prevail above a rigid frame of rules and guidelines. This new paradigm emphasizes a system in which spatial developments are increasingly initiated by private parties, instead of the government.

All these developments come together in the Environment and Planning Act, scheduled to become effective in the year 2021. Integral spatial development and positive encouragement of private initiatives, among others, characterize this law. Together, these ambitions may be defined as the 'yes-if'-principle, instead of the former 'no, unless' (Dutch National Government, 2018).

§2 - A new addition to the spatial toolbox

A spatial tool that follows the ideas of voluntary cooperation, trust and private initiative is called 'land readjustment'. In general, land readjustment can be described as an instrument which is used by landowners to pool, re-parcel, develop and subdivide land and real estate with their

corresponding ownership rights. It is a procedure in which most of the original owners keep their possessions, but the structure of boundaries and facilities within a chosen area are changed to improve for example efficiency, infrastructure, water management, and nature conservation (Larsson, 1997; Sorensen 1999). By transforming the area via this manner, a value increase for the land and real estate is realized. This may be used for the collective good, such as neighborhood facilities, or can be considered as a financial profit for the owners.

Almost 75% of all cultivated land in the Netherlands has been grouped, adjusted and subdivided (Land Registry, n.d.). Even though land readjustment in rural areas has been widely used in the Netherlands for over a hundred years and is embedded in law (this law is called 'Wilg'), urban land readjustment has only been recently discovered in the Dutch policy sphere (Holtslag-Broekhof, 2016). This variant is based on voluntary participation of land owners and results in a process in which trust, communication, cooperation, but also complexity, risk and uncertainty are central.

Therefore, several reports and articles have been published to explore the possibilities for embedding urban land readjustment in Dutch law. This may create more certainty, a swifter process and better financial prospects for the stakeholders involved (see for example Bregman & De Wolff, 2011; National Committee for Urban Land Readjustment, 2014a,b). In anticipation of the Environment and Planning Act, several pilot projects were initiated by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and the land registry (Bregman & Karens, 2017). A new group of pilots will follow in 2018. Still, the discussion about a voluntary versus an obligatory variant of the land readjustment instrument continues and will be relevant for the upcoming years in Dutch spatial planning.

§3 - Purpose and research questions

This research is about how stakeholders, with a focus on land- and real estate owners and the municipality, form trust relationships and make formal- as well as informal arrangements for cooperation that influence the different phases of an urban land readjustment process in the Dutch context. This thesis is written from the perspective of the current spatial governance debate about the urban land readjustment instrument with a focus on a dynamic perspective on trust and path dependency theory. The purpose of this research is twofold: to shed light on how trust between stakeholders is developed and collective action is undertaken (1) and learn from the influence of three types of trust on the different phases of an urban land readjustment (2). These three types are interpersonal-, institutional and procedural trust (Laurian, 2009). An attempt is made to provide insights on which circumstances positively influence an urban land readjustment and where bottlenecks can arise by researching two cases: the village center of Bodegraven and the business park of Helmond Induma-West. This may provide useful conclusions and recommendations to improve the current urban land readjustment instrument.

This purpose may be summarized in the following research question:

How can a dynamic perspective on trust combined with path dependency theory help to understand the role of trust and establishing cooperation between stakeholders in the urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West?

The research question is split up in three sub-questions:

1. What is known about the role of trust in spatial planning processes in general and land readjustment processes in particular?
2. How do different types of trust manifest themselves in the urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West?
3. How do these manifestations of trust and their corresponding dynamics lead to cooperation between stakeholders in the urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West?

Before delving deeper into the role of trust in the cases of Bodegraven and Helmond, it is important to understand the concept of trust and its relation to governance, path dependency, spatial planning processes and in particular urban land readjustment processes. This is the aim of the first sub-question, which consists of a literature review on trust in general and of trust in the spatial planning field specifically. A link is made to the international research field on urban land readjustment, while also acknowledging that every urban land readjustment process is different and is highly dependent on the economic-, social- and governance context of the country or area in question. Two chapters form the theoretical framework of this thesis and conclude with a conceptual framework.

The second sub-question forms the first part of the empirical analysis. In this chapter, the aim is to display the role of trust and path dependency in the cases of Bodegraven and Helmond. To provide a clear analysis of the dynamics of trust in these cases, the concept of trust is split up in three types: interpersonal (between individuals), institutional (between individuals and institutions) and procedural (trust in processes) (Laurian, 2009).

Acknowledging a mutual relationship between trust and cooperation, the third sub-question is aimed at explaining, once trust between stakeholders is established, how this leads to formal as well as informal types of cooperation. The empirical analysis concludes with a typology of the role of trust and path dependency, from which several conclusions and recommendations can be extracted to improve the urban land readjustment instrument in the Dutch context.

§4 - Relevance

Urban land readjustment is a relatively recent method in the Netherlands to solve spatial questions. Therefore, Alterman (2007) typifies urban land readjustment as 'the sleeping beauty', partly because it hasn't been widely used in Dutch spatial planning. The discussion about a regulation for urban land readjustment has resulted in a large body of research on the feasibility of urban land readjustment in a legal- and financial sense (see for example Needham, 2007; Van der Krabben and Needham, 2008; De Wolff, 2013; Muñoz Gielen, 2016 and Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018a). The observation that most research is legally- and financially focused makes this thesis about the social- and behavioral side a relevant contribution.

Secondly, stakeholder cooperation in (urban) land readjustment processes has been researched in an international context (see for example Doebele, 1982; Larsson, 1997; Sorensen, 2000; Lin, 2005; Home, 2007; Sorensen, 2007; Li & Li, 2007; Davy, 2007; Van der Krabben & Needham, 2008; Muñoz-Gielen, 2010, Muñoz-Gielen, 2014; Muñoz-Gielen, 2016;

Mathur, 2013). Hong and Needham (2007, p. 193) argue that more “work is needed to identify additional enabling institutions for instigated property exchange and to understand how these institutions interact with one another to form an environment that nourishes collective action in land assembly and redevelopment”. This research from the Dutch perspective provides a relevant contribution to this recommendation by focusing on the institutions of government, market and society.

This thesis also contributes to the research field about ‘planning culture’. According to Li et al. (2018), planning culture is a popular research subject, but perspectives differ about its character and the influence of planning culture on the planning outcome. In their research, Li et al. (2018) perceive planning culture as consisting of three dimensions: trust, risk and collaboration. By focusing on the role of trust and its influence on the planning outcome in Dutch urban land readjustment processes, this research contributes to a definition and characterization of the concept of planning culture.

On a societal level, this research offers insights about solving spatial questions in a bottom-up way. This is in line with the forthcoming Dutch Environment and Planning Act and vision of NOVI, with its focus on broad involvement and collaboration of governments, citizens and other institutions (Holewijn & Hartman, 2017). Moreover, different motivations and strategies for cooperation of stakeholders can be mapped more integrally, because of the attention to the less rational side, or ‘soft skills’, in a negotiation process.

In general, urban land readjustment in the Dutch planning context can be considered as an endeavor to realize developments and services for the collective good more than making an economic profit. It aims to provide opportunities to increase or retain liveability by downsizing real estate portfolios and rearranging land positions (Land Registry, n.d.). The Netherlands copes with several societal issues, such as demographic shrinkage and real estate vacancy, but also a large environmental footprint (De Jong & Daalhuizen, 2016; CBS, 2018a). Research about how people organize themselves for an urban land readjustment process in the face of local issues can provide insights on which circumstances positively influence an urban land readjustment and where bottlenecks can arise. This may help policy makers and professionals to avoid or solve these problems and make an urban land readjustment more often a success in the future.

§5 - Reading guide

The following chapters of part II form the theoretical framework and provide an answer to the first sub-question. Chapter two further explains land readjustment, its origin, spread across the globe, how it is used in rural as well as in urban areas, character and (dis)advantages. Chapter three focusses on the concept of trust and its relationship with governance, path dependency, spatial planning, and urban land readjustment. This is followed up by part III, where the methodology for conducting this research is explained, with attention to pros and cons of case study research, sampling, data collection and analysis. Part IV is formed by the empirical analysis of the fieldwork with reference to the literature from part I (chapters five up until eight). Here, an answer is provided for the second- and third sub-question. Part IV starts with a description of the cases in chapter five and ends with a typology of the role of trust and cooperation in chapter eight. The thesis concludes in part V with a final conclusion, discussion, recommendations and a reflection (chapter nine).

PART



2 – Land readjustment explained

To understand trust dynamics in Dutch urban land readjustment processes, it is first in to know how a land readjustment process generally works. Therefore, this chapter provides a general introduction to land readjustment as a spatial tool. With the help of an interdisciplinary body of literature, the following paragraphs provide an overview of its origin, characteristics and cons and the current debate in the Dutch context.

§2.1 – Origin

§2.1.1 - International

It is difficult to point out the exact origins of the land readjustment instrument across the world. In Scandinavia for example, land consolidation methods are old and may go back a 1000 years ago (Viitanen, 2000). It is suggested by De Souza (2018, p. 81) that land readjustment 'has two main roots: (i) to create new building areas by rezoning farmlands, and (ii) to rebuild areas after disasters like great fires'. There are several documents that explain these first ideas of land readjustment. An example is the work of Von Guericke in 1632 from Magdeburg, Germany. Another is from Wren in 1666 after the Great Fire of London. Both ideas were however not realized. Another example is a law for reconstruction that was enacted in 1842 after the Great Fire in Hamburg, which had the characteristics of land readjustment.

Regarding these main roots, De Souza (2018) mentions three well-documented examples. In 1791, president George Washington and nineteen landowners used an arrangement similar to land readjustment to solve deadlocks in the development of a large rural area into a new federal city (Doebele, 1982). Another example originated in Spain in 1861, in the project named "Eixample de Barcelona" by Ildefonso Cerda. It consisted of a compensation system: those who would benefit from the project were obliged to pay its expenses (García-Bellido, 1995; 2002). A third example is derived from Japan in 1870, where farmers developed a system to improve the productivity of their lands by readjusting irregular shapes and eliminate small passages and paths among lands (Nishiyama, 1992a).

The first official legislation for urban land readjustment in the world originated in Germany, was called the "Lex Adickes Frankfurt-am-Main", and from the year 1902. The main idea behind this law was to exchange lands between the government and the private sector, without requiring expropriation (Müller-Jökel, 2004). The positive results sparked an international diffusion of the land readjustment instrument. Japan, up until then using land readjustment only in rural areas through the Arable Land Readjustment Act of 1899, translated and adjusted the German law to fit the approval of the City Planning Act of 1919 (Ishida, 1986; Siman, 1990). According to Home (2007), the period of reconstruction after the Second World War positioned Germany and Japan as the success stories of land readjustment. The instrument has been named the "mother of urban planning" in Japan, since around one third of urban Japan has been transformed by this instrument (Sorensen, 1999).

During the first half of the 20th century, British planners had an important role in spreading land readjustment to some British colonies. Examples include India with the Bombay Town Planning Act and Western Australia with the Town Planning and Development Act (Home, 1997 and

2018; Mathur, 2013; Abraham Peter & Dave, 2018). The international transfer of the method was topped by Japan, which has introduced it to Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia, Nepal, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Colombia, and Brazil, with a wide-ranging involvement of knowledge and expertise (De Souza, 2018).

§2.1.2 – Focus: Dutch origin

In the Netherlands, land readjustment has a long history too. The first initiative took place in 1916 on the island of Ameland. Statutory land consolidation for rural areas was introduced in 1924 and during the following decades developed into an instrument of land readjustment to fit cities (Van den Brink, 2018). Land readjustment was first used in an urban area after the bombings of Rotterdam during World War II (Van Schilfgaarde, 1984). Nowadays, almost 75% of all cultivated land in the Netherlands has been grouped, adjusted and subdivided (Picture 1). Based on this percentage and long history, it can be argued that the Dutch-, together with for example the German, Japanese, Spanish, Israeli and Korean context, lends itself to land readjustment quite well.

The goal of developing areas with the help of the land readjustment instrument has shifted during several decades. Improving the structure of agricultural plots and the reallocation of land use rights and ownership used to be, and still is, the main purpose. This was extended to the improvement of water management, infrastructure and non-agricultural uses. More recently, the focus has shifted to nature, recreation, landscape, cultural history, water, environment, but also shrinkage, vacancy and impoverishment (Land Registry, z.j.; Van den Brink, 2018).

Where the use of rural land readjustment has been embedded in law for several decades, this is not the case for land readjustment in urban areas. Involvement of stakeholders in urban areas is currently based on voluntary participation. Since the 1950s there have been several recommendations and discussions to change the voluntary basis of land readjustment in urban areas into one supported by a legal regulation. Starting from a trial project in Groningen in the 1980s, it appeared that a process based on a pure voluntary basis can hamper the process considerably in duration and complexity (Botman, 1984). In 2001, a national report on land

Picture 1 - Example of a rural land readjustment in Walcheren, The Netherlands



Source: Landschap in Nederland, n.d.

policy again underlined the importance of land readjustment, but this did not lead to an Act (Groot Nibbelink, 2001; Van der Stoep et al., 2013).

After a decline in attention to the instrument by policy makers as well as planners, a renewed interest in land readjustment resulted from the economic crisis in 2007 (Holtslag-Broekhof, 2016). The impetus was a lack of financial means for urban renewal, a political desire for a facilitative role in urban development and more planning tasks in urban areas. The possibilities for an urban land readjustment Act have since then been explored in several reports and articles (see for example Van den Hazel et al. 2007; Van der Krabben & Needham, 2008; Bregman & De Wolff, 2011; National Committee for Urban Land Readjustment, 2014a,b).

The Dutch government now considers urban land readjustment as a useful addition to the toolbox of land policy. This tool would fill a gap considering instruments that assist land owners to collectively realize plans (Dutch House of Representatives, 2014/2015). In anticipation to the Dutch Environment and Planning Act and the inclusion of the instrument of urban land readjustment in the Supplementation Law of Land Ownership (Aanvullingswet Grondeigendom), several pilot projects were initiated by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and the land registry (Bregman & Karens, 2017; Picture 2). A new group of pilots is expected to start in 2018.

Picture 2 - Pilot projects of urban land readjustment in the Netherlands in 2017



Source: Land Registry, n.d.

Still, the discussion about a voluntary- versus an obligatory variant continues and will be relevant for the upcoming years. Subject of discussion will be for example giving a stronger financial impetus for private parties to initiate an urban land readjustment process. Abolishing transfer tax of property belong to one of the possibilities to do this (Expert interview IV, May 2 2018).

§2.2 – A multi-faceted nature

§2.2.1 – Names and types

The spatial tool of land readjustment has many different names, for example “replotting” or “land pooling” in English, “Baulandumlegung” in German, “reparcelación” in Spanish, “kavelruil” or “herverkaveling” in Dutch and 土地区画整理 (*tochi kukaku seiri*) in Japanese (Home, 2007; Bregman & Karens, 2017; De Souza et al. 2018). In the remainder of this thesis it will be termed ‘land readjustment’ in general or ‘urban land readjustment’ when focussed on an urban area, since these names are the most widely used in the international literature.

The underlying principle of land readjustment can be more or less considered as generic. It can be summarized in four words: pool, re-parcel, develop, divide (figure 1). Some general characteristics can be identified. Larsson (1997, p. 141) has defined land readjustment as “a procedure in which the structure of boundaries and facilities within the chosen area is transformed, but [most of the original] owners still keep the land”. Another definition is given by Sorensen (1999) who defines land readjustment as:

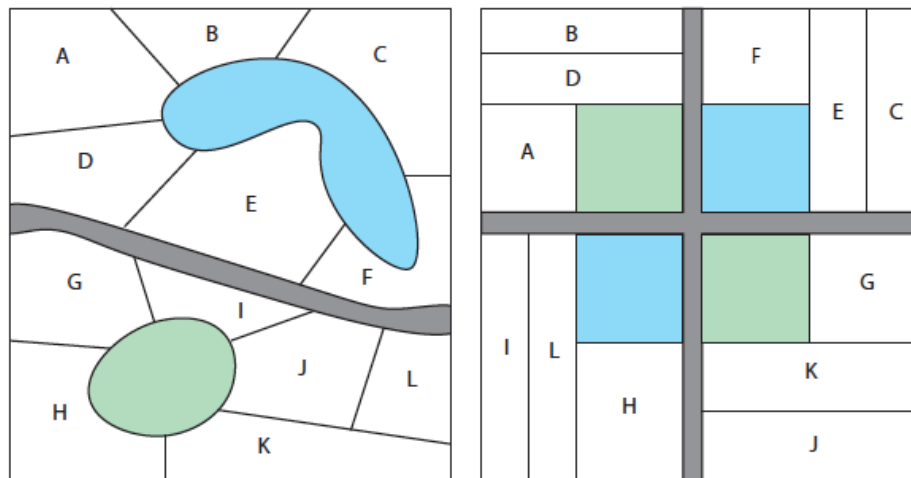
“a method whereby a group of landowners can join forces to develop or redevelop land. In essence, it is a process whereby landowners pool ownership of scattered and irregular plots of agricultural land, build roads and main infrastructure, and then sub-divide the land into urban plots. Each owner must contribute a portion of their previous land holding [...] to provide space for roads, parks and other public space, and for reserve land. The reserve land is sold at the end of the project to pay costs of planning, administration and construction”

(Sorensen, 1999, p. 2333-2334)

Combining the assembly and reparceling of land for better planning, financial mechanisms to recover infrastructure costs, and distribution of the financial benefits of development (sometimes known as betterment) between landowners and a development agency are three ways in which development takes place (Home, 2007, p. 460).

A distinction can be made between two general types of land readjustment processes that differ according to stakeholder cooperation (Archer, 1989). In the first variant, a group of adjoining land parcels are consolidated and planned, serviced and subdivided, with the sale of some new building plots for cost recovery and the redistribution of the remaining plots to the landowners. These processes are mainly initiated by the (local) government or a

Figure 1 – The basic principles of a land readjustment with regard to (living) plots, nature (green), water (blue) and infrastructure (grey)



Source: Author, 2018

corresponding agency. The second variant focusses more on stakeholder involvement. A group of neighbouring landowners form a partnership for the unified planning, servicing and subdivision of their land. The project costs and benefits are shared between the landowners. Examples of the first variant can be found in Japan, Australia, and South Korea, while the second variant is more recognized in European countries in general (Turk, 2008). Both variants can be applied to rural as well as urban areas.

Combinations of the two are also possible, of which the Netherlands and Portugal are examples (Condessa et al., 2018; Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018b). In the Netherlands, an urban- as well as a rural land readjustment process may be initiated by the municipality or local landowners. The urban type is based on voluntary participation of local landowners and the municipality, while a legal arrangement called ‘Verkavelen voor Groei’ or ‘Readjustment for Growth’ is underpinning the rural variant. Here, stronger guidelines exist for the process to ideally finish it within the timespan of a year. Up until now, the second variant has been most popular, since urban land readjustment is a field that is still being explored

§2.2.2 – Differing goals and proceedings

Land readjustment can be used for many different purposes. Examples are given by De Souza (2018), in which these are divided into five categories, namely (1) the control of urban sprawl, (2) development of new towns, (3) urban rehabilitation, (4) development of complex urban infrastructure, and (5) disaster reconstruction. A goal can be pursued individually or in combination with others. For example, land readjustment in Japan originated from readjusting irregular land shapes to improve the productivity of agricultural land (Nishiyama, 1992). Over time, the instrument was also employed in urban areas for the control of sprawl, the development of new towns, and infrastructure. Both disaster reconstruction and rehabilitation used to be – and still are – other important goals for which land readjustment is used. Important examples are large-scale reconstruction projects after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the aerial bombings of 1945 by the US Army Air Force, the Fukui Earthquake in 1948 and the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995. In 2011, after the Great East Japan Earthquake that led to the tsunami that damaged the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Plant, land readjustment was also used (Yanase, 2018). From this it can be concluded that all goals have been pursued over

time, but in different degrees and combinations. Overall, it can be observed from the literature that the development of land readjustment extending from rural- into urban areas is inherent to almost all national contexts.

The phases of a land readjustment process are roughly the same across different national contexts. These are (1) project initiation, (2) community support development, (3) land re-subdivision and servicing, and (4) land reallocation (Hong & Needham, 2007). However, the details of the phases can differ significantly across countries. The initiative can be taken by private as well as public actors. Public initiative prevails in, for example, Germany, Japan, Spain and Turkey, while private initiative is present in France and the Netherlands. Which type of initiative prevails is not necessarily determined by the (legal) possibilities offered. Private and public initiative is for example possible in Germany, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Nepal, Portugal and the Netherlands (Needham, 2007; Turk, 2008; Kusum Joshi & Shresta, 2018).

Community support development is mostly carried out at the start, but remains important throughout a rural- as well as an urban land readjustment process. This is illustrated by Sorensen (2000, p. 67) in Japan, where “literally thousands of hours of meetings” are devoted to persuading landowners to consent to a land readjustment project. In the Netherlands, the process consists of several cycles in which all owners are allowed to share personal wishes regarding their property (Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018b). The third and fourth phase differ according to the party who carries out the replotting, servicing and allocation and also according to the ways in which costs are distributed. In Spain, an “agente urbanizador” or urbanising agent is designated by the local municipality that has the power to enforce the land readjustment, executes the developments needed, and recovers the costs on the landowners (Muñoz Gielen, 2016). In other countries, such as Japan and India, the process is mostly led by the (local) government, from initiation to land allocation.

In principle, costs and benefits are shared among the landowners involved. This is for example the case in Angola and Nepal (Turk, 2008; Cain et al., 2018; Kusum Joshi & Shresta, 2018). However, financial deficits are in almost all countries compensated by the (local) government, even though to different degrees. In Germany, Turkey and Indonesia for example, all procedural costs are covered, while in Japan, South Korea, and India, deficits are covered with subsidies or governmental budgets. In other countries, only initial costs are covered, for example in Sweden, France, and Australia (Turk, 2008; Supriatna, 2018).

§2.2.3 – Pros and cons

According to Hosono (2018, p. 3):

“[...] the main contribution [of land readjustment] is in the form of land that will simultaneously improve the public realm [...] and, consequently, increase private land values. As purchasing land for public facilities can be prohibitively expensive, through the win-win potential of land readjustment it can be possible to finance and promote projects that would not be possible by any other means. Landowners’ property rights, in this sense, still prevail, with a smaller land size and a possible higher total asset value, but the aim is a fair distribution of costs and benefits in urban development”

In Turk (2008) other benefits for public agencies, communities and landowners are given. These are summarized in table 1. Related to finance, Yamralioglu et al. (2018) add that, at least in the Turkish context, land readjustment is a cheaper solution than gathering all the land into a single ownership. Furthermore, advantages related to equity, citizen involvement and social benefits exist (Home, 2007). Often, the comparison is made with expropriation or eminent domain to illustrate these benefits (see for example Hong & Needham, 2007; De Souza et al., 2018). For example, where expropriation or eminent domain moves land owners away, land readjustment processes aim to retain most of the original landowners, albeit on another location, but in the original area. Therefore, land readjustment processes preserve social, cultural and economic networks that are closely tied to a physical location, and the routines and interactions of everyday life in that place, through original community maintenance. This implies that community cohesion is maintained or fostered.

Of course, disadvantages do also exist. According to Home (2007, p. 464) procedures can be “complex and slow” and variations in national socio-legal cultures may affect the transferability of the method. Moreover, a free-rider problem exists in cases where land readjustment is not embedded in law. Hong (2007) acknowledges that a land readjustment project can suffer from massive holdouts if there is no mechanism for excluding non-cooperative landowners from enjoying the benefits. Also, extensive legal provisions about land readjustment processes can raise planners’ and owners’ uncertainty about if the plan can actually be carried out (Viitanen, 2018).

§2.3 – Voluntary-, obligatory- or no involvement at all?

An advantage of land readjustment in general is that increased involvement of local owners is facilitated, which strengthens its democracy (Turk & Korthals Altes, 2010; Muñoz-Gielen, 2014). However, the way owners are involved is organized differently across countries. This partly relates to who initiates the readjustment process: a process initiated by landowners can generally be considered as more participatory. Again, France and the Netherlands offer useful examples (De Wolff, 2013). Nevertheless, land readjustment processes initiated by local governments can be participatory too. Actively generating public support, commitment and

Table 1 – General benefits of land readjustment

Benefits of land readjustment		
<i>Public agencies</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Landowners</i>
Planned urban development	Good standard subdivision layout	Considerable increase in value after the process despite a reduction in size
Production of serviced urban plots	Production of plots with service in regular forms and sizes	Conversion of lands into serviced urban plots in regular forms and sizes
Meeting of requirements for service areas and infrastructure to be used by the public	Supply of service areas such as roads, parks, etc. that are required for public use	Ease of marketability
Efficient supply of land service and subdivisions	Achievement of price stability as a result of meeting the demand.	Continuation of ownership after land readjustment
Ease in the solution of ownership problems		
Ability to provide low-cost land for sheltering		
Readjustment of landownership and plot borders		

Source: Turk, 2008

enthusiasm for a land readjustment project is part of the process in, for example, Bhutan, Japan, China, Mongolia, Nepal, Brazil, Colombia and Vietnam (Sorensen 1999, 2000; Karki, 2004; Li & Li, 2006, 2007; Bayartuvshin, 2018; Monteiro et al., 2018; Eberhard, 2018; Hieu, 2018; Wangmo, 2018). In countries where large investments are made to involve landowners, the focus is on voluntariness: landowners need to give consent or come to an agreement themselves. Forcing them to cooperate, such as through expropriation or eminent domain, is often considered as complex, expensive or undesired (see for example Sorensen, 1999, 2000). Examples of countries where landowner involvement is limited are Israel, Taiwan, Portugal, Spain and Turkey. Mostly this means that involvement is limited to information-sharing or consultation at the beginning of the process (Lin, 2005; Alterman, 2007; Muñoz Gielen, 2010, 2014, 2016; Gozalvo Zamorano & Muñoz Gielen, 2017; Condessa et al., 2018; Khamaisi, 2018; Yomralioglu et al., 2018).

Lastly, some countries depend on eminent domain or expropriation to make land readjustments possible. Here, landowner and citizen involvement can be almost absent. An example of this is Germany. However, this is only the case if landowners are not willing and able to modify the boundaries of their properties by themselves. Also, mandatory land readjustment is only available to the municipality if the modification of the shape and size of plots is needed for plan realization (Davy, 2007).

There are of course some exceptions to this distinction. Some countries apply several forms of land readjustment methods and distinguish between voluntary as well as obligatory variants. This has consequences for the degree of participation and possibilities for involvement. For example, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Germany offer a compulsory as well as a voluntary variant of the instrument. The private initiative system in Portugal is based on a voluntary landowners' association that designs and implements the project and distributes the costs. The second variant, the imposition system, is based on the Spanish method. Here the municipality acts directly or indirectly through an urban development concession for a private developer, for which a public tender procedure is required (Condessa et al., 2018).

§2.4 – Sub-conclusion

Land readjustment may be perceived as a flexible, collaborative and powerful instrument to instigate land use development in urban as well as rural areas. The above sections have illustrated this through explaining its origins in Europe and diffusion to Asia, North-America, South-America, Western-Australia, and Africa. Its dispersion over the entire globe has resulted in different names and approaches to land readjustment, depending on a variety of purposes for which it has been used. This ranges from disaster reconstruction to prevention of urban sprawl. In parallel to this process, country-specific procedures and “rules of the game” have been developed, also leading to situations in which participants of a land readjustment process make their own rules (Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018).

An instrument that brings a lot of advantages is however also destined to have some disadvantages. Perhaps the most important of these are first that a land readjustment process can take a long time to complete. This may be due to the extended period it may take to gather all land plots and involve all corresponding landowners of the area in question. The process may also include a lot of risks due to uncertainty, for example concerning financing. In addition, the use of land readjustment in urban areas, where an even more diverse group of

stakeholders is involved, and ownership is generally be more fragmented, adds an extra layer of complexity to the process. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the collaborative character of land readjustment as a spatial instrument can be useful for (urban) areas in a changing governance landscape. This will be explored further in the next chapter.

3 – Exploring trust in (urban) land readjustment

It can be argued that the collaborative character of land readjustment as a spatial instrument may be useful for (urban) areas in a changing governance landscape. This will be explored further in this chapter. It dives deeper into the involvement of stakeholders with the concept of trust. First, the significance of trust for spatial planning processes is introduced via the growing complexity, uncertainty and risk in governance processes. Then, the concept of trust will be explained. This will be put into perspective with the help of spatial planning literature. Zooming in on the instrument of land readjustment, how trust manifests itself and how it is stimulated is explained and discussed. This is summarized in a spectrum in which the degree of voluntariness of involvement and the phase of the land readjustment illustrate how trust is developed and/or enforced. The chapter concludes with a sub-conclusion and conceptual framework that serves as the backbone for the remainder of this thesis.

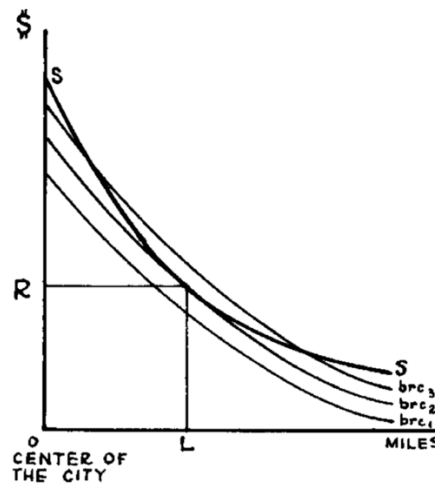
§3.1 – Public services and competition

Land readjustment poses a solution for a paradox defined by the political economist Henry George in 1879: “the process of urbanization is wealth producing, yet public agencies responsible for capitalizing the construction of necessary services seldom have sufficient capital resources (Hong & Needham, 2007, p. viii)”. To battle poverty, George proposed a land rent tax on the value of land produced by anything other than private efforts, such as the benefits afforded by natural resources, urban locations and public services (Brown, 1997). This was in contrast to the land rent model or bid rent theory, first developed by Ricardo (1817) for agricultural purposes and later extended by Von Thünen (1826) and Alonso (1960). These models are based on competition of land users for a location close to the market place, city center or Central Business District (CBD) (Figure 2).

In Haila (2016, p. xxi) the theory of land rent is studied in relation to Singapore, but the focus is on ‘institutions and actors, landownership forms and social relationships in which land is embedded’. The aim of the book is ‘to elaborate urban land rent theory from its agricultural origins to explain contemporary problems of real estate’ (Haila, 2016, pp. xxii). As a completely urbanized city state without agricultural land, building land is scarce in Singapore. This is given as a reason why the land regime of Singapore includes much public regulation and active participation of governments in land markets. A blend exists between state and market. The state can use its land resources like a private enterprise, but places public needs first, for example public housing and industrial space. The development market is shared between private- as well as public developers through auctions. A flexible mode of urban governance can be observed from this. Land readjustment has potential as a spatial tool in these types of land regimes (see for example vertical land readjustment in Hong Kong in Hong & Needham, 2007).

However, sharing and collaborating requires that parties come together and define a collective goal. This is not something that is taken for granted in every planning culture (see for example Hong & Brain, 2012 about Chili). This chapter approaches the process of “coming together” through the concept of trust. Attention is paid to different definitions and approaches to trust with a focus on governance and spatial planning. A connection is made to land readjustment via the tension between voluntary and obligatory involvement of actors in land readjustment processes.

Figure 2 - The bid rent curve: land uses determine land values; land values distribute land uses; and steeper curves capture central locations. This consequently influences accessibility. Different curves represent different land uses.



Source: Alonso, 1960

§3.2 - Trust in the field of governance

§3.2.1 - From managing to governing

The relevance of trust as a concept for spatial planning can be explained from a change in circumstances that influences how public services are provided and societies are governed. The urban context in particular has changed under the influence of economic globalisation, interurban competition, commodification of urban culture, cross-border cooperation, and the perceived disability by cities of national governments to provide support. This has challenged how cities are managed and contributed to the rise of urban governance (Kearns & Paddison, 2000).

Governance has become a “buzzword” and refers to a “new” process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed (Jessop, 1998; Rhodes, 2007). Characteristics of this concept are shifting boundaries of public, private and voluntary sectors resulting in opaqueness; continuous interaction between network members; game-like interactions which are rooted in trust; and a significant degree of autonomy from the state through self-organization. This can be summarized in a definition in which governance refers to governing with and through networks (Rhodes, 2007).

Even though there is discussion about whether governance can be considered as a “new” concept and if its’ emphasis is more on “steering” or on “rowing”, what has become clear is that the focus on governance originates from increased complexity which breeds uncertainty and risk (Jessop, 1998; Rhodes, 2007). In the words of Kearns and Paddison (2000, p. 847): “Governance is about the capacity to get things done in the face of complexity, conflict and social change: organisations, notably but not only urban governments, empower themselves by blending their resources, skills and purposes with others. The capacity to get things done no longer lies (if it ever did) with government power and authority in one place”. In other words: there is often no single organization in charge of a specific collective issue (Teisman et al., 2009).

§3.2.2 – Complexity and chaos

This complexity has been the inspiration for a range of works on complexity theory. Complexity theory is derived from chaos theory, which deals “with changes which cannot be fitted into a simple linear law taking the form of statement of single cause and consequent effect” (Byrne, 1998, p. 5). Even though complexity theory has foundations in several forms of research, for example health and education, it can also be used to understand issues in urban governance (Byrne, 1998). For example, it corresponds with the complex and uncertain character of urban land readjustment processes, most notably in the Dutch context. This makes it useful as a starting point for understanding trust in spatial governance settings in general and urban land readjustment processes in particular.

An important work on complexity in spatial governance is provided by Teisman et al. (2009). Here, the central question is why the output of spatial governance processes often differs from initial expectations. ‘The substantive “complexity” and the adjective “complex” indicate systems, characterized by interrelatedness between constituent parts, where the whole is different than can be expected from the sum of the parts, because of the emergent characteristics of the coevolution and self-organization within and between systems’ (Teisman et al., 2009, p. 21). It is assumed that complexity in governance processes is generated by non-linear dynamics (1), the self-organization capacities of the participants in processes (2), and coevolution between sub-processes and sub-systems (3). Non-linearity explains the erratic nature of policy processes, which is usually due to change events, multiplicity of context and behaviour of actors who self-organize rather than subject to rules. Self-organization implies the ability of elements of systems to behave in a self-chosen way and to resist externally-induced change. Coevolution holds that processes evolve from the way in which events and actions become interlinked and emphasizes the coercive influence, which is unintended and unforeseen, that processes can have on one another. It is concluded that these three concepts are convincing in the falsification of governance processes as stable and deviations from stability as “abnormal” (Teisman et al., 2009, p. 246).

Subsequently, the concept of process systems is introduced, which means that processes have systemic properties that make it much broader than the process defined by an initiating actor. Each actor tends to limit the process in duration and length based on their subjective judgement about what the process is about, who is involved and how results are achieved. However, this rational strategy is confronted with non-linear dynamics, self-organization and coevolution that disrupt the governance process. Process systems are thus understood to evolve through time due to their interactions with other interconnected process systems. An erratic course of events is the result of such processes. From the evolutionary approach adopted in their book, Teisman et al. (2009, p. 256) acknowledge that “systems and their boundaries are not a given “thing”, but rather, are social constructs [...]. There is no fixed context, nor is there a fixed set of relevant actors or events or fixed boundaries.” To manage complex systems in governance, a combination of strategies is argued for ‘to get or keep a process system on the edge of chaos, [...] [or] a dynamic system state’ (Teisman et al., 2009, p. 261 with reference to Merry, 1999; Haynes, 2003).

Teisman et al. (2009, p. 255) argue that complexity theory is helpful, because it “allows for an extraction of the patterns driving erratic change, [but] does not strive to find universal laws of

decision-making". In sum, this thesis aims to provide a more thorough understanding of the role of trust in land readjustment processes in the urban governance setting, without providing a blueprint for how the process should be organized to accommodate trust. Rather, observations and recommendations are made regarding how trust is accommodated in practice and what factors are important for the rise and fall of trust in two selected cases. Therefore, complexity theory can be seen as a relevant starting point to understand the complex and erratic nature of land readjustment as a governance process.

§3.3 - Spatial planning and trust

§3.3.1 – The dynamic nature and origin of trust

Trust is generally perceived as an important concept in governance processes (De Vries, 2014). For example, trust is seen as important in coordinating decision-making processes; facilitates inter-organisational interactions; influences the outcome of cooperation processes positively; and is seen as an effective way to deal with uncertainty (Zaheer et al., 1998; Bachmann, 2001; O'Brien, 2001; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). Trust is also seen as a means to control interactions and reduce complexity (Sydow, 1998; Zaheer & Venkatraman, 1995; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). The following paragraphs provide some concepts that are behind these advantages of trust, thereby connecting them to spatial planning processes.

The emphasis on trust has originated in organization studies and adjacent fields in the 1970s (Kramer & Tyler, 1996). Since then, multiple types and conceptualizations have emerged. Two broad traditions can be distinguished, namely the behavioural and the cognitive traditions (De Vries, 2014). In the behavioural tradition, the relation between trust and choices or action in cooperative settings is emphasized. Trust can be seen as the basis for choosing to cooperate (for example Hardin, 1993). Interpersonal characteristics associated with trust, such as expectations, intentions and uncertainties form the focus of the cognitive tradition (Mayer et al, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). In trust studies, the traditions are interrelated with each other, but a distinction can be made between so-called "thin trust" evoked by the behavioural- and "thick trust" by the cognitive tradition. Thin trust or generalized trust is explained as "the willingness to trust a stranger for cooperation based on assumed common values" (Uslaner & Conley, 2003; De Vries, 2014, p. 41). The focus can be perceived as more psychological in terms of the willingness to position oneself as vulnerable to ones' counterpart in order to secure a positive outcome of a negotiation. "Thick trust" or particularized trust is explained as trust between people that is founded on common identities and related characteristics (Williams, 1988; Uslaner & Conley, 2003). In this thesis, both types are seen as relevant for understanding a voluntary process of urban land readjustment in the Dutch context. The complexity of these processes, which can be derived from the relatively large group of stakeholders involved, who have their own characters and strategies for negotiation, can be seen as the validation for this choice. For a small local entrepreneur with roots in the area, thick trust may be more important, while for a large international investor, who is more oriented to efficiency and making a profit, thin trust may prevail.

According to De Vries (2014, p. 41), "although these conceptualizations give interesting insights into the nature of trust, most of these studies take a static perspective on trust, paying limited attention to the evolution of trust through interaction". Consequently, it is observed that these studies fail to include the dynamics that interactions in planning practices give rise to. Since this thesis focusses on how participants in Dutch urban land readjustment processes

come together and form trust that is essential for cooperation, a perspective is needed that goes beyond this static character and that considers the relational and interactive factors of forming trust. The dynamic perspective on trust offers the answer to this need.

The dynamic perspective entails viewing trust as something that is constantly being constructed in interaction. The first main aspect of this perspective on trust holds that trust is an individuals' expectation about the others' thoughts, behaviour and decisions (Idrissou, 2011; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). These expectations are often based on knowledge generated through earlier patterns of cooperation (Lewicki et al., 2006; O'Brien, 2001). Knowledge is based on accumulating events and the interpretations of these, after which the interpretations offer information about specific characteristics and identities, but also about more general common values and norms (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). The interpretation is constantly (re)constructed over time as new events, behaviour and interactions occur. It results in a common history that forms a dynamic basis for expectations and trust. Experiences also influence expectations over time and thus influence trust. To summarize, new interactions result in new experiences, a reconstruction of the past, adjusted expectations about the future and a rebalancing of trust (De Vries, 2014).

The second important aspect is the context in which trust is performed (Mayer et al., 1995; Kadefors, 2004). Various people interpret this social context in various ways, give meaning to it, and respond to it through action. Interpretations thus result in new and terminating opportunities to trust or not. They can also result in feelings of risk, (un)certainly, vulnerability, or flexibility. These feelings consequently influence trust dynamics as well (De Vries, 2014).

§3.3.2 – Why history matters and beyond

The collective history that people make in relation to the social context in which trust is formed and the other actor that is – or cannot be trusted – can be seen as important to understand how trust between people is established. Therefore, it is useful to delve deeper into what collective history actually means. Durkheim (1984) emphasized the relevance of social bonds and socialization processes, whereas Weber (1978) developed “methodological individualism” based on the motives of individual actions and the idea that modernization processes are characterized by complex processes of rationalization. The economic dimension is elaborated by Polanyi (1957), which holds that the concept of “embeddedness” can be used to understand the logic behind the formation and transformation of social institutions in the contexts of economic transactions. Here, embeddedness can be described as the degree to which people and institutions are grounded in existing patterns of for example communication, social control and cultures.

Ghezzi and Mingione (2007) use the insights of these authors to emphasize the role of “embeddedness” in social relationships. This holds that, in their social actions, people are influenced by social networks, rituals and traditions, shared values and cultures. This is also acknowledged by Putnam (2000) in “Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community”, where the decline of social capital in the United States since the 1950s is surveyed. Social capital is explained as:

'Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue". The difference is that "social capital" calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.'

(Putnam, 2000, p. 19)

Despite being a prerequisite in a democracy, according to Putnam (2000), it is observed that active civil engagement and corresponding embeddedness is undermined. A decreased voter turnout; decline in membership of civic organizations; and a growing distrust of Americans in their government are examples of this. Technological individualization of leisure time via television and Internet are seen as explanations for these trends. In this thesis, Putnam (2000) is perceived more as an illustration of general developments related to collective history and embeddedness than as a fundamental concept. Nevertheless, it points to societal developments, such as growing distrust in governments, that could be relevant for research about trust in a spatial planning process such as urban land readjustment.

The concept of path dependence has been connected with "embeddedness" (see for example Pierson, 2000). Even though the concept has originated in economics based on knowledge-intensive, high-technology sectors, it has also been widely adopted in political and urban processes (see for example David, 1985; Arthur, 1994; Pierson, 2000; Mahoney, 2000; 2001;2010). It is explained as "[...] a process that constrains future choice sets: At every step along the way there are choices – political and economic – that provide real alternatives. Path dependence is a way to narrow conceptually the choice set and link decision-making through time. It is not a story of inevitability in which the past neatly predicts the future (North, 1990, p. 98-99). When seen from the perspective of institutional change, the core becomes that 'once established, some institutions tend to become increasingly difficult to change over time, and so small choices early on [can] have significant long-term impacts' (Sorensen, 2015, p. 21). Concluding, choices have consequences that shape further choices, limit the choice set and transform institutions. According to Pierson (2000), path dependency is usually used to support the following key claims:

'Specific patterns of timing and sequence matter; starting from similar conditions, a wide range of social outcomes may be possible; large consequences may result from relatively "small" or contingent events; particular courses of actions, once introduced, can be visually impossible to reverse; and consequently, political development is often punctuated by critical moments or junctures that shape the basic contours of social life.'

(Pierson, 2000 with reference to Collier & Collier, 1991; Ikenberry, 1994; Krasner, 1989)

Path dependence has greater analytical leverage than just implying that “history matters”. According to Pierson (2000), path-dependent processes are social processes that generate positive feedback and thus generate branching patterns of historical development. As a result of these positive feedback effects, or ‘increasing returns’, each step along a particular pathway increases the change of further steps along the same pathway, but simultaneously also increases the cost of reverting to a previously available option. Urban transportation systems offer a useful example to illustrate this, since the dominance of particular modes of travel within cities create powerful obstacles to the emergence of other modes (Sorensen, 2015).

Path dependence is a useful theoretical concept for this thesis, since this research is about how trust is established in a voluntary urban land readjustment process in the Dutch context. This variant of land readjustment processes tends to consist of several cycles of decision-making, instead of a clear linear process (Holtslag-Broekhof, 2016). Also, several types of actors can be involved, but their involvement can be different over time: some are involved from the beginning, others join later in the process. Furthermore, the actors involved often know each other personally or have a business relationship that has been established throughout the years. It is interesting to investigate whether and how this collective history influences the collaborative process and how decisions that were made in the past restrict, open or otherwise influence opportunities in the future. In the following paragraphs this will be approached via the research fields of planning culture and trust.

§3.3.3 – Planning culture

In the study of planning outcomes, planning culture is increasingly seen as important. According to Li et al. (2018), there are two main aspects that display cultural influences in planning and urban development processes. Planning culture is firstly perceived as useful for explaining differences between national planning practices (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009; Sanyal, 2005; Stead et al., 2015). Second, the cultural fitness of transferred practices is seen as worthy of attention when considering possibilities for transferring policy (measures) (Stead, 2012). Formal institutional change does not necessarily lead to a change in planning actors’ behaviour, because cultural factors are resistant to change (Buitelaar et al, 2011; Evers, 2015; Root et al., 2015).

The manifestation of historical dominant patterns of events and their influence on choices made in the present regarding the future is illustrated by Li et al. (2018). The objective of Li et al. (2018) is to make planning culture measurable and comparable. This is done by conducting game experiments derived from experimental economics. Beliefs and attitudes of risk, trust and co-operation of planners working for public authorities and professionals active in property development are analysed. A comparison is made between three European countries: Norway, the Netherlands and the French-speaking part of Belgium. It is concluded that Dutch planning actors value risk aversion and trust, Norwegian planning actors value co-operation, while Belgian planning actors do not value these variables that much. These attitudes have formed as a result of traditions and key events, such as a tradition of large-scale integrated development supported by a public land model in the Netherlands, the historical dominance of market forces in planning processes in Belgium, and the economic crisis of 2008 in general. Even though the article is aimed at understanding how planning culture takes effect in planning outcomes, in which trust is only one of several components, it provides useful insights for this thesis. It shows that culture, defined as shared values and attitudes among actors, impacts

corresponding institutions in the legal, political and societal realms. These institutions then provide the context in which trust is formed, as illustrated by De Vries (2014). Therefore, planning culture is a useful aspect to consider when trying to understand how trust is formed in spatial processes, such as land readjustment.

§3.4 – Operationalizing trust

The previous sections have explained what trust is, why it is useful for governance processes, how its dynamic nature can be perceived and what the role of collective history or path dependence is in (re)constructing trust. The next question is how the concept of trust can be made measurable or at a minimum, more tangible. A relatively large body of research concentrates on the concept of trust (see for example Ostrom, 1998; Giddens, 1990; Granovetter, 1985; Tyler, 1998; Das & Teng, 1998). A more recent contribution that also establishes a link with spatial planning processes is provided by Laurian (2009) and provides a relatively clear, complete and detailed understanding. A framework of factors and corresponding indicators is developed to analyse three types of trust in planning processes and the role of the social and institutional context in this regard. These types of trust are (1) interpersonal-, (2) institutional- and (3) procedural trust (Table 2).

The framework is based on several perspectives and insights on trust. Interpersonal trust focuses on individual-level processes that lead to perceptions of trustworthiness and the decision to trust or not to trust. Here, trust is defined as “a psychological state of mind comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395 in Laurian, 2009). In this perspective, trust is perceived as relatively stable, because rather than continuously re-evaluating judgements, trust is based on another’s’ reputation, general agreement or sympathy, and social similarity, for example ethnic, religious, political, territorial, kinship and gender group membership (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982; Earle & Cvetkovich, 1995; Bachrach & Gambetta, 2001). In planning practice this type of trust manifests itself for example through trust of the lay public in planning experts and vice-versa (Laurian, 2009).

The social cultural perspective on trust, which results in institutional trust, emphasizes trust as a social construct that characterizes human relations. Trust is thus formed by, and shapes, the relational, historical, social and cultural context (Kramer & Tyler, 1996; Seligman, 1997). Trust is seen as necessary, since social life is unpredictable and thus uncertain. In the words of Laurian (2009, p. 372, with reference to Eisenstadt, 1995; Seligman, 1997), ‘social trust protects social order and institutions and is essential to the stability of social systems. [...] When social trust fails, social crises erupt’. Social trust is also seen as necessary to establish enduring social relations in the form of social cohesion, political freedom, social bonds and group identities. In planning practice, an important example of social distrust is the general decline of social trust in expert systems, such as government agencies (Giddens, 1990).

Table 2- Factors of interpersonal and institutional trust

A. Social and institutional context	
a.	Social bonds, collective identity, shared values and goals
b.	Formal controls (contracts, incentives)
c.	Informal controls (social norms of obligations, cooperation)
d.	Opportunities for monitoring other's actions
B. Factors of interpersonal trust	
1)	Individual-level generated propensity to trust
i.	Information, stakes
ii.	Socio-economic background
2)	Perceptions of trustee's credibility
i.	Reputation, familiarity via past experiences and interactions
ii.	Social similarity (ethnic, religious, political, territorial, kinship, gender)
iii.	Shared values, agreement on goals, preferences with regard to outcomes and processes
3)	Perceptions of trustee's benevolence
i.	Trustee's motivations, intentions, caring, openness, integrity, goodwill, dedication
ii.	Trustee's commitment to procedural fairness, objectivity, transparency, consistency, reliability
4)	Perceptions of trustee's competence
i.	Trustee's ability to meet his/her obligations: trustee's knowledge, expertise, capability
5)	Conflicts of interest, power inequalities
i.	Asymmetry in power, resources, information
ii.	Degree of interdependence of individuals: alternative options for each party, trustee's interest in maintaining relationships with trustor
C. Factors of trust in institutions	
a.	Traits of agents
i.	Likeability, trustworthiness (see above)
ii.	Degree to which institutions reward agents for acting in the public interest
iii.	Degree to which administrations trust citizens
b.	Perceptions of agency's credibility
i.	Reputation, past experiences leading to trust or distrust (e.g., betrayals)
ii.	Political conflicts or alignment between agency and stakeholders
c.	Perceptions of agency's benevolence
i.	Procedural fairness: degree to which agency provides for meaningful public participation and deliberations, fairness, power sharing, implementation of collective decisions
ii.	Checks and balances: agency accountability, transparency, systems to limit powers of officials
iii.	Agency's moral responsibility: sensitive to citizens' particularities, attends to injustices, altruistic, committed to mutuality, no betrayal of trust
d.	Perceptions of agency's competence
i.	Agency's ability to meet its obligations: knowledge expertise, ability to make and implement decisions
e.	Management of existing distrust
i.	Degree to which agency acknowledges and addresses distrust
D. Factors of trust related to processes	
a.	Participation and/or deliberation format
b.	Degree and extent of collaboration, deliberation (inclusiveness)
c.	Leadership, use of mediator
d.	Balance of power, degree of power sharing, final decision-making power (e.g. binding agreements)
e.	Mode of communication: transparency, undistorted communication, equal standing and voice

Source: Laurian, 2009

Apart from interpersonal and social perspectives on trust, several general characteristics of trust are given, which also influence procedural trust or trust in planning processes: trust tends to be reciprocal; is easier to lose than to generate (asymmetry); implies risks and power differentials; is embedded in power relationships; and should be placed in the wider context of modernity in which a loss of communal ties, the rise of self-interested and independent agents, the advanced division of labour and increased differentiations in social roles underpins an increased reliance on social trust to provide the necessary bond to support a stable social fabric and social order (Luhmann, 1979; Seligman, 1997).

This ultimately results in a framework of factors (Table 2). First, social structures and institutional contexts affect how and in what degree generalized or social trust is present. Second, agencies' and actors' characteristics and their mutually perceived credibility underpin interpersonal trust between planners and stakeholders and between stakeholder groups. Third, the nature of government agencies and civic institutions affects the development of trust between agencies and stakeholders or institutional trust. Fourth, whether stakeholders trust the decision-making process, and participate and implement collective decisions, is affected by features of these decision-making processes, such as the format of deliberation and the use of a mediator.

§3.5 - Trust dynamics in land readjustment processes

§3.5.1 – The general importance of trust

Trust has been mentioned as being an important factor in land readjustment processes. For example, trust is needed to encourage support from stakeholders. Being transparent about the process and financing, fair treatment, knowledge sharing, involving experts or showing quick benefits of developments are examples of measures to realize this (see for example Sorensen, 2000; Karki, 2004; Mathur, 2013; Muñoz Gielen, 2016; Hieu, 2018; Kötter, 2018). Trust is also important for building a working relationship and vice versa. Trust is formed by positive experiences throughout the years, while already established trust can strengthen this bond even further (see for example Needham, 2003; Needham & De Kam, 2004). For example, mistrust between private agents and the central and local government, but also landowner distrust of land management, pose major obstacles for land readjustment processes (Condessa et al., 2018). Based on these findings it can be concluded that trust is important or even essential in a land readjustment process.

§3.5.2 – Some considerations

In this regard, it is important to make a distinction between giving consent for a land readjustment process or reaching consensus. To reach both states, a certain level of trust is required. However, giving consent implies a more passive attitude of landowners towards authorities, while reaching consensus can mean an active and engaging attitude. A rough dichotomy can be observed. On the one hand there are countries in which support for land readjustment is more focussed on receiving consent from the owners, such as Japan (Sorensen, 2007). Here, obligatory participation measures and passive forms of involvement, such as consultation, are prevalent. On the other hand, there are countries in which voluntary approaches are more central and where reaching consent is based on negotiation, mutual

understanding and collaboration. The Netherlands, Nepal and Colombia are examples of this variant (Karki, 2004; Eberhard, 2018; Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018b).

But what is “giving consent” and what is “consensus”? Depending on the country in question, how these terms are defined can differ significantly. This is illustrated by Sorensen (2007) in the case of land readjustment processes in Japan. A long tradition of collaborative and consensual decision-making and group mobilization is often used as an explanation for the successful use of land readjustment in Japan. However, and in the words of Sorensen (2007 in Hong & Needham, 2007, p. 90): ‘there are however several problems with emphasizing the Japanese propensity for consensus as the basis of land readjustment’. One of these is that, although special traditions of groupism and consensus formation do exist in Japan, the Japanese concept of consensus has to be approached critically. Sorensen notes that it ‘is not merely a question of translation, although the Japanese term is often used to mean “to consent” or “to give permission”, a considerably narrower concept than consensus, which, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, means “to achieve general agreement”’ (Sorensen, 2007 in Hong & Needham, p. 91). Furthermore, the notion of consensus is closely tied to Japan’s history and politics during the twentieth century, which was partly focussed on reinforcing traditions of village solidarity and deference to authority to bring national goals closer. These decision-making structures relied on the deference of those lower in the status hierarchy to those above and the need to preserve group harmony by averting disagreements, sometimes at significant costs to individuals (Dore, 1978).

Moreover, it is important when considering involvement which parties are denied access, which are not, and what are the rights of both. In most countries, landowners and their corresponding rights to ownership are actively involved in cooperation with the (local) government. However, and especially in urban areas, more types of actors than these can be affected by a land readjustment project. The wider community and tenants are examples of groups who are affected, but mostly not involved. Civil- and tenant rights are of course relevant, but the degree of participation is usually limited to consultation or information sharing. This is for example the case in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia and Taiwan (Agrawal, 1999; Lin & Ding, 2018).

§3.5.3 – Making trust in land readjustment processes visible

Taking these considerations into account, it is possible to compose a spectrum in which a distinction is made between voluntary or self-organization types of land readjustment versus giving consent or even obligatory participation (Figure 3). The degree of voluntariness of involvement and the process-phase illustrate how trust is developed and strengthened or enforced throughout a general land readjustment process. The colours illustrate how trust crystallizes into documents (blue), informal communication (yellow), sessions or meetings (red) and persons or groups (green). When colours overlap, a combination is possible. The spectrum will be discussed in the following paragraphs with the help of the international literature on land readjustment.

There are several ways to initiate a land readjustment process. As already mentioned in chapter one, public initiative prevails in Germany, Japan, Spain and Turkey, while private initiative is mostly present in France and the Netherlands (Needham, 2007; Turk, 2008). Majority voting is seen as a way to secure the property rights of smaller landowners and means that a project can only be approved if a majority of the landowners votes for it who also

represent a majority of the land area (Needham, 2007). A bit to the right of the spectrum is public initiative, which can be organized with (the establishment of) several public agencies, corporations or companies (see for example Turk, 2008; Muñoz Gielen, 2016 and Bayartuvshin, 2018). The position of public initiative in the spectrum can be explained from the observation that, in principle, (local) governments aim to realize collective goals and represent the community in the choices and plans they make. However, this does not automatically imply that participation of land owners and the surrounding community is actively secured. Plans can be developed top-down, and participation can be limited to consultation (see for example Larsson, 1997 about Western-Australia). There are of course alternatives. For example, a form of on-demand participation in Mongolia is secured via the possibility to make a request to be involved in the land readjustment process (Bayartuvshin, 2018).

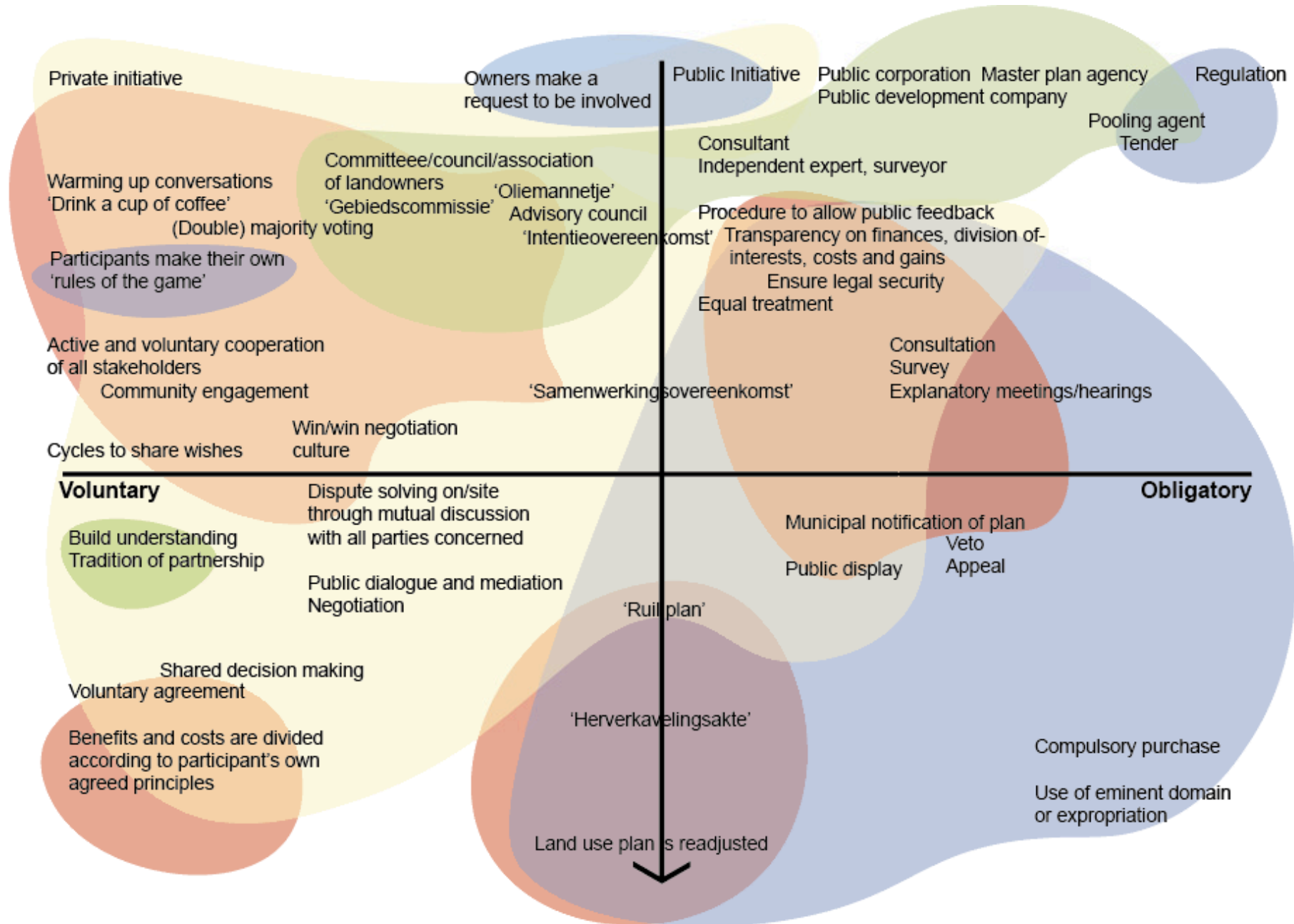
After initiation and the demarcation of the area, in most countries, committees, councils and associations of landowners are established by landowners as well as local governments to secure landowners' participation in the process and as a way to stimulate trust from other landowners or the wider community. The focus is on giving information and thus providing certainty about the process, but also communicating guidelines. Therefore, trust is established by creating foreseeability about how the entire process will roughly look like concerning the procedural outline and rules that should be followed (right side of the spectrum) or made (left side of the spectrum). Foreseeability is not the same as predictability, since the outcome of the process will be unknown up until later phases.

Voluntary processes may make use of informal warming-up conversations, often executed by the local representatives from the committees to start collaboration and map everyone's wishes, obstacles and grudges. In the Netherlands, the so-called "olliemannetje", a special type of mediator, is seen as important to bring landowners together and get information that local governments often miss or are not entrusted (Expert interview I, February 23 2018 and Expert interview IV, May 2 2018). Often, these types of intermediaries are from the local community and possess extensive knowledge about local relations between people, their interests and possible conflicts. Consultants, independent experts or surveyors are roles that may have an intermediary nature too. However, these roles are mainly played by professionals from outside the community, such as from the land registry or a consultancy company (see for example Larsson, 1997; Sorensen, 2007). An actor that is more on the right side of the spectrum is the pooling agent or *urbanizador* in Spain (Gozalvo Zamorano & Muñoz Gielen, 2017). This actor is appointed via a public tender initiated by a municipality and implements the land readjustment. Landowners can also bid for this role, but often have to compete with developers. Since the municipality has the final word on who becomes the urbanizing agent and land owners are obligated to collaborate with it, this role is placed on the right of the spectrum (Muñoz Gielen & Korthals Altes, 2007).

The organization of collaboration, negotiation and involvement forms the main part of a land readjustment process. It is possible that participants make their own "rules of the game" through several cycles in which wishes are shared, but also via existing procedures that are laid down in regulation. Public authorities mostly make sure that a procedure for public feedback is in place and that transparency, legal security and equal treatment is secured (Sorensen, 2000; Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018b; Kötter, 2018). In the Netherlands, the intention of stakeholders to participate is laid down in an "Intentieovereenkomst" or intention agreement. Thereafter, the choice to collaborate is laid down in a "Samenwerkingsovereenkomst" or

collaboration agreement. These documents have no legal character, such as a contract, but are used to keep stakeholders engaged, involved and aware of the agreements they have

Figure 3 – Spectrum of manifestation and organization of trust in a land readjustment process (Author, 2018)



made together (Expertinterview V, June 26 2018). The idea of signing it is more or less enough. Therefore, it can be seen more as a psychological tool than a binding document.

Negotiations on the left side of the spectrum are mainly aimed at consensus in which mutual understanding and a tradition of partnership is built to establish and underpin trust. Public dialogue and mediation are central to this process (see for example Kusum Joshi & Shrestha, 2018; Khamaisi, 2018). More to the right of the spectrum are countries where land readjustment processes mainly consist of participation by landowners in terms of consultation, surveys and explanatory meetings (Karki, 2004; Sorensen, 2007).

In the Netherlands, negotiations end when a certificate of exchange or “Ruilakte” is signed. Thereafter, the division of benefits and costs and the development of the area under question is initiated as agreed upon by all stakeholders (Expertinterview I, April 23 2018). In most countries this type of procedure is followed with ranging contributions in the finances by governments. On the right side of the spectrum compulsory purchase or expropriation are used to secure the contributions of land by owners in the development. This is for example used to secure the contributions of reluctant owners (among others Davy, 2007; Larsson, 1997).

§3.6 – Conclusion and conceptual framework

The governance context of spatial processes in general and land readjustment processes in particular can be characterized as network-based, complex and uncertain. This chapter has showed that the role of trust is significant in understanding the underlying dynamics of these processes. It can be concluded that land readjustment is a universal and world-wide instrument, based on a relatively simple principle: trading ownership rights to land. Nevertheless, a wide range of processes exist in which the general instrument is adapted and used in specific (urban) contexts. The role of trust is manifest throughout all phases, leading to some countries investing “thousands of hours” in generating public support, enthusiasm and consent for a land readjustment (Sorensen, 2000, p. 67). In other countries, trust is more manifest in regulations, procedures and consultation forms, that together form a solid structure that endures on its transparency and relative security. Collective history and institutions that are path-dependent are underlying concepts of these national contexts of land readjustment.

In the Netherlands, different types of land readjustment exist side by side. Even though the theoretical framework has provided a starting point of the orientation and importance of trust, studying trust in specific cases will be needed to fully understand its nature. The following conceptual framework provides the backbone for the remainder of this thesis that consists of a comparative case study (Figure 3).

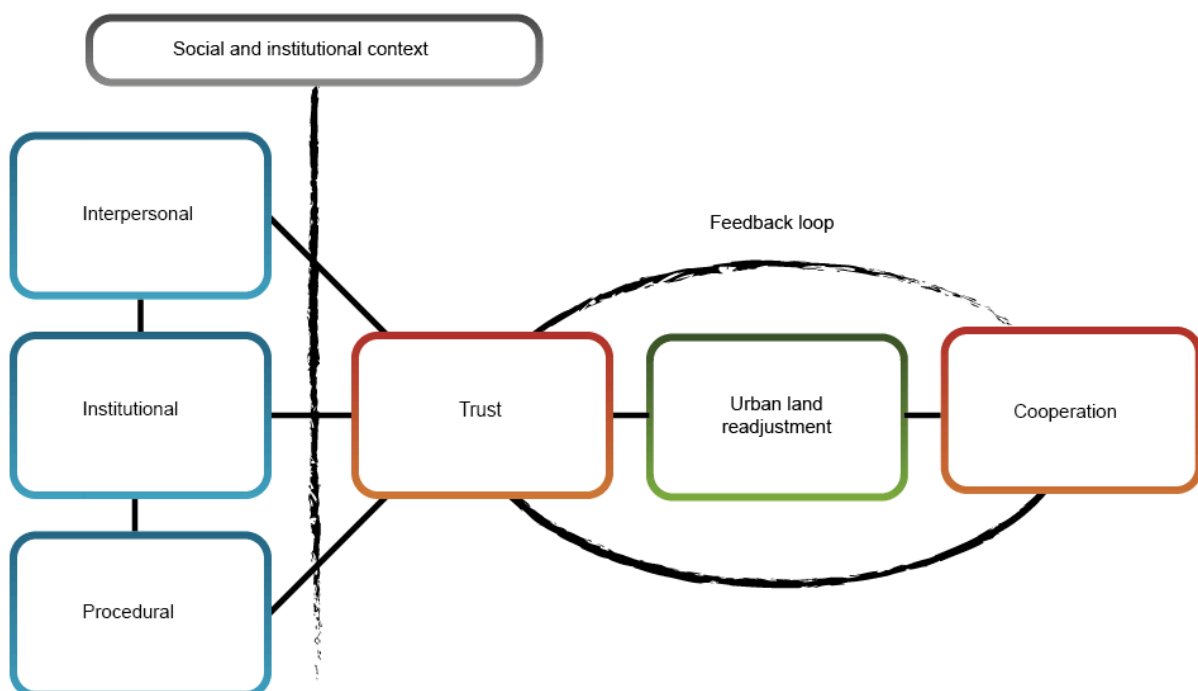
The conceptual framework combines the framework of factors of trust in spatial planning processes by Laurian (2009) with path dependence theory, its associated positive feedback effects and the complexity of governance processes that shape the social and institutional context. It consists of several assumptions:

- 1) The first assumption is that land readjustment as a spatial instrument has a central role in the interplay between trust and cooperation. It is a collaborative process in

which parties that may not trust each other need to work together to make developments possible.

- 2) The second assumption is that once the process starts, a collective history is built, thereby fuelling trust. Feelings of trust further stimulate the confidence to work together, which closes this feedback loop. Path dependency theory underlies this process: each step along a particular pathway increases the chance of further steps along the same pathway, but simultaneously also increases the cost of reverting to a previously available option.
- 3) The third assumption is that such a feedback loop exists for Dutch urban land readjustment processes. This is based on several observations from the literature, for example that these processes are characterized by a non-linear, incremental process in which the rules of the game are composed by the stakeholders themselves (among others Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018b).
- 4) The fourth assumption holds that trust is perceived as consisting of three types: interpersonal, institutional and process (Laurian, 2009).
- 5) As a fifth and final assumption, the social and institutional context cuts through the formation of “thick” and “thin” trust. Interpretations of trust are perceived as social constructs, that are formed by the stakeholders based on the (planning) culture and collective history of all involved.

Figure 4 – The conceptual framework of this thesis



PART



4 - Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the research methods, split up in the research design, sampling of cases and respondents, data collection and analysis. The theoretical chapters have resulted in a general perception of what urban land readjustment is and how the concept of 'trust' can be understood in relation to this instrument with the help of path dependence- and governance theory. This provides an opportunity to test the resulting factors from this literature review in practice. Testing hypotheses, or a deductive approach, normally belongs to the field of quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). Since this research mainly has a qualitative nature and quantitative data about trust and cooperation in Dutch spatial processes is hardly available, the empirical research will be based on qualitative information, namely semi-structured interviews, academic literature and case documents.

§4.1 - Research design

The concepts that are distinguished in the conceptual framework in figure 4 can be hard to assess and difficult to observe. A research design is needed that provides observations and findings that go deep enough to bring dynamics of trust and path dependence to the surface. A case study is the most suitable method, since it provides concrete, context-dependent knowledge, which is considered as valuable (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 224). In a case study, a contemporary phenomenon is investigated within its real-life context in which relevant behaviour within the cases cannot be influenced (Yin, 2009, p. 11).

Investigating multiple cases makes the research more robust and compelling (Yin, 2009). By choosing two cases it is possible to sufficiently go in-depth in order to make visible the underlying relational processes in a clear way, while also considering the practical constraints of time and availability that influence conducting this master thesis. Therefore, by comparing two cases and focussing on a small population, the main stakeholders, it is possible to provide a relatively rich analysis of trust dynamics. For example, it can be observed whether the type of area, a business park versus a shopping area, is of significance for establishing trust at the beginning of the area development. Choosing more cases for comparison will probably lead to a lower level of detail and thus conclusions that are too general to be of significance for research as well as practice. The decision to study two cases in-depth thus contributes to the ecological validity of the research, or the question whether scientific findings are applicable to everyday lives and practices (Bryman, 2012).

A general pitfall of a case study is a lack of generalizability and thus a lower external validity. Even though Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 229) states that generalization is overvalued and the importance of "the force of example" must be emphasized, this research nonetheless tries to deal with the pitfall of difficult generalizability of a case study. In order to make the research design more robust and display the role of trust in the urban land readjustment processes better, different methods of data collection are employed: document analysis and interviews. Document analysis consists of reviewing the academic literature as well as case documents of Helmond and Bodegraven. The interviews are split up into three groups: five experts from different working fields, five stakeholders from Bodegraven and five stakeholders from Helmond. This strategy can be defined as 'triangulation' or 'using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena' (Bryman, 2012, p. 392). In qualitative research, triangulation is for example used to check observations with interview questions to make sure that the observations of the researcher are not misunderstood. In addition, and

according to Yin (2014), the use of various types of data-sources is a strength of case study research in contrast to other research designs.

It is clear that an abstract concept such as trust is difficult to measure. Focussing on interpretations of relations instead of measurable indicators are a way to cope with this, but can cause problems of reliability and replicability in this research. Therefore, it is possible to focus on interpretations provided that definitions of concepts are clear. Definitions of 'land readjustment', 'trust', and 'path dependency' were introduced and explained in the introductory chapter on land readjustment and the theoretical framework in chapters two and three.

§4.2 - Sampling of cases and respondents

§4.2.1 – Case selection

Even though there are relatively few urban land readjustment processes finished in the Netherlands, choosing two useful case studies can still be a difficult task. The cases were chosen with the help of 'purposive sampling'. This implies that units of analysis are selected with a direct reference to the research questions. In other words, the research questions give rough guidelines of what units, for example people, need to be sampled (Bryman, 2012). Several criteria were distinguished by the author to make the process of sampling easier and the empirical research a success:

1. Completed or in the end-phase

Ideally, this research focusses on the role of trust in all phases of a Dutch urban land readjustment. A case that is still in the starting-phase does not provide complete information on the dynamics of trust and corresponding cooperation between stakeholders. Unfortunately, few cases have been completed in the Netherlands, since the urban land readjustment instrument is still in its experimental – or testing phase. Therefore, two cases have been chosen that have passed the beginning phases, but are not close to realization yet. Still, it remains that the first phases of an urban land readjustment process are often the most vital in terms of generating community support and trust. Detailed insights about the first phases of urban land readjustment processes in the Dutch context may therefore still provide useful points of reflection and improvement for researchers as well as planning professionals.

2. Two different types of areas

In the theoretical framework it was acknowledged that every urban land readjustment process is unique (De Souza et al., 2018, p. vi). Therefore, it is interesting to compare two different urban areas to analyse if and how urban land readjustment processes differ concerning trust dynamics. Thereby, an extra dimension can be added to the research, namely if and how relationships of trust between stakeholders differ or correspond depending on the function of the area where the urban land readjustment process takes place. In this research Helmond Induma-West, a business park in the Dutch province of Noord-Brabant, will be compared to the village center of Bodegraven, situated in the province of Zuid-Holland.

3. A success and a failure

Quite often, multiple examples are used to explain cases in the international literature on (urban) land readjustment processes (see for example Cain et al., 2018). A

successful and a failing case is often used to make a comparison. Since every (urban) land readjustment process can be considered as unique, following this strategy can be valuable for this research to. It also contributes to a realistic view of land readjustment as an instrument. In this research it is still difficult to say which case, Bodegraven or Helmond, will be a success and which a failure, but it is interesting to observe whether certain developments in the process lead to a failure or a success.

4. Multiple and different forms of stakeholder organization

From the international literature it can be observed that the land readjustment instrument has many faces concerning the types of actors and cooperation that are possible (see for example Home, 2007; Hong & Needham, 2007; De Souza et al., 2018). This is also the case in the Netherlands, where roles like mediators and project managers can be considered as important in rural- as well as urban cases. To understand the Dutch situation and to be able to use it for reference in later research, it is important to show multiple and different forms of trust as well as stakeholder cooperation. Examples of the second are:

- a. Formal and informal – officially captured in a document versus informally agreed upon in communication
- b. Public and private – with/without the government or in combination with the market.
- c. Old and new – embedded or formed before- versus established during the urban land readjustment process.

The cases of Helmond Induma-West and Bodegraven both display aspects of these criteria for trust and cooperation. These aspects will be further explained in the case description and empirical analysis.

§4.2.2 – Sampling of respondents

The group of respondents needs to be representative for the cases that are examined. Therefore, this thesis has aimed to include respondents from all stakeholder groups. The main stakeholders are the municipalities and the land- and real estate owners. Since the land registry has been involved with knowledge and expertise about ownership rights and data, this stakeholder is also added to this group.

Furthermore, it was decided to conduct expert interviews to corroborate the findings of the case interviews and the literature review. Thereby, the expert interviews were used as a type of control mechanism to correct for mistaken interpretations by the author and put the statements of the case interviews in a broader perspective regarding the discussion on the voluntary versus obligatory character of the urban land readjustment instrument. Four out of five of the experts interviewed have a seat in an expert group established by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and the land registry in the joint urban land readjustment program. The experts originate from different fields of expertise, such as law, area development and project management. There is also a mix of experts that are working in the academic field and practice of area development. This mixed group of respondents contributes to making just causal links between the factors in the theoretical framework. Moreover, different groups of respondents, such as experts and real estate owners, may point to different

factors that are determining for the role of trust in urban land readjustment processes. Therefore, it broadens the horizon of the author for other viewpoints and factors that were previously not included. This makes the research more complete. Concluding, this increases the internal validity of the research or 'whether a conclusion that incorporates a causal relationship between two or more variables holds water' (Bryman, 2012).

The cases are still in progress and 'outsiders' could be seen as a disturbance to the group dynamic or limiting the information that stakeholders are willing to provide. Since an urban land readjustment is often about giving insight in real estate owners' private or financial situation, this may cause unrest or other developments that are undesirable to the entire endeavor. Also, the discussion about the voluntary character of the urban land readjustment instrument may be perceived as politically sensitive. Therefore, gatekeepers were needed to gain access to the cases and the expert group. These gatekeepers were professionals from the land registry that were actively involved with the urban land readjustment instrument and helped to approach the first respondents for an interview. During the interviews, the question was asked by the author which other persons were important to provide a complete overview of the case and its dynamics of trust. This snowball method has ultimately resulted in fifteen respondents: five experts, five stakeholders of Bodegraven and five stakeholders of Helmond Induma-West. For each case, at least one representative of the municipality and the land registry was interviewed. This was supplemented with other 'key persons', such as mediators that play(ed) an important role in the cases. Unfortunately, it was not always possible to interview real estate owners. This has only been realized in the case of Bodegraven. In the case of Helmond this was compensated with an extra interview with the municipality of Helmond.

After access to the cases and experts was secured, there was still an issue of anonymity. To make sure the spatial processes in the cases were not disturbed by this research, each respondent was assigned a code. For example, the code H1 implies the first respondent that was interviewed for the case of Helmond. In the analysis and other chapters, the interviews are cited and referenced via these codes and the date of the interview. With this strategy, both the anonymity of the respondents and a just way of academic referencing is secured.

§4.3 – Data collection and -analysis

The concept of trust is the focus of this thesis. In the theoretical framework, this is defined by Laurien (2009) in terms of interpersonal, institutional and procedural trust. These three forms imply (1) trust between individuals, (2) trust of an individual in an institution such as the government or other experts, and (3) trust in the process. The role of trust is determined by these three manifestations. Furthermore, the social- and institutional context, such as planning culture, influences these types of trust. On the right part of the figure, the interrelationship of trust with cooperation and the path dependent feedback loops that are assumed to construct this relationship play a role in the importance of trust for urban land readjustment processes. All these variables are operationalized in interview questions (Appendix II).

For data collection, it was first researched what 'land readjustment' is, what actors are involved and how it is practiced in different countries and planning cultures. With this strategy, it was possible to conclude whether and how Dutch (urban) land readjustment processes differ from those in other countries. Thereafter, the concept of trust was researched, first with the help of a broader body of literature about governance and path dependency and then more focused

on the role of trust in spatial planning processes. The whole literature research was carried out with the so-called snowball technique to secure a sufficient level of saturation (Bryman, 2012).

Qualitative interviews were carried out to go more in-depth into the cases and to reconstruct what cannot be observed (Bryman, 2012). The questions asked in the interviews needed to correspond to the variables of figure four to understand the role of trust in the spatial processes in Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West (Appendix II & III). Urban land readjustment was used as a general subject to start the interviews combined with how the respondent became involved with this instrument. While the expert interviews were entirely focused on urban land readjustment in the Dutch system, context and its general relationship to trust, the case interviews were more centered around the urban land readjustment processes in the cases of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West. In the case interviews, questions about interpersonal, institutional and procedural trust were asked to make the underlying dynamics visible and understand the role of trust and related factors in the cases.

Since the word 'trust' has different meanings and connotations depending on the country and culture where or in which it is used (see for example Sorensen, 2007), the author took care to not use the word 'trust' at the beginning of the interview, but instead ask open question about cooperation and use phrase such as 'finding each other' or 'coming together'. In that way, the word trust was not prompted or forced into the conversation, but respondents were able to express on their own initiative whether it was of importance or not. By asking follow-up questions about the opinion on the importance of trust, and thus making clearer the personal definitions that respondents gave to the concept of trust, internal validity was increased since there could arise less confusion between researcher and respondent about definitions in general and trust in particular. Internal validity was also increased by asking respondents about the relationships between other stakeholders. For example, representatives of the municipality were asked how the general relationships were perceived between land- and real estate owners. Thereby, information that was given in one interview could be corroborated with other quotes and things left unsaid or untrue could be filtered.

For analysing the interviews, all the interviews were recorded with permission of the respondents. The interviews were subsequently transcribed with the help of an online tool called oTranscribe and thereafter coded in nVivo. The code structure used in nVivo, accompanied by an explanation, is included in appendix IV for transparency and replicability. By quoting from the collected data in the empirical analysis, subjectivity was countered and transparency secured. The transcripts are included in appendices V up until IXX.

At the start of this thesis it was also planned to attend and observe a working session. In these sessions, often at the beginning of a land readjustment process, stakeholders express their wishes, interests and fears. Also, possible conflicts from the past are discussed. Since both the processes of Bodegraven and Helmond have passed this station and are now more focussed on actively involving stakeholders and making deals, which mostly takes place in other settings, a session from another case would have been chosen for the observation. Even though this working session would belong to a case other than the ones that form the main analysis in this thesis, it would still provide insight into how such a session takes place in the Dutch planning context, how stakeholders are involved, what role they take and what power they possess. More importantly, an observation would provide inside information about how trust is established in a working session and what general 'tricks' or strategies are employed

by stakeholders to influence trust relationships. The observation was aimed at observing general dynamics of trust. General dynamics that are also present in the processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West could then be separated from special and important details that make the cases unique. This would give an extra layer to the analysis and make this thesis in general more robust. In order to not disturb the session or be distracting, the author would take a non-participating role and act like 'a fly on the wall'. Unfortunately, it was not possible to attend this session, since the scheduled date did not correspond to the final date for handing in the thesis. It was also difficult to find an alternative, since working sessions are relatively scarce. Therefore, the author chose to stick to the interviews and document analysis with the assumption that the different kinds of interviews (experts vs case) and documents (academic vs case) would provide enough and balanced evidence.

A general pitfall of this strategy of data collection and analysis is that to a certain extent it will be the researcher's own interpretation of the interviews that will be analysed. As was mentioned before, multiple types of data sources are used in order to increase the objective character of the research and to get a broader range of information. By using multiple sources of evidence and by using expert interviews to test the theoretical framework the research will contain a higher construct validity (Yin, 2009). By including the topic lists, transcripts and code structure the replicability and reliability are increased. Even though an extra source of data would've made the research even more robust, these solutions have resulted in a solid methodological frame for conducting this thesis.



I

V

PART

In the following chapters, sub-questions two and three will be addressed through an analysis of the in total fifteen expert- and case interviews and related case documents. Each chapter ends with a sub-conclusion, in which the most important findings are synthesized with the help of the academic literature. To provide a clear overview of the character of the cases and the stakeholders involved, this part starts with a short case description of Helmond Induma-West and Bodegraven.

5 - Case descriptions

§5.1 – Helmond Induma-West

The city of Helmond is situated in the province of Noord-Brabant (Map 1). In January 2018, the municipality of Helmond counted 90.903 inhabitants (CBS, 2018b). Induma-West, a business park of eight hectares, is part of a larger area called Hoogeind. Hoogeind is situated in the South-East of the city. The precise location of Induma-West is between the Zandstraat to the North, Churchillaan to the East, Industriehaven to the South and Montgomerystraat to the West (Municipality of Helmond, 2005; 2011). It is enclosed by a suburb called Suytkade to the west and the eastern part of Hoogeind. Induma-West has been developed in the sixties as an area for young entrepreneurs (Municipality of Helmond, 2005; 2011). Currently, there are approximately thirty active entrepreneurs, real estate- and land owners (Land Registry, 2016). The resale and service of cars, caravans and campers is the main business of entrepreneurs. Besides several smaller companies, an indoor playground and a company that focusses on textile services are two larger examples.

After fifty years, it was perceived by the Municipality of Helmond that Induma-West needed an update (Municipality of Helmond, 2005). A variety of challenges can be distinguished, of which several may be summarized in general impoverishment (Business Parks of Helmond, n.d.). First of all, the high density of buildings and the narrow streets didn't comply anymore with the municipal quality standards for business parks. It also influenced the accessibility of the business park by trucks. Second, there were problems with parking due to a lack of parking facilities. A low quality of public space posed a third challenge. An example of this is a lack of green spaces. Furthermore, poor rainwater management hampered the entrepreneurs in managing their businesses (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). Structural vacancy of buildings posed a fifth challenge. Fire safety was also under pressure. Lastly, there were problems with crime (Municipality of Helmond, 2011).

Therefore, the municipality of Helmond, the Development Company of Brabant (BOM) and the Foundation for Business Parks of Helmond took the initiative to restructure Induma-West in a likewise manner as Induma-Oost, another sub-area of Hoogeind (Municipality of Helmond, 2018). Together with local entrepreneurs, a strategy was designed in which owners and entrepreneurs were encouraged to improve their real estate. The municipality of Helmond was focused on lowering crime rates and improving public spaces. Other stakeholders that were involved in the restructuring of Induma-West were the province of Noord-Brabant and the land registry. The land registry was mainly preoccupied with providing knowledge and expertise in exploring the possibilities for urban land readjustment (Land registry, 2016).

§5.1.1 – A visual impression of Helmond Induma-West

Map 2 - Induma-West positioned between Suytkade and the remainder of Hoogeind (Google Maps, 2018)

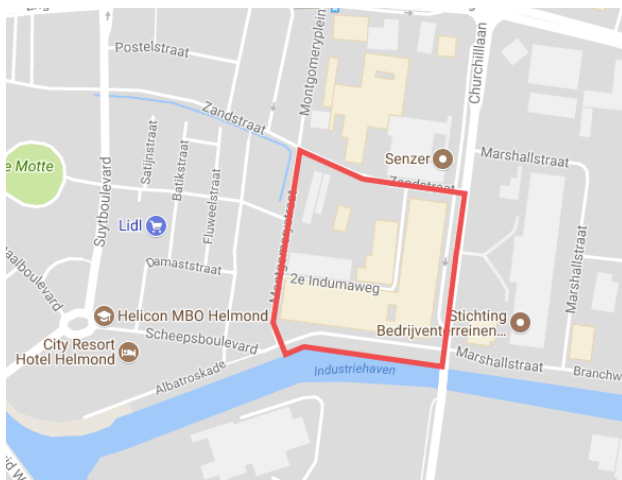


Image 3 - A more detailed satellite view of Induma-West (Google Maps, 2018)



Image 4 - “Together we work on the restructuring of Induma-West” (Google Streetview, 2017)



Image 5 - “Is land readjustment possible in a city like Helmond?” (Rood, 2017)

Kan ruilverkaveling ook in een stad als Helmond?

HELMOND - Boeren doen het al een eeuw: stukken weiland met elkaar ruilen om er beter van te worden. In Helmond loopt een proef met ruilen op een industrieterrein.

Image 6 - Parking problems and low spatial quality (Google Streetview, 2017)



Table 3 - Rough project planning of the restructuring process (Business Parks of Helmond, z.j.; My Business Location Helmond, n.d.)

First meeting	April 15, 2015
Workshop DPL	May 13, 2015
Warming-up conversations	Spring 2016
Designing public spaces	Summer 2016
Preparations	Autumn 2016
Development (2017)	January: presentations January: second work session March: SOK and development
Sharing of taxation reports	July 2017
Start restructuring Montgomery Sq.	September 17 2017
Clusters, taxations, start negotiations cluster 1	Oktober 2017

§5.2 – Bodegraven

Bodegraven is a village in the province of Zuid-Holland. In January 2018, the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk counted 33.948 inhabitants (CBS, 2018b). The area that will be analysed in this research is the village center or core shopping area, defined by the Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk as consisting of the following shopping streets: Brugstraat, Raadhuisplein, Bouwsteeg, Kerkstraat (until Oude Markt), Van Tolstraat, and Prins Hendrikstraat (between Wilhelminastraat and Willemstraat) (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). The presence of a significant number of local entrepreneurs combined with a few large shopping formulas are characteristic for this area.

The economic- and societal value of the village center, combined with challenges of real estate vacancy and impoverishment are the main challenges that prompted the Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk to initiate a redevelopment (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). Also, parking problems needed to be addressed. Even though a core shopping area was defined, developments for shops and restaurants or bars have taken place outside this area. This has resulted in vacancy being situated in the core streets, most notably Kerkstraat, Brugstraat and Van Tolstraat. Simultaneously, vacancy is very fragmented, since it concerns a various group of entrepreneurs: franchises as well as individuals. Consequently, it also has a negative influence on the experiences of people that shop and live in this area. According to the municipality, 'the economic crisis forced several shops to close their doors and housing projects weren't realized. This has caused vacancy in the center of Bodegraven and even impoverishment on some locations. Consequently, the center has become 'less attractive' (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016, p. 3).

With economic growth, new opportunities arise to redevelop the village center. Historical buildings, locations along the river Oude Rijn, and a broad variety of facilities are seen by the municipality as assets to tap into these opportunities. Therefore, the municipality has drafted a Vision on the Village Center (Centrumvisie) in 2016 and vacancy regulation in 2017 to revitalize the core shopping area, and to make it more attractive and futureproof. Signing a Retaildeal in 2017 was a consequence of this initiative (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2017; Bruinenberg, 2018). The municipality has acknowledged that local entrepreneurs and real estate owners play an important role in revitalizing the village center. Therefore, these parties were actively involved in designing solutions for the problems at hand, together with the Entrepreneurial Association of Bodegraven (BOV in Dutch). Similar to the process in Helmond, the land registry was involved with knowledge and expertise as an inspiration and independent moderator for negotiations (Land Registry, 2018b).

§5.2.1 – A visual impression of Bodegraven

Map 3 - The core shopping streets of Bodegraven (Google Maps, 2018)



Image 7 - Vacancy in the village center (Google Street View, 2017)



Image 8 - "Fear for even more vacancy" (Brandriet, 2017)

Angst voor nog meer leegstand

Image 9 - An impression of buildings in the shopping center (Mul, 2017)



Image 10 - Impression of the future of the village center from the City Center Vision (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016)

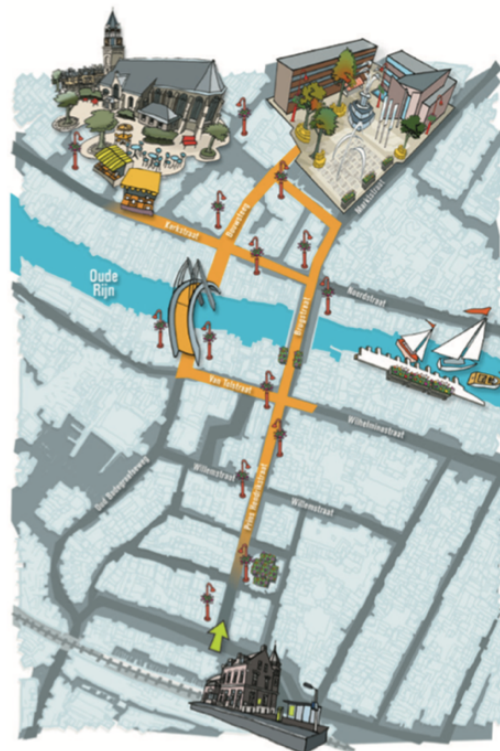


Image 11 - The waterfront in Bodegraven (Google Street View, 2017)



6 – Types of trust

This chapter focusses on the second sub-question: how do different types of trust manifest themselves in the urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West? Section one elaborates on some general trust dynamics that became apparent in both cases. Sections two and three focus more on differences: how is trust perceived differently in Induma-West than in Bodegraven and what differences exist between the various types of trust between stakeholders?

§6.1 – General dynamics

§6.1.1 – Process

Flexibility, clarity, honesty, and vigor

When asking about what an urban land readjustment process would ideally look like all kinds of answers are given by experts as well as case respondents. Even though it is underlined that every process is unique, several general dimensions are emphasized. For example, flexibility, clarity and honesty are considered as significant for a project team when putting effort into a process that is voluntary and without a specific layout.

For securing flexibility, maintaining a short-term horizon, securing space for stakeholders to opt out, and being open to different worldviews and ‘languages’ are contributing factors (Expert interview V, June 29 2018; Case interview B2, June 4 2018; Case interview B3, May 29 2018; Case interview H4, June 26 2018). It is also about acknowledging that an urban land readjustment should not be the end-goal of an area development, even though this is often assumed in practice (see for example Expert interview IV, May 2 2018; Case interview B3, May 29 2018 and Ministry of the Internal and Kingdom Relations, 2018). Instead, it should be seen as a means or tool by which collective goals of a community may be realized, such as an improved environment for land- and real estate owners and their tenants. Urban land readjustment is a method in the form of a spatial instrument by which goals like this can be attained. Almost in every interview and in both cases, this point was highlighted (see for example Expert interview V, June 29 2018; Case interview H1, May 3 2018 and Case interview B4, May 31 2018). As one respondent involved in the case of Helmond explained:

“And I think that it often just helps to kickstart transformation, to start a conversation about it [and] in the end it is off course possible that readjustment takes place.. but I think it is best if it doesn’t become a goal in itself”

Case interview H2, May 23 2018

Another strategy to secure more flexibility is to give incentive. There are several possibilities to realize this. A point of critique on the voluntary character of the urban land readjustment instrument in the Netherlands is namely that this incentive, mainly financial, is lacking for owners and weakens participation (see for example Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Case interview B5, June 12 2018). Solutions for this problem were given by several experts and those involved in the cases. A dominant recommendation is to abolish taxes on transferring ownership rights. According to one expert in the legal sector, this is a discussion that will not be settled in the near future (Expert interview E4, May 2 2018). Another recommendation is to establish a special regulation through which owners can be assisted by municipalities to

accelerate the administrative- and financial procedure for redeveloping their real estate for the common good (Case interview B5, June 12 2018). A third option is to provide an extension in the rules of a land use plan, by which owners have more possibilities for development on their plots. Fourth, one expert coined the possibility that the municipality adopts a former private road or driveway and takes up the maintenance. On the one hand, the owner is not responsible anymore for his/her driveway. On the other hand, the municipality has to pay for the maintenance, but also receives more real estate tax. Furthermore, both parties enjoy the value increase of the company under question (Expert interview V, June 29 2018).

Considering clarity, giving clear information about process steps, meetings and deadlines is seen as indispensable to a successful process. This implies for example maintaining open communication and keeping stakeholders updated about developments, even when there is not much new information to give. This was seen as a point of improvement in the case of Helmond. Here, a consequence of putting a lot of energy by the project team in the negotiations to make land readjustments possible on some occasions overshadowed keeping all those involved updated about events, big or small (Case interview H1, May 3 2018; Case interview H3, May 24 2018).

Third, honesty is seen as key in solving conflicts and establishing trust. In combination with transparency about the process, it has for example contributed in Bodegraven to acknowledge conflicts between stakeholders and moving on (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). In Helmond, it was experienced by the project team that land- and real estate owners did not always keep their word regarding deals with other owners and the municipality. Therefore, it was coined by a member of the project team that all meetings and communication should be recorded or at least written down in a more complete way than was currently the case. By that manner, owners and the municipality could be held accountable:

“Voluntary is not the same as no obligations and eh.. the convenience by which some entrepreneurs in the process agree on things and then with the same convenience cancel that agreement, [...] is something that I don't have a solution for, but I think that recording, asking 'Did we agree on this?' and confirming all conversations in writing and also.. For example, what I haven't done is record phone calls with individual entrepreneurs. I think that I should have just done that.”

Case interview H3, May 24 2018

Apart from these three factors, vigor is also relevant to mention. Together with for example clarity, it provides a basis to form trust at the beginning of an urban land readjustment process. For example, in the starting phases of the process in Helmond, the project team gave the initiative for designing deals to the land- and real estate owners. After a year, it appeared that no deals had been made or considered. Several members of the project team now acknowledge that the land- and real estate owners needed more direction and vigor to have made this a success. An example is the following quote:

“[...] I think that if they would've sat tight on that, also with noting agreements and share those with each other, that everyone's' responsibilities would be clearer and trust would be established between the stakeholders, like 'What are we doing right now?', but also 'What do I value about this stakeholder and what can I get back from him?'”

Case interview H5, July 9 2018

Another example of how vigor can be realized is showing quick wins. This became apparent in Bodegraven, where one stakeholder emphasized that making developments visible creates more support and trust from the local community:

“So, there are all kinds of plans, but what Bodegraven needs and a lot of other municipalities, is that suddenly everyone thinks “What happens here? First there was this ugly place and now it is something beautiful with a nice shop in it” Then you get those dynamics: it has to become visible. [...] [Currently,] a couple of buildings have been sold, but at that moment actually nothing happens.”

Case interview B5, June 12 2018

Taking initiative

The main idea behind the Dutch urban land readjustment instrument is that land- and real estate owners take the initiative to solve problems they find urgent. However, most if not all urban land readjustment processes in the Netherlands are started by (local) governments (Expert interview 2, April 25 2018). At the same time, municipalities acknowledge that a new strategy is required than before the financial crisis of 2008. The focus should be on ‘collaborating with, instead of fighting against the municipality’ (Case interview H4, June 26 2018). This is illustrated in both cases. According to one professional involved in Bodegraven:

“So.. the municipality has been greatly aware of.. [...] that they have to show that cooperation sometimes means doing something that the municipality finds difficult, or something that couldn’t be spoken of in the past.. to become flexible in that. So on the one hand they are good in giving guidance, but they also want to move along and keep a balance between both.”

(Case interview B3, May 29 2018)

In Helmond, private initiative and more collaboration is realized with a strategy that is integral and demand-oriented. The municipality promises to improve public space and secure safety, under the condition that owners invest in their real estate. Re-profiling public spaces is used as a catalyst for other developments by generating positive energy and more engagement with the business park (Municipality of Helmond, 2016). The project has been given a special status as an experiment or ‘proeftuin’ to underline the specific character of the area (Municipality of Helmond, 2014).

Skills and tact

Overall, interviewees involved in the cases point out that the process is based on the skills and tact of people to succeed or ‘mensenwerk’, literally translated to ‘human work’ in English. ‘Mensenwerk’ also means that the urban land readjustment process is unpredictable. Theories and thoughts about how things should be done often look different in practice. For example in Helmond, the project team initially let owners free to negotiate and prepare deals for land readjustments themselves. However, this resulted in less negotiation than expected (Case interview H5, July 9 2018). Negotiations that did happen were quite unrealistic with bids for land and real estate that were too far apart. It also resulted in some conflict and suspicion between owners. This ‘damage’ had to be repaired later on by the project team, which took time and effort (Case interview H3, May 24 2018).

Therefore, the process of designing and executing an urban land readjustment process is a lot about form (Expert interview V, June 29 2018). To foster a constructive discussion and meaningful cooperation, various means are employed that are aimed at ultimately signing a 'Ruilakte' or certificate for trading ownership rights. Besides consultation in the form of information meetings, interactive and participative methods prevail. It is underlined in both cases that starting the process with consultation and then adding interactive methods is preferred. Again, the process in Helmond, where informal negotiations between land- and real estate owners were immediately stimulated, which resulted in the opposite of what was expected by the project team, offers a useful example of the opposite (Case interview H3, May 24 2018).

Placing land- and real estate owners in small groups, giving them a pen, and letting them draw the first plans for improving an area is seen as an example of such an interactive method and a way to give owners control. This sometimes results in drawing out wishes that are not realistic, but does provide a starting point for negotiations when the project is progressing (Expert interview I, April 23 2018). In Bodegraven a simulation game was played, in which real estate owners had to restructure the city center by moving and reshuffling functions, such as retail and restaurants (Image 12 & 13). The buildings were turned into small colored blocks, in order to make them anonymous and prevent conflict (Ministry of the Internal and Kingdom Relations, 2018; Case interview B2, June 4 2018; Case interview B3, May 29 2018).

§6.1.2 - Debate

In both cases as well as the expert interviews, links are often made to the general debate about the urban land readjustment instrument in the legal sense. The fact that urban land readjustment processes in the Netherlands are not embedded in law, are free form and based on voluntary participation of stakeholders, is often perceived as labor-intensive and complex. Apart from giving owners incentive and providing exceptions in land use plans (please refer to paragraph 6.1.1 about flexibility), other wishes and recommendations are expressed to cope with the issue of commitment. For example, process molds are recommended in which a rough outline is given of a 'typical' urban land readjustment process. Currently, these molds are being developed by the land registry and focus on securing the intention to participate in the process, to let all stakeholders cooperate and to trade ownership rights (Expert interview I, April 23 2018). Another recommendation to secure commitment is to let every stakeholder deposit a sum of money to cover procedural costs. The motivation behind this is that, when

Image 12 & 13 - The simulation game in Bodegraven



Source: Bruinenberg (2018)

the owner expects that the return on his or her investments will be low, he or she will probably still be committed to cooperate to get the deposit back (Expert interview I, April 23 2018). Overall, it can be observed that recommendations for increasing commitment mainly have a financial character.

§6.2 – The role of trust

The role of trust is generally perceived as important or even essential. In the words of one expert:

“Without trust, you can forget everything what I have just said.”

Expert interview V, June 29 2018

However, motivations do differ as to why trust is necessary for a good urban land readjustment process. The first group of people, equally consisting of experts and spatial professionals, perceive trust as an essential factor for working together and getting a process of urban land readjustment started. Trust is perceived as important for making plans based on genuine commitment. Since commitment takes time to grow, trust should be fostered already from the beginning of a process (among others Expert interview I, April 23 2018; Case interview H2, May 23 2018). Correspondingly, trust should be focused on strengthening relationships and have a personal character (Case interview H4, June 26 2018). At the same time, it is observed that even though fostering trust is essential, it is almost never part of a spatial process. Even though this statement is quite straight-forward, one municipal professional of the municipality of Helmond said that:

“In our project plans, our culture, procedures and similar stuff, we never plan such things. We never plan six months with the goal to trust each other, you know. Because, sometimes I think, if we went to Rotterdam to the Markthallen with everyone or whatever, got to know each other, ate together afterwards and did a nice small workshop about urban land readjustment, we could have saved six months of process.”

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

In this perspective, trust is seen as something that has to be established rather than restored from older patterns: the process is new, so the trust you want to establish should be new to (Expert interview II, April 25 2018).

The other perspective is that trust is important, but more seen as ‘bycatch’ from working together (Expert interview III, April 30 2018; Expert interview IV, May 2 2018). So, instead of starting to foster trust by communicating and solving conflicts, trust is perceived as something that will grow more or less automatically during the entire process when stakeholders work together and make developments possible. Therefore, why trust is important is more related to cooperation, which is indeed needed for a good urban land readjustment process, but does not have to be optimal for getting things done. Corresponding with this perspective, one expert emphasizes that:

“So a lot of form and if you manage that well and the circumstances are good, often the content comes to the table too.”

Expert interview V, June 29 2018

However, trust is also a fragile thing: it takes a long time to establish and may diminish in seconds. In the interviews, this was often expressed with the Dutch saying “*trust comes on foot and goes on horse*”. The role of trust and its fragile nature will now be further elaborated upon with the cases of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West.

§6.2.1 – The role of trust in the case of Bodegraven

Social- and institutional context

Bodegraven is a village with a history of cheese production. Throughout the years, some cheese company owners withdrew from production and started to invest in real estate. This has resulted in a large group of owners of different shapes and sizes in the village center (Case interview B1, May 8 2018; Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). One interviewee also underlined that everyone knows each other well. This influences the dynamics of trust between owners, but also in respect to the municipality and other stakeholders. According to this respondent:

‘It is often based on incidents from the past. [...] ‘I see how he acts’, ‘He never makes a decision’, eh.. ‘He never invests’ [...]. So it doesn’t have to be a personal experience. Bodegraven is off course not a very big village, a lot of people know each other, so eh.. they often know about each other’s character. That sometimes creates a pitfall, because they do not know the issue well, but assume it is that way. Eh.. but that often has to do with the past.’

Case interview B3, May 23 2018

Related to this social cohesion is the involvement of the local community with the village of Bodegraven. This also leads to concern about the challenges that Bodegraven is facing, of which vacancy is the most important. This was expressed by the Mayor on one of the opening sessions for the redevelopment of the village center (Case interview B3, May 29 2018), but also in several news articles (Omroep West, 2017; AD, 2017).

It is observed that changes in positions, for example in the municipal organization, but also in the project team that facilitates an urban land readjustment process, create uncertainty for stakeholders. According to one stakeholder:

“And trust consists of multiple layers. [Once in every four years] you have off course municipal elections, do you have faith that, I always call them ‘the new Cabinet’ of Bodegraven, which you do not know yet, that they will execute the same things?”

Case interview B5, June 12 2018

After such an event, relationships with the municipality need to be rebuilt and there is a possibility that the priorities of a new municipal Council are different than from the one that was in place before. Combined with the historical character of the village and the role of the social environment, these aspects from the social- and institutional context influence the role of trust in the redevelopment of the city center of Bodegraven.

Interpersonal trust

It can be observed from the interviews that there existed a base of interpersonal trust between real estate owners at the beginning of the redevelopment process. Even though different kinds

of owners existed, big or small, professional or semiprofessional, a significant percentage had united themselves in the Entrepreneurial Association of Bodegraven. This is caused by the fact that entrepreneurs in Bodegraven often own the real estate where the business is situated in, for example shops and restaurants. In the last few years, the number of members of this association has increased from 70-74 people to 130. According to one professional this means that owners see the urgency of redeveloping the village center (Case interview B4, May 31 2018).

It can be observed that trust between real estate owners has increased during the process, but simultaneously has maintained a flexible character. With the help of several meetings and events, such as the simulation game or meetings in the informal sphere, owners got to know each other better and were able to discard some of their prejudice against one another (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). An example of this was given by a real estate owner:

“So I asked what was exactly the problem and why they had never approached me. I showed them that I tried to place young entrepreneurs in the shopping areas by asking a realistic rent. By sitting down at a table and starting a dialogue something at least opens up.”

Case interview B5, June 12 2018

Also, real estate owners prefer to work together in a network-based setting (Case interview B3, May 23 2018; Case interview B5, June 12 2018). The municipality has suggested to establish a platform to create a central place to communicate with the real estate owners. However, the real estate owners have rejected this platform, saying that stimulating them via informal meetings and facilitating the existing network works better. This is based on experiences from the past, in which owners have built up their own social networks. For owner-entrepreneurs this is for example the Entrepreneurial Association of Bodegraven. This has resulted in several meetings of different types and sorts, for example a collective dinner with representatives of the municipality and the land registry (Case interview B4, May 31 2018).

On the other hand, a percentage of the real estate owners in Bodegraven still refuses to participate. This is seen as a problem by for example the municipality. At the same time, understanding for this attitude can also be observed, but it creates a point of focus to improve the process:

“Yes. Yes. Sometimes you would’ve wanted more of that... The involvement and participation of entrepreneurs leaves much to be desired. This also has to do eh.. not always because they don’t want to, but also that there is just no time and/or possibilities, because these entrepreneurs are so stuck to their business that they do not make the effort to contribute, you know. But there are also entrepreneurs that think ‘Well.. things are being cared for..’, you know. And that is off course an easy thought. Somebody has to do it and you cannot do it alone, so eh.. I think that is a point of focus.”

Case interview B4, May 31 2018

Trust in the municipality and the land registry

The shared history of real estate owners and the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk influenced the beginning of the process. Several efforts were made to involve owners, for example by sending a letter with the intentions of the municipality. Furthermore, a pop-up store was installed in a vacant building, where the local community could express their own ideas

and wishes for the village center (Case interview B2, June 4 2018). Another effort was the organization of the two-day festival (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). Some response was generated of which image 14 and 15 are examples.

However, it also became apparent that there were conflicts between real estate owners and the municipality. These were often focused on past measures that were taken in public spaces and where real estate owners and entrepreneurs were being bothered by, such as parking- and waste policies (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). The municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk chose to cope with this by acknowledging all these conflicts at the very beginning of the redevelopment process, making excuses, but also underlining the need to leave the past behind and focus on the future. This was done in an informal setting in the presence of real estate owners and the entire College of Mayor and Aldermen. According to one interviewee, the recognition of these conflicts was very important, coupled with the honest remark that the people from the municipality also make mistakes (Case interview B3, May 23 2018). It can be observed that this gave a more or less 'human' dimension to the perspective of the municipality as a 'many-headed monster'. It also gave the impetus to the formation of new trust bonds, since a situation with the character of a clean slate between the municipality and the real estate owners was created.

Since the initiative to improve the village center originated at the municipality, efforts were made to repair administrative conflicts and establish new trust. An important factor in this was the village center manager, a person from the local community who served as the binding factor between the municipality and real estate owners (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). At first, this person mainly represented the Local Entrepreneurial Association. As the process continued, he also became involved with the municipality (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). This person approached all real estate owners individually and invited them to express their concerns and hopes for the future. The fact that this mediator was both involved with the municipality as well as the Entrepreneurial Association, and was from the local community, resulted in a kind of independent position in which real estate owners dared to tell this person more than when they met with the municipality (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). Another important role was played by the mayor of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk. According to one member of the project team:

Image 14 & 15 - Examples of suggestions from the local community to improve the village center of Bodegraven



Source: Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016

“Yes, I have to say that Bodegraven is very lucky with its mayor. He is very good in connecting people and is able to communicate the story very well and a person who can unite people to say ‘We want to go there together, this is what we need, this is how we want to interact’. I have to say that that works very well. He can hit the right chord.”

Case interview B3, May 29 2018

While trust in the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk needed some time to be established, it can be observed that there were few doubts about the reputation of the land registry. In the role as an independent mediator, the land registry was able to stimulate real estate owners to look beyond their own interests and focus on the collective goal of making the village center of Bodegraven more attractive and futureproof (Land Registry, 2018b). This was also acknowledged by the real estate owners and the municipality.

“You could notice, and that is why I found the land registry so powerful, with the simulation game and the mediating role they’ve played therein, was that they at least put stakeholders around a table. That finally, stakeholders tell others what their plans are in a large venue, and that is what I found brilliant, because it created transparency [..]. That transparency, that is a very important factor, eh.. [..] It has increased, by what the land registry has done.”

Case interview B5, June 12 2018

Trusting the process

Since the ownership of the real estate in the village center of Bodegraven was quite fragmented, it was seen as complex to bring all stakeholders together in one process (Land Registry, 2018b). As was mentioned in the sub-paragraph about interpersonal trust, there were also some real estate owners who refused to participate. Apart from the ones that were very much involved with their business, or the people that invested in real estate for their pensions, others expected that nothing would happen, or others would take care of the problems that Bodegraven was dealing with (Case interview B4, May 31 2018). Therefore, trust in the process to redevelop the city center was differing. It can be observed that a contributing factor to this situation was that there was uncertainty about the motives and strategy of the main initiator of the process: the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk. According to one stakeholder:

“Well, I think that there is currently a massive momentum. The economy is doing well, there is a lot of money. Thus, there are stakeholders, semi-professionals, [..] that would like to invest. Eh.. and in the end not a lot is happening yet, because a lot is unknown. It is still unknown what the plans of the municipality really are in the core shopping area [..] On the one hand, they are encouraging retailers to move to the core shopping area, while it is not clear what will happen with the locations when they leave, concerning land use. [..] So eh.. the municipality [..] needs to be very clear about ‘this is the core shopping area, on those locations development is allowed, this is what we as a municipality want to do about the infrastructure and such, and now we want to continue. Currently, everyone is waiting for each other [..].”

Case interview B5, June 12 2018

This is an interesting observation, since the demarcation of the core shopping area is defined in the vision that the municipality of Bodegraven has developed (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). Which streets belong to the core shopping area are summed up (see also map 3 and image 10). Furthermore, the vision gives information about the goals that are

pursued, and in general where developments are allowed and where not. It is also expressed that former shopping buildings outside the core shopping area are transformed into dwellings. However, since the quote above is oriented towards 'what the plans of the municipality *really* are', it may be possible that real estate owners expect the municipality to have a hidden agenda that differs from what is expressed in the vision on the village center of Bodegraven. Since this observation is however based on only one quote it is not possible to draw a solid conclusion.

§6.2.2 – The role of trust in the case of Helmond

Social- and institutional context

There are several factors belonging to the social- and institutional context that influenced and continue to influence the role of different types of trust in the restructuring of Helmond Induma-West. The first is the positive stance of local politics regarding restructuring (Case interview H4, June 26 2018; Municipality of Helmond, 2014). This has helped to maintain the urgency for solving the problems in the business park. The second factor is related to identity and concerns a special group of entrepreneurs that are still situated in Induma-West. This group of entrepreneurs, often born and raised on trailer parks nearby, trade in cars and caravans and, according to one respondent:

“Those are real traders. Look, what we want the most [as municipality] is a neat business park, but they are fine with a simple space or garage, because then they can store their goods and make a quick turnover, so they make enough money. That is enough, at least for them. It looks bad and doesn't encourage large investments in other real estate, but on the other hand they have the right like any other trade company to situate themselves somewhere. Because, where else could they land?”

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

Even though perceptions differed among stakeholders what was exactly wrong, right, ugly or beautiful, there was agreement about the current situation in Induma-West and the problems that existed (Case interview H4, June 26 2018; Bedrijventerreinen Helmond, n.d.). This is the third factor and concerns partly shared norms and values about what a business park would ideally look like. In Helmond in general and Induma specifically, there were problems with criminal activities. These were known with the municipality and in the media (Municipality of Helmond, 2005; FD, 2015). Therefore, the urgency and willingness were present to improve the situation (see for example Municipality of Helmond, 2011; 2016).

It can be observed that this influenced the spatial process in Induma-West. According to one respondent:

“The point on the horizon was to give Induma-West a new face. It is situated between Suytkade and Induma-Oost ehm.. and Induma-Oost has been completely refurbished, it all looks nice, and Suytkade is the important inner-city development area for housing, so Helmond cares about making that look good. [Induma-West] was a bit of a rotten place in between and it just had to get a new face to fill in this entire area.”

Case interview H5, July 9 2018

Thus, what also contributed to the urgency to solve these problems, was the successful redevelopment of another industrial area nearby: Induma-Oost. Before development, this area

had a bad reputation (Rooijers, 2015; Business Parks of Helmond, z.j., 2018). The municipality decided to remove all criminal activities and use a strategy whereby land- and real estate owners, often also the entrepreneurs that were situated there, were encouraged to improve their possessions. This strategy became successful and left its traces in the minds of the owners and entrepreneurs in Induma-West (Case interview H4, June 26 2018).

Interpersonal

It can be observed from the interviews that trust relationships between land- and real estate owners, also often the entrepreneurs in the area, were not necessarily good or really bad. There existed a shared urgency about the problems of for example parking and rain water management. These problems hindered the owners-entrepreneurs in their daily work. Still, owner-entrepreneurs were mostly focused on their own business and possessions. According to one municipal professional:

“[...] Often one owner wants something and the other wants to help, but in the end, he just wants a good deal. So, the owner wants a bit more than what [the real estate] is worth, because otherwise it is not a nice deal. In that situation it could be better to stay there, rent it out, or something else.”

Case interview H1, May 3 2018

There also exist(ed) conflicts between owner-entrepreneurs. These were mostly focused on personal matters. Even though some conflicts were small or happened a long time ago, they had a strong influence on current actions and experiences. In the restructuring process of Induma-West, it was sometimes hard to close deals, because of the underlying sentiments:

“Well, [...] these were determining the process, because in individual conversations... we just heard that certain owners said, ‘We will not negotiate with those owners, because in the past it has gone wrong, so that is no use’.”

Case interview H2, May 23 2018

Interpersonal trust was also under pressure because of the switches in positions by the project team. According to a member of the project team, this is caused by the way in which interaction and communication takes place differently with a new team member, while the rules and guidelines of the process stay the same. Interaction and communication take place differently, since every individual is unique and a process like urban land readjustment in the Netherlands is seen as almost completely based on the skills and tact of people.

‘The owner mostly stays the same during the process. [...] When a new project leader arrives, who has his own insights and opinions, the rules and guidelines stay the same. But it is the way in which you interact, how you communicate, that already gives rise to some... tension or trust. But if you cannot live up to that [trust] in reverse, [...] it is another situation, [...] you can start over in the process [of building trust].’

(Case interview H3, May 24 2018)

For example, one professional changed position from the land registry to the municipality of Helmond. This opened up a position for a representative from the land registry, which was filled in some time later by a person who was previously not involved in Induma-West. According to one respondent:

“It is a running train.. ehm.. and it is a new face and a face without knowledge. So.. [...] I will just say that.. yes, I think that had an impact [on the process].”

Case interview H2, May 23 2018

Another member of the project team left the Development Company of Brabant for a consultancy- and engineering firm and remained involved in Induma-West. How all these switches in positions are perceived differs. It can be observed that some respondents thought that these switches went smooth and did not cause any burden to the process and contact with the land- and real estate owners. It was explained that several arrangements were made to smoothen the process, for example by clear and enduring communication with the other stakeholders about new developments, motives and positions:

“So [he] switched his role, which was still an issue, but he has handled it properly and that is also accepted.”

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

“That was in a phase in which a lot of work had already been done. And eh.. yes the transfer went relatively smooth, so it was actually not a big problem.”

Case interview H5, July 9 2018

However, other respondents from the case did see it as a burden, since the switches in positions created uncertainty for the real estate owners about who they were actually talking to and what the real underlying motives were:

“And the change of individuals does not leave a good impression [with real estate owners], and then I still express this carefully.”

Case interview H3, May 23 2018

This differing view on interpersonal relationships regarding the project team is an interesting observation about the role of trust in the restructuring in Helmond Induma-West. It also had an influence on the trust owners had in the project team and made conducting the activities by the project team more complex, since they continuously had to remind the owners that they were still the same project team, but individually working for other parties or companies.

Institutional

Overall, relationships between owners and the local government was of a similar character to Bodegraven. Trust in the municipality of Helmond was dwindling due to conflicts about administrative matters. Conflicts between owners and the municipality existed before the restructuring process began and continued to have an influence. Even though it was acknowledged that these types of conflict were sort of everlasting, efforts were made by the project team to solve them (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). These ranged from informally drinking coffee with owners to information meetings and working sessions. Members of the project team were strategically placed in the process and during meetings to reach optimal results. For example, the area manager was the person that approached owners via informal meetings, since it was expected and confirmed by the municipality that this person was more able to get information about owners' motives and personal situation that could be of importance to the process (Case interview H1, May 3 2018; FD, 2015). This situation was in

this regard similar to the development in Bodegraven, where for example the city center manager, the land registry and also the Mayor, took up this role (Case interview B3, May 29 2018).

Also, an institutional trust relationship from the institutions regarding the land- and real estate owners can be observed in Helmond Induma-West. One dimension of this relationship is that the government and the market are two separate worlds with their own cultures and habits. This influences interaction in a process like the restructuring of Induma-West:

“It is not necessarily a personal thing, but you can see that sometimes there are really two separate worlds. And if no bridge is built between those worlds, they remain two separate worlds.”

Case interview H2, May 23 2018

It can be observed that the owner-entrepreneurs saw the land registry, the municipality and even the local Foundation for Business Parks of Helmond all as governmental institutions. Even though this assumption was based on a misunderstanding, which could easily be solved by providing information and explaining the situation, it was seen as an enduring obstacle by the project team. According to one professional:

“Look, and the municipality [...] is a many-headed monster, but entrepreneurs often see it as THE government. [...] We have [...] police, tax authorities, like I said we have the role of enforcement, city supervision [...], well they see all those tasks as one. And if one of those parties does something, trust is influenced with the others. So, when the department of enforcement sends a clumsy letter, that is what happens sometimes, yes, then you are bothered by that.”

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

Meanwhile, it was perceived by the project team that some owners did not speak with the same voice, which created uncertainty and consequently some degree of distrust. This is illustrated in the municipal sphere:

“Those three owners of that building do not always agree with each other and do not speak with one voice. So.. in principle we do not trust this group, because we do not know whom we are speaking to.”

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

Institution-wise, this is a factor in which the case of Helmond differs from the case of Bodegraven. To some degree, some distrust, better formulated as suspicion, was also present in Bodegraven, but was more focused on certain land- and real estate owners, who in the past repeatedly had a (negative) encounter with for example the municipality (Case interview B2, June 4 2018). Consequently, the municipality learned about the character of these owners, for example about how these parties were used to doing business. In Helmond this kind of suspicion was also the case, but distorted communication of land- and real estate owners directed to institutions, which created some distrust from for example the municipality, could be added to the situation.

Procedural

On the one hand, conflicts were seen by the project organization as an obstacle for establishing trust. According to one interviewee, a lot of efforts had to be made to restore trust and solve the conflicts (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). In this regard, the importance of establishing trust at the beginning of a process like in Helmond was emphasized:

“A false start will follow you the whole process and then you are constantly repairing the damage. And if you are not able to generate trust at the beginning, then it also won’t happen later on.”

Case interview H2, May 23 2018

On the other hand, the recent redevelopment of Induma-Oost, an industrial area nearby, had a positive influence on the participation of the owners in the process and trust in the process (Case interview H2, May 23 2018; Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Municipality of Helmond, 2016). Owners that had participated in Induma-Oost had positive experiences, that stimulated positive expectations of the planned developments in Induma-West. It also attracted other owners that heard stories of this redevelopment. Therefore, trust in the process was partly already established even before the actual process had begun.

The project team used this to remind owners of the possibilities in the new area, but the argument eventually decreased in strength when the process was in later phases (Case interview H1, May 3 2018). By then, the main part of the owners was involved, and interactive working meetings were set up to make a plan for the area. The project team organized so-called pressure cookers to remind owners of their commitment to the goal of the project. If owners started to argue during a session, or dwindle in their attention, they coined the ultimate decision to unplug the project and end it. This worked to keep the owners’ attention and establish trust in the process. It also provided a certain structure that was, according to the project team, lacking in the instrument of urban land readjustment. According to a member of the project team:

“Yes... the process is so standard.. that’s it actually.. The pitfall of this is that it’s so obvious that we ignore it, while putting this type of confrontations back into the group makes the difference of formulating the commission within an hour, because it is actually not that complex. People can be so difficult about this. You have to keep it simple and that just works, small simple steps.”

Case interview H2, May 23 2018

§6.3 – Sub-conclusion

It can be concluded that interpersonal-, institutional- and procedural trust are present in both cases and play a role in the spatial processes that take place. A dynamic instead of static role of trust can be observed: interactions result in new experiences, a reconstruction of the past, adjusted expectations and a rebalancing of trust (De Vries, 2014; Idrissou, 2012). Also, the characterization that Dutch urban land readjustment processes have a voluntary character, which requires the skills, tact and strategic communication of people to succeed, can be confirmed with observations from both cases (for example Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018). Related to this, is that in both cases emotions are essential in acknowledging, solving and moving on

after conflicts, but also in feelings of urgency as a basis for establishing trust and addressing challenges.

Interpersonal relationships play an important role in establishing trust between individual land owners, but also between land owners and representatives of a municipality, the land registry or other members of the project team that facilitate the process. Once a switch takes place in the project team, and another person that was previously not involved enters the process, familiarity with this person needs to be established again to rebalance trust, which may lengthen the process (Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Laurian, 2009; De Vries, 2014). This also counts for the institution of the government, for example after elections (Case interview B5, June 12 2018).

Trust between individuals and other individuals that belong to certain institutions points to interpersonal- as well as institutional trust. There are also different layers within these types of trust. For example in Helmond, land- and real estate owners perceive the local Foundation for Business Parks of Helmond, the land registry and the municipality all as one institution: the government. On the other hand, individuals belonging to this image, such as the mediator, are entrusted more personal information than for example municipal representatives. This is likely due to the traits of individual agents, such as likeability and trustworthiness, or at least more than procedural fairness and general transparency of an institution (Laurian, 2009). This also works the other way around, since land- and real estate owners built a certain reputation in their interaction with institutions. Consequently, (representatives of these) institutions have certain expectations about how (specific) owners behave, which on some occasions results in distrust.

Process-wise, in both cases conflicts between owners and the municipality influence the current spatial process. It is also acknowledged that these conflicts are of all times and are typical for complex spatial processes like urban land readjustment. Several methods and 'tricks' are stated by the interviews to cope with these that are focused on participation, deliberation, power-sharing and delegating decision-making power (Laurian, 2009). The simulation game in Bodegraven and the pressure cookers in Helmond are notable examples (Case interview B3, May 29 2018; Case interview H2, May 23 2018).

Cross-cutting these three types of trust in the cases is the socio- and institutional context in which the spatial processes take place (De Vries, 2014). This multi-faceted context creates a spatial process that is non-linear, self-organizing and co-evolving (Teisman et al., 2009). A collective history between actors, identities of actors, and feelings of community are affecting the cases in different degrees (Laurian, 2009). Concerning the institutional context, political support for restructuring, experiences with similar projects nearby and changes in local government positions (for example elections) are examples that relate to a governance setting that is not always stable, which creates uncertainty and complexity (Kearns & Paddison, 2000).

However, differences also exist. For example, the character of the area, for example a village versus a business park, influences the character of negotiations and trust dynamics. In Bodegraven, the fact that people know each other well, which gives rise to a form of social control and collective identity, influences interpersonal- and also institutional trust relationships. It can be argued that 'thick' trust mainly plays a role here (Williams, 1988; Uslaner & Conley, 2003). The position of the city center manager and the representative of the

land registry are institutional and based on factors such as transparency, checks and balances and moral responsibility, but also focused on making informal and personal contact with real estate owners. Therefore, a mix of two types of trust may be observed: interpersonal and institutional. Trust in the process is also visible, but there is a differing perspective by real estate owners as well as the municipality and the land registry. According to the municipality, the redevelopment is progressing well and results are visible. Examples are the Vision on the city Center that was made and the simulation game (Case interview B2, June 4 2018; Case interview B3, May 29 2018). On the other hand, real estate owners are waiting for visible developments to take place. Selling real estate does not necessarily imply a visible transformation to this group (Case interview B5, June 12 2018).

In Helmond, a trust relationship between owners(-entrepreneurs) was less stooled on a feeling of community and more on the collective trait of having a business and making profit. There are positive experiences with the redevelopment of Induma-Oost that have influenced the process in Induma-West. Interpersonal trust is however not that strong and is limited to a certain trust base or 'thin trust', just enough to cooperate (Case interview H2, May 23 2018; Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). For example, granting another individual an advantage in negotiations often only happens if a personal profit can be made. Second, institutional trust was dwindling at the beginning of the process. Conflicts with the municipality played a determining role in the beginning phases and it took the project team a relatively long period and a lot of effort to solve them (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). Third, trust in the process was visible to the extent that the pressure cookers kept the owners involved and committed via the 'all or nothing'-decisions that were coined at times when progress was hard. It was also visible through the role of the mediator (Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Laurian, 2009).

7 – Trust and cooperation

This chapter focusses on the third sub-question: how do manifestations of trust and their associated dynamics lead to different types of cooperation between stakeholders during the urban land readjustment process? A connection will be made to the right side of the causal model that was presented in section 3.6: the interrelationship between different types of trust and cooperation. The role of path dependence and corresponding feedback loops will also be analyzed and related to the cases of Bodegraven and Helmond.

Similar to chapter six, the first section focusses on general dynamics that became apparent in both cases. The second and third section elaborate on how the manifestation and character of trust led to different types of cooperation in the cases separately. Attention is paid to types of cooperation between owners, but also owners, municipalities and other institutions. Informal as well as formal cooperation is also considered. Furthermore, types of cooperation that already existed before the spatial processes was initiated are examined. To provide a clear overview, the events during the processes are analyzed in a rough chronological order.

§7.1 – General observations

From the case interviews it becomes clear that some arrangements for cooperation were already in place before the spatial processes began. In Bodegraven, this was for example the Local Entrepreneurial Association. Real estate owners were also partly involved in this association, since a relatively large part of the owners in Bodegraven owns the building in which their company, shop or restaurant is situated (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). In Helmond, the Foundation for Business Parks of Helmond was in place to secure the rights of entrepreneur-owners and of the quality of the public areas. Also, in Helmond, cooperation between this foundation and the municipality existed regarding the redevelopment of Induma-Oost (Case interview H3, May 24 2018).

Furthermore, formal documents regarding the projects existed in which different responsibilities and ways of cooperation were addressed. Most notable and recent in the case of Bodegraven are the Vision on the Village Center from 2016 and the Retaildeal signed in 2017 (Retailand, 2017). In the first document it is for example explained that a financial fund of the Entrepreneurial Association of Bodegraven made appointing a village center manager possible. This person consequently established work groups, which were focused on several subjects. Examples of these are 'Clean, whole and safe'; 'Accessibility and parking'; and 'Appearance and attractiveness' (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). Different types of stakeholders were included in the work groups, among which entrepreneurs, owners, civil servants and external experts. It is also underlined that, for successfully redeveloping the village center, all parties should take their responsibility and show commitment. A different attitude of the municipality has resulted in shorter communication lines with entrepreneurs and consequently more trust, the ability to make agreements and define responsibilities (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). Furthermore, in 2017 a Retaildeal was signed. Retaildeals are part of a national program initiated by the Dutch Ministry for Economic Affairs and related (private) organizations, to secure a healthy and futureproof retail sector in the Netherlands (Retailand, 2018).

In Helmond, the impetus for restructuring Induma-West was already given in a document from 2005, namely the Nota Masterplan Hoogeind (Municipality of Helmond, 2005). The ambition to revitalize or restructure the business area of Hoogeind is elaborated upon in this document in order to “reverse the ageing process” (Municipality of Helmond, 2005, p. 1). Thereafter, this ambition stayed subject of several other visions and land use plans of which the Land Use Plan for Hoogeind from 2011 and Vision for Helmond 2030 from 2014 are the most notable examples (Municipality of Helmond, 2011 and 2014). Since Helmond is part of the urban network called ‘Brabant City’ (in Dutch: Brabant Stad), the improvement of business parks such as Induma-West is also part of a wider policy agenda on the provincial level of Noord-Brabant (Province of Noord-Brabant, 2014). Therefore, collaboration between different levels of government and shared responsibilities between private as well as public actors are part of the restructuring of Hoogeind in general and Induma-West specifically.

The initiative for both developments started at the local governmental level, whether in collaboration with other private actors or not and with an active or passive stance. For example, the municipality of Helmond initiated the redevelopment of Induma-West in collaboration with the Development Company of Brabant (BOM). Also, the Foundation for Business Parks of Helmond was involved. The mediator that has become one of the central figures of the restructuring process originates from this foundation (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). In Bodegraven, the initiative originated from the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, but with emphasis on collaboration between all parties that were affected (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). Even though it was not possible to get all stakeholders involved from the beginning of the process, several different efforts were made in which both public and private parties, such as the municipality, and the Local Entrepreneurial Association have played an important role (Case interview B2, June 4 2018).

The active mobilization and cooperation with land- and real estate owners was emphasized in both cases. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, both municipalities and related actors switched to a different strategy as a result of new economic- as well as governance-circumstances. For example, in Helmond:

“With the current state of affairs... the municipality lacks financial resources or wants to spend it for other things, so in Induma-West there is another question [than in Induma-Oost], another mission [..]. So, what they’ve done is that [they decided to] develop on the basis of demand, so to answer the questions that live with owners and entrepreneurs in the area, what do they want to be tackled, so that is really demand-oriented. And also... ‘deserve space’. So, we as the municipality can be looser in land use cases, [..] with restrictions, but in return the owner or entrepreneur needs to invest too, for example in his real estate or join one of the urban land readjustments [..].”

Case interview H1, May 3 2018

The redevelopment of Induma-Oost, which was seen as an inspiration for the restructuring of Induma-West, was conducted in a period in which the municipality had more financial resources. After the economic crisis, new circumstances prevented the municipality from redeveloping Induma-West in a likewise manner as Induma-Oost, due to less financial resources and other political priorities for spending the money that was available. More private commitment and initiative to improve possessions by land- and real estate owners was seen as a solution to this (Case interview H1, May 3 2018).

In Bodegraven, the municipality initiated the process with an active stance and employed a vacancy regulation (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2017). This regulation obligates the municipality and real estate owners to meet twice a year to discuss current affairs concerning vacancy in the village center. If these conversations do not generate results and improvements are not made, the municipality is able to obligate owners to adjust their buildings and assign new tenants. If an owner structurally refuses to cooperate, a fine can be imposed (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). This generated indignant responses from real estate owners. It was perceived that the focus on informal cooperation with real estate owners coupled with a hard measure created uncertainty about the municipalities' motives (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). Therefore, explaining that the regulation was needed to involve real estate owners that were currently not on board and refused to cooperate was coupled with a change in attitude to development of the municipality:

“The role of the municipality has changed. At first the municipality was way more active, more involved. We also planned to use a vacancy regulation and were top-down oriented, also we wanted to work together with owners. Later on, we experienced that that wasn't working, that we actually wanted to facilitate [...]. We now receive information about what is happening and think along where possible, but the initiative is not really from the municipality in that area. Off course, we have our own responsibility, but that is more focused on public spaces [...] and related facilities.”

Case interview B2, June 4 2018

Furthermore, the role of informal arrangements becomes apparent in both cases. In Bodegraven, real estate owners preferred to continue to work in an informal network setting (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). In Helmond, entrepreneur-owners knew each other from earlier encounters by doing business with each other. Nevertheless, the character of these informal arrangements differs between both cases. Attention to differences like this example will be considered in the following sections.

§7.2 – Trust and cooperation in Bodegraven

The use of the urban land readjustment instrument was not the ultimate goal of the restructuring of the city center in Bodegraven. The aim of the process was to cope with fragmented vacancy on visible locations in the city center (Case interview B2, June 4 2018; Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016). In the past, the municipality repeatedly had contact over other spatial matters with the local real estate owners, but often took the lead herself. For the improvement of the core shopping area, a new strategy was required. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the municipality started the process with a more active attitude, encouraging real estate owners to cooperate and coupled this with the use of a vacancy regulation to get all real estate owners on board. This sparked reactions from real estate owners and put an extra emphasis on trusting each other as stakeholders. According to one professional:

“For example, what we did here is that we as the municipality employed a vacancy regulation. So on the one hand you are building a relationship with real estate owners and on the other hand you activate an instrument that controls vacancy. [When we did that] [...] we got questions about what we were doing, like ‘We are working well together, why are you doing such a thing?’

And at that moment it was very important to express that 'Yeah, hey, listen.. it is not our intention to give you a fine, but it is important to stay at the negotiation table with each other and also with the real estate owners that are not participating.'

Case interview B1, May 8 2018

From this statement it becomes clear that the combination of 'soft' and 'hard' measures, in this case communication and a regulation, put the trust relationship between the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk and the real estate owners under pressure, but also sparked a conversation about involving all owners, not only the ones that were actively involved in the community. From the viewpoint of the municipality, real estate owners had to be encouraged to display ownership of the problems that existed and 'push' vacancy out of the city center into surrounding neighborhoods themselves. This event opened up the discussion about which measures were seen as desirable by both stakeholder groups to make this happen. Therefore, it moved the process to a new level and emphasized clear communication between the different types of stakeholders involved.

Partly by chance, trading real estate and reshuffling owner rights was seen as one solution to the problems at hand (Case interview B2, June 4 2018). At one point, the municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk was stuck in the process. It was realized that the municipality was merely consulting and not trying to start a conversation. Then, the city center manager or mediator met a representative from the land registry at a congress (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). A simulation game was discussed, which was at that time developed with another goal and for a different level of decision-making. Eventually, the simulation game was adjusted to the case in Bodegraven and used in a work session (please refer to images 12 & 13). According to one municipal representative:

"[...] it has helped the municipality as well as the real estate owners to decide what was needed to really improve the city center and without the simulation game we hadn't thought that through like we did now."

Case interview B2, June 4 2018

This example shows that chance determined whether urban land readjustment as a spatial instrument was considered as a solution to the problems in Bodegraven. Nevertheless, this rather small choice at the beginning of the process turned out to have far-reaching consequences. It has determined the cooperative attitude of the municipality to deal with the challenges that needed an answer. The decision to consider an urban land readjustment process set into motion a decision-making process with a different choice set than the municipality had previously imagined.

The municipality then started a new part of the process by acknowledging the conflicts with the owners and emphasizing the need to move on. An important part of this message was to underline the urgency of the problem: the village center is hollowing out and we have to do something about it. An extra layer was added by the Mayor who expressed this feeling in a speech before the ten real estate owners that were the most dominant in Bodegraven. The meeting aimed to put these real estate owners in the role of ambassador and spread this message to others (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). The ambassador role did have a positive effect and created an environment in which members of the local real estate community

involved and engaged each other with commitment and interpersonal trust as a result (Case interview B1, May 8 2018).

Thereafter, several meetings followed. These were individual with real estate owners by the city center manager, but also plenary with the municipality and the project manager from the land registry. This was similar to the process in Helmond. In addition, an informal dinner was organized. All these meetings together were aimed to put real estate owners into motion, from a passive into an active state, to negotiate and make deals. As was already mentioned in the previous chapter, the form of this mobilization was through an informal network setting, instead of a formal real estate owners platform (Case interview B3, May 29 2018).

Up until now, negotiations are still progressing, but there is optimism that real estate will be grouped, purchased or traded (see for example Case interview B2, June 4 2018). However, the process hasn't resulted in 'something visible' yet. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, quick results are recommended to further encourage the stakeholders involved and show that it is in fact possible to realize a more compact village center without vacancy (Case interview B5, June 12 2018). This may be done by trading ownership rights through urban land readjustment or via other means, such as the resale of buildings.

§7.3 – Trust and cooperation in Helmond

Similar to the process in Bodegraven, urban land readjustment was not seen as the ultimate goal of the restructuring of Helmond Induma-West. The goal was rather to solve several problems, for example spatial quality of buildings, infrastructure and green, but also water management and safety (Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Municipality of Helmond, 2005). The process started from the opinion by the municipality that owners should take the lead in the restructuring of Induma-West. In the interviews this was explained by a representative of the municipality of Helmond with reference to the restructuring of Induma-Oost:

“So we said: ‘We are going to invest in the public spaces and if you (the real estate owner) have a solid argument, you may claim some legal space in the land use plan, but you should invest this in your real estate, in order to assure us that the place has improved’. And by that strategy we went to work and at the beginning they were like ‘The municipality wants something right?’, but we said, ‘Well we don’t do this for ourselves, but for you, so it should be reciprocal’.”

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

To conclude, the municipality gave owners an incentive to invest in their own real estate and by that way the improvement of the whole business park in Induma-Oost got a kickstart. Cooperation was thereby brought closer by providing an individual 'profit' for real estate owners. In Induma-Oost this resulted in the transformation of a once unsafe and degrading business park into one with better spatial quality. In Induma-West, this approach was continued (Case interview H4, June 26 2018; Municipality of Helmond, 2016). In Bodegraven, this individual incentive was of a different character, since a legal provision was not part of it. The incentive was that if owners were willing to invest and grant their fellow owners some benefit, the whole village center would improve, and also an individual profit could be made. Therefore, the focus of the process was also different: a liveable, attractive and futureproof village center in which people want to be. The decision to include an individual incentive and the way in

which it is designed, therefore opened up a different choice set for decision-making that depended on the actors, stakes and context involved.

The positive experiences from the restructuring of Induma-Oost worked beneficially to develop Induma-West. Owners that had participated in the former development process spread the word to other owners via informal social networks. The Foundation for Business Parks of Helmond also played a role in getting the message across. The area manager for example approached owners informally for 'a cup of coffee' (Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Land Registry, 2018b). Therefore, trust in the process was generated by repeating experiences from the past and consequently gave rise to positive attitudes about cooperation.

Despite some conflict between the stakeholder groups and the reshuffling of positions within the project group, a relatively large group of owners participated based on these informal meetings. It was decided that the whole project of Induma-West needed to be split into several clusters. Thereby, the complexity that normally characterizes an urban land readjustment process was partly decreased. Owners were split into manageable groups for negotiations and deal-making (see for example Case interview H1, May 3 2018 and Land Registry, 2018b).

In the starting phases of the restructuring, the project team gave the initiative for making deals to the land- and real estate owners (Case interview H5, July 9 2018). However, instead of deals, this resulted in bids for properties that were too far apart. Since it was known which owners wanted to sell and which wanted to buy property from the plenary sessions, the sellers asked a high price. Meanwhile, the buyers were only willing to spend a fraction of the asking price. The focus was on individual financial benefit and not on granting the other party some benefit to improve the whole area on the long run. Therefore, the negotiations stagnated, which also gave rise to suspicion and distrust between owners (Case interview H2, May 23 2018). It may thus be observed that these events resulted in the opposite of what was expected by the project team and put interpersonal trust relationships under pressure. It also had an effect on further cooperation, because some owners would not talk to each other again. Therefore, another strategy was needed. To increase transparency and decrease distrust, the project team therefore decided to let independent professionals execute taxations. More importantly, this made sure owners were negotiating in a realistic price range (Case interview H2, May 23 2018). Even though this did not solve all conflicts between owners themselves and with other parties, at least it created some new negotiation space.

However, not only the real estate owners needed to be mobilized. Also within the organization of the municipality of Helmond, planners and related professionals still needed to adapt to a 'new' strategy for making plans and realizing developments.

"We still need to convince people to work with an integral approach and outside-in, rather than inside-out and to not slide into a reflex where society is 'makeable'. That counts for planners, but also for people involved with infrastructure, sewage, etcetera."

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

These developments correspond to less financial resources as a result of the economic crisis, but also to the Dutch Environment and Planning Act that is scheduled to take effect in 2021. This Act focusses on an integral approach and approaching the stakeholders involved for a conversation about their wishes, questions and challenges (Ministry of the Interior and

Kingdom Affairs, 2018). On the municipal level of Helmond, these ideas are for example emphasized in a document that is concerned with the changes in governance and management after the municipal elections that took place this Spring in the Netherlands (Municipality of Helmond, 2018). Experiments, private initiatives, tailor-made plans, and asking plus generating trust in spatial processes are examples that are addressed.

Currently, it is still unclear whether ownership rights, (parts of) plots and/or real estate will be traded. It is interesting to observe that different perspectives within the project team exist whether an urban land readjustment will take place between owners. This makes the case distinct from the redevelopment of the city center of Bodegraven, where expectations are mainly positive. According to some members of the project team in Helmond, an urban land readjustment probably won't happen in the first cluster, but possibly in the clusters that will follow in the coming years (Case interview H1, May 3 2018; Case interview H5, July 9 2018). More negative stances are that project team members are 'trying to prevent some damage' in the first cluster (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). Others are more optimistic:

"The chances are very big. We already got close to an actual trade or sale several times. [...] I believe that everything becomes more liquid when under pressure, so I truly have hope that there will be some deals this year and which ones that will be I don't know. It could easily be in cluster one [...]."

Case interview H4, June 26 2018

§7.4 – Sub-conclusion

It can be observed that the cases showed several similarities concerning the general relationship between trust and cooperation. For example, involving all stakeholders turned out to be difficult at the start of both processes, even though the strategies that were employed by the initiators were different. Also, failures at the start continued to play a role during the rest of the negotiations and multiple efforts were needed to repair them. Therefore, several cycles of group- and individual meetings have taken place in both cases (see for example Case interview B3, May 29 2018 and Case interview H2, May 23 2018). This corresponds with the typical characterization of Dutch urban land readjustment processes that was explained in the theoretical framework: a custom approach, rules that are voluntary agreed upon and a cyclic process in which communication through documents is less important than face-to-face contact (see for example Holtslag-Broekhof, 2016).

Nevertheless, investing in interpersonal-, institutional- and procedural trust by the stakeholders resulted in different types of cooperation in the cases. This can be illustrated with a rough dichotomy. In Bodegraven, the municipality started the process with a strategy that was mostly top-down, while simultaneously seeking for cooperation with real estate owners. The vacancy regulation was an example of this, being a possibility to partly obligate owners that were hesitant to participate (Case interview B2, June 4 2018; Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2017). However, this formal strategy did not result in trust or active cooperation. Instead, it gave rise to doubts with owners what the motivations of the municipality actually were and what goals were precisely being pursued (Case interview B1, May 8 2018). This prompted a feedback loop in which the municipality decided to change its strategy, for example by involving independent mediators, such as the center manager and a representative from the land registry. Conflicts were acknowledged and explained from the perspective of the municipality

in a meeting, which decreased distrust. With the help of the simulation game in a work session, more transparency and focus on the collective was created between owners and with the municipality (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). Therefore, the involvement of independent individuals, a more communicative approach through acknowledging mistakes and using the simulation game created a base for interpersonal, as well as institutional trust. Procedural trust was established by setting a short time-horizon and thus keeping the process open. This created support and several types of cooperation, which were mostly informal (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). Therefore, a path-dependent process can be observed in which choices at the beginning of the process, the active stance of the municipality, became dominant and endured for a relatively long time (Pierson, 2000). However, after several key events or critical junctures in the context of municipal decision-making as well as the implementation of the vacancy regulation, other decisions were made that eventually changed the municipality as an institution. Bottom-up decisions in which real estate owners were given more power and possibilities to cooperate, such as the simulation game, are examples of this that were successful and created increasing returns that pushed the process further in this communicative direction (Arthur, 1994; Pierson, 2000; Sorensen, 2015). A pattern can be observed in which the process started with a formal type of cooperation with more distance between actors and ended in an informal network-setting with short communication lines between stakeholders. Concluding, in the village-setting of Bodegraven, an informal and communicative strategy worked better in which formal documents did play a role but were rather aimed at explaining a general idea than prescribing a certain way of doing things. An example is the vision on the village center (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016).

In the case of Helmond, the process proceeded in a rather opposite manner. The social networks in which entrepreneurs were embedded fostered the communication of the positive experiences with the development of Induma-Oost (Ghezzi & Mingione, 2007). However, communication did not immediately create interpersonal- and institutional trust relationships between owners and between owners and institutions. Even though the urgency of the problems at hand were known, in (municipal) documents but also between owners, conflicts and experiences from the past, for example with the municipality, were not forgotten and influenced trust relationships and consequently cooperation (Municipality of Helmond, 2005; Case interview H1, May 3 2018). Therefore, the informal strategy of the municipality to give owners the initiative to close deals themselves did not went as planned and didn't result in viable negotiations and deals. This (lack of) response became a critical juncture in the restructuring of Induma-West after which the attitude of the municipality and related initiators changed (Pierson, 2000). Small steps to formally guide the process, such as the pressure cookers during the working sessions and the involvement of independent assessors, became more dominant and pushed the process further in a new direction as increasing returns (Arthur, 1994; Pierson, 2000; Sorensen, 2015). The pressure cookers made clear to owners that the situation was serious and that when commitment dwindled, the process would be unplugged and stopped by the project team. This further stimulated cooperation in the work session, but also outside that environment. Furthermore, taxations provided a realistic price range to negotiate (Case interview H2, May 23 2018). Another example of a more formal 'trick' from the previous chapter is the recognition by one member of the project team that every conversation or interaction should've been noted down or recorded (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). It is not possible to conclude that every conflict between owners or owners and institutions has been solved as a result of this general strategy. Conflict resolution remains an important focus of the project team. Rather, a certain base of trust was created to be able to cooperate (Case

interview H2, May 23 2018). Therefore, it can be concluded that, in contrast to Bodegraven, formal measures and tools turned out to work better to foster cooperation in the case of Helmond.

So, why was a formal strategy more effective in Helmond and an informal strategy in Bodegraven? A suggestion can be given to explain this difference based on the collective history of stakeholders and embeddedness. For example, it can be observed that the social context of Bodegraven, a village-setting of which social control, a shared identity, informal interactions and local entrepreneurialism can be seen as characteristics, influenced the initiation and turn of the process to a more communicative strategy. This does not imply that the process was not communicative from the beginning, but rather that the municipality acknowledged that an informal and interactive tool as the simulation game generated more and better results to improve the village center in general and contact with the stakeholders in particular. In Helmond, a shared identity of entrepreneurialism was present, but not necessarily related to involvement with the area of Induma-West. It may be observed that it was more oriented to the individual business and -profit, rather than a collective goal. Therefore, another type of effort was needed to bring these stakeholders together, which in the end was more based on facts and formal tools than on trust.

8 – Typology

Based on the cases and the theoretical framework, a typology can be designed that displays how types of trust lead to cooperation and what possible obstacles may hamper this process. This typology is not aimed at generalization to the whole field of urban land readjustment, but rather at providing understanding to planners, researchers and land- and real estate owners, who are involved or interested to participate in a Dutch urban land readjustment process. Therefore, generalizing this typology mainly involves the Dutch literature on (urban) land readjustment processes and the pilots that were initiated by the Dutch Ministry of the Internal and Kingdom Affairs and the land registry (please refer to picture two).

Furthermore, it is again important to acknowledge that every urban land readjustment process is unique. Therefore, this typology may be perceived as a static thing stating general characteristics, while trust may be perceived as a dynamic concept (among others Idrissou, 2012; O'Brien, 2001; Lewicki et al., 2006). To partly cope with this, the typology underlines the importance of giving and receiving feedback, reconsidering decisions and continuous conflict resolution. Lastly, since the cases that were researched are not completed yet and the literature did not provide enough information about negotiation- and trust dynamics, only the first phases are addressed. Hence, the last phases in the typology remain a gray area.

The central axe of the figure displays the main phases of a Dutch urban land readjustment process in which the “stations”, except for the first dot, represent the documents that are signed or adjusted to consolidate decisions. Even though not all of these documents are binding, stakeholders are committed to take their responsibility, mainly influenced by psychological- and social factors related to trust (see for example Expert interview E2, April 25 2018). Examples of these are transparency, vigor and honesty. Where the intention- and collaboration agreements are focused on the intention to participate and cooperate in a process, a plan for trading ownership rights (ruilplan in Dutch) is aimed at stating the deals between stakeholders to sell or trade (real) estate. The covenant (ruilakte in Dutch) is a binding document that is signed with agreement of all stakeholders at a notary office (Expert interview E1, April 23 2018).

To explain this typology clearly, it is best to start at the upper left (please notice the black flag). Here, it is underlined that each area where an urban land readjustment may take place has unique characteristics that influence the process. A collective history of interaction, identity, values and norms, sense of urgency and type of area are factors that were addressed in the empirical part of this research. Planning culture may also play a role, since the cultural fitness is seen as worthy of attention when policy (measures) are transferred to other settings (Stead, 2012). The planning culture of a place influences if and how planning tools and -processes are exported to other cultures, but also how tools from outside are received and institutionalized, of which urban land readjustment is an example. Another part of this ‘uniqueness’ are conflicts between stakeholders, that may endure for a long time and put pressure on trust relationships in urban land readjustment processes. This was both illustrated in the case of Bodegraven and Helmond (Case interview B3, May 29 2018; Case interview H3, May 24 2018).

In the case of Bodegraven, the Vision on the Village Center from 2016 was combined with a vacancy regulation to accelerate the process of development (Municipality of Bodegraven-Reeuwijk, 2016 and 2017). In Helmond, a masterplan for restructuring gave the impetus for

restructuring Induma-West (Municipality of Helmond, 2005). While the masterplan in Helmond and vision in Bodegraven both provided useful starting points, the regulation was received with less enthusiasm (see for example Case interview B1, May 8 2018). A binding document, such as an regulation, may provide an impression of a top-down attitude by the local government, as was the case in Bodegraven (Case interview B2, June 4 2018). It may also create a lack of transparency and communication errors about the content of these documents plus the question behind it. Concluding, these issues negatively influence institutional-, interpersonal-, as well as procedural trust relationships. Therefore, continuous efforts are needed to solve conflicts about issues in the past, but also about the content of the process that is currently at hand. This corresponds with the characterization by Holtslag-Broekhof (2018b) that Dutch land readjustment processes consist of several cycles in which owners are allowed to share personal wishes and make their own rules of the game.

In the literature about land readjustment, there is often a role for independent mediators. Examples from the spectrum in figure three are committees, advisory councils, consultants, independent experts and surveyors (Larsson, 1997; Sorensen, 2007; Expert interview IV, May 2 2018). In the Netherlands, the mediators from for example Helmond and Bodegraven also played, and continue to play, a vital role in communicating the urgency of issues plus generating support from owners and the wider community (Case interview B1, May 8 2018; Case interview H3, May 24 2018). Therefore, they are central to establishing trust relationships and consequently creating propensity for cooperation.

Moving upwards, the importance of feedback loops for trust are emphasized. From the cases it has become clear that sharing wishes and concerns, communicating agreements and news about the process are examples of efforts that have to be continuously made to keep all stakeholders involved and committed. In the literature, a procedure for public feedback is mostly seen as a responsibility of public authorities (see for example Sorensen, 2000; Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018b; Kötter, 2018). In practice, it was observed from the cases that informal networks, most notably in Bodegraven, also facilitate feedback loops that are similar. Furthermore, it is important to mention that these feedback loops are also applicable within stakeholder groups. For example, planners from the municipality or members of the project group should communicate clearly with each other and share wishes and concerns, but also (real estate) owners and other stakeholders. Lastly, not only trust relationships of owners regarding institutions, but also vice versa, should be considered.

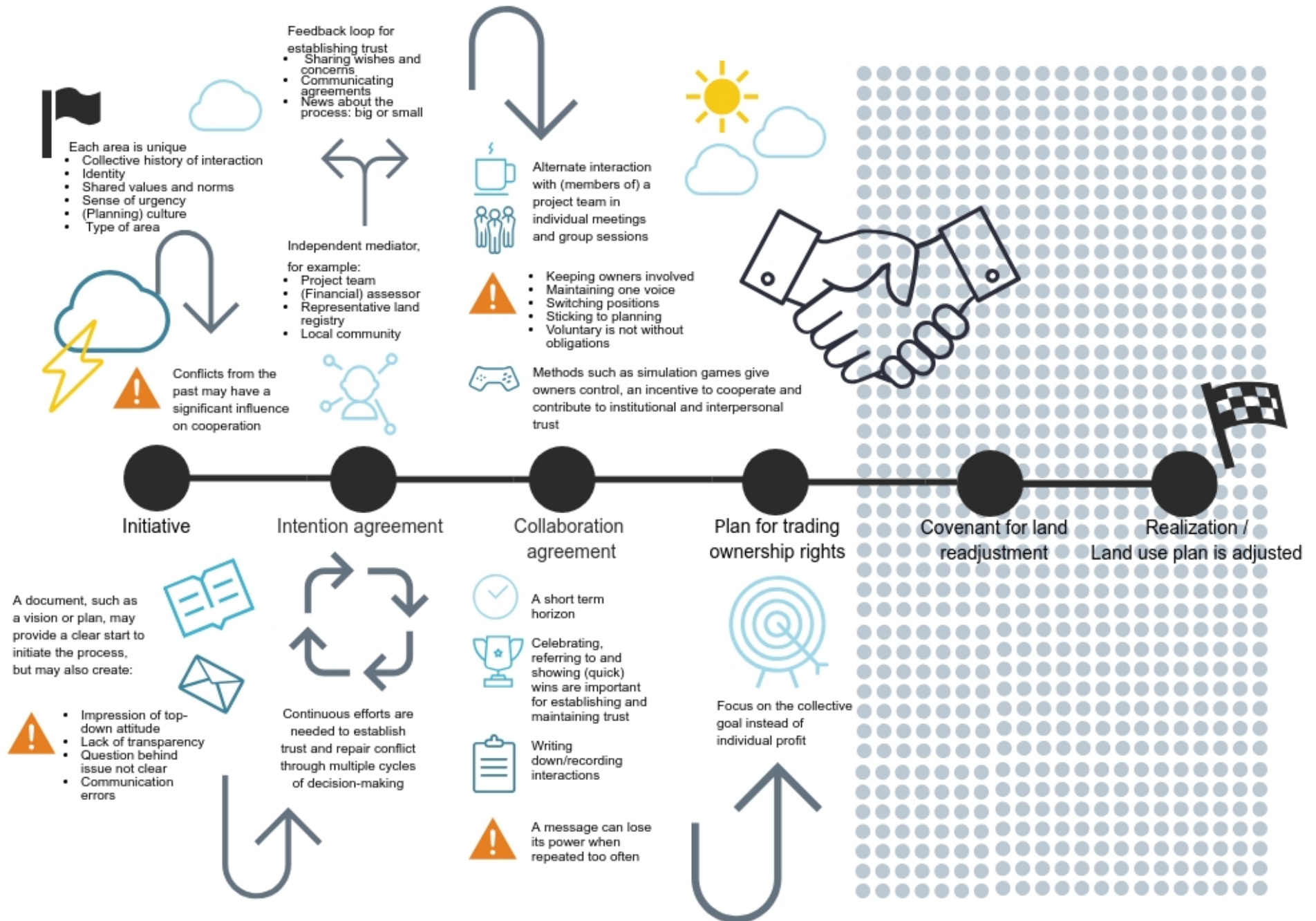
Moving to the right of the central axe, one of the main characteristics of Dutch urban land readjustment processes is explained. Individual meetings are alternated with group sessions. The reason for this is that owners often dare to tell, for example a mediator or other member of the project team, more about their individual (financial) situation in individual settings (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). Group sessions are more dedicated to collectively making commissions, proposals or scenario's, which was for example the case in Helmond (Case interview H2, May 23 2018). This is also acknowledged in the literature on land readjustment processes, for example from Nepal (Kusum Joshi & Shresta, 2018). Involving methods that give owners control, such as the simulation game in Bodegraven, are also observed as useful ways to connect owners in a relatively low-key and interactive way (Case interview B3, May 29 2018).

The organization of collaboration, negotiation and involvement forms the main part of Dutch urban land readjustment processes. This also means that several challenges for establishing trust are relevant to mention. Keeping owners involved, for example via informal networks, was mentioned in the case of Bodegraven (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). Maintaining one voice is also mentioned in the figure, since it was observed from the case of Helmond that members of the project team had different opinions about how the project went and would proceed in the future (see for example Case interview H4, June 26 2018 in comparison with Case interview H5, July 9 2018). Another important challenge to mention is that even though switching positions in the project team, municipality, or elsewhere, may sometimes be inevitable, these may hamper the process significantly. What was also mentioned in the case of Helmond is the importance of sticking to the planning (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). Lastly, it was repeatedly emphasized in the interviews that the voluntary character of the Dutch urban land readjustment instrument should not imply that there are no obligations. Leadership, private initiative and writing down agreements are examples to cope with this (see for example Case interview H5, July 9 2018).

Other factors that are important for realizing trust relationships and consequently cooperation are maintaining a short-term horizon; celebrating, referring to and showing quick wins; and writing down or recording interactions. Since a Dutch urban land readjustment process generally possesses an incremental character, looking no further than three months was in Bodegraven seen as sufficient (see for example Case interview B2, June 4 2018). Moreover, celebrating and showing quick wins was seen by one of the experts, as well as a stakeholder, as positive for keeping owners committed and trust relationships strong (Expert interview V, June 29 2018; Case interview B5, June 12 2018). This can be confirmed with findings from research about land readjustment processes in Gujarat, India (Mathur, 2013). However, a success may also be over-communicated. This was for example the case in Helmond, where the positive message about the redevelopment of Induma-Oost eventually lost its power in the case of Induma-West (Case interview H1, May 3 2018).

Lastly, it may be observed from the literature as well as the cases that a focus on the collective goal throughout the process, instead of individual profit, is important for a Dutch urban land readjustment to succeed (see for example Van den Brink, 2018). Even though individual profit was still important for owner-entrepreneurs in the case of Helmond, it hampered the negotiations, because it did not result in realistic bids for land and real estate (see for example Case interview H2, May 23 2018). In Bodegraven, the simulation game has helped to move owners away from their private interest and focus on the collective issues of vacancy, parking and impoverishment (Case interview B3, May 29 2018). Ultimately, when a plan for trading ownership rights has been agreed on by all stakeholders, the interactive process of negotiation decreases and the administrative process to consolidate deals becomes more dominant. This is symbolized in the handshake.

Figure 5 – A typology regarding the role of trust in Dutch urban land readjustment processes (Author, 2018)



PART



9 – Final conclusion

In this final chapter the main conclusions of this thesis are presented and an answer is provided to the research question. In section one the sub-questions are answered, and connected to the theoretical framework. These together provide an answer to the main question. In section two the conclusions are reformulated into practical recommendations for professionals involved with urban land readjustment processes and recommendations for further research about the role of trust in Dutch urban land readjustment processes. In section three, a discussion is presented in which the conclusions of this research are connected to the wider debate about the voluntary character of the urban land readjustment instrument. The chapter ends with a reflection in which practical limitations of this research are addressed.

§9.1 – Conclusions

§9.1.1 – A recap

Dutch dwellings in the Netherlands have never been as expensive as today. In May 2018, price levels were higher than before the start of the financial crisis in 2008 (Land Registry, 2018a). The housing shortage underlies this development, coupled with the desire to build homes that are sustainable and future-proof. Not only the housing market is under pressure. Better economic circumstances such as a higher turnovers, production and selling prices, coupled with a decrease in bankruptcies; trust of entrepreneurs in the industrial sector; and increasing and new forms of consumption generate new spatial development (Doodeman, 2018; CBS, 2018a). Simultaneously, an active land-policy is not attractive anymore due to new market circumstances, a structural decline of municipal income and the dominant paradigm of inner city (re)development. Instead, the Environment and Planning Act, scheduled to take effect in 2021, emphasizes integral spatial development and positive encouragement of private initiatives, in which trust and consensus prevail above a rigid frame of rules and guidelines.

Urban land readjustment is an instrument that corresponds with these ideas. It is used by institutions and individuals around the world to collectively pool, re-parcel, develop and subdivide land and real estate, without relocation to another area (Larsson, 1997; Sorensen 1999). However, urban land readjustment in the Netherlands is based on voluntary participation of stakeholders, which implies that apart from trust and consensus, also complexity, uncertainty and risk are characteristics of these processes. Therefore, several recommendations have been made to embed this spatial tool in law (for example Bregman & De Wolff, 2011; National Committee for Urban Land Readjustment, 2014). Several pilot projects were initiated by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and the land registry (Bregman & Karens, 2017). Nevertheless, urban land readjustment hasn't been widely used in the Netherlands and thus remains a 'sleeping beauty' (Alterman, 2007). Research about the Dutch urban land readjustment instrument is mainly legally and financially focussed. This observation makes a research about the social- and behavioural side relevant, coupled with the recommendation to examine additional institutions that enable collective action in such processes and the relationship with the field of planning culture. On a societal level, a research that considers the role of soft skills contributes to solving spatial questions in a bottom-up way; adds to a more complete view of why stakeholders cooperate; and provides insights on which circumstances positively influence an urban land readjustment in the face of local issues, such as demographic shrinkage, and where bottlenecks may arise. This has resulted in the following research question:

How can a dynamic perspective on trust combined with path dependency theory help to understand the role of trust in establishing cooperation between stakeholders in the urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West?

This research has been carried out via an in-depth comparative case study of the redevelopment of the village center of Bodegraven and the restructuring of Helmond Induma-West. Induma-West belongs to the before-mentioned group of national pilot projects. Data collection and analysis has consisted of five semi-structured interviews with experts and ten with stakeholders, combined with document analysis. Three sub-questions were distinguished, which will now be considered and lead to an answer of the main question.

§9.1.1 – Answers to the research questions

The first sub-question consisted of a literature review concerning what is currently known about the role of trust in spatial planning processes in general and land readjustment processes in particular. Based on this literature review on a global scale, it can be concluded that trust is significant in understanding the underlying dynamics of contemporary spatial governance processes that are generally network-based, complex and uncertain. Land readjustment is an instrument that has unique characteristics based on the context in which it is used and/or adapted. While in some countries consultation prevails to secure consent or commitment to a project, other countries invest 'thousands of hours' in securing trust and active involvement of stakeholders (Sorensen, 2000, p. 67). In other countries, trust is more manifest in regulations, procedures and consultation forms, that together form a solid structure that endures on its transparency and relative security. Collective history and institutions that are path-dependent are underlying concepts of these national contexts of land readjustment. This implies that ways of conducting such projects that have originated a long time ago and are now institutionalised become increasingly difficult to change over time. Therefore, small choices that were made in the past have significant impacts in the present and for the future (Sorensen, 2015). Based on these insights, a spectrum was composed in which the degree of voluntariness of stakeholder participation is juxtaposed against the different phases of a land readjustment process (Figure 3). The Dutch practice of land readjustment was placed to the left of the spectrum. It is characterized by voluntariness, interaction and consensus that crystallizes into several cycles in which owners are allowed to share personal wishes and make their own rules of the game (Holtslag-Broekhof, 2018).

In the second sub-question, it was examined how different types of trust are manifest in the urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond Induma-West. With the help of the interviews and (case) literature it can be concluded that all three types of trust that were distinguished in the theoretical framework by Laurian (2009) are present, namely interpersonal, institutional and procedural. However, interpersonal trust may be observed as the most dominant, since individual interactions play a major part in both the processes of Bodegraven and Helmond. For example, even though individual meetings were alternated with group sessions, switches in the project team that facilitated the process in Helmond had a negative influence on the trust relationships with other stakeholders. Once a new person that was previously not involved enters the process, familiarity with this person needs to be established again to rebalance trust, which may lengthen the process (Case interview H3, May 24 2018; Laurian, 2009; De Vries, 2014). Concerning institutional trust, an overlap may be observed

with interpersonal trust relationships. For example, representatives of the municipality are generally entrusted less information by stakeholders than for example the mediator or 'olliemannetje' that originates from the local community, even though that same mediator is sometimes partly a municipal representative. Furthermore, trust relationships between representatives of institutions are relevant too, for example regarding adjusting to the outside-in and integral approach of the upcoming Environment and Planning Act. Simultaneously, stakeholders often see the municipality, the land registry, but also local foundations and even developers all as one institution: the government. An extra dimension regarding institutional trust is that some suspicion exists from institutions regarding owners. Land- and real estate owners built a reputation in their interaction with institutions after which (representatives of these) institutions have certain expectations about how some owners behave, which sometimes results in distrust. Overlapping with procedural trust, conflicts and negative expectations have influenced both the urban land readjustment processes in Bodegraven and Helmond. Furthermore, the dynamic situation that these findings have sketched, also points to a significant role of the social context in which trust relationships are formed. These contexts shape the course a certain path of decision-making takes. The village context of Bodegraven, with its corresponding social dynamic and -control, has influenced interpersonal- and institutional trust relationships, which mainly results in 'thick trust' that is based on common identities and related characteristics (Williams, 1988; Uslaner & Conley, 2003). In Helmond, where business relationships prevail, 'thin trust' is more manifest. This is rooted in 'the willingness to trust a stranger for cooperation based on assumed common values' (Uslaner & Conley, 2003; De Vries, 2014, p. 41).

The third and last sub-question was concerned with how the different manifestations of trust and their corresponding dynamics lead to cooperation between stakeholders in the urban land readjustment processes of the cases. Involving stakeholders turned out to be difficult at the start of both processes and failures that were made at the start continued to have an influence in negotiations later on. Therefore, continuous efforts by the project teams were needed to repair them, which resulted in several cycles of decision-making and cooperation. However, the trust relationships that were discussed in sub-question two resulted in different types of cooperation in the cases. In Bodegraven, the active and top-down stance of the municipality resulted in outrage by real estate owners and moved the process away from cooperation arrangements that were previously established. This was a critical juncture or key event, in which the municipality decided to change its strategy into one that was more communicative and empowering for real estate owners, for example by employing a simulation game. This resulted in decisions and events, otherwise formulated as increasing returns, that pushed the process further into the informal and communicative direction of cooperation (Arthur, 1994; Pierson, 2000). In Helmond, the process was rather opposite. The informal networks of land- and real estate owners did not generate the negotiations that the initiators of the project were looking for. A lack of interaction prevailed, while a shared urgency was present and positive experiences with the restructuring of Induma-Oost were generally known. Since the process was not able to further proceed via this passive strategy, the project team and related stakeholder groups decided to change their attitude. Small steps to formally guide the process, such as the pressure cookers during the working sessions and the involvement of independent assessors, became more dominant and pushed the process further in a new direction as increasing returns (Arthur, 1994; Pierson, 2000; Sorensen, 2015). Up until now, several conflicts between stakeholders remain unsolved, perceptions differ as to whether the restructuring is a success, and some doubt exists if urban land readjustment may provide a

solution. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that formal measures and tools turned out to work better to foster cooperation in the case of Helmond.

Based on the cases and the literature, it can be concluded that trust is a significant concept for Dutch urban land readjustment processes to succeed and foster cooperation between stakeholders that previously were not used to collaborating with each other. Trust coordinates decision-making processes; facilitates inter-organizational interactions; generates a positive outcome of cooperation; and is seen as an effective way to deal with uncertainty. Reducing complexity and controlling interactions are other ways in which trust is important (Sydow, 1998; Zaheer & Venkatraman, 1995; Zaheer et al., 1998; Bachmann, 2001; O'Brien, 2001; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Lewicki & Bunker, 2012). However, it can also be concluded that there are more dimensions to trust than interpersonal-, institutional- and procedural. Within these three types, several crisscross types of trust are possible, of which trust relationships between representatives of institutions and trust relationships of institutions regarding individuals are notable examples. Also, path dependency theory is useful to explain the role of trust. Not only does 'history matter' in urban land readjustment processes, several characteristics of path dependency are displayed in the Dutch urban land readjustment processes of Bodegraven and Helmond that instigate different types of cooperation and institutional change. Examples are the role of key events in changing institutions; the enduring influence of positive as well as negative events or experiences; and the increasing costs of returning to an option that was previously available. Lastly, establishing trust and cooperation is not without challenges. For example, switches in project teams, communication errors, and a lack of feedback may be detrimental to a process such as urban land readjustment that depends on the skills of people to become a success. Because, even though this cliché has been repeated several times in the Dutch literature about land readjustment, it remains 'mensenwerk'. To conclude: there is 'us' in trust.

§9.2 – Recommendations for practice

What may these conclusions contribute to daily practice? In chapter eight, a typology was presented that illustrates how types of trust lead to cooperation and what possible obstacles may hamper this process. Figure 5 presents several focus points for participating in a Dutch urban land readjustment process, of which paying attention to a specific (social) context; the importance of feedback, whether big or small; and maintaining one voice are emphasized. Apart from these recommendations, several others can be made to assist owners and planning professionals in making an urban land readjustment process more often a success.

Except for one or two, it was acknowledged by all interviewees that trust is an essential factor in an urban land readjustment process or an area development in general. However, it became clear that in practice, establishing trust is not explicitly part of the process. Rather, trust is implicitly present in looking for the question behind a problem that is experienced and approaching stakeholders to share their wishes, concerns, and grudges. It is understandable that there are practical limitations of dedicating a pre-set period to establishing trust, since an urban land readjustment often already takes several years to complete. Nevertheless, it may be beneficial to at least make an inventory of existing trust relationships and dedicate some time to improve them. This corresponds to the concept of *nemawashi*, a Japanese concept where, before formal negotiations, the informal groundwork is laid through consensus and reducing conflict.

Secondly, it was observed in both cases that giving incentive to (real estate) owners can have a positive effect on trust relationships and cooperation. By providing incentives, for example in the process or in law, this may also give rise to more urban land readjustment processes that are initiated by land- and real estate owners instead of (local) governments. Since the land registry is developing process molds for a voluntary urban land readjustment process, it can be recommended to incorporate suggestions for these incentives therein.

Local feelings of community and (planning) culture are also of concern. It was for example concluded by Li et al. (2018) that Dutch planners value risk aversion and trust. Also, it was illustrated in this thesis that experiences from the past determine the choice set of strategies for approaching stakeholders and cooperation between different stakeholder groups. Social bonds, collective identities, shared values and goals plus habits of doing things may therefore be seen as path dependent. Professional empathy for these factors may increase the quality of an urban land readjustment process in the starting phase. It is not only of importance to pay attention to differences in these cultures between groups, but also within groups. Referring to paragraph 9.1, a new and integral way of conducting spatial developments may not yet be entirely adopted by all people working for a municipality or other institution.

§9.3 – Reflection

The degree of generalization that is possible on the basis of a comparative case study with two cases can be seen as a point of discussion. Even though section one of chapter four underlined that the importance of “the force of example” must be emphasized when conducting a case study, the external validity of this research remains relatively low. To cope with this, several sources of data were used. However, it was not possible to research more case due to practical constraints. Therefore, a point of further improvement would be to research more cases that for example belong to the pilots from 2017 and 2018. This would provide a more comprehensive view of the role of trust in urban land readjustment processes in the Netherlands.

A more critical point is that the cases that were researched in this thesis are not completed yet. This affects the general validity of this research. It is mainly due to the fact that there are not enough completed Dutch projects that have successfully used the urban land readjustment instrument and comply with the selection criteria that were distinguished for this research. Designing other criteria would affect the internal validity of this research, since broader criteria may prompt more general conclusions that are of less academic- and societal relevance. Since the pilots, among which Helmond, are still progressing, it would be valuable to wait and conduct an ex-post evaluation once these are fully completed.

Content-wise, this research has emphasized the role of different types of trust and cooperation. It was analysed and concluded which types of trust and cooperation were dominant in the cases. Also, obstacles were distinguished that were eventually displayed in the typology of chapter eight. However, what this research lacks is an extra dimension, namely what obstacles are more capricious or severe than others. Even though obstacles in urban land readjustment processes have been addressed in the (academic) literature in the past, a master thesis about this subject would provide a welcome addition. It would for example be interesting to research what general obstacles are in the Netherlands and how these compare with urban land

readjustment obstacles in other national contexts. Being some of the most-research national contexts, Germany, Japan, Israel and Spain, would provide some interesting cases to examine.

Furthermore, data-collection could have been more comprehensive. As was explained in the methodological chapter, attending and observing a work session was part of the planning at the beginning of this research. However, this plan was cancelled since the date of a session that was available was too far into the future. This practical constraint has negatively influenced the internal validity of this research, because findings from the interviews and documents were more prone to inconsistencies or missing information that was not shared. Since these sessions were repeatedly emphasized by respondents, it would be interesting to research what the precise role and influence is of these working sessions on an urban land readjustment process, for example in the Netherlands.

§9.3 – Discussion

‘Voluntary is not without obligations’ is a phrase which was repeatedly used during the interviews. It points to the discussion about the Dutch urban land readjustment instrument: should it be possible to obligate owners to participate and prevent free-riders? On the one side of the spectrum are professionals who emphasize that obligating owners to participate is not only forced confiscation of possessions, but also forced allocation of a smaller plot that is sometimes on a different location. On the other hand, it is perceived that an obligatory character would be useful, since it would reduce the complexity and uncertainty that characterizes urban land readjustment processes in the Netherlands. Also, by embedding the tool into law, the Netherlands would have an instrument that is a light-version of expropriation, but more obligatory than a voluntary resale. (Expert interview E4, May 2 2018). A light-version is generally seen as desirable in a country where expropriation processes are expensive, take a long time and are thus better avoided by governments. However, the upcoming Environment and Planning Act emphasizes bottom-up initiative. It may be difficult to unite this character with a spatial instrument that obligates owners to participate.

Alongside the subjects of main subject of ‘trust’, several recommendations were made in the interviews to improve the urban land readjustment instrument. Most of these were focused on giving an incentive to actively participate or show enduring commitment. The incentives were of a financial- as well as a legal character, for example providing an exception or extension in a land use plan for development or abolishing tax on transferring ownership rights. It was repeatedly underlined that mainly the financial incentive is lacking to more often make urban land readjustment a success (for example Case interview H3, May 24 2018). However, it may be observed that giving an owner an incentive to participate may also be perceived as ‘buying’ trust. Furthermore, public initiative for an urban land readjustment prevails in the Netherlands (Expert interview II, April 25 2018), while private initiative is underlined and addressed in the upcoming Environment and Planning Act. Is an incentive for public parties to participate then also needed, off course without giving the process the character of corruption? On the other hand: do we need an incentive for the government to trust its citizens? These are questions that need to be considered in this debate or in further research.

Another point of discussion is partly concerned with the cases of this research. Is it possible to consider the processes that were examined a success or a failure, corresponding to the first and third selection criteria that were distinguished in the methodological chapter? A weakness of this research is that the cases that were examined are still in full progress. Therefore, calling a case a success or a failure is for a significant part determined by the attitudes of the stakeholders involved. If stakeholders are mainly positive about past events and the future of the process, such as in Bodegraven, it may be considered a success. If phases such as 'repairing the damage' are used, a different story is suggested (Case interview H3, May 24 2018). In the interest of improving the urban land readjustment instrument, it may be of importance for further research to determine whether a case was a success or a failure. Hereby, determining factors may be extracted and applied to other settings or nations.

Lastly, it was coined in one of the interviews that the urban- as well as the rural variant of the land readjustment instrument should have no boundaries (please also refer to Rheinfeld, 2014). To give an example, Dutch farmers that live close to the border with Belgium, should be able to trade ownership rights with Belgian farmers. Currently, this is not possible since both countries have a different spatial planning system. The question that arises is if trading ownership rights between countries that do not share borders is desirable and may not give rise to a form of neo-colonialism. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to further research the implications of an (urban) land readjustment instrument that is applicable across different countries.

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Appendix I – Table of respondents

To secure the anonymity of the respondents, the table was not added to this version.

Appendix II – Topic list for experts

Topic	Question
Introduction <i>Association with the topic</i>	How are you involved with the subjects of “urban areas” and “spatial development”? How did you become involved with the instrument of urban land readjustment (since every expert interviewed has a different background)? Is a spatial instrument such as land readjustment relevant for the current system and view on spatial development in the Netherlands? Why?
Definitions <i>Focus on definitions: wat bedoel je met kavelruil, samenwerking, vertrouwen</i>	What does a process of urban land readjustment ideally look like?
Social and institutional context / path dependency <i>Focus on context: sociale relaties, normen en waarden, identiteit, sociale controle, contracten, ontwikkelingen</i>	What are general factors that influence the cooperation? Does a collective past between stakeholders play a role in the involvement and further collaboration in the process?
Interpersonal trust <i>Focus on trust between private actors</i>	Is distrust regarding a fellow (real estate) owner present in an urban land readjustment process? What is the main cause of this? Is cooperation influenced by this? How? How can trust between (real estate) owners be fostered?
Trust in institutions <i>Do private actors trust the government, does the government trust its “citizens”?</i>	Is distrust regarding the local government/land Registry present in an urban land readjustment process? What is the main cause of this? Is cooperation influenced by this? How? How can trust between the government and (real estate) owners be fostered? Does the municipality/land Registry play a role in fostering this? Is this a two-way phenomenon? Is distrust regarding the ‘citizen’ also present?
Trust in processes <i>Degree and extent of collaboration, participation</i>	What obstacles became apparent during cooperation in the urban land readjustment process? When is fostering trust the most urgent?
Round up <i>Catch concluding statements: role of trust in cooperation</i>	What is the role of trust in an urban land readjustment process?

Appendix III – Topic list for cases

Topic	Question
<p>Introduction <i>Association with the topic</i></p>	<p>How are you involved with the subjects of “urban areas” and “spatial development”? What is the role of the municipality/ land registry/real estate owner in the restructuring of Helmond Induma-West/redevelopment of Bodegraven? Has urban land readjustment become relevant? Why? Does urban land readjustment have a future in this area?</p>
<p>Definitions <i>Focus on definitions: wat bedoel je met kavelruil, samenwerking, vertrouwen</i></p>	<p>Based on the experiences in this area, what does a process of urban land readjustment ideally look like?</p>
<p>Social and institutional context / path dependency <i>Focus on context: sociale relaties, normen en waarden, identiteit, sociale controle, contracten, ontwikkelingen</i></p>	<p>What are general factors that influence the cooperation in Bodegraven/Induma-West? Does a collective past between stakeholders play a role in the involvement and further collaboration in the process that is happening here? How does the municipality/land registry respond to this in positive as well as negative situations?</p>
<p>Interpersonal trust <i>Focus on trust between private actors</i></p>	<p>Is distrust regarding a fellow (real estate) owner present in an urban land readjustment process? What is the main cause of this? Is cooperation influenced by this? How? How can trust between (real estate) owners be fostered? Does the municipality/land registry play a role in fostering this?</p>
<p>Trust in institutions <i>Do private actors trust the government, does the government trust its “citizens”?</i></p>	<p>Is distrust regarding the local government/land registry present in an urban land readjustment process? What is the main cause of this? Is cooperation influenced by this? How? How can trust between the government and (real estate) owners be fostered? Does the municipality/land registry play a role in fostering this? Is this a two-way phenomenon? Is distrust regarding the ‘citizen’ also present?</p>
<p>Trust in processes <i>Degree and extent of collaboration, participation</i></p>	<p>What obstacles became apparent during cooperation in the urban land readjustment process? When is fostering trust the most urgent?</p>
<p>Round up <i>Catch concluding statements: role of trust in cooperation</i></p>	<p>What lessons have been learned up until now in the process of cooperation between stakeholders in Bodegraven/Helmond? What has been the role of trust in the urban land readjustment process up until now?</p>

Appendix IV – Coding structure

Main code	Sub-code	Explanation
TRUST_GENERAL		Why is trust important? Connection with commitment
	TRUST_INTERPER	Trust in other individuals
	TRUST_INSTITUT	Trust in institutions, also do institutions trust individuals?
	TRUST_PROCESS	Trust in the process
	TRUST_SOC_INST_CONT	Role of the social- and institutional context (local culture, social control, socio-economic differences, etc.)
DUTCH_DEBATE		Discussion about a less voluntary character (or not) of the urban land readjustment instrument in the Netherlands
FINANCIAL		Financial risks, abolishing tax on transfer of ownership rights, giving insight in personal financial situation
URGENCY		Sense of urgency about the problems that are experienced, problem definition
PATH_DEPENDENCY		The role of experiences between owners, but also owners and institutions such as the municipality and/or land registry, that existed before the land urban readjustment process was initiated
	FEEDBACK_EFFECT	How experiences before and during the urban land readjustment process (in the personal sphere) influence decision-making, cooperation and negotiation between stakeholders

DYNAMICS_GENERAL		What does a process of urban land readjustment ideally look like? Also: what general dynamics were characterized the cases?
	COLLECTIVE HISTORY	Collective experiences stakeholders gather during the urban land readjustment process
	COMPLEXITY	Complexity of the process: a lot of stakeholders, different character of stakeholders, time management, etc.
	COOPERATION	If and how stakeholders cooperate(d)
	INVOLVEMENT	Who is involved in the urban land readjustment process and how and/or on what terms
	NEGOTIATION	Tactics that are used by the stakeholders, dynamics, examples
	UNCERTAINTY	Deadlines, foreseeability, stakeholder that may or may not opt-out etc.
METAPHORS		Which metaphors or saying are used when talking about the role of trust. Corresponds with the role of emotions.

Appendix V – Map of the cases

The cases of Bodegraven and Helmond situated on a map of the Netherlands:



Google Maps (2018)