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The Engaged Community: Trust-Building within Public Engagement toward Community Development

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The Engaged Community: Trust-Building within Public Engagement toward Community Development

by

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If individuals do not occupy their legitimate position, then it will be occupied by a god or a king or a coalition of interest groups. If citizens do not exercise the powers conferred by their legitimacy, others will do so.

- John Ralston Saul

Abstract

This phenomenological inductive study addresses the issue of trust-building within the process of public engagement toward community development. The proposed engagement framework drew on data collected in the community of Marlborough, situated in the western Canadian city of Calgary, the Trust Confidence Cooperation (TCC) Model of cooperation, and the theories of social capital, equity planning, and complex systems. Key findings that emerged during the study indicate that trust and social capital are important to the success of conventional engagement methods such as surveys/questionnaires and open houses. The core attributes of a trust-building engagement process are positive outcomes, a relational approach, diversity, collaboration, physical presence, social capital, effective communication, customization, managing expectations, an adaptive approach, and dialogue. This study also proposes recommendations that address both process-level and systemic issues in the process of public engagement toward community development. Among others, these include: the need for adaptive governance structures that allow flexibility and customization, that community development processes be subsumed by a relational trust-building public engagement process, emphasizing cross-disciplinary collaboration, and managing community expectations through clear communication devoid of jargon.

Keywords: public engagement, community engagement, community development, trust, confidence, social capital, equity planning, city-making, complexity

Preface

This is a manuscript-based thesis, written and presented according to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Calgary Thesis/Dissertation Guidelines. This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, S. I. Ranasinghe. The data gathered and discussed in sections 3.4 and 4.3 were covered by Ethics Certificate REB16-1346_REN1, issued by the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB) for the project "Exploring the relationship between Trust/Confidence, and a collaborative public engagement process, within the context of community development, in working toward building a 'Just City' in praxis" on October 3, 2017.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Noel Keough for his guidance, support, and encouragement throughout the course of this research journey, and for providing me with opportunities to explore and test my research in practical settings. Many thanks to Professor Thomas Harper as well for taking me under his tutelage in the early days of my course of study, and for his critical input, support, and direction. I would also like to acknowledge the staff and faculty at the University of Calgary's Faculty of Environmental Design. I am particularly thankful to my classmates Jim Connolly and Miho Lowan-Trudeau for generously sharing their knowledge and expertise that facilitated this specific research direction and process. Special thanks also go out to my examining committee, Dr. Sasha Tsenkova and Dr. Suzanne Goopy, for taking the time to review my thesis, facilitate my defense, and provide me with constructively critical feedback.

I am thankful for the financial support from the Faculty of Environmental Design and the University of Calgary. I would also like to extend special appreciation to all my study participants for sharing their experiences with me, and for the generous donation of their time and energy. This study would not have been possible without them.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. A special thank you to my parents who have always supported intellectual curiosity, exploration, and have constantly encouraged me to pursue my aspirations. Thank you to my daughter, Sylvie, for putting up with an often busy or preoccupied father. And finally, most importantly, a huge thank you to my wife. Carolyn, your love, unwavering support, constant encouragement, countless hours of being a sounding-board for my ideas, and most of all, your confidence in me, made this entire journey possible. Thank you!

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

I arrived at this particular line of inquiry in a rather roundabout manner. Having worked in the social service sector for several years, I was struck by the prominent levels of public dissatisfaction in community engagement processes within urban contexts. While both social and spatial community development practitioners blithely proclaim the benefits of "sustainable" and "resilient" communities, I rarely witnessed a sustained collaborative effort to empower and partner with ordinary community members in realizing these laudable goals. Since planning and development of this kind is profoundly political, such a narrow approach fostered cynicism and distrust in any process viewed as "political". This led to a continuous and unhealthy cycle of political and community disengagement. Given that cities, communities, and urban spaces are primarily meant for people, I was curious to see what a "better" public engagement process would look like. Since "better" in this case is a somewhat nebulous term, I ultimately seek to quantify it under the measure of "trust", as a response to the question: what will a trust-building public engagement process look like?

My research is based in a local community named Marlborough, located in the North-Eastern quadrant of the city of Calgary. The focus of this investigation evolved over time, due to my involvement in projects run by MakeCalgary and Sustainable Calgary involving this community. MakeCalgary is an interdisciplinary urban laboratory, which resulted through a partnership between the Faculty of Environmental Design, the O'Brian Institute of Public Health, the School of Social Work, and the Cumming School of Medicine at the University of

Calgary. Its vision is to act as a community based research platform that brings together researchers, graduate students, industry professionals, and community partners to help design a better future for the city of Calgary. Research is organized around the four design criteria of Resilience, Vibrancy, Health, and Equitability that define a great city (makeCalgary 2017). I was involved in a research project with a focus on equitable city-making. Much of this research took place within the community of Marlborough. I was also involved with a portion of the community engagement around Sustainable Calgary's "Active Neighborhoods" program. Sustainable Calgary is a non-profit organization that utilizes a citizen-centered, multi-systemic approach to city-making, while working towards the long-term health and vitality of the city (Sustainable Calgary 2015). The Active Neighborhoods project aims at creating opportunities for citizen engagement in the urban planning process as well as active transportation options, with the goal of making selected marginalized communities more livable. One of these communities is Marlborough, and I was involved in engaging with certain community groups that are not typically involved with the planning and community development process – housing-insecure men[1] and immigrant women, in this case. Both these projects revolved around community development, and involved understanding its dependence on public engagement processes. much of the data collected in this investigation is a direct result of my involvement with these projects.

In this next section I will lay out the key objectives of this study. In order to create a better sense of theoretical context, the following section will be my review of the literature on community development, public engagement, trust, social capital, equity planning, and

[1] Someone is considered to be facing "housing insecurity" if they face "high housing costs in proportion to income, poor housing quality, unstable neighborhoods, overcrowding, or homelessness" (Cutts et al. 2011)

complex systems. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss my theoretical framework and how key concepts fit within it and relate to each other. In chapter two I will expound on how I collected data and processed it, and briefly explain some of the philosophical underpinnings of my methodology. In chapter three, I will lay out the results of my investigation into trust-building within public engagement in the community of Marlborough. In chapter four I will analyze my research findings, and in chapter five, propose a conceptual framework, and discuss my findings and their significance.

1.1 Research Objectives

My research objective is to understand how to practically structure a public engagement process, within the practice of both social or spatial community development, such that trust is most effectively built among all participants. Ultimately this would result in more collaboration among participants. Henceforth I shall use the term “participants” to denote participants in a public engagement process, and “engagers” to denote those facilitating the engagement process.

In that vein, my research questions guiding the rest of this study are as follows:

1. How does trust fit into public engagement processes toward community development?
2. What does a trust-building public engagement approach in a community development context look like?
3. What is needed to improve and modify future engagement efforts toward community development, in such a way that trust is built more effectively?

1.2. Literature Review

I drew on a large body of literature in understanding my topic of trust-building. Figure 1.1 below is a visual representation of the various theories, concepts, and processes I incorporated into my research, and their relationship to each other.

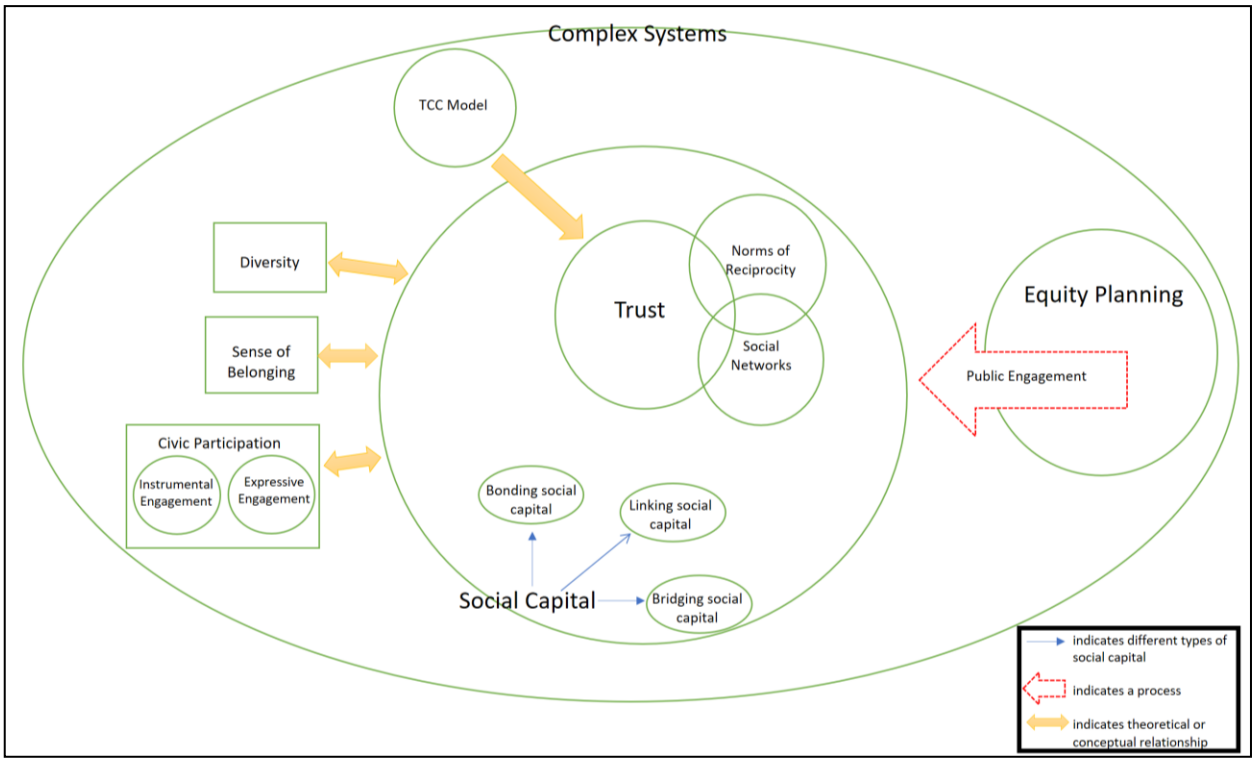

Fig 1.1: A diagrammatic representation of way in which the theories and concepts used in this study are related to each other. All arrows indicate relational direction.

As shown in the above diagram, trust is my central concept. While I look at it within the context of the theory of social capital (SC), it is augmented by the TCC model[2] of Trust Confidence Cooperation. I draw primarily on the work of Timothy Earle, Michael Siegrist, and

[2] I view the terms "model" and "Theory" as being practically interconnected. While a theory is a set of ideas or principles that allow generalizations regarding a phenomenon, a model involves applying specific theory toward a particular case. Models are generally built on theories.

Russel Hardin in understanding this formulation of trust. SC is affected by the concepts of diversity, crime, sense of belonging, and civic participation, all of which act as indicators of SC too. Bonding, bridging and linking SC are three expressions or functions of SC. While I do reference the work of Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman, it is mostly the work of Robert Putnam and David Halpern that shape my understanding of, and approach to SC. I also lean heavily on the work of Dietlind Stolle and Abdolmohamad Kazemipur in understanding SC within the Canadian context. Thomas Harper's work on dialogical planning, as informed by John Rawls' liberalism and Jurgen Habermas' pragmatism, contribute to my formulation of public engagement as a fundamental tool of community development. My approach to the process of public engagement is grounded in equity planning theory, which lends it a larger purpose and direction. The work of Susan Fainstein, David Harvey, and through them, Henri Lefebvre, primarily inform my understanding of equity planning. Judith Innes' work was crucial in bridging the process of public engagement with equity planning and the theory of Complex systems. Finally, complex systems theory provides the large theoretical context within which all these theories, concepts and processes interact. C.S. Holling, Lance Gunderson, Thomas Homer Dixon, and Noel Keough's work further informed my understanding of this theory.

This rest of this chapter includes a review of the literature on my key concepts, theories, and processes. I will begin with the more specific concepts before situating them within the larger theories that provide an overarching theoretical context. The first section situates the practice of public engagement within community development, followed by sections bridging the practice of public engagement with the concept of trust. The next section reviews the literature

on trust, followed by the final three sections that respectively review the literature on the theories of social capital, equity planning, and complex systems.

1.2.1. Cities and Community Development

> "The City is…man's most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the City man has remade himself." (Park 1967, 3)

> "The right to the city is an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our collective needs and desires and so remake our daily lives, to reshape our architectural practices…and to define an alternative way of simply being human" (Marcuse et al. 2009, 49)

Cities are a collection of complex systems that are in turn nested within larger systems. Humans are a fundamental component of these cities. This often gets forgotten outright or given only lip-service in the process of planning and making city spaces. Since people make up cities and usually live in physical locales commonly designated as "neighborhoods", I contend that neighborhood development, which I will henceforth refer to as "community development", is a fundamental sub-practice within the larger practice of city making. Along these lines, I will refer to physical neighborhoods as "communities". I realize that "community" can also reference a relational grouping that is not necessarily bound by geographical boundaries. In this context, "community" can be a more nebulous and dynamic concept that is constantly in flux as a response to changes in the larger context within which it is embedded

(Maginn 2007). However, since geography will always be a component of this concept, I resort to employing the common parlance of the term "community" as a physical location (Bhattacharyya 2004). In the context of city-making, any sort of community development initiative that happens within a functional liberal democracy should be governed by foundational political liberal principles, which in turn are governed by the Rule of Law (Rawls 2001; Stein and Harper 2005; McKay, Murray, and Macintyre 2012). Furthermore, in keeping with a Lefebvrian concept of "Right to the City"(Marcuse et al. 2009), people have a right to be involved in how their community is shaped (Altshuler 1970; Blauner 1969; Lipsky 2010; United Nations Environment Program 1992). This normative standard of the right to the city is also often upheld by forms of policy/law.

Lefebvre defines cities as monuments created by social groups and the whole society (Lefebvre 2003); as such they are spaces that are the reflection of not just one single group – elite or not. However, as planners such as Norman Krumholz discovered, the voices of marginalized citizens are often not heard by those in power, or reflected in the design of cities and communities (Krumholz, Cogger, and Linner 1975). This seeming institutional deafness to certain voices, along with the rise of social media platforms and the internet, has led to increased suspicion of institutions, knowledge democratization, and the subsequent polarization of groups. The result is an increased splintering and under-valuation of public dialogue (Innes and Booher 2010; T. Harper and Stein 2012) . Given this prevailing attitude of suspicion toward conventional forms of authority, combined with our increased, and emergent, understanding of the complex interplay of systems (L. H. Gunderson and Holling 2002), it is fair to assume that most community development exercises are "wicked problems" (Rittel and

Webber 1973). This is because communities represent a microcosm of the complex interaction between social and ecological systems, and development efforts that fail to engage with this are certain to create undesirable outcomes. Therefore, while not a panacea, broad public participation should be a foundational factor in community development, as part of the larger practice of City Making.

1.2.2. Public Engagement

While citizens have been involved, to widely varying extents, in the governance of their cities at least since the Greek city-states, public engagement has had a contested history in North America. There was widespread discontent with the outcomes of urban planning decisions within the United States in the 1960's and 70's. This was based on the view that planners and social welfare workers were making decisions that affected local residents without attending to their opinions (Lipsky 2010), and that there was a vast societal/class gap between these affected residents and public agency staff (Blauner 1969). Therefore, these planning decisions were seen as both undemocratic and inequitable, and did little to bolster public trust and confidence in the institutions and industries involved. Citizen participation was thus proposed as a remedy (Altshuler 1970). Enter Sherry Arnstein and her "ladder of citizen participation", which lays out a roadmap, particularly for the greater inclusion of disadvantaged societal groups in formulating and implementing policy, such that the "have-not citizens can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society"(Arnstein 2015). While she realized that community power such as this could encourage separatism, inefficiency, and opportunism, it was also understood that equitable distribution of benefits would not happen without a redistribution of decisional power. This led to community

power through participation becoming an emphasis of urban activists in the 1970's (Fainstein 2010). Recently, this level of citizen empowerment within a public engagement process was marked by communities deciding on their budget expenditures themselves. Notable examples include Porto Alegre in Brazil (Sintomer, Herzberg, and Röcke 2008), and the Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) in Minneapolis (Elwood 2002). Therefore, it is important to note that power, and the privilege conferred to those with power, are important underlying themes in this movement toward greater citizen participation or public engagement. However, given that these themes did not feature explicitly in the data I gathered, delving into the vast literature on power and privilege is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice to say, they are important underlying conditions to explore more thoroughly in a future study with a broader mandate regarding trust-building in public engagement toward community development. Coming back to the study at hand, more recently, the UN Conference on Environment and Development conference in Rio, 1992 passed a declaration stating:

> At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate *access* to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to *participate* in decision making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and *participation* by making information widely available. Effective *access* to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided."(United Nations Environment Program 1992, 3).

Meaningful engagement reduces the likelihood of protracted resistance (Fainstein 2010), and increases the likelihood of a broader and more representative perspective being considered, since community "context experts" add more depth and breadth to the technical knowledge of the professional "content experts" (Attygalle 2014). The degree of citizen

involvement in this process, often referred to as public engagement, is informed by Arnstein's Ladder of Participation, as refined in the IAP2 Spectrum (Arnstein 2015). I realize that this process of involving a community in its development is referred to in the literature by several different terms, such as public/community consultation, participation, deliberation, and engagement. I will generally refer to this process simply as "public engagement" throughout the rest of this paper.

As the Center for Advances in Public Engagement puts it:

> "Authentic public engagement…is a highly inclusive problem-solving approach through which regular citizens deliberate and collaborate on complex public problems. Rather than relegating people to the sidelines, it invites them to join the public dialogue surrounding a problem and provides them the tools to do so productively. As a result, leaders know where the public stands as problem solving progresses, while citizens themselves contribute to solutions through their input, ideas and actions." (Center for Advances in Public Engagement 2008, 2)

Therefore, beside the loftier ethical or moral justifications mentioned above, it also makes pragmatic sense to actively involve citizens in the process of city-making. Discourse is at the heart of authentic public engagement processes, and the maintenance of the Habermasian ideal speech conditions orients this discourse in a direction that is fair, democratic, and representative of all points of view (Habermas 1987). Such conditions are best enabled through a Collaborative Planning process (Forester 1999; Sandercock 1997; T. Harper and Stein 2012; Innes and Booher 2010). I realize that there is ongoing debate on what exactly constitutes and differentiates "collaborative planning" from "communicative" or "dialogical" planning (Forester 1988; Healey 2003), but that is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say, I will adopt the view that collaborative planning recognizes the role of multiple players in interactive and

communicative relationship with each other as being central to praxis (Innes and Booher 1999). The following description of public engagement captures the formulation of my ideal process:

> "a process that brings people together to address issues of common importance, to solve shared problems, and to bring about positive social change. Effective public engagement invites average citizens to get involved in deliberation, dialogue and action on public issues that they care about. And, it helps leaders and decision makers better understand the perspectives, opinions, and concerns of citizens and stakeholders" (Bonneman 2012)

For any sort of Collaborative planning process to take place, however, there needs to be trust among the stakeholders involved, and in the wider institutions implicated in such a process.

1.2.3. Trust

Trust is a term that holds a lot of currency in public discussions in North America and Europe. In the United States, increased public distrust in key institutions such as government, news media, public schools, and banks has been linked to knowledge democratization through media forms such as the internet and social media (Pew Research Center 2017b, 2017a; Gallup 2017). The situation is not much better in Canada, where public trust in the institutions of government, news media, business, and NGO's has steadily decreased over the past few years (Statistics Canada 2015; Edelman Trust Barometer 2017). This loss of trust in government and the news media in particular has been correlated with the rise of right wing populism, which typically champions a supposedly embattled population group against an "elite", that is guilty of unfairly favoring a different population group, such as immigrants or Islamists (Judis 2016). Loss of institutional trust has also been linked to the increased polarization of groups along ideological lines (Innes and Booher 2010; T. L. Harper and Stein 2012) . All this has resulted in

much public hand-wringing, as trust is a sort of invisible glue at the foundation of functional human societies, enabling collaborations that give rise to the complex interactions we have on a regular basis with little thought. However, trust in and of itself is not necessarily a desired attitude, as there are many instances when it is completely unwarranted. For example, most reasonable people would not advocate trusting con-artists and snake oil salesmen. Nevertheless, the examples of the erosion of institutional trust mentioned above hint at a loss of effectiveness in this invisible glue, which then has unpleasant implications for the fabric of society. As mentioned in a recent New York Times article, take for example the act of consuming food on any given day as an average urban North American. We usually trust our supermarket manager to have had the foresight to stock the market shelves with certain types of food. Or we make a restaurant reservation for Saturday evening, trusting that both we and the restaurateur both imagine the same future time, “Saturday”, that exists only as a collective construct. We trust that the restaurateur will then acquire food and cook it, while they trust us to show up and pay them money as a norm of reciprocity, which they will then accept only because they trust their landlord to accept it in exchange for occupying the building (Seligman and Tierney 2017). What this brief, simplified example illustrates, is that the attitude of trust is fundamental for any sort of cooperation, among individuals and institutions.

What is trust though? “Trust” is a concept that can be hard to pin-down, as it is complex and can be explored through the lens of many different disciplines. Ben Daniel created a diagram that lays this out visually:

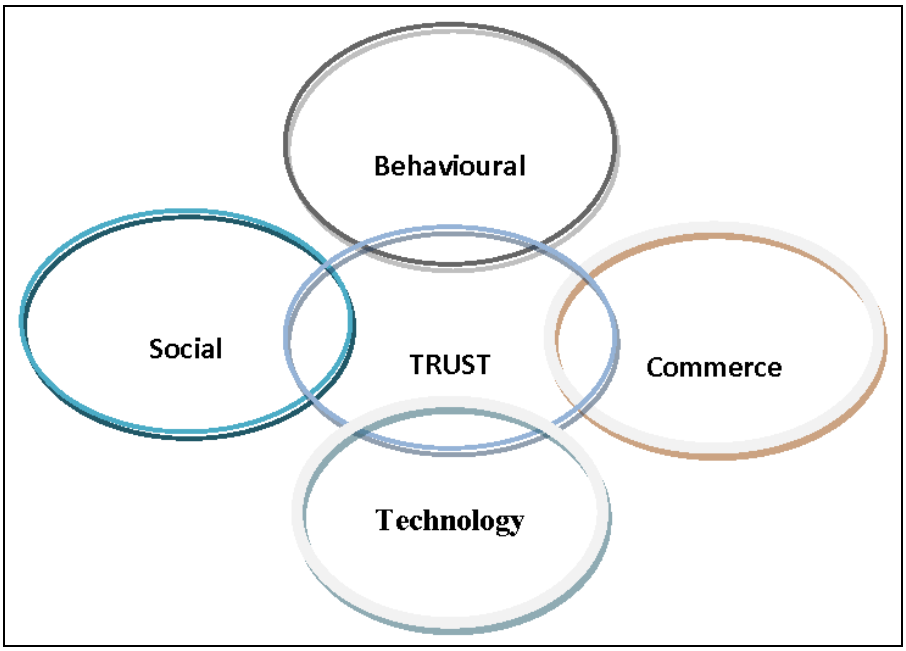

Fig 1.2: Core disciplines investigating trust from unique perspectives (Daniel 2009)

In the interests of limiting the scope of this investigation, I will mostly be focusing on the social discipline's approach to trust in enabling cooperation. Out of the vast literature on trust, there are two theoretical areas I will be primarily drawing on: The Trust Confidence Cooperation (TCC) Model and Social Capital. The following sections will focus primarily on the TCC model literature.

There are two types of trust mentioned in this literature: Generalized and Relational trust. Generalized trust is sometimes referred to as "community trust", as well as "trust" in the social capital literature, while relational trust is sometimes referred to as "individual trust". Generalized trust is more of a "default belief in the benign nature of humans in general or as some kind of optimism about the trustworthiness of others, implying that one is likely to risk cooperation with another unless that person is proved unreliable" (Schweers Cook 2005).

Relational or individual trust on the other hand can be conceptualized as “actor A trusts actor B with respect to x in situation S”, or an “encapsulated interest”, where the focus is on the social relationship both formed and enabled by this interaction (Hardin 2002). While this differentiation is generally useful, both forms of trust are connected to each other in practice by the act of relationship. One can hardly have any form of generalized trust without relationships that either affirm or deny that belief. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, I will not draw stark typological lines between these two. When I refer to “trust”, it will be referring to generalized/community/trust by default. If I ever reference relational trust, I shall explicitly delineate it as such.

“Trust” is a metaphorical glue that holds together social interactions (Halpern 2010), a lubricant that makes cooperation possible (Luhmann 1979), and an important tool in navigating the complexity of social interactions (Luhmann 2000). It is a multi-dimensional concept, with a cognitive dimension that depends on rational and instrumental judgments, and an affective dimensions that depends on relationship and empathy (Alaszewski and Brown 2007). Siegrist and Earle (2012) label this more affective dimension “Trust”, and the more cognitive dimension “Confidence”.

Trust is therefore based on social relations, shared values, and natural propensities (Earle 2010), and can be measured empirically through: in-group membership, morality, benevolence, integrity, intentions, fairness, caring (Earle 2009b). There is also a strong element of reciprocation, particularly in modern North American society, where there is “declining significance of groups into which one is born and the growing significance of reciprocated choices between erstwhile strangers for human relations” (Blau 2002). Therefore, this

uncertainty involved in social exchange between those no longer bound by traditional communal norms requires an expectation of future reciprocation – which is trust. For this investigation, I will adopt the following definition of trust:

> "the willingness, in expectation of beneficial outcomes, to make oneself vulnerable to another based on a judgement of similarity of intentions or values" (Siegrist, Earle, and Gutscher 2012, 4).

The concept of "confidence" is more instrumental and calculative. It is based on past performance, with institutions constraining and controlling future performance (Earle 2010). Often labeled "institutional trust" in the SC literature, Confidence can be measured empirically through: evidence, regulations, rules/procedures, contracts, social roles, ability, experience, control, competence, standards. Therefore, I will adopt the following definition of confidence:

> "the belief, based on experience or evidence that certain future events will occur as expected"(Siegrist, Earle, and Gutscher 2012, 4).

Labeled the Trust Confidence Cooperation model, or TCC model, Siegrist et al (2012) posit that cooperation in the public sphere, on any scale, necessitates a certain combination of trust and institutional confidence. Confidence is easier to gain, but also easier to break, while trust-building requires much more effort. Trust, in this context, refers to a combination of both the generalized and relational trust mentioned above. Once trust has been established, it is much more resilient than confidence. The erosion of public trust in North American institutions mentioned at the beginning of this chapter refers to a decrease in confidence. This has

significant societal implications, because our current institutionally driven, networked society is built and governed upon a presupposition of public confidence in these institutions.

There is a contention that, given the essentially relational nature of trust, building it requires the parties involved in the relationship to be trustworthy. Therefore, in practice, building trust should refer to boosting trustworthiness (Hardin 2002; O'neill 2002). Philosopher Onora O'Neill (2002) emphasizes competence, honesty, and reliability as the three key measures of establishing trustworthiness among individuals, organizations, or institutions. These measures are encompassed in the TCC model construct of confidence. In this respect, confidence and trustworthiness are very close to each other conceptually.

Figure 1.3 below provides a simple summary of what I have discussed with respect to trust up to this point:

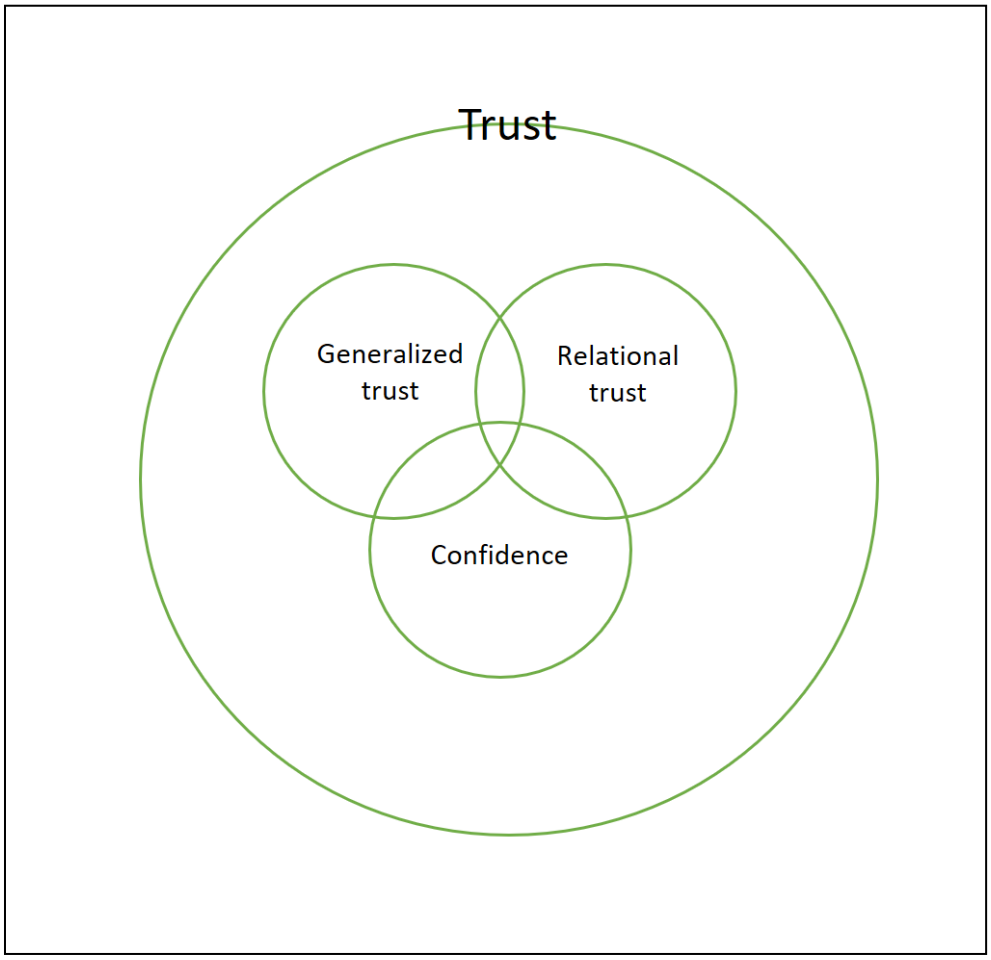

Fig 1.3: Trust and its components

Over the last couple decades there has been a growing list of studies around the world chronicling a decline in trust: In the United States (R. Putnam 2000; Wuthnow 2002), in Italy (R. D. Putnam 1993; Gambetta 1988), in the United Kingdom (Hall 1999), in France (Worms 2002), in Germany (Offe and Fuchs 2002), in Japan (Inoguchi 2002; Yamagishi 1988; Yamagishi and Yamagishi 1994) , in Spain (Pérez-Díaz 2002), in Australia (Cox 2002), in Sweden (Rothstein and Stolle 2002) ,and in Canada (Helliwell 1996). Therefore, given this decline in both trust and confidence, the TCC model would predict a consequent decline in societal cooperation too.

Why Trust?

Trust has been referred to as an essential component of the "hidden wealth of nations", essentially acting as a form of hidden capital that enables the generation of both social and material wealth (Halpern 2010). This type of capital has been labeled "social capital", and is an area of research I will address in the following section. Historian Francis Fukuyama argues that generalized trust in particular is a more fundamental measure of socioeconomic success on the national scale than the traditional division between left-right/neo-mercantilists-neo-classicalists, and that countries should be grouped accordingly (Fukuyama 1995). In his seminal work, sociologist Robert Putnam (1993) points to generalized trust as an essential component in enabling more effective government. Beside these political and economic components, others argue that social order and every day life depend on trust (Barber 1983; Hardin 1995; Luhmann 1979).

Additionally, trust makes:

- Social life predictable and eases people's working relations (Misztal 2001)
- Lubricates the functioning of public institutions and economic transactions (A Alesina and La Ferrara 2002; Marschall and Stolle 2004; Rempel, Ross, and Holmes 2001)
- Effective public policies and better economic outcomes (Fukuyama 1995; Knack and Keefer 1997; Porta et al. 1997).
- Creation of social capital easier (R. Putnam 2001; Woolcock 2001)

Any public engagement process requires cooperation among the participants and the institutions, or their representatives, who often facilitate these processes. Most community development (CD) initiatives are driven by organizations affiliated with government or NGO's. The decline in cooperation due to decreasing public trust and confidence documented in the

previous section, therefore, complicates public engagement and CD. Trust is also essential to a fair and equitable public engagement process (Tyler 2003; Tsang et al. 2009; Wang and Wan Wart 2007). However, there is disagreement on the hierarchical position of trust: whether pre-existing trust enables dialogue to take place (Bradbury et al. 1999; Newton 2001; Parkins 2010), or trust is effectively built/strengthened by dialogue within a public engagement process (Klijn, Edelenbos, and Steijn 2010; Van Ark and Edelenbos 2005; Innes and Booher 2010; Smith et al. 2013a). Either way, what all these studies emphasize is the importance of trust within a public engagement process.

The preceding sections have explored some of the research on trust as a stand-alone concept, and the TCC model, in my opinion, is a good parsimonious construct linking trust and cooperation. However, much of this research also presents trust as being a more complex social concept that does not function in a vacuum. Since I am exploring the place of trust within the fundamentally social process of public engagement, the next sections will examine trust within the more encompassing theory of social capital.

1.3. Trust & Social Capital

I would like to begin this discussion about social capital (SC) with a caveat: my exploration of this concept will not be an extensive review of all the existing research but will only venture into areas that I deem relevant to my topic of trust-building within public engagement. The explosion in SC research in the past few decades, approached through varied disciplinary lenses, has resulted in a large body of literature on this topic. Attempting to explicate all of it is beyond the scope of this study.

The concept of SC is growing in popularity as a barometer, of sorts, pertaining to the health of a community. In fact, agencies such as the World Bank and OECD increasingly view SC as providing a good indication as to the effectiveness of a society (Healy and Côté 2001; Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2001). What is SC? Some describe it as "the advantage individuals and communities can gain from social participation, mutual assistance and trust" (Currie and Stanley 2008), while others claim that "Social capital is defined as resources embedded in one's social networks, resources that can be accessed or mobilized through ties in the networks" (Lin 2005).

Robert Putnam, Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman are probably the three most well-known proponents of SC. However, they have somewhat different takes on the concept. Bourdieu's view of SC revolves around social networks, and posits that the development of SC takes time and resources. Individuals with greater quantities of other forms of capital, particularly economic, are in a better position and more motivated to create greater quantities of SC (Bourdieu 1985). In contrast, Coleman views SC as an incidental development arising out of social activities in tight-knit groups. It is a resource for the creation of human capital – so there's something of a hierarchy between human and social capital (Coleman 1988). Finally, Putnam (1993) sees SC as an essential for various forms of civic participation and social well-being. Despite these differences, a common thread is that SC is an essentially relational concept that involves interaction of some sort between individuals, groups, or networks. Public engagement toward community development, as discussed in a previous section, can be considered a form of civic participation. Therefore, given his focus on the fundamental relationship between civic participation and SC, I will adopt Putnam's definition of SC as:

> "The features of social organisation such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit" (R. D. Putnam 1993, 2)

SC has internal (individual) and external (community) returns, both positive and negative (R. Putnam 2001). Note that as Portes argues, the essence of SC, that group membership confers benefits for the individuals and community involved, is an idea stretching back to the work of Durkheim and Marx, and is not something radically novel (Portes 1998). However, as is the case with much sociological phenomena, the SC concept is a novel attempt to scientifically study this "old" concept, and does not detract from its importance.

As the descriptions above make clear, Trust and Social Capital are two closely bound concepts, with trust often playing the role of a "bonding agent", facilitating social capital formation within a particular context. Given that trust is considered an essential element in relationship-building, this close connection between SC and trust makes sense. There are three generally agreed upon, measurable elements that are core to the creation and maintenance of SC (R. Putnam 2001).

1) Trust: involves bonds between family, friends and neighbors when measured within an informal, relational context. Involves measurable, instrumental outcomes when measured in a formal, or institutional context. As mentioned in a previous section, this latter form of institutional trust is referred to as "confidence" in this study.

2) Social networks refer to the number of relational connections an individual has with other individuals. They become a form of capital when utilized for business, personal, or political purposes.

3) Norms of reciprocity in this context refer to the proliferation of informal, usually unwritten agreements of return service commitments between parties that are relationally involved with each other.

It is important to note that these elements of social networks, trust, and reciprocity are not necessarily discreet, but are also interconnected with each other. Often, movement in one element results in similar movements among the others (Forrest and Kearns 2001a). Many studies around the world have found generalized trust to be the most reliable indicator of SC on community, regional, or national scales (Halpern 2001; Knack and Keefer 1997; R. Putnam 2000; Whiteley 1997)

1.3.1. Domains of Social Capital

There are three different scales at which SC operates (Carrillo Álvarez and Riera Romaní 2017):

1. Macro: country and state
2. Meso: neighborhoods, workplaces, schools, churches, institutions etc
3. Micro: individual

The macro and meso-level of SC examine relationships between individuals and institutions that facilitate national and community-scale behavioral outcomes such as obeying traffic laws and cultural norms such as friendliness. The micro-level of SC explores factors impacting outcomes for individuals. I personally resonate with Halpern (2005) and Putnam (2000) approaching SC as a multi-level concept, as individuals have a dialectical relationship with their surroundings. This means that SC formation on any level cannot be completely divorced from the effects of factors on other levels.

1.3.2. Types of social capital

To date, three types of SC have been identified (Stone, Gray, and Hughes 2003):

1. "Bonding": involves forming tight relational ties, and is typically a closed network. E.g. family
2. "Bridging": involves forming connections between heterogeneous groups, creating more open networks.
3. "Linking": involves forming connections between groups and institutions that often transcend community boundaries.

Putnam casts bonding SC as exclusive, against the inclusive, bridging SC. While bonding SC can be useful to an extent, particularly among ethnic minority groups, ultimately a true sense of well being in a diverse society requires bridging SC to be built. SC, particularly bridging SC, not only provides emotional satisfaction through relational ties, but is an important intermediary step toward attaining other forms of capital (Leonard 2004).

Before going any further, the following figure 1.4 will provide a visual summary of the different components, domains and types of SC, as adapted from Halpern (2005).

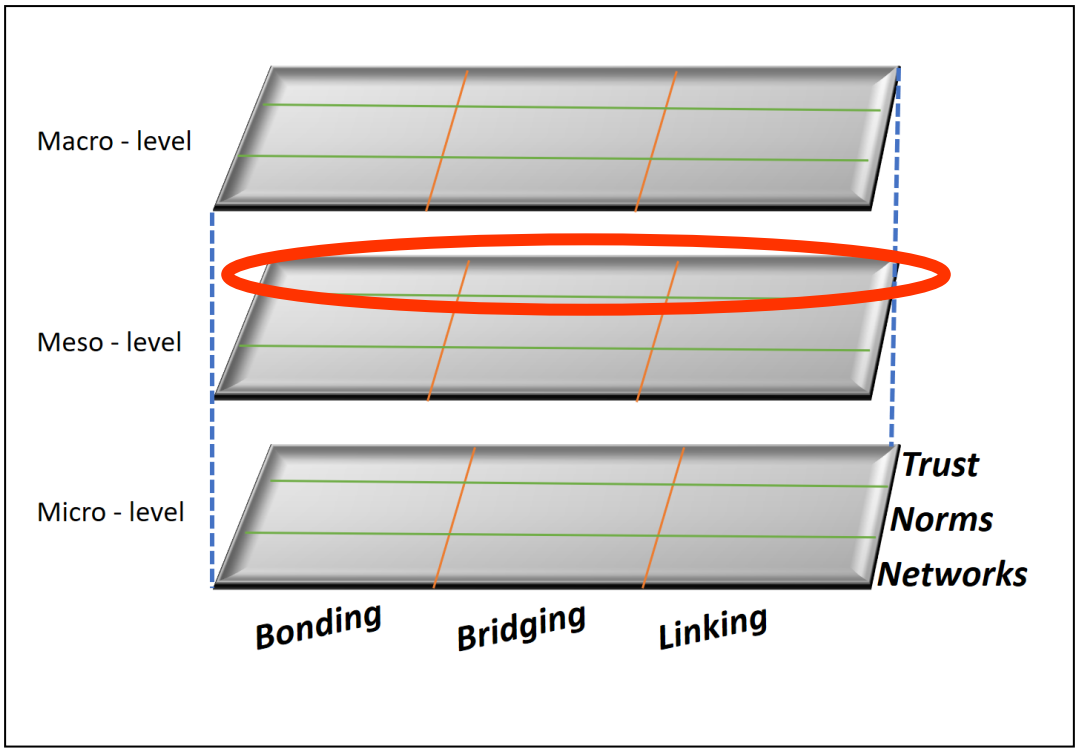

Fig 1.4: A conceptual diagram of social capital portraying its dimensions, levels, and components

Note that, given my focus on the role of trust in a public engagement process that occurs on a community-scale, I will primarily be examining the role of SC at the meso-level. The area circled in red is my primary area of interest with respect to trust within SC. The next section will clarify and draw some distinctions between the concepts of social cohesion and social capital. These can seem very similar but have some key differences.

1.3.3. Social Cohesion vs Social Capital

Social cohesion within a community context implies:

> "a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities; the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued; those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities; and strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods" (Cantle 2005, 57)

Forrest and Kearns go on to clarify some of the domains of community and social cohesion as common values and a civic culture, social order and social control, social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities, social networks and social capital, place attachment and identity (Forrest and Kearns 2001a). Trust is often used as an indicator in studies of social cohesion within a community (Fieldhouse and Cutts 2010; Gerritsen and Lubbers 2010; Letki 2008). Similar to SC, Social Cohesion is not necessarily inherently desirable, as it can involve forms of discrimination and exclusion. Some researchers even draw on both SC and social cohesion research without differentiation, to reach conclusions regarding the impact of social phenomena such as ethnic diversity on generalized trust (Demireva 2014, 2012). Some of the reasons for declining social cohesion in western society, documented by Francis Fukuyama, are quite similar to reasons for declining SC: the breakdown of Keynesian capitalism, an end to the progressive recruitment of households to the traditional middle classes and the lifestyles and living standards associated with such status, growing inequality and social fragmentation and a perceived decline of shared moral values.

Many studies measuring social cohesion, use “social capital” as one of their indicators, alongside others (Shelton et al. 2011; Van Holle et al. 2016; Strong et al. 2013). Therefore, there seems to be some concept cross-over here, most likely due to the relational underpinning of both concepts. In spite of all these similarities though, these are different concepts, with social cohesion being a much broader idea that encompasses social capital and all its components. It is interesting to note that the Conference Board of Canada recently released its quadrennial report “How Canada Performs”, and the province of Alberta’s performance was consistently

lower than the national grade on most measures of social cohesion (The Conference Board of Canada 2017). Particularly low was the rating for social network support, a fundamental measure of social capital. This emphasizes the fact that social cohesion is contingent on social capital, but not vice versa.

1.4. Measuring trust and social capital

SC and trust do not necessarily have universally agreed upon methods of measurement. The core SC elements of trust, social networks, and reciprocity can be measured through existing instruments, such as the World Bank's Social Capital Assessment Tool (SoCAT), the Adapted Social Capital Assessment Tool (ASCAT), or the social capital benchmark survey developed by the Harvard Kennedy School's Saguaro Seminar (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2001; Harvard Kennedy School: The Saguaro Seminar 2006). Many researchers simply develop either scaled questionnaires that pose questions that are variations of "most people can be trusted" (Ball et al. 2010; Timperio, Veitch, and Carver 2015; Institute for Comparative Survey Research 2017), or use open-ended questions to understand its role in impacting behaviour (Hecke et al. 2016; Seaman, Jones, and Ellaway 2010).

A sense of the state of trust within a community can also be obtained by measuring various SC indicators that revolve around the core components mentioned above. Since this study focuses on community-level SC, meso-level indicators include membership in civic or religious organizations, engagement in "civic participation" (signing petitions, serving on the committee of a local organization, volunteering for a political party/campaign etc.), social outings, and

engagement in pro-social behaviours (paying taxes, courteous driving etc.) (R. Putnam 2001). Other community level factors that have strong positive correlations with SC levels are income equality and educational performance, while factors such as ethnic diversity and crime have strong negative correlations with SC levels (R. Putnam 2001; R. D. Putnam 2007a). Note that as of now, these are only correlational relationships that bring attention to the potential state of SC within a community, and do not necessarily imply strong causal relationships or direction.

I will not be measuring trust directly in this study but will rather seek to understand the factors that enable trust-building and augmentation within the context of public engagement toward community development.

1.4.1. Social Capital Indicators

Given that I am studying trust within the concept of social capital, it is fitting to do a brief survey of some of these factors, as originally expounded upon by Robert Putnam, that are indicative of the state of trust and SC within a community. For the purposes of this study, I will look at civic participation, sense of belonging, and diversity in this section. This provides a more specific community context for my inquiry. To be clear, I use the language of “indicators” here to imply that measuring these factors gives me a rough sense of the state of SC within the community in question. I am not using ethnic diversity, sense of belonging and civic participation to measure an absolute state of SC in Marlborough, but rather, to provide a general sense of trust levels within the community. Figure 1.5 below is a visualization of how these indicative factors relate to SC and trust.

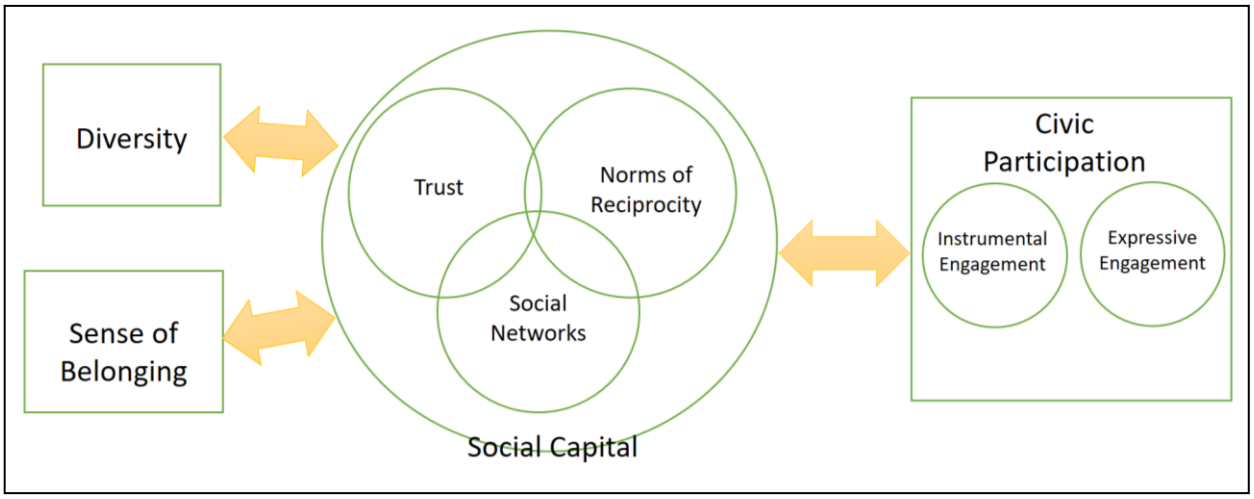

Fig 1.5: Social capital indicators and their relationship to SC formation. All arrows denote relational direction.

Civic Participation

Public engagement toward community development can be thought of as a form of civic participation, as it involves citizen participation in civic organizations or processes. Civic participation is "a means for developing skills and capacity, increasing tolerance among peoples, building community, supporting collective action on common goals, and girding democratic governance through representation of interests."(McBride, Sherraden, and Pritzker 2006). This is consistent with my favoured definition of public engagement toward community development:

> "a process that brings people together to address issues of common importance, to solve shared problems, and to bring about positive social change. Effective public engagement invites average citizens to get involved in deliberation, dialogue and action on public issues that they care about. And, it helps leaders and decision makers better understand the perspectives, opinions, and concerns of citizens and stakeholders" (Bonneman 2012)

For this study, civic participation will be considered a prime indicator of SC. There are two forms of it in the literature:

1) "Expressive/informal/social engagement", which comes out of expressing a sense of identity or placemaking within a neighborhood or community, and tends to be less structured (Swaroop and Morenoff 2006; Son and Lin 2008; R. Putnam 2000). E.g. organizing a block party in the community, joining a community gardening group.

2) "Instrumental/formal/political engagement" is more goal oriented and structured in addressing resident concerns, and often involves institutional involvement (Manturuk, Lindblad, and Quercia 2012). E.g. membership in the community association, voting in federal elections.

Based on these definitions, public engagement toward community development mostly falls under instrumental engagement. However, it is tempting to hypothesize an indirect connection between expressive engagements and instrumental engagements such as public engagement, as they do build trust through bonding SC formation. Nevertheless, Bevelander and Pendakur (2009) found that expressive engagement does not have a statistically significant effect on civic participation such as voting behavior (Bevelander and Pendakur 2009). Therefore, there is an implication here that bridging SC formation may have a greater direct effect on civic participation than other types of SC.

In general, civic participations of all kinds have a positive correlation with SC. In this study, the relevant indicators of instrumental engagement, as laid out in Putnam (2001), are voter turnout and associational membership encapsulated in the community association. The indicators of expressive engagement explored are volunteerism, and social participation within the community.

Given the declining levels of trust documented above, it follows that there would also be corresponding declines of SC, which is the case as documented by Putnam (1995, 2001). However, Putnam and Fukuyama (1999) have somewhat different takes on how participation in

associations effect SC. While Putnam argues that the effect is seen in declining membership in associations, Fukuyama argues that it is more the nature of these associations that's the problem – insofar as, people are increasingly participating in associations that have much narrower, often single-issue focus. (e.g. church or union membership (broad) vs a neighborhood watch group or activist group (narrow)). Hence the limitations of social capital where shared values are not adaptive on a wider neighborhood scale (Mann 1970). As far as trust goes, those involved in voluntary associations are more likely to trust people than those who are not involved (Brehm and Rahn 1997; Claibourn and Martin 2000; McLaren and Baird 2003), thus strengthening the relationship between trust, SC, and civic participation. Other studies indicate that civic participation further increases confidence in institutions such as government, which specifically indicates a relationship between confidence in institutions, linking SC, and civic participation (Joslyn and Cigler 2001; Fennema and Tillie 1999)[3].

All these studies strengthen the general relationship between SC and trust and civic participation, and provide a case for linking instrumental engagement to bridging SC formation, and expressive engagement to bonding SC formation.

[3] Several researchers in the social cohesion literature propose an interesting argument that higher levels of social capital lead to higher levels of generalized trust, which may also correlate with lower levels of civic participation, due to an increased trust in our leaders to do the right thing (Claibourn and Martin 2000; Muhlberger 2003). Furthermore, since gaining political knowledge involves a cost, and we already trust those doing the leading, Hibbing and Morse extend this idea by arguing that it's mostly those with lower levels of trust that would gravitate to political participation (Theiss-Morse and Hibbing 2005). In my opinion, one of the biggest issues with these studies is that they do not differentiate between generalized trust and institutional trust/confidence. What their research shows is a negative correlation between confidence and civic participation in a specific cultural (United States) context. This cannot be extended to generalized trust, and such correlations do not necessarily hold true in other, non-US cultural contexts (Stolle 2001)

Sense of Belonging

> "We should not underestimate the importance of physical change, physical boundaries and local landmarks in creating a sense of belonging and identity… but the differences between neighbourhoods *may* perhaps best be understood as the differences between the form and content of social networks. It is these residentially based networks which perform an important function in the routines of everyday life and these routines are arguably the basic building blocks of social cohesion—through them we learn tolerance, co-operation and acquire a sense of social order and belonging" (Forrest and Kearns 2001a, 2130)

People feel a sense of connectedness to place, or a sense of "belonging" within the context of social networks, which allow the formation, expression, and natural evolution of social roles, values, and attachments (Kawachi and Berkman 2000). Given the interconnection of trust and social networks as key components of SC, it is not surprising that sense of belonging is considered an indicator of SC, as well as an indirect indicator of trust (R. Putnam 2001). There is a direct correlation between different expressions of this sense of belonging, community, and connectedness. There is some research in the Canadian context, showing that sense of belonging, particularly among immigrant populations, is dependent on relational trust rather than generalized trust (Pearce 2008). This has important implications for ethnically diverse communities such as Marlborough, which I address more in chapter 4.

Diversity

At this point, it should be reasonably clear that SC is a relational concept that is context-dependent. While there has been some research on SC done in the Canadian context, which is the context within which my study is situated, much of the seminal work has been done in the United States. While there are many points of resonance between these studies, sometimes the

differing cultural contexts bring about results that can seem contradictory. I will mention these contradictions only when they are pertinent to my research.

Given the broad applicability of the term “diversity”, I will contextualize it particularly to ethnic diversity. Ethnic diversity implies that there is an increased number of minority groups with respect to a majority group in a community (Hou and Wu 2009). Studies around the world show that increased neighborhood ethnic diversity can have negative effects on SC, and therefore by extension on trust, by:

- Lowering participation in social activities (Alberto Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; A Alesina and La Ferrara 2002; Alberto Alesina and La Ferrara 2005).
- Lowering participation in civic activities (Alberto Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; C. Campbell, Cornish, and Mclean 2004; Costa and Kahn 2003).
- Lowering voting in elections. While Several North American studies find a strong correlation between ethnic-minority status and non-voting behaviour (Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001; Bass and Casper 2001; Lien 2004), there are significant within-group differences. For example, those that come from a home-country with a more repressive regime are less likely to vote, due to, among other factors, low levels of institutional trust/confidence (Cho 1999). This highlights the dangers of uncritically generalizing groups such “minorities” or “immigrants”
- Lowering generalized trust, particularly toward those perceived as “outsiders” or an “out-group”(Costa and Kahn 2003; R. D. Putnam 2007a; Stolle, Soroka, and Johnston 2008).
- Increasing conflict as the size of the minority group grows comparative to the majority group (Eric Oliver and Wong 2003; Schneider 2008).
- Reducing residential interaction and relational cohesiveness, due, in part to low trust wrought by perceived differences (Hipp 2007; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997)

Conversely, some scholars argue that involvement in heterogeneous groups increases generalized trust (Brehm and Rahn 1997), while others point out that it is those people who are most trusting in the first place that tend to join heterogeneous groups (Stolle and Rochon 1998;

Stolle 2001, 1998). Therefore, while direction and causality has not necessarily been established, there is a clear correlation between ethnic diversity and generalized trust; one that is mostly negative.

A rare study in the Canadian context finds a strong positive correlation between ethnic diversity and trust in Canadian cities, which bucks the international trend (Kazemipur 2006). The author uses Contact Theory, which posits that increased contact between heterogeneous groups helps build trust between these groups, to justify these findings. This is backed up by evidence that in Canada (as in the rest of the developed world), younger cohorts of first generation immigrants have lower levels of generalized trust, compared to non-first generation immigrants of a similar age-cohort, who tend to have more diverse social networks (Soroka, Helliwell, and Johnston 2003). Putnam (2007) also makes this point: the strength of the negative correlation between ethnic diversity and trust in a community lessens over time, as immigrant groups settle down in their host communities. Conversely, first generation immigrants of all ages in Canada tend to have higher levels of confidence, compared to all other groups (Kazemipur 2012b). Unfortunately, that level of confidence resembles that of non-immigrants the longer these immigrant groups live in Canada. This is most likely due to a combination of interactions with local institutions often failing to yield desired results, and the gradual adoption of some of the values of their Canadian neighbors.

Other studies find strong positive correlations between social capital, sense of belonging, and voting in Canada among immigrant populations (Nakhaie 2006), and that sense of belonging and civic awareness, more than minority status itself correlates with higher levels of trust and voter participation (Jedwab 2006; White et al. 2006; Bevelander and Pendakur 2009).

Additionally, I suspect the wider national celebration and larger acceptance of "multiculturalism" as orthodoxy may have more to do with this, as evinced by studies showing that on average, attitudes in Canada are:

- Relatively open to ethnic diversity (Mayda 2006; Reitz 1988)
- Comparatively positive regarding immigrants on an individual level (Mayda 2006), although there are certain mediating factors, such as individual self-professed strength of "Canadian identity", which is generally positively correlated with acceptance of immigrants (Banting 2010).
- Increasingly moving in a positive trending direction regarding immigrants, on a larger population level (Inglehart 1997; Kalin and Berry 1995; Wilkes, Guppy, and Farris 2008),
- Even more increasingly positive toward increased immigration among youth (Parkin and Mendelsohn 2003).
- Augmented by an increasingly positive norm environment toward out-groups (Pettigrew, Wagner, and Christ 2007; Mulder and Krahn 2005).

In summary, more work needs to be done in a local context before drawing any strong conclusions regarding the use of ethnic diversity as an indication of SC. Based on existing evidence, we can conclude that ethnic diversity by itself is not a sufficient indicator for the state of SC or trust within a community. It does act as a trailhead of sorts however, pointing to the possibility that the state of SC and trust in the community may not be healthy. Combination with other indicators, such as sense of belonging and civic participation, will allow a more accurate picture to be created. However, the Canadian literature shows that civic participation among immigrants is dependent on the SC indicator of sense of belonging, which is, in turn, more dependent on relational, rather than generalized trust. First generation immigrants, which Marlborough has a high concentration of, typically have low levels of trust, but high levels of confidence when they first arrive in Canada. The implications of this for trust-building

within public engagement processes in communities such as Marlborough will be addressed in more detail alongside my research findings in chapter 5.

This concludes my discussion on the concept of trust, as explicated by the TCC model and the theory of SC. The next section is a brief description of the theory of equity planning.

1.5. Equity Planning

Compared to traditional urban planning which has an overt focus on physical land-use, equity planning is a planning paradigm "within which urban planners use their research, analytical, and organizing skills to influence opinion, mobilize underrepresented constituencies, and advance, and…implement policies and programs that…directly address pressing social and economic issues such as poverty and unemployment" (Metzger 1996). It involves a process that resists the status quo, with an explicit bent toward social justice, firing up the collective imagination of citizens to envision a more equitable and just society (Davidoff 1965) while rejecting the hegemony of traditional big/comprehensive plans (Kolson 2003). One of its driving questions is: "who plans, with what ends and means, for which interest groups?" (Gans 1994). This orientation indicates that equity planning recognizes and grapples with the complexity of developing spaces that truly engage with the built-social environmental dialectic and the Lefvebrian concept of "right to the city". Therefore, equity planning provides a theoretical context which provides purpose and direction to the process of public engagement. Collaborative planning, as articulated by Innes and Booher (2010), is an operationalization of many equity planning concepts, skillfully woven with key strands of complex systems theory.

Public engagement is one of their most important tools in facilitating collaborative planning processes.

As per figure 1.1, the main overarching theory that encapsulates all the theories, concepts, and processes discussed up to this point is that of complex systems. The next section provides a brief overview of this theory.

1.6. Complex systems

Concepts and constructs such as “social capital”, “trust”, and “community” are ultimately metaphors. These metaphors are shaped by various epistemological tools allowing partial representations of an ontological reality. Such representative metaphors, of varying degrees of accuracy, are useful insofar as they “provide temporary certitude to allow action, but…[their] partial nature ultimately exposes their inadequacy” (L. H. Gunderson and Holling 2002). The concept of complex systems allows researchers to recognize and embrace this tension. Complex systems have “a large collection of diverse parts interconnected in a [nested and] hierarchical manner” (Eidelson 1997). These systemic components’ ability to respond dynamically to ongoing changes in their environment is what makes them adaptive systems (Keough 2005).

Hallmarks of a complex system are self-organization, non-linear and indeterminate change, emergence, autopoiesis, heterogeneity, and adaptation through its component parts being in constant dynamic interaction with each other and the external environment. Self-organization refers to the tendency of systemic components to order through spontaneous interactions with

each other, without external control or direction. Indeterminacy refers to the way in which this self-organization occurs, with the results themselves often being uncertain and unpredictable (Homer-Dixon 2011). Emergence is the dynamic process by which systems interact and evolve new systems that display properties not found in the previous system. This is often considered to be the most important property of complex systems (Lewin 1999). Such emergence usually tends toward greater internal heterogeneity too, which in turn increases the adaptive capacity of these systems (Keough 2005). Autopoiesis refers to a system's ability to reproduce itself solely through internal processes, while exchanging energy and material with its environment as needed (Seidl 2004). To be "nested" and "hierarchical" implies that systems are fundamentally bound to each other relationally, and that change occurs through coordinated diffusion from within and without, rather than through traditional command-and-control methods.

Human society is an example of a complex system (Weidlich and Haag 2012; Mainzer 1993), as is the trust-based network of diamond merchants, or community of practice, discussed by Coleman (1988) in illustrating the concept of social capital. Given that SC requires a larger social context to function within, it follows that any complex adaptive social system, such as a community, is imbued with SC. This is because relationships and relational networks are an inherent component of social systems, and the presence of these networks implies the presence of SC.

This ends my review of the literature on my key concepts, theories and processes. The next and concluding section in this chapter will lay out my theoretical framework for this study.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

The previous section briefly discussed all the theories, concepts and processes pertinent to this study. In this section, I propose a theoretical framework that relates these components to each other in such a way that creates a “structure”, “scaffolding” or “frame” for my study. The derivation of these connections will also be dependent on my personal theoretical and ontological orientation or stance, brought to the study (Merriam 2009). Therefore, given the phenomenological, constructivist grounding for this study, the proposed framework, visualized in figure 1.6 below, provides a snapshot of the various lens through which data is approached and analysed. Each circle portrays a different theoretical lens that comes into play in this study. This theoretical framework provides a foundation upon which my proposed conceptual framework in chapter 5 is built.

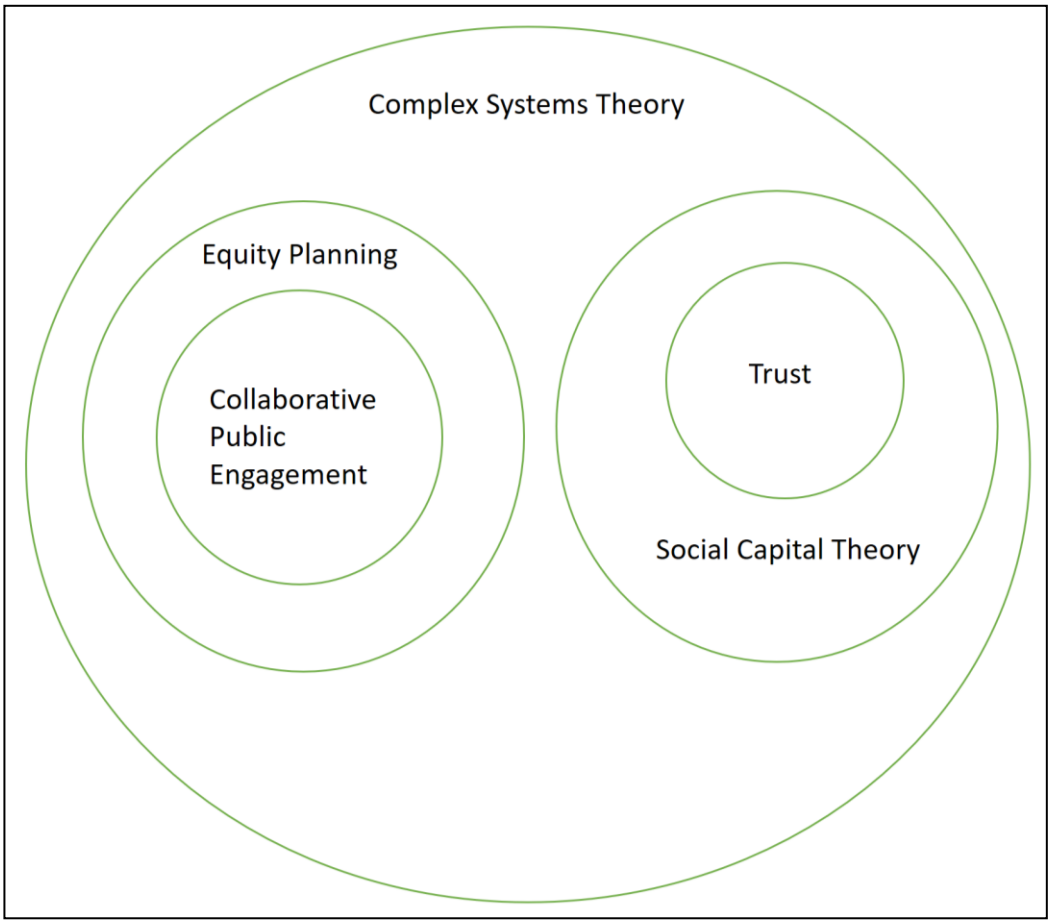

Fig 1.6: Proposed theoretical framework

It is important to note from the outset that the relationship between collaborative public engagement and equity planning is normative, while the other portrayed relationships are theoretical. My key concept of trust is nested within the larger concept of social capital (SC). While the TCC model mentioned in section 1.2.3 above provides a reasonable theoretical body to the concept of trust, SC provides it with a richer operational context. The term "trust" usually raises the questions: Who/what is being trusted? Why? To what end? These questions are best addressed by understanding the concept of trust alongside the concepts of social networks and

norms of reciprocity, which are the three core components of SC. Furthermore, both the TCC model and SC are ultimately concerned with cooperation as the ultimate outcome of trust.

As mentioned in the prior chapter, in a liberal democracy, cooperation is a desired outcome of a public engagement process toward community development. Therefore, given the relationship between trust and cooperation posited by the TCC model, and given that trust is a core component of SC, a collaborative public engagement process will depend on SC in the process of building trust. Equity planning theory provides this engagement process with normative theoretical grounding, purpose, and direction.

Equity planners see planning as a political process that requires collaborating with community members, and building bridges between communities whose identities are often in flux, and the wider technical process of city planning. Favourable outcomes, particularly for marginalized communities, are negotiated through inclusive, authentic dialogue, instead of being dictated by a faceless bureaucracy. Naturally, this sort of interaction requires trust-based relationships. Furthermore, the community of Marlborough, where my research is based, meets many of the requirements for a socioeconomically marginalized community. I will expand on this point in the next chapter. all this points to the collaborative public engagement process I mentioned in the previous chapter being the most self-evident facilitative tool within the paradigm of equity planning. In a nutshell, since planning in a functioning liberal democratic society requires a normative justification, I contend that equity planning principles as embodied through collaborative planning practices reasonably embody the core liberal democratic values of justice, fairness, respect for individuals, & care for the marginalized, as enunciated by Rawls (2001) and Fainstein (2010).

Besides being a powerful equity planning tool, a collaborative public engagement process also provides the best means of facilitating community development within the complex system of human society. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a hallmark of a complex system is its tendency toward self-organization through coordination, and its unwieldiness to centralized command-and-control methods. In fact, the wicked problem of community development mentioned in a previous section is a direct outcome of "a community" being a complex system, and seldom responding well to top-down directives or development processes. Essentially, understanding community development as a process that grapples with a complex system signals that a trust-building public engagement process involves simultaneous systemic and process-oriented change. Therefore, this theory (complex systems) provides a good backdrop for collaborative public engagement, which is a powerful tool in creating a participatory democracy framework, allows for building adaptive capacity and resilience by bringing in more human voices/participants and mirroring the dispersed management strategy of nature. Therefore, as portrayed in my theoretical framework above, complex systems theory will be the wider context within which the process of public engagement draws on SC to build trust, which then enables a more inclusive and equitable community development process.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1. Overview

Deliverable	Method(s)
• Proposed approach to trust-building within public engagement • Recommendations to improve the process of building trust within future public engagement processes	Document studies of relevant literature, broadly drawing on fields of study such as normative planning theory, risk management, and sociology. Study of documents and records detailing past procedure and results. Unstructured observation of the community within its physical geographical boundaries Unstructured and semi-intensive Interviews with individuals representing the spectrum of "community stakeholders" (residents and agencies working in the community) Interviews are transcribed, coded, and analysed for common themes, by hand, as laid out in the approach of Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2014), which provided a methodological framework to collect, interpret, and qualify the data collected. The following informed the coding process: - Field notes allowed me to record data points during unstructured observations and interviews. - Methodological Journaling allowed me to capture fleeting views and initial impressions, to crystallize ideas gained during observational forays and interviews, and to help with the analytical development of memos. - Memos made pertaining to interviews allowed personal observations on situations, and interviewee's affective fluctuations with responses. Coding allowed data to be processed and quantified

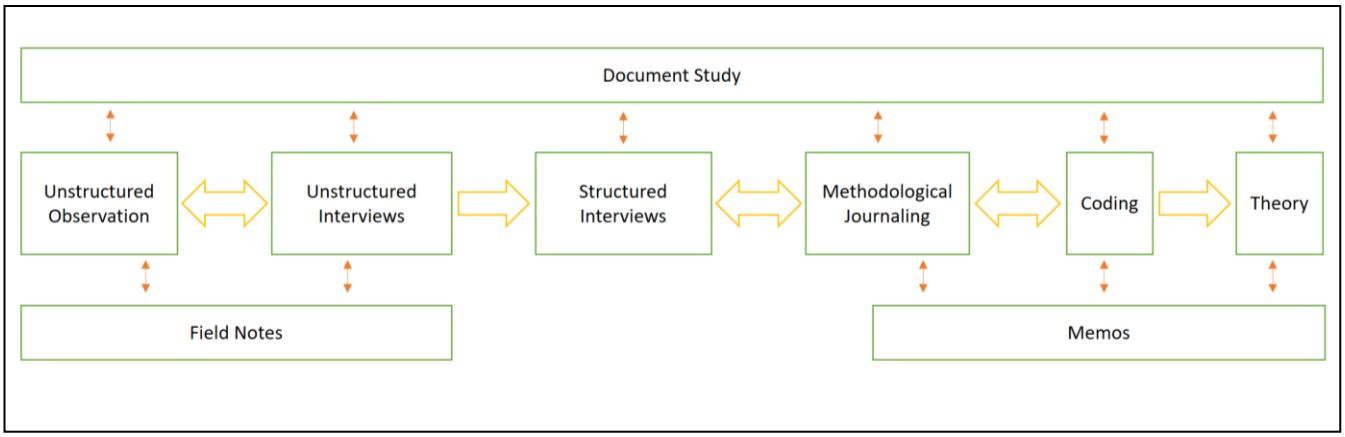

Fig 2.1: An outline of the way in which the methods outlined above relate to each other in this study. Arrows indicate the direction in which data-flowed between methods.

Having provided visual summaries for my methodology above, the rest of this chapter will expand on the specific methods, why and how they were used, and end on a discussion as to how I will ensure the rigour and quality of the study. The first section below explores the orientation and stance I bring to this study.

2.2. Rationale: Why use a phenomenological method?

The French painter Paul Gaugin used the three questions "where do we come from?", "what are we?", "where are we going?" as a title for one of his paintings (Wright 2006). In my opinion, these questions perfectly capture the notion propounded by German philosopher and phenomenologist, Martin Heidegger, that humans are ontological beings. In short, this means that we humans do not take our existence and being for granted, but constantly probe and explore questions of ultimate purpose and meaning (Heidegger 1962). Such exploration fundamentally involves sociocultural, contextual interpretation, which is referred to as "being-in-the-world". This resonates with my personal philosophical leanings. Therefore, given that the

nature of the question being explored in this research is fundamentally phenomenological (the phenomenon in question is “trust”), my experimental method will be constructed on Heidegger’s approach to phenomenology. This approach is often referred to as “Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology” (Laverty 2003).

Therefore, it follows that my study, which primarily involves understanding multiple individuals’ subjective experiences of lived experience, should be approached using a constructivist paradigm, and addressed through qualitative methodologies (Creswell 2009). I do acknowledge that in embracing this paradigm, there is a strong element of personal perspective that comes in to data gathering and interpretation.

Creswell 2007 claims that “qualitative researchers often have rhetorical assumptions regarding research”, in that language has/provides underlying foundational beliefs and value systems. This is why I have used using a first-person narrative, as this is my interpretation of data, and my participatory role in doing research.

Having justified my use of an constructivist phenomenological research paradigm in this section, the next section will detail the methods by which I collect and interpret data

2.3. Methods

Grounded theory, as expounded on by Charmaz (2006, 2014) provides a very useful set of rigorous methodological tools, which allows a data collection procedure that is flexible, and can evolve with an emergent situation, such as the one that I will be working within. In keeping with my particular phenomenological approach, analytical categories are developed from data that is both descriptive and interpretive, as well as from preconceived theory. There is also an

explicit focus on developing and extending theory, which then allows for framework modification as the research process progresses. However, given the explicitly constructivist bent of grounded theory, it is important to keep in mind that any theory emerging from this process will not necessarily make strong ontological claims, but be a provisional starting point, to be strengthened through future investigation. Charmaz (2006) makes the distinction between objectivist grounded theory that assumes data can remain separate from the researcher's interpretations and represents facts of a knowable world, and constructivist grounded theory that sees data and its analysis as created by research participants and the researcher"(Lowan-Trudeau 2016). I would personally fall somewhere between these two positions, as I believe that some types of data can represent facts of a knowable world, because if there's absolutely no relationship to an ontological reality, I question the usefulness of any research! However, I recognize that my approach in this study falls under a constructivist approach, as the data being collected in this study is inherently interpretive. I.e. my observations are processed and noted through the lens of my theoretical framework, participants choose what to share with me, and the analysis of data, through coding, allowing conclusions to be drawn, and theory to be constructed or corroborated necessarily involves the construction of a narrative. This narrative involves arranging data points and drawing out patterns in the manner of a constructivist. The plausibility of these narratives would then have to be critically tested over time. As Edward Soja puts it:

> "Some theories are more speculative and hypothetical than others, but as a bridge between the abstract and the concrete, theory rests on the reliability of ontological and epistemological assumptions. Good theory never floats on its own terms without any reasonable substantiation." (Soja 2010, 68).

Document studies allowed an overview of the existing theory, an understanding of current practice with respect to public engagement processes, and a greater understanding of the community context in which this study was carried out. These also supported the construction of a plausible theoretical framework, through which the data collected in the field was interpreted.

Unstructured observation involved using different forms of transport to experience the physical community. This entailed walking, biking and driving around the community, while taking pictures, notes, and keeping a journal of my resulting observations. This allowed me to better understand the geography, the built environment, to view different ways that people interacted with each other and the built environment, and to capture a wider sense of context and process (Mulhall 2003).

The interviews: many studies on public engagement have used some combination of document studies and interviews in collecting data (Smith et al. 2013b; Hardiker and Grant 2011; Leahy and Anderson 2008; Bull, Petts, and Evans 2008; Petts 2008; FEW, BROWN, and TOMPKINS 2007; K. B. Campbell 2005). This is because interviews allow deeper understanding of subjective phenomena such as trust, confidence, and the perception of collaboration/cooperation, while allowing clarification of potential questions arising from the study of process. They provide a context for me to negotiate a greater shared interpretation of the meaning and significance of the above phenomena with interviewees. They also fill in potential knowledge gaps from the document studies of current public engagement efforts.

I conducted two types of interviews: the first involved unstructured interviews such as those used by researchers to understand a novel community setting, and put its practices into context

(Agar 1996; Miller 1992). Interviewees were involved in diverse forms of community development within the Marlborough area, either professionally, or as community residents. The professionals interviewed ranged from planners, social workers, and politicians, to community organizers and police officers. As is common in this process, I made jottings and short notes, instead of audio-recording the interview. These helped develop a more fulsome understanding of the community context, narrow down more focused questions with respect to public engagement within a community development context, and identified key informants for the next set of interviews. The second approach involved semi-structured intensive interviews, which allowed the flexibility and interaction needed for a greater breadth of data collection, as the aim of this study is to develop theory, and to understand, rather than to simply explain. This is also in keeping with a Habermasian understanding of communicative action. These interviews were recorded and transcribed. This portion of my research was also subjected to an ethics review through the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board of the University of Calgary. Please refer to Appendix 3 for samples of the recruitment letters and interview guides.

It was important to accept that the interviewees' point of view was a valuable interpretation of something meaningful to them. However, in the field of qualitative research design, there is a lack of consensus around whether interviews give the researcher direct access to interviewee's experience, or if they are an "interpersonal drama with a developing plot…part of a broader claim that reality is an ongoing, interpretive accomplishment." (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 16). Given that "trust" and "confidence" have strong affective and experiential components, this sort of interview process provided valuable insights regardless of which of the above viewpoints one favors.

Field Notes allowed me to record observations and thoughts as data points during the phases of unstructured observation and interviews. These were recorded largely in the "realist" tradition, conveying my personal impressions and interpretations in the forms of description and analysis (Maanen 1988). Given the constructivist bent of this study, I acknowledge that the "field" in question here was largely a theoretical construct, put together by what I personally considered to be data points in the form of observations and analytic memoranda. These helped inform the journaling and coding processes.

Methodological journaling helped expedite the research process by providing an intermediate step between interviews, field notes, and memo-writing. It also:

- Helped in taking a step back and looking at data that might be covering familiar ground
- Gave me a venue to capture fleeting feelings, views, and initial thoughts
- Helped crystallize ideas gained during site visits and interviews
- Enhanced creativity by making better use of intuitive understanding
- Enabled understanding of my own process
- Led to further analytical development of memos.

Ultimately journaling provided a forum for reflection, which allowed processing of events and experiences in order to extract meaning from them (Boud 2001). These journals were written in the style of casual, stream-of-consciousness and informed the coding process by adding further context to the text of transcribed interviews.

Memos were an invaluable intermediate step between data processing and paper-writing, and allowed me a space to compare and draw conjectures, often cyclically. I used analytical memos as explained by Charmaz (2014). These were written with several goals in mind: as a commentary on several preliminary codes, or as a commentary on the emerging categories through the process of focused coding. They provided sufficient empirical evidence to support

descriptive definitions of categories, analytic claims that allowed me to create various constructs with them, and identified gaps in analysis. The memos were also partial, provisional, preliminary and correctable as the investigation progressed.

Coding data happened as interviews were transcribed. It was the process of analyzing, defining and categorizing segments of data, with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for it. There were two phases of coding: Initial and Focused. Initial coding involved the early conceptualization of data, line-by-line, through identifying and naming phenomena. Focused coding involved grouping codes drawn from the data or initial codes into larger concepts, and from linking identified phenomena to existing literature in a practice known as "categorizing". This reduced and further focused the number of units to be worked with (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Journal and field-note data augmented this process by adding context to the interview content.

In the following section, I will briefly clarify my use of specific approaches from the larger toolbox of qualitative inquiry.

2.3.1. Phenomenology vs Grounded Theory vs Case Study

I need to clarify that this investigation is not purely a phenomenological or grounded theory investigation, but draws on investigative methods from both qualitative approaches. It is phenomenological insofar as it involves understanding several individual's experience of the phenomenon of "trust" within a specific context. However, these types of inquiry typically call for "bracketing personal experiences" (Creswell 2007) , which is difficult, or even impossible for

me, as the researcher to implement meaningfully. An interpretive approach to phenomenology that requires the researcher to become separated from the text and wider context is not practically possible.

On the other hand, Grounded theory methodology espoused by Charmaz (2006, 2014) involves a "social constructivist perspective that includes emphasizing diverse local worlds, multiple realities, and the complexities of particular worlds, views, and actions" (Creswell 2006, 65). It involves moving beyond simply describing a phenomenon, to developing theory, or abstract analytical schema of a process - such as trust building through public engagement. Basically, what draws me to Charmaz's version of grounded theory, is that it seeks to be truly grounded in the individual subject's experience of the phenomenon of trust. In keeping with the spirit of equity planning, it seeks to empower the voice of research participants alongside the researcher, rather than simply elevating the voice of the researcher alone. It is also more flexible and adaptable, which makes it more useful in the emergent context of community-based research. Therefore, my study involves grounded theory, insofar as I depend on methods such as reflexivity, and my proposed conceptual framework is partially grounded in data collected from participants. My research moves away from a purely grounded theory study in that I draw on existing theory to understand and interpret the phenomenon of trust. However, I would argue that I do use the theory of SC and the TCC model in a unique manner, to understand trust-building in a context that has not been explored before. In this sense, the use of grounded theory is justifiable.

Case-study methodology is an interesting alternative too. However, it involves setting a clear study boundary, and while I use the spatial boundaries of Marborough, trust is a phenomenon

that transcends physical boundaries. Furthermore, given the considerable number of varied public engagement processes involved in this study, I thought it would be a bit too broad for case study, which would typically involve just a single process. Ultimately, however, case-studies are meant to study an event, program, or an activity, while my research questions involve understanding the phenomenon of trust and how to build it within a particular context. Therefore, I believe that my research directives fundamentally require more phenomenologically grounded methods, rather than those of a case-study.

2.4. Theory construction

I resonated with Charmaz's description of "theorizing" as an interpretive practice, which "entails the practical activity of engaging the world and of constructing abstract understandings about and within it" (Charmaz 2006). Having spent the previous sections detailing my particular biases and the methods by which data will be collected and processed, this section will outline how that data is used to theorize. In short, theorizing is the process by which codes are refined into increasingly abstract categories, which essentially make up the "building blocks of theory" as detailed by Anfara and Mertz (2014). The process by which these building blocks shape theory will be described in the following section. This process description should provide a general sense of the flow of events as I conducted them.

2.4.1. Methodological Flow

Initial unstructured observations of Marlborough involved walking, biking, and driving through the community, and attending various community events. Unstructured interviews were taking place alongside these observations and involved building relationships with leaders

within various community groups, understanding the community context of Marlborough, and barriers to meaningful community engagement in community development processes. Interviewees were initially selected through purposeful sampling, as they were able to speak directly to the issue of community development through personal experience (Creswell 2009). These were considered initial key informants, who went on to nominate, through a snowballing technique, other individuals that could also speak meaningfully to the question at hand (Seidler 1974). Given the emergent nature of the inquiry at this stage, I preferred the use of a snowball sampling technique, which is better suited for this level of relative unpredictability, and is also more likely to garner a better response rate, due to its more personal nature (Noy 2008). I interviewed 23 individuals and three groups of 3-6 individuals. Of the former group, 13 were professionals that worked within the community, while 10 were community residents. All three latter groups consisted of current or former Marlborough residents who had participated in some form of public engagement process. Interviewees came from a variety of sociocultural backgrounds, ranging from low SES housing-insecure to high SES homeowners, and had spent varying amounts of time in Marlborough, ranging from relative newcomers, to those that had lived and worked in Marlborough for over ten years. I had to build trust with community leaders to gain access to certain vulnerable groups, such as immigrant women and housing-insecure individuals. In all cases, initial conversations were also facilitated by these leaders. I took field notes during interviews, which were 30-60 minutes long, and employed the use of methodological journaling afterward, while reviewing these notes. In keeping with the four requirements laid out previously, theoretical plausibility was the first concern addressed through these initial interviews. I.e. When someone said something that captures and

crystallizes what others have said in earlier interviews, that one fragment of data gained theoretical plausibility, as it provided a way of understanding many more situations. This allowed me to develop a particular line of inquiry, while simultaneously painting a more accurate picture of the social networks in the community. As recommended by Charmaz (2014), when theoretical saturation was arrived at, I ended this first phase of interviewing. To be clear, "theoretical saturation" in this context did not necessarily mean that no new concepts were being introduced, but that no new meaningful descriptions with respect to the phenomenon of trust were emerging out of interviews.

The second phase of semi-structured intensive interviews involved purposeful samples of key informants from the first group of interviews. Interviews were relatively informal in nature, and were approached as "friendly chats" – albeit recorded ones, that remained close enough to outlined questions. We began with "ice-breaking" general questions and then gradually moved on to more specific ones. In order to allow for the development of shared meaning, I ensured that wherever possible, any terms, situations, and events were reasonably well clarified by the interviewee. Based on the advice of Charmaz (2014), I created a broad list of open-ended questions that framed the interview, while also allowed adherence to research ethics board guidelines. These questions were passed on to the interviewees beforehand to allow them time to prepare their responses. Interviews were no longer than 60 minutes. I conducted a total of 12 interviews, 8 with community development professionals that had worked in the Marlborough area, and 4 with community residents. Although all interviewees had been involved with some sort of community development endeavour in the Marlborough area, only one professional and two residents had been involved with the city-driven efforts mentioned in

chapter 3. This is because most of the professionals I approached, who worked for the city, were reluctant to participate in my research, while I simply was not able to find any other residents that had participated in the *Mainstreets* or *This is my Neighborhood* engagement processes.

These interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All initial transcriptions were shared with their interviewee, who then had the opportunity to modify any of the content they had shared in order to more accurately represent their point of view. Besides enhancing the accuracy of the data collected, this step allowed the researcher-subject power dynamic to be addressed in a more balanced and equitable manner. These modified transcriptions were then coded, and categorized on an ongoing basis. As prescribed in a Grounded Theoretical approach, this process of constant comparative analysis allowed me to focus my data collection further (Charmaz 2014). As the structure and content of interviews became more focused, the theoretical centrality of certain previously unexplored concepts emerged, while my initial key concepts were largely affirmed and bolstered. Certain lines of inquiry were also found to be less compelling at this point, and thus abandoned. Later interviews focused more on the theoretical adequacy of all these concepts, old and new; as per theoretical sampling best practices. Since I found that theoretical saturation was reached after 12 interviews, I ceased data collection at this point.

I followed an iterative process of interviews, followed by coding, leading to more interviews and more coding etc. After the first set of codes were assigned as labels to delineate units of meaning, I began arranging groups of these codes into larger common categories. Once a pattern of these common categories, began emerging, I created a table with them, along with

cross references to their original codes within the different primary datasets. Simultaneous analysis of these codes and larger categories continued providing direction to the interviews. Once all interviews had been coded and sorted into more focused conceptual categories, I wrote more memos that allowed greater processing and refining of ideas. Some clear constructs eventually emerged, allowing the construction of the conceptual framework laid out in the next chapter. While I did not adhere to the portions of Charmaz's detailed methodology involving axial and theoretical coding at any point, I did attempt to maintain the methodological rigour and consistency that underlies her ideal process.

This concludes the narrative detailing my methodological flow. The next section will look at how I validated the plausibility of the interpretations of my data.

2.5. Critical Evaluation of Methodology

This section was the most daunting in this entire study. Given the plethora of varying ways in which qualitative research is approached and evaluated, I had a hard time deciding where to even begin. This feeling was compounded by the interdisciplinary nature of my research, which involved drawing on several different fields of inquiry. I found the advice of Cresswell (2007), to connect the type of methodological approach used to decide the types of validity standards used to be very helpful at this juncture. Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) further recommend sticking with evaluating criteria that simultaneously match up with the study methodology and are commonly used in qualitative research. Therefore, I decided to engage qualitative research evaluation criteria, proposed by researchers who favour more constructivist approaches.

Charmaz (2006) was a logical starting point, since I drew so heavily on constructivist grounded theory methodology. Her four evaluating criteria of credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness were echoed by Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001), from whom I drew two more common criteria: authenticity and integrity. I will discuss each of these criteria, along with a defining question framing each criterion, provided by the authors briefly in the next section.

Credibility

This measure evaluates the extent to which steps were taken to ensure that interpretations of the data collected actually represented the context and experiences of participants in an accurate, or believable manner. The framing question is: “are interpretations logical, and do conclusions follow from this reasonably”.

Integrity

Given the subjectivity of interpreting data, this measure emphasizes the need to ensure that my interpretations were grounded in the actual data collected. The framing question is: “Were adequate steps taken to establish trust in the reliability of the researcher’s process?”

Authenticity

Closely related to Credibility, it involves the extent to which the experiences and perceptions of participants were differentiated against my own. The framing question is: “Was an attempt made to balance the voices/perspectives of interviewees over and against that of the researcher?”

Originality

Reasonably self-explanatory, this measure ensures that my research findings serve some significance. The framing question is: “does the study provide novel extensions of theory which are of social significance?”

Resonance

Similar to Integrity, this measure looks at the extent to which my findings provide deeper insight to participants, or those in a similar situation. The framing question is: “do the interpretations illustrate the question/phenomenon being studied?”

Usefulness

This involves looking at the practicality and real-world use of the study and its results, and involves asking the question: “can the analysis spark further research in other substantive areas?”

Will this analysis likely improve CD practice?

Having expanded on the criteria by which I will evaluate the interpretations of my data, the following closing section in the chapter details the steps I took to operationalize these criteria.

2.6. Validation techniques

I used the techniques outlined below, often in ways that satisfied multiple validity criteria, as a means of testing the plausibility of my interpretations and constructions.

The regular use of **journaling** and **memo-writing** allowed me to record observations and chart my ongoing mental processes. These provided greater context for interpreting data and checking the accuracy and validity of hypothesis along the way. In a sense, these provide a record that anyone can follow in order to assess the logical soundness of my findings.

The transcription of interviews, and **use of quotations** provided me with lots of raw data, presented in the participant's own voice. The process of audio-recording interviews allowed me to be fully present and engaged with the interviewee, which allowed the development of empathic bonds, which then resulted in more openness and honesty. The use of quotations further allows the narrative of my research findings to be dictated to a greater extent by interviewees.

Taking transcribed data back to the interviewees in an act known as **"Member Checking"** (Creswell and Miller 2000) allowed participants to assess, and modify the content, accuracy, and tone of the data shared to more closely match their subjective experiences. It also modified some of the power-imbalance that is inherent in situations such as this. The latter point was true for my process of also **sharing the interview questions ahead of time** with interviewees. Besides devolving some of the power, this allowed them to prepare responses that more accurately mirrored their lived experience.

My practice of **"Triangulation",** involved the "search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study" (Creswell and Miller 2000). This allowed me to check assumptions against other data-sources, while also increasing the internal validity of results. An iterative **Literature Review** process not only increased the internal validity of my findings, but placed it within a larger context of established theory and practice. **Transparency** regarding the methods and procedures used (Hiles 2008) created a record of my process open to critical analysis. I **Presented** some of these findings at an academic conference, thus opening up my entire study to debate, analysis, and discussion.

Finally, I have been **Testing** my proposed approach, on the ground, in an ongoing community development process. This allows further modification and customization as needed.

Chapter 3: Observations of Marlborough and Findings

This chapter is divided into four major sections. The first involves a brief observational outline of the community in which this study was carried out, placed within the larger context of the city. The second section is a statistical description of the community itself, based on data collected through document studies. The third section is a more qualitative description of the community, based on data collected through unstructured observation and interviews. The fourth, and concluding section, lays out the findings of my structured interviews on the place of trust within public engagement toward community development.

3.1. Study Context

The community of Marlborough, in which my study took place, is situated in the city of Calgary. Calgary is a city in flux, with lots of sociocultural shifts taking place. While a lot of this cultural change is rather intangible, some of it is generally quantifiable:

- Calgary had the fourth highest number of immigrants, nationally, in 2011 (City of Calgary 2011)
- The city's percentage of visible minorities was projected to make up 40% of the population by 2020 (City of Calgary 2011)
- Calgary elected Canada's first visible minority mayor of a major municipality (CBC News 2013), and the first Muslim mayor of a large North American city in the year 2010 (Wingrove 2010)

Demographic statistics also attest to a continued dynamism and growth, in spite of an ongoing 3-year economic downtown. There was an approximate 3% year-over-year increase in

population over the four years of 2011-2015, although it dropped to 0.35% in 2016 (The City of Calgary 2016). Calgary also placed first nationally in 2016 for population growth in a census metropolitan area (Statistics Canada 2017). Interestingly much of the population growth seems to be happening in neighborhoods located around the periphery of the city, with the exception of a few notable inner-city neighborhoods, many of which are undergoing revitalization and redevelopment (The City of Calgary 2016). This change is also reflected in housing prices which have been fluctuating widely, with a 10 per cent increase in the average valuation of a property in 2015, compared to a 6 per cent increase in the previous year (Gold 2015).

Recently, the city of Calgary identified several "main-streets" that could potentially benefit from redevelopment. These consist of urban thoroughfares that are important transportation routes, but also hotspots for socialization, working, shopping, dining, and special events (Engage, 2017). In order to understand these streets and their socioeconomic context better, the city of Calgary carried out a year-long public engagement process with the residents, businesses, institutions and other organizations located within neighborhoods that exist alongside these main-streets. Possible outcomes included large-scale redevelopment plans and rezoning. One of these identified streets was the 36th Street North East corridor that runs along the west side boundary of the neighborhood of Marlborough.

Additionally, Marlborough residents also underwent a city-driven initiative titled "*This is my Neighborhood*", which helped put together a driving vision for necessary neighborhood programs, services and small-scale infrastructure improvements (Engage 2015). Unfortunately, it seems there aren't many economic drivers for major redevelopment in the area. The result being that in the short term, there will only probably be some pedestrian improvements along

36th St NE (City of Calgary: YYC Main Streets, n.d.), and some small-scale neighborhood improvement projects (Engage 2015). Beside these two city driven initiatives, there are many smaller-scale community development initiatives carried out by social service, neighborhood, and religious agencies in the Marlborough area. For example, on the neighborhood scale, Calgary Church of Christ facilitates a clothing give-away and serves hot lunches once a week. Most attendees are low SES, housing-insecure individuals and families from Marlborough and surrounding communities. On a larger scale, Marlborough is one of the communities involved in the "12 Community Safety Initiative" (12CSI). This is a collaborative effort among various government, NGO, and private agencies, with a focus on increasing community capacity to reduce crime. These are only a couple examples of the many varied community development efforts that Marlborough has been, or is currently, involved in.

Therefore, given these recent public engagement processes Marlborough, along with indications for the potential of higher-than-average socioeconomic marginalization (The City of Calgary 2014a; Calgary Police Service Statistical Reports 2017), and my connection to the community through the makeCalgary research platform and Sustainable Calgary mentioned in chapter 1, my research focused on Marlborough.

3.1.2 Marlborough

Bounded by the busy Calgary thoroughfares of 36th Street, 52nd Street, Memorial Drive and 16th Avenue, the Northeast community of Marlborough is nevertheless a quiet suburban neighborhood. To a visitor walking through the numerous walkways, referred to as "catwalks" by Marlborough residents, the relative calm and quiet is almost incongruous against the frantic,

largely automotive-centered bustle of the streets forming the physical boundaries of the community. What sets Marlborough apart is its socioeconomic diversity. While many working-class families bought houses early on when it was built in 1967, since the 1980's, there has been a steady influx of immigrants. However, the general sense by many interviewees is that the community doesn't have much stable local migration: I.e. not too many younger families moving in and staying, resulting in an "aging community". While Marlborough does have a slightly older population compared to the wider city average, according to the latest census, migration rates are actually lower than the city average, and general population growth is reflective of wider city trends.

Having situated Marlborough within the city of Calgary, and provided some context for recent public engagement efforts undertaken within the community, the next section provides a more statistical picture of the community.

3.2. Social Capital in Marlborough

Given that this study examines the role of trust in community engagement, it is important to get a sense of the state of trust, on a community level, within Marlborough. Since trust is a component of SC, comparing some of the indicators for SC in Marlborough against the city averages would be a helpful starting point. Based on the literature reviewed in chapter 1, community factors such as levels of ethnic diversity, and more personal factors such as voting behaviour and civic participation serve as strong indicators of Social Capital (SC). Therefore, in the rest of this section I will consider the SC indicators of ethnic diversity, sense of belonging,

and civic participation through: involvement with community associations, voter turnout, volunteerism, and participation in social activities.

It is important to note that all the data in the sections on sense of belonging/community association and civic participation encompasses a scale larger than just the community of Marlborough. Municipal election voter turnout (a type of instrumental participation), volunteerism and social participation (types of expressive participation) draw on ward-level data. Voter participation in municipal and federal elections draws on their respective riding-level data. The map of Calgary below provides a visual for the scale of these data-sets. I realize that these differing boundaries make it impossible for me to rely on these datasets alone to make any definitive statements regarding the state of SC in Marlborough in particular. However, I will take them to be indicative of a wider social trend that Marlborough residents are embedded within. Furthermore, as section 3.3 will elucidate, I also draw on qualitative interview-based and observational data before reaching a conclusion regarding the state of SC and trust within the community. The data in this section simply provides a rough statistical backdrop which I build upon in the following section.

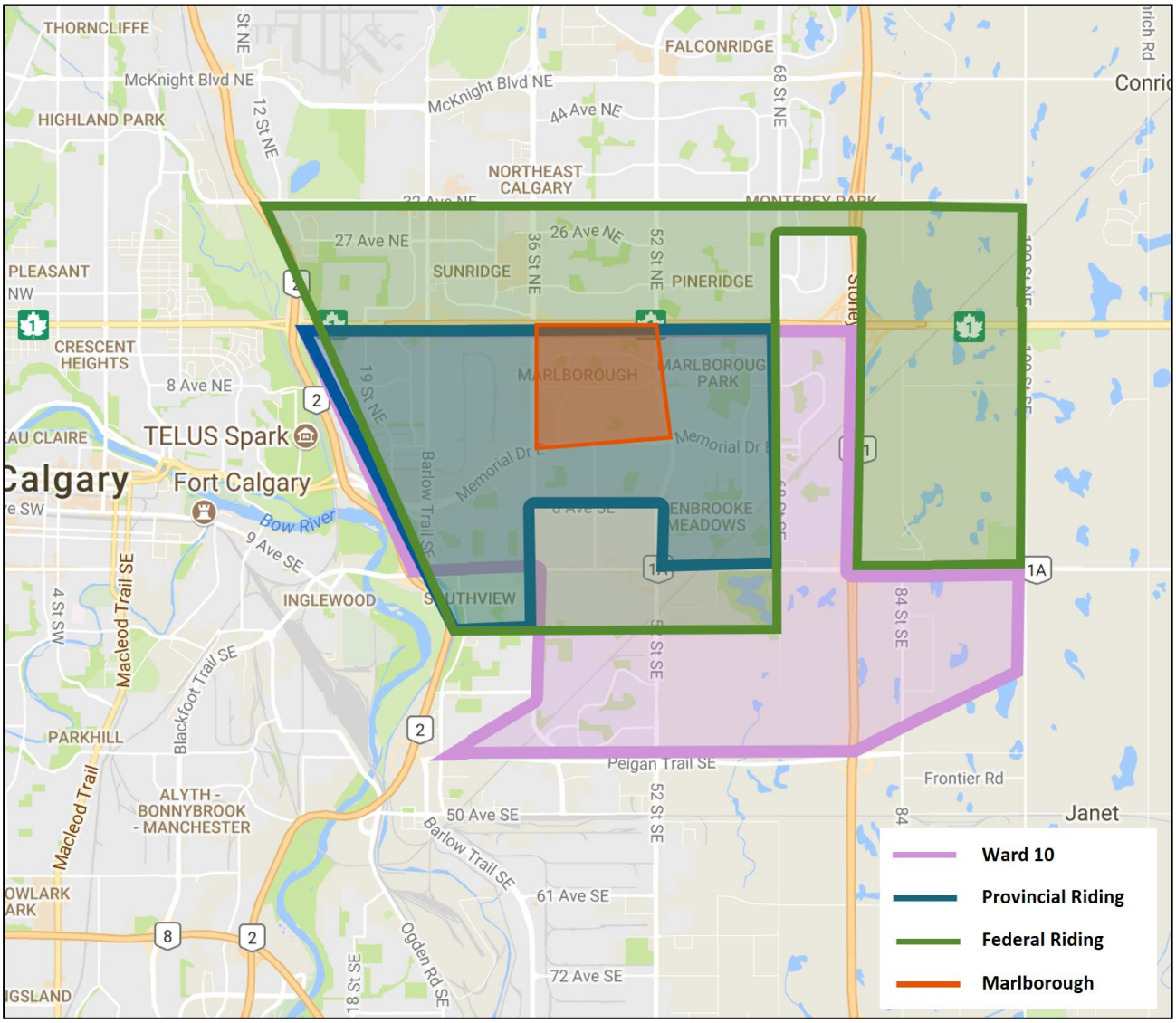

Fig 3.1: Electoral Boundaries Map of Calgary

3.2.1. Diversity

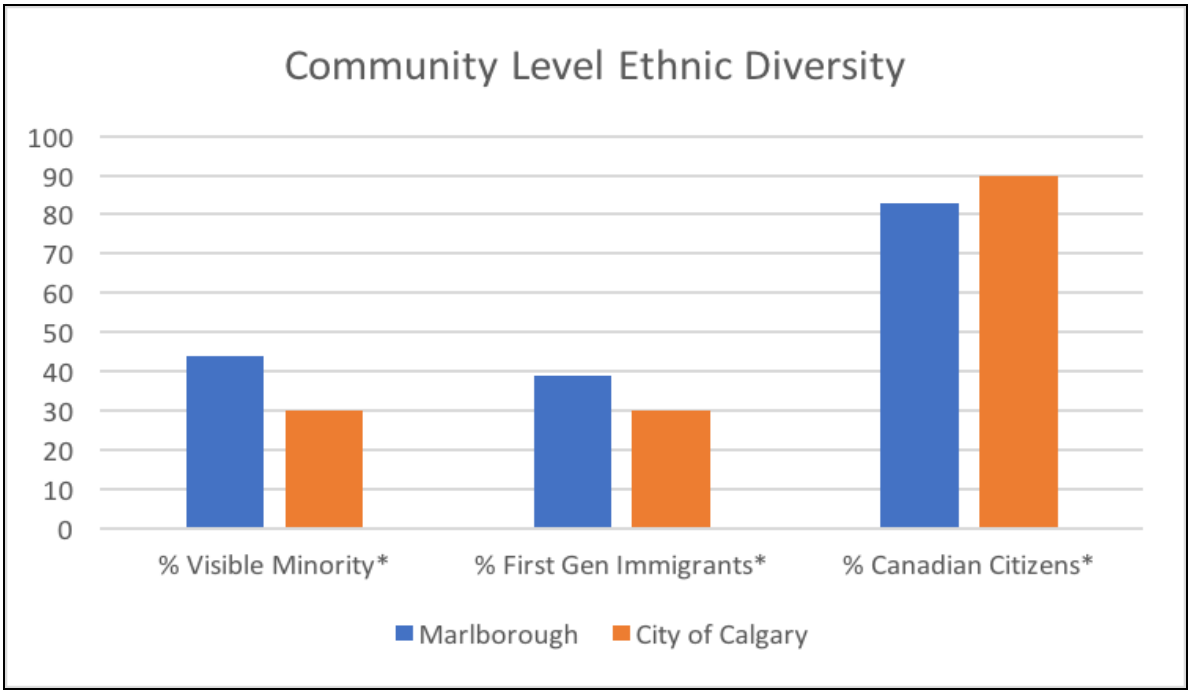

Fig 3.2: Community Level Ethnic Diversity.

Although we do not have a precise number for minority groups in Marlborough, its diversity can be inferred by the following:

- As shown in the graph above, almost half (44% in 2011) of Marlborough residents are visible minorities, 39% are first generation immigrants, and 17% in 2011 were non-citizens – all of which are well above the municipal average (The City of Calgary 2014b).

- 28% of residents speak languages other that English or French at home. Of those, the 5 most popular languages make up only 56% of the language mix (The City of Calgary 2014a)

- Lower rental rates (RentFaster 2017) & housing costs (Re/Max Real Estate 2017) compared to the rest of Calgary, combined with reasonably easy access to downtown. In fact, there has also been a steady increase in growth in rental units, which was at 41% in 2016 (The City of Calgary 2016) - once again, above the municipal average.

- A higher proportion of single-family dwellings, which would appeal to larger, lower income families. Many recent immigrant families tend to be both of the above (Lee and

> Edmonston 2013). Residents average median incomes are lower than the municipal average. In fact, Marlborough has one of the highest ratios of visible minorities, non-citizens and low to median incomes in the entire city. Ward 10 (which Marlborough is a part of) has the third highest percentage of visible minority residents, the second highest concentration of non-citizens, and the lowest median income in the city (The City of Calgary 2014c)

Referring back to the section on SC in chapter 2, the general thrust of the literature, particularly from studies done in the United States, is that all this ethnic diversity has negative implications for SC formation. Kazemipur (2012) argues that in Canada, first generation immigrants have lower levels of generalized trust, but higher levels of confidence, compared to non-immigrants. Therefore, the implication for Marlborough is that SC and levels of generalized trust may be lower on average than the city. On the flip side, levels of confidence could be higher on average.

3.2.2. Sense of Belonging and Community Association (CA) Membership

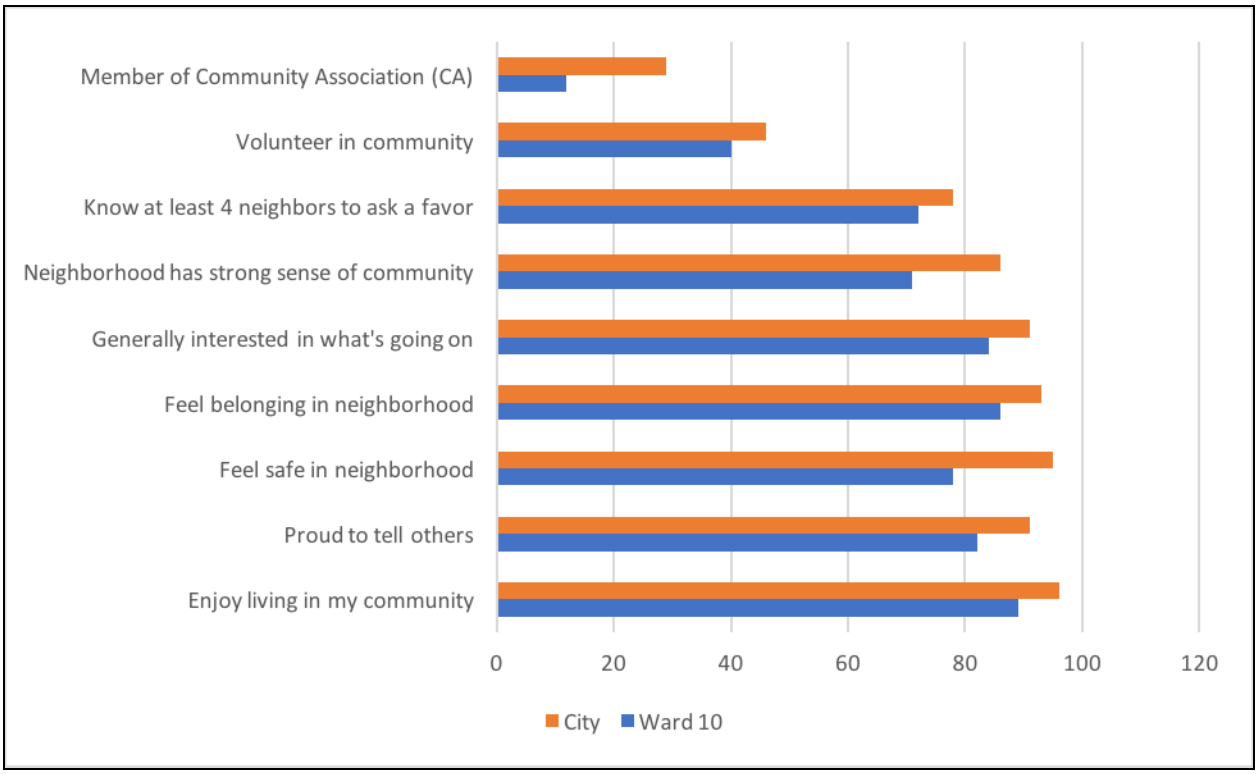

Fig 3.3: Ward 10 resident's sense of belonging and CA membership (Das 2016)

As shown in the graph above, residents of the ward within which Marlborough is located have a lower sense of belonging as well as very poor resident engagement with the CA. In fact, only 17% of Ward residents participated in any program or event offered by the CA within a 12-month timespan in 2015, compared to a city average of 27% (Das 2016). This is an indication that Marlborough is part of a wider community that has generally low levels of instrumental civic participation and connection to place. This has negative implications for SC.

3.2.3. Civic Participation

The following 2 sections report on SC indicators are all variations of civic participation.

Voter Turnout

As shown in figures 3.3 and 3.4, the ridings that Marlborough is located within have had consistently lower levels of voter turnout for both provincial and federal elections, compared to the rest of Calgary within the last decade.

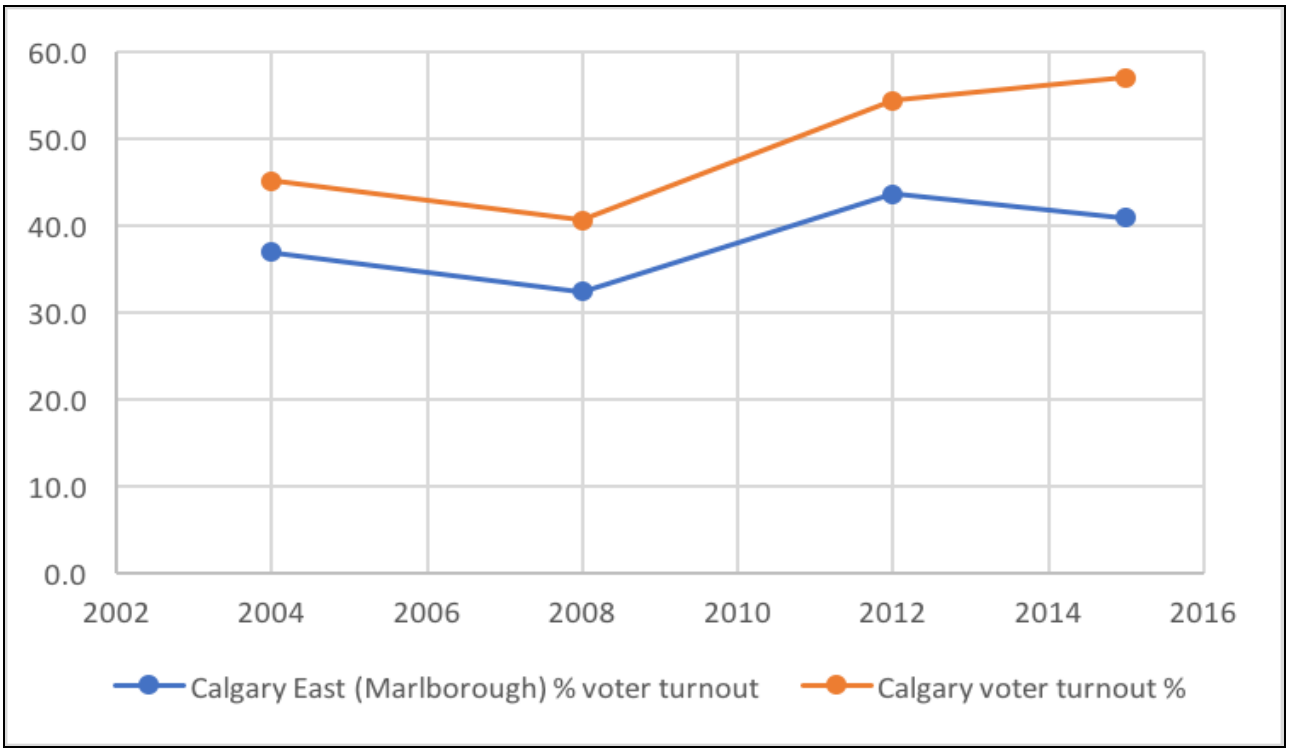

Fig 3.4: Percentage voter turnout in provincial elections since 2004 (Elections Alberta 2015)

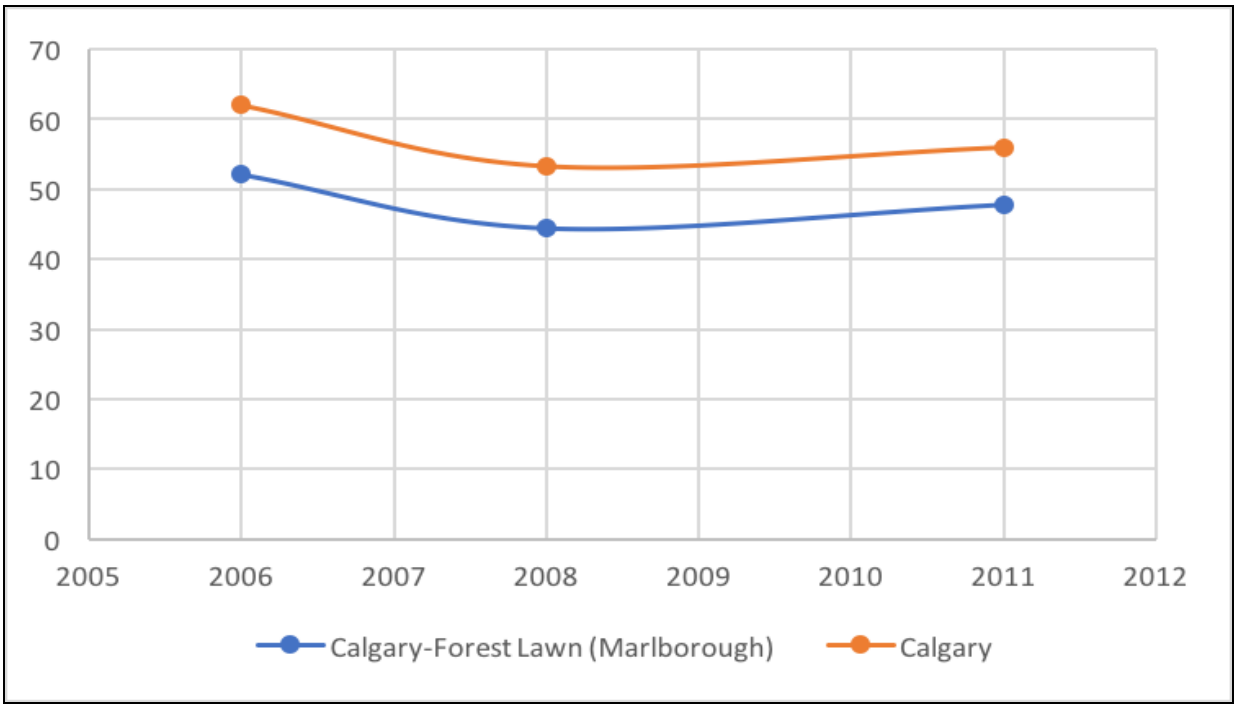

Fig 3.5: Percentage voter turnout in federal election since 2005 (Elections Canada 2017)

While the existing statistics are not as extensive, voter turnout for Ward 10, which Marlborough is a part of municipally, trends in a similar direction based on the 2010 municipal election.

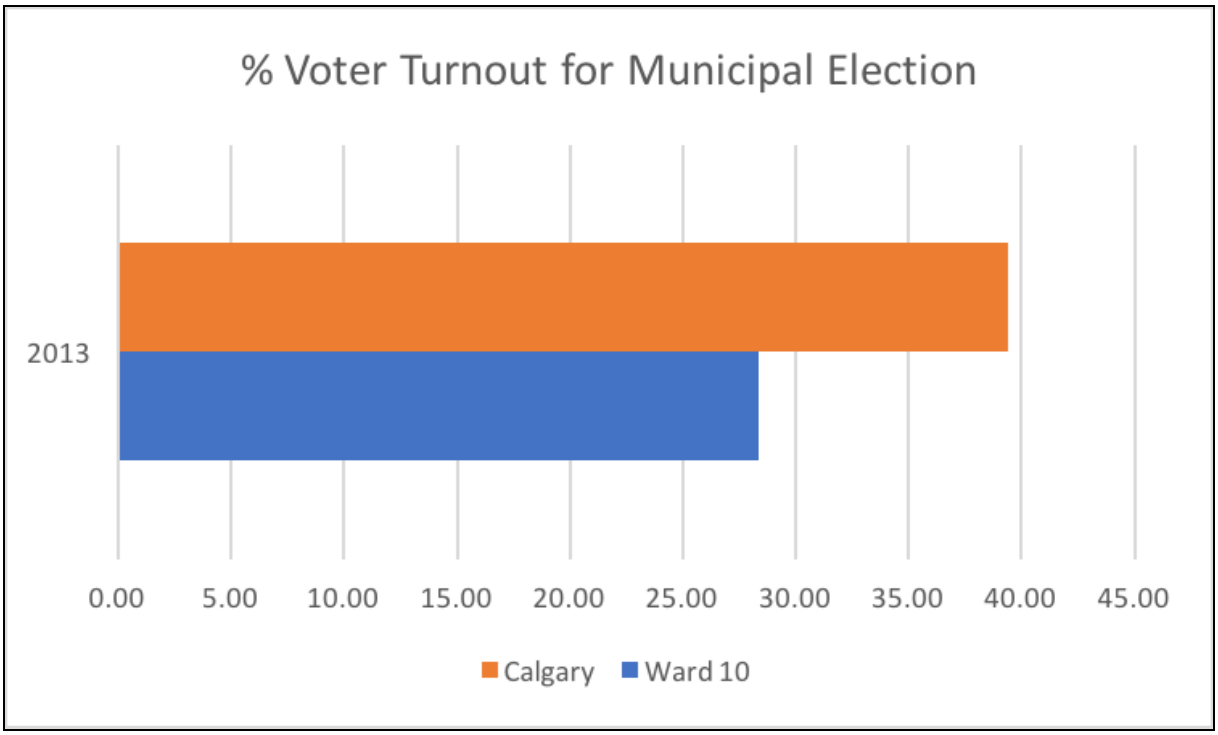

Fig 3.6: % Voter turnout for the 2013 Municipal election (City of Calgary 2013).

The consistent lower-than-average voter turnout for elections at all levels of government suggests low levels of instrumental civic participation within the larger area within which Marlborough is located. This community is part of a wider community that chooses not to participate in the process of voting, which has negative implication for SC, and specifically bridging SC in this case.

Volunteerism and Social Participation

A rising trend in the US to seek socializing outside of local neighborhoods has been documented (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999). This implies that perhaps a greater percentage of residents are participating in volunteer and social activities outside their geographic community. It is important to keep in mind that similar research has not been done in the Canadian context. Therefore, I hesitate to draw any conclusions with respect to Marlborough. Nevertheless, as

mentioned in chapter 2, there is well-documented evidence that expressive forms of civic participation such as volunteerism and social participation are positively correlated with SC.

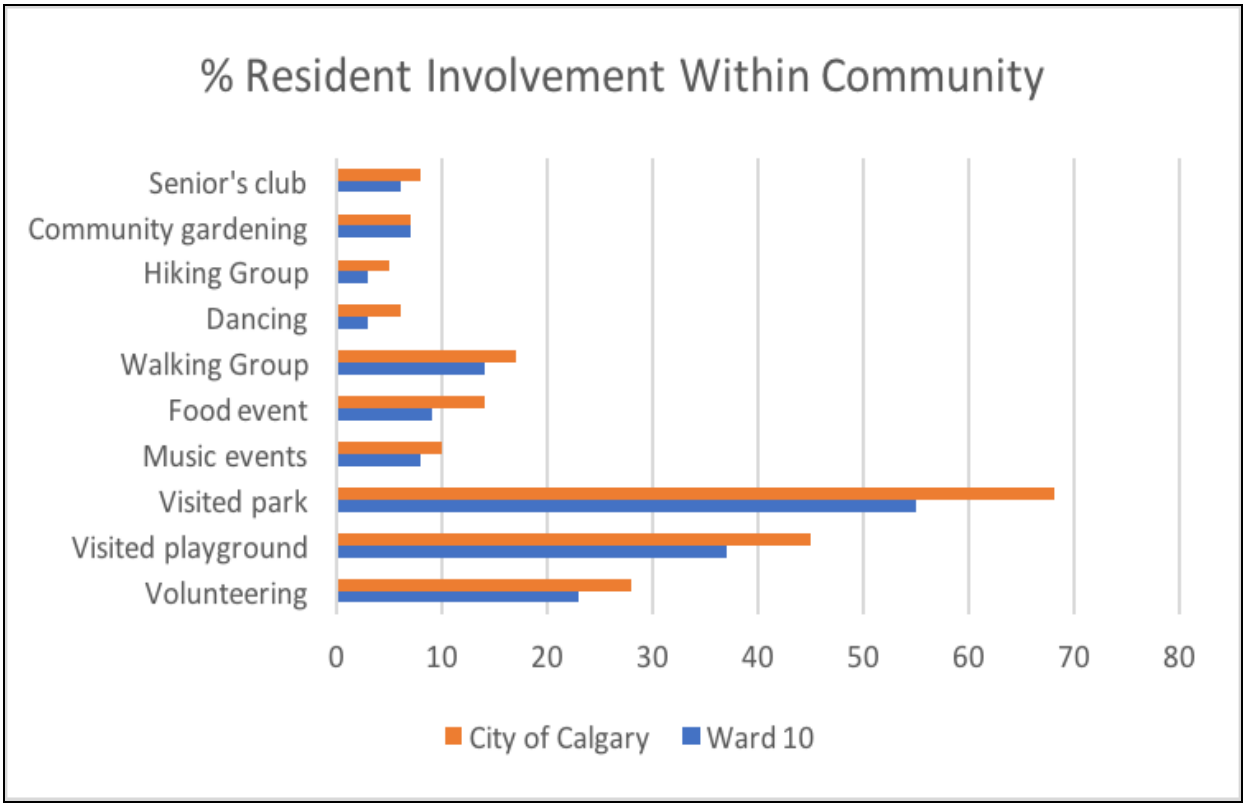

Fig 3.7: Percentage of residents involved in activities within the community (Das 2016)

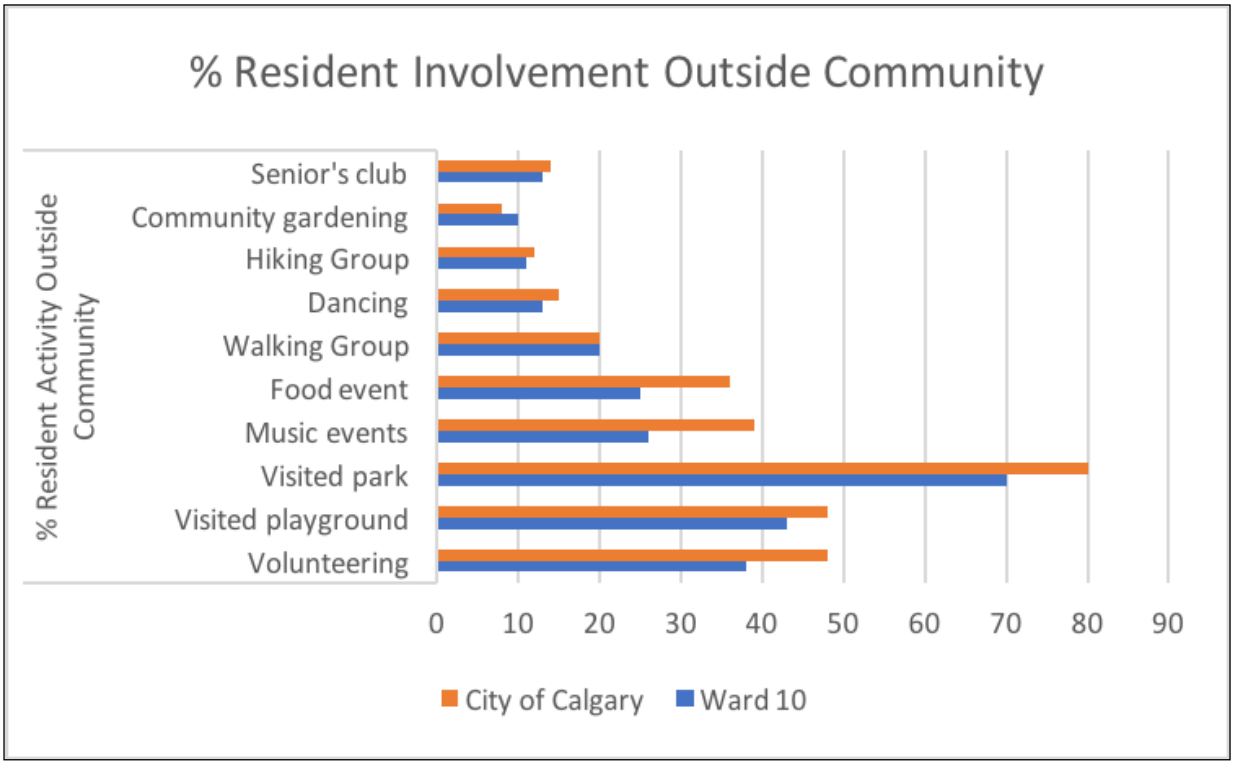

Fig 3.8: Percentage of residents involved in activities outside the community (Das 2016)

As the graphs above show, Marlborough is a part of a larger community in which there are lower than average levels of volunteering and participation in most types of social activities both inside and outside communities. Participation in such activities allows prime opportunities for SC building, while also being a result of SC. Such instances of low expressive civic participation may be due to the fact that geographically local neighborhoods may not play as great a role in people's social identities any longer (Forrest and Kearns 2001b). These twin markers of lower SC do not bode particularly well for Marlborough.

3.2.4. Summary

This section's statistical survey on the state of SC within Marlborough does not yield particularly positive results. There is a higher level of ethnic diversity, and a higher concentration of first generation immigrants residing within Marlborough, compared to the rest of the city. It is also part of a wider geographical area that has lower voter turnout, lower engagement with the community association, a poorer sense of belonging, and lower levels of volunteerism and social participation compared to the rest of the city. All these indicate that SC may be lower in Marlborough, which in turn implies that levels of generalized trust may also be low.

While statistics are useful in understanding a community, they only paint a partial picture. Interpreting them and fitting them into a plausible narrative involves getting a sense of the physical place, its geography, and people. As detailed in the previous chapter, I did this through unstructured observations of Marlborough and unstructured interviews with people that live and work in the community. The following section includes my qualitative observations of Marlborough.

3.3. Qualitative Observations of Marlborough

The nature of unstructured observations and interviews are such that much interesting data is uncovered. However, interesting does not necessarily imply relevance. Therefore, in this section I detail the themes, relevant to my research topic of trust-building within public engagement, that arose through personal observations, conversations, and interviews with those that lived and worked in Marlborough. I followed a similar methodology to the coding

process laid out in chapter 2 in drawing out these themes. Refer to appendix 2 for a sample walkthrough of this process. Note that while I paraphrase relevant comments made during a conversation, I depend on the level of consent given by these commenters in identifying them. The themes I perceived are: diversity, Marlborough Mall, community association (CA) membership, disengagement, reputation, temporary-place, and low confidence.

3.3.1. Diversity

Marlborough has the cultural settings (ethnic shops, restaurants, supermarkets, places of worship, etc.) that are reflective of a larger geographical area that has been ethnically diverse for a while. Residents have easy access to transit, shopping, and schools. Access to LRT and transit is important, as recent immigrants are much more likely to use transit (Heisz and Schellenberg 2004). However, this convenient LRT access to downtown is perceived to be a mixed blessing by some long-time residents. Some of the housing-insecure population that traditionally gathered in certain areas of downtown Calgary have begun moving away, due to the rapid gentrification of these areas. Easy LRT access and the presence of Marlborough Mall (discussed in more detail in the next section on “third-place”), have drawn them in increasing numbers to Marlborough. There is almost a nascent sense of place being developed by this population at the South-eastern edge of Marlborough, which I will address briefly at the end of this section. While this certainly increases the socioeconomic diversity of a community, it does not tend to be in a desirable direction for many residents. As one former resident who was born and raised in Marlborough commented in a paraphrased remark:

> "Marlborough used to have people that were poor, but also people that had boats, who put them on their trailers and went out to the lake on the weekend. You don't really see those boats anymore"

Marlborough has seen an increase in the numbers of renters living in the community, as recent census data shows a lower than average number of owner dwellings (The City of Calgary 2014a). The rate of growth in renters was relatively rapid, jumping 5 percentage points between 2014 and 2016 (The City of Calgary 2016). This has resulted in stories of increased incidences of tensions between renters and owners, as well as a rising number of absentee landlords. Several long-time residents expressed dismay at the perception that rental properties are easily identifiable through increasingly unkempt gardens, poorly maintained exterior building facades, and walkways and sidewalks that are not shovelled in the winter.

I noticed many visible minorities spending time in Marlborough and connected with many groups located in the community who actively welcome immigrants (mostly visible minorities). For example, communities of purpose such as Calgary Church of Christ (CCC) support many refugee families from countries such as Syria and Burundi who live around the area. Groups such as Calgary Immigrant Women's Association hold English-language classes in Marlborough, and many attendees are recent immigrants/refugees with minimal language skills.

I will end this section on the theme of diversity by referring to the socioeconomic diversity mentioned in the first paragraph. There is a community of housing-insecure men that also call Marlborough home, and have spent varying amounts of time, year-round, sleeping in various locations ranging from a bus-shelter near Marlborough Mall to one of the many parks dotting the community. Although some have family members living in the community, others are there

because of relational networks, and the presence of groups such as CCC that provide food, clothing, and other forms of sustenance. While their experience and use of space would differ at times from the general population, they do have a unique view of the physical community.

3.3.2. Marlborough Mall

The Mall is an interesting entity. Some long-time residents see it is as a magnet for crime (which it has been in the past) and something that's generally contributing to the overall decline of the community. However, mall administrators have participated in past community renewal projects through in-kind donations and volunteer hours. Observationally and anecdotally, it seems like an important "meeting place" for many of the diverse groups around the area. Besides frequent visits to Tim Hortons, some of the housing-insecure men mentioned above have also lived near the mall. Certain spots outside (e.g. a bus shelter) are their community spaces, where they congregate to exchange stories and 'smokes' during the daytime. There seems to be an uneasy alliance of sorts with law-enforcement, as the police allow them to hang out, but keep an eye on them throughout the day.

Marlborough Mall itself seems to be going through a time of transition with some of the large stores closing (eg. Sears), and their road-frontage filling up with more chain restaurants. Many unverified stories are rife in the community, ranging from speculations about the mall undergoing a complete overhaul to murmurings regarding the food court closing down and being taken over by a Walmart expansion.

3.3.3. Community Association (CA)

The CA itself is functional, but has trouble attracting leadership and active members that reflect the economic and sociocultural diversity of Marlborough. One of my interviewees, a professional involved in community development, who has worked in Marlborough for a few years observed that the CA leadership consists of mostly “white, middle-class, baby-boomers”. Unfortunately, another interviewee who is a long-time community organizer in the city mentioned that this lack of representativeness is not unique to Marlborough, but an issue faced by many CA’s across the city. Therefore, these observations are not meant as an indictment of the CA but serve to highlight the challenges of engaging with a diverse and rapidly changing neighborhood.

3.3.4. Disengagement

“Marlborough is a very tough place to engage”, or some variation of that, was a common refrain I heard throughout my conversations with engagers. They had attempted to engage with residents on a variety of initiatives, ranging from safer communities to the development of a commercial thoroughfare within the community. It is telling, however, that most of these efforts resorted to conventional, event-centered methods of public engagement. This typically involved a virtual engagement component using the internet, the face-to-face methods of open houses, information booths at public spaces such as Marlborough Mall, and connecting with the local community association. In contrast, the engagers who were most successful in building trust-based connections with Marlborough residents were those that focused on a more limited demographic group, and emphasized going to where this group spent time. For example, the Calgary Police Service’s Diversity Unit successfully engaged immigrant groups

through relationships, initially built by attending their various cultural and religious events and connecting face-to-face with individuals.

3.3.5. Reputation

Most residents repeatedly brought up the anecdotal reputation of Marlborough being the "hood"[4] – a view recognized, but not always accepted by all community residents. Long-time residents expressed frustration at this undeserved reputation, and blamed the media for heightening the sense of danger through over-sensationalized reporting of a few crimes that occurred by Marlborough Mall. One resident with a young family mentioned that his kids regularly play hockey with their friends on the street, and they have never felt unsafe. In fact, this same resident's spouse claimed to feel safer in Marlborough, than in the popular Calgary inner-city neighborhood in which she grew up. Interestingly, some of the youth I encountered expressed that they were embarrassed to share the fact that they live in Marlborough with peers, and claimed to be from communities further north.

On a personal note, I think this pejorative labeling of Marlborough is a stretch of the imagination. Having lived and worked in declining neighbourhoods around the world, I have trouble perceiving Marlborough as a ghetto.

3.3.6. Temporary Place

Based on the negative reputation mentioned in the previous section, many recent immigrants and youth expressed the view that Marlborough is only a place to "find their feet". As soon as they are more settled, many move further away. Several interviewees went on to correlate this

[4] Slang for "neighborhood". Particularly one that is viewed as unsafe and undesirable.

observation with the lack of individuals considered leaders or elders in ethnic communities residing in Marlborough.

3.3.7. Low Confidence

The phrase "talk is cheap" was used by a resident during an interview, and this seems to sum up the general attitude by many Marlborough residents regarding the effectiveness of many agencies and institutions in the area. Cross-agency communication and collaboration seems to be lacking in the eyes of these residents, and even some community development professionals that work in the community. In my observation, there seems to be a constant proliferation of "community projects" in the area that don't have much publicity, don't result in meaningful policy changes, or general impact over time. All this amounts to low levels of confidence, or institutional trust as mentioned in chapter 1, among some residents. One could also argue that this low confidence is evident in low community turnout to the public engagement processes mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. While hard data is not available to the public, several residents mentioned that both the "*Mainstreets*" and "*This is my Neighborhood*" engagements only had a mere handful of residents attending events over the course of 1-2 years.

3.3.8. Summary

In closing, this section discussed anecdotal evidence, and personal observation that Marlborough has an uneasy relationship with its diversity and its namesake mall. Its CA has trouble attracting leadership that is representative of the diversity of the wider community. Long time residents do not agree with the negative reputation of the community within the

wider city, while many immigrants and youth see Marlborough as a place to move away from. Many residents, and professionals involved in community development, have low confidence in the ability of institutions and agencies to positively impact Marlborough.

The above three sections attempted to lay out the data collected on the state of trust with respect to public engagement within the community of Marlborough as it is, through:

a) document studies,
b) a statistical overview of SC indicators, and
c) an overview of the qualitative themes that emerged through personal unstructured observation and interviews.

Essentially, this data enables my first research objective of understanding the role of trust within a public engagement process to be reached. The next section reveals the themes that emerged from my structured interview process. This set of data provides the basis for answering my second research objective: what does a trust-building public engagement process look like.

3.4. Interview Categories

Fig 3.9: Code Category Cloud: While all developed categories are displayed, their relative font size is positively correlated with the number of and prevalence of focused codes they encompass across interviews. This was generated using the free word-cloud software WorditOut (https://worditout.com/)

To create a visual understanding of the conceptual categories that emerged from the structured interview coding process, I created the figure above. These categories were assigned by following the coding process outlined in chapter 2. Refer to appendix 1 for a sample of a more detailed walkthrough of this process. Note that these categories captured the essence of the codes that made them up. For example, the category “Social Capital” was drawn out of codes such as “relational networks”, “civic participation”, and “community disconnection”. These codes were all either core components of SC, (e.g. relational networks), or indicators of SC. Therefore, when I discuss some of these categories in chapter 4, many of the interview quotes I use to illustrate them generally refer to this category in a more oblique manner. For

example, when discussing the category “Social Capital”, the quotes I draw on do not use the term SC, but are usually illustrative of constituent codes such as “relational networks”.

In the second half of the following chapter, I will discuss the ten most popular categories considering their resonance with trust. “Popularity” is a measure of the number of interviews in which a particular category occurred, and they are displayed using larger font in figure 3.9. Categories with larger font were found in more interviews. They will be discussed in the order of their popularity and not as a statement of their objective worth within a hierarchy.

This concludes the chapter discussing the findings and observations from my data collection process. The next chapter will analyze the data laid out in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Key Informant Interviews

This chapter is divided into two major sections. The first analyses the data collected in my initial document studies of Marlborough and my unstructured observations and interviews, and the second examines the results of my structured interviews.

4.1: The Current State of Trust in Marlborough

This section aims to understand why SC and trust in Marlborough are currently low. In the next sub-section, I dig into the qualitative themes, laid out in the previous chapter, followed by another sub-section, in which I explain how I used my unstructured observations and interviews as a launching pad to carry out structured interviews.

4.1.1. Key Issues

The themes of diversity, Marlborough Mall, community association (CA) membership, reputation, disengagement, temporary-place, and low confidence emerged as areas of potential barriers for public engagement in Marlborough. I analyze them under the titles of "diversity", "third-places", "reputation", and "relational" below.

Diversity

The residents that participated in the "*This is my Neighborhood*" initiative stated their community vision as "this is my safe, diverse, engaged neighborhood"(Engage 2015). However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, in the absence of public data on the number of participants, anecdotal data will have to suffice. Unfortunately, this anecdotal data suggests that there were low numbers of community participants in the above initiative, which then

raises questions regarding the representativeness of the stated community vision. Nevertheless, based on statistical overview of Marlborough in the previous chapter, it is clear that diversity is one of the strongest social realities of this community. However, based on resident feedback and available statistics, it seems these goals of safety, diversity and engagement are moving in opposite directions. While Marlborough has an extremely high level of sociocultural diversity, it is lacking in safety, as evidenced by high levels of crime per capita (Calgary Police Service Statistical Reports 2017) and low levels of resident engagement in all forms of civic participation. It is also important to note that visible minorities living in Ward 10, which encompasses Marlborough, have much lower levels of satisfaction and engagement with community life compared to other residents (Das 2016).

What makes Marlborough unique, as mentioned above, is both it's higher than average combined number of resident visible minorities, particularly first-generation immigrants, and those with non-citizen status, and low average median income. This has direct implications for trust, as displayed in studies that show that residents in ethnically diverse neighborhoods have low levels of SC, embodied by low trust in neighbours, and low levels of community involvement (Costa and Kahn 2003; Watkins and Ferrara 2005; Stolle, Soroka, and Johnston 2008). To quote Robert Putnam:

> "Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down' – that is, to pull in like a turtle"(R. D. Putnam 2007b, 149)

In addition to low levels of specific trust, a high concentration of low-SES residents, and low home ownership (as is the case in Marlborough), can also be mediating factors (Hou and Wu 2009). The combination of being low income (and therefore focused on meeting basic needs, resulting in a lack of spare time), lack of language skills, and general unfamiliarity with Canadian civic life means that many of these ethnic minority population groups will be highly unlikely to attend any public engagement events taking place in the community. This is backed up by the literature that shows a direct correlation between income equality and social capital, in that communities that have greater income equality also have greater social capital (R. Putnam 2000; Costa and Kahn 2003). In the Canadian context, however, while many ethnic minority groups consisting of recent immigrants have low levels of generalized trust, they tend to have higher levels of confidence, or trust in institutions – particularly government – than local Canadians (Kazemipur 2012a).

Several residents and professionals working in Marlborough explained that while many immigrants in the area may not have relationships with non-immigrants, most have relational networks with other immigrants. This primarily takes place through forms of expressive civic participation such as, faith groups (mosques, temples, church, etc.), and specific ethnic associations. These are primarily spaces of bonding SC formation. Furthermore, I observed immigrant serving agencies playing a key role in bringing different immigrant groups together in the setting of instrumental civic participation. For example, I attended a networking session for local ethnic associations hosted by the Calgary Center for Newcomers, that brought together leaders from groups that identified as Nigerian, Jamaican, Sikh, Colombian, Brazilian, Pakistani etc. The focus of that session was to create a collaborative space to cooperate in identifying,

and laying out strategies to access funding for community projects. This was an example of bridging SC formation. This tells me that an inclusive public engagement process requires intentionally approaching these spaces, in person, and making the effort to establish a connection with these diverse immigrant groups.

Complicating things further is that there is significant variation even within immigrant groups. I.e. many recent immigrants come out of conflict zones, where unrest often revolved around religious, tribal, or ethnic differences, which would naturally tend to breed animosity toward anyone from a perceived “outgroup”. One of my key informants who works closely with immigrant communities around the Marlborough area used the example of two major groups in conflict within South Sudan - the ethnic Dinka and Nuer. Often, immigrants from these two communities tend to view each other with suspicion in the Canadian context, even though most Canadians tend to see them as simply “South Sudanese”. Additionally, wide variations in levels of literacy can make current forms of public engagement inaccessible to recent immigrants. For instance, most people born and raised in Canada know how to read maps, whereas the symbolic representation of actual community space held no meaning to some of the immigrants we encountered. Therefore, engaging with this level of micro-diversity requires flexibility and informed customization.

In summary, as mentioned in chapter 1, increased ethnic diversity within Canadian communities has mixed implications for SC formation. While immigrants, particularly first generational ones, have higher levels of confidence, they also have lower levels of trust. However, immigrants do have trust-based networks at their places of worship, ethnic organizations, and immigrant-serving agencies. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that

immigrant groups, whether divided by ethnicity, language, or religious affiliation, are not homogeneous. Therefore, engaging with these groups requires intentionality, effort, physical presence, a posture of humility that is willing to learn, and flexibility to customize processes as needed.

Third-place

Urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg proposed the notion of "third-place" as spaces that serve as "anchors of community life…[that] facilitate and foster broader, more creative interaction" (Oldenburg 2001). Examples include coffee shops, community halls, pubs, bowling alleys etc. Such places are important for SC formation (R. Putnam 2000). I mentioned that Marlborough Mall is an interesting place in the previous chapter. While drawing the ire of many long-time residents for attracting crime and traffic, it is also a popular meeting place for various groups. One only has to spend a short time at the mall's food court to observe clusters of seniors, youth, homeless men and a plethora of visible minority groups. As one resident said, "they go there to meet their Chilean compatriots", who have essentially staked out a corner of the food court. This seems to be the case for many other ethnic groups too. For many community residents, therefore, Marlborough Mall is quintessentially Oldenburg's "Third place". This emphasizes what I refer to as the spatial dimension of trust-building - place. Since trust is relational, and people gather in places. third-places that are essentially relationship building spaces, it is logical that trust-building requires physical spaces for physical, embodied interaction.

While this theme will not explicitly appear in my conceptual framework in the next chapter, it is implicit to some of the conceptual categories that emerged from my structured interview

process. While I will go into more detail in section 4.3, third-places are a vital component to the category "Physical Presence". As I mentioned in the above section on diversity, engaging with diverse populations requires going where they are. In the case of Marlborough, it seems reasonable that the mall, and particularly the food court, be considered in any such effort.

Reputation

While this does not necessarily factor in as an SC indicator, as mentioned above, it warrants some discussion as most people I conversed with brought up Marlborough's reputation within the rest of the city. Long-time residents were dismayed with this negative perception, and defended the community as a good place to live and raise children, generally referring to their personal experience. Conversely, most recent residents, former residents, and professionals accepted this negative labeling at face value.

As Forrest & Kearns (2001) said:

> "Residential identities are embedded in a strongly comparative psychological landscape in which each neighbourhood is known primarily as a counterpart to some of the others, and relative differences are probably more important than any single and widely shared social characteristic. As counterparts to one another, neighbourhoods seem to acquire their identity through an on-going commentary between themselves and this continuous dialogue between different groups and agencies shapes the cognitive map of the city and establishes good and bad reputations. These reputations may cling to some neighbourhoods longer than others. Moreover, the external perceptions of areas impact on the behaviour and attitudes of residents in ways which may reinforce cohesive groupings and further consolidate reputations." (Forrest and Kearns 2001b, 2134)

Basically, residents' own identities have a dialectic relationship with the community, which itself is communicated/understood in comparison with other communities. Different "groups" (again, agglomerations of different people, not necessarily all/any of them being residents of

said community) augment this process, and then help propagate this identity across the cityscape. Once a community thus acquires an identity (and this identity only has salience because it's held to be "true" in people's minds, and because it's in comparison with other communities), it influences the self-identities of its residents, for better or worse. This in turn affects social capital formation.

This provides some pretty deep insight on Marlborough, and speaks almost to a sort of community level "Broken Windows" effect, which posits that even minor instances of community disorder can spiral into general community decline, unless addressed immediately (Wilson and Kelling 1982). Likewise, if a community acquires a "good" reputation, which in itself is contingent on a host of factors, including the reputation of surrounding communities, chances are that residents will work to keep things that way. Or vice versa. There's some fascinating room for inquiry here around "identity formation" of collectives, which is what I think a community could be. The literature further backs this up through the construct of "defended neighborhoods" – those that should be avoided/robbed (Suttles 1972), and research examining the difficulty of overcoming neighbourhood stigma, even post-regeneration (Dean and Hastings 2000). However, going any further down this line of inquiry is beyond the scope of this study.

In summary, while reputation will not explicitly feature in my proposed conceptual framework for a trust-building public engagement process, it will be an underlying concern addressed by some of the categories that emerged from my structured interview process.

Relational

I mentioned in chapter 3 that many engagers found Marlborough to be a tough community to engage in acts of civic participation. However, there were a few examples of limited success, and the key difference that divided these two groups of engagers was the intentional focus on building relationships. What I mean is, successfully engaging a wide spectrum of Marlborough residents involved acknowledging the ethnic diversity of the community, gaining a reasonable approximation of its ethnic makeup, strategically seeking out the third-places of these diverse community groups, and then going to these places to build relationships.

Building trust-based relationships with a particular ethnic group is generally easier than with more ethnically diverse groups, since one of the hallmarks of trust, as mentioned in chapter 1, is the perception of shared values and in-group membership (Earle 2009a). This is important to keep in mind, since both my personal observations above, and the statistics referred to in sections 3.2 indicate elevated levels of ethnic diversity in Marlborough. Furthermore, in the previous section I mention that the leadership of Marlborough's CA does not represent the diversity of the community, and in section 3.2, census data shows that CA membership is also lower than average. Therefore, it is logical that connecting with the CA alone only allows the engagement of a very small pool of Marlborough residents. And finally, this act of relational development occurred in a strategic manner. Successful engagers did not usually show up at these third places unannounced, but followed a process very similar to mine, in that they connected with leaders in that specific community first. These leaders, often initially introduced by social service agencies, then invited the engagers to a community event, space, or place of worship, and introduced them to other community members. Instrumental civic participation,

in this case, eventually took place after establishing trust-based relational connections through both bonding and bridging SC formation. Therefore, the network map in figure 4.1 below serves as a valuable tool in providing a visual record of all the agencies and organizations that have relational connections with individuals and groups in Marlborough that are often uninvolved in instrumental civic participation.

In chapter 1 I mentioned SC research in the Canadian context showing that recent immigrants often have elevated levels of confidence, but low levels of trust, compared to the general public. The TCC model, also introduced in chapter 1, connects cooperation to a combination of trust and confidence. Therefore, cooperation in a form of instrumental civic participation such as public engagement toward community development by recent immigrants to Canada requires an intentional effort to built trust. The relational approach mentioned above allows such trust-building between engagers and immigrant groups, and therefore bolsters the likelihood of such cooperation.

On a closing note, this theme of "relationality" also surfaced in my structured interviews as a key category. Section 4.3 below will include another in-depth discussion on this theme, which will eventually feature in my proposed conceptual framework.

Summary

All this provides an interesting entry point to look at building trust in a public engagement process, within a community with low bonding, and even lower bridging Social Capital. The statistics on resident's sense of belonging within the community, community involvement, voting behaviour, and diversity, along with the anecdotes regarding the difficulty of engaging

residents in forms of instrumental civic participation, suggests that all is not well in terms of social capital within Marlborough. Most indications point to levels of trust among Marlborough residents being problematic enough to warrant eschewing the conventional engagement methods of open houses and online engagement, mostly done in partnership with the Community Association alone.

Having discussed the themes that emerged from my unstructured observations and interviews in this first half of the chapter, the next section will provide a brief overview of how I went about selecting my participants for structured interviews.

4.2. Finding Key Informants

The document studies of Marlborough unearthed enough data to create a reasonable estimation of the community's current state of SC, as laid out in chapter 3. The measured indicators of ethnic diversity, sense of belonging, and civic participation emphasize the potential low levels of SC, and by extension, trust among Marlborough residents, compared to the rest of the city. Therefore, it seemed plausible that trust would be an important facet of public engagement toward community development to focus on.

The next stage of data collection involved my second research objective of how to build trust through a public engagement process. This involved a semi-structured interview process, which is detailed in chapter 2. Prior to selecting my key informants for this process, however, I drafted figure 4.1 below: a basic network map of the agencies and individuals I conversed with regarding public engagement in Marlborough. This is a visual depiction of my unstructured interview process.

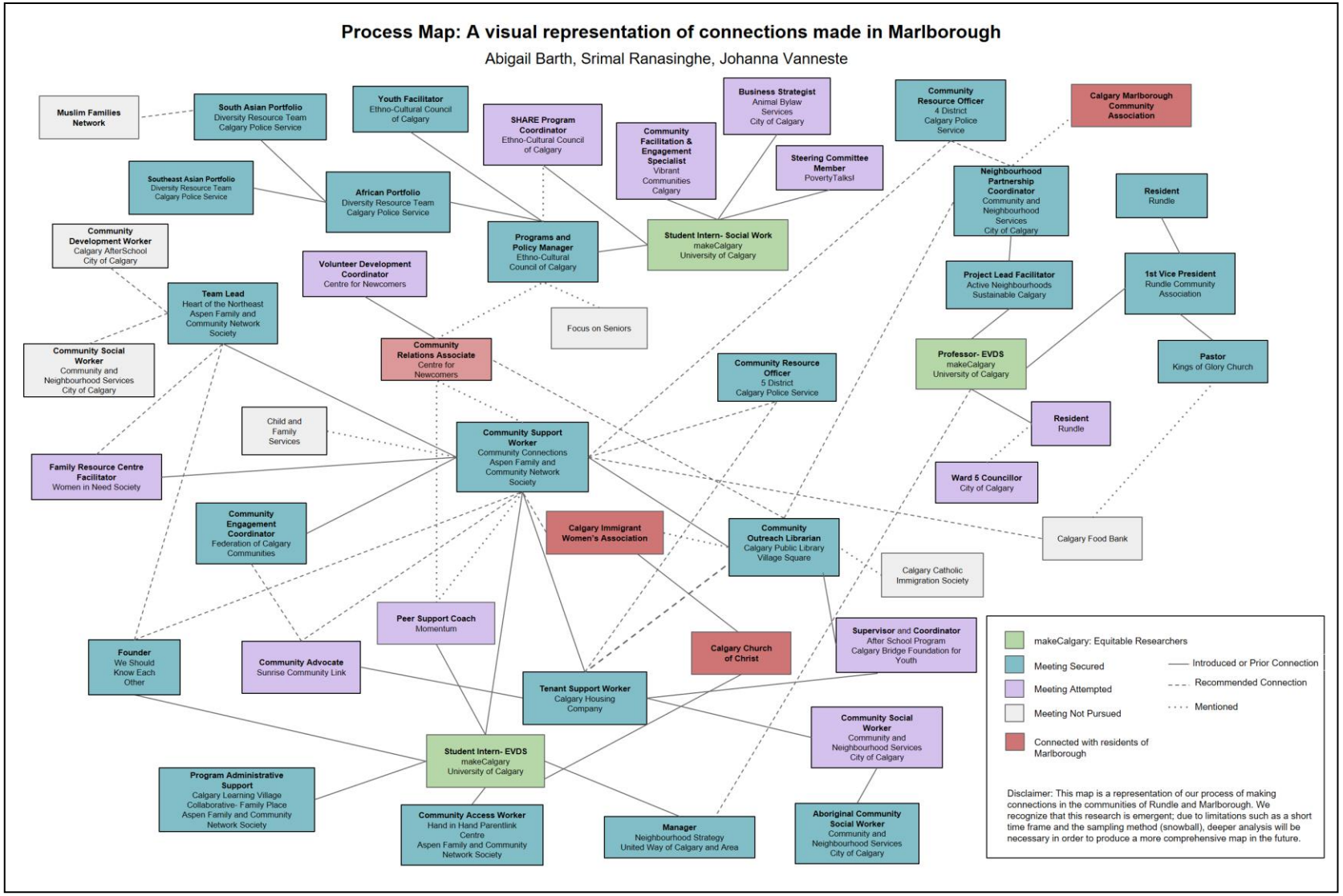

Fig 4.1: A basic network map representing connections between the individuals, institutions, and agencies I interviewed. Many were key informants, and they all contributed in some shape or form toward the creation of this theoretical approach to trust-building. For reasons of privacy, personal identifying details have been withheld intentionally.

Once the semi-structured interview process was completed, all interviews were coded, and the concept categories were developed, as detailed in chapter 2, and laid out visually in figure 3.9. As promised in the previous chapter, the following section is a discussion of the ten most common, or popular, categories from figure 3.9:

1. Outcomes
2. Collaboration
3. Relational
4. Physical presence
5. Social capital
6. Communication
7. Customization
8. Adaptive
9. Managing expectations
10. Dialogue

4.3. Towards a Conceptual Framework

In keeping with the theme of disengagement mentioned in sections 3.3.4 and 4.1, most engagers mentioned Marlborough as a challenging place to engage with residents. This is reflected in the structured interviews from which the following thematic categories were drawn out. Apart from a single resident and engager, all other interviewees provided examples of trust-building public engagement processes that took place in other communities. Therefore, it is important to note that most quotes in the sections below do not involve Marlborough. I also discussed the themes of “diversity”, “third-places”, “reputation”, and “relational” that emerged from my unstructured observations in section 4.1. While “relational” features as a prominent thematic category in the following section and is an explicit part of the proposed conceptual

framework in the next chapter, the other three themes are important in the formation of many key categories discussed below. They are implicit to the formation of my conceptual framework and will crop up several times within the following discussion.

4.3.1. Outcomes

While I use the term "outcomes" for this category, it could also be labeled "results of a CD process". As the most common category across interviews, there is a direct positive correlation between positive outcomes for the community and levels of developed trust. Seeing concrete benefits emerge as the result of a community engagement process enables participants to recognize that the facilitators of the process are operating in good faith, and can deliver on promises made. Outcomes do not necessarily have to be a polished final product, but something that is recognized as a step in the desired direction. This marks a more instrumental, measurable process, implying that it is Confidence, rather than Trust, that is primarily strengthened through outcomes. This idea is captured in the following statement by an individual working in social development, regarding the importance of working with marginalized communities to clearly outline gradated outcomes as a way of building confidence and encouraging them to keep actively involved with the engagement process:

> "a lot of times, what we'll try to do is have some small wins in there. So maybe we haven't been able to do some big project, but maybe we've done something and maybe we've achieved a small win and let's celebrate the small win. Because then it shows people that it's possible"

Outcomes do not necessarily have to be solely a large end-product, but need to be structured in to the wider process, almost as goals to be reached along the way. Small "wins" along the way keeps participants involved, helps build confidence, and provides a way to mark the ongoing success of an engagement process. Similarly, Desmond, a local urban planner captured this idea in the following description of a short-term outcome to an engagement process, where trust was effectively built among stakeholders:

> "we got feedback on the initial zoning, we tweaked it and gave it a few more details and put in some broader categories of "4 storey mixed use", "6 storey mixed use", "townhouses"…then 2 weeks later we came back with the map which was more precise in terms of actual land use restrictions…and was tweaked based on what we heard 2 weeks previous"

The outcome in the example above was relatively incremental, simply showing participants of the engagement process that their feedback had been taken seriously and incorporated into the overall building design. Beside community members seeing a tangible result of their engagement, this process also illustrates responsiveness, which fits under the category of adaptiveness, which I will discuss below.

The lack of meaningful outcomes is important from a civic-engagement standpoint too, as it can galvanize strong opposition and/or increase cynicism among community members. As mentioned previously, a community member in one of my earlier unstructured interviews used the Arabic phrase "khalam balaj", which translates to "talk is cheap", to illustrate what she thought of many community engagement initiatives. In her personal experience, most do not translate into any tangible short-term outcomes for actual community residents. This either

breeds resentment, leading to increased community resistance, or a sense of learned helplessness, resulting in increased community disengagement. None of these are desirable community responses, and they reflect a loss of trust and confidence. Such confidence-building through outcomes is also important for ethnic minority groups. Given the proliferation of ethnic minorities and recent immigrants in Marlborough, which I mentioned in previous sections, it is important that outcomes are responsive to their unique needs too. This requires an engagement process to be collaborative, relational, customized, and dialogue-driven – all of which are key categories discussed below. Recent immigrants' decline of confidence over time, mentioned in chapter 1, is partially due to a lack of responsive outcomes.

Conversely, the following quote by a Marlborough resident who participated in the "This is my Neighbourhood" engagement process illustrates how outcomes helped facilitate their confidence:

> "first it was big things that people wanted to see like, the LRT moved…[but this] wasn't that type of program. That was more just small things I think that we could do to implement… she [told us she] could just do things that were not too high on the budget… So we [got] letters, or numbers put on the back of all the garages in Marlborough… the garbage cans would be wrapped. We want distinct flags…so when you come into Marlborough…it says: Marlborough community…our drop-in basketball program, they sponsored somebody to help us run it. Coz we wanted something for the kids to do…and our volunteers get burned out very easily in the community. So, they have somebody running it for us till the end of December"

Theoretically, the construct of Outcomes is an important part of the theory of social capital, and the process of collaborative planning. Inherent to the functionality of SC, as with any other form of capital, is the drive to accomplish something beneficial – i.e. a perceived beneficial

outcome. Similarly, full collaboration is the desired beneficial outcome of a collaborative planning process.

The importance of positive outcomes also indirectly addresses the issue of reputation that I discussed in the previous section. A community in which people are actively working with engagers, as illustrated in the quotes above, to bring about these outcomes inculcates a sense of pride and community ownership. This addresses the community level “broken windows” effect I mentioned in the previous section, and creates a larger pool of residents that consistently talk-up their community to others. Furthermore, on a more basic level, many of these positive outcomes will address the issues that brought about the negative reputation in the first place.

A final noteworthy point is that the outcomes of public engagement processes are linked to the people that facilitate the process. Therefore, people tend to trust individuals who represent institutions that deliver desired outcomes, which presumably leads to increased confidence in those institutions. This will then set in motion a virtuous cycle of increased cooperation among stakeholders in a community engagement process. However, this is not such a simple linear process. While beneficial outcomes are desirable, the process by which they are arrived at is also important, as illustrated by the next category.

4.3.2. Collaboration

This is an interesting term that was often mentioned, with a diversity of connotations attached to it. In its spectrum of public participation, the International Association of Public Participation defines collaboration as partnering "with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the preferred solution" (International Association for Public participation 2014). I recognize that "collaboration" often refers to a variety of cooperative efforts in practice (Healey 1997, 1998; Innes and Booher 2003). However, as stated in a previous section, community development is frequently a wicked problem, which requires a collaborative planning approach as detailed by Innes and Booher (2010). Based on my interviews, "collaboration" seemed to be a catch-all term for most levels of engagement on the participation spectrum. Interviewees frequently detailed consultative processes, or meeting with stakeholder groups separately. One of my interviewees, who has been highly active in the Calgary community for many decades, favourably compared a public engagement process titled "Plan It Calgary" to other municipal engagement processes. This process created a sustainable long-term growth plan for the city of Calgary, and was the blue-print for several other subsequent municipal plans.

> "The city wide…example was [Plan It Calgary]. And from my perspective, that's the…only style the city should use! But they tend to use the Inform [method of engagement]…but it's still not really engaging you…the [Plan It Calgary] process allowed us decision making…and it's the only one I've ever been involved in that went that far…partly because I'm sure, cost and time. And…it [the city's standard public engagement process] doesn't really engage you, it just informs you".

The assorted styles of engagement on the IAP2 spectrum for public engagement are being referred to here. The “inform” method does just that, and involves a one-way flow of information in a process that is usually top-down. Decision-making power being devolved to participants usually denotes the collaborative phases of the spectrum, which are seldom drawn upon in practice. Therefore, I will draw a distinction between “collaboration” as denoting any form of cooperation within the context of a public engagement process, and “collaborative planning” as a larger comprehensive framework for public engagement. The quote above also illustrates the notion that many regular participants in a public engagement process toward community development desire a truly collaborative process. Absence of such a process can cause much damage to both trust and confidence, as illustrated by the following statement by another interviewee, who works in community development themselves:

> “People get fatigued…every community has a core group of volunteers that really want to be involved. And what happens when you have multiple agencies in there that are not working together, you are tiring out the volunteers…when you door knock on their house three times and ask the same questions, they’re tired of just talking to you. They don’t wanna tell you the same thing, and they are confused as to why you keep coming around and saying “I want to help you”, but you’re not talking to everyone else. So it’s confusing for people…coz they don’t understand funding…even we don’t know or understand all of that most of the time!...the fact that agencies are not working together, it angers people! And it ruins those relationships and it makes it harder to develop relationships…and they are…placing everyone into silos instead of working to make one community better all-around”.

While examples of collaboration building trust on a small scale are provided, there is a realization that its scale needs to be widened to create a process that looks more like

collaborative planning. This is reflected by Abbas, a community development specialist who lays out his ideal vision for a trust-building public engagement process:

> **"**we have certainly been trying to figure out how to get outside of these silos of how we define people and communities right… and this comes back to how we're training in Universities…often people work within their own programs, projects, and agencies having similar goals and activities as the other group or agency [whom they] then block, and have no sense of each other's work. And you know even rarer [is] any sustained effort to try and collaborate and try and join forces to have more impact".

Collaboration, for Abbas, begins with the different disciplines in a university context setting an example by partnering and pooling resources. In a rare example of actual collaborative planning, Sue, a community resident, outlined an engagement process she participated in. It involved building a community resource center in Pineridge, the Calgary community just north east of Marlborough. Aspects of collaboration within this process helped build trust effectively.

> **"**But there were community consultations for probably a few months, and I was involved in those…and the people that were developing that resource center were really good at building trust in the community. And getting buy in from the community residents and in fact having some of the residents on [their advisory] board"

Sue went on to explain that the community residents on this advisory board were involved in reaching out and engaging with their neighbors and other community members, and also acted as a steering committee, providing overall direction to the larger project. On the IAP2 spectrum, this particular engagement process would fall under "collaborate". In this example, true collaboration led to greater trust among stakeholders and ultimately resulted in more cooperation. It included active involvement of community residents as a stakeholder group, and

the engager's willingness to work with all stakeholders in identifying and developing alternative solutions. While not an isolated example, this was a rare occurrence, in that a process identified as "collaborative", was truly so. This type of partnership and stakeholder involvement in a community development project builds trust well, because it effectively confers lots of responsibility on stakeholders, and gives them more ownership in negotiating the practical realization of their respective visions. Successful collaboration of this kind requires effort, as illustrated by the following eight categories.

4.3.3. Relational

Trust is built within the context of relationship (Stebbing 2009), and in its essence involves interaction between two or more parties. Public engagement fundamentally involves people and interactions, so it follows logically that relationships are involved in this process. This was a theme that emerged through my unstructured interview process too, as laid out in section 4.1. Local planner, Desmond highlights this by saying:

> **"**I think you touched on the notion that this is all about people all the time, and I think that's incredibly true. Anything that's all about people are about relationships, and then relationships are fundamentally about trust…on the community side…it helps that someone is sort of seeing we're people and not a faceless City. So it allows to put faces to names, allows us to build a bit of a relationship, and ideally out of that comes trust"

While primarily about the essential relationality of trust-building, Desmond also touches on a critical point that will be addressed in the section on Physical Presence: people build relationships with other people, not directly with institutions. Any perceived relationship with

an institution or an organization is mediated by a person, or a collection of people. This is inherent in the differences between the concepts of “trust” and “confidence”. For example, Celia, an urban planner with Sustainable Calgary, even implied that low confidence could be overcome by trust in the following statement:

> “they all invited us in. They wanted to sit and chat, they wanted to feed us…[but]…I think they wanted to distinguish between me and whatever organization I may be coming from. It’s like ‘hey, I can talk to you. You might be OK. I don’t like the city’…If I’d said I was from the city, I think they still would’ve invited me in, but they still would’ve been like ‘look, you and I can chat, but let me just make it clear, I’m…not into your organization!”

Therefore, I will address the usefulness of this theoretical distinction between trust and confidence in the next chapter. Establishing functional relationships involves several factors, many of which are categories that emerged in my primary data sets, such as time, physical presence, and communication. Celia addresses the fact that relationships are directly tied to the first category of Outcomes:

> **“**actually if I…ask myself have I ever achieved anything in this project without a relationship …you know, I’ve never gotten a job or a contract without a relationship. And so, if I were to extend that to this project, that’s probably also true”

The implied progression goes thus: favorable outcomes to a public engagement process requires good relationships among stakeholders and the engagers. Good relationships require trust. Therefore, trust is inseparable from the relational context. However, relationships are messy, even at the best of times. Diverse communities with low levels of social capital can make

trust-building that much more complicated. Another factor that is important to consider in relationship building is physical presence.

4.3.4. Physical Presence

Increased use of social media across North American society coincides with increased incivilities (Anderson et al. 2014), which is partly attributable to the anonymity and perceived relational distance of users, who will often think twice before spouting comparable vitriol to someone's face. This lesson carries over to public engagement too. Kiran, a community engagement specialist mentions the importance of physical presence in making explicit the emotional dimension in the relational process of trust-building in public engagement. In her words,

> "face to face is important…Public engagement has an emotional component which I think people tend to leave out. Because…it is a relational [process]…sending an email is good to communicate things but not to build relationships where they are needed. There is an emotional component involved, and you don't get that out of an email"

This practice of face-to-face interaction, what Urry (2002) calls "co-presence", has been shown to facilitate thick interaction and build trust more effectively. Virtual means of public engagement allow communication to occur, but the lack of physical presence makes trust-based relationship building harder. Desmond referred to this in the previous section, in comparing the higher effectiveness of building trust among individuals that are physically present in the same space, versus individuals and a "faceless" organization/institution. Social worker Jenna makes a similar point, drawing on her experience of a successful public engagement effort:

> "but the biggest thing…they would trust is that I was visible…that I would walk around the complexes, that I would talk to people…right. Like I kept showing up for all of these different things. And then people were just like, oh you're here and listening, you're repeatedly here. And just being familiar with me built...toward a [successful] project in that complex"

The implied progression is clear in this case too: a trust-based relationship requires the co-presence of parties involved, which ultimately results in better outcomes.

Physical presence also addresses the issue of reputation, discussed in the previous section. As I mentioned in chapter 5, being physically present in Marlborough made me question its negative reputation. While there are portions of the physical community, such as the area by Marlborough Mall, that provide a heightened perception of low safety, much of the community was remarkably quiet and peaceful. This personal observation was supported by many long-time residents too. Therefore, the idiom "don't knock it till you've tried it" holds true in this situation. Being physically present in the community builds trust by reassuring participants of an engagement process in which their community context is better understood and represented.

Trust-building through co-presence in a public engagement process involves another popular category that emerged from these interviews, which I titled "Going-to". This is a term that captures the practice of doing public engagement by going-to where people are, as opposed to merely attempting to draw them to you. This idea featured in my discussion on the theme of "relationality" in section 4.1 too. Community resident Donna makes this point in detailing a

public engagement process where trust was effectively built between the stakeholders involved and the engager:

> "She advertised with billboards, at different events like the community clean-ups, the stampede breakfasts, just to get the input from residents as to what they would like to see happen in their neighborhood…She would come to our community board meetings, and…she asked if we would be interested [in participating]"

Essentially, the engager carried out her engagement process largely by showing up at various community events, and connecting face-to-face with community members. This is where the theme of "Third places" that emerged from my initial unstructured observations also comes in. Co-presence requires a physical location to go to, and third places such as Marlborough Mall provide this space. Therefore, physical presence by itself will not necessarily build trust with a community, if it's not in a location where the target population are already there. This can be a double-edged sword within the context of a low social capital community, tight-timelines and budgets, as it involves a significant investment of time and effort.

4.3.5. Social Capital

I would like to reiterate a point a made in chapter 3. These categories act as broad concepts that capture the essence of a collection of focused codes that emerged from my structured interviews. Therefore, the category of Social Capital, in this case, is represented by codes referring to various components and indicators of SC, such as "social networks" and "civic participation".

The role of social networks in trust-building within public engagement is illustrated in the following statement by Jonathan, a pastor in the community, addressing how he communicates a particular engagement initiative:

> "their initial contact is just geographical, when they're in this area, or when they're part of a network of folks that are in this area…There's kind of sub communities among the folks that come...There's the guys on the street who pan-handle together and hang out in the mall, and then in the summer time sleep in the park"

The network mentioned here involves housing-insecure men, a sub-group that is seldom intentionally engaged with. Building trust-based relationships with an existing community social network makes practical sense in any community setting however, as it takes less time and effort. Key to this process is finding a key informant or contact who has relational connections within the community, and is willing to collaborate in engaging the community. This point is made by another interviewee who talked about a successful community engagement that occurred in partnership with an individual that already had a relational network within said community:

> You cannot do anything in…community unless you have trust, because you're an outsider. And everybody knows you're an outsider. So, for me, where I was really fortunate was that because I had partnered with someone who had the relationships in the community, who had the respect in the community, then a lot of that gets reflected back onto me…because they have the trust of that person, so they feel…like they're open and they can start having those open conversations. The kind of conversations you don't have with a random stranger…So a lot of the relationships that she [the community partner] had developed, just by the nature of working together [helped create the assumption that] "ok this person is safe"…and then you get welcomed into that [community]"

In this example, collaboration allowed SC to be shared, and led to trust being conferred. Conversely, lack of social capital can make trust-based relationship building harder, particularly within the context of public engagement processes that fall under the category of instrumental or official engagement. This is communicated by Samantha, a community worker, talking about one of the key barriers she experienced in trying to engage the community:

> "Communities have changed…They're not quite what they were, you know, 20-30 or even 40 years ago. And their just seems to be…I think just sort of a disconnect. I find residents are very insular. They're about themselves, their family; people hardly know their neighbors these days. They're hardly involved in the community, and so for me in terms of engagement or collecting information, it was a bit challenging, because I think people were a bit hesitant in getting involved in the process. Maybe a bit wary when you approach them"

The lack of meaningful community networks is both a cause and consequence of "community without propinquity", to use a phrase popularized by Melvin Webber (Webber 1963). This idea captures the gradual separation between physical and social community among North Americans, where many can live in a physical place for much of their lives, without any relationships, or social networks being established in that location. The SC indicators discussed in chapter 5, as well as the discussion earlier in this chapter, portrays Marlborough as an ethnically diverse community with low levels of SC. This makes trust-building challenging. However, low as it may be, Marlborough does have some SC. A trust-building engagement process involves finding this diverse SC, building relationships through collaboration and co-presence, and working toward providing commonly agreed upon outcomes.

Therefore, social capital factors other than trust also play a role in facilitating trust-building, as they inherently involve relationships. Another category that is intertwined with all of the above categories is Communication.

4.3.6. Communication

This a fairly obvious category, as anything involving people, relationships, and negotiating outcomes requires communication. Several important functions of communication were captured by codes such as “transparency”, “listening”, “hearing”, and “being heard”. In talking about her experiences with effective public engagement processes Sylvia, a community resident enumerated the role of communication in clearing up misconceptions or false information,

> “It’s also an opportunity for me to meet people in the community and that’s always good, because you get to chat to people, and if they have some misconceptions about what’s happening, you can say well we think this, this and this. You can give them another side of the story”

The picture painted by Sylvia is a powerful one that captures many of the categories above, while keeping communication in the center. This instance she mentions involves establishing co-present relational connections, and building trust by attempting to communicate a more accurate picture of the larger engagement process, and what it is working toward.

Trust-building communication also requires ensuring plain language devoid of jargon or technical details. A Marlborough resident, unsatisfied by a public engagement process

facilitated by the Calgary International Airport regarding airplane routes, made this point in the following quote:

> "they were very awful, because…they wouldn't answer the question directly. You know… I don't think they were very honest to the people… [they weren't] up front with us…they wouldn't talk clearly to the people. That's what I'm saying. That they would use language that was way above our heads… Generally, the people around here don't have university educations, and they want simple clear facts. If you can do it, do it!

Clear communication that caters to a community such as Marlborough that is diverse in education and ethnicity, requires knowing the community well. While getting a sense of the communities SC is a crucial step in this direction, at a more basic level, it also involves listening. This can be time-consuming and costly, but is key to understanding where groups and individuals are and meeting them there, as portrayed in the following quote by a social worker. It involves a development project in a community east of Marlborough, where trust was effectively established:

> "there's a large refugee population that's in greater Forest Lawn, and [they have] no idea that they have a voice, that they can even be heard; that this is something that even happens in Canada. It just takes more time. So, it's more of a time commitment, and …that's where I think it really comes to listening, and to being…OK with where the group is at. And to walking along aside them to do that"

Another closely related category involving communication was "managing expectations", which will be discussed below. However, it is almost passé to state that varying communication modes need to be used in order to be effective in responding to the diversity of a community such as Marlborough. This requires a customized approach.

4.3.7. Customization

Diverse communities imply diverse needs, which require approaches to public engagement that involve meeting people where they are at. This category is a necessary link in the puzzle that is building trust-based relationships through co-present communication with a diverse community. Celia drew on two examples of customized trust-building engagements within different Calgary communities, that were structured as a response to the different spatial and social community characteristics:

> Bridgeland has a core. It has a farmer's market, so that's someplace that people gather. And it has an actual Main Street where people walk and hang out. So, we could setup and talk to 75 people in a day. So then when we went to Acadia, that's not the case. Acadia has for example the recreation complex, but the people using it aren't necessarily from Acadia. Which is fine, because they still use the community and we can still talk to them. But you don't see people congregating as much, so we have to be way more strategic…So, the community does congregate around Stampede Breakfasts, so we can show up there. But otherwise the door-to-door engagements were the most useful. Coz…that's where we actually connected with people. We tried to hold events. We had you know, 20 people RSVP but 2 showed up. So again, we can't expect people to come to us. And from going door-to-door it became clear why: people are really busy…Communities need a lot of lead time. But even then…you still have to meet people where they are. So, are they reading the community newsletter and thinking I want to go to this event because it was in the community newsletter? It depends on the community and in Acadia we found that…Reddit [a discussion website] exploded as a way to connect with people, whereas the internet hadn't worked for us before"

Beside highlighting the importance of customization, Celia's varied approaches also touch on the importance of previously discussed categories such as physical presence, communication, social capital, and the soon-to-be discussed categories of adaptiveness and dialogue. This level of customization addresses the need for flexibility and responsiveness, which was another minor category that emerged from my structured interviews. Abbas speaks to the importance

of being sensitive to participant's emotions, and responding accordingly by changing the public engagement process:

> "I also really think you have to really go with your heart and gut…You really have to be mindful of people's moods. And you can't come in with something written on paper…I think you really have to be sensitive…And if you're not sensitive. Or if you don't have someone who helps you to be sensitive, you might get through it [the public engagement process]. But I'm not sure you'll necessarily do the best job. Or…really help the process along. I think public engagement is kind of [a] result, but also [a] process"

The emotional component of public engagement mentioned here also hearkens back to the categories of Relational and Physical Presence. Customization is a trust-building response to an embodied, relational process.

In another example, one of the community residents in initial unstructured interviews talked about the need to do targeted outreach to groups such as non-resident landowners in order to get as wide an array of viewpoints and value-systems as possible. Targeted outreach in a diverse community such as Marlborough necessarily involves constant customization. Providing an example from her personal practice as community engager, Jenna talks about how she customized a public engagement event to be inclusive of multiple ages and developmental stages:

> "We invited everyone. So it wasn't just adults…they could bring the kids up. So we split up the groups and we had the adults talk, but we also had more kids and youth focused activities. And we had them talk about the same stuff but tweaking the activity…And it worked really well because youth are really insightful"

Engagement processes such as this provide examples of customizing communication approaches, and creating relational spaces that allow trust-building among a broad swathe of the community. Such community contexts, particularly when addressing the wicked problems that are inherent in community development, are emergent situations (Holland 1998). As such, an adaptive approach is required.

4.3.8. Adaptive

This is a conceptual term that captures the ideas of responsiveness, change, and flexibility to dynamic and shifting situations. It's a term that addresses issues with public engagement toward community development on a systemic level, and is most closely connected to collaboration and customization. Part of what makes community development a wicked problem is the complexity around balancing the, often clashing, desires of different stakeholder groups. When institutions are stakeholders in this process, as they often are, adaptiveness involves navigating the tension between static written policy and an emergent, dynamic process. Confidence in the institution, and trust in its representatives is built by responding to this tension adaptively through policy change, or by creating an in-between "grey zone" that responds to the immediate needs or challenges by finding a policy work-around. Jonathan addresses this issue by using the example of how his church often creates these grey-zones in adaptively engaging marginalized residents in Marlborough and surrounding communities through trust-based relationships. In the following quote, he employs the language of "associations" to denote response based on immediate situational dynamics, and "institutions" to denote response based on official policy:

> "associations are small enough and local enough to still function on intuition and care, and direct one-to-one level decision making right. Whereas…as you grow, and you kinda cross over the threshold to Institutional level, that becomes so inefficient that you can't survive and still function that way. So, you have to shift over to functioning based on policy. This tends to, by nature, eliminate some of that ground level care, and responsiveness, and quick turnaround when decisions are needed right. So, it's interesting for…this church in particular. So, coming here I've seen…some of our internal organization is more reflective of a more institutional professionalised structure, and some of it still intuitive and relational you know. "can we buy this or not?", well, "ask Joe!". As opposed to "well what does it say in our policy manual?". So, it's kind of a hybrid, and the church here has been at that level for a long time. We're somewhere in the 200's or 300's in terms of membership. But it's interesting, because it does affect how the church functions in the community right"

This speaks to one of the important underlying questions driving this research: how do we put people, as opposed to organizational/institutional imperatives, at the center of a community engagement, and by extension, a community development process? It gets at the Lefebvrian concept of Right to the City that I mentioned in chapter 1.

Trust is fragile while being built, and any failure to respond to changing situations, particularly in contexts of low trust, confidence, and social capital, can derail an entire engagement process. One of the initial interviewees who worked in law enforcement shared an instance where a piece of false information that had negative consequences on a vulnerable population group in the community spread faster than they could contain it. Months of hard-won trust-based relationships with this community were almost undone within 24 hours, due to a failure to respond adaptively. Kiran also addresses this based on personal experience in the community:

> "I think public engagement is…not only do you have to be clear about what you're doing so that structure is there…but then also…being ok with saying "actually that doesn't work". Or "this is why we're not going to do this"

Her experience illustrates the feedback-oriented, responsive nature of what makes a process able to respond and change in a timely manner. It involves a willingness to allow the structure of the process to evolve; not in a willy-nilly fashion, but based on the actual feedback received. This builds trust because not only do stakeholders witness their feedback being incorporated into outcomes, but they often are drawn into that process actively themselves. However, once people are involved in an ongoing trust-based relational engagement, another communication based issue that requires attention is managing expectations.

4.3.9. Managing Expectations

I adopted the personal mantra of "under-promise and over-deliver" while working in the social service sector. This practice of managing expectations within a public engagement process is closely connected to the category of Communication, and ties in directly with the idea floated by residents that "talk is cheap". When expectations are raised, only to be followed by substandard outcomes, due to inadequate communication and dialogue, trust is degraded, and community cynicism increases. Confidence in the institutions involved also decreases, which can further complicate future engagement efforts. This is captured by community resident Donna, who unfavorably compares the first engagement process (*This is my Neighborhood*), where expectations were clearly communicated, to the second process (*Mainstreets*):

> "*This is my Neighborhood* was very honest, right up front. They were letting us know they couldn't do too much, you know, their budget was very limited…now *Mainstreets* was a little bit different because…I don't think they were really up front with a lot of people that this is not going to happen overnight, that this will be a 25-30 year process…a lot of people didn't realize that its not going to be overnight. And they were very disappointed when they left there…and a lot of people said 'well I'm going to be dead by then'".

Inherent to managing expectations within a public engagement process is the idea of compromise, or finding middle ground, as illustrated in the following quote by Desmond. In it, he emphasizes the importance of balancing the needs of three groups of stakeholders, the community, developer, and municipality, in a public engagement process toward community development.

> "the community has certain expectations around what should happen in their neighborhood, what should be fixed before new development happens, what should or shouldn't be a tolerable level of that new development, and we have certain expectations and we work within a certain framework that circumscribes what we can do, and what we can or can't ask the applicant to fix, and then the applicant is coming to it with their own business model, culture, and approach…We expect…some kind of level of compromise and expect to work as a broker between the applicant and the community…And then there's the community that can have wildly different expectations too, like "we expect the city to look out for us". Well…the applicants are expecting good customer service right. So…this mismatch in expectations can… [make it] hard to build trust…Our...views of what that outcome is [are] not always necessarily the same. So that can be where trust is strained right. Again, that mismatch in expectations and views of roles"

Managing expectations, therefore, creates a realistic idea of what sorts of outcomes to expect, but also enables a shared negotiation of interests. Naturally, this requires dialogue, which is the final key category to be discussed below.

4.3.10. Dialogue

It is tempting to view dialogue as simply a component of Communication, which in a sense it is. However, it is also a foundational tool in any sort of collaborative engagement activity, as laid out by Jurgen Habermas in his theory of communicative rationality (Habermas 1987), and Judith Innes, who states that:

> "To achieve collaboration among players with differing interests and a history of conflict, the dialogue must be authentic, not rhetorical or ritualistic…People must say what they mean and mean what they say" (Innes and Booher 2000, 5)

She goes on to elaborate that "authentic dialogue":

a) Is inclusive of diverse stakeholders, who recognize their interdependence (reciprocity),
b) Is central to relationship building,
c) Is foundational to learning/education, and
d) allows creativity that would not have been possible without the group (Innes and Booher 2000, 2010).

Given that all three components of SC (Trust, Social Networks, and Norms of Reciprocity) are included here, it is safe to state that social capital building, and by extension, trust-building, requires authentic dialogue. Authentic dialogue is the catalyst that allows co-present relationship building in a public engagement context to achieve collaboration, such that trust is effectively built over time. Many of the quotes, particularly those that embodied the categories of Outcomes, Relationality, Communication, and Managing Expectations, also speak to this category of dialogue, as it is inherent in all of them. Dialogue allows the negotiation of shared meaning and common ground. This is illustrated by Chad's experience, as a planner facilitating a public engagement process around the re-development of a building in a central Calgary

community. This was the third attempt to develop this site, as the previous two attempts had been unsuccessful, partially due to poor public engagement processes. This process, however, effectively built trust among the various stakeholder groups. The following quote involves an open house as part of a more extensive engagement process, where the space for dialogue was created:

> "We had quite a few people that would come in multiple times, like there were people we knew on a first name basis as they came 3 or 5 times throughout. We were able to have an ongoing conversation with them and we didn't like…it's not like we converted everybody, but we helped them understand our perspective, and we further understood their perspective and tried to find some middle ground".

Dialogue can also happen during simple conversations. Another key informant who works in community development talks about how they use various forms of public engagement, such as flyers and community events as a tool to facilitate dialogue through conversation.

> "Yeah, community events…I've organized these in the past, and they're just a way to draw people out, and a great way for me to connect with them, talk, and build relationships…I strongly feel that as a community developer you cannot effectively do your work unless you're out there talking to people…I've also done like the big flyer drop-off's in the past…And there were times if I happened to come across residents that were kicking around, I would have a conversation with them and tell them what I was up to. I don't know if the flyer drop offs is an effective method. I think to me, what is important is for people to have that face-to-face contact. So, they know who you are, if it's a project you're working on, you're able to thoroughly explain it to the residents. And so, there's that sense that there's that relational component, which I think is key"

Many of the concepts discussed up to this point are present here: communication through authentic dialogue, co-presence, a relational context, and social network building. Therefore,

within a public engagement process, trust both enables and is further augmented through dialogue.

4.4. Concluding thoughts

My first research objective involved investigating the place of trust within public engagement processes toward community development. I believe that my reading of the data collected makes it quite clear that trust-building plays a very important role in public engagement. While it is not the goal of public engagement, it is an important catalytic factor, driving the engagement process in a direction that is ultimately more satisfying to all parties involved. One of the interviewees used the following metaphor of a partnered dance, which I personally found quite apt, to describe a public engagement process:

> "I feel dancing is how I can equate it, because you're trying to stay in step, [while] trying to improvise…sometimes you have a partner, sometimes you don't. Sometimes you want to dance with that person, sometimes you don't, and it's a bit awkward! So that…really [involves] focusing on building trust and relationships"

Trust between the dancers allows them to experiment with each other and create an often unexpected, but pleasing final product, which would not have been possible with fewer dancers.

My second objective research objective involved constructing an approach to trust-building within public engagement. The building blocks for this have been outlined in this chapter, and I will assemble them into a coherent framework in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Conceptual Framework and Discussion

I began this investigation by posing the question: “what does a public engagement process that builds trust among those involved in the process look like?” The Calgary community of Marlborough provided the community context for this research, as, in the past few years, many organizations and institutions had attempted to engage its residents in processes of community development (CD) on varying scales. Due to consistently low levels of engagement, the effectiveness of these processes was questionable. In chapter 1, drawing on the Trust Confidence Cooperation (TCC) model and the theory of Social Capital (SC), I refined “trust” to include the concepts of general trust, specific or relational trust, and confidence or institutional trust. Trust was also a core component of SC. Furthermore, I posited the process of public engagement to be a crucial tool in the practice of CD. In this context, public engagement was a type of civic participation according to SC theory. Due to its emergent nature in confronting wicked problems, I proposed that CD was best viewed through the lens of complex systems theory. I went on to argue that the process of public engagement toward CD should draw on key elements of the theory of equity planning, which animates a people centered, collaborative approach based on the Lefebvrian concept of “right to the city”. Beside the moral imperative, collaboration, as understood by the IAP2 spectrum of public participation, was also a pragmatic and adaptive response to the complexity inherent in CD. However, a collaborative public engagement process required trust, and confidence in institutions. I referred to the documented decrease of public confidence in key institutions such as government, news media, business, and banks, as well as decreased general trust among Western societies. This made a

trust-building public engagement process doubly important in enabling successful CD. In chapter 2 I expanded on my use of phenomenological research methods, based on Grounded theory, in developing this inquiry. I used document studies, unstructured observations and interviews, field notes, recorded, transcribed and coded semi-structured interviews, journal entries, and memos in collecting and processing my data. I collated and laid the collected data in chapter 3. As a result of document studies, my SC profile of Marlborough, portrayed a community with high-levels of ethnic diversity, and low levels of civic participation and sense of belonging compared to the rest of the city of Calgary. Low SC indicated corresponding levels of both general trust and confidence within the community. Themes of diversity, the importance of third places, reputation, and relationality emerged through my unstructured methods as important considerations for public engagement toward CD. My structured methods further drew out the ten key conceptual categories of Outcomes, Collaboration, Relational, Physical presence (or "co-presence"), Social capital, Communication, Customization, Adaptive, Managing expectations, and Dialogue as crucial components of a trust-building public engagement process. I discussed all these themes and concepts and their relationships to each other in chapter 4.

These previous chapters, therefore, focused on addressing my first research objective regarding the place of trust in public engagement processes. My research clearly indicates the importance of trust and SC for the success of conventional public engagement methods such as open houses and online surveys. The concepts, or raw-material for addressing my second research objective of "what does trust-building within public engagement look like?" were also presented in the previous chapter. These concepts respond to the clarifying question: "what is

needed in order to build trust within public engagement toward community development?”. In this chapter, I will focus on completing my second research objective by proposing a dynamic model that relates these concepts to each other within the context of my theoretical framework. In short, I will illustrate the process through which I visualize these trust-building concepts building trust. I will also address my third and final objective of providing recommendations for improving and modifying future engagement efforts toward community development. This chapter concludes with discussions on the significance of this research, its limitations, areas for future study, and a personal reflection on what I take away from this entire process.

5.1. Conceptual Framework

I begin this section with a visual depiction and a brief description of my conceptual framework for a trust-building public engagement process. This is followed by an outline for operationalizing this framework in practice, ending with a discussion of the framework itself.

5.1.1. How to Build Trust

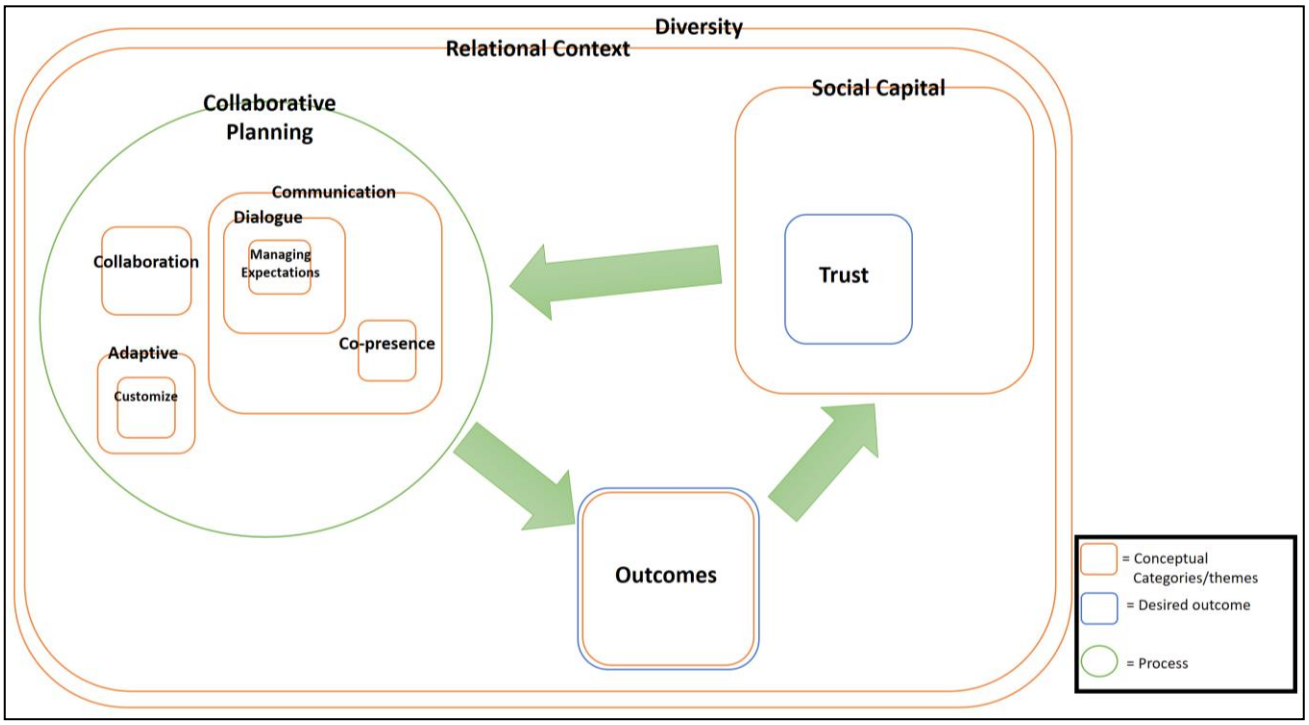

Fig 5.1: Conceptual framework outlining a normative approach to a trust-building public engagement process, within the context of community development.

As portrayed in this diagram, there is a nested, hierarchical aspect to these key concepts and how they interact with each other. For example, a collaborative planning process normatively includes communication, which in turn involves the nested concepts of dialogue, managing expectations, and co-presence. This is a hierarchical relationship because co-presence and dialogue, in the context of collaborative planning, necessarily involves communication, while communication is a larger concept that involves more than just those two concepts. Diversity provides the overarching context, as any sort of complex social system is inherently diverse. This diversity also plays a significant role in making community development a wicked problem.

The entire process of public engagement, and by extension community development, takes place within a relational context. Failure to engage with these two concepts of diversity and relationality from the outset, can make building trust in a public engagement process particularly challenging. I understand Collaborative Planning to be a process that recognizes the role of multiple diverse players in interactive and communicative relationship with each other. This process is inherently adaptive, and in praxis, involves the categories visually nested within it. Social networks, which are a key component of the concept of social capital, provide participants for the collaborative planning process, often through the vehicle of civic participation. The thickness and reach of these social networks is dependent on trust, another key component of social capital. Therefore, the process of collaborative planning is dependent on social capital to produce favourable outcomes. These outcomes themselves are negotiated and engaged with in a relational context. Enhanced by the use of a collaborative planning process, these favourable outcomes lead to increased trust, which in turn boosts community social capital. A virtuous cycle that benefits the larger community development process ensues.

Having outlined my proposed conceptual framework, the next section will provide a brief rundown of how I see this framework being operationalized in a public engagement process.

5.1.2. Framework in Practice

Note that this is meant to be a quick, high-level walkthrough of this framework in practice, and is not necessarily a detailed description of a public engagement process itself. Accordingly, I see there being two phases to this process:

1. Understanding the community context:

This involves spending time in the community, observing people's interactions with each other, use of space, and measuring the state of SC in the community by performing a survey of the SC indicators, similar to what I did in chapter 3.

2. Facilitating a trust-building engagement process:

Keeping in mind that a trust-building engagement process is primarily relational,

- Find the social networks in the community. Community based organizations, such as the community association, interest groups, and faith groups are a good starting point. Door-knocking is a time-consuming, but useful practice too.
- Go to where these networks are: these could be physical and/or virtual spaces to begin with
- Build relationships with them and their clients served in the community
- Create spaces for dialogue to occur: these initially involve a variety of co-present situations, ranging from sharing a meal with a few individuals to setting up an information booth at community events, or facilitating an open house.
- Have conversations about the extent to which individuals and/or groups desire to be involved, and their capacity for collaboration. Implement this stage based on feedback, using advisory panels, working groups etc as needed.
- Set up a list of desired, commonly agreed upon outcomes, along with a timeline. Ensure there is space for acknowledging or celebrating these outcomes along the way.
- Ensure honest, open communication, where expectations are adequately managed
- Be willing to adapt the process. This requires a certain level of flexibility in terms of time and funding.

5.1.3. Discussion

The categories discussed in the previous chapter that make up this proposed framework can be sorted into three areas with respect to the practice of public engagement. Based on their function, I will label these areas as: systemic-oriented, process-oriented, and blended. Systemic oriented categories are those that help create a wider context within which the operational dynamics of public engagement and trust-building take place. The Adaptive and Relational categories fall into this area. An adaptive approach to public engagement involves creating a practice framework that is simple and flexible enough to allow learning, responsiveness and customization to sudden and unforeseen changes, either from the wider system it is nested within, or from processes happening within. Many of the other categories follow from structuring a public engagement process as a relational one. Process-oriented categories address the actual progression and facilitation of trust-building public engagement. The categories of Communication, Customization, Physical Presence, Social Capital, Managing Expectations, and Dialogue all fall under this area. Outcomes is the sole category that is blended, as a trust-building public engagement process can have outcomes that impact the ongoing process, as well as ones that have an impact on a systemic level. All this theorizing raises the question: how realistic is this proposed normative framework within current governance structures?

This leads me to my third and final research objective, which will be addressed in the following sections.

5.2. How can future engagement processes improve?

I will first briefly examine systemic issues, before moving on to examining issues within the current practice of public engagement

5.2.1. Systemic issues

I need to emphasize that while adaptiveness is inherent to the practice of collaborative planning, the practice of adaptive governance is also important in creating a sustaining policy environment within which collaborative planning can best function (Innes and Booher 2010). But what is "adaptive governance"? It involves "integrating science, policy and decision making in systems that assume and manage for change…[and] deals with the complex human interactions that have been obstacles to the implementation of adaptive [or responsive] management" (L. Gunderson and Light 2006). It is a governance structure that, among other things, has the capacity to create conditions more favorable to addressing wicked problems (Brunner 2005).

By contrast, current traditional governance structures, which largely frame community development, and therefore public engagement processes, are relatively inflexible and are "based on an adversarial administrative decision-making process driven by interest representation" (Freeman 1997). Since this study revolves around a specific local community, I will speak to the Calgary context. Public engagement processes often involve top-down processes with tight timelines, uncertain funding streams, and a largely siloed approach. This means that most processes are not particularly collaborative in practice, as detailed in my

discussion in chapter 4. This sort of governance context by itself does not allow for the joint problem solving, broad participation, multiple flexible and engaged agencies (public, private, and non-profit) that are the hallmark of adaptive governance (Booher and Innes 2010). Internal city agencies themselves, as well as social service agencies with community-focused mandates do not always collaborate with each other either, as was discussed in the previous chapter.

Therefore, adopting a adaptive governance structure alongside a traditional one involves "social structures and processes that link individuals, organizations, agencies, and institutions at multiple organizational levels" (Olsson, Folke, and Hahn 2004). It also involves tackling the issue of community development across multiple domains (social, economic, ecological, political, etc.) simultaneously (L. H. Gunderson and Holling 2002). This can be a daunting task that not only requires a shift in perspective, but investing in building the capacity of both professional and volunteer organizations currently involved in community development. Funding priorities need to change, such that cross-sector collaboration becomes an imperative. Project timelines need to be flexible enough to allow both small and large-scale experimentation, as well as the space needed to build trust-based relationships, which ultimately, are one of the key driving forces of this sort of effort. Changes such as these will allow an environment within which the systemic-oriented Adaptive and Relational categories mentioned in the previous section can function as they should.

These adaptive governance structures also need to work toward delivering what was promised. As mentioned in chapter 1, first generation immigrants to Canada typically have higher-than-average levels of confidence. This implies that it is in the best interest of institutions to intentionally collaborate with these immigrant groups in meeting their needs,

such that this level of confidence is maintained. Initial collaboration should also be easier, due to these high levels of confidence.

To end this section on a bright note, the good news is that once adaptive governance structures create a systemic environment within which collaborative planning processes can build trust effectively, we end up with a virtuous cycle, as depicted in my framework in Fig.5.1 above, which makes such future efforts that much easier.

5.2.2. Process Issues

My research indicates to me that trust is best addressed within the larger context of Social Capital (SC), instead of in isolation. This means that in practice, trust-building public engagement processes needs to understand the state of SC, particularly bridging SC, within a community. Communities with low SC require an intensive relationship-building process, like my proposal in Fig.5.1 above. Communities such as Marlborough, with a high concentration of first generation immigrants require intentional efforts to inculcate a sense of belonging through the development of relational trust. This sort of trust development requires a lot of physical presence in the community, going to places where people spend time (shopping malls, coffee shops, community events, places of worship, etc.), and connecting with existing social networks, beginning with ones that focus on some form of instrumental engagement. These include community associations, groups with a social mandate physically located in the community, and special interest groups that serve the area. For example, in the community of Marlborough, this included the Community Association, and groups such as Calgary Center for Newcomers, Calgary Church of Christ, and Calgary Immigrant Women's Association.

Being a skilled communicator in this context involves both in-person and virtual methods, prioritizing the former to begin with. In-person methods involve going to where people are, co-presence, and building cultural competence[5]. Digital platforms are powerful tools of virtual engagement, but they should augment a trust-building engagement process, rather than be the sole form of information gathering and interaction. Meaningful interaction, information sharing, and idea generation in this context involves creating physical and social spaces for honest dialogue between diverse ethnic, religious, and social groups. Organizationally, this involves creating structures of accountability, transparency, and authenticity, such that all participating stakeholders know the boundaries within which they can negotiate what is possible. For the planner this would involve an attitude of humility, an orientation toward learning and flexibility, creativity in customizing processes to meet a group where they are at, and a willingness to partner with different organizations and individuals that have both wide and deep bonding and bridging SC networks. Finally, a relational process also involves constantly keeping in touch with stakeholder groups, as sporadic communiques rarely build or maintain trust.

I hope that the proposed public engagement framework, and the following recommendations for best practices on both a systemic and process-oriented level will lead to some meaningful changes in the practice of public engagement toward community development. At the very least , I hope the importance of trust-building within engagement processes is made clear. The following section discusses the significance of this research.

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[5] Cultural competence, a concept most widely operationalized in the fields of healthcare and social work, involves meeting the sociocultural and linguistic needs of those being engaged. (Georgetown Health Policy Institute 2004)

5.3. Significance

My research findings and recommendations up to this point have been corroborated by existing research, critical thinking, and professional practice in different disciplinary areas. Trust, Social Capital, and Collaborative Planning are all existing, well-documented concepts and a theory respectively, that did not originate with me. My process has simply brought together language and thinking from these different areas to create, what I see as a more comprehensive approach to trust building within the practice of public engagement toward community development. In that sense the following section is only useful in so far as the practice of public engagement toward community development is meaningfully informed by tested theory. I do not classify any of the following discussion points regarding theory as being "tested", any means. However, they are theoretical issues that have arisen through this investigation. While I will briefly expound on them in this section, they bear further investigation and critical examination.

Processing all the data collected raised the question: Is it useful to make distinctions between "trust" and "confidence" in practice? The Trust Confidence Cooperation model proposed by Siegrist et al (2012) argues that trust and confidence are the two key ingredients that lead to cooperation. They also claim that

> "confidence depends upon, and presupposes trust, and…attempts to achieve cooperation that do not take this dependency into account, implicitly or explicitly, are likely to fail"

The quoted claim is supported by my research. Although confidence was addressed a few times in a couple of interviews, most interviewees placed a lot more importance on trust and its

impact on public engagement toward community development. I provide examples of this in chapter 4, when discussing the relational nature of trust. This sentiment was further echoed by another community member who excoriated “all politicians”, but then extolled their ward councillor as being a “good guy”, who is “easy to work with”, and has “done lots for this community”. The implication I read from this interaction is that this individual had low confidence in “politicians” as institutional representatives, but trusted one particular politician whom they knew through a reciprocal social exchange. The beneficial outcomes for the community, perceived as being driven by this politician, probably augmented trust. This is not surprising, as it is an act of reciprocity, a key component of social capital, which is further corroborated by increasing empirical evidence that reciprocal social exchanges produce trust (Molm, Peterson, and Takahashi 2003; Molm, Takahashi, and Peterson 2000). All this tells me that, in the particular community context I explored, confidence was dependent on trust being established first. This bears out the first part of the above claim. However, whether trust and confidence by themselves are the key ingredients leading to cooperation are up for debate. In fact, I refer back to my argument in the previous section, that “trust” is both theoretically and practically best addressed within the context of Social Capital. It is a concept that is too contextual and relationally dependent to be artificially isolated and explored within a theoretical vacuum. The Collaborating Planning approach also acts as a sort of catalyst that leverages trust and confidence within the context of social capital in such as a way as to bring about cooperation. Therefore, while I do not contest the usefulness of the TCC Model itself, I do question whether its parsimonious construction requires a bit more extension or nuance.

In a previous chapter I mentioned the study by Bevelander and Pendakur (2009) finding that expressive engagement, which facilitates bonding SC, does not have a statistically significant effect on certain types of instrumental engagement, which is typically more strongly associated with bridging SC .However, I would hesitate to draw such firm boundaries between bonding and bridging SC, and their connection to specific types of engagement. Several of my key conceptual categories, such as relationality and physical presence/co-presence revolve around connecting and building trust through forms of expressive civic participation. For example, celebrating Iftar[6] with a group of first generation immigrants at their mosque - as did a key informant who is involved with community development with the city of Calgary - helps build trust. That trust, built through such repeated forms of expressive engagement, was then available to be leveraged down the line, in a policy-making exercise. Therefore, in this example, expressive engagement ultimately facilitated bridging SC. This point is further illustrated by another interviewee. In discussing an engagement process where one of the key stakeholders was not in agreement with the direction of the larger project, the following statement by an interviewee stands out:

> "trying to build that trust and that relationship. We didn't do it over a meeting…we went out to lunch, and we had a whole experience, he met me, and he understood that this was what I was trying to achieve…And after the lunch he was like "Ok, I'm really glad that you're going to be doing this"! And we were like, whoa, that's what it took. Just helping him to understand that we weren't trying to undermine him… And I think we left him on a good note"

[6] Iftar is the communal act of breaking fast, as part of the larger Islamic religious observance of Ramadan. According to Islamic orthodoxy, the month of Ramadan is a symbolic commemoration of the first revelation of the Quran to the prophet Mohammed. It is observed through a month of fasting from dawn to dusk.

In this case, an instrumental engagement process in danger of stalling, was helped through an act of bonding engagement within the larger instrumental process. While more research needs to happen in this area before any definite conclusions can be drawn, I believe that my research points to the fact that any form of effective trust-building engagement activity, guided well, has the potential to boost the effectiveness of instrumental forms of civic participation.

5.4. Limitations

Unlike the Rolling Stones' cover song, time was not on my side in this study. In order to complete this research within a manageable time frame, I had to limit the scope of my data collection to a specific geographical community. While the data collected was rich and varied, it would have been useful to collect the same data in other sets of different communities, and have a viable set of comparative results. Time was thus the major limiting factor, from which some of the following limitations also flowed.

In chapter 3 I mentioned the two city-driven public engagement processes that Marlborough underwent most recently: *Mainstreets* and *This is my Neighborhood*. Unfortunately, I was only able to find one engager and one community participant that had been involved with these processes, who were willing to be interviewed on-the-record. The engager was involved with *Mainstreets*, while the participant had been involved with both processes. This is a significant factor, as these were the most recent community-wide, development-oriented public engagement processes within Marlborough that I am aware of. Participants would, therefore, have had a fresher perspective on the process.

The irony of using a strongly relational primary data collection method such as interviews to investigate trust-building, is that the data collected was dependent on the level of trust established between myself and the interviewees. While I did take steps to address this issue as best as possible, as detailed in my methodology, it would be interesting to see if the nature of the data shared by interviewees changes in the absence of a human intermediary. I will address this issue in the following section.

5.5. Future Research Areas

Public engagement toward community development is an important area of practice that requires more empirical research. In places such as Canada, where society is becoming ever more diverse, engagement processes that recognize and respond to the fact that "the public" is not one relatively homogenous entity need to be encouraged. The framework I propose was developed through an inductive process within a particular time and place. It is a situationally grounded response to the ontological claim that the world is random, diverse, and unpredictable. However, it bears more testing in multiple contexts in order to be considered a truly useful and plausible response. A good starting point would be addressing my last point on statistical validity in the previous section. A statistically valid survey testing the plausibility of my proposed framework among a larger, random sample of Marlborough community members could accomplish this.

In chapter 3, the idea of "reputation" came up repeatedly as a potentially important concept in the practice of public engagement toward community development. I chose not to pursue it in-depth as no one mentioned it in my semi-structured interviews. However, given its seeming

centrality to resident's sense of place and self-in-relation-to-place, I believe it warrants further investigation.

In chapter 2 I mentioned that power and privilege are key factors underlying any sort of community development and public engagement process. I did not address these in my study as they never came up explicitly during my conversations with residents and community development practitioners. Nevertheless, the fact that those population groups that typically have little social power (e.g. low SES residents, recent immigrant women etc) seldom independently attended or were involved in conventional CD processes in Marlborough is telling. Therefore, while delving into underlying systemic power structures is beyond the scope of my current study, investigating and critiquing their place in trust-building public engagement processes is a potentially rich avenue of further inquiry.

Lastly, the work of many thinkers and researchers, spanning multiple areas of critical inquiry have been crucial in challenging me to think in an interdisciplinary, systemic manner in formulating this approach to public engagement. However, it is an initial effort at bringing together multiple well-thought-out perspectives to tackle such a time worn, yet still critical issue. More such work is needed in developing, testing, and adapting public engagement processes to match the challenges of different cultural and societal contexts, from both a systemic and grass-roots level.

5.6. Conclusions

In concluding this study, I will briefly discuss some of my key takeaways regarding my central phenomenon of trust and trust-building through the process of public engagement toward community development in the next section. Section 5.6.2 will include a summary of all my recommendations regarding trust-building. The final section will be a personal reflection on what I took away from this entire research process.

5.6.1. Trust and Public Engagement toward community development

I believe that a plausible case has been made for the importance of trust in public engagement processes toward community development. Given that trust is fundamentally a relational concept, building it requires the same sort of effort required in building meaningful relationships. SC provides a good theoretical context for trust, which is also dependent on social networks and acts of reciprocity to flourish. As predicted by the TCC Model, confidence, or institutional trust, is important in enabling the cooperation that is required for a successful public engagement process. However, my study indicates that both confidence and cooperation are heavily dependent on the more *relational* concept of trust. This implies that an effective interpersonal trust-building process has the potential to overcome the negative effects of low confidence.

The following section will provide a summary of all my recommendations regarding a trust-building public engagement process, made throughout this study.

5.6.2. Key Recommendations

My third, and final research objective involved understanding what is needed to improve and modify future engagement efforts toward community development, in such a way that trust is built more effectively. This study indicates that cooperation in a form of instrumental civic participation such as public engagement toward community development, particularly by groups such as recent immigrants to Canada, requires an intentional effort to build trust. In the spirit of facilitating such trust-building, I offer the following 13 recommendations:

1. Given the relational nature of trust, community development processes in functional liberal democracies need to be subsumed by a trust-building public engagement process.

2. In situations of low-trust/low SC, the conventional engagement methods of open houses and online engagement, mostly done in partnership with the Community Association alone, will not be successful.

3. Having a sense of the ethnic makeup of the community to be engaged is important, as more diversity implies conventional methods may not be successful.

4. Strategically seek out the third-places of these diverse community groups and go where they are.

5. The emotional and relational components of public engagement require co-presence in building trust.

6. Connect with community leaders, particularly when working with vulnerable or marginalized populations

7. Incorporate the practices of flexibility, informed customization, and a posture of humility that is willing to learn, when engaging with diverse groups.

8. Avoid a mismatch in expectations by being clear regarding the planner's role in the process, and the limitations of the particular planner and process.

9. Manage expectations by under-promising and over-delivering.

10. Communicate by using plain language, and clear up misconceptions as soon as possible.

11. Collaborate with as many community actors as possible instead of working in silos; this prevents “engagement fatigue” among community members.

12. Since trust-building is essentially a relational process, put in place mechanisms that allow ongoing maintenance of key relationships with community leaders so that future CD efforts don’t involve “starting over again”.

13. Sustainable community development requires both institutional, top-down (systemic) and citizen-driven, bottom-up (grassroots) engagement. Since these two imperatives are often antagonistic in practice, engagement facilitators need to be able to navigate the tensions inherent in this process.

5.6.3. Personal reflection

While I have spent most of this chapter outlining and expounding on how I see this study impacting researchers and practitioners, I would now like to conclude with some brief thoughts on how I see both the results and the process of this study affecting me personally. I have always appreciated relational community, and being part of one. This provided the original impetus that led me to work in the social service sector with different communities. Years of on-the-ground experience, however, left me exhausted and disheartened, as much of the work I either participated in or observed seemed ephemeral in impact and ultimately unsustainable. As a lifelong city dweller, I also appreciate certain physical communities and built spaces more than others. However, I had seldom thought critically about what features, forms, and functions drew me more than others, and why these were more or less appealing. What made my favourite coffee shop a much “better” space for creative thought, as opposed to my living room

at home? Why did I prefer socializing in certain urban green spaces and not others? While I am certain that factors such as personality and life history play a role in shaping such preferences, the notion that the built and social forms of community exist in a dialectic had never occurred to me until I began this course of study. Through the process of unpacking it, I saw this knowledge as a missing piece in the puzzle that is community development. My research process, and the tools I have learned and developed along the way helped further give shape to another piece of that puzzle: successful tension navigation. Sustainable community development requires both institutional, top-down (systemic) and citizen-driven, bottom-up (grassroots) engagement. While these two imperatives are not antagonistic in theory, they are often antagonistic in practice. Therefore, getting to this ideal sort of engagement requires facilitators that can navigate the tensions inherent in this process. I believe my proposed framework to be a tool that better enables this tension navigation. Together, these realizations that emerged from my course of study will frame my professional and/or academic practice moving forward. But even more importantly, it has given me hope in beginning to shape some practical tools to go beyond solely envisioning utopia to move towards it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Key Category Creation Process

Initial Codes

11 Celia Lee

290 the door, they would give me the trust test like right away. They'd be like "we
291 already had someone from the city…are you from the city? no…well…I don't
292 know…what Giancarlo Carrar is doing right now, like that's cool. OK well come
293 in…do you want food?". Ok…like the Acadia people are like the nicest
294 people…they all invited us in. they wanted to sit and chat, they wanted to feed us.
295 But before coming in from the door there was a set of questions of like…listen,
296 I'm not that impressed by whatever, or like, is it OK that I feel this way, and then
297 we can move on.

298 **Srimal**: Hmm…interesting. So if you're not from the city. There's almost like this
299 thing where trust is being built, but there's also a pre-trust…like a way that people
300 view you already. Like based on your roles, or the labels that you may have.

301 **Celia**: Maybe…I think they wanted to distinguish between me and whatever
302 organization I may be coming from. It's like "hey, I can talk to you. You might be
303 OK. I don't like the city"…you know. If I'd said I was from the city, I think they still
304 would've invited me in, but they still would've been like "look, you and I can chat,
305 but let me just make it clear, I'm not like not into your organization".

Given trust based on personal/organizational reputation

Important to allow airing of grievances in PE

Public can differentiate between Individual and Organization

Public willing to trust individuals, even though confidence in representative organization may be low.

SI **Srimal Isaac Ranasinghe**
Initial Confidence

SI **Srimal Isaac Ranasinghe**
Dialogue

SI **Srimal Isaac Ranasinghe**
Trust > Confidence

SI **Srimal Isaac Ranasinghe**
Relationality → Confidence

This is an excerpt from a transcribed interview. Initial codes were assigned to portions of text, usually in a 2-step incremental process that refined the code. Memos were also inserted into these transcriptions to aid in the coding process, when called for. Once an interview was completely coded, a table listing all the codes was created, as shown below in an excerpt of a larger table:

1								**Participant N**
2	**Abbas**	**Celia**	[redacted]	**Desmond**	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	
3	tangible outcomes	Going to	dialogue	Narrative co-creation	Hearing	Collaboration	Institutional context	Rel
4	reducing tribalism	Firing imagination	attractional	Course correction	lubricate process	Going to	Frameworks	Dyr
5	Customization	Primarily relational	Resident as consumer	Macro Project organization	Follow through	boundaries	Honesty	red trib
6	diversity	Communication	relational	Managing expectations	physical presence	Managing expectations	Physical presence	Out sub
7	attractional	Emotional	transparency	City as broker	Trust highly important to marginalized communities	Communication	Relational	Spa dia
8	engaging worldviews	Conduits	communication	Balancing imperatives	Collaboration	Unrepresentative engagement	Balancing imperatives	Tru fou
9	adaptive	Being heard	Tangible benefits	physical presence	Boundaries	attracts strong viewpoints	Power	Mu
10	empathy	Secondary outcomes	reducing tribalism	Confidence impactful	Customization	Transparency	Emotional	Tim

As detailed in chapter 2, more focused codes were then drawn out by grouping these initial codes into larger concepts. These concepts were drawn from existing literature, and their creation and assignment were aided by field-notes and journal entries. Below is an excerpt from the table of Celia's assigned focused codes. The left-hand column with bold text contain the more focused codes, while the right-hand column with multiple non-bold phrases and words contain the initial codes that are contained by that focused code.

1		Abbas		Celia	
16	**overseeing process**	Internally driven, mandate	**tangible outcomes**	process generates tangible benefits, follow through	**Suspicious agenda**
17	**Physical presence**	physical presence important	**Nodes of interaction**	community hubs, attractive public spaces, places for public consumption, places for public gathering	**Social capit**
18	**Framing issues**	issues framing	**attractional**	attractional model hard to use, attractional	
19	**Productive conflict**	Space for conflict	**Customize**	customize to context, customize technique	**Private to p**
20	**Convenience**	Convenience	**interactive**	activity as advertisement and knowledge gathering, interactive	
21	**Social capital**	community networks	**Culture**	know the culture	**physical pre**
22	**Trust highly important to marginalized communities**	high importance with marginalized communities	**Boundaries**	create boundaries	**power**
23	**Good process = good results**	process > results	**Managing expectations**	manage public expectation, communicate limitations, clear expectations	**authenticity**

These focused codes were then arranged again under larger categories drawn from the literature. These categories were arranged in a table, alongside the codes that make them up, and a visualization of how frequently they occurred across the different interviews. The table below is a partial excerpt of this portion of the process:

1			Participant Names							
2	Categories	Codes	Abbas	Celia	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
3	Outcomes	tangible outcomes, tangible benefits, outcomes, outcomes are important, meeting needs, longer term outcomes								
4	Tribalism	reducing tribalism, tribal differences, out group								
5	Customization	Customization, personalization of process, population dependent								
6	Diversity	diversity, heterogeneous publics								
7	Marketization	attractional, succesful events, Resident as consumer, marketing vs discourse, event driven								
8	Adaptive	adaptive, adaptability. Adaptiveness, adaptive leadership								
9	Empathy	empathy								
10	Collaboration	Collaboration, not truly collaborative, collaborative, common goals for collaboration, multisectoral collaboration, championing collaboration, engagement exhaustion								
11	Relational	Trust is relational, primarily relational, relational								
12	Culture	Culture, cultural competence								
13	Accountability	Follow through, accountability								
14	Physical Presence	Physical presence, physical presence, community space								

At this point I also created another table containing all the categories, all the interviewees, and page and line references for the codes making up those categories within each interview. This served as a useful reference point for quotes, while discussing my proposed conceptual framework. Below is an excerpt of this table:

1	Codes	Interview					
2		Abbas	Celia	[redacted]	Desmond	[redacted]	D
3	Outcomes (12)	(2:42-56), (3:97-101)	(2:55), (6:151)	(3:82), (5, 132), (6, 152),	(1,11), (4,96), (4,110), (7,208), (14,407)	(3,62), (12,306), (12,309), (5, 119)	(2 (8
4	Collaboration (11)	(1:31-41), (3:85-87), (3:81-85)		(1,11),	(2,44), (3,65), (2,36), (16,465)	(1,6), (5,129), (8,210), (1,13), (2,45)	(1 (1
5	Relational (11)	(6:224), (7:244), (7:248), (7:263), (4:139)	(8:206), (9:240), (10:274), (11:301)	(2,31), (2,49), (3,84), (4,102), (5,136), (6,158)	(6,168), (10,292), (15,453), (6,178), (8,218), (14,401)	(2,35), (4,101), (7,191), (4,85), (7,177),	
6	Physical Presence (10)		(6:156),	(3,81), (6,160), (7, 191), (7,208), (9,239)	(9,252), (15,440)	(6,157), (7,166), (6,151), (7,181)	(1
7	Social Capital (10)		(1:13), (7:197), (8:217), (8:206), (8:208)	(1,23), (2,31), (2,39), (2.42), (7,197),	7,214	(10,271), (4,92)	
8	Communication (10)		(9:252), (2:33), (1:14), (1:26), (10:265)	(4,110), (5,145)	(1,17), (5,138), (12,353),	(11,299), (4,87), (4,106)	(1 (7 (8
9	Customization (9)		(3:86), (4:92), (7:180)	(2,10), (1,18)	(1,24), (5,142)	(1,26), (3,56),	
10	Adaptive (8)	(7:269-277), (8:283-287)	(2:42), (4:100), (		14,403	(12,325),	
11	Managing Expectations (8)		(6:149), (9:254)	(4,111),	(7,210), (13,372), (8,219), (14,415)		(2 (7
				(1,14), (6,164),		same as	

And finally, the italicized text below is an excerpt from a journal entry I made between interviews, processing a particular line of thought. I was pondering the tendency to frame community development (CD) either using conventional economic language, or intentionally eschewing it. This apparent commodification of community seemed to affect the way public engagement was approached. This line of thinking eventually brought about the category of "marketization", which was not one of the more popular categories in the end.

More thoughts – Jan 3rd, 2017

- *Interesting trend in PE practice, where developers or city, or private individuals are trying to "Sell" CD to the rest of the community, and they seem to either "buy in" or not. There's an interesting use of marketplace language, which probably shapes the way both parties see community members, and even the way they see themselves - a thoroughly Neoliberal way of seeing Community and one's relation to it!*
- *I think there's an interesting thread to explore here, as economic motives seem to be prime in driving PE right now (Palmiere, Bliek, and Godfrey interviews), which is predominantly top-down in communities like Marlborough that seem to have low connectivity/internal community engagement.*
- *This would speak to Palmiere's point about the city doing all PE, as they don't have a profit motive – which is an interesting thought though. Given our reliance on a P3 model for development, does this mean the city is inherently dependent on developers for the wellbeing of the city and its residents by extension? Something to look for in interviews!*

Appendix 2: Drawing out Themes from Unstructured Observation

In processing the field notes made during my unstructured observational stage, I followed a very similar process to that involving my structured observations. As laid out in chapter 2, I used journal entries, memos, and eventually, coding of these journal entries to draw out themes. Below is a sample from one of my earliest field notes, made after a bike ride through Marlborough with members from both the Active Neighbourhoods and makeCalgary projects I was involved in:

Marlborough Bike Ride and Debrief notes

- *desire lines along 16th, on top of the berm*
- *52nd/16th intersection – not accessible/safe*
    - *Only trans-canada crossing after 36th Street*
    - *people say it's easier to drive across the intersection than try and walk (mC)*
    - *is the most direct way to get to the Village Square library*
    - *challenging for those 14 and under to get to the library (unlike in Forest Lawn) (mC)*
- *36th considered "a problem" by residents (mC)*
- *residential streets and school zones do not lend themselves to 30km/hour*
- *Marlborough Mall is inside the boundaries created by 52nd/TransCanada/Memorial/36th). Does it get used more by local residents? Do the local strip malls get used more by local residents?*
- *The community centre feels very closed off and inaccessible (KB)*
    - *Fenced off areas, surveillance cameras, do not trespass signs*
- *Where do people go?*
    - *At malls/strip-malls/park'n'play (Community association) – where are people coming from? (intercept surveys, by postal code)*
        - *How necessary is it for people in the community to cross 36th Ave? Services?*

In the notes above, the community association (CA) was identified as a potential place where people go. Therefore, that became a trailhead of sorts that I followed in my early unstructured interviews. The following is a sample of detailed field notes, codes, and accompanying memo's from one of those interviews. Note that the topic of CA's was addressed here.

2 Tuesday, July 28th

- There is a stretch of green corridor on the corner of 16th and 36th, which is hidden from plain view which many thieves will ulitilize.
- Another problem area is a green space behind the tim hortons complex, where there's also a "work agency" and a liquor store next to each other. Lots of calls around drunken conduct, which was perhaps worsened by the mild winter this year.
- Taxis parking in fire-lane outside Walmart used by pickpockets and shoplifters for a long time. Now CPS will ticket those parking there, which has lessened this.

Crime prevention through environmental design

Mall traffic flows

- In her words, the CA is made up exclusively of middle-aged, Caucasian people who aren't representative of the community, and there doesn't seem to be any effort being put into changing this situation either.
- Also has worked with 12 CSI, who have a mandate to improve "Safety" in the communities, but don't seem to have any concrete steps toward fulfilling this mission in a practical manner – particularly in Marlborough. Communication seems to be lacking and ineffective.
- She collaborates most with Marlborough Mall (which, interestingly almost seems to be playing a de-facto role of the CA...although this is the first time they've come up in our conversations. Would be interesting to converse further with Kim Wiltse), with collaboration with Calgary Housing Company, Bylaw Services, Fire Dept too.

CA unrepresentative of community

CA unresponsive to challenges

Lack of concrete outcomes of many projects

Marlborough Mall as community hub

Srimal Ranasinghe
Lack of bridging SC

Srimal Ranasinghe
Code: Low Confidence

Srimal Ranasinghe
Code: OUTCOMES

Srimal Ranasinghe
This is a similar observation to that made by Hajir around the proliferation of projects in the area, as well our general observation that there are tons of agencies trying to do "stuff", with little effectiveness though. There almost seems to be something akin to the 80-20 Principal here!

Srimal Ranasinghe
Mall = Third Place

As these unstructured interviews were being carried out, and the accompanying field-notes processed in the manner laid out above, I was journaling my process too. Below is an excerpt of a journal reflection, and a few accompanying memo's, on the place of CA's in public engagement toward community development.

Reflections on meetings:

- General sense is that there's very little agreement on the role of the CA's...but the sense we get is that they are:
  a) Highly politicized entities and are therefore on good terms with the City
  b) Most people involved on their boards are older and Caucasian
  c) The CA's themselves seem to desire to have younger folks with more innovative ideas on their boards...and they seem to be more open to diversity on their boards.
  d) Some of the agencies feel that they are somewhat closed off to "other folks" in the community (i.e. lower income groups)
  e) Overall, the sense is that they aren't particularly connected to more recent, lower income, and immigrant populations in the area

- On the other hand, the CA folks themselves actually seem really open to changing things up:
  - Realize the need for young + new blood
  - Have repeatedly put out calls for more involvement
  - Genuinely care about the community

Srimal Ranasinghe
Low community confidence in CA's?

Srimal Ranasinghe
Perceived lack of inclusiveness?

Srimal Ranasinghe
Maybe an issue is that lack of capacity development + trust?
You can't just invite people in, particularly folks who are marginalized and/or minority groups without going to them as Jenna, Hajir, and Carolee said. Also, given these group's unfamiliarity with CA's and their functions, a more targeted, personalized engagement effort is needed by the CA's. Comes down to communication and getting out there!

Appendix 3: Ethics Approval Documentation

Recruitment Letter: Engagers

Faculty of Environmental Design

University of Calgary
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, AB. T2N 1N4

July 12, 2016

To Whom it May Concern

Dear _____:

I am working toward a Master's in Environmental Design at the University of Calgary, and am interested in the current process of public engagement in the city of Calgary. I was struck by how much dissatisfaction there often is, with public engagement processes particularly on a community level. This fosters cynicism and distrust in any process that is viewed as "political", which leads to political and community disengagement. Given that cities are meant for people, and that residents of a liberal democracy have a right to be actively involved in shaping their communities, I was curious to see what a "better" public engagement process would look like. "Better" in this case is a somewhat nebulous term which I will seek to quantify it under two measures: Trust and Confidence.

And this is where you will play a very important role. As a professional in the field, you have a lot of valuable experiential insights to share around the strengths, weaknesses, and the overall arc of public engagement within the city of Calgary. Your opinions and experiences will contribute toward the design of a normative framework that, in particular, explores and lays out the relationship between people's experience of trust and/or confidence, and a just public engagement process. This will be the goal of my Master's thesis.

I would like to do this by conducting an interview of no more than 60 minutes with you in person. These interviews will be based on your personal experiences and opinions, they will be recorded and transcribed, and if you wish, you will have access to the transcribed interviews to ensure that your point of view is represented properly. If you so desire, you will also have access to my final product. For additional details please refer to the Consent Form.

I would greatly appreciate your time, and the sharing of your expertise.

Please note that the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study. If you have any further questions or concerns about any of this, please do not hesitate to contact me by email at _____.

Best regards,

Srimal Ranasinghe

Master of Environmental Design Candidate, 2017

Recruitment Letter: Community Members

Faculty of Environmental Design

University of Calgary
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, AB. T2N 1N4

October 13, 2016

Dear _____,

As someone who lives, works, and plays in the city of Calgary, you may be aware that the city is undergoing a lot of growth and change. Last year residents of Marlborough and Rundle underwent a community consultation to put together a "Neighborhood Charter" which will eventually drive some redevelopment around the area. Additionally, the City of Calgary also conducted an initiative titled "This is my Neighborhood" in Marlborough, which will help put together a driving vision for necessary neighborhood programs, services and improvements. These two initiatives are examples of "Public Engagement" processes.

Given that cities, such as Calgary, are meant for people, who have a right to be meaningfully involved in how their specific neighborhoods look and function, I want to explore what a "better" public engagement process would look like. I will measure "better" in this case by seeing how effectively the public engagement process built trust among everyone involved.

And this is where you will play a very important role. As someone who has participated in a public engagement process, you would have a lot of valuable experiences to share. Through my research toward a Master's degree in the Faculty of Environmental Design, I hope to contribute toward a better public engagement process in the future by understanding the connection between it and "trust". I would like to do this by conducting an interview of no more than 60 minutes with you in person. These interviews will be based on your personal experiences, they will be recorded and transcribed, and if you wish, you will have access to the transcribed interviews to ensure that your point of view is represented properly. If you so desire, you will have access to my final product too. For additional details please refer to the Consent Form.

I would greatly appreciate your time, and the sharing of your experiences.

Please note that the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study. If you have any further questions or concerns about any of this, please do not hesitate to contact me by email at _____.

Best regards,

Srimal Ranasinghe

Master of Environmental Design Candidate, 2017

Interview Guide

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. My goal is to understand your experience with public engagement processes in the city of Calgary, and how they can be improved in the future. Specifically, I am interested in the role that trust plays in public engagement processes. "Public engagement" will be taken to mean:

> "a process that brings people together to address issues of common importance, to solve shared problems, and to bring about positive social change. Effective public engagement invites average citizens to get involved in deliberation, dialogue and action on public issues that they care about. And, it helps leaders and decision makers better understand the perspectives, opinions, and concerns of citizens and stakeholders."[7]

This interview will be divided into two sections, where I would first like to learn about your personal experience with public engagement processes, and then secondly hear your opinion on trust, and its place within these processes.

Now I realize that you have already signed a consent form, but just for the record, if you consent to this interview and audio recording process, say "I consent".

And before we jump into specific questions, would you mind saying for the record:

a. Your name
b. How long have you worked in the city of Calgary?

1) What is one of the more recent public engagement processes you have been involved in?
   a. What was your role in it?
   b. What was your experience like participating in that process? In your opinion, what worked well?
   c. What would you improve?

2) What is your understanding of "Trust"?
   a. How important is trust to you when facilitating a public engagement process?
   b. What role, if any, did Trust play in the above process?
   c. Can you give an example of a project/process you were involved in, where trust was effectively built?
   d. How about one where trust was not effectively built?

[7] Bonneman, Tim. "What is Public Engagement," last modified September 28, 2012, accessed June 30, 2016, http://www.intellitics.com/blog/2012/09/28/what-is-public-engagement/.