



Insights for Improving Trust Management in Participatory Natural Resources Management Processes:

*A Case Study on Stakeholder Trust Perceptions in the
Bridger-Teton National Forest Collaborative Process*



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List of Abbreviations

Bridger Teton National Forest	BTNF
Calculus-Based Distrust	CBD
Calculus-Based Trust	CBT
Collaborative Learning	CL
Danish Forest and Nature Agency	DFNA
Forest Management Plan	FMP
Identification-Based Distrust	IBD
Identification-Based Trust	IBT
Ministry of Environment (Denmark)	MoE
National Environmental Policy Act	NEPA
National Forest Management Act	NFMA
Natural Resource Management	NRM
Non-governmental Organization	NGO
Procedure (Dimension) Conclusion	PC
Relationship (Dimension) Conclusion	RC
Routine-Based Distrust	RBD
Routine-Based Trust	RBT
Substance (Dimension) Conclusion	SC
United States Forest Service	USFS
United States Forest Service- Bridger Teton National Forest	USFS-BTNF

Foreword

The interview data used for this study was generated as part of a larger project funded by the Danish Forest and Nature Agency (DFNA) entitled “Modern public involvement in management and planning of natural resources – a synergetic study and exchange of knowledge and experience between Denmark and the US” (Emborg, 2007). The project is carried out by Forest and Landscape, University of Copenhagen. Utah State University, Logan, Utah (USU), Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon (OSU) and Bridger-Teton National Forest (BTNF), Wyoming, USA are all also associated with the project (Emborg, 2007). As such this study of stakeholder trust perceptions at BTNF constitutes a part of this larger DFNA project. A journal article incorporating results from this study along with results from the larger project is anticipated in the future.

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Abstract

Studies on stakeholder trust in natural resources management participatory processes have revealed the importance of trust for the success of such processes. At the same time forest managers, participatory process facilitators, and researchers have found public distrust increasing in natural resources management agencies in the United States and Denmark.

Analysis of stakeholder trust in this study of the collaborative process at Bridger-Teton National Forest (USA) revealed seven key trust-related issues: transparency, outside influences on the process, uncertainty of process outcomes, agency consistency, experiences with agency staff, perceived value differences, and distrust of the federal government. The study finds trust building and management with and among stakeholders should aim toward developing low calculus-based trust and low identification-based trust, while affecting routine-based distrust is largely beyond the influence of managers' and facilitators'. Cultural differences between Denmark and the United States suggest some trust issues identified in the study may be less important in the Danish context. Higher public trust in government in Denmark may, for example, render issues related to distrust of the federal government found in the study less relevant in Denmark.

The study also revealed differences between the results from the two methodological tools used in the study: the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework. The Progress Triangle analysis provided an overview of trust issues at BTNF and was a relatively easy tool to use. The Trust Analytical Framework results revealed a more nuanced understanding of trust issues in the case, however this tool also requires more substantial knowledge about trust theories to utilize than needed for using the Progress Triangle.

Keywords: trust management, public participation, collaborative processes, natural resources management, stakeholder trust

1. Introduction

Since the 1960s natural resources management (NRM) decision-making in the United States has moved in the direction of increased public involvement. A trend toward greater public participation in NRM has also occurred in Denmark over the last twenty years. Efforts to engage citizens more meaningfully in NRM decision-making have also been coupled with increasing distrust in the very agencies seeking the public's involvement. Studies on NRM participatory processes often simultaneously identify the importance of trust for successful processes and confirm the observations of agency staff that public distrust is on the rise.

Recognition of the common challenges for forest managers and NRM process facilitators in the United States and Denmark to manage public trust better has led to a research project funded by the Danish Forest and Nature Agency (DFNA) entitled "Modern public involvement in management and planning of natural resources – a synergetic study and exchange of knowledge and experience between Denmark and the US" (Emborg, 2007). This case study of the collaborative process (a type of participatory process) in the United States at Bridger-Teton National Forest (BTNF) is a component of this DFNA project. The analysis of stakeholder interviews from the BTNF collaborative process contributes toward the DFNA's project aims to:

- Generate new knowledge by studying public involvement processes based on the forefront of knowledge and research in public participation in the US and;
- Transfer this and existing knowledge from the US to Denmark (Emborg, 2007).

The importance of trust for effective participatory processes has resulted in many forest managers and NRM process facilitators seeking to increase their understanding of stakeholder trust issues and search for improved methods for managing and building stakeholder trust. This study seeks to assist forest managers and NRM process facilitators in their quest through answering the main research question of this study: how can the conclusions from the case study on stakeholder trust in the participatory process at Bridger-Teton National Forest contribute toward improving trust management in similar processes?

Research on trust in NRM participatory processes is also a relatively new field of research and, therefore, no widely agreed upon approach to analyzing trust has been established. This study also seeks to contribute to the nascent field of trust research in NRM through the application of two analytical tools to examine the interviewee transcripts in the study: the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework.

The Progress Triangle is an analysis tool based on conflict management theories developed by Daniels and Walker (2001) for analyzing, designing and evaluating collaborative processes. Analysis using the Progress Triangle addresses the first sub-question of this study: what are the conclusions about trust from the case study of the participatory process at Bridger-Teton National Forest through analysis using an approach based on conflict management theory?

The Trust Analytical Framework, a newly developed analysis tool from Emborg et al. (2009), is based on trust theories from a range of disciplines combined and designed for analyzing trust in NRM. Analysis using the Trust Analytical Framework tackles the second sub-question of this study: what are the conclusions about trust from the case study of the participatory process at Bridger-Teton National Forest from analysis using an approach grounded in trust research and theory?

Analysis of the results emerging from application of the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework to analyze the data provide answers for the third (and final) research sub-question for this study: how does analysis with two analytical tools; one based on conflict management theories and one based on trust theories, improve the understanding of the value of these tools for analyzing trust in natural resources management?

This report answers the above-stated research questions and is composed of seven sections. This introduction is followed by a section entitled Setting the Stage, which includes an overview of public participation in Denmark and the United States, and detailed information on the Bridger-Teton National Forest (BTNF) case study. The third section is a literature review and is comprised of an overview of the various types of public participation in NRM and discusses relevant trust and conflict management theories. The fourth part of the paper provides details on data collection and analysis, followed by the results section containing in-depth analysis of the conclusions from the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework. The results section is followed by the discussion, which includes a critique of the study, and discussion of the results with regard to cultural differences between the United States and Denmark and other studies on trust. The final section synthesizes the conclusions from the study and identifies avenues for future research.

2. Setting the Stage

This section provides an overview of the setting for natural resources management (NRM) participatory processes in Denmark and the United States and concludes with a description of the Bridger Teton National Forest (BTNF) case. The overview of Denmark focuses on an on-going process to introduce a national park system in the country. The discussion about the United States is broader and provides a backdrop for the BTNF case.

2.1 Overview of Trust and Public Participation in Denmark

Currently, the forest area in Denmark amounts to roughly 486,000 ha or around 11% of the country's total area (Danish Ministry of Environment/DFNA, 2002). Similar to the United States, in Denmark there is a high degree of private forest ownership, which accounts for 72% of Danish forestland. The remaining 28% is publicly owned and comprised mainly of state forests, which account for 24% (110,000 ha) of publicly owned forests (Larsen and Nielsen, 2006). State forests are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Environment (MoE), which has delegated management responsibilities to the Danish Forest and Nature Agency (DFNA)(Danish Ministry of Environment/DFNA, 2002).

The Danish MoE recognizes that “*mutual trust and dialogue* are essential to the success of the implementation of the objectives of conversion to near-to-nature forest management practices¹, protection of forest nature and biodiversity, and strengthened opportunities for outdoor recreation in the forests” (emphasis added, Danish Ministry of Environment/DFNA, 2002, p. 35). The Danish Forestry Act, however, does not specifically comment on public participation and according to Boon (2002):

“...public participation at national, regional and local levels have been concentrated at single points in time rather than being process-oriented, and the involvement has mostly been at the later stages of the planning process, e.g. in the form of hearings. Hereby the real opportunity to influence the process is limited, as the problems and the alternatives for solving them have already been defined” (p. 25).

As such the Danish experience with public participation in NRM is limited, examples include:

- 1994: State forest districts set up user councils with relevant interest groups “with the objective of enhancing the influence of local users on forest management” (Boon, 2002, p. 31)

¹ Near-to-nature forestry (also called close-to-nature forestry) principles involve: natural regeneration, individual tree-felling, use of predominantly indigenous tree species in mixed stands, non-use of pesticides, and careful use of machinery to limit damage to the forest (Danish Ministry of Environment/DFNA, 2005).

- Mid-late 1990s: Development of locally adapted Forestry Stewardship Council standards for Denmark through cooperation of government, nature interests, outdoor interests, and traditional forestry interests (Egestad, 2002)
- 2000: Consultation with stakeholders (in-person and online) in forming the Danish National Forest Program found that the public was more interested in recreational aspects rather than production aspects of forest management (Danish Ministry of Environment/DFNA, 2002)
- 2003-2004: “Road show” to communicate and obtain input on proposed Forest Development Types for the move toward close-to-nature forestry in Denmark (Larsen and Nielsen, 2006)

One of the most significant developments with regard to public participation in NRM was the scoping process initiated in 2001 to determine whether a national park system should be established in Denmark (see *Appendix 1: Denmark National Parks Process Timeline*). The impetus for the scoping process came from recommendations by the Wilhjelm Committee, which was given the task in 2000 to write a “report proposing objectives and means for future prioritized efforts for biological diversity and nature protection in Denmark” (Boon et al., 2009, p. 9). The scoping process was a cooperative effort by the Outdoor Council² and the MoE that resulted in ten areas being considered for possible national parks (Boon et al., 2009). Regarding public participation in the scoping process the MoE and the Outdoor Council agreed:

“...it was of fundamental importance that the process took place in close dialogue and cooperation between the local population, local interest organizations, local authorities and relevant State authorities with the aim to integrate environmental, social and cultural, commercial and recreational interests in a joint solution” (Den Nationale Følgegruppe, 2006; Skov- og Naturstyrelsen, 2006a; Schmidt, 2003a, as cited in Lund et al., 2008, p. 4).

Local steering groups and a national advisory committee were established (Lund et al., 2008). The media followed the entire process and local events were organized to invite and involve the public. Meeting documents were also made available online. However, according to Lund et al. (2008) much of the communication was one-way, from the experts to the public and;

“...there were only few occasions for the general public to really question and pass judgment on the expert inclusion and contribution to the process. Exceptions were the few public meetings, where the experts were directly confronted by the public” (p. 7).

² The Outdoor Council is a non-governmental umbrella organization with 94 member organizations. Members are national organizations that, together, cover all types of outdoor recreational activities, as well as, nature protection interests. The aim of the Outdoor Council is “to promote outdoor recreation for organizations and the general public under consideration of both environmental needs and needs for nature protection” (Source: The Danish Outdoor Council, n.a.).

Lund et al. (2008) conclude that a more deliberative and inclusive process “could have helped to overcome the deficiencies in accountability towards the general public” (p. 8).

When the scoping process was completed five areas were nominated to become national parks. In 2008 Thy National Park was established in Western Jutland (Skov og Naturstyrelsen, n.a.). This first national park covers 244 square kilometers (Danish Forest and Nature Agency, n.a.) of habitat composed of dunes and sand heaths that provide a temporary home to 10-12 million migratory birds each year (New7Wonders, n.a.). The park area is owned 75% by the state and 25% by private landowners (EuroPark Nordic-Baltic, n.a.).

Not all pilot projects, however, were approved. Lack of success in some projects could be, at least in part, attributed to a lack of stakeholder trust. Boon et al. (2009) state that “a keyword to the national park project was/is ‘trust’ and ‘trust building’ ” (p. 36). Even in the case study of a successful pilot project in the North Sealand area of Denmark, Boon et al. (2009) found that local agricultural organizations “were worried of possible limitations in the agricultural management of the landowners and did not trust the guaranties of compensation” (p. 17). Boon et al. (2009) also note that the Forest supervisor in their case, when comparing the process in North Sealand with another process in Mols (Denmark), “said that the main difference is that in Mols there have been 30 years of trust building dialogue between the authorities and landowners, whereas, the process in Kongens Nordsjælland³ is totally new” (p. 36). The forest manager indicated he would have liked more time for trust building before the pilot project. The national park process in Møns Klint (Denmark) was also unsuccessful. Claus Jespersen (DFNA director of the Strostroem Unit covering the Møns Klint area) has attributed part of the reason for the failure at Møn to conflicts stemming from *institutional distrust* of DFNA by local farmers, along with a lack of clarity of the mandate of the process, the consequences of the park for local landowners, and over-representation of farmers in the process (Jespersen, 2008).

DFNA anticipates greater demands for public involvement in the management of natural resources in the future. As such, there is a perceived need for Danish forest managers to develop the necessary understanding and skills to involve the public in an effective and meaningful way. As the experience of the national parks process demonstrates, part of developing better public participation processes in Denmark also involves understanding and improving stakeholder trust.

³ Nordsjælland is the Danish way of writing North Sealand.

2.2 Overview of Trust and Public Participation in the United States

In the continuous United States (excluding Hawaii and Alaska) over 60% of forestland is privately owned, and more than 36% is publicly owned (ESRI, n.a.). The US Forest Service (USFS) is an agency of the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) and is responsible for managing 193 million acres (78 million ha) of national forests and grasslands, including forest management at Bridger-Teton National Forest (BTNF) (US Dept of Agriculture, n.a.).

Similar to the Danish Forest and Nature Agency, USFS also experiences challenges with stakeholder trust. Researchers have found that trust in USFS has declined since the 1960s (Halvorsen, 2003; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000; Daniels & Walker, 2001). Halvorsen (2003) attributes the reasons for decreasing trust to changes in the public's expectations in the agency in the 1970s, which were influenced by challenges to USFS forest management policies by the 1960s environmental movement. The decline in trust of USFS was also met with increasing demands to improve public participation in NRM. These demands resulted in the adoption of the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) of 1969 and the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) of 1976, "which mandate public involvement in natural resources planning and establish a timeline for public involvement procedures" (Davenport et al., 2006, p. 353). Halvorsen (2003) asserts, however, that even though public participation became mandated by law USFS "was unable to respond effectively to these changes in its sociopolitical environment" (p. 536) and thus its reputation sunk further.

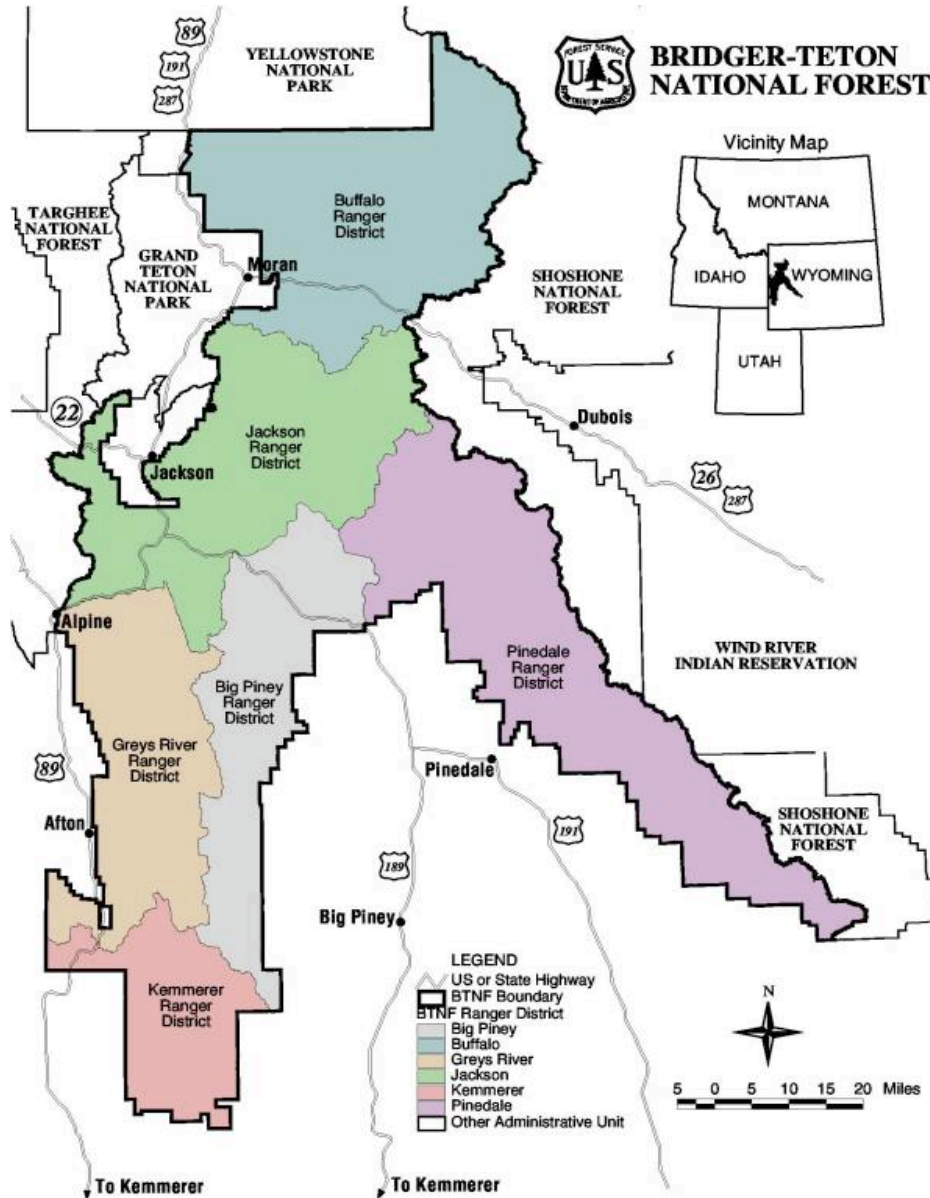
In the 1980s and 1990s there were also internal conflicts at USFS and many believed the agency had lost the public's respect (Halvorsen, 1996, as cited in Halvorsen, 2003). At the same time, many public agencies faced substantial budget cuts and USFS had less revenue due to declining timber sales. USFS also lost political support at that time. Budget constraints left many offices understaffed and overworked (Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000), contributing to low employee moral (Halvorsen, 2003; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000). During George W. Bush's presidency there was also budget pressure, and as one reporter noted "the Forest Service budget has been sliced by a third, while at the same time more than half its budget is now spent in the fight against catastrophic wildfires" (Blumenthal, 2008). As a result USFS is working with fewer resources while facing continued pressure to interact more effectively and meaningfully with citizens who often view the agency with suspicion or even distrust.

2.3 The Case: Bridger-Teton National Forest

Bridger Teton National Forest (BTNF) is in western Wyoming and part of the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem (see *Map 1*). BTNF spans 3.4 million acres (1,376,000 ha) with 1.2

MAP 1: BRIDGER-TETON NATIONAL FOREST

Located in Western Wyoming, USA. All shaded areas are part of this national forest covering 1,376,000 ha



(Source: US Forest Service Bridger Teton National Forest. *Contact Us*. Available from: <http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/btnf/offices/index.shtml>. Printed with permission from Bridger-Teton National Forest)

million acres (485,622 ha) of wilderness area, thousands of miles of streams, and 3,000 miles (4,828 km) of roads and trails (US Forest Service, Bridger-Teton National Forest, n.a.)

The current forest management plan (FMP) at BTNF was created in 1990 and revision of the plan began in 2005 under the 2005 Forest Planning Rule. According to USFS-BTNF

the “Forest Plan Revision is about setting fundamental goals and strategies for management of a National Forest” (US Forest Service Bridger-Teton National Forest, n.a.). A collaborative approach was adopted for the FMP revision, in part, due to key persons at the agency believing in the importance of public participation for building public trust.

Interviewee 15, a USFS-BTNF staff person interviewed for the study, addresses this point:

“...part of that trust building relationship is not just the relationships but being involved in the *process* and having a say in what we’re (USFS-BTNF) doing, and because I was thinking...you know, the public may not know what we’re doing... where our ideas are coming from, why we’re doing the things that we are, and so when they just see something they haven’t been involved in developing, they may distrust it, because they don’t know, how, what the thoughts were that went into to build what we put together” (emphasis added).

USFS-BTNF adopted the Collaborative Learning (CL) approach for designing their public participation process (see *Figure 1*). CL draws on three key disciplines: dispute

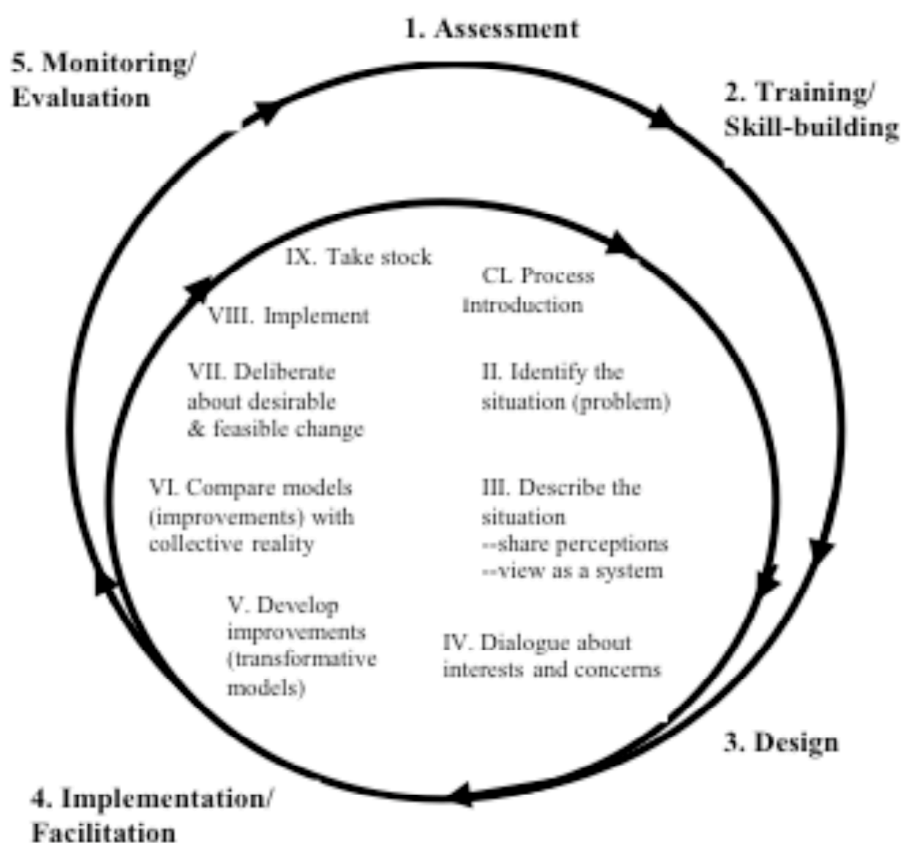


FIGURE 1: THE COLLABORATIVE LEARNING FRAMEWORK
 Developed by Steven Daniels and Gregg Walker in their book “Collaborative Learning” (2001), a 5-phase process with 9 steps for managing collaborative processes. (Printed with permission from Daniels and Walker).

management theory, systems thinking, and learning theories. CL considers learning among the most important values of collaborative processes and the developers of CL contend that the “best way to improve decisions in highly complex situations is to understand the decision-making as a learning process” (Daniels and Walker, 2001, p. 16).

The outside circle of *Figure 1* represents the five phrases of the CL process. The inner circle is a presentation of CL in a series of activities based on Kolb’s model of experiential learning (Daniels and Walker, 2001). These activities can also be viewed as “sub-processes in which knowledge gaps and frame differences⁴ can be deliberatively negotiated” (Kyllonen et al., 2006, p. 721). These stages (or sub-processes) bring participants together to improve their understanding of the situation and move the process forward.

The BTNF Forest Management Plan (FMP) revision process began on July 29, 2005 and adopted a two-track participation model. The Public Involvement Track was designed as the forum for citizens, environmental groups, landowners, and development interests and the Cooperator’s Group track for national, local and resource-related agencies and districts. The collaborative process involved five milestones within which there were five phases (following the CL Framework, see *Figure 1*) and six rounds of workshops (see *Appendix 2: Original and Actual Process Timelines at BTNF*). Under the original timeline the FMP revision was to be completed on September 30, 2008. As of March 2009, four rounds of workshops were completed. Communication in the first four rounds occurred in small groups and involved mainly dialogue among stakeholders and USFS Staff (Walker et al., 2006). After the fourth round of workshops there was a year pause in activities due to legal challenges to the 2005 Planning Rule.

The 2005 Planning Rule was intended as an improvement to the 2000 Planning Rule, which a Society of American Foresters’ Taskforce claimed had made the planning process too complex, too costly, and too inflexible (LeMaster, 2005). One substantial change in the 2005 rule is that FMPs should be strategic and determine the long-term forest management framework (i.e. not decisions with on-the-ground effects) (LeMaster, 2005). Some have interpreted this change to mean that as plans, amendments, and revisions will not have environmental effects they can be excluded from National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) documentation requirements (LeMaster, 2005). In response to the new rule nineteen environmental groups argued successfully in a court in San Francisco that; “the Bush

⁴“Frame differences” refers to the cognitive frames of the participants. Cognitive frames are the way people structure their understanding regarding the nature of a situation and the decision choices they have available. In a collaborative process participants may “frame” the situation in terms of losses or gains (Daniels and Walker, 2001).

administration removed environmental protections without providing for proper public comment or considering the effect on endangered species” (Berman, 2007, para 2). On March 30, 2007 a federal judge issued an order to stop use of the 2005 Planning Rule.

After the court ruling on the 2005 Planning Rule the USFS-BTNF website posted an update stating they would continue work on the FMP and focus on “rule neutral” activities (US Forest Service Bridger-Teton National Forest, Forest Plan Revision, n.a.). In early 2008, approximately a year later, the fifth round of workshops began (see *Appendix 2: Original and Actual Process Timelines at BTNF*), however, there were no meetings on the FMP revision from April 2008 until February 2009. In February 2009 USFS-BTNF changed their course on the FMP revision and according to the Jackson Hole Conservation Alliance:

“stymied by legal wrangling over federal rules governing revisions of forest management plans, Bridger-Teton officials have decided to adapt by making amendments to the 20-year-old plan under which our forest is currently operating... (and) promises that any amendments will proceed only with full public involvement” (Jackson Hole Conservation Alliance, 2009, para 11).

On February 5, 2009 a public forum was held at BTNF followed by a letter to stakeholders about the re-direction of the Forest Management Plan (FMP) Revision to update the 1990 FMP. The letter, from Herrick Fox BTNF Forest Planner, informed participants that draft amendments to the 1990 FMP would be prepared in the summer with public collaboration, as needed, with final analysis of the draft to be completed by the end of September (Fox, 2009).

Although the collaborative process at BTNF took a detour from its original plan, the interviews conducted for the case study remain valuable for their capacity to provide useful insights into stakeholder trust perceptions at the beginning of the BTNF collaborative process. To unearth these insights the interviews are analyzed with two different methodologies to discern not only how participants view trust but also what these conceptions of trust imply for forest managers and NRM process facilitators undertaking similar participatory initiatives.

3. Literature Review

This review is organized in five sections beginning with a brief orientation of where collaborative processes fit into the spectrum of public participation. Section two delves into defining and describing collaborative processes. Part three introduces the concept of trust and the definition of trust used in this case study. The fourth section discusses trust theories and

the Trust Analytical Framework used in the study to understand participants' views of trust at BTNF. The last section introduces the theories and concepts behind the Progress Triangle; a second framework employed to analyze participant views of trust in the study.

3.1 Collaborative Processes in the Spectrum of Public Participation

Public participation in democratic societies can be broadly categorized into two levels, the political and the administrative. Traditional public involvement has been primarily at the political level in the form of electoral participation, where the public can express their preferences for policies through voting (Wang and Wan Wart, 2007). This involvement peaks during election seasons and impacts mainly the legislative and judicial levels. Current demands for greater public involvement in natural resources management (NRM), however, fall into the category of administrative participation. Administrative participation pertains to public involvement in administrative processes and decision-making. Involvement is long-term and impacts decisions at the executive level (Wang and Wan Wart, 2007). This review focuses on administrative participation, and collaborative processes in particular.

There are weaker and stronger forms of administrative participation. *Figure 2* shows several types of administrative participation from approaches, which mainly inform the public to collaborative processes that involve greater public influence and control. Arnstein's (1969) "ladder of citizen participation" is a framework for the forms citizen participation can take. Arnstein's eight categories of participation are divided into three levels:

- Level 1 Non-participation: Manipulation, therapy
- Level 2 Degree of Tokenism: Informing, consultation, placation
- Level 3 Degree of Citizen Power: Partnership, delegated control, citizen control (Arnstein, 1969)

Arnstein's Level 1 is outside the realm of administrative participation, however, Level 2 represents administrative participation in its weaker form (see *Figure 2*).

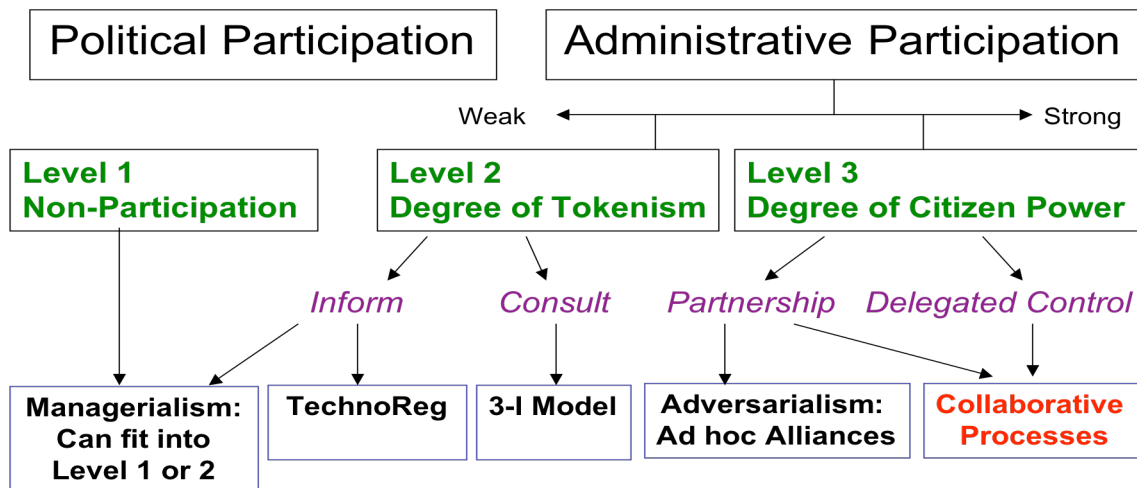


FIGURE 2: THEORIES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Within Arnstein’s (1969) three levels of citizen participation Level 2 and Level 3 fall under the umbrella of administrative participation as described by Wang and Wart (2007). Collaborative Processes are found in Level 3, as they involve partnership and/or delegated control of decision-making with the government and the public.

Examples of weak administrative participatory approaches are TechnoReg and the 3-I Model. Daniels and Cheng (2004) define TechnoReg as follows:

“techno refers to the assumption there are technically correct or preferable approaches to natural resource issues. Natural resources management is seen at its core as a scientific or engineering problem with technical solutions...reg refers to the major ways through which various techno solutions were institutionalized into widespread practices...An embedded presumption in *reg* is that it is possible to craft regulations consistent with the *techno* science that can then be implemented in a routinized manner across the entire jurisdiction to which the regulations apply” (p. 3).

According to Daniels and Cheng (2004) TechnoReg dominated NRM of public lands in the 20th century in the United States. TechnoReg sits in Arnstein’s Level 2 with involvement mainly in the form of distributing information to the public. In the US, TechnoReg has forced USFS to devote substantial resources on challenges from stakeholders who have increased their capacity to understand and respond to information provided by USFS and improved their abilities to use the law to delay/block USFS decisions (Daniels and Cheng, 2004).

As US NRM agencies faced new requirements in the 1970s to involve the public, formal public participation approaches were developed. One such formal approach, called the 3-I Model by many of its critics, is a modification of TechnoReg. The three I’s stand for: inform, invite, and ignore. The approach typically involved notification of citizens about decisions under consideration by USFS (inform). Citizens were then invited to participate in a public meeting (invite). At the meeting citizens could contribute their ideas, however, in general participants felt their comments were disregarded (ignore). As such these efforts to

improve public involvement may have worked against the agencies and fueled public mistrust (Daniels and Walker, 2001).

Transitioning from Arnstein's (1969) Level 2 to Level 3 has been a gradual process over the last 20 years. This movement has been spurred by a combination of greater demands for participation and failures of top-down expert based approaches to address the complexity in NRM planning and decision-making. Ansell and Gash (2007) claim collaborative approaches evolved in response to two trends in public governance: managerialism and adversarialism. Managerialism is a version of TechnoReg fitting into Arnstein's Level 1 or 2 depending on the level of information and consultation with the public.

Adversarialism fits into Arnstein's Level 3 (see *Figure 2*) and describes situations where groups engage in positive-sum bargaining through ad-hoc cooperative alliances. These alliances, however, do not explicitly seek to transform conflict into cooperation (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Adversarialism, therefore, amounts to partnership when it is beneficial and convenient. Such partnerships will likely be more successful when cooperation involves projects where the parties' interests do not diverge too sharply. Most NRM decision-making, however, involves substantial complexity and significant differences of opinion among stakeholders. Collaborative processes seek to go beyond adversarialism (see *Figure 2*) toward more enduring partnerships based on shared understanding and trust among the parties.

3.2 A Closer Look at Collaborative Processes

Collaborative processes take different forms, in different places, with different goals and as such many definitions of collaboration concepts have been suggested (see *Box 1*).

BOX 1: DEFINITIONS OF COLLABORATIVE CONCEPTS
Various definitions from articles on collaborative processes

Collaboration: "Involves interdependent parties identifying issues of mutual interest, pooling their energy and resources, addressing their differences, charting a course for the future, and allocating implementation responsibility among the group" (Daniels and Walker 2001, p. 10)

Collaboration: Involves a wide range of stakeholders engaged in an intensive and creative process of consensus building on problems, goals and proposed actions, which leads to more creative solutions and increased likelihood of acceptance, and requires a sustained commitment (Margerum, 2008)

Collaborative governance: "A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or management public programs or assets" (Ansell and Gash, 2007, p. 544)

Collaborative public lands planning: "Processes in which diverse stakeholders collectively define and solve public land and resource issues..." (Cheng and Mattor, 2006, p. 548)

The definitions of collaboration in *Box 1* vary but all emphasize that collaboration involves multiple parties, working together to make decisions and/or problem-solve about shared interests. The shared interests in this case study are related to NRM of public lands.

Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) researched and extracted valuable insights based on over 25 years of collective research involving over 200 collaborative initiatives. The authors found that successful collaborative efforts:

1. build on common ground established by a sense of place of community, mutual goals or fears, or a shared vision;
2. create new opportunities for interaction among diverse groups;
3. employ meaningful, effective, and enduring collaborative processes;
4. focus on the problem in a new and different way by fostering a more open, flexible, and holistic mind-set;
5. foster a sense of responsibility, ownership and commitment;
6. recognize that partnerships are made up of people not institutions;
7. move forward through proactive and entrepreneurial behavior; and
8. mobilize support and resources from numerous sources (p. 21)

These insights echo aspects of administrative public participation with regard to “enduring collaborative processes” (point 3 above) and the common threads in the definitions of collaboration in *Box 1*. These insights, based on empirical research, help practitioners develop a clearer picture of the common elements in successful collaborative processes.

It should be noted that collaborative approaches are not always the most appropriate course to follow in NRM decision-making. Determining whether or not to use a collaborative approach depends a great deal on the issues to be decided, the feasibility of those issues being decided through collaboration, as well as, relevant legal and political realities that may function to support or frustrate the effective implementation of a collaborative approach.

3.3 Defining Trust

Trust is a concept that has been studied in a wide range of disciplines from economics and political science to behavioral psychology and organizational development. Perhaps not surprisingly each discipline focuses on different aspects of trust some leaning more toward understanding trust at a large scale within societies and some focusing on trust development among individuals or small groups.

In literature reviews on trust (Kramer, 1999; Lewis and Weigart, 1985) two camps on trust often emerge. One camp sees trust as a rational behavior, the other views trust as a psychological state. Trust focusing on rational choice typically involves discussion of prisoner’s dilemma studies or other game theory research where participants or computer

programs behave in a competitive or cooperative manner (Lewis and Weigart, 1985). Trust as a psychological state focuses on cognitive processes such as psychological orientation, attitudes, values, and affect (Jones and George, 1998; Lewicki and Weithoff, 2000).

Although there is an apparent divergence of views by these two camps, Kramer (1999) argues “most trust theorists agree that whatever else its essential features, trust is fundamentally a psychological state” (p. 571). Lewis and Weigart (1985) similarly note: “though behavior is the constitutive medium for doing trust. Even recent analyses by sociologists...tend toward a psychological reductionism of trust” (p. 977). Kramer (1999) suggests that it may be useful for researchers to “move in the direction of developing a contextualist account that acknowledges the role of both calculative considerations (i.e. rational choice) and social inputs in trust judgments and decisions” (p. 574). This case study of stakeholder perceptions of trust in the BTNF collaborative process is an attempt to move in the direction Kramer suggests. One of the two frameworks employed to analyze interviewee comments on trust in this study incorporates aspects from both rational choice and psychologically oriented trust theories.

This study adopts the below definition from a cross-disciplinary review of trust:

“Trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another” (Rousseau et al., p. 395).

This definition was selected because it combines elements of both the psychological orientation and rational choice camps identified above. The first part of the definition explicitly defines trust as a psychological state; however, the latter part touches on the thought process behind forming “positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another”, which could be based on rational choice and/or on intuition.

To “accept vulnerability” implies trust involves taking a *risk*. If there is no risk, then trust is not needed (Lewis and Weigart, 1985; Bhattacharya et al., 1998). Collaborative processes themselves may be perceived as risky as they use non-traditional approaches (Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000). Many of the insights for successful collaborative processes identified by Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) presented in the previous section may be perceived as risky, such as building common ground. To build common ground parties need to trust one another enough to risk voicing their goals and fears about the issues at stake.

Taking a risk based on trust in “the intentions or behavior of another” means that one’s risk-taking action is *dependent* to some degree on how one believes the other party will behave. Ideally, this dependence run both ways, i.e. the parties are mutually dependent or

interdependent. Interdependence is also key part of the definitions of collaborative processes presented in *Box 1*, since without interdependence “there is little need or opportunity for meaningful interaction” (Daniels and Walker, 2001, p. 31).

Distrust may also be present or emerge from collaborative processes. In the past, distrust has been described as the opposite of trust. However, this paper adopts the view of Lewicki et al. (1998) and Lewicki and Wiethoff (2000) that trust and distrust can exist at the same time in a relationship. In a NRM participatory process, for example participants may trust the agency with regard to individual personnel but distrust the policies and/or bureaucracy associated with the agency. In adopting this understanding of trust/distrust it is therefore vital to untangle and identify how trust and distrust exhibit themselves simultaneously in the participatory process in order to improve trust management. Lewicki et al. (1998) define distrust as “confident negative expectations regarding another’s conduct” (p. 439). Distrust can also breed skepticism and result in the disintegration of relationships (Leahy and Anderson, 2008). While increased trust can lead to more risk taking and the development of more trust (virtuous cycle), distrust can lead to greater skepticism leading to increased distrust (vicious cycle) (Payton et al., 2005).

3.4 Trust Theories and a Trust Analytical Framework for Natural Resource Management

Trust is complex, multidimensional, and changing (Poortinga and Pidgeon, 2003; Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000; Rousseau et al., 1998) and, depending on the situation and the individuals (or groups) involved, different types of trust emerge at different levels. This section begins with an overview of the types of trust commonly found in trust research, followed by a discussion of three stages of trust ranging from the individual to the societal level. The final section pulls together the types and stages of trust in a proposed theoretical framework for analyzing trust in NRM participatory processes.

3.4.1 Types of Trust

This section discusses nine types of trust found in literature ranging from trust at the rational choice end of trust theory to trust theories at the psychological end of the spectrum.

In economics ***fiduciary trust*** is the “power entrusted to an individual, corporation or association (fiduciary) to manage assets for another person (principal) beneficial to his/her interests” (Academy of Corporate Governance, n.a.). With fiduciary trust the principal trusts the fiduciary (agent), but the fiduciary need not trust the principal (Thomas, 1998). It is

arguable that the decline in trust in US natural resource management (NRM) agencies over the last 40 years is due to a decline in fiduciary trust. When citizens trusted experts to make decisions their fiduciary trust was high, however, as these decisions failed to address increasingly complex natural resource issues fiduciary trust decreased and demands for more public participation increased.

So-called *deterrence-based trust* arises when parties cooperate because sanctions for not cooperating outweigh the potential benefits from opportunistic behavior (Rousseau et al., 1998). Rousseau et al. (1998) argue that deterrence-based trust may not be trust, but rather a form of distrust, while others contend it is a component of calculus-based trust (discussed below) (Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000). As trust in this study is defined as a belief and sanctions in deterrence-based trust “foster or obstruct cooperation, which is a behavior” (Rousseau et al. 1998, p. 399), deterrence-based trust is not a type of trust in the study.

Sanctions may also exist with *calculus-based trust* (CBT) however; CBT also emphasizes the importance of credible favorable information from a third party about the other’s competence and/or reputation (Vangen and Huxham, 2003; Rousseau et al., 1998; Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000). With CBT the motto is “trust but verify” and is limited to specific situations, such as a participatory process (Rousseau et al., 1998). CBT can be increased through a record of consistency and reliability, which increases the likelihood of the other party being seen as trustworthy (Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000). CBT has also been described as “thin trust” that, while not dependent on close interactions, it is important for fostering social relations and community activism (Arai and Pedlar, 1997, as cited in Payton et al., 2005). *Calculus-based distrust* (CBD), on the other hand, is grounded in impersonal transactions where the costs of the relationship are judged to outweigh the benefits (Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000). Where CBD exists parties will often try to avoid each other as much as possible and want mechanisms for monitoring the other party in circumstances where working together cannot be avoided (Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000).

The concept of *critical trust* has emerged in recent years from research on trust in the field of health and safety risk regulation. Critical trust echoes the “trust but verify” notion of calculus-based trust (CBT). However, with critical trust general trust levels begin high, while CBT may begin with low trust levels (Lewicki and Bunker, 1995, as cited in McKnight et al., 1998). Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) explain critical trust as when general trust and skepticism levels are both high. Whereas distrust occurs when general trust and skepticism levels are both low. Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) present critical trust as “an essential

component of political accountability in a participatory democracy” (p. 970) and argue that policy decision-makers may be confusing distrust with critical trust.

Identification-based trust (IBT) develops over time through personal experience with the other party (Vangen and Huxham, 2003) and involves more emotion than calculus-based trust (CBT) (Rousseau et al., 1998). With IBT trust “both parties can be confident their interests are fully protected, and that no ongoing surveillance or monitoring of one another is necessary” (Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000, p. 89). IBT is founded on perceptions that the parties share similar goals, values, and interests (Lewicki and Weithoff, 2000). IBT requires more faith than CBT in the intentions of the other party, however, such relationships are often more resilient (Rousseau et al., 1998). Arai and Pedlar (1997) label IBT “thick trust” (as cited in Payton et al., 2005).

Identification-based distrust (IBD) is based on a perceived incompatibility of values and negative emotional attachment (Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000). This type of distrust can emerge in participatory processes when stakeholders feel NRM decisions are connected to their values about the land. For example a rancher may value the land because it enables their family to graze cattle and maintain their way of life. Whereas, an avid hiker may value the land for its serene and undisturbed qualities and feel strongly that grazing should not be permitted. This difference in the usage and/or value of the land could be a source of tension and IBD between the parties and make it difficult for them to work together effectively.

Routine-based trust (RBT) is a concept similar to the social or system trust as discussed by many authors (Thomas, 1998; Lewis and Weigart, 1985). RBT shapes the motives and beliefs of individuals and enables them to reduce the complexity of daily life to make decisions more easily (Lewis and Weigart, 1985) and is influenced by social systems and culture (Thomas, 1998). Lewis and Weigart (1985) contend that system trust (similar to RBT) is essential and that, “without public trust and confidence in the reliability, effectiveness, and legitimacy of money, laws, and other cultural symbols, modern social institutions would soon disintegrate” (with reference to Parsons 1967 and 1968, p. 974). Although individuals may not consciously think about RBT “it nevertheless permeates and eases day-to-day existence” (Thomas, 1998, p. 177). Möllering (2006) describes RBT as involving a certain “taken-for-grantedness” in that the routine (in which one trusts) is “performed without questioning its underlying assumptions, without assessing alternatives, and without giving justifications every time” (p. 52).

Möllering (2006) also refers to what Emborg et al. (2009) call **routine-based distrust** (RBD), which he describes as when “the choice to trust is not even considered because

expectations ‘automatically’ turn negative” (p. 52). Therefore, similar to RBT, RBD also reduces the complexity of day-to-day decision-making. In societies experiencing war or significant economic and/or social turmoil RBD might exhibit itself in citizens distrust in the local currency and turning to a more stable one (Lewis and Weigart, 1985). In a participatory process, RBD might exhibit itself in automatic distrust toward the federal government.

3.4.2 Stages of Trust

The various types of trust can occur at the Macro, Meso, or Micro stages. In economic trust theory these three stages are also considered modes of trust production (Zucker, 1986, as cited in Thomas, 1998). The following paragraphs discuss trust development at these three stages.

Macro stage trust is closely connected to routine-based trust (RBT) since institutions and government systems can be seen as a way for RBT to be maintained (or destroyed). Some authors call trust at the Macro stage, institutional trust. Zucker (1986, as cited in Thomas, 1998) distinguishes between two types of Macro trust. The first relates specifically to persons or organizations and “rests on membership in a subculture within which carefully delineated specific expectations are expected to hold” (Zucker, 1986, as cited in Thomas, 1998, p. 182). At BTNF this trust stage could be the perception that USFS staff have the proper training and education to do their job well. The second type of Macro stage trust is built on legal mechanisms like contracts, laws, regulations, etc. (Zucker, 1986, as cited in Thomas, 1998). In NRM this might be trust in laws such as the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) or the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) in the United States.

Rousseau et al. (1998) discuss Macro stage trust as potential foundation (McKnight et al., 1998) and barrier for building calculus and identification-based trust (CBT and IBT). Trust in a long-standing institution can serve as a support “for the critical mass of trust that sustains further risk taking and trust behavior” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 400). However, Macro stage trust can also prevent development of IBT when Macro stage legal systems respond to conflicts at the Meso and Micro stages in a formalized and inflexible manner (Rousseau et al., 1998). Macro stage trust has often taken the form of fiduciary or routine-based trust (RBT), as individuals tend to rely more on institutions than vice versa. However, when collaborative NRM opens the decision space for stakeholder participation the institution also puts some trust in stakeholders. In these circumstances opportunities for CBT and IBT development emerge. Thus, Macro stage trust influences the types of trust, as well as, the Meso and Micro trust stages.

Meso stage trust occurs at the process level and is characterized as building on previous interpersonal experience and satisfaction with prior interactions (Luo, 2002). Process stage trust in participatory processes then depends on the individual's satisfaction in previous experiences with the agency, staff, and/or other stakeholders. If the process is just starting, process stage trust may be influenced by Macro and Micro trust stages. Later on, trust may be more influenced by the reputation of the process itself. In marketing, process stage trust is "highly valuable in ...the sense that small social systems allow a uniformity of expectations regarding what constitutes a fair exchange" (Luo, 2002, p. 115). The value of process stage trust is similar in participatory processes where the small social system (the process) enables the development of a sense of common ground or shared vision of what is fair and where individual concerns are reduced through a safe deliberative decision-making process. Rousseau et al. (1998) suggest that trust may *be* a Meso concept "integrating Micro-level psychological processes and group dynamics with Macro-level institutional arrangements" (p. 393).

Zucker (1986, as cited in Thomas, 1998) labels *Micro stage trust* "character-based trust" and describes it as based on an individual's race, gender and/or family background and that these characteristics "serve as indicators of membership in a common cultural system" (Zucker, 1986 p. 63, as cited in Thomas, 1998 p. 178). In collaborative NRM there is also often a common cultural system, which some authors refer to as a sense of place or place attachment to the environmental dimensions of the community. Brehm et al. (2006) suggest: "if the local natural environment is perceived in favorable terms, it too can contribute to overall levels and degrees of community attachment" (p. 145). It has been suggested that the degree of an individual's environmental place attachment influences their decisions to participate in collaborative NRM (Payton et al., 2005; Vorkinn and Riese, 2001, as cited in Brehm et al., 2006; Cheng and Mattor, 2006). Place attachment has also been studied with regard to trust. Payton et al. (2005) found that "a positive relationship between emotional place attachment and individual trust indicates that increasing place attachment was associated with increasing individual trust" (p. 525). Micro stage trust could emerge as identification-based trust (IBT) if stakeholders relate to each other through similar values about local natural resources. However, Micro stage trust could also take the form of calculus-based trust (CBT) where stakeholders recognize their common interests but maintain uncertainty about how their different values and/or goals can be aligned.

3.4.3 Trust Analytical Framework

Based on many of the trust theories discussed above Emborg et al. (2009) have developed the Trust Analytical Framework for the analysis of trust in NRM. In the framework trust is envisioned to arise in NRM participatory processes as calculus-based trust (CBT), identification-based trust (IBT), and routine-based trust (RBT), calculus-based distrust (CBD), identification-based distrust (IBD) or routine-based distrust (RBD). In the framework each of these types of trust can emerge at any one of the three stages of trust (Macro, Meso, Micro) (see *Figure 3*).

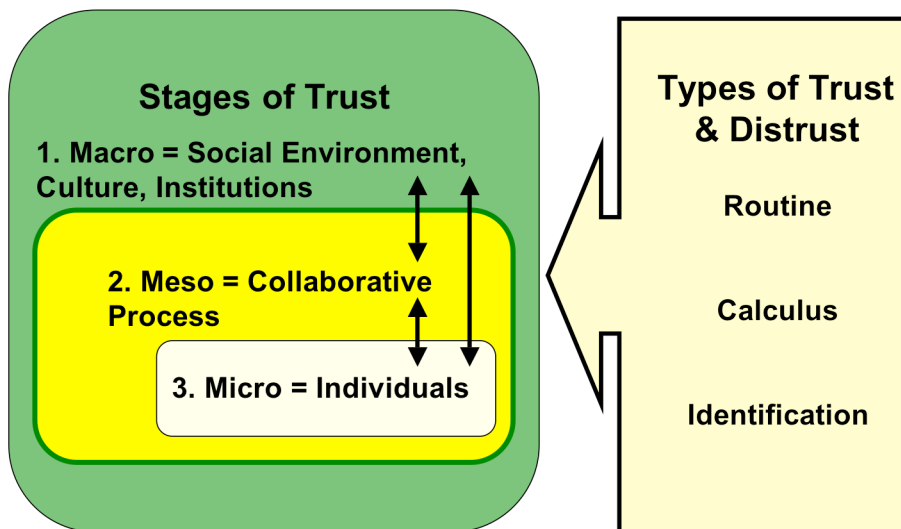


FIGURE 3: STAGES AND TYPES OF TRUST

The six different types of trust and distrust can emerge at any one of the three stages of trust, and the stages influence each other.

Some types and stages of trust may occur in concert more frequently, for example it is likely that IBT and IBD more commonly emerge at the Micro stage as IBT and IBD are based on personal experiences with individuals. Likewise, RBT and RBD may more likely arise at the Macro stage since the RBT and RBD are often associated with how society and institutions (real and socially constructed) operate. *Figure 3* illustrates how the stages and types of trust relate to each other and shows the interactions between the various stages.

The Trust Analytical Framework (see *Chart 1*) also includes a High and Low categorization for each type of trust to differentiate between the degrees of positive (trust) or negative (distrust) expectations individuals may hold. The researcher has interpreted this High/Low categorization as the degree of certainty in a trust-related comment.

CHART 1: PROPOSED TRUST ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The framework includes six types of trust and distrust, which can occur at any one of three stages (Macro, Meso, or Micro). The High/Low categorization relates to the degree of certainty in a trust-related comment

	CBT	CBD	IBT	IBD	RBT	RBD
Micro Stage	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low
Meso Stage	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low
Macro Stage	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
 CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust

IBT = Identification Based Trust
 IBD = Identification Based Distrust

RBT = Routine Based Trust
 RBD = Routine Based Distrust

(Source: Adapted from Emborg et al, 2009)

The High/Low categorization is hypothesized to provide important insights for forest managers and NRM process facilitators of where trust/distrust may be more or less certain, an indicator of the changeability of trust or distrust. Lastly, in the Framework trust and distrust are not viewed as opposites therefore, High Macro CBT does not imply Low Macro CBD.

3.5 A Second Framework for Analyzing Trust: The Progress Triangle

Daniels and Walker (2001) developed the Progress Triangle (see *Figure 4*) for assessing the suitability of a NRM situation for collaboration and to aid in the design and management of collaborative processes. In this study, however, the Progress Triangle is used to analyze trust as expressed by interviewees participating in the BTNF collaborative process. This section begins with an overview of the Progress Triangle and its connections with conflict management theories. The second part discusses modification of the Progress Triangle to analyze trust using common criticisms of collaborative processes for illustration.

The Progress Triangle aims to aid in untangling complex situations with multiple parties, whereas conflict management literature often focuses on two parties. The emphasis on progress, however, is found in both. The focus on *progress* here is explained as follows:

“We contend that public decision-making, and the discourse that it engenders are inherently and inevitably conflictual... The expectation that conflict can be resolved therefore creates false hopes and an all-or-nothing metric of satisfaction. *Success* as the measure of effectiveness assumes consensus can be reached among numerous parties on what constitutes success. *Progress* on the other hand, implies that conflicts and their management are on-going” (emphasis added, Daniels and Walker, 2001, p. 36).

A similar emphasis on progress can also be found in a fundamental text on conflict management, *Getting To Yes* by Fisher et al. (1991). Fisher et al. (1991) recommend negotiators work to invent options for mutual gain among parties, since searching for a single answer can inhibit resolution. When an all-encompassing agreement seems unlikely to

develop, Fisher et al. (1991) suggest inventing agreements of different strengths and/or fractionating the issues being negotiated into “smaller and perhaps more manageable units” (p. 72) to make progress.

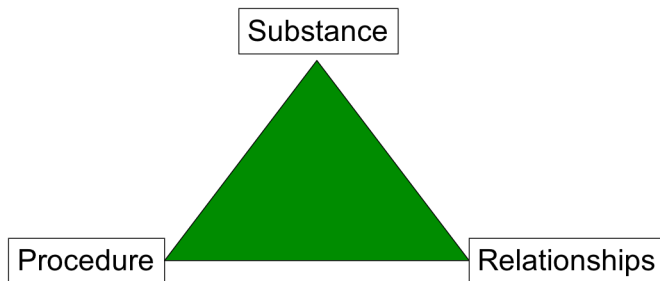


FIGURE 4: THE PROGRESS TRIANGLE

An analytical tool based on conflict management theories developed for analyzing and designing collaborative processes in natural resources management. (Source: Adapted from Daniels and Walker, 2001).

The Progress Triangle is composed of three dimensions namely; procedure, substance, and relationships. The *procedure* dimension “includes those elements that pertain to the ways in which conflicts are managed and decisions made” (Daniels and Walker, 2001, p. 159). In conflict management literature, Fisher et al. (1991) recommend parties in conflict try to agree upon objective criteria “such as market value, expert opinion, custom or law to determine the outcome” (p. 10). Moore (1996) also notes that when parties open a negotiation focusing on procedure: they can practice making decisions as a team and gain information about the other parties’ behavior, attitudes and trustworthiness. Further, Moore (1996) states that mediators may focus the parties on procedural issues particularly when they feel “that parties need to build trust or experience in working with one another” (p. 206). In assessing the procedure dimension the researcher might ask: How is the conflict managed? What are the rules? How can stakeholders participate? What is the decision-making space? (Daniels and Walker, 2001).

The *substance* aspect of the Progress Triangle pertains to the issues that parties are involved in negotiating. In collaborative NRM processes these issues might relate to how and to what extent roads should be built in a national forest. Daniels and Walker (2001) note that these issues may be tangible or symbolic. In mediation, Moore (1996) states that substance is the most common starting point in a negotiation and that negotiators may begin with a background of the problem, or by focusing on their interests, or position. Understanding the substantive issues of a situation involves answering questions such as: What are the issues? What are the likely sources of tension over these issues? Are the meanings, interpretations, and understanding of these issues quite varied? (Daniels and Walker, 2001).

The *relationship* dimension focuses on the relationships among the parties. This dimension involves understanding the history of interaction among the parties, the intangible issues they bring with them to the process, their incentives to participate, the degree of trust between the parties, and their ability (or inability) to work together (Daniels and Walker, 2001). Moore (1996) asserts that focusing on the relationship dimension at the beginning of a negotiation is an approach that “aims to improve the relationship of the disputants before, or as a major element in, discussions of substantive issues or procedure” (p. 207).

Although the three dimensions are presented as discrete they are intricately connected. Fisher et al. (1991) advise negotiators to separate the people (relationships) from the problem (substance), however, acknowledge this is not easy since “every negotiator has two kinds of interests: in the substance and in the relationship” and they often become entangled (p. 20). Folger (2001) recognizes that separating content (substance) and process (procedure) is impossible in practice for a mediator since “choices made about process have a direct and inevitable influence on the way conflict unfolds” (i.e. how the content is negotiated) (Folger, 2001, p. 57, as cited in Bush and Folger, 2005, p. 66). Despite the delineation challenges between the three dimensions the Progress Triangle remains a useful tool for untangling the complexity of conflicts in a given situation.

3.5.1 The Progress Triangle and Trust

The Progress Triangle can also be used to understand how and in what dimension(s) trust exists among participants in a NRM collaborative process. The emphasis on progress in managing a NRM process is also connected to the specific issue of stakeholder trust. Ansell and Gash’s (2007) “small wins” approach focuses on progress through intermediate outcomes essential for building momentum to encourage “a virtuous cycle of trust building and commitment” (p. 561). Where trust is non-existent or low, a “small-wins” approach enables trust to be built through mutual experiences with advantages gained through successful implementation of low-risk initiatives (Vangen and Huxham, 2003; Ansell and Gash, 2007).

To understand how the Progress Triangle can be used to analyze trust it is useful to consider how some of the common criticisms of collaborative processes might be understood through the lens of trust/distrust. Some of the most common criticisms gleaned from the vast research on collaborative processes are:

- Decisions made through collaboration are not durable (Simokat, 2008; Thomas, 2008)
- Environmental protection is compromised in collaboration (Holmer and Davitt, 1998, as cited in Coughlin et al., 1999; Layzer, 2008)

- Collaborative processes produce lowest common denominator outcomes (Layzer, 2008; Coglianesi, 1999, as cited in Thomas 1998; McCloskey, 1996, as cited in Coughlin et al., 1999)
- Power and resource imbalances can result in the manipulation of collaborative processes (Conley and Moote, 2003; Coughlin et al., 1999; Cheng and Mattor, 2006; Wang and Wan Wart, 2007)

Figure 5 illustrates how these common criticisms *might* be related to trust. The criticism that decisions are not durable could be due to a lack of trust in the process (procedure) and/or in the agency’s intentions to abide by decisions emerging from collaboration (relationships). The critique that environmental protection is compromised, could relate to a lack of trust in the information decisions are based upon (substance) and/or be due to a lack of trust in the agency to ensure decisions comply with environmental laws (relationships). Concerns about power/resource imbalances could be connected to a lack of transparency in the process (procedure) or trust in the agency to be fair in its interactions with all stakeholders (relationships). The criticism regarding lowest common denominator outcomes could be related to a lack of trust in the capacity of the process to make progress on difficult issues (procedure).

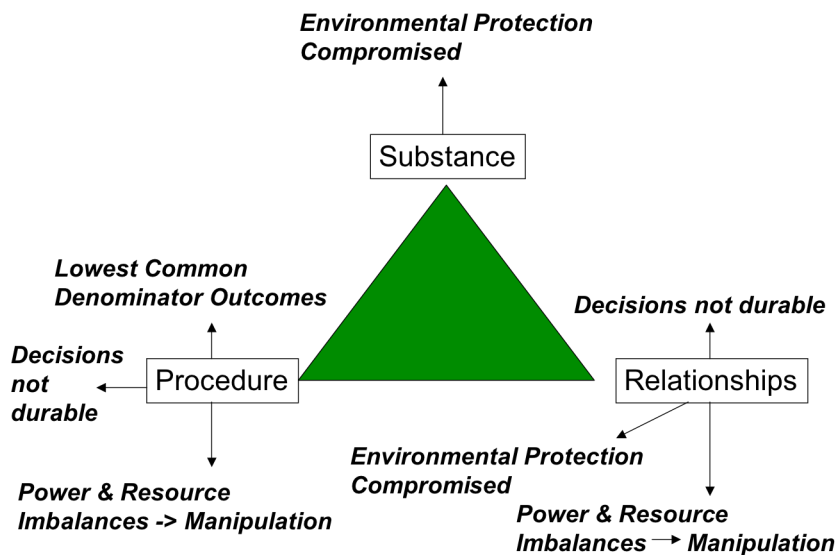


FIGURE 5: TRUST AND THE PROGRESS TRIANGLE
 Some of the common criticisms of collaborative processes may be related to the element of trust and can be categorized with regard to the three dimensions of the Progress Triangle.

Discussing these criticisms as they relate to trust is not to assert they are unwarranted or can be resolved purely through improving trust. Rather, it is suggested that trust may play

a role in these challenges depending on the particular situation and that the Progress Triangle can be a useful tool for untangling the complexity of trust issues at play.

4. Materials and Methods

This is a qualitative instrumental study of trust among participants in NRM and specifically in the BTNF Forest Management Plan (FMP) revision collaborative process. An instrumental case study is when a case is examined:

“...mainly to provide insight into an issue or redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else” (Stake, 2005, p. 445).

The “understanding of something else” examined in the BTNF case is stakeholder trust in NRM collaborative processes.

The research project began with a review of the literature on participatory processes in NRM and trust theories. After completing a rough draft of the literature review the researcher developed the Setting the Stage part of the paper, and then commenced analysis. The remainder of this section focuses on the case study data and description of how the analysis was conducted and is composed of five sections. Section one provides information on data collection. The second part describes the type of data collected. Section three describes the participants to the study and how they were selected. The fourth part details how the data was analyzed. The last section discusses the limitations and assumptions of the study. In this, and subsequent sections of the paper, mention of “the interviewer” refers to Professor Jens Emborg and mention of “the researcher” refers to the author of this paper.

4.1 Data Collection

The case study interviews were conducted in 2006 in Wyoming, USA by Jens Emborg; Associate Professor at the University of Copenhagen. The interviews were recorded and transcribed by Riyong Kim in Denmark between October 2007 and August 2008. These interviews were the first of three rounds conducted with BTNF participants and form part of a larger study entitled: “Modern public involvement in management and planning of natural resources – a synergetic study and exchange of knowledge and experience between Denmark and the US”. This larger study is funded by the Danish Forest and Nature Agency (DFNA)

and carried out by the Forest and Landscape Department, University of Copenhagen (Emborg, 2007).

4.2 Type of Data

The interviews were conducted in a manner akin to a phenomenological approach. As with a phenomenological study, the interviewer aimed to “understand people’s perceptions, perspectives, and understandings of particular situations” (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005, p. 139) and focused on the “essence of a phenomenon from the perspectives of those who have experienced it” (Merriam et al., 2002, p. 93). In this case study the phenomenon is trust perceptions of participants in the NRM collaborative process.

Unlike the 1-2 hour unstructured interviews associated with the phenomenological approach (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005), these interviews were semi-structured and lasted 30-45 minutes. In designing the Interview Guide the interviewer had some ideas about trust, in particular familiarity with the Progress Triangle and many of the trust theories in the literature review (see *Appendix 4: Interview Guide*). The interviews focused on how interviewees conceptualize trust generally, with regard to the collaborative process, other stakeholders, and the US Forest Service Bridger-Teton National Forest (USFS-BTNF). The interviewer did not always ask questions in the same order, however, covered the same topics with each interviewee.

4.3 Study Participants

There are nineteen participants in the study. They were selected due to their involvement in the collaborative Forest Management Plan (FMP) revision at BTNF. The number of interviewees is not intended to be a representative sample of attendees to the workshops as there were hundreds of participants. Rather these individuals were interviewed in-depth to gain a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the perceptions of trust in the BTNF collaborative process among stakeholders and agency staff with a range of backgrounds and experiences.

Within the nineteen interviewees there are two groups (see *Appendix 3: Interviewee List*). The first group is composed of the Public and Cooperator interviewees and the second group is composed of USFS-BTNF Staff interviewees. The researcher created these two groups after reviewing the transcripts and concluding that the divergence of views between the groups was substantial enough to merit separate analysis.

The first group is composed of fourteen individuals; six participated in the Cooperators Group Track and eight in the Public Involvement Track. Cooperators Group Track members signed into meetings indicating their titles and contact information. The interviewer selected individuals to interview to ensure different types of Cooperators Group Track participants would be represented, i.e. a mix of county commissioners, local elected officials, and representatives from local and state NRM agencies.

The eight individuals from the Public Involvement Track are citizens or representatives from non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These individuals participated in workshops observed by the interviewer. At the workshops participants were requested to sign-in and provide their name and information such as whether they were a member or representative from a particular NGO and/or their particular interest in BTNF. Public Involvement Track participants were informed that if they provided their phone number the interviewer might contact them for an interview. Interviewees were selected to represent the range of citizen, economic, NGO, and recreation interests participating in the Public Involvement Track.

The second sub-category of interviewees is composed of five USFS-BTNF staff working. These interviewees hold various posts at BTNF and were selected due to their involvement with the BTNF collaborative process.

4.4 Data Analysis

Before analyzing the data the researcher had a theory grounded perspective on trust, therefore, data analysis falls into what Kvale (1996) calls “meaning interpretation”, described as when “the researcher has a perspective on what is being investigated and interprets the interviews from this perspective. The interpreter goes beyond what is directly said to work out structures and relations of meaning not immediately apparent in the text” (p. 201).

The researcher initially organized comments from the interview transcripts using an approach called the ‘Framework’ developed for analysis of qualitative data in applied policy research (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). The ‘Framework’ involves five stages: familiarization with the data, identification of themes, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation of the data (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002).

In the *familiarization stage* the researcher read each of the 19 interviews twice, making notes about re-occurring ideas related to trust. The researcher then began the *identification of themes* phase and found six themes related to trust: General Comments,

USFS-BTNF, Process, Stakeholders, Local Issues, and Outside Entities and Influences. In the *indexing stage* the trust-related comments were identified and labeled with the appropriate theme(s). The researcher conducted the theme labeling process twice and reviewed the theme assignments twice. The same themes were used for all transcripts. Once the themes were developed and comments labeled the themes were lifted out of the transcripts and indexed by theme. As a result, six documents were created (one for each theme) for the Public and Cooperators and the USFS-BTNF Staff group. Interviewee comments were kept in the same order for transparency and comment excerpts were kept in their full text version throughout.

In the *charting stage* the themes can be re-arranged according to headings or sub-headings from a selected analysis framework and/or the original research questions (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). In this study the six themes were charted twice. The first time the themes were charted for analysis using the Progress Triangle and the second time for analysis using the Trust Analytical Framework. In using the ‘Framework’ the researcher must also decide to analyze each interviewee for all themes or to analyze each theme for all interviewees (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). This study analyzes *each theme* for *all interviewees*.

To chart the themes for the Progress Triangle decisions about which dimension(s) a comment fit into were determined in accordance with the understanding of the dimensions as described in the literature review and detailed in *Figure 6*. For example, if an interviewee’s

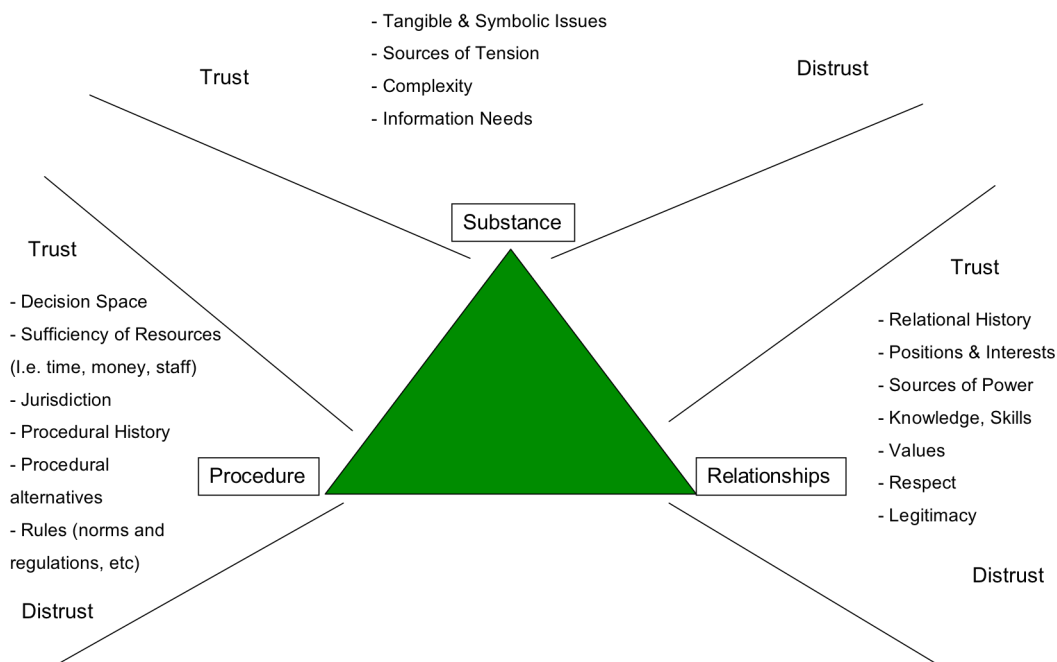


FIGURE 6: DECISION-MAKING GUIDE FOR TRUST COMMENTS AND THE PROGRESS TRIANGLE
 In the Charting Stage comments in each of the 6 themes were categorized in the Progress Triangle’s 3 dimensions.

comment referred to how decisions would be made in the process, the comment fit in the procedure dimension. Once the categories in each theme were categorized three charts were created for each group for the relationship, substance, and procedure dimension (see *Chart 2*).

CHART 2: EXAMPLE CHART TRUST/DISTRUST AND THE SUBSTANCE DIMENSION FOR USFS-BTNF STAFF
Once interviewee comments in each of the themes were determined with regard to the Progress Triangle they were moved to charts like this

Inter-viewee#	Theme 1 <i>General Comments</i>	Theme 2 <i>USFS-BTNF</i>	Theme 3 <i>Process</i>	Theme 4 <i>Stakeholders</i>	Theme 5 <i>Local Issues</i>	Theme 6 <i>Outside Entities /Influences</i>
1						
2						

For the Trust Analytical Framework decisions regarding which category(s) a comment fit into were determined in accordance with the understanding of the meaning of the categories as discussed in the literature review and detailed in *Figure 7*. Analysis with the Trust Analytical Framework resulted in two sets of six charts; one set for the Public and Cooperators and one set for the USFS-BTNF Staff. One chart in each set was created for

<u>Calculus-Based Trust (CBT)</u> - Credible 3rd party information about the other - Limited to specific situations - Trust but verify - Benefits of the relationship outweigh the costs <u>Calculus-Based Distrust (CBD)</u> - Parties want to avoid each other, impersonal - If parties have to interact they want strong monitoring mechanisms - Costs of the relationship outweigh the benefits	<u>Identification-Based Trust (IBT)</u> - Develops over time through personal experience - More emotional than CBT - Don't need monitoring, know interests are safe - Similar values <u>Identification-Based Distrust (IBD)</u> - incompatibility of values - Negative emotional attachment	<u>Routine-Based Trust (RBT)</u> - Trust that reduces the complexity of daily decision-making - Trust in society at a fundamental level to function in a particular way <u>Routine-Based Distrust (RBD)</u> - Reduces daily decision-making complexity, know to distrust - Distrust society will function well
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Micro Stage ⇒ Refers to **Individuals**
Meso Stage ⇒ Refers to **the Process**
Macro Stage ⇒ Refers to **Institutions** (Real & Socially Constructed)

FIGURE 7: DECISION-MAKING GUIDE FOR TRUST COMMENTS AND THE TRUST ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK
In the Charting Stage interviewee comments in each of the six themes were re-examined and categorized with regard to the six types and three stages of the Trusty Analytical Framework.

calculus-based trust (CBT), calculus-based distrust (CBD), identification-based trust (IBT), identification-based distrust (IBD), routine-based trust (RBT), and routine-based distrust (RBD). Sub-levels were also included for distinguishing comments in the Micro, Meso, or Macro stage(s) (see *Chart 3*). The High/Low categorization was also indicated along with

each comment separately (see *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*).

CHART 3: EXAMPLE CHART CALCULUS-BASED TRUST (CBT) FOR USFS-BTNF STAFF

Once interviewee comments in each of the themes were determined with regard to the types and stages of trust in the Trust Analytical Framework they were moved to charts like this one

Inter- viewee #	Stage	Theme 1 <i>General Comments</i>	Theme 2 <i>USFS-BTNF</i>	Theme 3 <i>Process</i>	Theme 4 <i>Stakeholders</i>	Theme 5 <i>Local Issues</i>	Theme 6 <i>Outside Entities /Influences</i>
1	Macro						
	Meso						
	Micro						
2	Macro						
	Meso						
	Micro						

To determine whether individual comments fit into a High or Low categorization the researcher looked at how certain the interviewee was in their comment. The below quote for CBT Conclusion 4 is An example of a Low categorization (from *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*):

“I think (I was) surprised at how open and friendly it was at first, with some reservations and skepticism to see where it goes. If it continues along the same path, I think it will be a wonderful process” (Interviewee #7).

In this quote the interviewee has a positive attitude but there is also uncertainty in the comment, so it was categorized as Low CBT. An example of a High categorization comment, also for CBT conclusion 4, is:

“The results were very open. It was open, the input was laid out for everyone to see, and that made me much more confident in what, you know, in the process itself because in the past we were isolated as individuals” (Interviewee # 5).

This comment was categorized as High CBT (in the process) as the interviewee is very clear that the process has been open and that has contributed to this person’s confidence in the process. Admittedly, the High and Low categorization is an imprecise and subjective process. The categorization for each comment involved in supporting a conclusion is indicated for the Public and Cooperators in *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and for USFS-BTNF Staff in *Appendix 8: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*.

In the analysis process for both the Progress Triangle and Trust Analytical Framework the researcher conducted the process of assigning interviewee comments to the appropriate dimension (Progress Triangle) or trust category (Trust Analytical Framework) for

each theme two times. The researcher then read the completed charts twice to make corrections as needed.

The last stage of the 'Framework' analysis process is a *mapping and interpretation* of the results. According to Ritchie and Spencer (2002) the purpose of this stage is to return to the key objectives of analysis, which may involve one or more of the following: defining concepts, mapping the range and nature of a phenomena, creating typologies, finding associations, providing explanations, and/or developing strategies, etc. In the mapping process the researcher reviews the charts and notes, compares and contrasts the information in the charts, and looks for patterns and connections (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). In this case study the mapping process focused on understanding the range and nature of trust. However, the discussion section will also use the conclusions from the mapping of trust to discuss strategies for improving stakeholder trust/trust management in NRM participatory processes.

After the charts were created and reviewed the researcher looked for common threads of ideas within each theme in each chart. Conclusions were drawn from comments within the same theme; therefore, conclusions were not drawn across themes in the same chart. The criteria adopted to determine whether common threads amount to a conclusion is as follows:

- Public and Cooperator (Interviewees 1-14): Comments from 6 individuals or more, and assurance of comments from public and cooperator interviewees (slightly less than 50%)
- USFS-BTNF Staff (Interviewees 15-19): Comments from 3 or more individuals (more than 50%)

The results were mapped first for the Progress Triangle and then for the Trust Analytical Framework. Details on the specific comments supporting the conclusions from the Progress Triangle analysis can be found in *Appendix 5: Quotes Supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 6: Quotes Supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*. Details on the specific comments from supporting conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework analysis can be found in *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 8: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*.

4.5 Limitations and Assumptions of the Study

Although these interviews are part of a larger study spanning several years, this study examines only the first round of interviews conducted in 2006 with Public and Cooperator participants and USFS-BTNF Staff involved in the process. The researcher was not involved in the interview process or in transcribing the interviews.

The study also adopts the assumption of the larger Danish Forest Nature Agency project it forms a part of that some key issues in participatory processes, like trust, are universal (Emborg, 2007). Further, it is assumed that despite the cultural differences between the United States and Denmark the conclusions from this study can provide useful insights to improve management of similar participatory processes in the United States and Denmark.

5. Results

The analysis of trust in the BTNF interviews is divided in four parts to address the main research question and the three sub-questions identified in the Introduction. The first section discusses the results from analysis with the Progress Triangle. The second part provides details on the results from the Trust Analytical Framework. The third section looks at the differences and similarities between the conclusions emerging from analysis using these two methodologies. The last section addresses the main research question through identifying key insights from the case study for improving management of stakeholder trust.

5.1 Progress Triangle Analysis Results

This section details the results of the analysis of the interview transcripts using the Progress Triangle. These results answer sub-question one of the paper, namely: what are the conclusions about trust from the case study of the participatory process at Bridger-Teton National Forest through analysis using an approach based on conflict management theory? Discussion of the results begins with the results from the Public and Cooperators group, followed by results from the USFS-BTNF Staff group, and finishing with a section identifying key points from the Progress Triangle analysis.

The conclusions from the Progress Triangle analysis are not phrased with regard to trust or distrust. Rather the conclusions represent the common threads among interviewee comments related to trust and/or distrust. For example, the first Procedure dimension conclusion (PC1) from the Public and Cooperator interviews is: “how USFS-BTNF manages

the process impacts trust (positively or negatively) in the agency”. This means that if USFS-BTNF manages the process well, trust can increase. On the other hand if the agency does not manage the process well, trust can decrease (potentially leading to distrust).

5.1.1 Results from the Public and Cooperator Interviews

Analysis of the Public and Cooperator interviews resulted in nine conclusions, five related to the procedure dimension and four related to the relationship dimension (see *Figure 8*). Although some interviewees made comments on substantive issues, no conclusions emerge in this dimension. Details on interviewee quotes used to support the Public and Cooperators conclusions can be found in *Appendix 5: Quotes Supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*.

Together the relationship conclusions indicate that the Public and Cooperators understand trust as being related to individuals. Relationship conclusions (RC) 1, 2, and 4 all refer to individuals (see *Figure 8*). The Public and Cooperators believe that USFS-BTNF

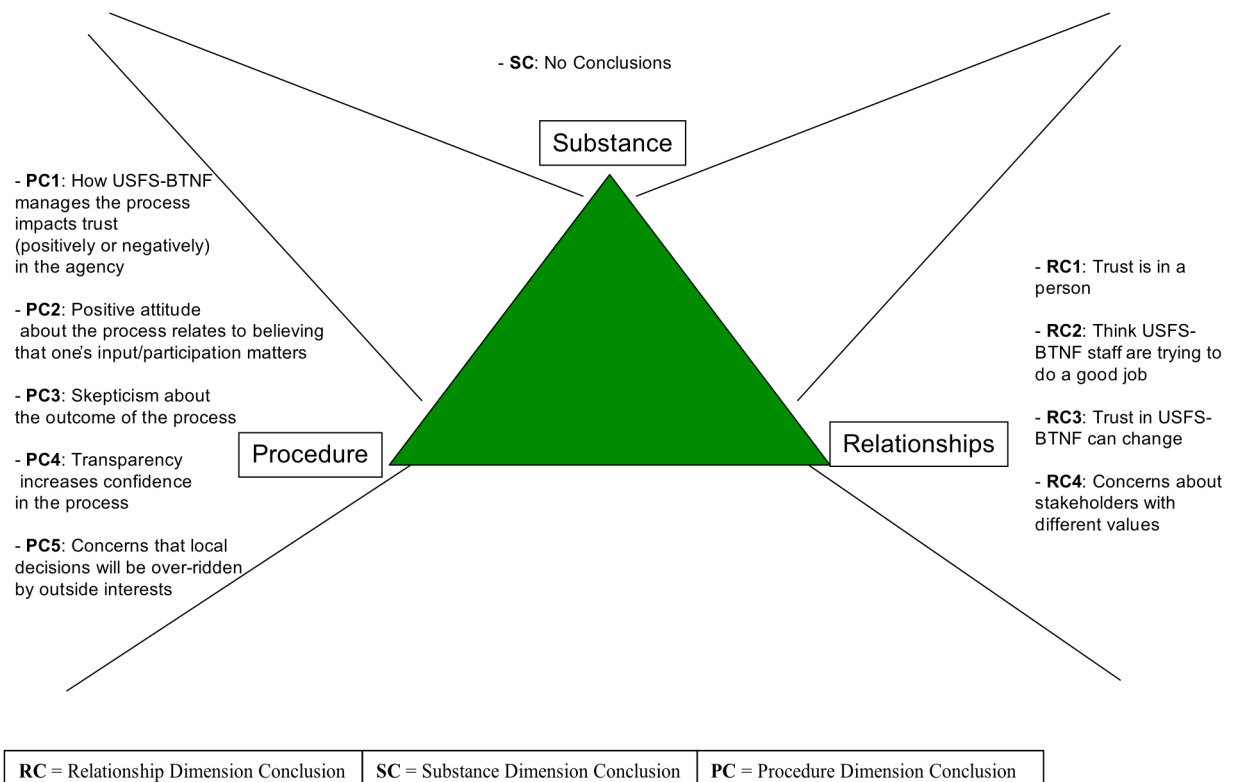


FIGURE 8: PROGRESS TRIANGLE CONCLUSIONS PUBLIC AND COOPERATOR INTERVIEWEES
Results from analysis using the Progress Triangle shows all conclusions for this group in the Procedure and Relationship dimensions.

Staff are trying to do a good job, an indicator of trust (RC2). However, RC3 reveals trust levels in USFS-BTNF can change (for better or for worse). With regard to other stakeholders, the Public and Cooperators are concerned about stakeholders with differing values (RC4).

Most of the procedure dimension conclusions (PC) have a greater number of supporting quotes from interviewees than conclusions from the relationship dimension (see *Appendix 5: Quotes Supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*). Three of the five procedure dimension conclusions (PC2, PC3, PC5) have comments from eight interviewees, while for the relationship conclusions one conclusion is supported by seven interviewees (RC2), and the other three are supported by comments from six interviewees.

Two procedure dimension conclusions (PC) relate to aspects that are important for participants to trust the process: knowing their input matters (PC2) and transparency (PC4). The other three conclusions are less certain. PC1 focuses on how USFS-BTNF manages the process and echoes the changeability of trust in USFS-BTNF also found in RC3. Interviewees are also skeptical about the outcomes of the process (PC3) and the role of outside interests (the federal government, politicians, oil and gas drilling lobbies) on local decision-making (PC5).

5.1.2 Results from the USFS-BTNF Staff Interviews

The USFS-BTNF Staff conclusions were also mainly in the relationship and procedure dimensions (see *Figure 9*). The relationship dimension conclusions can be organized in three groups: general understandings of trust and distrust (RC1, RC2); how USFS-BTNF perceive outsider's view the agency (RC3, RC5, RC7); and how USFS-BTNF Staff view those outside the agency (RC4, RC6). While the conclusions in Group 1 are fairly general and logical, the conclusions from Group 2 and 3 provide particularly interesting insights. In Group 2, RC5 and RC7 are based on the relational history of the agency and its staff with the public, while RC3 is about how USFS-BTNF Staff think that the public trusts the agency, i.e. through individuals. The conclusions from Group 3 are the views of USFS-BTNF as they look outside the agency. With regard to other stakeholders USFS-BTNF Staff recognize that stakeholders have their own goals/interests but can also be trusted (RC6). RC4 reflects the perceptions by USFS-BTNF Staff that some people will distrust the government no matter what. This 'no matter what' means no matter what USFS-BTNF Staff (a federal agency) try to do some people will not trust the agency.

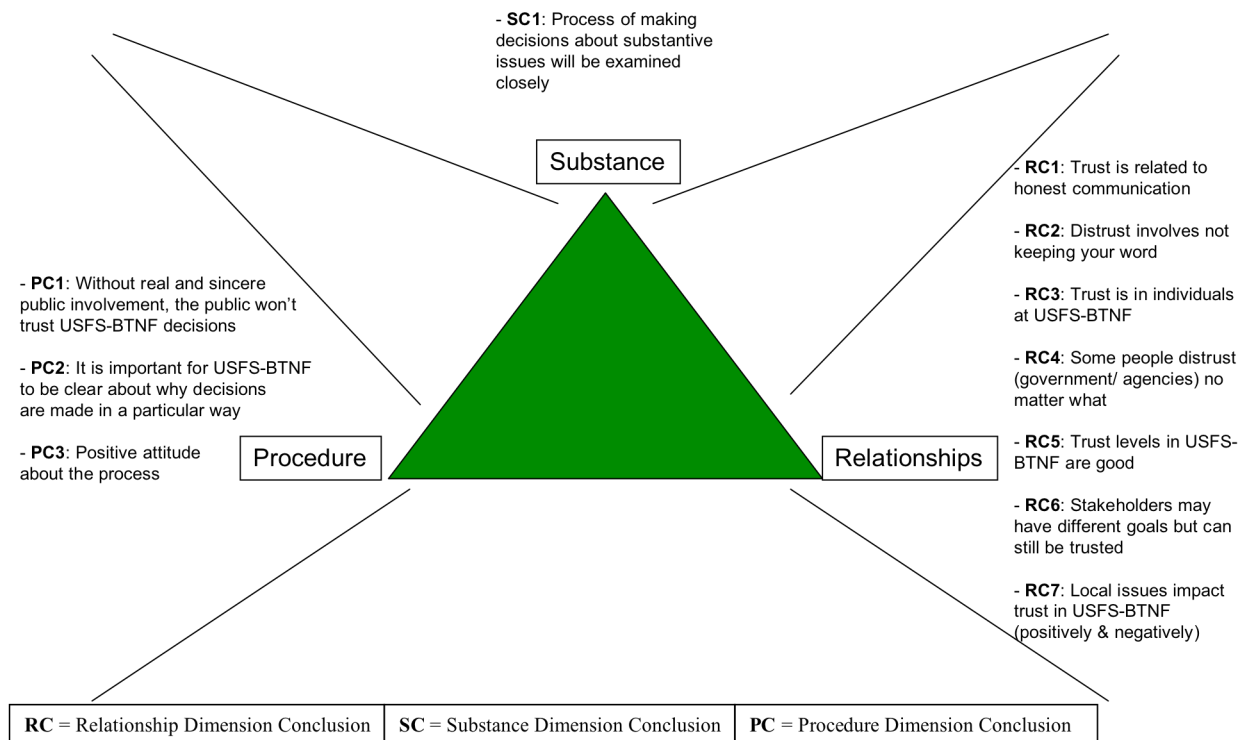


FIGURE 9: PROGRESS TRIANGLE CONCLUSIONS USFS-BTNF STAFF INTERVIEWEES

Results for this group show most conclusions using the Progress Triangle for analysis are in the Relationship and Procedure dimensions, with one conclusion in the substance dimension.

The first two procedure dimension conclusions (PC) relate to how public trust in the process is connected to how USFS-BTNF manages the process. Both of these conclusions have comments from all five of the USFS-BTNF interviewees (see *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*). USFS-BTNF Staff believe that to have public trust the agency needs to be sincere in how it involves the public in the process (PC1) and the agency must be clear about why decisions are made in a particular way (PC2). PC3 shows the opinion of USFS-BTNF Staff that the process is going well.

One conclusion relates to the substance dimension. USFS-BTNF Staff believe that process participants will examine the decision-making process on substantive issues (for example what you can or can't do in specific areas of the forest) very closely (SC1). While this conclusion is also related to the procedure dimension, it is categorized in the substance dimension because it relates to decisions about tangible issues that could be the source of tension later in the process (see *Figure 6: Decision-Making Guide for Trust Comments and the Progress Triangle*, Methods and Materials section). This conclusion indicates that while there may be trust in the process and in individuals, disagreements could arise when big decisions about substantive issues begin to be made, particularly if the decision-making process is unclear (PC2).

5.1.3 Progress Triangle Results Key Points

Analysis of trust using the Progress Triangle revealed some similarities and differences in how the two groups understand trust. The particular conclusions referenced in support of the below key points can be found in *Figure 8* and *Figure 9*. The similarities that emerge between the Public and Cooperators and the USFS-BTNF Staff conclusions are:

1. The Public and Cooperators and USFS-BTNF Staff understand trust in the Relationship dimension as being related to individuals in the agency. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusions RC1, RC2 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion RC3).
2. Trust in USFS-BTNF can change depending on USFS-BTNF's actions. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusions RC3, PC1 and USFS-BTNF conclusions RC7, PC1).
3. The Public and Cooperators and USFS-BTNF Staff perceive that some people distrust the federal government. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusion PC5 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion RC4).
4. Trust levels in USFS-BTNF are generally good. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusion RC2 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion RC5).
5. USFS-BTNF Staff perceive that participants are concerned with the transparency with which decisions will be made and this is also reflected in the Public and Cooperator conclusions. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusions PC4, PC5 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusions SC1, PC2).
6. Both groups think sincere involvement of the public and usage of public input is important for trust in the process. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusion PC2 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion PC1).

The following key differences also emerge between the two groups of interviewees:

1. The Public and Cooperators place more emphasis on the importance of perceived values similarities/differences in trusting or distrusting other stakeholders compared to USFS-BTNF Staff. This difference may appear because USFS-BTNF is more often in the position where they must work with stakeholders even when value differences emerge. Individuals and NGOs, on the other hand, are more likely to be able to choose whether or not they want to work with particular stakeholders. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusion RC4 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion RC6).
2. The Public and Cooperators overall seem more skeptical about the process, where it is going and what the outcomes will be. The greater skepticism on the part of the Public and Cooperators may be due to the collaborative process being a new approach and the interviews being conducted early in the process. Further, USFS-BTNF Staff may be less worried about the process because they participate in it as representatives of the agency, the ultimate decision-maker in the process. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusions PC1, PC3, PC5 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion PC3).

3. USFS-BTNF Staff believe there are segments of the population that will not trust the federal government no matter what. This idea appears less strongly in the Public and Cooperator conclusions. This perception by USFS-BTNF Staff may be one way for them to distinguish between people that can be involved and those who cannot (will not) be engaged in the process. (Based on the Public and Cooperator conclusion PC5 and USFS-BTNF Staff conclusion RC4).

Overall, many of the conclusions from the analysis of the USFS-BTNF Staff interviews reflected the conclusions from the Public and Cooperators. This is encouraging and implies these USFS-BTNF Staff have a fair degree of understanding about the public and the public's concerns about the agency. Where there seems to be room for improvement is in the agency providing more assurance and information to the Public and Cooperators about the process, where it will go, and how decisions will be made. It is possible that at the time the interviews were conducted USFS-BTNF Staff, themselves, were also unsure about these process issues given that it was a new process under the 2005 Planning Rule.

5.2 Trust Analytical Framework Results

This section addresses the second sub-question for this study, namely: What are the conclusions about trust from the case study of the participatory process at Bridger-Teton National Forest from analysis using an approach grounded in trust research and theory? The results are divided in two parts, the first section identifies the Public and Cooperator conclusions and the second part the USFS-BTNF Staff conclusions.

In both sets of analysis there are no conclusions from the routine-based trust (RBT) category. Both sets of interviews, however, reveal routine-based distrust (RBD) in the federal government. Conclusions related to calculus-based trust (CBT) are the most numerous for both sets of interviewees, followed by conclusions in the calculus-based distrust (CBD) category. Most of the conclusions related to identification-based trust (IBT) and identification-based distrust (IBD) emerge at the Micro stage, while conclusions for RBD, CBT, and CBD are mainly in the Meso and Macro stages.

The results for the High or Low categorizations are more difficult to provide an overview about. To determine these categorizations the researcher looked at the categorization for the individual quotes comprising the support for each conclusion. Where there was a clear majority of comments with a High categorization in the individual comments a High categorization was given to the group conclusion. The same process was followed with the Low categorization. However, the High or Low categorization was not always apparent. In hard to judge cases the researcher reviewed the High and Low

categorizations for the individual comments again, and if no trend emerged the conclusion was given a High/Low Mix categorization. The High/Low Mix categorization appears more frequently in conclusions for the Public and Cooperators than for USFS-BTNF Staff.

The conclusions are worded to encapsulate the core common ideas in the supporting comments. Among the results for both groups are current and future-oriented conclusions. Current-oriented conclusions indicate the current state of affairs/thinking among the interviewees, while future-oriented conclusions involve the actions/situations interviewees think will lead toward particular types of trust or distrust in the future. Information regarding whether a conclusion is future or current-oriented is indicated in the Trust Analytical Framework results charts for both groups (discussed in more detail below). An example of a current-oriented conclusion is CBT Conclusion 1 for the Public and Cooperators as it shows that previous past experiences with the agency and agency staff have lead to a high level of CBT in USFS-BTNF. CBD Conclusion 2 for the Public and Cooperators, on the other hand, is future-oriented as it portends CBD development toward the agency *if* USFS-BTNF is perceived as unreliable and/or inconsistent. Conclusions for both groups are roughly split between current and future-oriented.

There are two appendices with the conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework in chart form: *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*. The charts are organized with CBT and CBD at the center. Moving outward from the center are the conclusions for IBT and IBD. Furthest from the center of the chart are the RBT and RBD conclusions. *Chart 4* illustrates how the two appendix charts are organized.

CBT and CBD are placed in the center of the charts because comments for these two types of trust were often the most challenging to classify, particularly for Process Theme comments for the Public and Cooperators. The charts, therefore, illustrate what seems to be a

CHART 4: EXAMPLE CHART FOR THE TRUST ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK RESULTS
Conclusion charts for the Trust Analytical Framework have Calculus-Based Trust and Distrust at the center

	<i>Macro Stage</i>	<i>Meso Stage</i>	<i>Micro Stage</i>
RBT			
IBT			
CBT			
CBD			
IBD			
RBD			

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust

IBT = Identification-Based Trust
IBD = Identification-Based Distrust

RBT = Routine-Based Trust
RBD = Routine-Based Distrust

connection between CBT and CBD. The results for each set of interviews are discussed in the same order as the charts beginning at the center with CBT and CBD, then discussing IBT and IBD, and finishing with RBT and RBD conclusions. *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 8: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff* give details about the comments supporting each conclusion. These appendices are organized in the same order of the conclusion charts starting with RBT, then IBT and CBT, then moving into the distrust categories starting with CBD, then IBD, and lastly RBD.

5.2.1 Results from the Public and Cooperator Interviews

There are twelve conclusions for the Public and Cooperators with five conclusions at the Macro stage, four in the Meso stage, and three in the Micro stage (see *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*). Conclusions were most numerous for calculus-based trust (CBT) and calculus-based distrust (CBD) (see *Chart 5*).

CHART 5: PUBLIC AND COOPERATORS CONCLUSIONS FOR CBT AND CBD
 Conclusions for CBT and CBD are mainly in the Macro (institutions) and Meso (process) stages. This chart is an excerpt from *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*

	Macro Stage	Meso Stage	Micro Stage
CBT	<p>Conclusion 1 High Current - Previous positive experiences with the agency and agency staff</p> <p>Conclusion 2 High/Low Mix Future - Trust in USFS-BTNF can increase depending on how USFS-BTNF proceeds with the process</p>	<p>Conclusion 4 High Current - Participants experience with the process so far is generally positive</p> <p>Conclusion 3 Low Current - Transparency in the process is important; interviewees believe the process is transparent</p> <p>Conclusion 5 Low Future - Feel certainty regarding the direction/outcomes of the process</p>	
CBD	<p>Conclusion 2 High/Low Mix Future - If USFS-BTNF is perceived as unreliable and/or inconsistent</p> <p>Conclusion 4 High/Low Mix Future - The federal government (non-local offices) will influence decision-making in the process</p>	<p>Conclusion 3 Low Future - Uncertainty about how decisions will be made in the process</p>	<p>Conclusion 1 High Current - Dishonest and/or ineffective communication</p>

CBT Conclusions 1, 3, 4, and 5 are all supported by comments from at least 10 of the 14 interviewees in this group. CBT Conclusions 3, 4, and 5 are all in the Meso (Process) stage. CBT Conclusions 3 and 5 also have a Low categorization, meaning that interviewees

have a low level of CBT in the transparency and outcomes of the process. CBT Conclusions 1 and 4 are current-oriented and have High categorizations, indicating the high certainty in these conclusions is based on interviewees’ actual experiences. CBT Conclusions 2 and 5 are future-oriented. CBT Conclusion 2 indicates that CBT could increase depending on how USFS-BTNF manages the process. The High/Low Mix categorization of CBT Conclusion 2 shows that certainty in CBT increasing in the agency varies among interviewees.

Of the four CBD conclusions only CBD Conclusion 3 has a Low categorization and this also appears in the Meso stage (see *Chart 5*). CBD Conclusion 3 signifies interviewees’ uncertainty about how decisions will be made in the process. This concern is closely related to Low CBT Conclusions 3 and 5 about the outcomes and transparency of the process. Most CBD conclusions are future-oriented; meaning that depending on how the future unfolds CBD could develop toward the agency and/or the process.

Both the IBT and IBD conclusions are current-oriented (see *Chart 6*). This is rather unsurprising given that IBT/IBD develop through actual personal experience. These conclusions are also both at the Micro stage, indicating here that IBT/IBD are generally understood as being related to individuals. The IBT and IBD conclusions also both pertain to the interviewees’ views about other stakeholders. The High & Low Mix categorization for these IBT and IBD conclusions indicates that interviewees in this group have mixed degrees of certainty in their trust or distrust other stakeholders.

CHART 6: PUBLIC AND COOPERATORS CONCLUSIONS FOR IBT AND IBD
 Conclusions for IBT and IBD are few and fall under in the Micro (individual) stage. This chart is an excerpt from *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*

	Macro Stage	Meso Stage	Micro Stage
IBT			Conclusion 1 High/Low Mix Current - Positive experiences/familiarity with other stakeholders impacts the likelihood of increasing trust in other stakeholders
IBD			Conclusion 1 High/Low Mix Current - When other stakeholders have opposing views/values

No conclusions were found in the RBT category. RBD Conclusion 1 shows the Public and Cooperators believe that some people generally distrust the federal government. This distrust in government also relates to CBD Conclusion 4 (see *Chart 5*), that the federal government (offices outside the local context) will influence decision-making in the process.

5.2.2 Results from the USFS-BTNF Staff Interviews

There are eleven conclusions from the interviews with USFS-BTNF Staff with four conclusions at the Macro stage, three at the Meso stage, and five at the Micro stage (see *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*). The High or

Low distinction was clearer for the USFS-BTNF Staff conclusions, with only CBD Conclusion 1 having a High & Low Mix, and eight conclusions with High categorizations. The conclusions are split between being current-oriented or future-oriented.

In this group there are four CBT conclusions and two CBD conclusions. Three of the four CBT conclusions are categorized as Low, with one conclusion in each of the three stages (see *Chart 7*). CBT Conclusions 1 and 3 emerge at different stages but are both future-oriented, and indicate USFS-BTNF Staff interviewees belief that CBT could develop further with the public depending on how USFS-BTNF engages the public generally and specifically with regard to the collaborative process. In these two conclusions USFS-BTNF Staff are considering what the public needs from the agency to increase CBT. CBT conclusion 4, on the other hand, is the view of the agency looking out with regard to other stakeholders.

CBD Conclusions 1 and 2 are both future-oriented and identify circumstances where USFS-BTNF Staff believe CBD could develop toward the agency. Both conclusions relate to potential CBD development if USFS-BTNF is not clear with the public in their policies/approach (CBD Conclusion 1) or why and how decisions are made in the process (CBD Conclusion 2).

CHART 7: USFS-BTNF STAFF CONCLUSIONS FOR CBT AND CBD
 Most CBT conclusions have a low categorization and half of the conclusions are in the Meso (process) stage. This chart is an excerpt from *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*

	Macro Stage	Meso Stage	Micro Stage
CBT	<p>Conclusion 1 Low Future - If USFS-BTNF enters into real engagement with the public</p>	<p>Conclusion 2 High Current - USFS-BTNF staff are pleased with how the process is going</p> <p>Conclusion 3 Low Future - If USFS-BTNF works effectively with the public in the process</p>	<p>Conclusion 4 Low Current - Trust other stakeholders but are aware of their agendas</p>
CBD	<p>Conclusion 1 High/Low Mix Future - If changes are made in the approach or policies of USFS-BTNF</p>	<p>Conclusion 2 High Future - If USFS-BTNF is not clear with the public about their role in the participatory process</p>	

All the USFS-BTNF Staff conclusions for the IBT and IBD have a High categorization (see *Chart 8*). The IBT and IBD conclusions also all mostly fit in the Micro stage. The sole conclusion from the IBD category is future-oriented and, similar to the CBD

CHART 8: USFS-BTNF STAFF CONCLUSIONS FOR IBT AND IBD

The conclusions all have a high categorization and are mostly in the Micro (individual) stage. This chart is an excerpt from *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*

	Macro Stage	Meso Stage	Micro Stage
IBT	Conclusion 1 High* Current - USFS-BTNF has developed good relationships with the public		Conclusion 1 High* Current - USFS-BTNF has developed good relationships with the public Conclusion 2 High Current - Trust in USFS-BTNF begins with the people at the agency stakeholders
IBD			Conclusion 1 High Future - If USFS-BTNF Staff treat people poorly

* IBT Conclusion 1 High appears in both the Macro and Micro stages because the individual level comments among the interviewees on this conclusion were split between the two stages

conclusions, as it identifies when distrust could emerge toward the agency, in this case *if* USFS-BTNF Staff treat people poorly (IBD Conclusion 1). IBT Conclusion 2 reiterates the belief of the USFS-BTNF Staff interviewees that trust begins with people at the agency, echoing IBD Conclusion 1 (see *Chart 8*) but in a positive sense. Both IBT conclusions are current-oriented.

The two conclusions for routine-based distrust (RBD) are very similar (see *Chart 9*). RBD Conclusion 1 appears in the Micro stage and finds that USFS-BTNF Staff believe that some people are distrusting in general. RBD Conclusion 2 focuses the attention of people’s

CHART 9: USFS-BTNF STAFF CONCLUSIONS FOR RBD

Both conclusions in the RBD category are current-oriented and very similar in nature. This chart is an excerpt from *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*

	Macro Stage	Meso Stage	Micro Stage
RBD	Conclusion 2 High Current - Part of the public does not trust the federal government no matter what		Conclusion 1 High Current - Some people are just distrusting

distrust towards the federal government. Both conclusions have a High categorization and are current-oriented. As with the Public and Cooperators, there are no RBT conclusions.

5.2.3 Trust Analytical Framework Key Points

Within the conclusions of both groups there are noteworthy similarities and differences. The conclusions referenced in support of the below key points can be found in *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*. Among the similar conclusions between the two groups for the Trust Analytical Framework are:

1. All of the Low categorization conclusions occur in CBT or CBD for both groups. This indicates a greater degree of uncertainty in the CBT and CBD conclusions than for the IBT, IBD and RBD conclusions. (Based on the Public and Cooperator CBT Conclusions 3 and 5, also CBD Conclusion 3, and USFS-BTNF Staff CBT Conclusion 1, 3, and 4).

2. Nearly all High categorization conclusions for all trust types are current-oriented for both groups. This indicates that the higher degree of certainty in trust/distrust for the High categorization is likely based on interviewees' actual experiences. (Based on the Public and Cooperator CBT conclusions 1 and 4, and USFS-BTNF Staff CBT Conclusion 2).
3. Both groups are positive about their experience in the process so far. (Based on the Public and Cooperator CBT Conclusion 4 and USFS-BTNF Staff CBT Conclusion 2).
4. Most CBT and CBD conclusions are in the Meso (process) or Macro (institution) stages
5. CBD conclusions for both groups were mostly future-oriented and indicate that distrust toward USFS-BTNF could develop later depending on how the agency manages the process and how decisions are made in the process. (Based the Public and Cooperator CBD Conclusions 2, 3, and 4, and USFS-BTNF Staff CBD Conclusions 1 and 2).
6. Both groups recognize the importance of the agency being reliable and consistent to maintain public trust. (Based on Public and Cooperator CBD Conclusion 2 and USFS-BTNF Staff CBD Conclusion 1).
7. Nearly all the IBT and IBD conclusions for both groups are current-oriented at the Micro (individual) stage. (Based on the Public and Cooperator IBT Conclusion 1 and IBD Conclusion 1 and USFS-BTNF Staff IBT Conclusions 1 and 2, and IBD Conclusion 1).
8. No RBT conclusions emerged from either set of interviews
9. All the RBD conclusions are current-oriented with High categorizations. This indicates both groups believe there are people who are distrusting of the federal government and this impacts how those people view the collaborative process, as USFS-BTNF is the local branch of a federal agency. (Based on Public and Cooperator RBD Conclusion 1 and USFS-BTNF Staff RBD Conclusions 1 and 2).

Some key differences also emerge in the conclusions between the groups:

1. The Low CBT and CBD conclusions for the Public and Cooperators group are all at the Meso stage and reveal uncertainty in the process. This uncertainty is also evident in the difficulty the researcher found in designating comments as CBD or CBT. The CBT/CBD categorization was most difficult for comments in the Process Theme. *Appendix 9: Hard to Categorize Comments in Trust Analytical Framework Analysis* lists which comments the researcher had difficulty categorizing and the category(s) selected for the comments.
2. The Public and Cooperator interviewees expressed more concern about the way decisions will be made in the process. (Based on the Public and Cooperator CBD Conclusions 4 and 3, and CBT Conclusion 3).
3. There are fewer conclusions with the High/Low Mix categorization for USFS-BTNF Staff than for the Public and Cooperators. This indicates greater coherence in the certainty levels in the High and Low categorizations for the conclusions among the USFS-BTNF Staff. This may be due to USFS-BTNF Staff having more common experiences with public participatory processes than among the Public and Cooperators.

4. USFS-BTNF Staff interviewees' current view of other stakeholders is in the CBT Low category, which differs from Public and Cooperator interviewees' view of other stakeholders with regard to IBT and IBD. This could be due to USFS-BTNF having more formal relationships with stakeholders than stakeholders have with each other. The Low CBT categorization might also explain the need for USFS-BTNF to work with other stakeholders even when differences arise (Based on the Public and Cooperators IBT Conclusions 1 and IBD Conclusion 1, and USFS-BTNF Staff CBT Conclusion 4).

Of the differences noted above point number one, regarding the difficulty in categorizing CBT and CBD comments for the Public and Cooperators group, merits further discussion. As *Appendix 9: Hard to Categorize Comments in Trust Analytical Framework Analysis* illustrates, this challenge was the most substantial for the Process Theme. *Appendix 9* shows 15 comments from various interviewees that the researcher found hard to categorize in the Process Theme. In comparison, all the other Themes in the Public and Cooperators group had only 4 or 5 comments judged hard to categorize (see *Appendix 9*). The difficulty in categorizing these CBT and CBD comments for the Public and Cooperators may be more appropriately viewed as a grey zone or a continuum between trust and distrust see *Figure 10*).

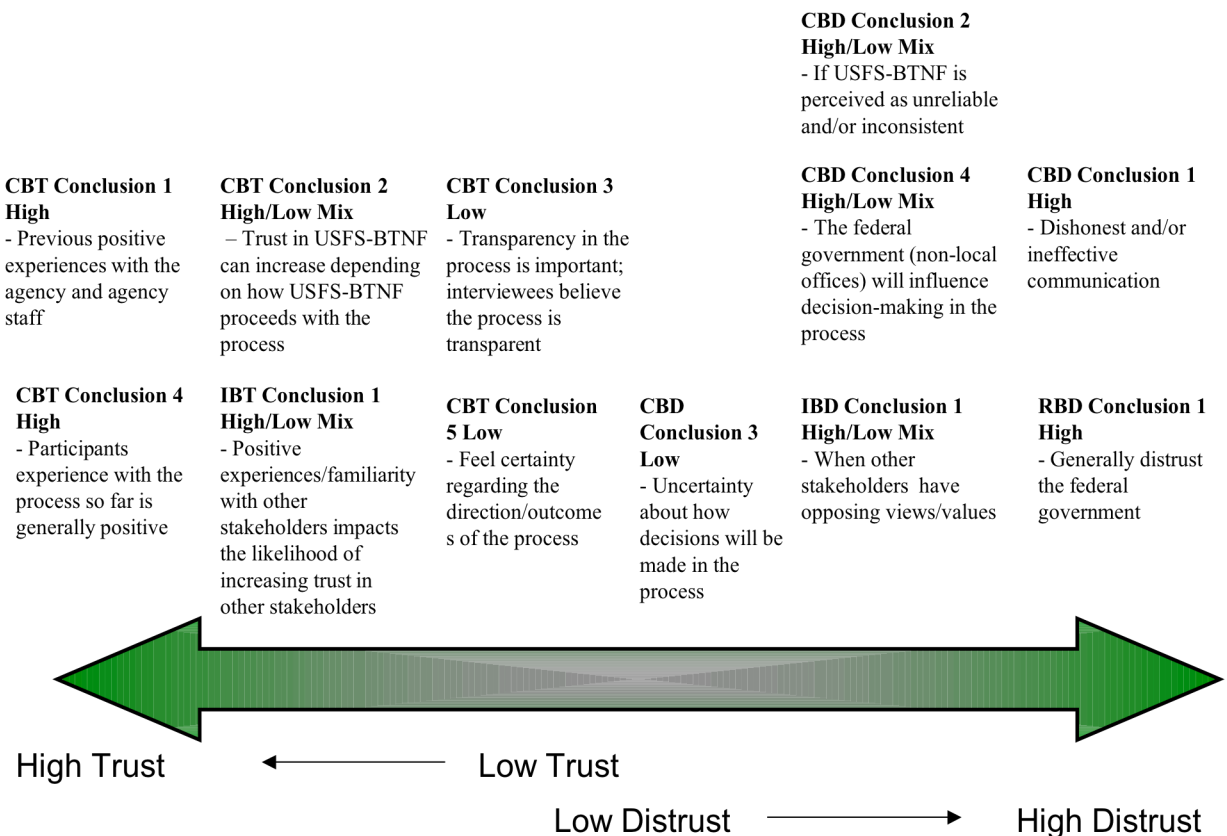


FIGURE 10: TRUST CONTINUUM FOR THE PUBLIC AND COOPERATORS GROUP
 The figure shows Low CBT and CBD conclusions in the center of the trust continuum indicating the greater changeability of trust and distrust in these conclusions compared to the High/Low Mix and High conclusions.

In contrast to the Public and Cooperators, the USFS-BTNF Staff group had no Low CBD conclusions and only one High & Low Mix conclusion (for CBD Conclusion 1). Additionally, for the USFS-BTNF Staff group only 8 comments were difficult to categorize in the Process Theme with 5 of these comments from the same interviewee (see *Appendix 9: Hard to Categorize Comments in Trust Analytical Framework Analysis*).

5.3 Comparing and Contrasting the Progress Triangle and Trust Analytical Framework Results

Through analyzing the interviews with the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework some similar and different conclusions emerged about how trust is understood by the interviewees. In discussing these similarities and differences this section addresses research sub-question three: how does analysis with two analytical tools; one based on conflict management theories and one based on trust theories, improve the understanding of the value of these tools for analyzing trust in natural resources management? This section starts with details on the similarities among the conclusions, followed by their differences.

5.3.1 Similarities in the Results Between the Two Analysis Tools

This section discusses the similarities in the conclusions from the two analysis tools first with regard to the Public and Cooperators and then USFS-BTNF Staff. Given that both methods of analysis began with the same organization of interviewee comments indexed into the same six themes, it is unsurprising that some of the conclusions are similar.

Chart 10 shows that for the Public and Cooperators half (6) of the conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework are reflected in the Progress Triangle conclusions. Four calculus-based trust (CBT) conclusions and one calculus-based distrust (CBD) conclusion from the Trust Analytical Framework mirror conclusions in procedure dimension of the Progress Triangle. IBD Conclusion 1 is also similar to Relationship Conclusion 4 (RC4).

Of all the conclusions in *Chart 10* only CBT Conclusion 4 has a High categorization. The rest of the conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework have Low or High/Low Mix categorizations. Low CBT Conclusion 5 and High/Low Mix CBD Conclusion 4 are both future-oriented and indicate (more clearly than their counterparts in the Progress Triangle) that participants' positive experience in the process so far could change in the future. This is due to the High and Low categorization and the current/future orientation of conclusions in the Trust Analytical Framework.

CHART 10: SIMILARITIES IN THE CONCLUSIONS FROM THE PROGRESS TRIANGLE AND TRUST ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PUBLIC AND COOPERATORS

Among the similar conclusions are mostly CBT and CBD conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework, which relate to Procedure dimension conclusions from the Progress Triangle

<i>Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions</i>	<i>Progress Triangle Conclusions</i>
CBT Conclusion 2 (Macro, High/Low Mix, Future) – Trust in USFS-BTNF can increase depending on how USFS-BTNF proceeds with the process	PC 1 – How USFS-BTNF manages the process impacts trust (positively or negatively) in the agency
CBT Conclusion 3 (Meso, Low, Current) – Transparency is important; interviewees believe the process is transparent	PC 4 – Transparency increases confidence in the process
CBT Conclusion 4 (Meso, High, Current) – Participants experience with the process so far is generally positive	PC 2 – Positive attitude about the process relates to believing that one’s input/participation matters
CBT Conclusion 5 (Meso, Low, Future) – Feel certainty regarding the directions/outcomes of the process	PC 3 – Skepticism about the outcome of the process
CBD Conclusion 4 (Macro, High/Low Mix, Future) – The federal government (non-local offices) will influence decision-making in the process	PC 5 – Concerns that local decisions will be overridden by outside interests
IBD Conclusion 1 (Micro, High/Low Mix, Current) – When other stakeholders have opposing views/values	RC 4 – Concerns about stakeholders with different values

CBT= Calculus-Based Trust CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust PC = Procedure Conclusion
 IBT = Identification Based Trust IBD = Identification Based Distrust RC= Relationship Conclusion

Chart 11 shows 8 of the 11 conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework for the USFS-BTNF Staff group are reflected in Progress Triangle conclusions. CBT Conclusion 1 and procedure conclusion 1 (PC1) recognize that engagement with the public needs to be sincere. CBT Conclusion 1 is *not* about the process, however, but about the agency. This is not clear in PC1. The Low categorization in CBT Conclusion 1 may also indicate USFS-BTNF Staff see developing higher trust with the public as involving more than engaging them in this process.

CBT Conclusion 4 and relationship conclusion 6 (RC6) show that USFS-BTNF Staff trust other stakeholders but are also aware that these stakeholders have their own agendas. In CBT Conclusion 4 it is evident, however, that the trust in these other stakeholders is Low. CBD Conclusion 2, about the need for the agency to be clear about the public’s role in the process, is related to PC2 and substance conclusion 1 (SC1) which both refer to clarity in the process with regard to decision-making. CBD Conclusion 2 is also future-oriented with a

CHART 11: SIMILARITIES IN THE CONCLUSIONS FROM THE PROGRESS TRIANGLE AND TRUST ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR USFS-BTNF STAFF

Many of the CBT and CBD conclusions below are reflected in Procedure dimension conclusions in the Progress Triangle, while the IBT conclusions are similar to conclusions in the Relationship dimension

<i>Trust Framework Conclusions</i>	<i>Progress Triangle Conclusions</i>
CBT Conclusion 1 (Macro, Low, Future) - If USFS-BTNF enters into real engagement with the public	PC1 - Without real and sincere public involvement the public won't trust USFS-BTNF decisions
CBT Conclusion 2 (Meso, High, Current) - BTNF staff are pleased with how the process is going	PC3 - Positive attitude about the process
CBT Conclusion 4 (Micro, Low, Current) - Trust other stakeholders but are aware of their agendas	RC6 - Stakeholders may have different goals but can still be trusted
CBD Conclusion 2 (Meso, High, Future) - If USFS-BTNF is not clear with the public about their role in the participatory process	PC2 - It is important for USFS-BTNF to be clear about why decisions are made in a particular way SC1 - Process of making decisions about substantive issues will be examined closely
IBT Conclusion 1 (Macro & Micro, High, Current) - USFS-BTNF has developed good relationships with the public	RC5 - Trust levels in USFS-BTNF are good
IBT Conclusion 2 (Micro, High, Current) - Trust in USFS-BTNF begins with the people at the agency	RC3 - Trust is in individuals at USFS-BTNF
RBD Conclusion 1 (Micro, High, Current) - Some people are just distrusting RBD Conclusion 2 (Macro, High, Current) - Part of the public does not trust the federal government no matter what	RC4 - Some people distrust (government/agencies) no matter what

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
IBT = Identification Based Trust

CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust
IBD = Identification Based Distrust
RBD = Routine-Based Trust

PC = Procedure Conclusion
RC = Relationship Conclusion
SC = Substance Conclusion

High categorization, meaning CBD is likely to develop *if* USFS-BTNF is not clear with the public. PC2 and SC1 are also future-oriented, as most important or substantive decisions in the process had not yet been made when the interviews were conducted.

5.3.2 Differences in the Results from the Two Analysis Tools

This section identifies the differences in the conclusions from analysis using the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework first with regard to the Public and Cooperators and then USFS-BTNF Staff.

Only the Trust Analytical Framework revealed any conclusions about increasing trust in stakeholders for the Public and Cooperators (see *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators*). This indicates that while participants are inclined to distrust stakeholders with different values (IBD Conclusion 1 and relationship conclusion 4 (RC4)), increased interaction and familiarity with other stakeholders could contribute to increasing trust (IBT Conclusion 1).

In the Progress Triangle (see *Figure 8*) two conclusions appear that are not evident in the Trust Analytical Framework results. In RC2 Public and Cooperator interviewees indicate they believe USFS-BTNF Staff are trying to do a good job. Additionally, procedure conclusion 2 (PC2) shows it is important to the Public and Cooperators for public participation to matter in the process for them to have a positive attitude about the process.

In the conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff there were no conclusions from the Trust Analytical Framework from the Local Issues theme (see *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*). In the Progress Triangle, however, RC7 indicates that local issues can impact trust in USFS-BTNF positively or negatively (see *Figure 9*). Many of the comments supporting RC7 relate to fire management in the area (see *Appendix 6: Quotes Supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*). The Progress Triangle also has more conclusions about decision-making (PC1, PC2, SC1).

Lastly, two distrust conclusions emerge in the Trust Analytical Framework that did not appear in the Progress Triangle. IBD Conclusion 1 shows that USFS-BTNF Staff believe IBD could develop if agency staff persons treat people in the community poorly. Additionally, CBD Conclusion 1 highlights the negative impact USFS-BTNF Staff believe that changes in the agency's policies or approach could have on public trust in the agency.

5.3.3 Concluding Thoughts on Analysis with the Two Frameworks

In general the Progress Triangle, based on conflict management theory, is a more straightforward and simple tool to use than the Trust Analytical Framework. The three dimensions can provide an overview of key trust issues. Analyzing trust with the Progress Triangle could be a useful, particularly for those already familiar with the tool and/or intending to use it in combination with its original purpose, to assess the suitability of a situation for collaboration and/or design a NRM collaborative process. In short, the tool provides less detailed information, however, it requires less technical expertise to use.

The Trust Analytical Framework is a recently developed tool by Emborg et al. (2009) that brings together relevant concepts from various trust theories to analyze trust in NRM participatory processes. The theoretical foundation upon which the framework is based requires more knowledge on the part of the researcher to use it effectively. However, as this case study demonstrates, the Trust Analytical Framework can provide a more detailed and nuanced understanding of how stakeholders view trust. The High and Low categorization, while admittedly rather subjective, plays a key role for grasping the degree of certainty or changeability with regard to perceptions of trust or distrust. Additionally, the current and

future-oriented nature of the conclusions that emerged in this study provide important insights for forest managers about how trust/distrust could change in the future.

5.4 Insights for Improving Trust Management in NRM Participatory Processes

This section identifies key insights emerging from this study to help forest managers and facilitators with stakeholder trust issues. As such this section addresses the main research question: how can the conclusions from the case study on stakeholder trust in the participatory process at Bridger-Teton National Forest contribute toward improving trust management in similar processes? This section also seeks to contribute toward two aims of the larger Danish Forest and Nature Agency⁵ (DFNA) project to:

1. Generate new knowledge by studying public involvement processes based on the forefront of knowledge and research in public participation in the United States
2. Transfer this and existing knowledge from the United States to Denmark (Emborg, 2007)

As discussed earlier, forest managers and process facilitators in Denmark and the United States often encounter situations where public trust in the agency and/or a NRM participatory process is lacking. Depending on the situation, this lack of trust could slow down or derail the process. In such situations a more nuanced understanding of trust may enable forest managers and process facilitators to manage stakeholder trust issues better.

Although all participatory processes are different, the conclusions from this case provide interesting insights on key trust-related issues that may arise in similar processes. In *Chart 12* several suggestions are presented related to these key-trust issues for forest managers and participatory process facilitators to consider in managing stakeholder trust.

The third column in *Chart 12* shows which dimension (Progress Triangle) and types/stages (Trust Analytical Framework) of trust each suggestion is associated with. The Key Issues are ordered with those related to CBT/CBD at the top, IBT/IBD associated issues, and then RBD issues. The third column also shows a trend with Key Issues related to the Procedure dimension often associated with CBT and CBD trust types, and Key Issues related to the Relationship dimension connected to IBT.

⁵ The name of the DFNA study is “Modern public involvement in management and planning of natural resources – a synergetic study and exchange of knowledge and experience between Denmark and the US” (Emborg, 2007).

CHART 12: KEY TRUST ISSUES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING STAKEHOLDER TRUST MANAGEMENT
 Key Issues for forest managers and process facilitators for managing stakeholder trust, including suggestions and their associated dimensions of the Progress Triangle and Types/Stages in the Trust Analytical Framework

	Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
1	<i>Transparency</i>	Procedure CBT Meso CBT Macro	- Before starting a process ensure facilitators and staff are clear about the procedures and can explain them to stakeholders (to the extent possible) - Check with stakeholders during the process to see if there is information they feel they are missing. Determine if the information can be made available, and if it cannot be explain why
2	<i>Outside Influence on the Process</i>	Procedure CBT Meso	- Develop and communicate realistic expectations about decisions that can be undertaken in the process - Expectations should not exceed beyond limitations posed by existing political and legal constraints - Try to understand the interests of outsiders and either try to engage with them or anticipate how they may try to exert influence and develop a strategies to address this
3	<i>Uncertainty of Process Outcomes</i>	Procedure CBT Meso CBD Meso	- Focusing stakeholders on a Progress rather than Solutions may give them more confidence that the process can work - Highlight and re-cap the interim outcomes periodically to remind participants that the process is moving forward
4	<i>Agency Consistency</i>	Relationships CBD Macro	- Have workshops to explain policy/law changes and discuss how they could impact local natural resource management - Transition time between old staff and new staff, have old staff introduce the new staff to the community(s)
5	<i>Experiences with Agency Staff</i>	Relationships CBT Macro IBT Micro	- Ensure Staff understand that they are ambassadors of the agency and trust/distrust begins with how they interact with the public - Invite citizens to meetings where they can get to know new personnel - If distrust develops devise a strategy for diffusing the issue(s) at play and working toward resolution with those involved
6	<i>Perceived Value Differences</i>	Relationships IBT Micro	- Provide opportunities for stakeholders to engage in ways that enable them to see their similarities. Activities like field trips, shared meals, and other informal opportunities to interact may be helpful - Start building Identification-Based Trust first through activities to build stakeholders confidence in each other to increase calculus-based trust
7	<i>Distrust of the Federal Government</i>	Relationships RBD Micro RBD Macro	- Determine whether or not the “just distrusting’ stakeholders are of key importance to the process and try to understand their underlying issues - If these stakeholders are vitally important try to develop innovative ways to engage them - If they cannot be engaged develop strategies in anticipation of the legal/media/political challenges they may launch at the process

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
 IBT = Identification Based Trust

CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust
 IBD = Identification Based Distrust

RBD = Routine-Based Trust

Key Issues 4 and 5 and their suggestions extend beyond the participatory process (see *Chart 12*). Key Issue 4 highlights the importance of agency consistency for the public to trust the agency and its decisions. Trust (or distrust) in the agency (Macro stage) is also arguably connected to trusting the agency with regard to the process (Meso stage). Key Issue 5 is based on results from both analysis tools that trust (or distrust) in the agency begins with individuals’ experiences with agency staff. Although this type of trust development falls under the category of IBT, it also impacts CBT in the agency (Macro stage).

In the next section these Key Issues and suggestions will be discussed more in-depth in terms of their relevance in light of cultural differences between the United States and Denmark and with regard to other related studies on trust.

6. Discussion

Discussion of the study and the conclusions emerging from the analysis is organized into four parts. The first part provides a critique of the study. The second section investigates more thoroughly the grey zone between the Low calculus-based trust and distrust (CBT and CBD) that emerged from the Public and Cooperators group conclusions. The third part discusses, where forest managers and facilitators should generally focus their efforts to manage and develop trust. The last part discusses the Key Issues and suggestions identified earlier in *Chart 12* with regard to cultural differences between the United States and Denmark and other studies related to trust management and development.

6.1 Critique of the Study

The conclusions emerging from the Progress Triangle and Trust Analytical Framework provide useful insights for managers. However, there are also some weaknesses in the study design and application of the analysis tools that merit some attention.

With regard to the study design it should be noted that interviews were conducted early in the collaborative process, providing a snapshot of the trust perceptions held by the 19 interviewees. As trust is changing and dynamic the results from this study cannot predict stakeholders' perceptions of trust/distrust as the BTNF collaborative process continued.

The small number of interviewees from USFS-BTNF Staff group is also a disadvantage in the study. In the USFS-BTNF Staff group (in comparison to the Public and Cooperators group) there were fewer conclusions with a High & Low Mix categorization; however, it is difficult to say if this would also hold true with a greater number of Staff interviewees. Additionally, since there were only five USFS-BTNF Staff interviewees the researcher could not use the same percentage criteria for the number of interviewee comments constituting a conclusion. For the Public and Cooperators the researcher determined that a conclusion required 6 out of 14 interviewees with similar comments (slightly less than 50%). However, for the USFS-BTNF Staff group the researcher determined there needed to be at least three interviewees with similar comments for each conclusion (more than 50%).

Lastly, no non-participants were interviewed in this study. Understanding the trust perceptions of these individuals could be useful since their choice not to participate could be related to distrust in the agency and/or the process (Cheng and Mattor, 2006).

Weaknesses of the study related to the analysis of the interviews are related to the researcher's application of Ritchie and Spencer's (2002) applied policy research 'framework', and analysis with the Progress Triangle and the Trust Analytical Framework.

In using the applied policy research 'framework', the researcher determined the themes, indexed the comments related to each theme, and charted the comments from each theme for the three Progress Triangle dimensions and the six trust types in the Trust Analytical Framework. At this point the researcher had to decide how to interpret the charts and the conclusions therein. The researcher decided that for each conclusion the comments supporting that conclusion needed to come from a singular theme. Therefore, no conclusions were considered combining comments across themes. If the researcher had reviewed interviewee comments across themes (i.e., two or more themes) it is possible other conclusions might have emerged.

A more nuanced understanding of trust might also have emerged from analysis with the Progress Triangle if a Trust Progress Triangle and a Distrust Progress Triangle had been used to categorize interviewee comments about trust and distrust.

With regard to the Trust Analytical Framework, this study is the first to operationalize the framework. As such no instructions existed about how to apply the framework. The most challenging element of the tool was determining the High and Low categorizations. While the types and stages of trust can generally be quite clearly explained, a more precise method for determining the High and Low categorizations would enable users of the framework to have more confidence in their results. Analyzing stakeholder trust in semi-structured interviews can provide a more nuanced understanding of trust/distrust, however, for more sizeable studies involving multiple researchers a more clearly defined way to assign the High and Low categorization would be useful to ensure consistency and the ability to replicate results.

Additionally, it could be useful to consider incorporation of the current/future-oriented elements that emerged in this study as they provide relevant insights. The results from both groups of interviewees show that most identification-based trust and distrust (IBT and IBD) conclusions are current-oriented (4 out of 5) and, therefore, based on individuals' actual experiences. Whereas, most calculus-based distrust (CBD) conclusions are future-oriented (5 out of 6) and provide clues regarding what actions/steps could lead to CBD.

Lastly, most of the High categorization conclusions are current-oriented (9 out of 11) indicating that a High degree of certainty in trust/distrust is likely rooted in actual experience.

6.2 Continuum Between Low Calculus-Based Trust and Distrust

In the conclusions for the Public and Cooperators from the Trust Analytical Framework the researcher often encountered challenges determining whether comments fit best into the Low CBT or Low CBD category. Earlier in the report it was suggested this lack of a clear delineation in many comments supporting the CBT and CBD conclusions might more appropriately be considered as lying on a continuum of trust between CBT and CBD.

The idea of a grey zone between trust and distrust has also emerged in studies about trust in the field of health and safety risk regulation. Walls et al. (2004) and Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) identify an important shade of trust situated in the center of their trust continuum as *critical trust*. Walls et al. (2004) describe critical trust as:

“...lying on a continuum between outright skepticism (rejection) and uncritical emotional acceptance. Such a concept attempts to reconcile the actual reliance by the public on institutions whilst simultaneously possessing a critical attitude toward the effectiveness, 'motivations' or independence of the agency in question” (p. 147).

Critical trust is described by Parkins and Mitchell (2005), with reference to Pidgeon and Poortinga (2003), as when citizens are willing to participate because “those involved may have a history of reliability and are thought to deal in good faith while at the same time they may be skeptical and question the utility of certain procedures and the accuracy or received information (p. 537). Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003) explain critical trust as when general trust and skepticism levels are both high and distrust when general trust and skepticism levels are both low. This differentiates critical trust from calculus-based trust, which may begin when trust levels are low (Lewicki and Bunker, 1995, as cited in McKnight et al., 1998).

In re-considering many of the comments supporting the Low CBT and CBD conclusions from the Public and Cooperators group in the Process Theme it is possible the difficulty in the categorizing the comments stems from stakeholders reconciling their participation with their skepticism of the process and the agency’s role in the process. Examples of such statements from *Appendix 9: Hard to Categorize Comments in the Trust Framework Analysis* are:

- “where I’m not sure that I trust the process, not the process but what’s done with it, I guess that’s where I’d say I don’t know if I trust that this is actually gonna do what it says it’s gonna do” (Interviewee #4).

- “it’s still it goes back to that transparency, you know. Am I getting the whole story? You know, is the reason for the decisions that are made that I’m told the full, you know, am I getting the full plate here? You know. Was the criteria on which these decisions were made good or bad for me? Am I being told the whole criteria or am I just getting the one side in that” (Interviewee #5).
- “that’s where I think there’s some risk, is when you try to have a collaborative process when, what do you do when you just have two things that actually won’t mix like oil and water...(about decision-making) - is it going to be arbitrary?” (Interviewee #8).

None of these statements are overtly distrusting, however, they are not overwhelming trusting either (in the researcher’s view). All of these stakeholders are participating in the process, however, at the same time they voice questions about the process, which contain elements of skepticism, possibly reflecting the presence of critical trust.

If critical trust exists is it good or bad for participatory processes? And what can or should be done about it? This researcher views critical trust is as potentially beneficial to maintaining public involvement in NRM participatory processes. Parkins and Mitchell (2005) suggest that when public trust levels are high in an institution citizens may be encouraged to participate because they feel their contribution can have an impact or they may opt not to participate and leave decision-making to other trusted individuals. However, if trust levels and skepticism levels are both high, as critical trust is explained by Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003), then citizens may have high trust in the process and/or the agency but still remain skeptical enough that they continue to participate. This implies that Low CBT and CBD toward the process may not only be quite normal but may even be beneficial to maintaining active public involvement. The task for forest managers and NRM process facilitators is, therefore, to try to determine whether the CBD they may observe in their processes is critical trust or distrust that merits attention and management.

6.3 Focal Points for Trust Management

According to Emborg et al. (2009) NRM process designers and facilitators need to consider trust-related issues from below (Micro stage) and from above (Macro stage) but both of these levels are considered relatively pre-determined and outside their control. These ideas are also echoed in the results from the Trust Analytical Framework in this study. Looking at the results from both groups of interviewees four of the six Low categorizations (i.e. trust/distrust with lower degrees of certitude than the High and High/Low Mix categorizations) emerged in the CBT and CBD conclusions at the Meso stage, with *all* of the

Low categorizations in the Public and Cooperators group in the Meso stage (see *Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff*).

These results suggest efforts for affecting trust in may be well spent on the CBT at the Meso (process) stage. Parkins and Mitchell (2005) come to a similar conclusion stating: “individuals who may wish to participate in public policy issues...are more likely to enter such deliberative processes if certain guarantees are in place: namely, once that assure their safety, allow their voice to be heard, and provide hope to influence outcomes” (p. 537). All the issues raised in this statement from Parkins and Mitchell (2005) relate to building confidence and trust in the process (rather than in individuals).

Forest managers and process facilitators may also need to devote some attention to situations where IBD, particularly High IBD, exist. The IBT and IBD conclusions about other stakeholders for the Public and Cooperators place more emphasis on the importance of value differences than for the USFS-BTNF Staff group. At the same time, IBT Conclusion 1 indicates positive experiences and greater familiarity with other stakeholders can impact the likelihood of increasing trust in other stakeholders. This is an encouraging sign for processes where value differences among stakeholders are the source of conflicts in a process. IBT Conclusion 1 implies that activities that enable stakeholders to interact in new ways and/or in more informal settings may be helpful. However, at the same time Lewicki et al. (1998) suggest a balance is needed between interpersonal trust and distrust (IBT and IBD) in collaborative relations stating:

“distrust that gives rise to questioning and differences in perspective may be essential for effective group functioning. By the same token distrust that gives rise to questioning is of little value if team participants have insufficient trust in their peers to voice reservations and alternative perspectives” (p. 453).

This suggests, similar to the discussion of critical trust with regard to CBT and CBD, that a High level of IBT may not be the ideal for forest managers and process facilitators to aim toward. Instead, efforts might more appropriately focus on reducing High IBD (if possible).

Where process designers/facilitators and forest managers are unlikely to have much impact on trust is with RBD at the Macro stage, which was also found in some Relationship and Procedure conclusions in the Progress Triangle. The High categorization and current-oriented nature of the RBD conclusions for both groups indicates that RBD in the federal government is unlikely to be positively affected by experience in a participatory process.

6.4 A Closer Look at the Suggestions from the Study

The Key Issues related to trust and their associated suggestions for forest managers and NRM participatory process facilitators identified earlier in *Chart 12* involve the Procedure and Relationship dimensions of the Progress Triangle and all trust types in the Trust Analytical Framework except for routine-based trust (RBT). As mentioned previously, all participatory processes are unique and, therefore, the trust issues to be addressed will vary. In discussing the suggestions from this study this section begins with an overview of some of the cultural differences and similarities between the United States in Denmark to keep in mind with regard to the Key Issues and suggestions. The last part of this section discusses the Key Issues and suggestions with regard to other related to trust research.

6.4.1 Danish and American Cultural Differences and Similarities

The differences in the trust issues that arise in NRM participatory processes are often due to the different contexts, individuals involved, and/or issues under consideration. Part of the difference in contexts relates to cultural differences. In this case cultural differences between the United States and Denmark are discussed. The purpose of this section is not to discuss cultural differences between the United States and Denmark at length, however a short review of Geert Hofstede's five cultural dimensions⁶ gives a useful overview of some key similarities and differences between the countries. Hofstede's five dimensions are:

- **Power Distance:** The extent to which the less powerful in society accept the unequal distribution of power as it is defined by the less powerful
- **Individualism:** The degree to which individuals are expected to look after themselves, as opposed to Collectivism, which is the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups with guaranteed protection so long as there is unquestionable loyalty to the group
- **Masculinity:** The degree of assertiveness and competitiveness in a culture, as opposed to a culture exhibiting more Femininity where caring and nurturing are more valued
- **Uncertainty Avoidance:** How tolerant a society is to uncertainty, such as the degree to which individuals feel comfortable/uncomfortable in unstructured situations. Uncertainty avoiding cultures tend to limit uncertainty with strict rules and laws. Uncertainty accepting cultures tend to have fewer rules and be more tolerant of others' views

⁶ Geert Hofstede studies involve analysis of a large database of employee values scores collected by IBM between 1967 and 1973 of more than 70 countries, from which he first used the 40 largest, and afterwards extended the analysis to 50 countries and 3 regions. In the editions of his work since 2001, scores for 74 countries are listed and regions partly based on replications/ extensions of the IBM study on different international populations. The Long-Term Orientation study was conducted later and involved data from only 23 countries (ITIM International, n.a.).

- **Long-Term Orientation:** Respect for tradition and values of thrift and perseverance, as opposed to Short-Term Orientation cultures where change is not constrained by tradition and can occur more rapidly (Hofstede, n.a.).

The results of Hofstede’s studies of these cultural dimensions with regard to the United States and Denmark are shown in *Chart 13*. Each dimension is measured on a 1-120 point scale where 1 is low score and high is 120. *Chart 13* shows the United States has higher

CHART 13: HOFSTEDE’S 5 CULTURAL DIMENSIONS RESULTS FOR DENMARK AND THE UNITED STATES
Denmark and the United States have similar scores in all dimensions except for the masculinity dimension

	<i>Power Distance</i>	<i>Individualism</i>	<i>Masculinity</i>	<i>Uncertainty Avoidance</i>	<i>Long-Term Orientation</i>
Denmark	18	74	16	23	Not Available
US	40	91	62	46	29

(Adapted from: Clearly Cultural. *Geert Hofstede Cultural Dimensions* [online] (n.a.). Available from: <http://www.clearlycultural.com/geert-hofstede-cultural-dimensions/> [10-June-2009]).

scores for all dimensions, however, if considered with regard to the 120-point scale, both cultures have relatively low Power Distance, high degrees of Individualism, and high tolerances for Uncertainty. The biggest difference emerges in the Masculinity dimension.

With regard to NRM these five dimensions provide some interesting insights. While both countries have a low Power Distance score, the lower score in Denmark indicates the relative power differences between forest managers and citizens maybe less in Denmark than in the United States. Both countries have high Individualism scores, which imply people in the United States and Denmark may primarily consider NRM issues with regard to their own needs and preferences before considering the needs of others, as collectivist-oriented cultures would be more inclined to do. The low Uncertainty Avoidance scores indicate participants in the United States and Denmark can tolerate the uncertainty inherent in participatory processes, with greater tolerance for such ambiguity in Denmark.

None of Hofstede’s studies have examined Long-Term Orientation for Denmark, however the score for neighboring Sweden is 33, very similar to the United States score of 29 (Clearly Cultural, Long-Term Orientation, n.a.). With regard to environmental stewardship this dimension provides a mixed picture. The low score for the United States and potentially low score Denmark (if the Swedish score is considered similar to what the Danish score might be) indicate individuals in these societies are more open to new approaches to managing natural resources. At the same time, however, they may also hold a short-term orientation about natural resource use, possibly resulting in over-consumption and a lack of long-term thinking in problem solving about environmental issues.

The most substantial difference between the United States and Denmark is with the Masculinity dimension. The higher Masculinity score for the United States indicates greater differentiation between men and women's roles in society in the United States than in Denmark. The very low score for Denmark not only indicates greater gender equality, but also a greater emphasis on relationships and quality of life in Denmark. The importance of quality of life could arguably be beneficial to improved stewardship of natural resources.

Another marked cultural difference between the United States and Denmark is the extent of distrust in the federal government. The longer history of public participation in NRM in the United States is also coupled with a higher degree of distrust toward the federal government (of which the forest service is a part). Prior to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack only 40% of the public trusted the government. After the terrorist attack a poll by US ABC News found public trust in the government had increased to 68%, but only with regard to the national security issues. The same poll found only 38% trusted the government with regard to domestic issues like education, healthcare and the economy (Samples, 2002).

On the other hand the 2003 "Voice of the People" study by the World Economic Forum (WEF) showed that although public trust has declined in many public institutions and corporations in the world, this has not been the trend in Denmark. The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2003) in discussing the WEF report states that the survey of 36,000 people forming part of the report:

"...revealed that in stark contrast to many countries in the world, Danes have considerable trust in the country's large national and multinational companies, and sky-high faith in the Danish government and its Parliament" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark, 2003).

Kettl et al. (2004) also find this trend of higher public trust in Denmark in their review of a *Eurobarometer*⁷ 2002 survey looking at average trust in civic institutions in European countries with regard to the civil service, the national parliament, the national government and the political parties. In the 2002 survey Denmark topped the list with 54% public trust in these institutions. Further, in the *Eurobarometer* 2004 survey of public trust, Denmark was one of only three countries in the survey with public trust over 50% (Kettl et al., 2004).

The cultural differences between Denmark and the United States identified above may result in some suggestions from this study being more useful than others in the Danish

⁷ *Eurobarometer* surveys are among the research studies conducted by the Public Opinion Analysis sector of the European Commission since 1973 addressing major topics concerning European citizenship: enlargement, social situation, health, culture, environment, the Euro, and defense. (Source: European Commission Public Opinion, Welcome [online] (n.a.) Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm [2009-06-13]).

context. These cultural distinctions are also discussed below with regard to the specific key trust-related issues that emerged from the results of the case study.

6.4.2 Key Issues in Relation to Cultural Issues and Other Studies on Trust

Seven Key Issues emerged from the study for forest managers and NRM process facilitators to consider in managing stakeholder trust. This section looks at these Key Issues and their associated suggestions with regard to other studies on trust and the cultural issues identified above. The small charts for each Key Issue are excerpts from *Chart 12*.

The importance of transparency in Key Issue 1 was raised by both groups of interviewees, specifically with regard to decision-making processes. *Chart 14* shows this

CHART 14: KEY ISSUE 1 - TRANSPARENCY

Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 1

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Transparency</i>	Procedure CBT Meso CBT Macro	- Before starting a process ensure facilitators and staff are clear about the procedures and can explain them to stakeholders (to the extent possible) - Check with stakeholders during the process to see if there is information they feel they are missing. Determine if the information can be made available, and if it cannot be explain why

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust

CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust

suggestion is related to the procedure dimension and the CBT Meso and Macro stages. None of the studies of trust in NRM reviewed by the researcher specifically refer to transparency. However, Key Issue 1 and its associated suggestions are also related to communication and participant information needs, which many studies touch upon. Beierle and Konisky (2000) found in their study of several cases in the United States Great Lakes region that communication between the lead agency in the collaborative process and participants is related to participant trust. Additionally, Davenport et al. (2007) identify unclear communication as one of the three constraints to building institutional trust in management processes in their study.

Forest managers and NRM process facilitators can improve transparency through ensuring first that facilitators and agency staff are on the same page about the process procedures, particularly with regard to decision-making. To the extent these procedures are determined by the facilitators and/or agency staff, and not in coordination with process stakeholders, it is important for staff and facilitators to communicate them clearly and consistently to stakeholders. Periodically checking-in with stakeholders may also help forest managers and facilitators maintain effective communication and transparency in the process.

Key Issue 2 (see *Chart 15*) pertains to concerns raised, particularly by the Public and Cooperators, about outsiders influencing the process. This issue was raised mainly with regard to politicians, the federal government, and/or wealthy oil and natural gas lobbies not participating in the process. Part of this concern also relates to the transparency (Key Issue 1).

CHART 15: KEY ISSUE 2 – OUTSIDE INFLUENCES ON THE PROCESS
Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 2

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Outside Influence on the Process</i>	Procedure CBT Meso	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop and communicate realistic expectations about decisions that can be undertaken in the process - Expectations should not exceed beyond limitations posed by existing political and legal constraints - Try to understand the interests of outsiders and either try to engage with them or anticipate how they may try to exert influence and develop a strategies to address this

CBT = Calculus Based Trust

An important aspect of the suggestions for Key Issue 2 is developing realistic expectations about which decisions can be made through the process and which cannot. Ensuring the decisions to be determined in the participatory process are within the existing legal and political constraints to the process can reduce the likelihood of decisions made through collaboration being later reversed or revised by higher levels of the government/agency. Determining the decision space may be decided by the lead agency(s) or could be done in cooperation with stakeholders. Cheng and Mattor (2006) suggest holding policy education workshops “for key stakeholders and the general public to define which resource management decisions are open for influence by the collaborative process and which issues are constrained by existing authorities” (p. 558).

Concerns about outside influences also relate to participants’ perceptions of fairness in the process. Lubell et al. (2005) discuss fairness in their conclusions from a case study in collaborative watershed management and state:

“collaborative processes that give members a sense of fair treatment can create considerable trust and new social and human capital, regardless of the amount of pre-existing social capital or ideological conflict in a community” (p. 275).

This statement emphasizes the importance of fairness for trust not only in the collaborative process but also for the capacity of the process to build trust among participants.

Lastly, if there are powerful interests choosing not to participate who have a stake in the decisions being undertaken in the process it may be useful to consider how they may seek to influence decision-making in their favor. For a collaborative process to work stakeholders

need to believe that the process is a viable alternative for them (Daniels and Walker, 2001). Stakeholders with substantial power (relative to other stakeholders) however, may feel they can best achieve their aims outside the collaborative process through the courts, the media, exerting political influence, etc. This may be more of an issue in the United States, than in Denmark, where there is a history of environmental groups, development interests, and political factions challenging USFS decisions and policies via the court system. Further, the very low Power Distance score for Denmark (see *Chart 13*) implies the relative power of outside influences in Denmark may be less than the relative power of similar outside influences in the United States.

Forest managers and NRM process facilitators might consider following the advice of Fisher et al. (1991) to try to discern the underlying interests of these stakeholders' positions by putting oneself in these stakeholders' shoes (seeing the situation from another's point of view). A better understanding of their interests may reveal previously unconsidered approaches for involving these stakeholders. If these stakeholders cannot or will not become involved then it may also be useful to develop strategies for dealing with the challenges it is anticipated they may launch at the process.

To a certain extent the issue of uncertainty in the outcomes of the process in Key Issue 3 (see *Chart 16*) is inherent to the nature of participatory processes. Unlike consultative models where the agency may have pre-determined outcomes in mind (as with the 3-I or TechnoReg approaches discussed in the literature review), the specific outcomes of a

CHART 16: KEY ISSUE 3 – UNCERTAINTY OF PROCESS OUTCOMES
Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 3

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Uncertainty of Process Outcomes</i>	Procedure CBT Meso CBD Meso	- Focusing stakeholders on a Progress rather than Solutions may give them more confidence that the process can work - Highlight and re-cap the interim outcomes periodically to remind participants that the process is moving forward

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust

collaborative process are unknown. Hofstede's Uncertainty Avoidance scores for Denmark and the United States (see *Chart 13*), indicate participants in both countries can tolerate the unknowns of collaborative processes, with greater tolerance for uncertainty in Denmark.

As with Key Issue 2, an important element of Key Issue 3 is for stakeholders to feel the process can work. One approach that may help maintain confidence in the process is to emphasize progress on the issues rather than solutions (Daniels and Walker, 2001, Fisher et

al., 1991). According to Daniels and Walker (2001) “making “meaningful progress” on a challenging environmental policy situation is a more reasonable burden that invites collaboration rather than adversarial competition” (p. 37). However, what constitutes “meaningful progress” varies. Davenport et al. (2007) found stakeholders’ views of slow progress in an NRM participatory process in Illinois (US) was a constraint to building institutional trust in management outcomes. In this case slow progress led to community skepticism about the process (Davenport et al., 2007). Samuelson et al. (2005) also find that progress is particularly important for stakeholders who participate “because they believe that the collaborative process has the potential to enhance the public good by improving the quality of life for all the residents” (p. 164). Samuelson et al. (2005) claim these citizens value participation in the process so long as they feel something gets done.

Participants’ feelings of uncertainty might also be reduced by following Cheng and Mattor’s (2006) recommendation to develop a roadmap prior to the first meeting in a process since “having a roadmap can help stakeholders, especially those who distrust the agency, to understand how and where their input influences plan decisions” (p. 558). Hofstede’s high Individualism scores for the United States and Denmark (see *Chart 13*) also implies that it is important for participants to see how their individual ideas will be used, so they feel their input and the time they contribute to the process are worthwhile.

Key Issue 4 addresses the issue of consistency of the agency and, therefore, has a scope beyond a participatory process. As *Chart 17* indicates this issue is related to the relationship dimension and CBD Macro and CBT Macro. Here, consistency is about building a relationship and trust in the agency (not in individuals as in Key Issue 5). Consistency can be considered both with regard to staff turnover and policy changes.

CHART 17: KEY ISSUE 4 – CONSISTENCY
Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 4

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Agency Consistency</i>	Relationships CBD Macro CBT Macro	- Have workshops to explain policy/law changes and discuss how they could impact local natural resource management - Transition time between old staff and new staff, have old staff introduce the new staff to the community(s)

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust

Local offices of the US Forest Service (USFS), like BTNF, are often on the frontline of communicating new policy directions with local stakeholders. In the United States, policy changes with a new presidential administration can be significant. Additionally, policy

changes may come through the judicial system, as was the case with the 2005 Planning Rule, which resulted in the collaborative process at BTNF later changing direction. When policy changes from a higher level occur engagement with the public to discuss the changes could be a good way to maintain trust in the agency despite changes in policy.

Like many federal agencies USFS has a system for transferring and promoting staff. Among the original purposes of this system was to ensure that agency staff did not “got native” and enable local interests to dilute agency decisions (Collaborative Action Team, 2005). However, the frequent moving of staff is also recognized as barrier to managing collaborative processes effectively (Collaborative Action Team, 2005; Russell and Adams-Russell, 2006; US Government Accountability Office, 2008). Thomas (1998), Davenport et al. (2007) and Beierle and Konisky (2000) all find staff turnover impacts trust in public agencies. Thomas (1998) states employee rotation systems “impede trust production by limiting the number of times public officials can interact with specific individuals in an agency’s environment” (p. 181). Davenport et al. (2007) also identify staff turnover as a constraint to building trust between the agency and the community. Russell and Adams-Russell (2006) discuss staff movement in rural communities as having a particularly significant impact as; “Forest Service personnel are often important social capital that benefits the community. Even though the vacated position is filled again, it is perceived to disrupt the resources within communities” (p. 23).

Agencies may be able to improve their consistency in maintaining relationships with the community, even in the face of frequent systematic staff changes, through allowing for a transition period between the new and old staff. An invitation to the community by the old forest manager to introduce the new forest manager may be a particularly good idea when there are significant changes in the management leadership.

As with Key Issue 4, Key Issue 5 addresses trust development beyond the immediate context of a participatory process. Whereas Key Issue 4 focused on improving CBT Macro in the agency through greater consistency, Key Issue 5 (see *Chart 18*) centers on IBT Micro.

At the heart of Key Issue 5 is: to what degree should agency staff seek to build IBT with their community? Studies on trust in NRM provide a range of answers to this question. Payton et al. (2005), Davenport et al. (2007), and Leahy and Anderson (2008) all find trust with agency staff (Micro stage) based on similar values (IBT) important for the agency to be trusted. However, at the same time Parkins and Mitchell (2005) and Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) suggest too much trust in officials to make policy decisions with the public’s interests

CHART 18: KEY ISSUE 5 – EXPERIENCES WITH AGENCY STAFF

Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 5

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Experiences with Agency Staff</i>	Relationships CBT Macro IBT Micro	- Ensure Staff understand that they are ambassadors of the agency and trust/distrust begins with how they interact with the public - Invite citizens to meetings where they can get to know new personnel - If distrust develops devise a strategy for diffusing the issue(s) at play and working toward resolution with those involved

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust
IBT = Identification-Based Trust

at heart may result in lower participation rates. Lower participation could then result in a lack of representativeness among stakeholders and/or potentially undermine the legitimacy of the process outcomes. Parkins and Mitchell (2005) suggest “a deliberative turn (in NRM participatory processes) would focus on institutional levels of trust, rather than interpersonal levels of trust” and that “the cultivation of interpersonal trust may de-politicize public processes and limit the quality of critical debate” (p. 537-538). Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) suggest cultivating High IBT may not even be possible since “stakeholders judge federal officials as sharing fewer values with them, followed by state officials, and finally, fellow stakeholders” (p. 106). These findings together imply Low IBT Micro may not only be more realistic to achieve, but may be more desirable for maintaining active public involvement in participatory processes.

The results from this study imply IBT development between the public and agency staff should not be overlooked, however, IBT development should generally not be the main focus for managing trust either. Circumstances where IBT development should be the main focus include situations where High IBD exists to the extent that it prevents the agency from fulfilling its mission. High IBD in an individual in a high leadership position might best be resolved through a change of leadership in the most extreme circumstances.

In maintaining Low IBT or trying to change Low IBD to Low IBT it is important for agency staff to understand they are the face of the agency. As Davenport et al. (2007) found an important consideration for understanding trust in the agency is “whether community members see the Forest Service as a “nameless faceless entity”...or if they see the Forest Service as people with whom they have interacted with and gotten to know over time” (p. 365). Therefore, providing the public with opportunities to meet new and current personnel could go a long way to improving IBT in staff, and by extension, improving CBT in the agency (Macro stage).

In this study IBT and IBD at the Micro stage also appear in Key Issue 6 (see *Chart 19*) with regard to the Public and Cooperators views of other stakeholders. Interviewees in this group indicated that perceived value differences factor into their decisions about trusting/distrusting other stakeholders. The results from the Trust Analytical Framework, however, also show that greater familiarity and interaction with stakeholders holding different values improves the likelihood of trusting other stakeholders.

CHART 19: KEY ISSUE 6 – PERCEIVED VALUE DIFFERENCES
Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 6

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Perceived Value Differences</i>	Relationships IBT Micro	- Provide opportunities for stakeholders to engage in ways that enable them to see their similarities. Activities like field trips, shared meals, and other informal opportunities to interact may be helpful - Start building Identification-Based Trust first through activities to build stakeholders confidence in each other to increase calculus-based trust

IBT = Identification-Based Trust

Most trust studies in NRM reviewed focus on trust between the agency and stakeholders however, Davenport et al. (2007) and Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) make some comments about trust among stakeholders. Davenport et al. (2007) found conflicting values among stakeholders in their study to be a constraint to building trust among particular interest groups such as farmers, local landowners, and hunters. Focht and Trachtenberg (2005) found stakeholders feel they have more values in common with other stakeholders than with federal or state officials. These somewhat contradictory conclusions are likely due to the inevitable variation among individuals involved in their studies.

Looking beyond NRM-related studies on trust some authors (Vangen and Huxham, 2003; Ansell and Gash, 2007) recommend a “small-wins approach” when trust among stakeholders is judged to be non-existent or low. A “small-wins approach” enables trust to be built through mutual experiences with clear advantages gained through the successful implementation of low-risk initiatives (Vangen and Huxham, 2003). Ansell and Gash (2007) find the “small wins” approach particularly important where prior antagonism exists among stakeholders. They view the intermediate outcomes from this approach as “critical process outcomes that are essential for building momentum that can lead to successful collaboration” (Ansell and Gash, 2007, p. 561). Lewicki and Wiethoff (2000) also suggest a “small-wins approach” in their recommendation to begin by building CBT among parties where IBD and/or CBD are present. Starting with CBT is a “small wins” strategy whereby stakeholders slowly build a record of reliability with each other.

Building IBT among stakeholders with significant value differences that contribute to distrusting behavior with a “small wins approach”, aimed at improving CBT first, implies additional time may be needed to effectively build trust. Ferrin et al. (2008) echo this sentiment stating “parties who are allowed to communicate face-to-face with each other will, *over time*, develop higher trust perceptions of each other” (emphasis added, p. 163). Such face-to-face communication enables parties to reveal their “humanness” to each other, and discover their shared similarities and/or differences (Ferrin et al., 2008).

Many of the suggestions for Key Issue 7 are similar to those for Key Issue 1 as they both involve potential challenges for the process from non-participants. Key Issue 1 focused on concerns about powerful interests trying to influence the collaborative process, whereas Key Issue 7 focuses on non-participation due to distrust in the federal government.

CHART 20: KEY ISSUE 7 – DISTRUST OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
Indicates the dimension and types/stages of trust and suggestions associated with Key Issue 7

Key Issue	Trust - Dimension - Type/Stage	Suggestions
<i>Distrust of the Federal Government</i>	Relationships RBD Micro RBD Macro	- Determine whether or not the “just distrusting” stakeholders are of key importance to the process and try to understand their underlying issues - If these stakeholders are vitally important try to develop innovative ways to engage them - If they cannot be engaged develop strategies in anticipation of the legal/media/political challenges they may launch at the process

RBD = Routine-Based Distrust

Although the capacity of forest managers and facilitators to impact routine-based distrust (RBD) in a participatory process is quite limited, RBD can impact trust in the agency (and therefore the process too). Leahy and Anderson (2008) found some stakeholders have a difficult time separating their distrust of the federal government from their trust in the agency (in their case the US Army Corps of Engineers). However, as participants gained more experience with individuals at the agency and felt the agency was concerned about the local communities’ needs perceptions of the agency’s trustworthiness increased (Leahy and Anderson, 2008). These findings by Leahy and Anderson (2008) are echoed in Thomas’ (1998) conclusion that although changing trust in government at the Macro stage is difficult “public officials can nevertheless produce trust within their agency’s environment” (p. 188). This study reflects the ideas of Thomas (1998) and Leahy and Anderson (2008) as many of the Key Issues identified are related to Macro stage CBT or IBT trust-building in the agency.

Lastly, Key Issue 7 and its suggestions maybe less relevant in the Danish context due to Denmark's low Power Distance score (see *Chart 13*) and higher levels of public trust in government compared to the United States.

7. Conclusion

In this study of stakeholder trust perceptions in the Bridget-Teton National Forest (BTNF) collaborative process the two methods of analysis used revealed slightly different results. The Progress Triangle was a relatively straightforward tool to use and provided helpful insights about stakeholder trust, while the Trust Analytical Framework conclusions enabled a more detailed and nuanced understanding about trust issues at BTNF. Utilizing the framework, however, requires more substantial knowledge of trust theories than needed to use the Progress Triangle. As new methodological tool for analyzing trust, the Trust Analytical Framework would benefit from some further clarifications and revisions. First, a more clearly defined way to determine the High and Low categorizations for comments would serve to improve the consistency of the results from the framework. Such clarification would make this tool more appealing for use in larger studies on trust in natural resources management (NRM) involving multiple researchers. Second, the useful insights from the current and future-orientation of the conclusions from the framework imply this feature maybe useful to consider adding into the framework in the future.

Among the most interesting revelations from the case study was the continuum between Low calculus-based trust (CBT) and Low calculus-based distrust (CBD). The CBT-CBD continuum found in the study coupled with ideas about critical trust indicate that the skepticism underlying the Low CBT and Low CBD results may be beneficial for maintaining active public involvement in participatory processes. Likewise, Low identification-based trust (IBT) in the agency may not only be a more realistic aim for agencies, but may also serve to ensure continued public involvement. Although forest managers and process facilitators are unlikely to be able to affect routine-based distrust (RBD) in the federal government in a participatory process, forest managers can improve trust in their agency through their interactions with local communities within and beyond the collaborative process.

The Key Issues, and suggestions emerging from the conclusions in this study, although based only on 19 interviews, echo many of the results of other research on trust in

NRM. The Key Issues for forest managers and NRM process facilitators to consider with regard to stakeholder trust management are:

1. Transparency
2. Outside Influences on the Process
3. Uncertainty of Process Outcomes
4. Agency Consistency
5. Experiences with Agency Staff
6. Perceived Value Differences
7. Distrust of the Federal Government

Cultural differences between the United States and Denmark could result in some of the Key Issues being less important in the Danish context. For example, higher levels of public trust in government in Denmark may result in Key Issue 7 (RBD in the federal government) to be less of a concern for forest managers and process facilitators in Denmark. Additionally, the lower Power Distance score for Denmark could result in the relative power of outside influences and stakeholders being more equal in Denmark than the United States.

In conclusion, the results of this study indicate that forest managers and process facilitators should aim for Low CBT and IBT with and among stakeholders, with RBD an aspect of trust largely outside of their capacity to influence. Acute attention should be devoted to situations where High CBD and/or IBD (toward the agency or among stakeholders) are present as such high distrust levels could impede or even derail the process.

While the research questions of the study were answered, further questions emerge from that could benefit from additional research. With regard to translating the understanding of stakeholder trust perceptions gained in the BTNF study to the Danish context, more research on (1) stakeholder trust in Denmark and (2) how the cultural differences between the countries impact stakeholder trust management would be beneficial. Such research would help Danish forest managers determine which Key Issues and suggestions from the BTNF study are most relevant for improving stakeholder trust in Denmark.

Another important future research direction is gaining a better understanding of the trust continuum between Low CBT and Low CBD found in this study and echoed in research on critical trust. More specifically, how can managers determine where critical trust (that may be a component of Low CBT or CBD) end and distrust begin?

With regard to IBT and IBD, as indicated in the discussion, there is some divergence in the advice emerging from studies on trust in NRM. Some authors recommend forest managers to focus on interpersonal (IBT) trust development (Payton et al., 2005; Davenport et al., 2007). While other authors see some level of IBD as beneficial to maintaining

stakeholder involvement and the level of debate in participatory processes (Lubell et al., 2005; Parkins and Mitchell, 2005; Lewicki et al., 1998). Future research on how much IBD is useful to meet the above aims could help forest managers and facilitators to know better when IBD merits attention and when it is beneficial to the process.

Lastly, most studies on trust in NRM are case studies. A larger study on stakeholder perceptions of trust in NRM participatory processes involving multiple cases, utilizing the same analytical approach, could be useful for developing typologies of stakeholder trust in NRM grounded in a strong empirical foundation.

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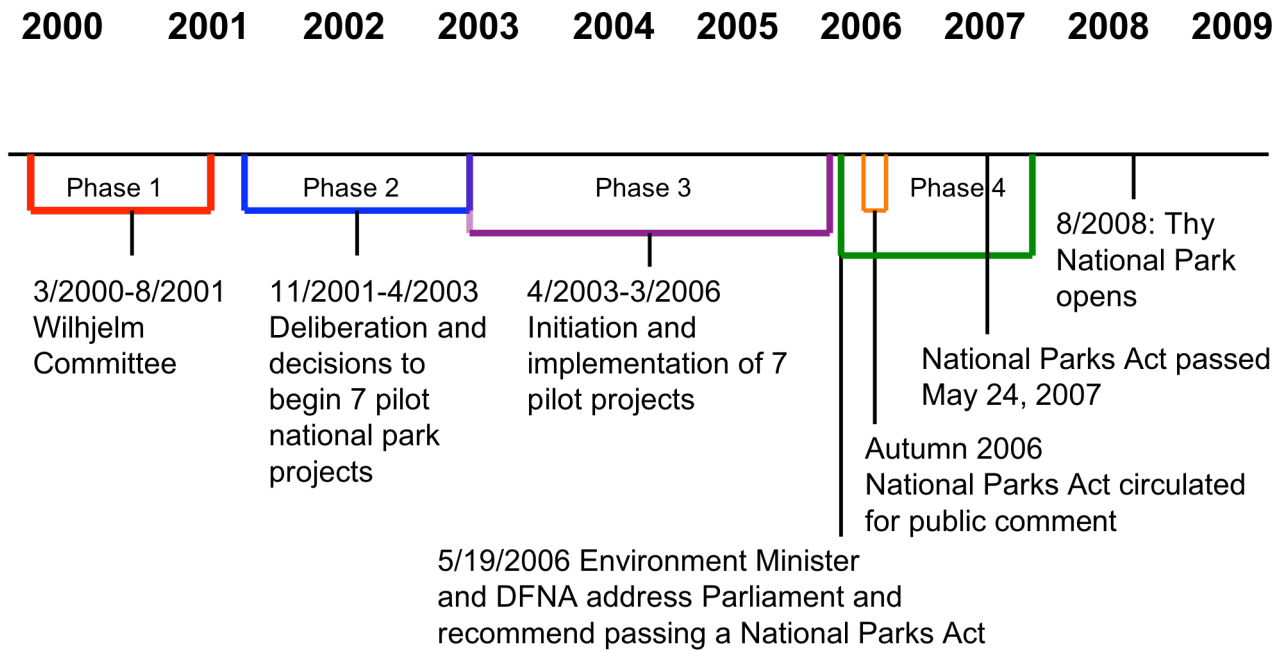
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Appendix 1: Denmark National Parks Process Timeline

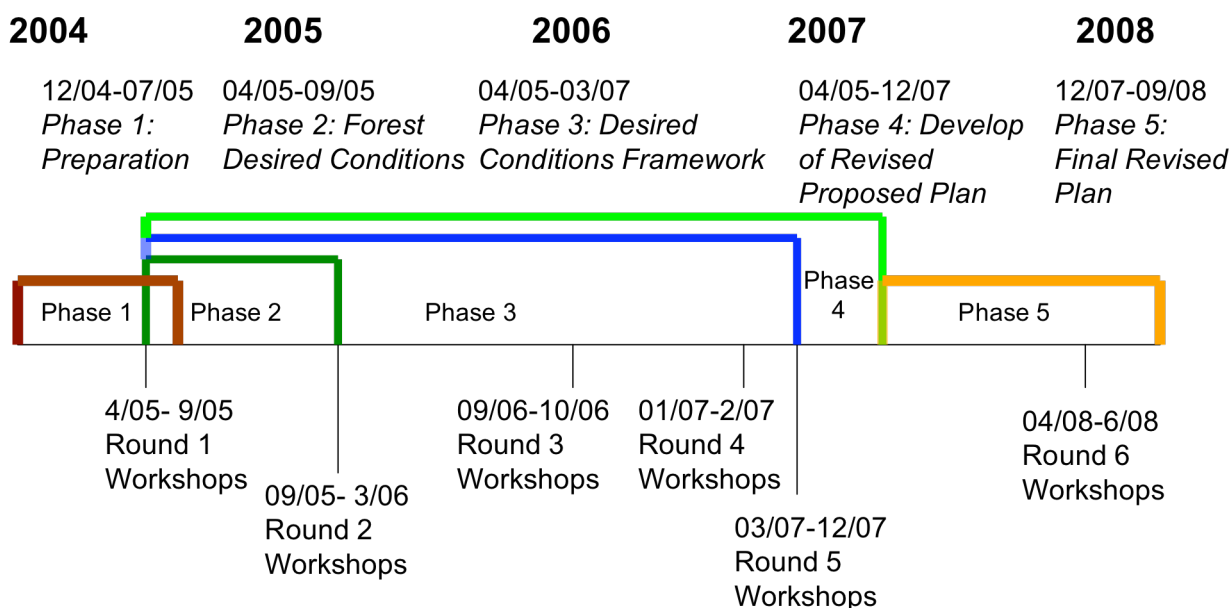
Denmark National Parks Process Timeline



(Source: Dates and phases concept from: Boon, T.E., Lund, D.H., Nathan, I. (2009) "The national park pilot process introducing new forms of governance in Danish nature politics" [online]. University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences, Vienna. Available from: <http://www.wiso.boku.ac.at/reports.html> [2009-03-23])

Appendix 2: Original and Actual Process Timelines at BTNF

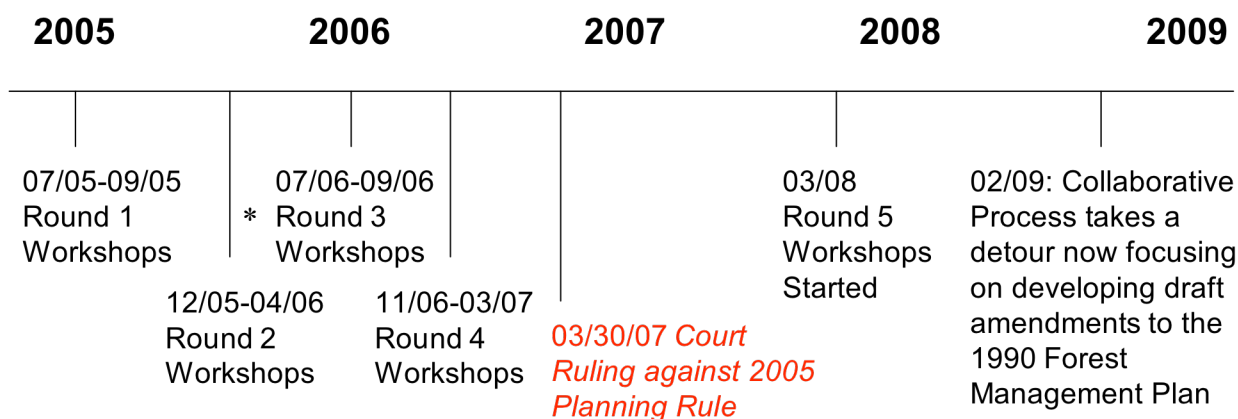
Original BTNF Process Timeline



(Adapted from: US Forest Service. (12 February 2005). "Timeline2" [online]. Bridger Teton National Forest, Overview of Forest Plan Revision Process. Available from: http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/btnf/news/forest_plan_revision/overview_fpr.shtml [15 March 2005])

* Line linking workshop rounds to the timeline indicates when the round of workshops *began*

Actual BTNF Process Timeline



Adapted from:

- US Forest Service. (July 2006). "The BTNF Plan Revision Report Volume 1" [online]. *Bridger Teton National Forest, Forest Plan Revision*. Available from: http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/btnf/news/forest_plan_revision/overview_fpr.shtml (15 March 2005)
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* Lines linking workshop rounds to the timeline indicate when the round of workshops *began*

Appendix 3: Interviewee List

Public Involvement Track Interviewees

Interviewee	Gender	Forest Use	Other Notes
1	F	Non-motorized recreation	
2	M	Ski, Climb, Firewood	
3	F	Hike, Paint	Involved w/NGO
4	F	Ski, Snow-shoe, Camp	
5	M	Grazing Permittee	Represents group of ranchers
6	F	Scenery, Protect Watershed	Government experience
7	F	Grazing Permittee	
8	M	Backpack, Hike, Photography	Involved w/NGO

Cooperators Track Interviewees

Interviewee	Gender	Forest Use	Other Notes
9	M	Hike, Boating, Horseback Ride	Elected
10	M	Hunt, Fish, Hike, Snowmobile	Elected
11	F	Enjoy nature, relaxation	Government, not elected
12	F	Grazing Permittee	Elected
13	M	Hike, Fish, Snowshoe, Ski	Elected
14	F	Mountain Bike, Hike, Camp	Government, not elected

BTNF Staff

Interviewee	Gender	Forest Use	Other Notes
15	F	Bike, Hike, Ski, Fish, Snowmobile	
16	M	Fish, Hunt, Camp, Snowmobile	
17	M	Backpack, Ski	
18	F	Firewood Collection, Scenery, Climb	
19	M	Camp, Hunt, Hike, Scenery	

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

Introductory Questions

- What is your use of the forest?
- What is your relationship to BTNF and the planning process?
- Are you satisfied or frustrated with the process?

General Trust Questions

- What is Trust in your view?
- What is Distrust in your view?
- Is Trust relevant or important?
 - Why or why not?

Questions about Other Parties

- Which other parties do you trust?
- Which other parties do you distrust?
- Do you trust other parties in the process?
 - Who?
 - Why?
- Do you distrust any other parties in the process?
 - Who?
 - Why?
- Do you think the current trust levels can change?
 - What can make it change?

Questions about the Process

- How do you perceive the process so far?
- How would you try to achieve your goals and interests in the Forest Planning Process?
 - By collaborating or forcing?
- Do you see any risks related to the new planning process?
- Is the public involvement process more or less effective?
- What has increased trust in the process specifically?
- What has decreased trust in the process specifically?
- Is there anything else you want to mention regarding the planning process and your experience?

Questions about USFS-BTNF

- Describe the trust level you had with BTNF prior to the public planning effort?
- Why do you think BTNF is pursuing the new planning rule and collaborative public involvement?

(Source: This Interviewee Guide is developed based on information about the interview questions and the interview process from Jens Emborg, Associate Professor, University of Copenhagen, DK)

Appendix 5: Quotes supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators

Relationships Dimension Conclusions (RC)

RC1 - General Comments Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

Trust is in a person

Int#	Quote from the Interview
3	(Regarding trust) - It's not the organisation. No! cause you have to have people in senior leadership positions...who are willing to take real political pressure in order to do what's right
5	The trust that an individual I think in my, this is just my opinion, but the trust factor is established at the local level The most important decisions you make and the most important negotiations you do are still on a personal level. You wanna look that guy in the eye, talk to him and make your decision on is this guy trustworthy or is he not?
6	Trust is being able to work with and cooperate with the person and if I trust that person I trust him to do what he tells me to do
8	The way I look at trust it's... entities exist as a piece of paper...Two pieces of paper don't trust each other; I really think it comes down to the people
9	Trust is believing and seeing that when somebody says they'll do something that that will be done and you will do the same thing
14	(Regarding trust) - It's a sort of a promise from someone saying that they'll do what they say they're gonna do.

RC2 – USFS-BTNF Theme (7 Interviewees Commented)

Think USFS-BTNF staff is trying to do a good job in managing the forest

Int#	Quote from the Interview
2	...like I trust what the people there were saying and trying to do in beliefs you know that they're trying to solve problems before they arise and manage the forest correctly I think that they seem to be doing a good job and so I'd say that I'd, yeah I trust that, I trust most [of] their decisions
3	(About trust of BTNF) - ..so I don't think it's (the trust level) changed for me because I already had done enough work with them to understand where they were coming from and that they were making a serious effort to do a good job
4	I really think at least our local Forest Service people have done a lot of good and have really made a big effort to listen to the people, to communicate with people what we need to do, what's going wrong
6	I have not been disappointed in the actions of the Forest Service so far.
8	I think this forest likes to try to be responsive as public servants to the general public but they also legally have to I think this organisation (an NGO) has been very smart that at hiring individuals that that level of openness and honesty and fair dealing, is part of their personal values and that carries over to how they work with, day to day, with the people in the Forest Service. And that goes both ways, I think the forest service has done a good job of selecting these types of people too
10	I think the Forest Service has done a really good job that they're now finally starting to listen to the people. That's gotta be part of the trust process
13	- I believe that the professionals of the Forest Service do a really very good job under very difficult circumstances

RC3 – USFS-BTNF Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

Trust in USFS-BTNF can change

Int#	Quote from the Interview
2	If they (USFS-BTNF) say there's not gonna be drilling here and then people see it stay pristine or there's not gonna be snowmobiles and they see that, that level of trust would increase, and the opposite would

	hold true if, if they you know, if people say you know, hey I went to this meeting and they said this was gonna be protected and now you know five years later there's oil wells and snowmobiles and all these other things and the trust would go down.
3	(Regarding trust) - It could change overnight if Kniffy Hamilton left. If Kniffy retires before the next, or gets transferred, before the next presidential election and if her staff gets moved
5	Trust has to start with the district ranger or the person you're dealing with and he's got to be, that has to be made on a personal basis. When an agency becomes faceless, okay, when the local officials become disconnected, and there is no access to them, you don't get any phone calls back, you're dealing with the second level or the third level in the office and you're never able to get to the head of the district, trust is gone.
6	If I thought there was something that wasn't going well I would ask why. And I would trust those people to tell me the truth. I'd better not find they aren't, then I would distrust them. But so far I haven't, to any great degree
7	I think it's gonna be how long is the Forest Service willing to do this collaborative stuff, and how much – there's a, here's a word for you – how much <i>power</i> are they going to enforce over the individual groups. I think that that right there will be a key... Are they truly going to listen and make the process according to the wants and wishes of the majority? Or are they gonna in the end do what they wanna do anyhow? And if they do what they wanna do, after all that, they're gonna lose a lot of trust
9	- (Regarding low trust/distrust initially) - I guess it was moored on rumour. People saying that Kniffy was really green...very conservation minded... but it was like, okay, she's coming in with an agenda to hurt the ranchers and the sheep men and, boy, we've really gotta go after her. And so that was my initial thinking and feeling that she was really, really that way. And as you get to know her and see the decisions that are being made, that's not the case. And so, you go in with pre-conceived notions of somebody

RC4 - Stakeholders Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

Concerns about stakeholders with different values

Int#	Quote from the Interview
1	It's not that I don't distrust <u>them</u> (energy, logging, industry), though I know that my, my concerns and their's are totally different probably for the forest
2	<p>...but if I thought if one of those, if one of the owners of High Mountain Helicopter ski was there, I would distrust him because I know in he and Tom have conflict for sure but if, if that contingent was there, I would distrust them...and they say, "oh we don't see wildlife, we don't scare, we don't you know" and I know what they do and what they say is, is completely different so yeah I would- that organisation I would distrust them</p> <p>I'd say uh, the ranchers, I, some of 'em, I would trust but for the most part I would be more skeptical about ranchers because you know, if they're people that think their cows are more important than wolves, I think that's just nearsighted</p> <p>- so I'd say the hunter yeah the hunters and the ranchers I'd be more skeptical about what their motives are, whereas the environmentalists, recreationalists, ah, I implicitly trust or especially non-motorised recreationalists, I mean I, I don't snowmobile and it's not my favourite thing, but I don't, I don't think it's the worst, you know I don't think it's the biggest problem but if there is a contingent of snowmobilers you know I, I wouldn't trust them very much because I don't think, I don't think it's a helpful thing for the environment</p>
5	The people I don't trust are the people who see the forest and see this land as finite. That we want it to be this way forever
8	Well I don't trust less, it's just have more, cause I know what their goals are, I know what their, I mean they're a single interest group. (*check who?) - it's mostly the oil and gas and I would say that it's some of the maybe businesses that represent maybe motorised use - that seems to have a little bit more of an open ear to some decision makers. I wouldn't say here locally but maybe nationally. And timber to some extent
9	I worry about the agenda of the, well, I know what their agenda... can't remember what his name was or what, the two thousand people that he represented. Um, we know what their agenda is. They would, they want to swing the forest over here and close up a lot of things. We're maybe over here wanting to keep things really open and multiple use, and I think we'll all meet in the middle.
10	I don't have a distrust really of any of them (other stakeholders). I worry about their agendas

Substance Dimension

No Conclusions

Procedure Dimension Conclusions (PC)

PC1 – USFS-BTNF Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

How USFS-BTNF manages the process impacts trust (positively or negatively) in the agency

Int#	Quote from the Interview
1	I think almost all federal agencies, BLM or Forest Service are scampering to um..., improve their public image and this, this is an opportunity to do that but it's also an opportunity to just sort of sham it, you know. I mean that yeah we're going through all the motions but in fact when it gets down to it, we're going to end up with what we want, we're going to end up with something that's so vague that we can interpret it in any way we want
2	...if they (BTNF) put this plan in, the way that they do what they say they're gonna do then people would trust them a lot more.
5	...if these guys (USFS-BTNF) throw out this local input on this one, then they'll have lost complete support locally...
7	(Regarding risks to the process) - Well, not as long as they maintain their trust. I mean if they use what people say in there, and for some way misconstrue it or use it against those people then yeah, but I would hope that it's not. I mean I don't know why they would actually.
8	Trust means that they're not just going through the motions of having, soliciting comment, of having meetings, of hearing different viewpoints like they did the other night, just to make it look like they're involving everybody. So for me trust means that they're actually sincere and maybe not giving everybody what they want, how's that gonna be possible, but sincere and listening to what people want and making the best effort they can to, you know, either come up with some sort of balance or make a decision that is best for the forest based on the input that they hear or maybe combine that with what's best for the most amount of people. So to me I think of trust in a way, mostly trusting the agency and that they're actually sincere in trying to make that, they're not just listening to people to make themselves look good
10	Is if the Forest Service comes out with a set of rules what they see is in the plan, what they want, and it's not what the public wants, and if they compromise then they have a feeling that they trust the Forest Service and they're not going ahead with what they put out to begin with. If your draft forms are held to all the way through and there's no changes, the public's perception is that there's a lack of trust there when that is.

PC2 - Process Theme (8 Interviewees Commented)

Positive attitude about the process relates to believing that one's input/participation matters

Int#	Quote from the Interview
1	(Regarding trust in the process) - believing that my input mattered and that it would be relevant and that this whole process would actually determine how the Forest Service was going to manage the forest in the future
2	I was less trusting of them before this (process)... because, yeah, just seeing something that's already gonna happen you know it could be good or bad but you don't feel like there's any involvement, where you feel like you're actually could be involved if you wanna be, it you know, I guess that establishes trust. Knowing that you're involved from the beginning rather than just at the end
4	Because I don't think people would bother putting in their input if they don't trust that what they have to say is gonna make any difference. And if they don't think what they're saying is getting put to the use it should
5	If we end up with, out of this process, a list – we accepted this, we did not accept that, no reasoning, or no support or no science or whatever, it takes whatever the process was that made that final decision...then there's another process that isn't ever gonna be followed through again. You know, people are gonna say we went to this but it was just a waste of our time
7	...people will stop participating. If they figure that what you say or do is just gonna be glossed over or not heeded or considered why bother with your time and effort? I mean, we're busy enough as it is, we don't need to participate in something that's just gonna get thrown out at the end
9	I think it's more effective....Cause I'm part of it...Cause I've got some buy in to it. I've been amazed the comments that we as commissioners have submitted. We see them back in the plan.
12	This one (collaborative process) probably has the highest level of trust because they have brought people

	in and they seemed to have listened to what we have said and have incorporated it – we can see it in the next step
13	I'm very pleased with the process, because I believe it's a constructive attempt to involve local government and cooperating agencies at a level that we haven't before had the opportunity to do

PC3 - Process Theme (8 Interviewees Commented)

Skepticism about the outcome of the process

Int#	Quote from the Interview
1	I would have the guess that the overall feeling is that there is very little trust in what the outcome of this will result for the forest and saving it, rather than consuming it
3	At this point we have to take pretty much on faith what will come out... I think the meetings have been encouraging, the staff say the right things for this stage of the game but until there's a product, we don't know ...I don't know how it will come out. I know how I <i>hope</i> it comes out. But you would be a fool to bet the ranch, as we say around here, on any particular outcome
4	...where I'm not sure that I trust the process, not the process but what's <i>done</i> with it, I guess that's where I'd say I don't know if I trust that this is actually gonna do what it says it's gonna do
5	But I think it's better than it was before you know. What the outcome will be, I think will be the telling tale If we end up with, out of this process, a list – we accepted this, we did not accept that, no reasoning, or no support or no science or whatever, it takes whatever the process was that made that final decision... then there's another process that isn't ever gonna be followed through again. You know, people are gonna say we went to this but it was just a waste of our time
7	I think surprised at how open and friendly it was at first, with some reservations and skepticism to see where it goes. If it continues along the same path, I think it will be a wonderful process. I'm afraid that crunch-time's going to come in and the Forest Service is gonna say, we don't have time to follow through with this and we're just gonna make the decisions and go I guess we'll have to see how it all comes out.
8	I know science has a role here but there's just different things when you subject a process to NEPA, or you come up with a range of alternatives or you have to disclose impacts and basically make .. it's a really ensures informed decision making, or it's at least supposed to ...the question is gonna be, whose gonna make the decision? Are Rick and his team gonna make a recommendation, I hope they do because I think that'll be very responsive to the overall, as much consensus as we can get up there on this... Or is it just gonna be the supervisor Kniffy Hamilton? Or if it's something so of a hot button issue these days, is oil and gas there's, I don't know if she's just gonna make the decision in her office by herself without the phone ringing.
11	I've been watching it (the process) go by for some time now and I think it's helping. You know, you never know until you come out with a document and see what people really say but I think it's helping.
12	We're seeing results, but we'll never know until the final plan, whether we should've trusted it or not, you know? But all you can do is speak out for what you believe and make the review and comment again and comment, submit your comments, and stay in the process

PC4 - Process Theme (7 Interviewees Commented)

Transparency increases confidence in the process

Int#	Quote from the Interview
5	...the results were very open. It was open, the input was laid out for everyone to see, and that made me much more confident in what, you know, in the process itself because in the past we were isolated as individuals ...it's still it goes back to that transparency, you know. Am I getting the whole story? You know, is the reason for the decisions that are made that I'm told the full, you know, am I getting the full plate here? You know. Was the criteria on which these decisions were made good or bad for me? Am I being told the whole criteria or am I just getting the one side in that
6	(Regarding trust in the planning process) - The openness that people would welcome me when I go in to

	talk to them. I've never had a door closed to me So, a lot depends on people doing what they say they'll do. And that's a lot of effort. And there maybe compromises but I wanna know about them. And that's how we get these open meetings to build that trust – if they ever shut the door, it wouldn't be trustworthy, but I have not found that personally
7	I think surprised at how open and friendly it was at first, with some reservations and skepticism to see where it goes. If it continues along the same path, I think it will be a wonderful process.
8	Fred or I are gonna go camp down there (near the cooperators retreat location), and make sure we kind of watchdog and see what happens and give our comment if they ask for it and that kind of thing so. That honesty and keeping things open and transparent and not secretive...those are really at the core of trust
10	...the public doesn't like to think there's secret meetings going on and so these meetings we're holding here, they've gotta keep those right up in front.
12	It's (the process) transparent (to the public) but it's more than that. It's such a communication assignment. There has to be so much communication and that's what I've seen on this forest is that, okay this didn't work sorry I'll just try to fix it. Whereas on some of the other plans they just went blindly ahead til they got a year or so into the process and then it's like, oh this is a total disaster, now we have to start over.
14	...there could be a level of distrust between those groups in the future and different parties they work on. So I think from our perspective it's really important to be very transparent upfront and let people sort of know where the sideboards are so there aren't expectation levels that you can't meet.

PC5 - Outside Entities and Influences Theme (8 Interviewees Commented)

Concerns that local decisions will be over-ridden by outside interests

Int#	Quote from the Interview
1	...we determine all these things that we want, are they going to be superseded by economic factors such as energy development that is being pushed from above? - I think it's a shame that those players (energy, logging, industry) <u>aren't</u> involved in this process so that we can actually see you know, see them participating too, and see that their input is at the level we are and it's not going to come from above and dampen whatever we've done....
2	...my concern is that with the, the current administration that we can do all this great stuff and then somebody you know, like the president will come up with some initiative and pass it through Congress and it's all, you know, it could all change
3	...my main concern is that no matter what they say or recommend, there's a risk that they will be overridden by their political bosses in Washington, who may well, for instance, and this is the main risk, want to drill more in the Bridger-Teton than the community here wants to drill or the scientific community wants to drill or the Bridger-Teton staff want to drill What people do not trust is the political decision making level that is above the BT supervisor – the people in Washington ...over all of this is a big cloud of suspicion that people feel that no matter how good the intentions of this Forest staff are, that the major decisions affecting the forest will be made in Washington...
4	I feel like we can put all this input in, save for oil and gas leasing, but yet the higher ups in Washington DC are gonna say we don't care that it's critical wildlife habitat or it's critical in these other areas and should be preserved and not disturbed. We just go ahead and drill
5	I think that the reason that total distrust was there was because decisions were being made from the top-down and people just had a belly full of it. You know, all of the decisions that were driving this policy in this Forest came from somewhere else. Nothing came from here... ...so that outside influence has left a lot of people here very, very, very distrustful.
8	...some groups might have more influence with Senator Thomas or Senator Ansy or Barbara Queben, and the relationship is then they might have more influence with maybe not even the Forest Service but whoever's in charge of one level higher of the Forest service back in Washington. Or if it's something so of a hot button issue these days, is oil and gas there's, I don't know if she's (Kniffy Hamilton) just gonna make the decision in her office by herself without the phone ringing.
10	Prior to the process, public's trust of the federal agencies is fairly low most of the time, they don't believe they have their interests at heart. And it's mostly based on they believe interest groups with a lot

	of money that make a lot of noise get their way. And that also applies to oil companies or anybody else that can do it in, so they mistrust the process for that reason
14	(Regarding distrust) - a lot of times it (distrust) comes from higher up in DC or comes from the administration but you're sort of going down on one path for months on a specific set of issues, and then all of sudden you find out, oh well that was a waste of time because they were already were gonna do this plan instead of the plan you've been working on, so that's unfortunate... you kind of have an idea of how many oil and gas wells are gonna be somewhere and you've worked with local governments and various state environmental agencies and then, you know it comes down form DC BLM and they need this on the gas, and everything you've worked on collaboratively is thrown out the window

Appendix 6: Quotes supporting Progress Triangle Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff

Relationships Dimension Conclusions (RC)

RC1 - General Comments Theme (3 Interviewees Commented)

Trust is related to honest communication

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	<p>(Regarding building trust) - I think open communication, listening to people and their values, sharing information, being willing to, really explore the difficult areas that people are very concerned about. Um, being flexible, being willing to change, you know, your viewpoint, and I, you know, you do that through listening and getting information so they'll kind of interconnect but I guess that's, off the top of my head, that's most important...it's really people being able to work together</p> <p>And I think that's an example of how if you build trust, you know, with your public that, you know they'll know when things are true and when they're untruths</p>
16	<p>I'm gonna trust or you have credibility in me is what you're telling me is [to] your best knowledge, you're gonna stand by it, and you also have the knowledge.</p> <p>You know I think that's what you know what I always tell people [is] the best thing I got is my word and that's about it, and you know, a handshake is the way to operate</p>
17	<p>...trust is you know, if you make some agreements or you make some statements you're not gonna turn around later, you know sort of get, you don't agree to something and then come around and back track on it later</p>

RC2 - General Comments Theme (3 Interviewees Commented)

Distrust involves not keeping your word

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	<p>...if we (USFS-BTNF) did something that went against everything that I've just talked about, honesty, openness, trans- like you said, transparency, um, you know being forthright even, not keeping secrets, not having things under the table. So I think if we started to exhibit those kinds of traits, or those characteristics then that (trust) would probably unravel pretty quickly.</p>
16	<p>(Regarding distrust) - You don't do what you say you going to do and you don't have a reason why... distrust – and you know, you know, just if you stab them in the back, if you stand by your rules, if somebody tells you this and then, and then, ah, pressure starts tot come on them and they change their mind and they backtrack, or they go with the flow. For me, that's where I start to struggle... you know if you told me this is the best way doing it and, and, maybe you were wrong or maybe you were right but as soon as pressure comes in then you say, well that's not, that's not what I told you, that's not really what I wanted. Then the distrust comes in and you don't trust them again.</p>
17	<p>...what I think is much more you know insidious and destructive to relationships is the other type of trust- you know it's they're well, you're asking me for my opinion on this but you really don't care because you're mind is already made up or you're gonna promise to do something and then you're gonna come back and not do it, but not look me in the eye and tell me you're not doing it, you're gonna sneak around</p>

RC3 – USFS-BTNF Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Trust is in individuals at FS

Int#	Quote from the Interview
16	<p>To a point, we're the federal government, so there's always two points of trust. I've always have people say, 'I don't like the Forest Service, I sure like you, you're a neat guy, you're a friendly guy, I trust you, I don't trust the Forest Service'.</p>
17	<p>In other words, you know it may be, and this is kind of somewhat hypothetical because like I said I don't the details of how that impression happened, but one can imagine a Forest Supervisor telling people, yeah we're making a leasing decision and being totally upfront and honest about that, but then someone else higher up in the bureaucracy comes around and changes that. So it makes, so in a way it's, it's well, I can trust the individuals but I can't trust the whole system to, you know</p>
18	<p>I'm still not sure what that product will be so I trust my people, I trust people internally, I know that they</p>

	<p>really care for the land and they really care for the people. They wanna do what's best and they wanna put out a good quality product. That I trust.</p> <p>(Regarding trust in USFS-BTNF) - No, it's starts with people, it's starts with people's actions. It starts with their consistency, you know, and...once again you have to gain your trust</p>
19	<p>I feel good about what the trust level has been. The person before me had a handful of people that didn't trust him at all. And so I hopefully have repaired some relationships there</p> <p>...ultimately the trust in the organisation are gonna be built by the individuals and the decisions that they make, the actions that their people take out in the field. You know, how, if I let my people, my forest protection officers treat people poorly in a law enforcement context, well these people are gonna go back and complain to their families, their friends, their neighbors and so, you know, I think it, that's gonna be the perception of the Forest Service, and it won't be of the individual because all they'll know is that their brother or friend or whatever was treated poorly.</p>

RC4 – USFS-BTNF Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Some people distrust (government/agencies) no matter what

Int#	Quote from the Interview
16	To a point, we're the federal government, so there's always two points of trust. I've always have people say, 'I don't like the Forest Service, I sure like you, you're a neat guy, you're a friendly guy, I trust you, I don't trust the Forest Service'.
17	<p>In other words, you know it may be, and this is kind of somewhat hypothetical because like I said I don't the details of how that impression happened, but one can imagine a Forest Supervisor telling people, yeah we're making a leasing decision and being totally upfront and honest about that, but then someone else higher up in the bureaucracy comes around and changes that. So it makes, so in a way it's, it's well, I can trust the individuals but I can't trust the whole system to, you know</p> <p>I think they're probably people, and there're people out there who don't trust and that's fine. You know, I think. It's not ideal, it's fine, it's real and so you have to just deal with that.</p>
18	<p>...there are certain people that are distrustful of anything. Like I said, there's change and anyone is distrustful of change to a point.</p> <p>...there's a degree of the public that trusts government as a whole, and a degree of the public that does not trust government no matter what. You know, I think it's the, expect the worst and if you get something good happens, then that's great</p> <p>...there's gonna be people at both ends that'll never trust us.</p>
19	But there are specific factions within the community that are anti-change or um, you know, they just don't trust the federal government no matter what. And there's probably nothing I could ever do to make them happy

RC5 – USFS-BTNF Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Trust levels in USFS-BTNF are good

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	<p>...from my perception it's (trust level) good. I mean there's always areas where people who have different values from ours and the decisions we make may not like our decisions but I've think we developed very good relationships with our communities</p> <p>...I don't think it's low (trust level). I mean, I'm sure there's room for improvement but I think, I think it's the difference between people not liking the decisions that you make versus they trust you and you still maintain a good relationship even though they don't like the decisions you've made and so if you can develop that relationship where people don't agree with your decisions but they still work with you, they still respect you as an agency and as a person, then I think you've built that trust</p>
16	I wanna think and will think this till I retire, that they (the public) on the whole generally trust us (USFS-BTNF).
17	...there may be NGOs that don't trust that the Forest Service will do what is best for the natural resources that they value. That doesn't mean that they don't trust us in terms of our integrity
19	I like to think it's a pretty good trust level...But by and large, overall land management I think there's a

	<p>lot of trust, a lot of long time permittees, long time outfitters, long time ranchers, that use public lands commercially and you know they, you know, trust has been built with a lot of those people</p> <p>I feel good about what the trust level has been. The person before me had a handful of people that didn't trust him at all. And so I hopefully have repaired some relationships there</p>
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RC6 - Stakeholders Theme (3 Interviewees Commented)

Stakeholders may have different goals but can still be trusted

Int#	Quote from the Interview
16	<p>I trust them (other stakeholders) all to different levels of what their expectations [are]. On a personal level, most of the people I know, they have personal integrity. I may or may not agree with their views, but I personally trust them</p> <p>...so when you deal with politicians and you deal with that, you know you trust them but you also have to realise that they're, they're elected officials and they have a goal too</p>
17	<p>I don't think I have any different amounts of trust because I think, and this might just be my personality, is that I tend to trust people until they give me a reason not to trust them. And, until one of these parties double crosses us, you know, I can't even hardly imagine what it would be, ah, then I don't have any feeling that I trust any group more than another. I mean I trust them all to be operating in their self-interest [laughs to himself] you know and that's fine, you know</p> <p>...there may be NGOs that don't trust that the Forest Service will do what is best for the natural resources that they value. That doesn't mean that they don't trust us in terms of our integrity</p>
19	<p>...there's no group that I really distrust. I know what their motivations are</p> <p>...I think people are honestly trying to learn and participate and have input and we'll have to see what the end product is, how they'll react to it.</p>

RC7 - Local Issues Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Local issues impact trust in FS (positively and negatively)

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	<p>...we've just had a review, um, where one of the big findings in that review is the relationships we've built in the communities, all the communities on the Bridger-Teton, um, in the fire communities... so we've developed those relationships through fire, which can carry over into any effort that we do and so there are people that sit on this cooperators group from State Forestry, and so we already have pretty good relationships with them, so it's not difficult to have to start from scratch.</p>
17	<p>I wasn't around for the previous plan, but my understanding is that a number of people believed, and I don't know if they were led to believe this or not, that the plan was making oil and gas leasing decisions so then later in it there was a Forest Plan appeal and the chief of the Forest Service who hears the appeals, or someone in Chief's office who hears the appeals, came back and said by the way, your Forest Plan does not make leasing decisions... but a lot of people who believed that we were making leasing decisions, they felt like they got screwed... so in a way it's, it's well, I can trust the individuals but I can't trust the whole system</p>
18	<p>So we've (<i>USFS-BTNF</i>) had their trust, we've gained their trust in the fire community for example because we've had lots of these fires now in the last say, 8 years, or 8-10 years. And they've worked out really well. Or they haven't escaped, they haven't caused structural damage. But the minute a fire causes structural damage of any sort, private property, we will have lost their trust and we will have to start over</p> <p>...now that we have all the gas industry that has really changed the community. Really changed the type of people we have now, and um, it's disrupted the infrastructure of the town, they can't handle the influx of people so their septic system had to be redone, the roads are falling apart. ...And so that has really changed you know, changed the whole community. And what people tie that to is the gas industry and then they tie that to the BLM, which is an agency, and then they tie that to the Forest Service and BLM because we're both federal agencies so there's a degree of distrust in the community right now about this whole gas industry and so they're gonna have far less trust than any agency right now, cause they see the changes that have occurred</p>
19	<p>Well I think there's a lack of trust for the federal government regarding things like that, certain specific things like this Dune Creek fire which we're dealing with right now, which has the potential to threaten</p>

	<p>homes but it's a let-burn fire..., they don't trust that we um, have the ability to control that fire if necessary. And there is a certain amount of risk and we are pretty open about that, that there is risk in doing things like this, but we're letting [it in] a fire-dependent ecosystem, we're trying to educate them on that... but probably just as many don't trust that we have the knowledge and the resources to protect their homes</p> <p>If a bunch of homes burn out tonight or tomorrow, trust will go down dramatically in this area for the Forest Service</p>
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Substance Dimension Conclusions (SC)

SC1 - Process Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Process of making decisions about substantive issues will be examined closely

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	(Regarding the cooperators) - I think there is enough trust in that group right now. I don't see anybody overthrowing it, but we haven't come to the top decision making part yet
16	...when we come and say, now this country's back country and that means that means you can't take you four-wheeler in like you used to, or you can't take your snowmobile in there, or you can't do this, or you-, or there are going to be four-wheelers or something, <i>that's</i> when the discussions gonna be in the end very cautious of what level of decision, who gets to make what decision where
17	I think people are probably holding their opinions, you know. I think, I bet there're still a lot of people on the fence about whether they can trust (<i>the process</i>) or not, because as I said before we haven't gotten down to the brass tacks of what kind of activities are going to be allowed where.
18	(Regarding the end product of collaborative process) - whether that's something that really will help us manage the land, consistently, effectively, efficiently and please a good number of the public, which we're serving, that will, that remains to be seen.

Procedural Dimension Conclusions (PC)

PC1 – USFS-BTNF Theme (5 Interviewees Commented)

Without real and sincere public involvement, the public won't trust FS decisions

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	<p>...part of that trust building relationship is not just the relationships but being involved in the process and having a say in what we're doing, and because I was thinking...you know, the public may not know what we're doing...where our ideas are coming from, why we're doing the things that we are, and so when they just see something they haven't been involved in developing, they may distrust it, because they don't know, how, what the thoughts were that went into to build what we put together</p> <p>...distrust I think would be not having involve- people would not trust that we came to the right conclusions since they hadn't been a part of the process.</p>
16	...if we (USFS-BTNF) change, if we all of a sudden say 'well, we wanted you involved but now we really think that, you know, we know a little bit more than you do or we aren't gonna involve you then, then they're gonna say 'well, wait a minute now'. And then you'll never be able to get things through again. But people still will not trust you.
17	(Regarding trust) - that you're being honest that the public process is real. That that public process really is gonna have an impact and you're not just doing because you're required to have a public process and somebody thinks it's a good idea so we'll go through with it and it will just be, and I think this what people worry about. Is that, in a lot of these processes they say, well the Forest Service really has their mind already made up and this public process is just to be able to say they did it
18	If they think they're being listened to and the big points, the big picture, I mean, worse, if they think we're listening and the final product shows that, there will be good segment of the public that will continue to trust us
19	...distrust would be a more closed process where I think if we came out with alternatives of what we want to do and then we take comment but don't change the alternatives at all, and you know that would create distrust

PC2 - Process Theme (5 Interviewees Commented)

It is important for USFS-BTNF to be clear about why decisions are made in a particular way

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	So, it (the process) definitely takes more time but it's, in my way of thinking, it's definitely worth it and if we can come out with a Forest Plan revision that people can pretty well agree with and, not that they like everything in it, but they, they can agree with it, and understand why we've all gotten to where we have on the suitability of these places and I think that's huge success
16	...when we come and say, now this country's back country and that means you can't take you four-wheeler in like you used to, or you can't take your snowmobile in there, or you can't do this, or you- , or there are going to be four-wheelers or something, <i>that's</i> when the discussions gonna be in the end very cautious of what level of decision, who gets to make what decision where
17	... the risk is that you lead people on into thinking that you really are collaborating with them and in the end they feel screwed cause you've had to compromise, and if you're not making it really clear how you did listen to them and you know what, you're not going to win every time, and it's still legitimate collaborative process, and if you can't communicate that well, then all they're going to know is that they played in this collaborative process for x number of years and they didn't get what they wanted
18	So there will be people whose input we can't, you know we'll listen, but we can't incorporate, but those people in the middle that have, you know really good ideas, that's where I'd like to see how those get incorporated into this plan. And they won't trust us unless they see, okay, they at least- oh I can see kind of how you used what I gave you in this one area. You know, if they can't see that, if all they get to see is the end product, of course, that probably won't work.
19	I think trust is that the input that the public and the cooperators' give is they can see how it was considered in the planning process, it's a transparent process. And if for some reason you can't do the things that they want, it's transparent why ...distrust would be a more closed process where I think if we came out with alternatives of what we want to do and then we take comment but don't change the alternatives at all, and you know that would create distrust

PC3 - Process Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Positive attitude about the process

Int#	Quote from the Interview
15	I am very happy with the way the process is going but I think from two aspects: one the cooperators group and that collaboration, that side of things is going very, very well and then from the team putting the various parts of the plan together
16	I think we have the right out level of expectation, I think we're working the folks, they seem pleased ...it'll go through collaborative, but there'll be disagreements and there'll be discussions
17	I think the general feeling is that it's (the process) going well - I expect that management here (USFS-BTNF) will be committed to the collaborative process in not using force or saying no, sorry, tough, this is the way it has to be.
19	I think compared to the previous processes we've used, it's a good process. It does a lot more involve the public

Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators

* Quotes in *italics* font indicates comments that were hard to place in the trust types

TRUST

- Routine-Based Trust (RBT) Conclusions - **No Conclusions**

- Identification-Based Trust (IBT) Conclusions

IBT Conclusion 1 - Stakeholders Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

Positive experiences/familiarity with other stakeholders impacts the likelihood of increasing trust in other stakeholders

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
2	Micro	H - I'd say that's an organization (Greater Yellowstone Coalition) I trust. Um, and then, you know like my friend Tom that was there, I kind of always trust his view, you know like when he says "oh yeah this is good or this is bad" I automatically trust him because I know him and I know the way he thinks is kind of the way I think and I would trust him just, you know, blindly almost
3	Micro	H - (trust) some more than others certainly.. I think my favorites among the conservation groups are the Jackson Hill Conservation Alliance....I think the Wilderness Society which isn't actually right here, is very good. Um, I think the Greater Yellowstone Coalition has solid staff - they're probably the ones on the conservation side that I have the most confidence in. H - (<i>re: why trust certain stakeholders</i>) <i>I've worked with them all and I've talked with them and gotten help and advice from them, and you make a judgement as to who knows what they're doing, first of all, who knows the fact of the situation</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & IBT
5	Micro	H - I trust the people who see the land as a renewable resource....and that is you know the recreator in a sense, the timber people who harvest and know that if they harvest and re-seed and, you know, the land will produce.
7	Micro	L - I think that the process of bringing everybody together has helped foster some trust, which I think there has been some, not necessarily mistrust...I think by bringing... everybody in and realising we all have a stake in it, and we're not trying to do one over the other, that it makes people wanna work together
11	Micro	L - it helps when you can know people as people and not just as their crazy ideas that you see on paper
14	Micro	L - So you have in a sense maybe more trust with the people who are engaged so that you don't have to get angry to that extent so maybe you can more civilly work out your problems

- Calculus-Based Trust (CBT) Conclusions

CBT Conclusion 1 - USFS-BTNF Theme (11 Interviewees Commented)

Previous positive experiences with the agency and agency staff

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
2	Macro	H - <i>overall I like, I like the forest. I think especially seeing this, you know, this process of revamping their, their long-term plans and what they're trying to do with their team</i> H - <i>I think that they seem to be doing a good job and so I'd say that I'd, yeah I trust that, I trust most [of] their decisions</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & IBT
3	Micro	H - I'm fairly satisfied with the professional staffs' approach. I think they are trying to analyse all the different uses of the forest and they're trying to come up with sound scientifically based recommendations for preserving the forest H - (about trust of BTNF) - so I don't think it's changed for me because I already had done enough work with them (BTNF staff) to understand where they were coming from and that they were making a serious effort to do a good job
4	Macro	H - I trust that the Forest Service is listing, taking everything into consideration, doing what's best H - I really think at least our local Forest Service people have done a lot of good and have really made a big effort to listen to the people, to communicate with people what we need to

		do, what's going wrong H - I feel like they've actually done, they've (USFS-BTNF) taken steps towards a goal instead of ignoring issues.
6	Micro	H - if I thought there was something that wasn't going well I would ask why. And I would trust those people to tell me the truth. I'd better not find they aren't, then I would distrust them. But so far I haven't, to any great degree, I haven't had that happen
8	Macro	H - I think it's been pretty high and I've been dealing with Bridger-Teton officials for about 3 years now. And trust isn't the same at all as saying that we agree on all the issues. To me, trust means that I can have access to the Forest officials, to talk to them, get honest answers from them even though it's an answer that they know I don't like and I think they expect the same from me
9	Micro	H - And we were quite upset with that and our constituency in Star Valley was and so we met with the Forest Service and we had those three hundred people and just really, really angry. And Kniffy backed down and said, okay, on the Greys River district we will not force, enforce the <u>food storage</u> until it becomes a problem, because it hasn't been a problem... In terms of trust, I felt that she listened to the public and that she could go, okay, maybe in this case I don't have to do a full forest food storage order, that we can separate it out. So she compromised and it's worked out really well
10	Macro	H - I think the Forest Service has done a really good job that they're now finally starting to listen to the people. That's gotta be part of the trust process
11	Macro	H - I think overall we have a decent working relationship with the BT... I think the assumption is, gee, we're a federal agency, they're a federal agency, they got a big old land base like us, they got the same problems, we're probably pretty similar. And you know that's kind of the prevailing feeling. It's not, those demons over at the Forest Service.
12	Macro	H - I'm pretty optimistic about this Forest and the way they're handling it (the process). They've kept it pretty open to the public the whole time. And they seem to listen to what we're saying and they seem to have a pretty logical sequence of steps even though we come in and out of the process, they take time like today to let us know what are the next steps and how does this fit into the total process and why are we doing this and where's it gonna lead next H - It's very important that you keep them (stakeholders) connected and let them see where they're going and why they're going there. That's very important. Because I think if you're in an agency, you're close to the work every day and it's like, wow, how do you get the outside people's input to make it mean something. And so you have to keep them, and so they've (USFS-BTNF) been very good
13	Micro	H - I believe that the professionals of the Forest Service do a really very good job under very difficult circumstances
14	Macro	H - initially they weren't gonna have a cooperators group... Bridger-Teton wasn't aware of cooperators and what that looks like, so we had to sit down and work with them on how that could possibly work and to their credit they listened and they've done that and so we trusted them in the fact that they said that they would involve cooperators and they have done that.

CBT Conclusion 2 – USFS-BTNF Theme (7 Interviewees Commented)

Trust in USFS-BTNF can increase depending on how USFS-BTNF proceeds with the process

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
1	Macro	L - I'd say the biggest probably factor in generating trust is the Forest Service acting on local concerns and issues and paying attention to the inputs from them.... acting, as opposed to saying "oh yeah we're going to put this in the forest plan" but then when it comes down to actually managing, following through and seeing that, yes in fact we <u>are</u> going to do that or not, what ever the issue was. * Hard to Place: CBT & CBD
2	Macro	H - if they (BTNF) put this plan in, the way that they do what they say they're gonna do then people would trust them a lot more. H - if they say there's not gonna be drilling here and then people see it stay pristine or there's not gonna be snowmobiles and they see that, that level of trust would increase
4	Macro	L - say snowmobilers just get outraged because the Forest Service decided not the allow motorised winter access to a certain area, I think you would give them the trust of the Forest Service and the Forest Service would let them know this is how we came up with that decisions...

		<u>L</u> - I think if people had access to the information that made the decisions that might make them happy or make them upset, particularly the ones that made them upset, that'd be great. It would help in people's thoughts on the Forest Service.
5	Macro	<u>H</u> - Trust in this, in the BT and the operation of the BT is that my interests as a commercial user of the forest are taking into consideration in the planning process not only that I'm a consumer but also what we do for the forest <u>H</u> - what they (USFS-BTNF) need to do is go through and say these were the recommendations made to us in this process, you know, by these groups or whomever, and list them out and then when they make their decisions, deal with each one. And say okay, we had this and this is reason why not, and we had this and this is the reason why not.
7	Macro	<u>L</u> - <i>I think it's gonna be how long is the Forest Service willing to do this collaborative stuff, and how much – there's a, here's a word for you – how much power are they going to enforce over the individual groups. I think that that right there will be a key... Are they truly going to listen and make the process according to the wants and wishes of the majority?</i> * Hard to Place: CBT and CBD
10	Macro	<u>L</u> - Is if the Forest Service comes out with a set of rules what they see is in the plan, what they want, and it's not what the public wants, and if they compromise then they have a feeling that they trust the Forest Service and they're not going ahead with what they put out to begin with.
12	Macro	<u>H</u> - Knowledge is power. You don't have to challenge them, you just have to see, it's checks and balances. If they're right then you have a higher trust level
14	Macro	<u>L</u> - I just hope they're flexible enough to make sure they're really listening to the public

CBT Conclusion 3 - Process Theme (10 Interviewees Commented)

Transparency in the process is important; interviewees believe the process is transparent

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
3	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think the meetings, some of which you attended last summer, where people actually got to exchange their views with the forest staff have been helpful. I think that the meetings that Kniffy holds every quarter with NGOs, have been helpful because people come to know each other and to see what her particular constraints are
4	Meso	<u>L</u> - I think if people had access to the information that made the decisions that might make them happy or make them upset, particularly the ones that made them upset, that'd be great. It would help in people's thoughts on the Forest Service.
5	Meso	<u>H</u> - the results were very open. It was open, the input was laid out for everyone to see, and that made me much more confident in what, you know, in the process itself because in the past we were isolated as individuals <u>L</u> - what they (USFS-BTNF) need to do is go through and say these were the recommendations made to us in this process, you know, by these groups or whomever, and list them out and then when they make their decisions, deal with each one. And say okay, we had this and this is reason why not, and we had this and this is the reason why not.
6	Meso	<u>L</u> - So, a lot depends on people doing what they say they'll do. And that's a lot of effort. And there maybe compromises but I wanna know about them. And that's how we get these open meetings to build that trust – if they ever shut the door, it wouldn't be trustworthy, but I have not found that personally
7	Meso	<u>L</u> - I think surprised at how open and friendly it was at first, with some reservations and skepticism to see where it goes. If it continues along the same path, I think it will be a wonderful process.
8	Meso	<u>L</u> - Fred or I are gonna go camp down there (near the cooperators retreat), and make sure we kind of watchdog and see what happens and give our comment if they ask for it and that kind of thing so. That honesty and keeping things open and transparent and not secretive... those are really at the core of trust
10	Meso	<u>L</u> - the public doesn't like to think there's secret meetings going on and so these meetings we're holding here, they've (USFS-BTNF) gotta keep those right up in front. <u>L</u> - <i>I think it needs some work on it in bringing the public closer into it. Most of the time when we're done with these processes or even in the process now, the public feels like that the cooperators are making the decision and the public's not getting their proper input</i> * Hard to Place: CBT and CBD
12	Meso	<u>H</u> - I'm pretty optimistic about this Forest and the way they're handling it (the process). They've kept it pretty open to the public the whole time. And they seem to listen to what

		we're saying and they seem to have a pretty logical sequence of steps even though we come in and out of the process, they take time like today to let us know what are the next steps and how does this fit into the total process and why are we doing this and where's it gonna lead next <u>H</u> - It's transparent but it's more than that. It's such a communication assignment. There has to be so much communication and that's what I've seen on this forest is that, okay this didn't work sorry I'll just try to fix it
13	Meso	<u>H</u> - I feel there's been openness on the part of the Forest Service, the Bridger-Teton. An openness and an educational factor to it that's been very helpful
14	Meso	<u>L</u> - there could be a level of distrust between those groups in the future and different parties they work on. So I think from our perspective it's really important to be very transparent upfront and let people sort of know where the sideboards are so there aren't expectation levels that you can't meet.

CBT Conclusion 4 - Process Theme (10 Interviewees Commented)

Participants experience with the process so far is generally positive

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
2	Meso	<u>H</u> - Seemed like, seemed like it was useful and that people were overall ah, getting informed and it wasn't you know when a couple of people asked questions like "are, is this gonna mean anything, or is it just gonna be you know coming down from the top, and we're gonna drill here anyway"...it seemed like it's gonna help and it's a step in the right direction
3	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think the meetings, some of which you attended last summer, where people actually got to exchange their views with the forest staff have been helpful. I think that the meetings that Kniffy holds every quarter with NGOs, have been helpful because people come to know each other and to see what her particular constraints are
4	Meso	<u>H</u> - But I'd say that I think it's great that they've had all the public meetings. It seems like they really have taken into consideration every single persons comments.
5	Meso	<u>H</u> - the results were very open. It was open, the input was laid out for everyone to see, and that made me much more confident in what, you know, in the process itself because in the past we were isolated as individuals
6	Meso	<u>L</u> - (process more effective?) - I think that remains to be seen. I have heard a lot of criticism of that first meeting...people felt like that, and I think expressed it enough that they're changing the attitude a little bit, that everything had already been set up and had already made up their mind. Forest Service had made up their mind and this is the way it was going to be. I didn't get that feeling
7	Meso	<u>H</u> - I was really impressed with that group work, especially because I think there was some effort to make each group sort of multi-dimensional, meaning there was a Forest Service person, there was a rancher, there was a home-owner. You know, a diverse group and then by bringing that, you know, what are your priorities and what is the group priorities and discussing it, it really opened my eyes that I thought that there was a lot more give and take then I thought was out there, so that was a good process.
9	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think it's more effective....Cause I'm part of it...Cause I've got some buy in to it. I've been amazed the comments that we as commissioners have submitted. We see them back in the plan.
9	Micro	<u>H</u> - (re: trust) is being able to believe the people you're talking to that they will carry through with what they say they will and the trust level, I feel a good trust level here (in the process)
11	Meso	<u>L</u> - I've been watching it go by for some time now and I think it's helping. You know, you never know until you come out with a document and see what people really say but I think it's helping.
12	Meso	<u>H</u> - I'm pretty optimistic about this Forest and the way they're handling it (the process). They've kept it pretty open to the public the whole time. And they seem to listen to what we're saying and they seem to have a pretty logical sequence of steps even though we come in and out of the process, they take time like today to let us know what are the next steps and how does this fit into the total process and why are we doing this and where's it gonna lead next <u>H</u> - This one probably has the highest level of trust because they have brought people in and they seemed to have listened to what we have said and have incorporated it – we can see it in the next step <u>H</u> - This one was very responsive. The first two meetings, here's our ideas, okay we'll break

		into groups, what would you like to see in the MoU? They've been very open about it and they've tried to incorporate them and they accept our MoUs.
13	Meso	H - I'm very pleased with the process, because I believe it's a constructive attempt to involve local government and cooperating agencies at a level that we haven't before had the opportunity to do H - I feel there's been openness on the part of the Forest Service, the Bridger-Teton. An openness and an educational factor to it that's been very helpful

CBT Conclusion 5 - Process Theme (10 Interviewees Commented)

Feel certainty regarding the direction/outcomes of the process

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
1	Meso	L - We haven't reached that level where that's obvious now whether collaboration can or is necessary to happen but if it come-if it starts appearing that way that yeah, this is a whole collaborative process and we can all feed in, I , I think that's the only way it's going to be successful
2	Meso	H - I think the risk is, yeah, the difficulty of time and energy and everything else because the public, the risk is that the public can steer in different directions. But, it's a good, I think it's a good risk
3	Meso	L - At this point we have to take pretty much on faith what will come out... I think the meetings have been encouraging, the staff say the right things for this stage of the game but until there's a product, we don't know L - And so it will be compromised out partly based on science and probably partly based on the usual kinds of give and take in any political context where people have opposing interests and opposing preferences, and I don't know how it will come out. I know how I <i>hope</i> it comes out. But you would be a fool to bet the ranch, as we say around here, on any particular outcome
4	Meso	L - <i>I don't know enough to not trust so much, but I kind of, I guess I kind of feel like in a way it's, not pointless</i> * Hard to Place: Only CBT L - <i>where I'm not sure that I trust the process, not the process but what's done with it, I guess that's where I'd say I don't know if I trust that this is actually gonna do what it says it's gonna do</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & CBD
5	Macro	L - If the forest in this process will heed or make its decision based on the participation locally, I think we're way ahead
5	Meso	H - I think this process, if handled right, correctly, will increase the trust L - If the forest in this process will heed or make its decision based on the participation locally, I think we're way ahead L - But I think it's better than it was before you know. What the outcome will be, I think will be the telling tale L - once that process, or once these decisions are made and they (the public) see some of these local interests supported, then they're gonna feel like coming back into the process also L - Where were the rest of the livestock operators? I think they generally had the feeling that this is fruitless, useless, um, so I think it can change. It can change for the better but, and I think it needs to change for the better
7	Meso	L - I guess we'll have to see how it all comes out. Collaborative is always better I think that you know, autocratic L - I think surprised at how open and friendly it was at first, with some reservations and skepticism to see where it goes. If it continues along the same path, I think it will be a wonderful process. L - <i>my only fear is you cant be all things to all people, and so somebody somewhere down the line is not going to get what they want and they're gonna be very unhappy about it. Maybe they'll be less unhappy because they were part of the process</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & CBD
8	Meso	L - <i>that's where I think there's some risk, is when you try to have a collaborative process when, what do you do when you just have two things that actually won't mix like oil and water...(about decision-making) - , is it going to be arbitrary?</i> L - <i>I think we're gonna have a good case built for some strong protections in the plan. That might run up against what the county commissioners from down south somewhere feel. And I</i>

		<p><i>don't know how we're gonna resolve. I think either we're headed to those types of irreconcilable conflicts on a couple of hot button issues and inherently therefore there's some risk of just letting it to a collaborative process</i></p> <p><i><u>L</u> - the question is gonna be, whose gonna make the decision? Are Rick and his team gonna make a recommendation, I hope they do because I think that'll be very responsive to the overall, as much consensus as we can get up there on this</i></p> <p>* Hard to Place All: CBT & CBD</p>
11	Meso	<p><i><u>L</u> - I've been watching it go by for some time now and I think it's helping. You know, you never know until you come out with a document and see what people really say but I think it's helping.</i></p> <p><i><u>L</u> - By allowing everyone to contribute to the language, it can either dilute the language, it can make it say nothing, or it can steer it in a direction that they didn't want to go. So that's a risk that I see... And some of that (risk) is good</i></p> <p><i><u>L</u> - They are getting a lot of input from the cooperators right now. You know and hopefully it's not enough to steer them in a direction that the public in general, you know, doesn't like or else if that's the way the Forest wants to go, they have to answer to the public to and it's just merging those two sets of input that might be difficult</i></p> <p>* Hard to Place: CBT & CBD</p>
12	Meso	<p><i><u>L</u> - We're seeing results, but we'll never know until the final plan, whether we should've trusted it or not, you know? But all you can do is speak out for what you believe and make the review and comment again and comment, submit your comments, and stay in the process</i></p>
13	Meso	<p><i><u>L</u> - there's no guarantees or process as to what's going to come out the other end of the planning process</i></p> <p>* Hard to Place: CBT & CBD</p>

DISTRUST

- Calculus-Based Distrust (CBD) Conclusions

CBD Conclusion 1 - General Comments Theme (7 Interviewees Commented)

Dishonest and/or ineffective communication

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
3	Micro	<i><u>H</u> - (distrust) arises from a breach of faith. It arises when people make commitments and then do something different. And it means what it is, is that you don't believe decision makers when they say they will do X, you think they're going to do Y</i>
5	Micro	<i><u>L</u> - in my dealings with other people who deal with the government, generally a bureaucrat is a person who says no. Always no first. Then after negotiations, argument, discussion, then maybe. Then more discussion then okay</i>
6	Micro	<i><u>H</u> - If someone is deliberately doing something, saying one thing to make me happy and doing something that I know is not, that's distrust</i>
7	Macro	<i><u>L</u> - (where does distrust start?) - from those small, I'd say accusations would be a good term to use. For example, an accusatory tone of saying, calling us and saying, your sheep are in the wrong area, they're in trespass</i>
9	Micro	<i><u>H</u> - Distrust ... people saying one thing and doing another</i>
10	Macro	<i><u>H</u> - If it's (trust) not happening there, then you have that break down in communication and the public usually wind up in court in America, quite honestly</i>
13	Micro	<p><i><u>H</u> - (re: distrust) - And this is more in the area of using, of not listening – more than doing. It's not listening.</i></p> <p><i><u>L</u> - I can distrust you totally. Okay. And it does not mean I can't sit down and communicate with you and expect that based upon our communications, that you would do the right thing. I can trust you, and if I don't communicate well and if we don't have a good process you make the wrong decision. What did trust have to do with it? Didn't have anything. If we're in a situation where you're giving me your word that you're going to do something, then I have to trust you that you're going to do it. But there are no guarantees or promises in this process</i></p> <p>* Hard to Place: CBT & CBD</p>

CBD Conclusion 2 – USFS-BTNF Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

If USFS-BTNF is perceived as unreliable and/or inconsistent

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
1	Macro	<i><u>H</u> - I think everybody around here is waiting to see what the Forest Service is going to do and</i>

		<p><i>in that instance realising that if they do just go ahead and let this energy plan go through that will probably totally distrust, destroy any trust in the Forest Service, that they would have no faith in the fact that they were acting in the best interests of the forest and not for energy or some other special interest.</i></p> <p>* Hard to Place: CBD & IBD</p> <p>L - seeing how little the Forests Service is are able to actually respond to those in a stewardship kind of role rather than as a flunky, I think most people, or as a, as impotent because they don't have the funds to enforce some of these things</p> <p>L - The problem with ah, funding in so that they can enforce and actually see through some of the things that are existing in the current plan let alone coming up with something that I would assume is going to be even more rigourous than the first one.</p>
2	Macro	<p>L - I'd say lose trust when they say this is protected and then you go down and you see drilling, so... you know back to what they say one thing and something else happens</p> <p>L - the opposite would hold true if, if they you know, if people say you know, hey I went to this meeting and they said this was gonna be protected and now you know five years later there's oil wells and snowmobiles and all these other things and the trust would go down.</p>
4	Macro	<p>H - But I think if they (USFS-BTNF) just said, you can't use that in the winter then that group would just be angry at the Forest Service</p>
5	Macro	<p>H - if these guys (USFS-BTNF) throw out this local input on this one, then they'll have lost complete support locally</p>
7	Macro	<p>H - I think it's gonna be how long is the Forest Service willing to do this collaborative stuff, and how much – there's a, here's a word for you – how much <i>power</i> are they going to enforce over the individual groups. I think that that right there will be a key... Are they truly going to listen and make the process according to the wants and wishes of the majority? Or are they gonna in the end do what they wanna do anyhow? And if they do what they wanna do, after all that, they're gonna lose a lot of trust</p> <p>H - (trust in USFS-BTNF before the process) - it was pretty low, I'd say on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being total trust and 10 being mistrust, I'd say probably a 6 or 7... And a lot of that, as I was talking to you earlier, is the change in personnel, and every time there is a change in personal we have to start all over and we have to explain who we are and what we do and why we do things the way we do and wanna do them the way we wanna do them. There's no continuity.</p> <p>L - I think before trust is communication, and that's where I think in the past it's fallen down. You know, they (USFS-BTNF) either due to time constraints or money constraints or whatever, don't contact us or talk to us as often as they would be necessary and so then there's the break down of communication and so that you perceive that as a mistrust because ideas just sort of stop coming</p>
9	Macro	<p>H - We had the Forest Supervisor before her (Kniffy)...and I'm not sure really where, who started or where it came from. But the timber sales on the forest almost became non-existent. We had, like I said, the big sawmill, in Star Valley, and we had about four little ones, and now we got one little one left. And so if that was a higher level decision then the Forest Supervisor, I don't know, but we really saw a decline in timber harvest and so we, well that's the Forest trying to eliminate everybody and keep them off the forest and so there's just the distrust there was, it looked like, confirmed all our suspicions.</p>

CBD Conclusion 3 - Process Theme (7 Interviewees Commented)

Uncertainty about how decisions will be made in the process

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
1	Meso	<p>L - we determine all these things that we want, are they going to be superseded by economic factors such as energy development that is being pushed from above?</p>
2	Micro	<p>L - I think most people if they trust the people that are in charge of making decisions, if they trust them then they feel like they can, they can have input and that the input is going to go somewhere, and that they don't have trust or distrust the people, then they just feel like "why am I even here", "I can say this and it's not gonna do anything".</p>
5	Meso	<p>H - If we end up with, out of this process, a list – we accepted this, we did not accept that, no reasoning, or no support or no science or whatever, it takes whatever the process was that made that final decision...then there's another process that isn't ever gonna be followed through again. You know, people are gonna say we went to this but it was just a waste of our time</p>

		<p><u>L</u> - you know it's a democracy so they'll take the majority. Well, who is the majority? Are they real, or are they not? In the virtual world, you can make a majority, but it's a virtual majority</p> <p><u>L</u> - it's still it goes back to that transparency, you know. Am I getting the whole story? You know, is the reason for the decisions that are made that I'm told the full, you know, am I getting the full plate here? You know. Was the criteria on which these decisions were made good or bad for me? Am I being told the whole criteria or am I just getting the one side in that</p> <p>* Hard to Place: Only in CBT</p>
7	Meso	<p><u>L</u> - I'm afraid that crunch-time's going to come in and the Forest Service is gonna say, we don't have time to follow through with this and we're just gonna make the decisions and go</p>
8	Meso	<p><u>L</u> - it seems to be give and take between individuals and different groups and different state and county governments and try to make all that fit together. I know science has a role here but there's just different things when you subject a process to NEPA, or you come up with a range of alternatives or you have to disclose impacts and basically make .. it's a really ensures informed decision making, or it's at least supposed to</p> <p><u>L</u> - the question is gonna be, whose gonna make the decision? Are Rick and his team gonna make a recommendation, I hope they do because I think that'll be very responsive to the overall, as much consensus as we can get up there on this... Or is it just gonna be the supervisor Kniffy Hamilton? Or if it's something so of a hot button issue these days, is oil and gas there's, I don't know if she's just gonna make the decision in her office by herself without the phone ringing.</p> <p><u>L</u> - that's where I think there's some risk, is when you try to have a collaborative process when, what do you do when you just have two things that actually won't mix like oil and water...(about decision-making) - , is it going to be arbitrary?</p> <p><u>L</u> - I think we're gonna have a good case built for some strong protections in the plan. That might run up against what the county commissioners from down south somewhere feel. And I don't know how we're gonna resolve. I think either we're headed to those types of irreconcilable conflicts on a couple of hot button issues and inherently therefore there's some risk of just letting it to a collaborative process</p> <p>* Hard to Place All: CBT & CBD</p>
8	Micro	<p><u>L</u> - some groups might have more influence with Senator Thomas or Senator Ansy or Barbara Queben, and the relationship is then they might have more influence with maybe not even the Forest Service but whoever's in charge of one level higher of the Forest service back in Washington.</p>
10	Meso	<p><u>L</u> - I think it (the process) needs some work on it in bringing the public closer into it. Most of the time when we're done with these processes or even in the process now, the public feels like that the cooperators are making the decision and the public's not getting their proper input</p> <p>* Hard to Place: CBT & CBD</p>
11	Meso	<p><u>L</u> - when it gets right down to it and the Forest wants to decide whether livestock grazing is suitable, say in big horn sheep habitats, when they wanna decide whether leasing for oil and gas is suitable for these areas, that's when the fights are gonna start. And even if people are friends up until that point, there's gonna be disagreement on those issues. The commissioners are not gonna give on those issues, grazing belongs everywhere, and oil and gas belongs everywhere, and they're not gonna bend on that</p> <p><u>L</u> - They are getting a lot of input from the cooperators right now. You know and hopefully it's not enough to steer them in a direction that the public in general, you know, doesn't like or else if that's the way the Forest wants to go, they have to answer to the public to and it's just merging those two sets of input that might be difficult</p> <p>* Hard to Place: CBT & CBD</p>

CBD Conclusion 4 - Outside Entities and Influences Theme (7 Interviewees Commented)

The federal government (non-local offices) will influence decision-making in the process

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
1	Macro	<p><u>L</u> - we determine all these things that we want, are they going to be superseded by economic factors such as energy development that is being pushed from above?</p>
2	Macro	<p><u>L</u> - my concern is that with the, the current administration that we can do all this great stuff and then somebody you know, like the president will come up with some initiative and pass it through Congress and it's all, you know, it could all change</p>
3	Macro	<p><u>H</u> - my main concern is that no matter what they say or recommend, there's a risk that they will be overridden by their political bosses in Washington, who may well, for instance, and</p>

		this is the main risk, want to drill more in the Bridger-Teton than the community here wants to drill or the scientific community wants to drill or the Bridger-Teton staff want to drill
4	Macro	H - I feel like we can put all this input in, save for oil and gas leasing, but yet the higher ups in Washington DC are gonna say we don't care that it's critical wildlife habitat or it's critical in these other areas and should be preserved and not disturbed. We just go ahead and drill
5	Macro	H - previously we had the writing campaigns, the scoping statements, the input from all over the world, without really having a local input and the local input is so small. It is so small. I mean, we weren't being heard and so the national input was what was driving policy and that was, you know, that just really, really hurt the trust level locally H - I think that the reason that total distrust was there was because decisions were being made from the top-down and people just had a belly full of it. You know, all of the decisions that were driving this policy in this Forest came from somewhere else. Nothing came from here... H - so that outside influence has left a lot of people here very, very, very distrustful.
8	Macro	L - some groups might have more influence with Senator Thomas or Senator Ansy or Barbara Queben, and the relationship is then they might have more influence with maybe not even the Forest Service but whoever's in charge of one level higher of the Forest service back in Washington L - Or if it's something so of a hot button issue these days, is oil and gas there's, I don't know if she's (Kniffy Hamilton) just gonna make the decision in her office by herself without the phone ringing...
14	Macro	L - (re: distrust) - a lot of times it comes from higher up in DC or comes from the administration but you're sort of going down on one path for months on a specific set of issues, and then all of sudden you find out, oh well that was a waste of time because they were already were gonna do this plan instead of the plan you've been working on, so that's unfortunate...you kind of have an idea of how many oil and gas wells are gonna be somewhere and you've worked with local governments and various state environmental agencies and then, you know it comes down form DC BLM and they need this on the gas, and everything you've worked on collaboratively is thrown out the window

- Identification-Based Distrust (IBD) Conclusions

IBD Conclusion 1 - Stakeholders Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

When other stakeholders have opposing views/values

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
2	Micro	H - I'd say uh, the ranchers, I, some of 'em, I would trust but for the most part I would be more skeptical about ranchers because you know, if they're people that think their cows are more important than wolves, I think that's just nearsighted H - so I'd say the hunter yeah the hunters and the ranchers I'd be more skeptical about what their motives are L - I don't snowmobile and it's not my favourite thing, but I don't, I don't think it's the worst, you know I don't think it's the biggest problem but if there is a contingent of snowmobilers you know I, I wouldn't trust them very much because I don't think, I don't think it's a helpful thing for the environment L - I think if they (snowmobilers) really understood how a sustainable ecosystem works that I think you could get through to them with education it's not their fault that they don't have that, but I think it's a lack of knowledge and then also just that selfishness
3	Micro	H - Not to trust? Um, basically people saying one thing and not doing it. People not being willing to put in effort, people saying that they're gonna help and then they wimp out and don't help, or people who have no bloody idea what's happening in the Forest. You know, just shooting off their mouths for political reasons. Um, which some of them do unfortunately. [There] are people who are deliberately antagonistic to the Forest staff or people who essentially call them names, or treat the Forest staff like lesser human beings.
4	Micro	H - I distrust them all cause they all want to use the forest for their own purposes and they don't care how it affects the Forest Service sometimes or how it effects the environment. Um, no, I think we're all selfish H - I distrust every group, I don't think everyone is a responsible user -that's the way to put it H - but not like take you know the snowdevils, snowmobilers and listen to their ranting and raving because it's a big waste of time
5	Micro	H - that recreation-livestock conflict has made me feel like we're subjugated when it comes to any other activity, well not any other activity, but these recreational type activities on the

		forest H - The people I don't trust are the people who see the forest and see this land as finite. That we want it to be this way forever
9	Micro	L - I worry about the agenda of the, well, I know what their agenda... can't remember what his name was or what, the two thousand people that he represented. Um, we know what their agenda is. They would, they want to swing the forest over here and close up a lot of things. We're maybe over here wanting to keep things really open and multiple use
11	Micro	L - it's hard for me to reconcile our goals with the counties because what they want is so different from what we want...they want the tax base and they wanna make money and provide services for the people, the county, and have things accessible and have things developed and that's not necessarily our goal, and that's where some of our disagreements stem from. The other place is we have very basic philosophical differences with members of some of the County commissions on how ecosystems work, on what impacts are okay, and where we should go with the management of the lands and that's just stuff you can compromise out

- Routine-Based Distrust (RBD) Conclusions

RBD Conclusion 1 - Outside Entities and Influences Theme (6 Interviewees Commented)

Generally distrust the federal government

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
1	Macro	H - I can see those same people who have these issues with federal government not participating in this because they don't trust H - trying to get ah people to buy into some sort of government cooperation collaborative thing to save species and they're dead set against it
2	Micro	L - but once you get higher up I started to lose trust, you know, and then it becomes some regional manager that's pressured by somebody higher up and then it becomes Washington D.C. and, you know, the president saying, "no, we gotta drill all that stuff" so I'd say the higher up in the, in the hierarchy of the government that you go, the less trust I would have for people
3	Macro	H - I think that most people I know feel the BT staff are doing as good a job as they can. What people do not trust is the political decision making level that is above the BT supervisor – the people in Washington H - <i>over all of this is a big cloud of suspicion that people feel that no matter how good the intentions of this Forest staff are, that the major decisions affecting the forest will be made in Washington by an administration that is profoundly unfriendly to the environment</i> H - <i>the reason now that there is this pervasive distrust is that people have seen what has happened to the environment under the Bush administration so of course they distrust it. I mean you'd be a fool not to.</i> * Hard to Place: IBD & RBD
10	Macro	H - Prior to the process, public's trust of the federal agencies is fairly low most of the time, they don't believe they have their interests at heart. H - And it's mostly based on they believe interest groups with a lot of money that make a lot of noise get their way. And that also applies to oil companies or anybody else that can do it in, so they mistrust the process for that reason, because the general public is not that engaged, and quite frankly can't afford to be engaged
11	Macro	H - the amount of public trust in the agencies is really low right now...this is a phenomenon that's everywhere H - the public perceives that people here are doing that, and it's stupid. What a stupid decision these people made! And that's where a lot of distrust comes from too. They think we're driving the train and we look like morons
13	Macro	H - I think it's an inherent, almost a cultural thing of not trusting the federal government.

Appendix 8: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the USFS-BTNF Staff

* Quotes in *italics> font indicates comments that were hard to place in the trust categories.*

TRUST

- *Routine-Based Trust (RBT) Conclusions - No Conclusions*

- *Identification-Based Trust (IBT) Conclusions*

IBT Conclusion 1 – USFS-BTNF Theme (3 Interviewees Commented)

USFS-BTNF has developed good relationships with the public

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
15	Macro	H – (regarding trust levels) from my perception it’s good. I mean there’s always areas where people who have different values from ours and the decisions we make may not like our decisions but I’ve think we developed very good relationships with our communities H - I don’t think it’s low. I mean, I’m sure there’s room for improvement but I think, I think it’s the difference between people not liking the decisions that you make versus they trust you and you still maintain a good relationship even though they don’t like the decisions you’ve made and so if you can develop that relationship where people don’t agree with your decisions but they still work with you, they still respect you as an agency and as a person, then I think you’ve built that trust
16	Micro	H - I wanna think and will think this till I retire, that they on the whole generally trust us. To a point, we’re the federal government, so there’s always two points of trust. I’ve always have people say, ‘I don’t like the Forest Service, I sure like you, you’re a neat guy, you’re a friendly guy, I trust you, I don’t trust the Forest Service’.
19	Macro	H - <i>I like to think it’s a pretty good trust level...But by and large, overall land management I think there’s a lot of trust, a lot of long time permittees, long time outfitters, long time ranchers, that use public lands commercially and you know they, you know, trust has been built with a lot of those people</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & IBT
19	Micro	H - I feel good about what the trust level has been. The person before me had a handful of people that didn’t trust him at all. And so I hopefully have repaired some relationships there

IBT Conclusion 2 – USFS-BTNF Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

Trust in USFS-BTNF begins with the people at the agency

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
16	Micro	H - you gotta trust that people are gonna carry through or follow through the process to change it.. so, I don’t think this is any different than anything else we do, you know. Credibility and trust is about the only thing we can do as public officials. H - I wanna think and will think this till I retire, that they on the whole generally trust us. To a point, we’re the federal government, so there’s always two points of trust. I’ve always have people say, ‘I don’t like the Forest Service, I sure like you, you’re a neat guy, you’re a friendly guy, I trust you, I don’t trust the Forest Service’.
17	Micro	H - In other words, you know it may be, and this is kind of somewhat hypothetical because like I said I don’t the details of how that impression happened, but one can imagine a Forest Supervisor telling people, yeah we’re making a leasing decision and being totally upfront and honest about that, but then someone else higher up in the bureaucracy comes around and changes that. So it makes, so in a way it’s, it’s well, I can trust the individuals but I can’t trust the whole system to, you know
18	Micro	H - (re: trust in USFS) - No, it’s starts with people, it’s starts with people’s actions. It starts with their consistency, you know, and...once again you have to gain your trust
19	Micro	H - ultimately the trust in the organisation are gonna be built by the individuals and the decisions that they make, the actions that their people take out in the field. H - I feel good about what the trust level has been. The person before me had a handful of people that didn’t trust him at all. And so I hopefully have repaired some relationships there

- Calculus-Based Trust (CBT) Conclusions

CBT Conclusion 1 –USFS-BTNF Theme (3 Interviewees Commented)

If USFS-BTNF enters into real engagement with the public

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
15	Macro	<u>L</u> - part of that trust building relationship is not just the relationships but being involved in the process and having a say in what we're doing, and because I was thinking...you know, the public may not know what we're doing...where our ideas are coming from, why we're doing the things that we are, and so when they just see something they haven't been involved in developing, they may distrust it, because they don't know, how, what the thoughts were that went into to build what we put together
17	Macro	<u>L</u> - (re: trust) - that you're being honest that the public process is real. That that public process really is gonna have an impact and you're not just doing because you're required to have a public process and somebody thinks it's a good idea so we'll go through with it
17	Meso	<u>L</u> - that if you don't have trust, it's just a big mess, so I think there must be a, more and more, a recognition of that. All the time. You know just in terms of bureaucratic efficiency, there must be a recognition among management that since you know it's a little harder to do collaborative processes but it's worth it in the long run to try to get buy-off and also an opportunity to develop some trust and that sort of you know, carries over into anything that we do
18	Macro	<u>H</u> - If they think they're being listened to and the big points, the big picture, I mean, worse, if they think we're listening and the final product shows that, there will be good segment of the public that will continue to trust us <u>L</u> - it's the people in the middle, if we meet there, if we utilize their input and they can see that in the end product, then yeah we'll maintain their trust, but if we don't then we won't have their trust

CBT Conclusion 2 – Process Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

USFS-BTNF Staff are pleased with how the process is going

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
15	Meso	<u>H</u> - I am very happy with the way the process is going but I think from two aspects: one the cooperators group and that collaboration, that side of things is going very, very well and then from the team putting the various parts of the plan together <u>H</u> - So, it definitely takes more time but it's, in my way of thinking, it's definitely worth it and if we can come out with a Forest Plan revision that people can pretty well agree with and, not that they like everything in it, but they, they can agree with it, and understand why we've all gotten to where we have on the suitability of these places and I think that's huge success
16	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think we have the right out level of expectation, I think we're working the folks, they seem pleased
16	Micro	<u>H</u> - and I think Kniffy has done a very good job of what this collaboration of having them all there, and having that access to her, and not having little meetings with each of the groups so far. It's sort of built that trust on ok, she's not gonna sit up in her office and have the Teton County guys come in the lobby or.. and then we're gonna go to the big meeting and yeah, she's gonna listen to us or Sublet's not gonna link up with Lincoln county and build a little coalition.
17	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think the general feeling is that it's going well <u>H</u> - I think we've been going through this process in a way that generates trust particularly with the cooperators.
19	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think compared to the previous processes we've used, it's a good process. It does a lot more involve the public

CBT Conclusion 3 – Process Theme (5 Interviewees Commented)

If USFS-BTNF works effectively with the public in the process

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
15	Meso	<u>L</u> - I think, um, people ... will be more accepting of the plan that we put together of how to manage the forest and if they don't have trust then I don't think that they'll think it's a very good plan and they won't want to be part of implementing it...So, I think, you know, building that trust then it will be our plan and we'll all work together to implement it instead of working out ways of not wanting to implement it and doing something against the plan

16	Meso	<u>L</u> - Now, as long as we carry through on that and we make sure that those folks realize that the world isn't going to be all the way that Sublet County wants it or the World Teton County but here's the broad picture – we're doing okay
17	Meso	<u>L</u> - <i>I bet there're still a lot of people on the fence about whether they can trust or not, because as I said before we haven't gotten down to the brass tacks of what kind of activities are going to be allowed where.</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & CBD <u>L</u> - the extent to which we are inclusive, and we really take people's inputs seriously then trust can increase
18	Macro	<u>L</u> - So there will be people whose input we can't, you know we'll listen, but we can't incorporate, but those people in the middle that have, you know really good ideas, that's where I'd like to see how those get incorporated into this plan. And they won't trust us (USFS-BTNF) unless they see, okay, they at least- oh I can see kind of how you used what I gave you in this one area.
18	Meso	<u>L</u> - <i>we're not sure how our help will be utilized, and I think that's the same with the public- that they're not real sure how their input is going to be, you know reflected in the final plan</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & CBD
19	Meso	<u>H</u> - I think trust is that the input that the public and the cooperators' give is they can see how it was considered in the planning process, it's a transparent process. And if for some reason you can't do the things that they want, it's transparent why

CBT Conclusion 4 – Stakeholders Theme (5 Interviewees Commented)

Trust other stakeholders but are aware of their agendas

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
15	Micro	<u>L</u> - (re: the cooperators) - I think there is enough trust in that group right now. I don't see anybody overthrowing it, but we haven't come to the top decision making part yet
16	Micro	<u>L</u> - so when you deal with politicians and you deal with that, you know you trust them but you also have to realise that they're, they're elected officials and they have a goal too
17	Micro	<u>H</u> - there may be NGOs that don't trust that the Forest Service will do what is best for the natural resources that they value. That doesn't mean that they don't trust us in terms of our integrity
18	Micro	<u>L</u> - So there will be people whose input we can't, you know we'll listen, but we can't incorporate, but those people in the middle that have, you know really good ideas, that's where I'd like to see how those get incorporated into this plan. And they won't trust us unless they see, okay, they at least- oh I can see kind of how you used what I gave you in this one area. You know, if they can't see that, if all they get to see is the end product, of course, that probably won't work.
19	Micro	<u>L</u> - there's no group that I really distrust. I know what their motivations are <u>L</u> - I think people are honestly trying to learn and participate and have input and we'll have to see what the end product is, how they'll react to it.

DISTRUST

- Calculus-Based Distrust (CBD) Conclusions

CBD Conclusion 1 - USFS-BTNF Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

If changes are made in the approach or policies of USFS-BTNF

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
15	Macro	<u>H</u> - if we did something that went against everything that I've just talked about, honesty, openness, trans- like you said, transparency, um, you know being forthright even, not keeping secrets, not having things under the table. So I think if we started to exhibit those kinds of traits, or those characteristics then that (trust) would probably unravel pretty quickly.
16	Macro	<u>H</u> - if we change, if we all of a sudden say 'well, we wanted you involved but now we really think that, you know, we know a little bit more than you do or we aren't gonna involve you then, then they're gonna say 'well, wait a minute now'. And then you'll never be able to get things through again. But people still will not trust you.
17	Macro	<u>L</u> - and I think this what people worry about. Is that, in a lot of these processes they say, well the Forest Service really has their mind already made up and this public process is just to be able to say they did it
18	Macro	<u>L</u> - our agency right now, we have just gone through a lot of changes in the last five years, to

		where there's distrust in the leadership overall... so there's all these stopping points and all these changes that we have incorporated in our agency which makes us lose a bit of trust in our agency overall... there's distrust there. Not in the people themselves or not in the, um, where they wanna head, what they want to do. It's just the implementation, you know, how they're gonna get there, what the final product is. So, definitely distrust there. And I think you'd find that probably in almost any organisation.
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CBD Conclusion 2 - Process Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

If USFS-BTNF is not clear with the public about their role in the participatory process

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
16	Macro	H - And if you set an expectation that you're going to be involved this way, and we involve them that way, and they get their input that way, but we (USFS-BTNF) put the side- then the trust builds relationships, if that expectation is then dashed and not explained why
16	Meso	H - trust has to be and I think there's also inward trust is also expectations... if we go out there and tell people this is the end all and be all, this is the best thing since apple pie, and we know that you know, then you're setting expectations so high...if we set expectations like that you're not going to generate the trust
17	Meso	H - the risk is that you lead people on into thinking that you really are collaborating with them and in the end they feel screwed cause you've had to compromise, and if you're not making it really clear how you did listen to them and you know what, you're not going to win every time, and it's still legitimate collaborative process, and if you can't communicate that well, then all they're going to know is that they played in this collaborative process for x number of years and they didn't get what they wanted
18	Meso	H - <i>we're not sure how our help will be utilized, and I think that's the same with the public- that they're not real sure how their input is going to be, you know reflected in the final plan.</i> * Hard to Place: CBT & CBD
19	Meso	H - distrust would be a more closed process where I think if we came out with alternatives of what we want to do and then we take comment but don't change the alternatives at all, and you know that would create distrust L - you can have it (the process) too open. You can say there's no sideboards. I've seen this happen in a process similar to this where they set there are no sideboards and then immediately people that were on one extreme or the other

- Identification-Based Distrust (IBD) Conclusions

IBD Conclusion 1 – USFS-BTNF Theme (4 Interviewees Commented)

If USFS-BTNF Staff treat people poorly

Int #	Level	Quote from Interview
16	Micro	H - (about possible trust level changes) - Then there's that personal trust where <i>we</i> change something. We have much more control over that. That is more damaging, cos then people say 'wait a minute now cos you can't blame the federal government, you brought me in this process and <i>you</i> changed it, and therefore, I don't trust <i>you</i> any more'. And that's that's much worse than in my mind
17	Micro	H - what I think is much more you know insidious and destructive to relationships is the other type of trust- you know it's they're well, you're asking me for my opinion on this but you really don't care because you're mind is already made up or you're gonna promise to do something and then you're gonna come back and not do it, but not look me in the eye and tell me you're not doing it, you're gonna sneak around
18	Micro	H - The trust goes up and down, even in our community...(re: previous ranger) - he had some people who very much trusted him, and other people who didn't trust him at all, they didn't feel like he, um he, listened to them. You know, so once again, it's a real balancing act because you can't make everyone happy and still take the resources, and so it just depends. Leadership, I would say is the biggest key as to whether we have the trust.
19	Micro	H - You know, how, if I let my people, my forest protection officers treat people poorly in a law enforcement context, well these people are gonna go back and complain to their families, their friends, their neighbors and so, you know, I think it, that's gonna be the perception of the Forest Service, and it won't be of the individual because all they'll know is that their brother or friend or whatever was treated poorly.

- Routine-Based Distrust (RBD) Conclusions

RBD Conclusion 1 - General Comments and OEI (3 Interviewees Commented)

Some people are just distrusting

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
16	Micro	<p>H - So a lot of times it's the old Missouri "show me" you know, until you show me I'm not going to trust you again, I'm gonna take care of myself.</p> <p>H - <i>Some people will put trust into disagreement. Some people will say 'I don't agree with you so I don't trust you'. But you didn't what I wanted you to do</i></p> <p>* Hard to Place: IBD & RBD</p>
17	Micro	<p>H - I think they're probably people, and there're people out there who don't trust and that's fine. You know, I think. It's not ideal, it's fine, it's real and so you have to just deal with that.</p>
18	Micro	<p>H - there are certain people that are distrustful of anything. Like I said, there's change and anyone is distrustful of change to a point.</p>

RBD Conclusion 2 - Outside Entities and Issues (3 Interviewees Commented)

Part of the public does not trust the federal government no matter what

Int #	Stage	Quote from Interview
16	Macro	<p>H - we work for the federal government and we work for, you know, technically I work for what I say I work for the executive branch and if the president wants X and somebody else wants Y, I think through their you know their, their, you know look probably the biggest example, not so much through this age is to look at Katrina, you know hurricane Katrina, you know, there was just a lack of trust in the government par. You know, we've created homeland security, they're supposed to take care of them [and] nothing happened. People were sitting there. Now, there probably was a trust factor that when you watch- and I'm going by the news- that you are going to take care of me, that these levies are going to hold that, you know, that if I got in trouble I would be taken care of and it didn't happen... So there was an expectation that wasn't met, so then there's a trust factor that falls, so the next time we say, we've rebuilt the levies. You know, 'they'll hold this time.', 'yeah right [sarcasm] like [it did] the last time?'</p> <p>H - (about possible changes in trust level) - If for some reason, you know, they're still trying to decide on the Planning rule, there's people still challenging the planning rule, well, we could have a judge that could change that or, or the administration could change that. That is the different trust, that trust then shifts from us to the government, 'ah, see there's the damn government again and that's what they do', 'see, I knew the federal government would do that'.</p>
18	Macro	<p>H - there's a degree of the public that trusts government as a whole, and a degree of the public that does not trust government no matter what. You know, I think it's the, expect the worst and if you get something good happens, then that's great</p>
19	Macro	<p>H - But there are specific factions within the community that are anti-change or um, you know, they just don't trust the federal government no matter what. And there's probably nothing I could ever do to make them happy</p> <p>H - I think there are specific topics that people don't trust the federal government on in this area. Like endangered species, you know, grizzly bears and wolves and things like that</p>

Appendix 9: Hard to Categorize Comments in the Trust Analytical Framework Analysis

The comments below are divided into the two categories of interviewees. Quotes in italics font indicates these comments were used to support one or more of the conclusions. See *Appendix 7: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators* and *Appendix 8: Quotes Supporting Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for USFS-BTNF Staff* for details.

Public and Cooperator Interviewees (1-14)

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
5	General Comments	<u>L</u> - in my dealings with other people who deal with the government, generally a bureaucrat is a person who says no. Always no first. Then after negotiations, argument, discussion, then maybe. Then more discussion then okay	CBT Only
13	General Comments	<u>L</u> - <i>I can distrust you totally. Okay. And it does not mean I can't sit down and communicate with you and expect that based upon our communications, that you would do the right thing. I can trust you, and if I don't communicate well and if we don't have a good process you make the wrong decision. What did trust have to do with it? Didn't have anything. If we're in a situation where you're giving me your word that you're going to do something, then I have to trust you that you're going to do it. But there are no guarantees or promises in this process (CBD Conclusion 1)</i>	CBT & CBD
13	General Comments	<u>L</u> - I don't come in with a conscious feeling, I really trust what's going on here, I come in with this process should result in a fair result. And whatever someone's background or motivations for what they do in the process doesn't make a lot of difference to me	CBT Only
14	General Comments	<u>H</u> - I think you have to trust the public to a certain extent because the folks here sometimes very much making a living off public lands. Almost probably a pretty good majority of folks in Wyoming to some extent do – whether they're ranchers or they work for the oil and gas	IBT & RBT

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
1	USFS-BTNF	<u>H</u> - <i>I think everybody around here is waiting to see what the Forest Service is going to do and in that instance realising that if they do just go ahead and let this energy plan go through that will probably totally distrust, destroy any trust in the Forest Service, that they would have no faith in the fact that they were acting in the best interests of the forest and not for energy or some other special interest. (CBD Conclusion 2)</i>	CBD & IBT
2	USFS-BTNF	<u>H</u> - <i>overall I like, I like the forest. I think especially seeing this, you know, this process of revamping their, their long-term plans and what they're trying to do with their team (CBT Conclusion 2)</i> <u>H</u> - <i>I think that they seem to be doing a good job and so I'd say that I'd, yeah I trust that, I trust most [off] their decisions (CBT Conclusion 2)</i>	CBT & IBT
5	USFS-BTNF	<u>L</u> - I think that that trust is made on the local level and I think what we had a long time, for a long time was a disconnection from the upper levels of the forest management and the local guys	CBT Only

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
4	Process	<u>L</u> - <i>where I'm not sure that I trust the process, not the process but what's done with it, I guess that's where I'd say I don't know if I trust that this is actually gonna do what it says it's gonna do (CBT Conclusion 6, CBD Conclusion 4)</i>	CBT & CBD
4	Process	<u>L</u> - <i>I don't know enough to not trust so much, but I kind of, I guess I kind of feel like in a way it's, not pointless (CBT Conclusion 6)</i> <u>L</u> - I don't know if I'd say I distrusted the whole thing.	CBT Only

		<u>L</u> - Because I don't think people would bother putting in their input if they don't trust that what they have to say is gonna make any difference. And if they don't think what they're saying is getting put to the use it should	
5	Process	<u>L</u> - you know it's a democracy so they'll take the majority. Well, who is the majority? Are they real, or are they not? In the virtual world, you can make a majority, but it's a virtual majority (CBD Conclusion 3) <u>L</u> - it's still it goes back to that transparency, you know. Am I getting the whole story? You know, is the reason for the decisions that are made that I'm told the full, you know, am I getting the full plate here? You know. Was the criteria on which these decisions were made good or bad for me? Am I being told the whole criteria or am I just getting the one side in that (CBD Conclusion 3)	CBD Only
6	Process	<u>L</u> - (process improve trust?) - You mean, will people be more trusting? I don't know if it's trust or vigilance.	CBT & CBD
7	Process	<u>L</u> - my only fear is you cant be all things to all people, and so somebody somewhere down the line is not going to get what they want and they're gonna be very unhappy about it. Maybe they'll be less unhappy because they were part of the process (CBT Conclusion 6)	CBT & CBD
8	Process	<u>L</u> - that's where I think there's some risk, is when you try to have a collaborative process when, what do you do when you just have two things that actually won't mix like oil and water... (about decision-making) - is it going to be arbitrary? (CBT Conclusion 6, CBD Conclusion 3) <u>L</u> - I think we're gonna have a good case built for some strong protections in the plan. That might run up against what the county commissioners from down south somewhere feel. And I don't know how we're gonna resolve. I think either we're headed to those types of irreconcilable conflicts on a couple of hot button issues and inherently therefore there's some risk of just letting it to a collaborative process (CBT Conclusion 6, CBD Conclusion 3) <u>L</u> - the question is gonna be, whose gonna make the decision? Are Rick and his team gonna make a recommendation, I hope they do because I think that'll be very responsive to the overall, as much consensus as we can get up there on this... Or is it just gonna be the supervisor Kniffy Hamilton? Or if it's something so of a hot button issue these days, is oil and gas there's, I don't know if she's just gonna make the decision in her office by herself without the phone ringing. (CBT Conclusion 6, CBD Conclusion 3)	CBT & CBD
10	Process	<u>L</u> - I think it needs some work on it in bringing the public closer into it. Most of the time when we're done with these processes or even in the process now, the public feels like that the cooperators are making the decision and the public's not getting their proper input (CBT Conclusion 4, CBD Conclusion 3)	CBT & CBD
11	Process	<u>L</u> - They are getting a lot of input from the cooperators right now. You know and hopefully it's not enough to steer them in a direction that the public in general, you know, doesn't like or else if that's the way the Forest wants to go, they have to answer to the public to and it's just merging those two sets of input that might be difficult (CBT Conclusion 6, CBD Conclusion 3)	CBT & CBD
13	Process	<u>L</u> - there's no guarantees or process as to what's going to come out the other end of the planning process (CBT Conclusion 6)	CBT & CBD
13	Process	<u>L</u> - I don't come in with a conscious feeling, I really trust what's going on here, I come in with this process should result in a fair result. And whatever someone's background or motivations for what they do in the process doesn't make a lot of difference to me	CBT Only

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
3	Stakeholders	<u>H</u> - (re: why trust certain stakeholders) I've worked with them all and I've talked with them and gotten help and advice from them, and you make a judgement as to who knows what they're doing, first of all, who knows the fact of the situation (IBT Conclusion 2)	CBT & IBT
4	Stake-	<u>L</u> - I don't think anything's gonna change over night, I think there're a lot of	CBD &

	holders	people who have very strong feelings, they've had for a long time, they need to see change for the better, for a while before they can think they can trust.	IBD
9	Stakeholders	<u>L</u> - we each have our roles but we are watching each other pretty carefully I think	CBT Only
10	Stakeholders	<u>L</u> - I don't have a distrust really of any of them. I worry about their agendas	CBT Only
13	Stakeholders	- at our level as cooperators, um, we develop personal relationships that are comfortable or uncomfortable but it still doesn't relate to trust	Haven't been able to place

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
3	Outside Entities & Influences	<u>H</u> - over all of this is a big cloud of suspicion that people feel that no matter how good the intentions of this Forest staff are, that the major decisions affecting the forest will be made in Washington by an administration that is profoundly unfriendly to the environment (IBD Conclusion 3, RBD Conclusion 1) <u>H</u> - the reason now that there is this pervasive distrust is that people have seen what has happened to the environment under the Bush administration so of course they distrust it. I mean you'd be a fool not to. (IBD Conclusion 3, RBD Conclusion 1)	IBD & RBD
12	Outside Entities & Influences	<u>H or L</u> - When Clinton was in office it was a preservationist attitude, and a lot of us thought maybe we wouldn't even make it through his administration, that they would eliminate grazing... (IBD Conclusion 3)	CBD & IBD
12	Outside Entities & Influences	<u>H</u> - We have an administration that's more favourable to multiple use, to using our resources and wanting to keep people in business, wanting to keep them on the land	CBT & IBT

USFS-BTNF Staff Interviewees (15-19)

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
16	USFS-BTNF	<u>H</u> - Some people will put trust into disagreement. Some people will say 'I don't agree with you so I don't trust you'. But you didn't what I wanted you to do (RBD Conclusion 1)	IBT & RBT
17	USFS-BTNF	<u>L</u> - I bet there're still a lot of people on the fence about whether they can trust or not, because as I said before we haven't gotten down to the brass tacks of what kind of activities are going to be allowed where. (CBT Conclusion 4)	CBT & CBD
19	USFS-BTNF	<u>H</u> - I like to think it's a pretty good trust level...But by and large, overall land management I think there's a lot of trust, a lot of long time permittees, long time outfitters, long time ranchers, that use public lands commercially and you know they, you know, trust has been built with a lot of those people (IBT Conclusion 1)	CBT & IBT

Int #	Theme	Quote	Placement
16	Process	- when we come and say, now this country's back country and that means that means you can't take you four-wheeler in like you used to, or you can't take your snowmobile in there, or you can't do this, or you-, or there are going to be four-wheelers or something, that's when the discussions gonna be in the end very cautious of what level of decision, who gets to make what decision where	Have not placed anywhere
17	Process	<u>L</u> - I bet there're still a lot of people on the fence about whether they can trust or not, because as I said before we haven't gotten down to the brass tacks of what kind of activities are going to be allowed where. (CBT Conclusion 4)	CBT & CBD
18	Process	<u>L</u> - but whether that's (the plan from the process) something that really will help us manage the land, consistently, effectively, efficiently and please a good number of the public, which we're serving, that will, that remains to be seen. <u>L</u> - I'm just not sure how the dots connect. It's a different process than how	CBT & CBD

		<p><i>we have been trained in the agency and how we have trained the public you know to provide us input. And so I can see people struggling even at the public meetings, where we spend a lot of time on , what do you think this should look like, when they're already programmed for us to say, this is what we think it should look like, what do you think? Instead we're just starting from what do you think? And it's really hard.</i></p> <p>L - <i>the only risk is, do we come up with the product that helps us administer the land?... So we need to have something in the plan that helps us be consistent for the districts, each district, so that we are administering the land as it should be administered</i></p> <p>L - <i>It's not just trust, it's communication. And that's gonna be interesting in the Forest Plan. Does it end up communicating where we need to be and how we need to get there, without being, I know they don't want to be so specific that it ties everyone's hands, but it's gonna have to have some meat in it so that we at the district levels can administer, implement and administer it.</i></p> <p>L - <i>we're not sure how our help will be utilized, and I think that's the same with the public- that they're not real sure how their input is going to be, you know reflected in the final plan.</i></p>	
19	Process	- I don't think the planning process will dramatically change the trust though.	Have not placed anywhere

Appendix 10: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the Public and Cooperators

	<i>Macro Stage</i>	<i>Meso Stage</i>	<i>Micro Stage</i>
RBT	<i>No conclusions</i>		
IBT			<p>Conclusion 1 High/Low Mix Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive experiences/familiarity with other stakeholders impacts the likelihood of increasing trust in other stakeholders
CBT	<p>Conclusion 1 High Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Previous positive experiences with the agency and agency staff <p>Conclusion 2 High/Low Mix Future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trust in USFS-BTNF can increase depending on how USFS-BTNF proceeds with the process 	<p>Conclusion 4 High Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants experience with the process so far is generally positive <p>Conclusion 3 Low Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transparency in the process is important; interviewees believe the process is transparent <p>Conclusion 5 Low Future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Feel certainty regarding the direction/outcomes of the process 	
CBD		<p>Conclusion 3 Low Future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uncertainty about how decisions will be made in the process 	
IBD	<p>Conclusion 2 High/Low Mix Future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If USFS-BTNF is perceived as unreliable and/or inconsistent <p>Conclusion 4 High/Low Mix Future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The federal government (non-local offices) will influence decision-making in the process 		<p>Conclusion 1 High Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dishonest and/or ineffective communication <p>Conclusion 1 High/Low Mix Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When other stakeholders have opposing views/values
RBD	<p>Conclusion 1 High Current</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generally distrust the federal government 		

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust	IBT = Identification-Based Trust	RBT = Routine-Based Trust
CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust	IBD = Identification-Based Distrust	RBD = Routine-Based Distrust

Appendix 11: Trust Analytical Framework Conclusions for the USFS-BTNF Staff

* IBT Conclusion 1 appears in the Macro and Meso Stages as comments among interviewees were split between the two

	<i>Macro Stage</i>	<i>Meso Stage</i>	<i>Micro Stage</i>
RBT	<i>No Conclusions</i>		
IBT	Conclusion 1 High* Current - USFS-BTNF has developed good relationships with the public		Conclusion 1 High* Current - USFS-BTNF has developed good relationships with the public Conclusion 2 High Current - Trust in USFS-BTNF begins with the people at the agency
CBT		Conclusion 2 High Current - USFS-BTNF staff are pleased with how the process is going Conclusion 3 Low Future - If USFS-BTNF works effectively with the public in the process	Conclusion 4 Low Current - Trust other stakeholders but are aware of their agendas
CBD	Conclusion 1 Low Future - If USFS-BTNF enters into real engagement with the public Conclusion 1 High & Low Mix Future - If changes are made in the approach or policies of USFS-BTNF	Conclusion 2 High Future - If USFS-BTNF is not clear with the public about their role in the participatory process	
IBD			Conclusion 1 High Future - If USFS-BTNF Staff treat people poorly
RBD	Conclusion 2 High Current - Part of the public does not trust the federal government no matter what		Conclusion 1 High Current - Some people are just distrusting

CBT = Calculus-Based Trust	IBT = Identification-Based Trust	RBT = Routine-Based Trust
CBD = Calculus-Based Distrust	IBD = Identification-Based Distrust	RBD = Routine-Based Distrust