

Building trust for resilient cross sector partnerships: A complex system of relationships, perceptions and tensions.

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ABSTRACT

Modern society has the resources, technology and capability to resolve many of the world's complex issues. A challenge is that these attributes often sit in different sectoral institutions and require coordinated collaboration in order to be effective. Trust can be considered a lubricant to enable collaboration; however, building trust in cross sector partnerships is becoming more complex in a global context of patriotic nationalism conflicting with diverse social identities of minorities. These and other conditions lead to low levels of societal trust, which in turn create negative perceptions of partner institutions or even individual partnership actors. In order for effective partnerships in this context the existing literature needed to be extended to enrich the understanding of the processes involved in building trust. More specifically, this research aimed to understand the dynamic between trust and relationships, perceptions and tensions. This is particularly important in long term multi-project partnerships, which need to be sustainable and therefore resilient to shocks.

The research investigated the perceptions of highly experienced partnership actors from the public, private and social sectors in relation to their past partnership experiences and how these perceptions impacted trust. The research was conducted in two phases. The first was a data collection phase involving 14 in-depth interviews with representation from each sector. All samples were taken from the same three partnership types, namely social housing, inner city housing and enterprise development. The second phase consisted of three in-depth interviews of industry experts and was used to confirm a proposed trust and trust formation model, developed from phase one data.

The final model consists of process components as well as linking mechanisms. It shows a complex system of relationships, perceptions and tensions working dynamically within an institutional structure. This process has two main stages; initial trust at partnership inception and formation of trust through collaborative processes. These are separated by the legitimacy barrier. The barrier can be crossed through appropriate partner selection and principled engagement. The model provides insight that is useful to collaborative leaders and facilitators as well as public sector policy makers.

KEYWORDS

Cross Sector Partnerships

Trust

Relationships

Perceptions

Housing

Shocks

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

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1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 *Description of the Problem and Background*

In the absence of an effective model for resolving complex public and private sector problems, management practitioners have turned to cross sector collaboration (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2015; Getha-Taylor, 2012). These collaborations or partnerships bring together skills and capabilities from government, business and society to create a unique organisation to meet an objective that could not be met through any entity acting in isolation (Clarke & Fuller, 2010; Dentoni, Bitzer, & Pascucci, 2015; Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012).

Luiz (2014) asserts that these partnerships, sometimes referred to as social compacts, are becoming more pertinent in developing countries due to high levels of economic inequality. Social compacts are a potential mechanism for a more inclusive approach to social development (National Planning Commission, 2010). For the purpose of this research the term cross-sector partnerships (CSP) or cross sector collaborations (CSC) are used interchangeably. Another term that also appears in the literature is collaborative governance. This term is used more for formal structures initiated by the public sector and focuses on public policy or public management (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

While there have been notable CSP successes, many practitioners and scholars agree that cross sector collaboration is no panacea and has many challenges (Bryson et al., 2015; Vangen & Huxham, 2006). This isn't surprising considering the complexities involved in the problems these partnerships aim to resolve. It also explains why many partnerships require a long term view, involving multiple projects, which each need a tailored combination of resources and bridging agents (Manning & Roessler, 2014).

Another challenge stems from the fact that the individuals involved in partnerships are from diverse backgrounds with different perspectives and interests. They are also trying to balance the power and objectives of the partnership with those of their organisation. This causes tension amongst the individuals involved, sometimes to the extent that it prevents them from working effectively together (Lee, Robertson, Lewis, Sloane, Galloway-Gilliam, and Nomachi, 2012).

The most recent cross sector collaboration model proposed by Bryson et al. (2015) shows that a key element of creating collaboration value, is trust and commitment. This is seen in the model as a collaborative process and is underpinned by prior relationships or existing networks. The CSP could also be impacted by exogenous and endogenous shocks, which was a new element added to the 2006 model.

These elements are also considered important in other integrative collaboration based process models. Ansell & Gash (2008) state that trust is particularly important in situations where there is a history of antagonism between stakeholders. It could be argued that in a South African context this exists at the macro societal level due to its history (South African History Online, 2016). Therefore, understanding how trust is built in a socially diverse, low trust environment, could be useful in other situations where societal trust is low. This is particularly relevant given the current global context where countries are becoming more nationalistic and losing trust in public sector entities (Champion, 2016). Social diversity can also cause conflict, especially when minority groups feel their social identity is being threatened (Debating Europe, 2015).

1.2 Research Motivation and Purpose

The importance of CSP's and the construct of trust as an enabling factor have been discussed in the previous section. The next section aims to show why further research is needed to understand how value is created from CSP's, which is greater than the value that could have been created through the sum of its partners in isolation (Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012).

CSP's, by their nature, are complex organisations to research (Bryson et al., 2015). There are multiple dynamic variables at play, each of which need to be understood in terms of their relationships to one another. These variables also need to be understood with regard to their ultimate impact on creating value.

While a dynamic systems theory perspective would provide greater insight into critical success factors for CSP's, it is costly. In order for research to progress, what is required is less variable-based explanations and more research on the causal mechanisms which lead to more effective outcomes (Bryson et al., 2015).

What Bryson et al. (2015) are proposing is that scholars converge on the variables that have already been shown to impact accountabilities and outcomes in their suggested 2015 framework. This will allow more research focus on the relationships between the variables, in different contexts. The Bryson et al. (2015) framework was based on an extensive review of empirical studies written between 2007 and 2015.

Their framework suggests that in order for CSP's to deliver public value, they require collaborative processes and structures, which are underpinned by initial conditions, drivers and linking mechanisms, as well as endemic conflicts and tensions. There are also general antecedent conditions that need to be considered, such as resources, institutional environment and the need to address a public issue. Bringing all of these elements of the framework together are leadership, governance practices and skills. See Appendix I for a diagrammatic representation of the framework (Bryson et al., 2015).

One of the elements included in the framework is trust and commitment. There is extensive literature on the importance of trust to enable and facilitate successful collaborative processes, including at the institutional and organisational level (Bachmann, Gillespie, & Kramer, 2011; Dirks & Ferrin, 2001; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007) and the interpersonal level (Dai & Wu, 2015; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998; Williams, 2007).

However, in the context of CSP's the literature is still relatively sparse (Henderson & Smith-King, 2015; Lee et al., 2012; Sloan & Oliver, 2013; Venn & Berg, 2014). Most of the existing literature deals with the importance of trust to facilitate knowledge sharing and to facilitate collaboration. It is acknowledged that building trust early in the partnership is most important, as distrust in a single dyadic relationship, can infiltrate to other relationships within the partnership (Lee et al., 2012). It is therefore important that partnership managers facilitate trust within the structures of the organisation.

The study by (Lee et al., 2012) looked at antecedents to trust in order to understand what factors were important in building trust. It didn't however look at the importance of prior relationships and networks as a factor for higher levels of trust at the start of a CSP. Prior relationships is an element of the framework for designing and implementing a CSP as proposed by Bryson et al. (2015). The dynamic between these two variables, trust and relationships, will be addressed in this research. This will help practitioners to understand the importance of who to select when setting up a CSP.

The importance of understanding cross sector partnership trust in a socially diverse, low trust environment has been argued. However, the literature linking trust to individual actor's perceptions within this context is limited (Getha-Taylor, 2012). It is important to understand the dynamic between trust and individuals' perceptions better in order for practitioners to access the levers that need to be manipulated in order to change perceptions and increase trust.

A study carried out by Sloan and Oliver (2013) shows that effective response methods, employed around what they term 'critical emotional incidents', can lead to increased or decreased levels of trust. These incidents are contained within endogenous shocks discussed in Bryson et al. (2015). However, the Sloan & Oliver (2013) model was only tested in one case study in Canada, in a CSP involving a multinational and a local aboriginal community. This raises a question as to whether this model would still be appropriate in a socially diverse, low trust environment, like South Africa. The research aimed to address this question by analysing their model in the context of socially oriented cross sector partnerships in South Africa.

In addition to investigating endogenous shocks the study examined exogenous shocks and their impact on partnership resilience, as shown in the Bryson et al. (2015) framework. The need to include this was also driven by the importance of understanding sustainability in long term multi-project CSP's.

1.3 Research Scope

The scope of this research is limited to CSP's in South Africa. South Africa is a developing country with existing low levels of general trust (Edelman, 2016). This stems from a history of political dominance by minorities, racial segregation, cultural diversity, economic inequality and labour conflicts. This is an environment where it is difficult to establish trust and emotional tension is high. It is therefore a good context to test whether the emotional engagement model proposed by Sloan and Oliver (2013) still holds true in managing critical emotional incidents or whether additional steps need to be considered such as reconciliation as a step posed by Vangen and Winchester (2014).

At the outset, it was recognised that the variables tested are also impacted by other constructs, such as governance process (Van Gestel, Voets, & Verhoest, 2012), institutional structure (Henderson & Smith-King, 2015), and mandatory versus voluntary

nature (Muir & Mullins, 2015). In order to limit the impact of these constructs the sample was selected based on the objectives and nature of the partnerships in order to account for some of these potentially explanatory factors.

Housing and related land ownership is extremely emotive in South Africa due to the system of Apartheid and subsequent development of housing through South African government programs like the Reconciliation and Development Program (RDP). These are mandatory programs and are therefore less likely to have a collaborative network structure (Muir & Mullins, 2015).

In South Africa social housing is an example of a mandatory partnership which has thresholds in terms of income levels instituted by law. Above these thresholds the partnerships move into a more voluntary structure as is evidenced by the inner city partnership that was sampled in the research. These two partnerships (social housing and inner city housing) are both long term partnerships, as they have been in operation for over 15 years. To contrast this, the researcher also sampled another mandatory short term partnership in the form of enterprise development.

1.4 Research Objectives

Within the scope mentioned above, the main purpose of the research was to gain an in-depth understanding of what increases or decreases CSP trust in a diverse social context, like South Africa, which has low levels of societal trust. In addition, it aimed to investigate the drivers of resiliency in long term multi-project cross sector partnerships.

In order to understand the applicability of certain existing integrated frameworks in relation to a socially diverse, low trust environment, a research question was raised to address this.

Furthermore, the research addressed the dynamic between the following 3 elements, which are primarily based on the proposed CSP design and implementation framework of Bryson et al. (2015):

1. Initial trust and trust formation
2. Relationships and networks
3. Shocks and internal tensions

In addition to these, the role of individual perceptions was also analysed, in order to understand the impact that individuals' perceptions, including prejudices and biases, have on initial trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships within this context.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The previous section of this proposal illustrated the importance of CSP's and in particular the building of trust in CSP's to facilitate collaboration. In order to understand potential drivers of improved trust the researcher argues that it is important to consider three key elements. Firstly, the level of initial or implied trust of partnership actors in relation to their peers, partnering institutions and societal trust in general on entering the partnership. Second, the way in which individuals build and form trust during the partnership. Thirdly, whether exogenous or endogenous shocks and tensions, will impact the levels of interpersonal trust and therefore sustainability of the partnership going forward. This speaks to the resilience of long term partnerships to shocks. The literature review consists of five major themes as follows:

- The first theme examines the research on cross sector partnerships to understand some of the complexities inherent in the successful functioning of CSP's (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). It aims to analyse the context of decision making within a CSP which ultimately influences the CSP's success (Henderson & Smith-King, 2015). This section will also explore the framework for design and implementation of cross sector collaboration as proposed by Bryson et al. (2015). This framework is the foundation for the CSP elements being researched. It is compared with other integrative models of collaborative governance as proposed by Ansell & Gash (2008) and Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh (2012).
- The second theme looks at the construct of trust. The starting point is understanding definitions of trust in a dyadic interpersonal relationship and its relationship to cooperation and control. This is then followed by an understanding of the multilevel view of trust within organisations then leading into its applicability to cross sectoral partnerships. The basis for this analysis was an article by (Schoorman, Mayer & Davis, 2007). These authors extended their model from 1995 after considering discussion in the literature since their initial article. This is the model which was used to measure indicative levels of trust in research subjects. Emerging theory on neuroscience was also discussed to explain what drives trust.

- The third theme details the impact of relationships and networks on trust within the context of CSP's. In this context, pre-existing relationships are extended from the interpersonal (micro) level to also consider how relationships are driven by perceptions of partnership institutions (meso level) as well as attachments from a general macro level social identity. In addition, network theory is discussed, as the level of trust may be impacted by whether relationships are based on strong ties or weak ties, as well as the role of bridge actors. The nature of how these relationships change over the duration of long term CSP's is also discussed.
- The fourth theme relates to perceptions and is based on the premise that relationships and trust also have a psychological dimension. Therefore, theory will be drawn from the literature on psychological contracts (Rousseau, 1989) and schema in this theme. This was analysed from the perspective of past experiences which may have impacted individual participant's schemata in a way which negatively or positively influences the state of trust at the beginning of a partnership. This theme is closely related to theme three and therefore themes three and four are discussed together.
- The fifth theme looks at the vulnerability of CSP's to shocks and tensions. In particular, internal tension in the form of critical emotional incidents and internal actor churn. The model of emotional engagement practices as proposed by Sloan & Oliver (2013) was analysed. To date there is not much literature on the impact of external shocks. This was explored in this research as an extension.

2.2 A Model for Cross Sector Partnerships

Cross sector partnerships are defined as “the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organizations in one sector separately” (Bryson et al., 2015). The importance of recognising that this is a completely new entity, separate from its contributors, is argued by Koschmann et al. (2012). This is a fundamental driver to some of the challenges which are faced by CSP's as the partnership organisation is not grown organically. It's actors, therefore, do not necessarily share similar values, cultures or objectives.

When it comes to decision making, actors from a corporate environment might be concerned with profitability, process efficiency and execution, however government actors may be more concerned with political consequences and achievement of mandated performance indicators. On the other hand, social organisations may be more interested in societal impact or consequences for future funding. Aligning these divergent attributes for the purpose of achieving a collaborative objective is difficult (Getha-Taylor, 2012).

The difficulty experienced by CSP researchers is that not only is the field broad in terms of theoretical disciplines, but the contexts within which these partnerships operate are also variable (Bryson et al., 2015). This has led to an array of models being created from empirical research, many of which may only be applicable in niche contexts, while others serve multiple contexts, but only in specific disciplines.

The task taken on by Bryson and his colleagues was to try to propose an overarching framework for cross sector collaborations, which could draw on the empirical research to date, across disciplines and contexts. What they proposed is a basic foundational model, however it is very specific to public sector projects and doesn't necessarily cater for the type of nonprofit business partnerships used for corporate social responsibility collaborative arrangements, as discussed by Seitanidi & Crane (2009). For example, in a nonprofit business partnership, it is critical for a corporate enterprise to spend time on partner selection given the potential reputational damage if it chooses a partner that could be implicated in illegal or fraudulent activities. This, however, is not identified in the framework proposed by Bryson et al. (2015), refer Appendix I.

While this framework is not necessarily going to apply in all situations, it is based on a comprehensive review of three books and 196 articles published between 2007 and 2015. Through a rigorous filtering process Bryson et al. (2015) produced a framework which may allow researchers to move beyond the current status quo and to begin to understand the causal relationships that exist between the elements of the model.

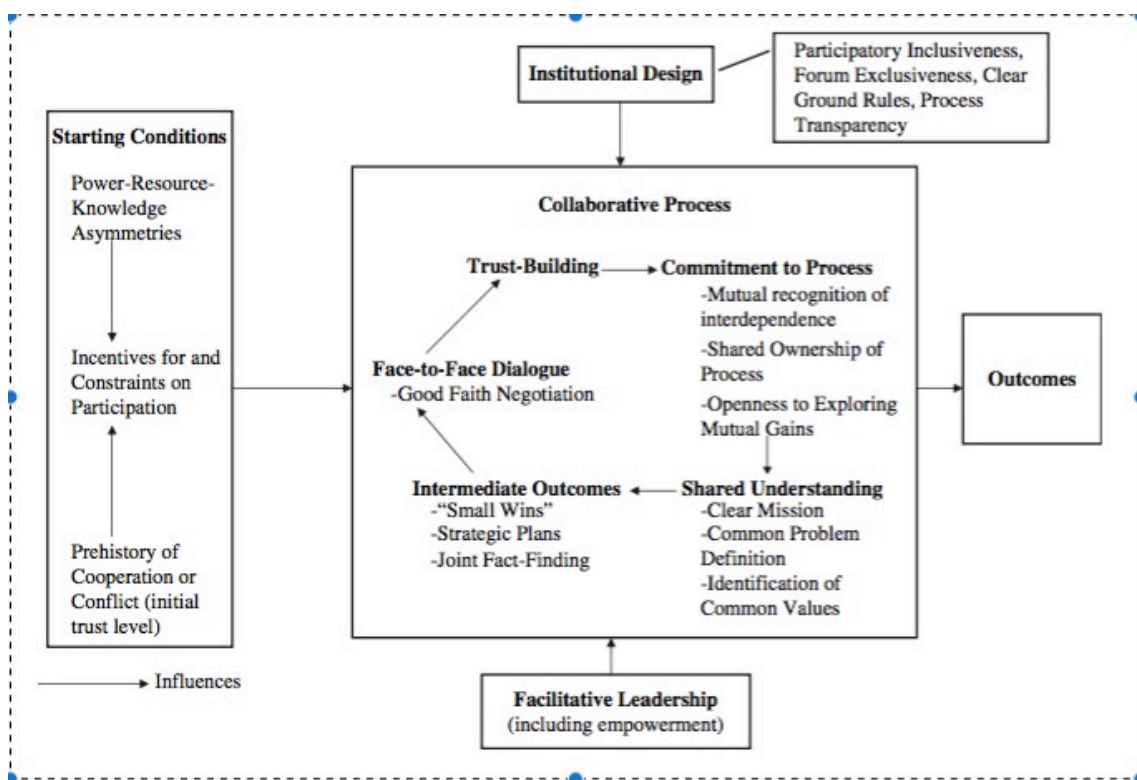
Literature from Henderson and Smith-King (2015) states in relation to CSP's that "Organizational design, relational processes, and trust bear heavily on decision-making processes in these settings" (p.1553). This concurs with the Bryson et al. (2015) framework to a large extent, however in their framework trust is included as part of collaborative processes rather than being specifically separated out. These collaborative processes are identified as structure, coordination, cooperation, trust, and collaboration

by Henderson and Smith-King (2015). This list of collaborative processes is expanded by Koschmann et al. (2012) who adds communication to the list.

2.2.1 Collaborative Governance

Another well referenced model by Ansell & Gash (2008), which was also developed from a literature review, focussed on collaborative governance and the “contingent conditions that facilitate or discourage successful collaboration” (p. 561). Their research puts a stronger emphasis on time, trust and interdependence. It recognises initial trust as part of the starting conditions and trust building as part of the collaborative process. The key insight with this model was a contingency based approach, showing that the model is not linear. As this model is discussed in detail in this study, it has been included below for reference, refer Figure 1.

Figure 1: Model of Collaborative Governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008)



While this is a useful model, given the emphasis on trust and time, it doesn't consider partnership resilience in terms of vulnerability to endogenous and exogenous shocks as is highlighted by Bryson et al. (2015). Resilience is considered a key element to sustainability in longer term cross sector partnerships.

While there are differences between these two models, there is also alignment in the general concepts such as institutional design, collaborative processes, facilitative leadership and starting conditions (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Bryson et al., 2015). However, neither of these models really consider partner selection, as was done by Seitanidi & Crane (2009).

Another concept that is not seen in either model is the impact of individual partner's perceptions based on past experiences. The closest mention of this is by Ansell & Gash (2008) where they link initial trust to a prehistory of conflict or cooperation between partners, however this doesn't consider how actors may attach other past experiences, negative or positive, to this partnership, whether there is a relationship history or not.

In addition to this, the model by Ansell & Gash (2008) was based on 137 cases, which they state were overrepresented by American cases, involving natural resources. This social context is fairly homogenous and due to its developed nature does not have the same inter-sectoral tensions as those that would arise in a socially diverse, developing country, where trust inequality is high, such as South Africa (Edelman, 2016). Another issue relating to context is in reference to collaborative governance, rather than the case of a more structured mandated institutional design, as may be the case in other cross sector partnerships.

2.2.2 Legitimacy and Inclusion

A concept seen in both the Ansell & Gash (2008) and Bryson et al. (2015) models is that of legitimacy. In the former, it is recognised as part of institutional design whereas in the latter, it is recognised as part of collaborative processes alongside trust and trust building. The discussion around legitimacy is based predominantly on how to ensure stakeholders are adequately represented thereby legitimising the partnership decisions.

Johnston, Hicks, Nan, & Auer (2011) used a multi-agent model to test the outcome of adding new participants to teams playing a game, in order to replicate inclusive behaviour. Their findings showed that trust and cooperation were kept stable, where interventions were made of deliberately planning inclusion over time. However, they also found that 'thoughtful inclusion', where inclusion was based more on smaller sub-group decisions than on group-wide decisions, also had a stabilising impact. In neither case were they able to change teams with weak links at inception to strong links through these inclusive processes. This indicates the importance of initial levels of trust and

commitment to the partnership's objectives as it is very difficult to build these if they are not present at the start.

The work by Johnston et al. (2011) shows that legitimacy is not necessarily gained by including all participants in a discussion at the start of the partnership. Sometimes a slower approach is required, where participants are added in a planned way. This allows trust to build in initial participants and then be institutionalised by the group going forward.

It can, however, be argued that in a socially diverse, low trust context, legitimacy may actually be a barrier within the partnership starting conditions, rather than a collaborative process itself. The reason for this is that lack of recognition of this social diversity within the partnership may create a social barrier, which would need to be bridged in order to commence principled engagement, as described by Emerson & Nabatchi (2015). If so, legitimacy may be more aligned with the view of Ansell & Gash (2008) where it is embedded into the institutional design of the partnership structure, rather than as part of shared motivation (Emerson et al., 2012) or collaborative processes (Bryson et al., 2015).

This argument is also made by (Jos, 2016) who states "The development of inclusive, collaborative, and legitimate decision making processes in these settings, however, requires more than an inclusive selection process and fair procedures, it often requires the judicious use of government authority. Government authority is often essential to maintaining collaborative enterprises and may be particularly important in ensuring inclusive participation." (p. 10)

This concept of inclusive participation is particularly relevant in the South African context, as legitimacy may not be possible without it. In the case of South Africa inclusion has been legislated through the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 (B-BBEE). Jos (2016) uses the term social equity, but given it's mandatory status this may go as far as to be considered a 'social license' (Rooney, Leach, & Ashworth, 2014). Globally, social license has often been used in the context of mineral extraction and gaining a 'license to operate' through the tacit approval of the impacted communities and stakeholders.

Social license has also been used in the context of government gaining cooperation from communities on decisions they are making (Demuijnck & Festerling, 2016). It is argued that in the context of cross sector partnerships in a socially diverse, low trust

environment, this social license may be required by the newly formed partnership institution in order for other stakeholders, such as government, to recognise their legitimacy.

2.2.3 Institutional Structure

There is also a key link between trust, legitimacy and organisational structure as was discussed by Provan & Kenis (2008). Their research argued that the type of governance structure depends on four key constituents namely levels of trust, number of participants, goal consensus and need for network level competencies. They suggest that in a trust environment that has low density and is highly centralised, for effective governance to occur it should take the form of a lead organisation rather than a shared form or network form.

Provan & Kenis (2008) also discussed the tension between internal and external legitimacy. This view of external legitimacy is lacking in the models by Ansell & Gash (2008) and Emerson et al. (2012) which focus on internal legitimacy. However, the framework by Bryson et al. (2015) does refer to external legitimacy to some extent, in the endemic conflicts and tensions component of the framework. Provan & Kenis (2008) go on to highlight that in the case of a lead organisation form of governance, it can be difficult to gain external legitimacy given the lack of representation of stakeholders. This may be particularly relevant in a low trust context.

Research has shown that a hierarchical, centralised governance structure breaks down trust more than a network type structure, but a network structure also requires more trust in order to function effectively (Van Gestel et al., 2012). This is corroborated and expanded on by Muir and Mullins (2015), who looked at the impact on trust, of mandated partnerships with different forms of governance.

Contrary to this Smith (2007) argues that institutions and their related structures can facilitate increased collaboration, with or without trust. The reason for this is that institutional structures provide stability and reliability through policies and processes. They also support commitment to the objectives of the partnership, thereby “setting the stage” (p. 18) for a more sustainable outcome through repeated interaction.

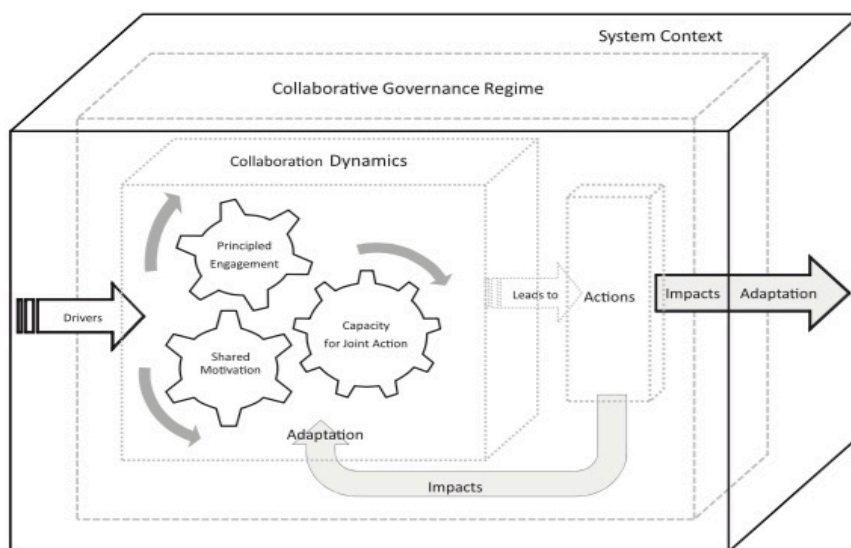
2.2.4 Partnership System Context

A model concept that was missing from the Ansell & Gash (2008) contingency model is that of system context. This was introduced by Emerson et al. (2012) who created an integrated framework for collaborative governance. Their model shows the institutional structure which they call “The collaborative governance regime” or “CGR” (p. 2) nested within the general system context, represented as a three-dimensional box. The full model is represented below in Figure 2.

The system context (Emerson et al., 2012) relates to the general environment within which the partnership operates and consists of “political, legal, socioeconomic, environmental and other influences that affect and are affected by the CGR” (p. 5). It is argued that other influences such as historical context have not necessarily been considered and may be relevant when researching in a South African context, which has a divisive and socially complex history.

The framework by Emerson et al. (2012) also considers initial levels of trust or conflict, however in contrast to Ansell & Gash (2008) it is considered part of the system context rather than part of the starting conditions. This framework is also limited in its conceptualisation of the impact of past experience on the perceptions of actors and how this influences initial levels of trust.

Figure 2: Framework for Collaborative Governance (Emerson et al., 2012)



2.3 Trust and Trust Building in Cross Sector Partnerships

A definition of trust, which has taken into account the multifaceted, multidisciplinary view of trust, is provided by Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt and Camerer (1998). “Trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another.” (p. 395).

Trust increases motivation to achieve joint goals by volunteering resources to achieve the desired objectives (Dirks & Ferrin, 2001). While this research was in the context of corporate organisations it is relevant for cross sectoral partnerships where sharing of resources is required in order to achieve partnership objectives.

2.3.1 Trust, Cooperation and Control

CSP’s bring together groups of people who are not homogenous given their respective sectoral representations. Therefore, trust is required in order to facilitate cooperation and collaborative processes, thereby enhancing performance. Trust can also promote innovation and problem solving by reducing opportunistic behaviour (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Henderson & Smith-King, 2015).

Trust is described in the literature as the willingness of an individual to be vulnerable (Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman, 1995). It indicates the level of risk an individual is willing to take without implementing additional controls. This is also why the linkage between trust and institutional structure is important as they are sometimes seen as performing the same role in terms of reducing overall risk in the partnership. So while there is a cost associated to institutional structure, some would argue this cost is necessary given that trust is often held between individuals in relation with each other and is not transferable when actors change. However, too much governance or control can also break down trust and reduce performance (Van Gestel et al., 2012).

Contrary to this, Cook, Hardin, & Levi (2005) argue that while trust is a useful element in many relationships it is not a necessary precursor to cooperation between stakeholders. Particularly where these stakeholders have a mutually beneficial outcome that forces cooperation between parties. In order for relationships to work in a low trust environment they stipulate the use of individual reputation and state enforcement as important mechanisms to ensure cooperation.

The relationship between trust and cooperation was also researched by Balliet, Van Lange, Analysis, & Balliet (2013) in relation to conflicts of interest between self-interest and collective interest. They found that the greater the conflict, the greater the importance of trust in order to gain cooperation. This is consistent with the general consensus in the models for cross sector partnerships or collaborative governance that have been analysed so far. It is also important for this research given the potential for large conflicts of interest in cross sector partnerships and the low trust environment that is under analysis.

2.3.2 Trust and Social Identity

Trust exists at multiple levels, specifically the individual psychological level as well as a group dynamic level (Rousseau et al., 1998). To date, much of the research considers dyadic relationships at the psychological level as opposed to those at the group level, including relationships between institutions or between institutions and society (Bachmann et al., 2011; Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012).

It is known from social identity theory that perceptions of out-group members are often negative due to stereotypes and prejudices (Fiske & Ruscher, 1993). This makes trust between boundary crossing organisations and institutions difficult (Williams, 2007). It is therefore important to understand the constructs that make up trust, in order to be able to influence these constructs in a positive way, to increase trust.

The impact of diverse social groups and historical differences is also relevant in considering the barriers to building trust (Williams, 2001). This is interesting in the context of South Africa which has a socially divisive history. Attribution theory has been used to explain trust at the organisation level in the case of contract violation with an individual (Janowicz-Panjaitan & Krishnan, 2009). It is argued that this could be applied at a macro level where an individual experiences contract violation with a government or a society as a whole.

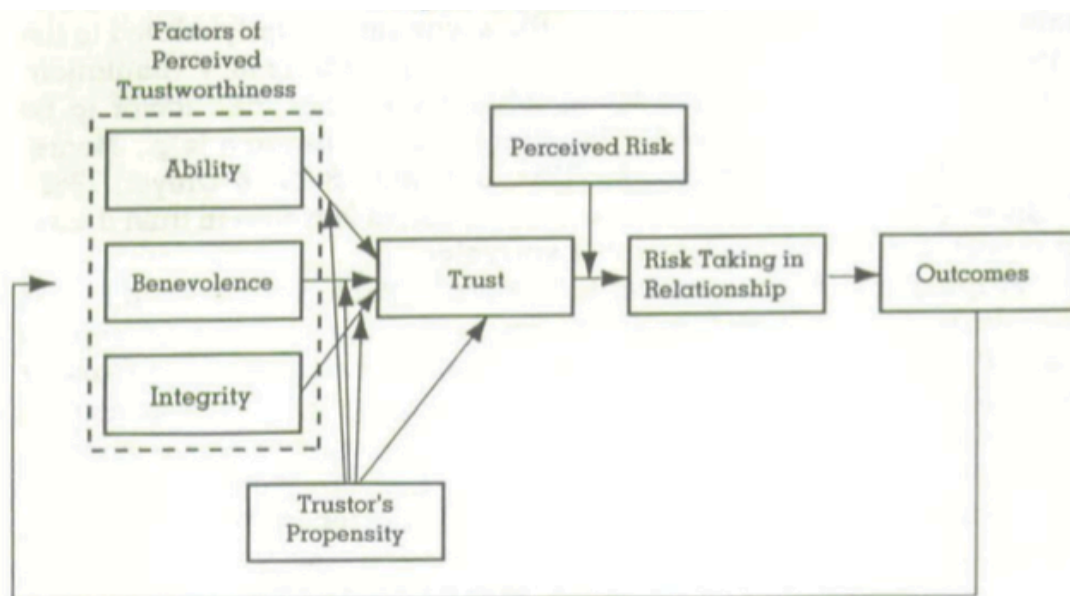
Zak (2014) mentions that “Trust is an economic lubricant, reducing the frictions that often occur during economic activity” (p. 14). In his research there was a strong correlation between the increase of trust and increasing levels of income, “similarity”, fairness and strength of formal and informal contract enforcement. Here, “similarity” refers to ethnicity, language and genes. This helps to explain why levels of trust can be low in

environments with low levels of income, perceived and real procedural unfairness and social diversity.

2.3.3 A Model for Initial Trust

The integrated model of organisational trust by Mayer et al. (1995), refer Figure 3, includes three main constructs that create a propensity to trust. Specifically, these relate to the perceptions of ability, integrity and benevolence between one individual and another. The model was built to accommodate both micro and macro level trust, but was finally released in 1995 specifically for use within dyadic relationships at the interpersonal (micro) level. However, the revised version in 2007 also looked at trust at the organisational (meso) level.

Figure 3: Integrative Model of Organisational Trust (Mayer et al., 1995)



This model works well due to its ability to span across the micro and meso level. It is proposed by Schoorman et al. (2007) that “Just as perceptions about an individual’s ability, benevolence, and integrity will have an impact on how much trust the individual can garner, these perceptions also affect the extent to which an organization will be trusted” (p. 345).

In a cross sector partnership example, a private sector actor may perceive a public sector actor negatively, due to their negative perceptions of the state, based on its inability to execute on deliverables. This was confirmed in literature by Fulmer & Gelfand (2012)

who state that, “social information processing theory and attribution theory adopted at the individual level might be useful for understanding the dynamics of trust at the team and organization levels” (p. 1206).

These perceptions could impact the general level of trust within the partnership from the start. The timing is important as Edelenbos and Klijn (2007) argue that trust is more likely to diminish in the implementation phase of a partnership, due to high opportunities for actors to take more of the benefits with fewer risks.

The revised Schoorman et al. (2007) framework added new dimensions of affective responses and emotions into their model. These changes were motivated by work done by Williams (2001) and Dunn & Schweitzer (2005). The additional factors were consistent with the work done by Sloan & Oliver (2013) on emotional engagement practices when addressing a critical emotional incident in CSP's.

An opposing view was put forward by Getha-Taylor (2012) who tested three different trust models, including the one by Schoorman et al. (2007), in three different partnerships. She found that diversity in partnership types and sectors meant an integrated model was not appropriate to explain trust. An added problem for assessing, building and maintaining trust is that it is dynamic in nature. However, she did find that benevolence and ability were consistently apparent in the narratives, regardless of partnership type or sector. This is interesting because the research by Schoorman et al. (2007) found that ability and integrity were the two aspects most frequently cited. They explain that the reason for this is that integrity and ability can be judged quickly whereas benevolence may take more time.

It is important to note that trust is not a static, but a dynamic concept (Rousseau et al., 1998) it is therefore important to analyse trust over time. In the context of cross sector partnerships this has been referred to as initial trust and trust building by Ansell & Gash (2008)

2.3.4 Trust and Neuroscience

Zak (2014) states that trust is associated with the chemical Oxytocin which is produced by the brain when a person feels connected to others in an emotional way. Oxytocin can even create a feeling of connectedness when complete strangers meet and was true for connections felt through social media and movies. The interesting connection between

this research and cross sector partnerships lies in the finding that during periods of high stress individuals move into survival mode and become self-absorbed, which does not facilitate collaboration. However, moderate levels of stress were linked with the release of oxytocin and this can facilitate collaboration.

This would explain why it can be difficult to build relationships in tense environments. It was also found through his studies that woman release more oxytocin than men, due to the presence of oestrogen in a woman's body. This helps to explain why women connect more easily with others and is useful to consider in partnership selection at the beginning of a cross sector partnership (Zak, 2014).

2.4 Relationships, Networks & Perceptions

Bryson et al. (2015) state that prior relationships are important because the trustworthiness of other participants at the micro level are often judged based on these relationships. What is important is to understand how these relationships form and what their impact will be on trust levels in the partnership. It has a particular bearing on participant selection, as demonstrated in the model by Seitanidi & Crane (2009).

2.4.1 Psychological Contracts

It can be argued that there is an implicit or psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989) that exists between the members of a partnership when it starts and in order to maintain trust and build relationships this contract needs to be upheld.

Research done by Sherman and Morley (2015) shows that the formation of psychological and implicit contracts within an employer employee relationship are impacted by past experiences. In particular, they discuss how the violation of a previous contract leads to reservation on the part of the employee to engage with the new employer. The reason for this was that the mental model of the employee had been altered by the violation to the extent that they could not trust their new employer. The researcher argues that this theory could be extrapolated to the context of prior relationships, networks and experiences in CSP actors.

The study performed by Lee et al. (2012) also confirmed this within a cross sectoral context where they argued that trust was "a complex interaction among the attributes of trustors, trustees, and their relationships" (p. 623). They explain the importance of

proactively building trust amongst actors early on, as negative past experiences with partner organisations can easily be attached to other partners in the network. They highlight the importance of managing relationships with new joiners to the partnership.

2.4.2 Multilevel attachment of Perceptions Based on Past Experiences

While trust is often considered from the perspective of interpersonal or inter-organisational relationships, Rousseau et al. (1998) suggest that trust is a meso concept. By this, they imply that trust doesn't just occur at the interpersonal or the organisational level, but sits in-between these levels. Trust develops through psychological processes at the micro and group dynamic levels, integrated with institutional arrangements.

This is important when considering prior relationships, networks and perceptions as it implies that these extend beyond just the realm of interpersonal interactions, but also to perceptions of an institution or organisation by an individual. It is argued that these perceptions, based on past relationships, networks and experiences, will influence the schemata of a CSP actor, thereby influencing the level of trust at the start of a partnership (Sherman & Morley, 2015).

Given the dynamic nature of trust (Rousseau et al., 1998), it is important to evaluate what influences the level of trust at the start of a partnership in order to understand how this dynamically progresses during the partnership.

2.4.3 Changing Perceptions

Research by Weible, Siddiki, & Pierce (2011) looked at adversarial versus collaborative contexts to understand whether institutional structure could foster improved perceptions of intergroup actors. They tested this using the advocacy coalition framework as defined by Sabatier, Hunter, & McLaughlin (1987) and extended by Leach & Sabatier (2005) to identify devil-shift versus angel-shift in intergroup actors, to measure whether perceptions were changed. Their findings show that collaborative policymaking has the ability to decrease devil-shift or negative perceptions in actors, however it does not necessarily increase angel-shift. Additionally, respondents found more of a mix of both devil-shift and angel-shift in the collaborative context, which was interpreted by the researchers to indicate increases in perceived power in both adversaries and allies.

Given the dynamic between perceptions, trust and risk, as described by Schoorman et al. (2007) another argument is that by decreasing risk, the actor's perceptions can be changed through increased trust. This was evidenced in research by Burke & Demirag (2015) who showed that perceptions were changed when guarantees were put in place to reduce risk in a private-public partnership.

A third method discussed in the literature, surrounding changing perceptions, relates to immersion. Waddell (2011) looked at cultural immersion as a way to overcome barriers between teachers and their students, where the demographics were not aligned. This immersion altered the teachers understanding of their students through experiential learning.

2.4.4 Network Theory

Network theory helps to explain some of the ways in which actors collaborate with each other. The literature considers different types of ties such as strong, weak, empty, reciprocal ties (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016). It is providing insight into whether collaboration works better in small or large groups and whether it's best to have people who know each other well versus those with weaker ties.

Bodin & Crona (2009) are of the opinion that larger groups create the opportunity for more network ties and therefore greater collaboration. This is contrary to the model by Ansell & Gash (2008) who preferred a small group of actors who could be effective in decision making. They also showed that larger groups required more time for decision making and execution. Feiock (2013) also alludes to the additional decision costs associated with a greater number of actors involved in institutional collective action (ICA).

These arguments impact the tension, discussed earlier, between inclusive versus exclusive partnerships and the impact this may have on legitimacy. This tension is also recognised in the Bryson et al. (2015) framework under endemic conflicts and tensions. Research performed by Ulibarri & Scott (2016) examined network density and network cohesion in relation to levels of collaboration which confirmed the existence of this tension.

On the topic of trust, it is argued that strong ties amongst actors are positively correlated with high levels of trust, while weak ties still provide some link between actors, which assists with recognition and therefore some level of initial trust. However, it is important

to have a mix of strong and weak ties, given the stability drawn from strong ties as well as the creativity that is provided by weak ties (Granovetter, 1973).

A further network concept, which is important in relation to cross sector partnerships, is that of an actor in a bridging position as noted by Spekkink & Boons (2016). Their argument was around creating capacity before the start of a partnership by one of two things, either the existence of common ground between parties or alternatively an actor in a bridging position who is able to bring the parties together through the network ties this actor holds. The researcher was interested to understand if there were other circumstances in which a bridge actor is able to facilitate collaborative capacity through their position in the partnership network.

2.5 Vulnerability to Exogenous and Endogenous Shocks

Given CSP's are made up of multiple stakeholders, Bryson et al. (2015) propose that they are at higher risk to shocks as their boundaries are permeable. They argue that shocks can impact relationships, resources and potentially even the ultimate objective of the partnership. It is therefore important to consider this from a strategic planning perspective (Clarke & Fuller, 2010). In addition, the potential impact of shocks also contributes to the consideration of what type of governance structure to implement in order to be able to improve responses to changing environmental factors (Stone, Crosby, & Bryson, 2010).

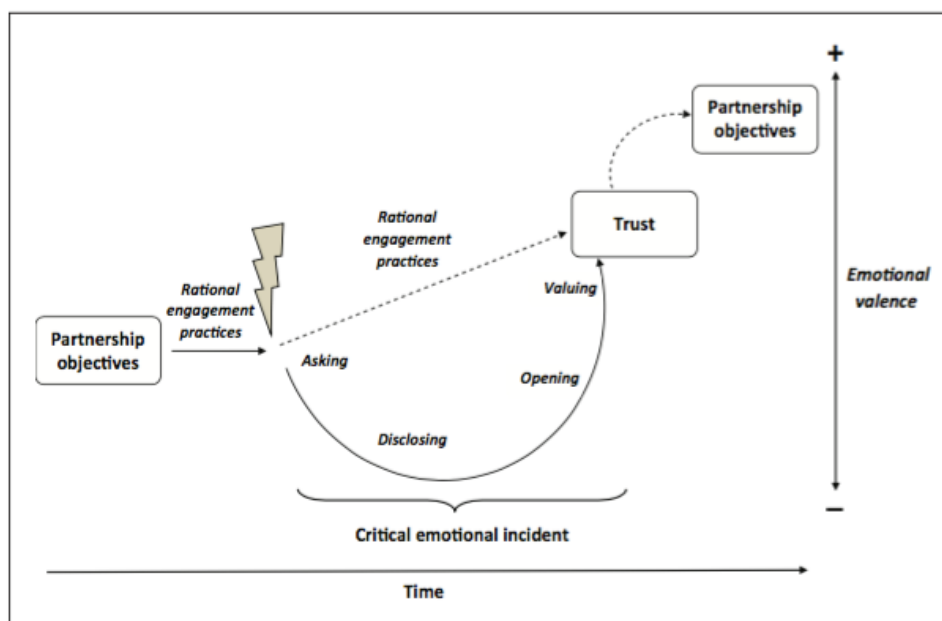
From an endogenous or internal shock perspective, Ansell & Gash (2008) highlight that high levels of conflict can be a catalyst for collaboration, given the costs associated by all parties due to deadlocks. Further research was provided by Sloan and Oliver (2013) who looked at critical emotional incidents in CSP's and their impact on trust. They recognise that trust is a dynamic construct and therefore were interested to see if there were mechanisms which could be used to build trust when emotional incidents occur. This would strengthen the argument put forward by Ansell & Gash (2008) by showing how conflicts and tension can lead to a positive outcome.

The examples given by Sloan & Oliver (2013) of emotional incidents, typically referred to a provocative question being raised by an actor. This in turn, led to tense emotional discussions. Initially these discussions amplified negative emotions, but ultimately lead to positive emotions. They propose a model of emotional engagement practices, refer

to Figure 4, which they argue, improves the outcomes of these emotional shocks. They propose the following 4 steps which must all be present and in sequence to improve member participation and trust building:

- asking provocative questions,
- offering sensitive disclosures,
- opening the agenda to pursue spontaneous ideas, and
- valuing the other in attitudes and acts

Figure 4: Model of Emotional Engagement Practices (Sloan & Oliver, 2013)



While this model is a new lens on managing tension and conflict within CSP's it doesn't consider the impact of prior relationships, networks and experiences and how the model may be impacted by these. In the context of South Africa where social identities can be divergent it may be harder to bring about such positive discourse through the proposed model. It may be necessary to include steps from other models such as reconciliation to bridge cultural or historical differences (Vangen & Winchester, 2014). Alternatively, it may require a bridge actor (Spekkink & Boons, 2016) or social license (Demuijnck & FASTERLING, 2016; Rooney et al., 2014).

2.6 Conclusion

There is an extensive volume of literature regarding the need for cross sector partnerships and their ability to solve complex problems. An issue for scholars is the complexity of the collaborative nature of these partnerships given the broad theoretical disciplines involved which are amplified by a multitude of context specific variables. The framework for design and implementation of CSP's by Bryson et al. (2015) is useful given its roots in extensive empirical research. It is a framework which could be understandable to practitioners, as it strips out some of the more technical theoretical constructs, therefore, bridging the gap between scholarship and practice to some extent. However, the model is still fairly new, 2015, so has not been rigorously tested through case analysis. Further research needs to deepen the understanding of each element of the model by analysis in different contexts, as well as to clarify the cause and effect mechanisms which exist between the proposed framework elements.

Another clear theme is that trust is an important enabler of collaborative processes. It is analogous to the oil required to lubricate an engine in order to allow a vehicle to move forward. As trust is a dynamic component of the CSP model it needs to be considered over time. The literature also showed that it is based in the psychological realm and is impacted by prior relationships, networks and experiences (Bryson et al., 2015) and how these influence perceptions of a partner's ability, integrity, benevolence, emotions and responses (Schoorman et al., 2007). Rousseau et al. (1998) showed that trust exists at multiple levels of social structure, specifically interpersonal or group dynamic level (micro), between individuals and organisations or institutions (meso) and general societal trust (macro). Understanding the impact of meso and macro level trust when setting up a partnership can be important, as it potentially influences partner selection and governance structure.

It is important to build trust at the interpersonal level throughout the partnership and particularly at the inception stage. A model for this is based on emotional engagement practices (Sloan & Oliver, 2013). This model needs to be tested in a more extreme context to identify if there are antecedents which impact the ability of the model to bring about improved levels of trust. These antecedents are considered here to be prior experiences, historical context and social dynamics at the meso and macro level. For example, representatives of the state may perceive business to be greedy and have only profit motives (lack of benevolence), however business representations may perceive

government to lack ability (Getha-Taylor, 2012) or integrity thereby starting from a point of low levels of trust based on perceptions and pre-existing relationships.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

3.1 Purpose of the Research

This chapter aims to specify the research questions to be answered, in order to further the literature relating to building trust in resilient cross sector partnerships. The questions were formulated based on the researcher's understanding of the research problem, as described in Chapter 1, as well as the arguments discussed in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Specifically, trust was analysed in a socially diverse, low trust environment in relation to initial trust at the inception of a partnership as well as formulation of trust during the partnership. The researcher aimed to get an understanding of how relationships, networks, perceptions, tensions and shocks impact trust in this context.

3.2 Research Questions

Based on the problem definition and literature review this research aims to investigate four questions:

3.2.1 Question 1

Using the integrated cross sector partnership models by Bryson et al. (2015), Ansell & Gash (2008) and Emerson et al. (2012) as a framework, which components are important in a socially diverse, low trust environment?

This question is a pre-cursor to questions two to five by establishing whether the context under analysis sheds light on which components are important to building trust and overcoming some of the social challenges found within this context. These components could then be used as the basis for a model on trust formation.

3.2.2 Question 2

What are the main drivers of trust in a socially diverse, low trust environment?

Question 2 aims to start understanding some of the important constructs that can be added to the basic model components from question 1. It also starts to form some understanding around the relationship between the components in question 1. Trust will

be measured using the updated model proposed by Schoorman et al. (2007) by evaluating the constructs of ability, integrity, benevolence, emotions and response.

3.2.3 Question 3

How do relationships and networks in a socially diverse, low trust environment impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?

This question relates to the extended theoretical construct of prior relationships and networks as proposed by Bryson et al. (2015) and how it impacts levels of trust at partnership inception. This question will be considered both at inception of the partnership as well as during the partnership. At inception the question relates to pre-existing relationships which could be positive or negative contributors to trust. It also considers network ties in terms of whether the ties are strong or weak and how these impact trust. During the partnership, this question will be used in order to understand the impact of actor churn on trust.

3.2.4 Question 4

How do perceptions of actors impact the level of trust in cross sector partnerships in socially diverse, low trust environments and what drives these perceptions?

This question is based on the literature by Rousseau et al. (1998) and aims to understand whether perceptions created by individuals are attached to the meso level organisational institutions that participate in the partnerships. If these attachments are made how do they impact trust at the inception of a partnership. It will also aim to understand what drives these perceptions of individuals in the context being analysed as well as what changes perceptions during the partnership.

3.2.5 Question 5

How do external shocks and internal tensions impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?

It is proposed that in the context of South Africa, there will be high levels of distrust at the start of the partnership, owing to low levels of trust in the macro environment. The potential for highly emotional discourse in this context also raises the question of whether

the Sloan and Oliver model is practical and secondly, if practical, does it achieve the desired results? If not, what other approaches are shown to work in this context?

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the research methodology that was applied in coming to a conclusion on the research topic. It also justifies the choice of methodology, based on the nature of the data being analysed and the objectives of the research as described in Chapter 1. Information was taken from the literature reviewed in order to understand what was needed to extend the existing literature and to validate the approach chosen.

This chapter also describes the research process followed to ensure appropriate due diligence was applied in analysing the research data. This rigour is necessary in an effort to limit the researchers own bias and perceptions. Given the complexity and detailed nature of the data, it was considered appropriate to develop a two phased approach, whereby the second phase was utilised to confirm a proposed model developed after the first phase. Both phases are described in detail below.

4.2 Choice of methodology

This research analyses constructs such as trust, relationships, perceptions and tensions. These are difficult to quantify and therefore a qualitative approach was selected to gather data.

To date, much of the research that has been done in relation to cross sector partnerships and trust, has been exploratory in nature. The two main articles used as a basis for the literature review were descriptive and called for a move towards more explanatory research in order to better understand cause and effect mechanisms. This was important in order to close the gap between theory and practice (Bryson et al., 2015).

While the call was for research to become more explanatory in nature, there were still some unanswered questions relating to how the model operates in a low trust, socially diverse environment as is found in South Africa. This was addressed in research question 1, by analysing the important components of existing CSP models, in a different context. This question was therefore exploratory in nature.

The research also aimed to extend the model component of prior networks and relationships by evaluating perceptions based on past experiences and their impact on trust. This extended to prejudices and biases, based on macro level environmental factors, which were potentially attached to organisational representatives. Given these were not discussed in the existing frameworks an exploratory method was required.

Answering the last three research questions, had an element of explanatory research to them, as they aimed to investigate the dynamic between the constructs of relationships, networks, perceptions, tensions, shocks and trust. However, given the number of variables involved and their relative complexity, an exploratory method was still considered appropriate in order to gain this understanding.

The existence of CSP integrative frameworks, as well as models of trust, led to an initial consideration of a deductive approach to this research. However, trying to understand cross sector partnership trust in a low trust context, with extended concepts, meant a more inductive approach to initial analysis was needed. This was then followed by a deductive approach, by grouping coded quotes into code groups, based on the existing frameworks. This approach allowed for new themes to emerge within this context, but also gave sufficient insight into whether the existing frameworks appropriately explained the data in a new context.

Given the complexity of the topic and due to the semi-structured format of the in-depth interviews, it was considered important for the researcher to use a two-phased approach to the research. This allowed for validation of the data by using the second phase to confirm the first.

4.3 Research Process

The research process was divided into two phases. The first phase was for gathering initial data and drafting a proposed model, while the second phase was used to validate and confirm the model. Each phase was considered independently in terms of population, unit of analysis, sampling method and size, measurement instrument, data gathering process and data analysis approach. These are described in further detail below.

4.4 Phase 1

The purpose of phase 1 was to gather sufficient initial data to formulate a proposed model for trust and trust formation within a socially diverse, low trust environment. This was done by ensuring a representative sample of experienced partnership actors were interviewed, across the three sectors; private, public and social. A model was developed in order to simplify the inherent complexity of the research topic.

4.4.1 Population

The population consisted of all senior managers who had been involved in CSP's in the past as well as industry experts who understood the dynamics of trust that exist in these partnerships, for example experienced community organisers or partnership facilitators.

4.4.2 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis for this research was considered to be the cumulative past experiences and perceptions of individual partnership actors, before and during the partnership process.

4.4.3 Sampling method and size

Part of the difficulty experienced by researchers, is that cross sector partnerships proliferate in many different contexts, across different sectors. In order for this research to try to eliminate some of this variability, the sample of CSP managers and executives were selected from similar type projects in terms of objectives, nature and governance structure. The sampling method was aiming for a homogenous sample in terms of these variables. Specifically, the project types that were selected are represented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Partnership Types Sampled

Objective	Nature	Structure
Social housing	Social upliftment	Mandated by law
Inner city housing	Social upliftment	Voluntary
Enterprise development	Social upliftment	Mandated by law

A specific aim of the research was to analyse existing models from the literature in a socially diverse, low trust environment. Low trust, in this context, is measured by the level of trust inequality between partnership organisations in general. South Africa is a country which experiences a high level of trust inequality (Edelman, 2016) and is therefore a good context in which to select a sample.

Social housing projects are generally mandated by the public sector, yet partner with the private and social sector in achieving their objectives. They also have a long history in the South African context due to the Reconciliation and Development Program (RDP). Given this historical relevance and mandatory nature, with expected similarities in partnership structures, they are considered a good frame within which to sample.

By comparison, the inner city housing projects are voluntary, but actually involve many of the same actors that are involved in social housing. This creates an interesting sample, because it allows for comparability across the mandatory and voluntary type structures. The other benefit of these partnership types is that they have both been operating for between 10 and 20 years. Their long term nature allowed the researcher to consider elements of sustainability and resilience to shock factors. It also meant that the relationships in these partnerships were well established and could be analysed in terms of their impact on trust.

The third type of partnership, relating to enterprise development, was brought into law with the broad-based black economic empowerment (B-BBEE) act, which became legislation in 2003. The B-BBEE act was subsequently amended in 2013 to add more weight to enterprise development. This partnership type is fairly new, but is comparable to social housing in that it is mandated by law. It allowed an interesting perspective on trust in partnerships that do not have a long history of existing relationships. These partnerships are also prone to short term internal tensions, which was one of the constructs that was analysed.

According to Saunders and Lewis (2012) purposive sampling is applicable when judgement is required to select participants who will be able to help answer the questions. In this research purposive sampling was used to select senior managers, who had experience in the sectors being analysed, across the different partnership types. After this, snowball sampling was used to gain contextual depth and reduce fragmentation of responses. It also made it possible to get fair representation across the three sectors. In total there were five private sector respondents, five social sector

respondents and four respondents from the public sector. This represented eight interviews for inner city housing, four for social housing and two for enterprise development. This provided a sample of six interviews for mandated partnerships and eight interviews for voluntary partnerships, which was considered reasonable in the context of the research questions being asked. The nature of in-depth face to face interviews provides a rich source of data and therefore a sample of five respondents per representative sector was considered sufficient to reach data saturation. Therefore, quota sampling (Saunders & Lewis, 2012) was used to limit the number of respondents from each sector to five.

Where the interview candidates were considered facilitators or independent consultants, their sector allocation was either based on prior experience or they were allocated to the social sector, given their motives were more aligned to the social sector than any of the others.

4.4.4 Measurement instrument

The measurement instrument was a semi-structured interview schedule, used for in-depth interviews with individuals. These interviews were all conducted face to face with the exception of one interview, which was conducted over the phone. The reason for using the semi-structured interview is that some of the constructs and relationships were already defined in the literature and therefore open responses were not required to develop them further. However, the contextual considerations and impact of perceptions on trust had not been tested and in order to gather this information, an open ended approach to questions was required. A semi-structured schedule was also required to ascertain whether the partnership objectives and collaborative structures were similar in nature.

A benefit of interviews is that they allowed the participant to recall and explore historical details without having to commit to a direct response (Keegan, 2009). For this study a recall of historical events and experiences was necessary to understand what impacted the constructs being analysed.

The interview schedule in Appendix IV was adapted from the one used by Sloan and Oliver (2013) as it was general enough to cover contextually relevant themes. It was adapted by extending the questions to target relationships and perceptions prior to entering the partnership.

Once the semi-structured interview schedule was completed, it was verified by an independent consultant with experience in research on cross sector partnerships. His feedback was incorporated into the original schedule as recommended. He was also able to provide insight on sampling and supplied contacts of appropriate interview candidates.

Interviews were requested with a total of 20 candidates. Of these, 14 candidates were actually interviewed.

During the interview the interviewer allowed the discussion to flow naturally. The interviewer did not interrupt the interviewee so as to ascertain what the interviewees' perceptions were, without offering any prompts. The interviewer then proceeded to focus in on some of the specific constructs being analysed, including relationships, networks, shocks and tensions.

4.4.5 Data gathering process

Each verbal interview was recorded on a digital audio file using a mobile device and then fully transcribed into literal text in order to facilitate content analysis. The text was transcribed into a word document and loaded into Atlas.ti. At the end of the interviews, any new themes emerging were noted in a separate word document. This document was used to improve confirmability and dependability of the data, as described by Lincoln & Guba (1985).

In all cases, the names of interviewees were removed to ensure confidentiality of the respondents. As part of the analysis approach the researcher played back the original interview on the audio file while simultaneously coding the transcript. This allowed the researcher to check the accuracy of the transcriptions as well as to hear the tone relating to comments made by interviewees.

4.4.6 Analysis approach

Given the data was qualitative in nature, in order to perform content analysis it required the researcher to sort and integrate the interview material (Weiss, 2004). To do this a general inductive approach was used to code the data (Thomas, 2006) with the aid of analytical software called Atlas.ti. Guidance on content analysis was provided by (Zhang

& Wildemuth, 2009) who recommend an eight step approach to content analysis as follows:

- Step 1: Prepare the data
- Step 2: Define the unit of analysis
- Step 3: Develop categories and a coding scheme
- Step 4: Test your coding scheme on a sample of text
- Step 5: Code all the text
- Step 6: Assess your coding consistency
- Step 7: Draw conclusions from the coded data
- Step 8: Report your method and findings

Step 1 and Step 2 are described in section 4.4.5 and 4.4.2 respectively. For Step 3 a coding guideline was developed in Excel, based on Chapter 2, refer Appendix VI and Appendix VII. However, because an inductive approach was used, the researcher did not stick rigorously to the guideline, but instead allowed the themes within the data to emerge. The first two interviews were then coded as a sample, after which the codes were reviewed and scrubbed to merge similar codes and delete codes that were considered irrelevant to the study. This met the requirements of Step 4 above.

Once the codes had been cleaned, the remaining interviews were all coded over a continuous period of six consecutive days, to ensure consistency in the application of codes to the text. After all the text had been coded, a further day was spent reviewing all the codes. Where codes had only 1 quote assigned to them, these codes were all merged into other similar codes or deleted if considered irrelevant. The number of codes reduced dramatically from approximately 400 codes to 184 codes. This excluded functional codes used to annotate direction of perceptions, or to highlight useful quotes to cite in the analysis section of the report. This concluded Steps 5 and 6. In addition to these consistency checks, in the final data analysis, if a code was considered to be incorrectly coded, the change in code was updated directly in Atlas.ti to ensure that more accurate results were achieved.

Steps 7 and 8 were performed in fulfilment of Chapter 5 of this report and are discussed in Chapter 5, in more detail.

Each transcript was coded based on the themes being discussed by the interviewee. The essence of new phenomena were allowed to emerge from the data in an inductive manner (Srnrka & Koeszegi, 2007) As mentioned in section 4.4.5, the researcher

listened to the audio file at the same time as coding each transcription to ensure that the interviewee's tone of voice, could also be considered in giving context to the meaning of the quotes.

Given the exploratory nature of the constructs being analysed, in a new context, it was important to be open minded with regards to the outcomes of the data (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). However, it was also necessary to be able to compare this data with the existing models that were discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, once the initial data had been coded at a very granular level the codes were grouped using the coding guideline as discussed in Step 3 above. The code categories were predominantly based on existing model concepts from the literature reviewed, therefore relying on an element of deductive analysis as well. This inductive-deductive mixed method has been recognised as important by Perry (2001) who stated “pure induction without prior theory might prevent the researcher from benefitting from existing theory, just as pure deduction might prevent the development of new and useful theory” (p. 309).

4.5 Phase 2

This section explains the research method and design that was followed for phase 2 of the research process. The purpose of this phase was to improve the credibility and transferability of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) by refining the proposed model that was formulated in Phase 1. This was considered particularly important given the researcher had no previous experience in the field being studied.

4.5.1 Population

Given the purpose of phase 2 was to check credibility of the findings, three cross sector partnership experts, who have experience of 15 years or more, were consulted. A key requirement was that each expert should have worked across the types of partnerships being investigated in this research, as well as in other types of partnerships that were beyond the scope of this research.

It was important that they had experience in more than one sector being represented, so could have worked in both the public and private sector. They needed to be able to draw on a wealth of experiential examples which gave them a more holistic view of perceptions so as not to bias their own interpretations of the findings.

The third requirement would be that the experts needed to have extensive experience of cross sector partnerships within a socially diverse, low trust environment such as South Africa.

4.5.2 Unit of analysis

The units of analysis were the accumulated experiences, knowledge and perspectives of the cross sector partnership experts in the given context. Specifically, those experiences relating to drivers of initial trust and formation of trust during their partnership experiences.

4.5.3 Sampling method and size

The sampling method used was purposive and snowball sampling as was used in Phase 1. However, in Phase 2, predominantly snowball sampling was used. Candidates were selected, based on the number of recommendations received by respondents from phase 1.

The sampling was purposive from the perspective of sector representation, as it was skewed to public and social sector participants who have experience across a broader spectrum. The reason for this is that the researcher is from the private sector and therefore in order to limit researcher bias and to improve credibility the sample was skewed away from the private sector.

In terms of sampling size, this was limited by the difficulty in sampling from a small population of experts who are difficult to secure time with. However, the sample of three that was used was considered sufficient to provide the necessary credibility. There was also a level of saturation which had been reached by the last interview as nothing new emerged from the discussion. The sample consisted of two public sector respondents and one from the social sector.

4.5.4 Measurement instrument

Based on the outcomes of the content analysis performed on data from Phase 1, a new, more structured interview schedule was developed, refer to Appendix V. This was supported by a diagrammatic representation of a proposed model which is explained in section 5.3 and shown diagrammatically in Figure 7.

4.5.5 Data gathering process

The data was gathered through semi-structured, in-depth, face to face interviews. Each interview lasted an average of 70 minutes and was exploratory in nature. The semi-structured questions were asked first in order to test the neutrality of sector perceptions of the interviewee or at least to test that the interviewee applies rigour to challenge their own perceptions.

This was followed by a discussion around the proposed model. The model was first explained to the interviewee and then each element was discussed in detail in order to validate and explore whether the interviewee could provide circumstantial evidence to substantiate the model or to disagree with the model.

During the discussion the researcher took notes relating to amendments suggested by the interviewee and directly after the discussion made any additional notes required in terms of insights provided. These notes were used to improve confirmability and dependability of the research content analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

After each expert interview the proposed model was adjusted to include any new insights which arose from the discussion. The updated model was then utilised in the following interview. This also allowed for successive confirmation of adjustments to the model during this phase.

4.5.6 Analysis approach

In order to refine the proposed model, a large part of the analysis was performed in discussion with the interviewee with adjustments to the model being noted on a diagrammatic representation of it, during the interview. These adjustments were then incorporated into the master copy of the model before the next expert interview.

The notes made during and directly after the interview were then tested against the original data collected from Phase 1, to triangulate any new insights which may have in fact been missed from the data content analysis in Phase 1.

For confirmation of the amendments made and confirmations highlighted in the model, the researcher listened to each interview for a second time. During this process any quotes relating to existing or new model components, as represented on the model diagram, were coded. Once all three interviews had been coded, the frequencies were calculated and ranked to have a clear understanding of the importance of potentially new components to the model. If the component had at least 5 quotes (which was considered above average) then the component was added to the model. Refer to Appendix VIII.

4.6 Trustworthiness of Research Findings

According to Elo, Kaariainen, Kanste, Polkki, Utriainen & Kyngas (2014) the most commonly used criteria to assess trustworthiness of research finding, are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability Lincoln & Guba (1985). This was extended by the authors in 1994 to also include authenticity (Elo et al., 2014). Each of these criteria will be discussed further below.

4.6.1 Credibility

Credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was ensured by being descriptive about the candidates selected for interviews. These candidates were all experienced in their respective areas of representation and were selected based on sound criteria. In addition to this, Phase 2 was used to enhance credibility of the research, by validating the findings of Phase 1 with three experts.

4.6.2 Transferability

According to Zhang & Wildemuth (2009) transferability refers to “providing data sets and descriptions that are rich enough so that other researchers are able to make judgments about the findings’ transferability to different settings or contexts” (p. 6). The researcher has been careful to ensure that detailed explanations of sampling methodology, unit of analysis, data gathering process and analysis approach have been documented to enable other researchers the ability to replicate the methodology followed. In addition, the coding guidelines, including categorisation and linkage back to research questions has been provided in the appendices, refer Appendix VI and Appendix VII.

4.6.3 Dependability and Confirmability

Described by Zhang & Wildemuth (2009) as follows, “Dependability is determined by checking the consistency of the study processes, and confirmability is determined by checking the internal coherence of the research product, namely, the data, the findings, the interpretations, and the recommendations.” (p. 7)

The study processes were discussed with the researcher’s supervisor and all steps have been documented in detail with evidence available for auditing purposes, if required. In addition, the researcher produced a consistency matrix to ensure internal coherence of the research product, refer Appendix IX.

4.6.4 Authenticity

According to Elo et al. (2014) authenticity refers to “the extent to which researchers, fairly and faithfully, show a range of realities” (p. 2). The researcher has been diligent in being led by the data, ensuring that both sides of an argument were considered in the content analysis. The researcher ensured the data could be validated by citing quotes from interviewees. Listening to the digital recordings while transcribing helped to ensure that the essence of an interviewee’s responses was accurately coded.

4.7 Limitations

Trust is by nature a subjective construct. How can an interviewer tell if a person is describing the reality that existed at that moment in question? The participants in the interviews may be inclined to see past experiences through a new lens. Experiences which have happened between the start of the partnership and the time of the interview would have shaped their schema. There was also reliance on individuals’ memories to recall incidents and experiences that may have taken place a long time ago.

Another limitation related to the possibility that when questioned about prior perceptions, participants did not admit to prejudices and biases for fear of being judged by the interviewer. This may have skewed the results by understating the level of negative perceptions existing at the start of or during the partnership.

Given the sample is non-random there will be selection bias, particularly in the case of snowball sampling, which may also lead to participants who are too similar to really

provide a representative sample of the population. This will impact the results by skewing the participant's responses in a certain direction. However, the benefit of this is that it provides depth and richness to the data.

Lastly, the researcher was potentially biased in interpreting some of the data content. This is particularly a risk given the topic relates to perceptions of sector participants and the researcher has only ever worked in the private sector, which also affects the researcher's own schema and perceptions. In order to limit this bias, the research process was split into two phases with Phase 2 used as a way to ensure credibility of the findings from Phase 1. The interviewees in Phase 2 were specifically sampled from the public and social sectors to counter this bias.

4.8 Conclusion

In order to meet the objectives specified in Chapter 1 and to answer the research questions described in Chapter 3, the research methodology was designed to be exploratory. A qualitative two phased approach was chosen to gain an in-depth understanding of the research topic and to improve the credibility of research findings. As the literature was being extended through new concepts, an inductive approach was used for content analysis. However, these concepts were then categorised deductively to enable comparison to existing models from the literature, for existing components.

The sample was selected using purposive and snowball sampling to ensure a rich source of data was available for analysis. Quota limitations were also set at 5 interviews per sector. The types of partnerships sampled were to test for sustainability in both voluntary and mandatory structures. Data gathering and analysis approach were both described in detail to facilitate transferability, confirmability and dependability. In reporting the results in Chapter 5 the researcher allowed themes to emerge and showed both perspectives of emerging arguments to ensure authenticity. The researcher also acknowledged potential research limitations. The chapter that follows presents the results of the data content analysis.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to show the results of the data analysed in answering the research questions raised in chapter 3. It starts by recapping the content analysis approach that was applied in Phase 1 where each research question is addressed individually. This is then followed by the content analysis results of Phase 2 by confirming and adjusting the proposed model developed from Phase 1.

The data was gathered through 17 in depth interviews of cross sector partnership participants in two separate phases. The sample can be stratified in two ways, firstly in terms of the sector the person was representing (public, private or social) and secondly the partnership group which was split based on the type of partnership (social housing, inner city housing or enterprise development). The sample also contained a number of independent facilitators or consultants who have experience and expertise in a specific field of interest and were not necessarily representing a specific organisation in the partnerships described. Appendix II shows the list of people interviewed across both phases, the sector they have experience in or are representing as well as their position within the organisation being represented.

5.2 Results for Phase 1

The purpose of Phase 1 was to collect sufficient data to answer research questions 1 – 5. Data was collected through in-depth interviews which were then used as a basis for content analysis. Once the data had been analysed the research question results were linked through the formulation of a proposed model. This model was then used as a basis for confirmation of Phase 1 results during Phase 2, results of which are analysed in section 5.3 below.

5.2.1 Analysis of in-depth interview data

Analysis of interview data was performed using the content and frequency analysis technique which helped to identify common themes which emerged across the different sample groups. On average the interviews were about 75 minutes in length and each interview was transcribed into a written document from the audio files recorded by the

interviewer. The transcriptions were all checked for accuracy by listening to the audio files while concurrently coding each transcription using recognised qualitative analysis software, Atlas.ti.

The process of content analysis was done over a period of six consecutive days to ensure consistency in assignment of codes to quotes. Approximately two to three hours were spent on each interview to ensure a detailed level of data were available for further analysis. Once the detailed coding had been completed the researcher spent a further day purging redundant codes and merging those that were similar. This resulted in the total code population reducing from approximately 400 codes to 183 codes. Refer to Appendix VI for the final list of codes.

The codes were then categorised into code groups based on the integrated model for cross sector partnerships as proposed by Bryson et al. (2015), refer to Appendix VI. Those codes that didn't correspond to one of these groups were then grouped into additional themes which were identified by marking them with a prefix of '***'. In addition to this there were also functional codes used to identify whether comments by interviewees were positive or negative, sector specific, time specific or which level they were referring to (macro, organisational or individual). This resulted in approximately 40 code groups. Refer to Appendix VII for the final list of code groups.

Once all the codes had all been mapped into a group the researcher used the code document table, code concurrence table and quotation manager tools in Atlas.ti to evaluate the variables relating to each research question. In addition, excel was used to enrich these tables, by ranking the data in terms of 'air time' given to codes and code groups by respondents. 'Air time' was measured by analysing the total number of words quoted in relation to certain codes or code groups. In some cases where word count data was not available then quote frequency was used. The third analysis technique used was to identify frequencies of code co-occurrence. This was useful to understand relationships between codes and to gain deeper insight into drivers and outcomes relating to code. These techniques were used to mine the data for different themes emerging from the quotes which themselves were also used to enrich the content analysis. The results for Phase 1 are stated below by addressing each research question individually.

5.2.2 Results for Research Question 1

Using the integrated cross sector partnership models by Bryson et al. (2015), Ansell & Gash (2008) and Emerson et al. (2012) as a framework, which components are important in a socially diverse, low trust environment?

This research question was asked to test whether the proposed models are suitable for use as a baseline for research questions 2-5. Alternatively do the models need to be amended to account for a context that involves a complex history of social division and exclusion? The Bryson et al., (2015) model was selected as the initial baseline due to its comprehensive nature and the fact that it is also the most recent model. However, where additional components were found in the other two models these were also considered.

5.2.2.1 Important Model Components

To address research question 1 the code groups relating to the model were analysed and ranked across the combined sample, refer Table 2, then again across the different partnership types, refer Table 3, which compares it across three different structures. Firstly, a long term mandatory structure (social housing), secondly a long term voluntary structure (inner city housing) and lastly a short term mandatory structure (enterprise development). In certain instances, the sector split also provides some additional insight and will be introduced where considered relevant.

Table 2: Important Model Components - Combined Sample

Rank	Component	Word Count
1	Relationships and networks	17,397
2	Trust and trust building	13,955
3	Partnership system context	13,474
4	Legitimacy and license to operate	12,912
5	Vulnerability to shocks and tensions	9,771

Table 3: Important Model Components - Sample Breakdown

Rank	Social Housing	Inner City Housing	Enterprise Development
1	Legitimacy and license to operate	Relationships and networks	Relationships and networks
2	Relationships and networks	Trust and trust building	Partnership system context
3	Vulnerability to exogenous and endogenous shocks	Partnership system context	Trust and trust building
4	Partnership system context	Legitimacy and license to operate	Vulnerability to exogenous and endogenous shocks
5	Trust and trust building	Shared understanding of the problem/Shared motivation	Incentives for and constraints on participation

5.2.2.1.1 Relationships and Networks

All interviewees mentioned the importance of relationships and networks with the exception of two. It is therefore not surprising that the code group used to describe these, ‘pre-existing relationships’, was ranked the highest out of all the model components in the combined sample, refer to Table 2 for the top 5 ranked components.

The respondents went beyond discussing pre-existing relationships as described in the model and also discussed new entrants to the partnership, building these relationships and maintaining the pre-existing relationships. There were also quite clear distinctions between strong ties and weak ties in the networks that were discussed.

Public sector respondent 13 opened up their discussion with the quote, “For me the key to partnerships is to develop relationships. Relationships that are institutionally embedded.” He went on to say that in the context of the public sector and inner city housing there was an example where a person had left the organisation and the partnership dissipated.

The problem being that there wasn’t sufficient structure around the partnership to ensure the relationship had been institutionalised. He mentions “Now she has left, who do I talk to? It’s not bedded down institutionally, there isn’t a written agreement, there is nothing ... they used to do that when she was here, they don’t anymore.”

Another public sector respondent agreed with the importance of relationships, but believed that the performance of the partnership was improved when it was based purely on relationships and was not documented through a formal agreement. “I think that often partnerships don’t have to come in the form of signed service level agreements. I think actually they come through what happens outside of that.”

These quotes indicate that in a socially diverse, low trust environment a higher emphasis is potentially placed on existing networks rather than on institutional structures, however it may also be problematic from a continuity perspective.

The importance of relationships was also reiterated when looking at the results for different partnership types, refer Table 3. Interestingly the only partnership type where pre-existing relationships didn't rank first was social housing. This is a mandated partnership and therefore makes logical sense that it would be preceded by 'legitimacy and a license to operate'. Relationships will be analysed in more depth under research question 3.

5.2.2.1.2 Trust and Trust Building

The next most important component was 'trust and trust building' with a word count of 13,955. Trust was mentioned in every interview with word counts relating to trust ranging from 481 words to 1562 words per interview. It was also spoken about evenly across all sectors as shown in Table 4, indicating that it wasn't unilaterally important.

It is not surprising that trust is rated as important in a context where trust has been rated as extremely low (Edelman, 2016). Public sector respondent 12 who is involved in inner city housing commented, "I think everything is based on trust, everything progressive and everything that works is based on trust." In a context that was more socially cohesive it would be reasonable to expect that trust would be less important. Trust will be analysed in further detail under research question 2.

Table 4: Trust and Trust Building - Split by Sector

Component	Private Sector	Public Sector	Social Sector
Trust and trust building	4,293	3,451	4,826

5.2.2.1.3 Partnership System Context

Partnership system context ranked third most important with 13,474 words attributed to this code. The codes that were attributed to this code group and their respective importance are listed below in Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 5: System Context - Split by Partnership Type

Rank	Enterprise Development	Inner City Housing	Social Housing
1	Sector and Partnership Context	Contextual Understanding	Sector and Partnership Context
2	Contextual Understanding	Sector and Partnership Context	Contextual Understanding

Rank	Enterprise Development	Inner City Housing	Social Housing
3	Social Context	Hindsight	Hindsight
4	Hindsight	Social Context	Social Context
5	Economic Context		Economic Context
6	Foresight		

The split by partnership type in Table 5 shows that there is a strong link between the importance of knowing the context applicable to a specific sector or partnership type and being able to understand how this context impacts decision making within the partnership. Both of these ranked 1 and 2 across all the partnership types.

It is interesting to note, but possibly expected, that with a socially diverse, low trust environment the historical and social contexts are only slightly less important than understanding the organisational and sectoral contexts. These ranked 3 and 4 across all the partnership types.

Another interesting insight is that there was very little mention of the economic context. This is unexpected given the poor economic climate in South Africa and globally. Foresight was also exclusively mentioned in enterprise development. This is linked to the low frequency of planning in the data, with only 865 words in total. In fact, none of the public sector participants mentioned planning in their responses.

This aligns with the sector split shown in Table 6 which shows that foresight was only mentioned by the private sector. This may indicate a link to differences in institutional or organisational management practices flowing into the partnerships they are involved in.

Table 6: System Context - Split by Sector

Rank	Private Sector	Public Sector	Social Sector
1	Sector and Partnership Context	Contextual Understanding	Contextual Understanding
2	Hindsight	Sector and Partnership Context	Sector and Partnership Context
3	Contextual Understanding	Hindsight	Social Context
4	Social Context	Social Context	Hindsight
5	Economic Context	Economic Context	
6	Foresight		

Another insight provided by the sector split is that the private sector ranked historical context or hindsight above contextual understanding. The main contributors to this data have been involved in the inner city housing partnership for more than 20 years and therefore have significant institutional memory in relation to the historical context and why it is important. Historical context was also slightly less important in enterprise

development than other partnership types given the short term nature of the partnerships as well as relatively low maturity levels of these partnerships.

5.2.2.1.4 *Legitimacy and License to Operate*

Legitimacy and license to operate was the fourth most important model component with a total word count of 12,912. There were many examples stated by interviewees showing how a partnership may not get off the ground because one partner or another does not buy into it. This was shown by social sector respondent 7 who claimed “So I could have a perfectly good conversation with my colleague in the city, ‘Isn’t that wonderful, now we’re going to do this, it’s marvellous! You find a bit of budget, I’m going to the private sector, we’ll do it. It will be wonderful’ and we’re now on track. They’ve even composed a report that is in the city paper. Then they’ll come back two weeks later and say ‘Sorry I can’t get this to fly’.”

From a partnership type perspective, legitimacy was only ranked in the top 5 for two of the types. It was ranked 1st in terms of importance for social housing and 4th for inner city housing. While this could be expected from a social housing perspective where the partnership is mandated by law and highly regulated the interesting insight coming out of the data is that funding and transformation were in fact the top 2 codes linked with this code group for social housing with regulation only ranked 3rd, refer to Table 7 for the full breakdown.

Table 7: Legitimacy & License to Operate - Split by Partnership type

Rank	Social Housing	Inner City Housing	Enterprise Development
1	Funding	Recognition	Transformation
2	Transformation	Regulation	Funding
3	Regulation	Transformation	Recognition
4	Recognition	Funding	Regulation

Overall, however, transformation and recognition were ranked 1st and 2nd in terms of code word counts within this code group, refer to Table 8 for the rankings. This highlights that in a socially diverse, low trust context partnerships perceive a social license as more important than a regulated license. Indicating that it is easier to tick the boxes from a regulatory perspective than it is to get cooperation between partners who do not recognise certain socially important actors.

Table 8: Legitimacy and License to Operate - Combined Sample

Code	Word Count
Transformation	2165
Recognition	2001
Funding	1979
Regulation	1610

It was also interesting to note that when analysing the frequency of co-occurrence of codes the ones most frequently associated with the four ‘license to operate’ codes highlighted in Table 8 indicated that there is a strong relationship between this code group and negative perceptions towards the public sector. This makes sense given that with both mandatory partnerships it was the public sector that held the power in terms of issuing the license to operate. The frequencies and related codes are shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - License to Operate Codes

	Funding	Recognition	Regulation	Transformation	Total
Negative	5	3	6	7	21
Perceptions	3	0	6	12	21
Sector - Public	3	0	3	5	11

5.2.2.1.5 Vulnerability to Shocks and Tensions

This code group was ranked 5th in the combined sample group, refer to Table 2. It was highlighted as important in both the social housing and enterprise development partnerships, ranked 3rd and 4th respectively in Table 3. These are both mandatory partnerships where collaboration is more forced which can lead to a less resilient institutional structure. This is interesting in the case of social housing which is considered a long term partnership given it has been around for about 10 years. However outdated legislation as well as perceptions of fraudulent activity discovered within the regulatory authority have impacted the ability of social housing institutions to remain sustainable.

This code group is discussed in further detail in research question 4, so is only mentioned here to show its importance in a socially diverse, low trust environment where fragile partnerships can be derailed by unexpected internal and external shocks.

5.2.2.2 Less Important Model Components

It was also interesting to note areas of the model that had no quotes mapped to them as this may indicate areas that are not relevant or less relevant for the context being analysed. It may also indicate areas that are only relevant in specific contexts and are not necessarily transferable to others.

There were only two components which never had any codes mapped to them. The first was technology, which may be due to the maturity of technology adoption in the context being analysed, which is still a developing economy.

The second component which wasn't prevalent was the recognition of multiple institutional logics. There didn't seem to be much of a conflict between the partnership logic and that of the institution or organisation from which the partner came. It is also proposed that in the case where the logics were not aligned the partnership would never take place. Such as in the case of the private sector where a profit motive is important. If the partnership did not deliver sufficient additional margins for the private sector then they did not participate in the partnership. It is also the reason why there was not much private sector representation in social housing.

5.2.2.3 Emerging Themes Not Represented

The last item that was analysed for this question were the groups that did not fit easily into existing model components as these might indicate parts of the model that need to be adjusted in the context under scrutiny. Alternatively, they may be an extension to the model based on outcomes of this research.

There were only two additional code groups that emerged from the analysis. The first related to partner selection which had 4,714 words relating to it. While there are some components of the model which are broadly linked to partner selection it is seen as a potential antecedent to successful partnerships in a socially diverse, low trust environment. While a possible departure from the model it was not considered important enough to analyse further here.

Secondly was the role of perception based on past experiences of actors. This code group accounted for 31,788 words of the total quoted. It was therefore considered a significant consideration in relation to cross sector partnerships in socially diverse, low

trust environments. This group also includes discussions around changing perceptions and the basis for this. These will be discussed further in the analysis for research question 3, refer to section 5.2.4.

5.2.3 Results for Research Question 2

What are the main drivers of trust in a socially diverse, low trust environment?

The analysis of research question 1 showed that trust and trust building were important components of the CSP model in the context under analysis. Research question 2 aims to understand what were perceived to be the main drivers of trust or distrust in this context.

In order to analyse the code group ‘trust and trust building’ two types of codes were used. The first describes an element of trust which is considered important and can be associated with drivers of trust in actors at the inception of a partnership, while the second was used to understand what drives the formation or building of trust during the partnership. Both of these will be analysed in more detail below.

5.2.3.1 Initial Trust at Partnership Inception

The top 5 ranked codes in terms of quote frequency relating to initial elements of trust are shown in Table 10. Each of these are then discussed in more detail below

Table 10: Quote Frequency – Initial Trust

Rank	Name	Quote Frequency
1	Perceptions of ability	83
2	Recognition of partners and stakeholders	37
3	Perceptions of integrity	22
4	Bridge actors	21
5	Explicit in motives and expectations	17

5.2.3.1.1 Perceptions of Ability

The frequency of quotes relating to ‘ability’ were more than double the code ranked 2nd which was ‘recognition’. This indicates how strongly perceptions of ability impact levels of trust in a socially diverse environment where trust is low. In fact, high levels of non-performance and inability to deliver on promises could be one reason why there is low trust in this context as a whole. When analysed in more detail by showing the frequency

of co-occurring codes with ‘ability’ it was clear that this is strongly linked with negative perceptions of the public sector, refer to Table 11 below.

Even within the public sector there was a sense that the ability to execute was poor. A public sector respondent stated “People, often are keeping turfs, but are not even doing a very good job in mowing the lawn.”

Table 11: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Ability

	Ability
Sector – Public	33
*Negative	24
Perceptions	22

5.2.3.1.2 Recognition of Participants

The next most important driver of trust was the concept of recognition. Recognition was spoken about in different ways. Some saw recognition as a part of representation in terms of recognising all the parties who are stakeholders rather than making presumptions about what a group may want. One public sector interviewee mentioned “Section 79 recognised community as bigger than what today’s community is. They actually recognised true community including church groups, NGOs, and it was formally recognised.” This recognition of community was necessary for trust to exist between partners. Specifically, in this case, with the social sector.

Another view of recognition was in relation to leveraging network ties to recognise that there is some common ground between actors which allows for trust to exist without having time to build relationships directly. This was evidenced by a social sector respondent involved in inner city housing who commented “I deliberately use recognition because in as much as trust to me would be number one, but to expect a stranger to trust me takes time.” The same person also quoted “We need to build trust. You need people to recognise that indeed you will do no harm, it will be positive.”

Recognition is important, but further analysis would be required to understand the different contexts that recognition is used in relation to trust. This is also shown in the way that the code co-occurrence analysis for those with the top two code intercepts doesn’t necessarily show a clear picture or insight, refer to Table 12. The interception of understanding and inclusion talk to the point about representation mentioned above.

Table 12: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Recognition

	Recognition
Understanding	5
Inclusive	5
*Negative	3
*Positive	3
Churn	3
Self interest	3
Explicit	3

5.2.3.1.3 Integrity of Partners

As can be seen from the co-occurrence table for ‘integrity’ in Table 13 there were strong links with negative perceptions of ability leading to a breakdown of trust. The reason was due to non-delivery of promises which brought integrity into question even if the problem was in fact a capacity issue.

For example, when the electricity accounts of inner city residents were being cut-off due to incorrect billing by the municipality the private sector took the city to court. One private sector respondent mentioned “They’ve kind of realised that if they’re going to act illegally or without following the law or whatever the case is, we’re going to take them on.” He was speaking about a lack of integrity by the city to follow their own legislation, however there are significant capacity constraints in the city being able to perform this role effectively. The result is a lack of trust in the public sector.

Table 13: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Integrity

	Integrity
*Negative	6
Ability	6
Perceptions	3
Trust - Breakdown	3

5.2.3.1.4 Role of Bridge Actors

The fourth most important element of trust in a socially diverse low trust environment was the role of bridge actors and their ability to bring partners together who previously lacked trust between them. The data in Table 14 shows that bridge actors were linked to positive perceptions of the public sector, which in all other data associations had been negative. These individuals tend to have strong network ties across the sectors through proven ability.

Some of the quotes linked with a bridge actor in social housing are below. “There were those who were saying, ‘He is white!’ I said, ‘I know this guy, good friend and good person’,” this quote from social sector respondent 12 shows that a bridge actor can transcend the trust deficit experienced by others who don’t necessarily have the same strong network ties. A separate private sector respondent talking about the same individual quoted “He’s one of the guys where things moved along, things got done.” Another comment by a different social sector participant went as follows “So that’s the type of person he is, he does this and the politicians still love him so we bank on him to be able to go and tell the minister that, ‘You are actually wrong, you need to up the subsidy, you need to do this, you need to do that’.”

What is noted here is that the quotes come from both the social and the private sector in relation to a public sector actor who has the potential to close the trust deficit that exists between these parties by changing existing perceptions and mindsets.

Table 14: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Bridge Actor

	Bridge actor
*Positive	9
Sector - Public	5
Ability	4
Network ties - Strong	4

5.2.3.1.5 *Being Explicit and Open*

The final element of trust that is worthy of discussion relates to being explicit with partners in terms of an individual’s motives for involvement in the partnership as well as to articulate any particular agendas upfront. Table 15 shows that being explicit was linked to openness of agendas.

This was highlighted by social sector respondent 12 who quoted “People are interested on an issue for different reasons and it is good when you identify their self-interest rather than you define why you want them and they must fit into your skin like a cog in a machine.” In addition, it is about being explicit with recognition when things are going well as well as when they are going badly. One social sector respondent commented “We are dealing with human beings and it is good to recognise where things are not working.”

Being explicit shows openness and links to integrity. It is also linked to what was referred to as ‘authentic engagement’ in phase two of the analysis and will be discussed further in that section.

Table 15: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Explicit

	Explicit
Agendas	4
Openness	4
Recognition	3

5.2.3.2 Trust Formation During Collaborative Processes

After analysing the antecedents to initial trust at partnership inception the data was separately analysed for important drivers of trust formation during the collaborative activities of the partnership. These are discussed in more detail below.

5.2.3.2.1 Building Relationships over Time

The codes that were most often associated with the formation of trust are shown in Table 16. Relationships was ranked first in terms of frequency of codes co-occurring with formation of trust. This is important in understanding how actor churn impacts the level of trust during the partnership. This will be discussed further in research question 3, refer to section 5.2.4.

Another key finding is that time is important in the formation of trust, ranked 4th in Table 16. Some related quotes from respondents are listed below:

- *“We are building up a trust relationship over time.” – private sector respondent 8*
- *“Yes and trust will be developed as we interact and work together.” – social sector respondent 12*
- *“I think there are three things which need critical time.” – private sector respondent 3*

Table 16: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Formation of Trust

Rank	Trust - Formation	Intersect Frequency
1	Relationships	5
2	Understanding	4
3	Individual level	3
4	Time	3
5	Recognition	3

5.2.3.2.2 Recognition and Understanding of Individual Actors

Recognition, understanding and individuals were all codes ranked in the top 5 under trust formation, refer Table 16. This shows that recognition and understanding of individual actors is important in building trust. A quote by social sector respondent 12 highlighted this by saying, “Choose the issues and you may sometimes not start with the issue which divide ... and they also come to trust you, trust the process and recognise one another. So don’t go for the jugular.” Also confirming this was social sector respondent 2 who said, “for me you know what’s most important is the recognition, that within that complexity, every one of them have a different input role.”

The link between understanding of roles and recognition of actors was also shown through private sector respondent 3 who mentioned, “understanding your role in that business and what you are good at and being appreciated for that role ... we start building trust.” Private sector respondent 8 spoke about understanding of actors interests said, “for you to understand what this one wants from the table then from there build trust that you can walk away with.”

5.2.4 Results for Research Question 3

How do relationships and networks in a socially diverse, low trust environment impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?

Research question 2 data showed that there is a strong correlation between relationships and trust at inception as well as formation of trust during the partnership. Research question 3 looks in more detail as to how these constructs interact in the context under analysis.

5.2.4.1 Existing Relationships at Partnership Inception

Private sector respondent 3 stated the following “Yeah, I mean the best form of interview for anyone is a referral from somebody that you know! It’s how you generally get jobs quicker than through a recruitment agency ... Yeah because there is obviously some form of trust or not! Adversely if the guy, no matter who he is working for, if I didn’t trust him before I would be very hesitant about going into partnership with him. So yeah, that does make a big difference.” This gives an indication of the importance of relationships

at inception of the partnership, particularly where the partnership is voluntary. It also shows the importance of dyadic trust formed at the inter-personal level.

Respondent 9 from the public sector confirmed this saying “I’m a woman with gut intuition. I know you or I don’t know you, full stop. I trust or I don’t trust ... I know people’s agendas and I can see through them.” There is an indication here of pre-existing relationships and how that can lead to either trust or distrust of an individual partner before any collaborative activities have actually begun. It is also particularly relevant in long term partnerships with a small group of actors who all know each other well.

This was shown across both the inner city housing and social housing partnerships with a quote from a public sector participant saying “I think that it is quite an incestuous group ... there is a small pool of people that can actually do it and you find that it is even difficult hiring consultants because there is one group of consultants that always tender for, especially policy work, that are good but they recycle the work that they have been doing for years.” So while existing relationships can be positive or negative drivers of initial trust there are some negative side effects in that the pool of knowledge within the group is limited and therefore tends to stifle new and innovative ideas.

5.2.4.2 Actor Churn During Collaborative Processes

There was strong consensus that building relationships takes time. Private sector respondent 8 mentioned “*I think they are comfortable and we are building up a trust relationship over time.*”

Confirming this was private sector respondent 3 who mentioned “*and just over time through strong facilitation towards a common purpose right, you start building and seeing who the people are that you really need.*”

There was also evidence that if this time is cut short due to actor churn it impacts the partnership in a negative way as actors now need to restart the process of forming trust with new participants. This was evidenced in the following quote:

“Short terms shocks can knock an already established relationship which is delivering. These are shocks that can derail a potential long term relationship and you know I think clearly what happens in elections is uncertainty does shake things a little bit, as it is at the moment.”

The other interesting point to note is that this quote indicates a potential relationship between actor churn and what would be considered short term or internal shocks occurring during the partnership. Internal tensions and shocks are discussed further in research question 5.

5.2.4.3 *The Role of Network Ties*

In terms of existing relationships at inception of a partnership it was noted that in the long term partnerships being analysed most of the relationships consisted of strong network ties at the time of the interview, however they had started through weak network ties initially.

This was evidenced by private sector respondent 5 “You had the inner city partnership ... and that was the forerunner of some sort of joint initiative of the city and that partnership. That was mainly a private partnership, it was the main property owners and property tenants. That was the banks and the property owners in the area saying, ‘You’ve got to do something over here.’” So there was a need for the partnership to start which brought together independent actors with weak ties through their geographic location and involvement in the properties in those areas.

Weak network ties were associated with pre-existing relationships, positive perceptions and innovation. With code co-occurrence frequencies as shown in Table 17. The link to innovation was mentioned by public sector respondent 9 who said “I was most impressed by that new thing because maybe it will lead to some new blood, new innovation, new ideas.”

Table 17: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Weak Network Ties

	Network ties - Weak
*Positive	10
Relationships - Existing	2
Innovation	2

Weak network ties bring fresh knowledge and ideas into the partnership, however it also is a basis for tension as people try and understand each other and build trust. Social sector respondent 7 described this as “It’s about people so you’ve got objectors all the way along, ‘Why should I do that?’ or ‘I don’t want to work with that person!’, ‘No I’ll just look after my building, I’m fine, I’m spending fourteen grand on the guard every month, its fine’ so you just keep talking and then slowly you let the community influence them.

Then they say, 'I know Jim quite well let me go and talk to him' and Jim might say, 'bugger off I don't want to listen' or he might listen, but it may not be me who actively goes and gets him."

Over time these weak network ties become strong network ties as the people build relationships with each other. This was highlighted by social sector respondent 12 who said "We came to know each other. Through the partnership. Through different things. Like I am saying we all had our interests." This highlights how the partnership was actually the mechanism that created strong ties from weak ones. Similarly, public sector respondent 9 mentioned "The development world in Joburg is very small. It's totally incestuous ... All of us, you must understand, it's- we're all interlinked."

Due to the long term nature of the housing partnerships the people who had been involved in these consistently created very strong ties to one another. Social sector respondent 7 mentioned "So my experience with all these people, because I know them well and they know me well, is that when they're looking for possible partners who will listen and try and work together as opposed to being aggressive and say, 'you do this!' and 'I do that' or whatever and who will try and get to the nuts and bolts of it." This quote shows that strong ties influence partner selection for new projects as there is a basis of understanding and trust that exists between the actors.

The code for strong network ties co-occurred with positive perceptions 11 times while only occurring with negative perceptions 4 times. This shows that in general people preferred to have strong ties when dealing with other partnership actors.

However, it did show that there were some negative perceptions. These related to two problems, firstly that of transformation where the actors were not representative of the socially diverse environment and secondly that strong ties can lead to a single persons agenda influencing critical decision makers perceptions. These were highlighted with the following quotes. The first was from public sector respondent 9 who claimed "I said, 'but this is called lily white and fifteen years old'." In reference to the issue of representation in the existing partnership. The second quote was from social sector respondent 4 who mentioned "He has never been a success anywhere but politically the minister loves him and I think she listens to him." The influencing of perceptions that are unfounded can potentially be a catalyst for further tensions within the partnership.

Both strong and weak network ties have an impact on trust at both the inception of the partnership as well as during the partnership in relation to actor churn and internal tensions.

5.2.5 Results for Research Question 4

How do perceptions of actors impact the level of trust in cross sector partnerships in socially diverse, low trust environments and what drives these perceptions?

The data relating to perceptions was analysed in terms of negative and positive perceptions, the sector the perceptions were aimed at and to try and understand what the drivers of the perceptions were. In addition to this where participants mentioned changing perceptions these were also noted and analysed to understand what the potential catalysts of change in perceptions were. These are analysed in detail below.

5.2.5.1 Initial Perceptions at Partnership Inception

A quote from private sector respondent 3 summarises the data accurately, they mention “There is a sentiment from private partners to government that government is useless.” Then goes further to say “There is a sentiment from government towards private partners that all private partners want to do is make money.” In an extreme case private sector respondent 14 suggested that if public sector was involved in a project they would not participate at all. The perception was that the private sector does fine without public sector involvement. This respondent was also strongly opposed to government grants being issued for housing as it created the perception that housing should be free.

These strong views are confirmed in the data where the codes co-occurring most frequently with perceptions were negative perceptions towards the public sector. There were also some negative perceptions around the private sector, however this was less than a third of the quotes aimed at the public sector.

When analysing further, the other codes give an indication as to some of the drivers of this negative perception when high frequencies were seen with ‘ability’, ‘past experiences’ and ‘transformation’. Based on the quotes below what can be seen is that public sector had a negative perception of private sector due to lack of transformation. Private sector respondent 8 said “because as a country we didn’t take the time to come up with a framework. Let me give you an example, in this country you get what we call

BEE [Black Economic Empowerment] and some people get extremely emotional. I get what you call white fear it's like, 'Oh my god, what's going to happen? They're going to take all of our stuff' and neither side actually met because both sides haven't taken the time to look at what BEE is about."

Meanwhile, private sector perceived public sector to lack ability as was evidenced by private sector respondent 3 reflecting on government, "The reason that those guys are not performing is because they are not really a high performing culture. A high performing culture is led by high performing resilient teams that trust each other. A high performing leadership team has three things; it has a strong purpose, it has a strong plan of action and it has strong accountability and implementation, so it's execution."

Interestingly the social sector was not strongly affiliated with perceptions in either a negative or positive way. This may be due to their ability to facilitate between private and public sector and there is a perception that people in the social sector have a benevolent value base.

Both the drivers mentioned above, transformation and ability, were linked to past experiences as the items were coded in relation to examples given by the interviewee's to back up their perceptions. Private sector respondent 8 mentioned "but you've also got a sort of arrogance that says, 'Listen based on what we've observed government do, it doesn't work. It's not sustainable. Actually let's not bring them in the room. Let's just do it quickly and present it to them'." This was also confirmed within the public sector with respondent 13 saying "From my experience with the last administration, partnerships were not easy."

Table 18: Code Co-occurrence Frequency - Perceptions

	Perceptions
*Negative	95
Sector - Public	77
Sector - Private	24
Ability	22
Past experiences	15
*Positive	14
Transformation	12

It is also interesting to note that in fact there were also some positive perceptions, refer to Table 18. When analysing the quotes linked to these the overriding theme was linked to the ability of the private sector to deliver. An example quote was from public sector

respondent 1 “[Private Company X is] doing fantastically well, ja, fantastically well. They’re actually buying up buildings and they’re building precincts in the city.” Confirmed by social sector respondent 7 who mentioned “They were very sceptical politicians, but certainly the officials are thinking, ‘Actually, without working with the private sector we are never going to deliver this’.”

The data analysis above shows how perceptions can influence the level of trust at the start of a partnership, however there is also an impact in terms of changing perceptions during the partnership. This is analysed further below.

5.2.5.2 *Changing Perceptions During Collaborative Processes*

When analysing the data in relation to changing perceptions of partnership actors the two codes which occurred most frequently with ‘changing perceptions’ indicated that the perceptions that were being changed were in relation to the public sector and were in the direction of negative to positive. See the details in Table 19 below.

Table 19: Code Co-Occurrence Frequency - Changing Perceptions

	Changing perceptions
Sector - Public	10
*Negative to positive	8

These perceptions were in relation to recent events which had taken place. Specifically, when analysing the quotes what was highlighted were two main drivers of these changing perceptions.

The first was in relation to churn and bridge actors where a new CEO of the regulator, who had a good reputation from past experiences, had taken over. It was evidenced in a quote by social sector respondent 4 who said “Now it is taking the whole conversation back. Rory is now looking at what is important, having those important conversations with the minister, getting the change happening and bringing the confidence back.”

The second was in relation to an external shock, namely the change in municipal control from one political party to another. This shock had the effect of actor churn in the public sector and was seen as a positive change. This was evidenced in the following quote from public sector respondent 9 saying “I think we’ll see it from internally. I think just the meeting where we were with the mayor last week, was full of hope. It was full of hope. I think he promised everyone the biggest amount of hot air in the world but at least for the

first time in 15 years it was like, ‘Oh my God, we can do anything we want.’ Very positive. Great opportunity for innovation.” This is from the same respondent who previously quoted “Twelve years. Exactly the same issues. Non-delivery by the city, non-cleaning, this, that. Litter. Exactly the same issues.” Which shows a clear change in perceptions.

A third less frequently quoted driver, but one that is considered important in this context is the concept of immersion in order to improve understanding and change perceptions. This was demonstrated well by social respondent 2 who said “but there’s also this misconception, because as soon as anybody says, ‘low cost housing’, they immediately think of free housing, as being RDP ... we had a huge argument within the opposition and at one stage we thought the only way we’re going to be ‘klapping’ this is to take them to have a look at places which are similar to what they were going to be getting there. It changed people’s attitudes, and they said, ‘Oh that’s what you’re talking about, we thought there were going to be big housing mills.’ ... but because they saw what it was [they accepted it].”

5.2.6 Results for Research Question 5

How do shocks and internal tensions impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?

Earlier in Chapter 5, refer section 5.2.5.2, the impact of external shocks was analysed in terms of actor churn in the public sector and the impact this had on changing perceptions. In this section further analysis will be done to understand what other shocks have been experienced by partnerships and what drives resilience or lack of resilience in long term CSP’s.

The importance of relationships was discussed in sections 5.2.4.1 and 5.2.4.2 showing that they are important for starting levels of trust as well as in regards to formation of trust during the partnership. This section also analyses the impact that internal tensions can have on these relationships as well as on perceptions and ultimately trust formation.

External shocks and internal tensions are discussed under one question as they are sometimes related in that external shocks can cause internal tensions and the long term sustainability of the partnership could be impacted by either of these. This code group had four major drivers of shocks experienced by the participants. These are highlighted in Table 20 and their relationships to trust are discussed in further detail below.

Table 20: Quote Frequency - Vulnerability to Shocks

Code	Quote Frequency
Tensions	29
Political interference	29
Burning platform	24
Evictions	23

5.2.6.1 *Internal Conflict and Tension*

Tensions within a partnership can come from both inter-organisational differences as well as intra-organisational differences. From the data the frequency of intra-organisational differences was strongly related to negative perceptions of the public sector with code co-occurrence frequencies of 6 and 5 respectively. In addition to that the data showed that the main driver for these tensions related to clarification of ‘roles’ which co-occurred with ‘tensions’ five times. Another driver of tensions highlighted by the data was ‘political interference’, which was discussed below in section 5.2.6.2.

Evidence supporting this from public sector respondent 11, “I think just the basics of sort of not thinking of this city as a single sort of uniform being, or beast, that acts as one. It doesn’t. It is really complex ... especially because of the lack of clarity of performance and job description ... most people are operating as sort of wild warriors of the west.”

These types of tensions also link directly back to the ability of the public sector to perform as discussed in section 5.2.3.1.1. This was evidenced by public sector respondent 13 who said, “from my perspective it’s a fact. In the recent past the province were always having issues with us and we were always having issues with them. They would not fund certain projects or they would not pay us. It was a pissing contest ... It’s a power thing, it really is. It’s like I give you something that you need to sign off, it’s all in order, he will just not do it. Only after I have said, ‘Hey do it.’ will it get done. I need to move on it, but you will delay it and that does not bode well for service delivery.”

Public sector respondent 11 also linked intra-organisational tensions to actor churn within the public sector when stating “Yes, I think internal politics always is very difficult to handle when new players come onto the block.”

The other form of tensions related to those within the partnership structure itself when emotional incidents occurred based on shocks. An example of this was highlighted by

public sector respondent 1 saying, “It was another thing, it was a big fight again with the SHRA [Social Housing Regulatory Authority], the Province and everybody else, so it got a bit nasty at one stage because ... there were 330 units which had been hijacked, they couldn’t get in to do any repairs, they couldn’t get in to look at anything, nothing could be serviced. They didn’t know what was going on inside it and the council refused to cut off electricity and water.”

Another cause of internal tension was due to misalignment in understanding of objectives. This was clearly evidenced by public sector respondent 11 who said, “I’ve been trying to internally just make literally a bullet point list of design guidelines for them so that there is some sort of understanding that these are the things that we need and these are the things we shouldn’t have. I mean it was about a month ago that we had that ... it was like a full day fight. It was a fight for a whole day because of peoples’ different understandings of what is right. So what people deserve as an evictee, deserve versus what we can actually pay for as a municipality and somebody else’s understanding based on their experience of how people abuse certain facilities if we put it in place and somebody else’s understanding of, ‘no but this is going back to apartheid style hostels’ and then somebody is saying, ‘no but if we are not wanting people to make it their permanent home then we have to make it slightly uncomfortable’.”

These examples show tension in a negative light, however there were also good examples of where tension is used to improve relationships and build trust. Public sector respondent 9 commented, “We have always worked on a voluntary association and we’ve always worked with that very healthy tension of who isn’t and who is. We were never dogmatic.” In a voluntary environment it is possible to use tension as a way to have authentic engagement. The same respondent went on to say “I don’t think tension is the same as conflict. Conflict is when you shout at each other and you don’t find the common ground. Tension is when you have differing levels of import, differing priorities ... Tension is good. Tension is very good.” So while actor churn and shocks have been shown to impact negatively on relationships it can also have a positive impact on formation of trust.

In fact, when looking at the co-occurrence frequencies of all codes against ‘tension’ the second most quoted code was relating to ‘open discourse’. Showing that while perceptions around internal tensions were negative the outcome can be open discourse which helps with trust formation. The detailed frequencies are shown in Table 21.

Table 21: Code Co-Occurrence Frequency - Tensions

	Tensions
*Negative	7
Open discourse	5

5.2.6.2 Political Interference and Evictions

There was a high frequency of co-occurrence of these two code with a value of 6 times. Political interference would be considered an external shock from the perspective that often the initiator is outside the scope of the partnership participants and has an agenda separate to that of these partners. The evictions themselves however, are often a cause of internal tension within the partnership as the decision is made by the social housing institution and impacts the residents who are a stakeholder in the partnership itself.

The examples given for political interference were generally where an eviction has been halted due to the impact it might have had on the recent local elections. This was evidenced by public sector respondent 1 who was referring to an example when he stated “Sometimes the provincial guys, the elected guys don’t understand the ramifications of the decisions they make. We had one case where these guys lived in a particular development, built in 2002. Now the EFF got in there and they said no, but you’ve been paying for so long and this should be yours by now, you shouldn’t pay rent. So they did a boycott of 400/500 people not paying rent and they have to go through all the legal procedures. No cowboy things, the legal procedure to get the eviction order. Half past eleven that night the MEC phones the CEO and says, ‘Stop the evictions tomorrow’.”

Another example was shown by social sector respondent 6 who shows how the external shock creates an internal tension. He quoted “So we are busy with the eviction and he phones us and tells us we need to stop the eviction, and we say there is no chance we are stopping the eviction it has taken us two years to get to that point, and it cost us a lot of money.”

Both of these codes were strongly related to negative perceptions, political interference occurred 10 times with the negative code indicator and was also linked to the public sector indicating the target of the negative perceptions. With regards to evictions this was also linked to negative perceptions with a co-occurrence frequency of five. Part of this was also due to the legislative framework surrounding evictions with a code co-occurrence of 6 times.

5.2.6.3 *The Role of a Burning Platform*

The code which ranked third in the category ‘vulnerability to exogenous and endogenous shocks’ was ‘burning platform’. When analysed in detail by referring to code co-occurrences it showed that a burning platform was often created as a result of an external shock. This burning platform was then a catalyst to either incentivise collaboration or to force collaboration between partners. The relevant code co-occurrence frequencies are shown below in Table 22.

The data was validated through sample quotes from the following examples. Private sector respondent 3 said, “Where I have seen it work and why it’s starting to work now, I think, specifically around public private partnerships in terms of economic transformation ... a lot of the corporates are starting to realize that unless they play an active role our country is going to fail.” So there is a sense of forced collaboration between the parties. While this may assist with aligning objectives it doesn’t necessarily remove the existing negative perceptions of actors.

A second example was put forward by private sector respondent 8, ‘and one that I can recall that had a definite effect was in December when the president decided ‘Listen, I don’t like this minister, let me get a new one.’ That sent shock waves through the corporate world ... Guess what happened. Literally a day or two later from there. Business got with government and said, ‘Listen we need to find a solution to this thing, because neither of us are actually, we are both suffering here.’ That burning platform.” So there are times when an external shock can have a positive impact by creating a catalyst for collaborative action.

Table 22: Code Co-Occurrence Frequency - Burning Platform

	Burning platform
Incentives	6
Collaboration	4
Forced collaboration	4
Shocks - External	4

5.3 *The Proposed Process Model of Trust and Trust Formation*

After analysing the data gathered as part of Phase 1 a proposed process model for trust and trust formation was created to diagrammatically represent the results of research questions 1-5. This model was then used as a basis for confirming the findings in Phase

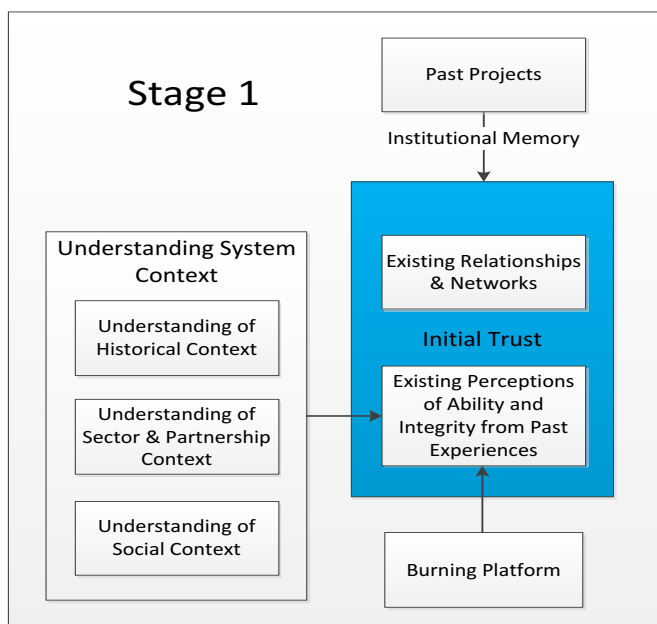
2. The model is split into two distinct stages of the process; initial trust at partnership inception and formation of trust during collaborative processes. These two stages are separated by the legitimacy barrier as analysed in research question 1, refer section 5.2.2. The model consisted of process inputs and components shown in boxes with linking mechanisms shown as arrows and outcomes described in text boxes. The two stages will be discussed in further detail below followed by a detailed component description.

5.3.1 Stage 1: Initial Trust at Partnership Inception

Initial trust at partnership inception was found to be driven by a combination of existing relationships and networks as well as existing perceptions of ability and integrity of actors from past experiences. These perceptions were highly influenced by an actors understanding of the system context and was also impacted by external shocks.

Understanding the system context could also be further split between understanding the historical context, understanding the sector and partnership context as well as understanding of social context. An input to existing relationships and networks also related to institutional memory of actors who had worked together on prior projects. The outcome of initial trust influenced the ability of the partnership to overcome the legitimacy barrier. For a diagrammatic representation of this refer to Figure 5

Figure 5: Proposed Process Model of Trust & Trust Formation - Stage 1



Source: Authors Own

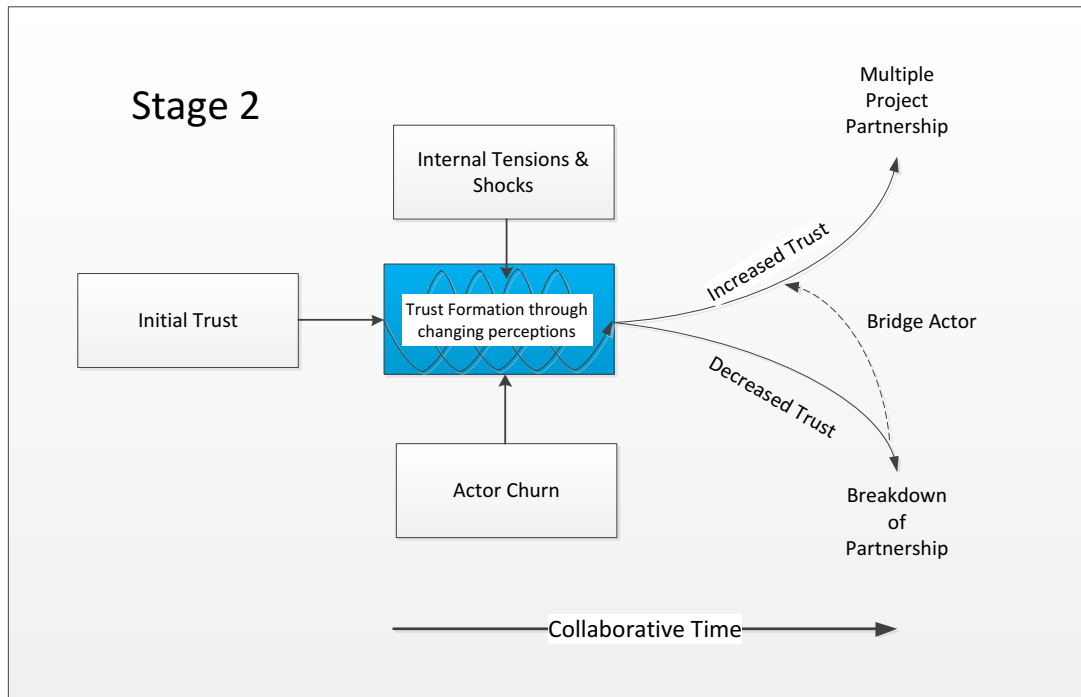
5.3.2 Stage 2: Formation of Trust During Collaborative Processes

The second stage of the process related to formation of trust within the partnerships collaborative processes. A preceding requirement to move into this stage is that the legitimacy barrier has been overcome. The inputs into trust formation come from stage 1 in the form of initial levels of trust and the sub-components described within this.

In order to form trust, perceptions from stage 1 need to either be maintained, where positive, or changed, where negative. This is influenced by actor churn and internal tensions and shocks. The formation of trust takes time as relationships are built and is an iterative process shown as a helix in the process model. Once trust formation has taken place the result could either be a positive outcome where trust has increased or a negative outcome where trust has decreased. Respective results are then either further projects with these partners or a complete breakdown of the partnership itself.

If partners manage to build trust and go on to collaborate on further projects there is institutional memory from this project which carries into the following project, therefore linking stage 2 back to stage 1. This is shown in diagram as a linking mechanism called institutional memory. The diagrammatic representation of stage 2 is shown below, refer to Figure 6.

Figure 6: Proposed Process Model of Trust & Trust Formation - Stage 2



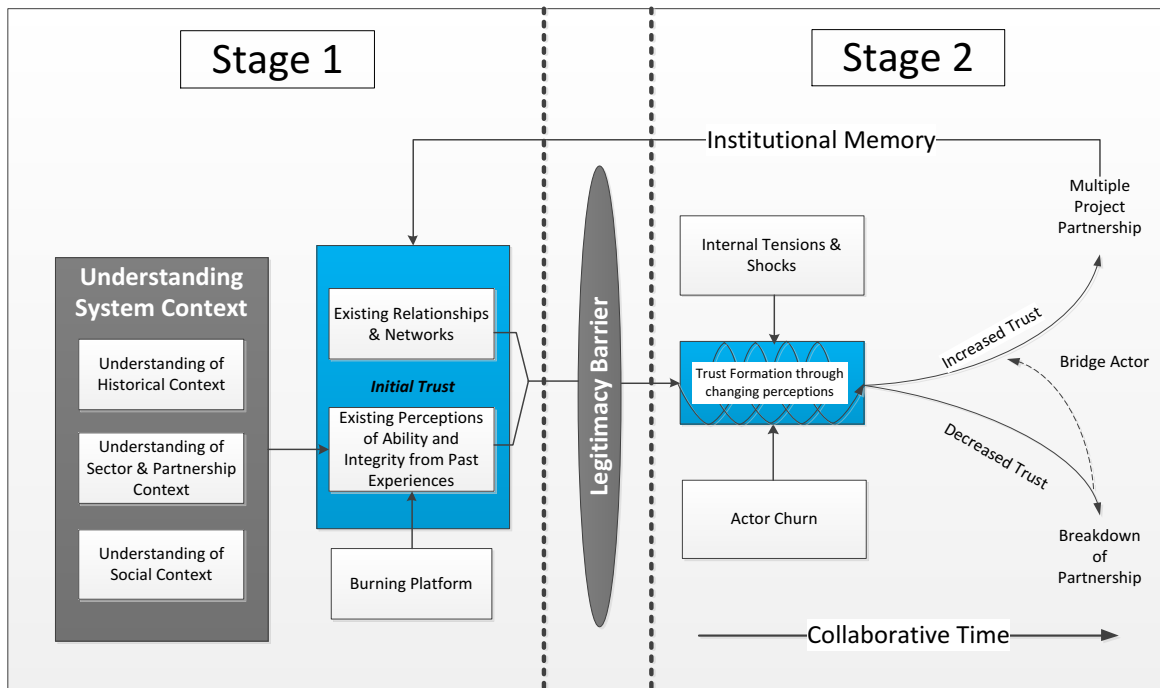
Source: Authors Own

5.3.3 Linking Stage 1 and Stage 2

Stage 1 shows the inputs to trust at partnership inception and identifies what influences initial trust levels between actors. The output of initial trust is the starting point for stage 2 which relates to trust formation. The determinants of initial trust also influence the ability of the partnership to overcome the legitimacy barrier. The data showed that while existing relationships and networks may help to elevate levels of initial trust this may also impede efforts to cross the legitimacy barrier. So it is not high levels of initial trust itself which penetrate the barrier, but the components of initial trust which influence the ability to do this as a partnership.

Linking stage 1 and stage 2 together shows a more complete picture of the end to end process and is represented diagrammatically below, refer to Figure 7. It is referred to as the process model of trust and trust formation.

Figure 7: Proposed Process Model of Trust & Trust Formation



Source: Authors Own

5.3.4 Model Component Descriptions

The model consists of two stages which are separated by the legitimacy barrier and linked through a feedback loop called institutional memory. Each individual component is described in more detail below with links back to the relevant question results, refer Table 23.

Table 23: Trust and Trust Formation Process Model Components

Ref	Model Component	Research Question	Description
1	Understanding system context	Question 1	This relates to the importance of actors going into the partnership understanding the macro socioeconomic environment, the historical context as well as the specific sector and partnership context.
2	Institutional memory	Question 1	Institutional memory is the component that links multiple projects together within a partnership system. It ensures that the understanding of system context can be passed to new actors
3	The legitimacy barrier	Question 1	The legitimacy barrier stops a project from progressing until such time as there is adequate representation, social license or recognition of the partners involved in a project. This recognition is both within the partnership as well as internally within representative organisations and between organisations
4	Trust formation	Question 2	Trust formation is shown as a helix given this is an iterative process which takes time. It involves open discourse and understanding to build relationships at the individual level
5	Trust outcomes	Question 2	This represents the outcome of trust formation and is described as either decreased trust which can lead to a breakdown of the partnership or alternatively increased trust which would lead to further projects being implemented in the partnership



Ref	Model Component	Research Question	Description
6	Bridge actor	Question 2	A bridge actor was shown to be a person who has strong relationships across the sectors and is able to change perceptions from negative to positive in partnerships which have decreased trust.
7	Existing perceptions of ability and integrity from past experiences	Question 2 & Question 4	This component represents the starting point for initial trust and is based on past experiences of actors which drive perceptions of partner institutions at the start of a project. The past experiences are not limited to personal experiences of the individual, but are also influenced by inputs from their understanding of the system context.
8	Existing relationships and networks	Question 3	Existing relationships and networks are used in the decision on partner selection which impacts the levels of initial trust at the start of a project. It may also be a driver of the ability of the partnership to overcome the legitimacy barrier or not. It is influenced by institutional memory of existing relationships as well as whether these relationships consist of strong or weak network ties.
9	Actor churn	Question 3	This component is applicable to all actors; however, the data shows it's prevalent in the public sector which may also be linked to external shocks. Actor churn happens during the collaborative time of the project and influences the speed and direction of trust formation.
10	Collaborative time	Question 3	Collaborative time just represents the time spent on a project collaborating between partners. It is an important construct in the building of trust and relationships
11	External shocks	Question 5	External shocks can be seen as a catalyst or burning platform to bring partners together and impacts actor perceptions going into the partnership
12	Internal tensions and shocks	Question 5	Internal tensions and shocks arise as a normal course of business in cross sector partnerships. They can be a positive platform for trust formation if they are handled correctly with open discourse, but can destroy trust if disagreements are not dealt with carefully and in a way that recognises and understands actors individual concerns.

5.4 Results for Phase 2

The purpose of Phase 2 was to confirm or challenge the results from analysis of research questions 1-5 in Phase 1 above. The analysis approach was therefore different from Phase 1 and is recapped briefly below. The section is also structured to focus only on what was challenged or added, what was confirmed and the impact the results had on the proposed model.

5.4.1 Analysis of In-Depth Interview Data

Phase 2 consisted of three in-depth interviews with cross sector partnership experts who met at least three or more of the following criteria:

- Had been involved in multiple cross sector partnerships over an extended period of time.
- Had experience of working in two or more sectors across private, public and social.

- Had experience of working in two or more types of cross sector partnerships in relation to structure and objectives.
- Were recommended by interviewees from Phase 1 as expert candidates.
- Had more experience in the public and social sector than the private sector.

Each interview lasted approximately 70 minutes and was guided by a Phase 2 semi-structured interview schedule shown in Appendix V. In addition to this the interviewees were shown a diagrammatic representation of the proposed model from Phase 1. The interviewer explained how the model worked to the interviewee. After which, each component of the model was discussed in terms of the findings with either challenge or confirmation being sought from the interviewee. Once each component had been discussed the interviewer allowed the opportunity for the interviewee to consider the model as a whole and to recommend any potential adjustments they would make to the model. These adjustments were incorporated into the model in time for the following interview to ensure that adjustments were also confirmed by the next interviewee.

Each interview was recorded on a digital audio file and in addition notes were taken during the interview. Any recommended adjustments to the model were sketched in free hand on the diagrammatic representation of the model during the interview.

In order to analyse the data, the researcher listened to each of the interviews for a second time and noted any additional insights which were missed previously. A simple coding exercise was done while listening for the second time using excel. The codes used were based on the existing model components as well as new components. The new components were based on changes made to the diagrammatic representation of the model during each interview. Important quotes were also highlighted for reporting purposes. The results of this analysis are described below.

5.4.2 Adjustments to the Model

The data analysed from the three experts highlighted the following missing components from the diagrammatic representation of the model, refer to Appendix VIII for a full list of code frequencies:

- Institutional Structure
- Authentic Engagement
- The role of Prejudice and Bias in Actor Perception

In addition, many of the components of the proposed process model were confirmed. Those ranked the highest in terms of quote frequency are shown in Table 24.

Table 24: Confirmed Process Model Components - Phase 2

Model Component	Existing or New	Quote Count
Time	Existing	8
Understanding System Context	Existing	8
Existing Relationships and Networks - Negative	Existing	6
Tensions and Shock	Existing	6
Ability and Integrity	Existing	5
Intra vs Inter Organisational Tension	Existing	5

The results of the existing components have been discussed in the Phase 1 analysis, however are shown here to confirm these. For the emerging new components the further detail is provided on the results of each of these components below.

5.4.2.1 Institutional Structure

Institutional structure was highlighted as an important component to improve sustainability and resilience. It received the highest quote frequency of 14. These structures included governance, policies and processes which embed an objective approach to decision making which is not based on perceptions of individuals. It helps to formalise processes, objectives and roles. This was highlighted by public sector respondent 17 who mentioned, “you need to build a strong ... [institution] that doesn’t make ad hoc or knee jerk decisions, that doesn’t formulate or influence policy by articulating prejudicial opinions. You need to build strong institutions by doing the hard work.”

While this is often legally binding in the case of mandatory partnerships it can also be more of a memorandum of understanding in more voluntary partnerships. Institutional structure was highlighted by public sector respondent 15 who said, “we’ve pushed the idea of an MOU or an MOA, it says ‘Guys we all understand each other, lets draw up a memorandum of agreement’, it says we’re going to be nice to each other. Legally it doesn’t have much standing, unless you start building in contractual issues, which I don’t like.”

Another important finding was the confirmation that the public sector needs to ensure political and legal institutions do not interfere with the executive arm of government. This is done through strong institutional structures and was confirmed by public sector respondent 17 saying, “the problem is when there’s not sufficient discipline and party methods of organising, and the legislative wing of government, creeps in and spills into the executive, because the executive must always be corporate. It must act in accordance with policy.”

5.4.2.2 Authentic Engagement

Authentic engagement was also a new component which received a high quote frequency of 10. In describing this component, the interviewees were referring to communication which allowed people to move past the legitimacy barrier by making individuals perceptions explicit. The words that were associated with this were ‘honest’, ‘hard conversations’, ‘obvious bias’ and ‘made explicit’.

This was confirmed by a comment by social sector respondent 16 saying, “[having] the ability to penetrate, at some levels, the hostility by allowing certain leadership interactions to happen to pave the way to a negotiated settlement.” It shows that authentic engagement is partially about negotiation and enables actors to get past hostility.

These negotiations are related to actor perceptions as was shown by public sector respondent 17 who mentioned, “Engage with the critics, have conversations with the critics so that critics see the big picture. Especially because some of the critics in some instances, not all, are newcomers. So when a critic comes in and their criticism is based on perception, not fact, it doesn’t help the person who is on the receiving end of the negative criticism, that is unwarranted, to be quiet. But you have to be ‘not quiet’ in a way that moves you forward rather than building barriers.”

This respondent also went on to describe how they believe the legitimacy barrier could have been overcome in relation to allegations of corruption which created perceptions of lack of integrity, “Conversations would help so much ... conversation with each other, but also more honest conversations with the other stakeholders who were the detractors.” Again it was confirmed that authentic engagement is a mechanism that can overcome this barrier.

5.4.2.3 The role of Prejudice and Bias in Actor Perception

One of the components which was confirmed through Phase 2 was the importance of understanding the system context. The quote frequency for this in Phase 2 was 8 times which was relatively high. A new subcomponent which was highlighted, particularly by public sector respondent 17 was that of an individual's bias and prejudice. This was quoted 5 times in Phase 2 and is evidenced by the quote from respondent 17 who linked it to the legitimacy barrier when saying, "but it must include basic human prejudice ... because we often discount that, because it is a factor. I have noticed that on racial lines the ability of people to trust is complex ... there is no way to explain a person's willingness to trust this person, who happens to be of the same race, but hesitance to trust that person, but willingness quite easily to buy into theories of lack of integrity and can't be trusted and corrupt, more easily. I've noticed that sometimes it's difficult to reach a conclusion that the willingness or unwillingness is based on anything but a prejudice that the person can't do anything about."

The respondent went on to relate this specifically to the legitimacy barrier saying, "So that is real. So I think part of the reason why breaking through the legitimacy barrier is more difficult, is because when the actors are then having the conversation and articulating their complete nonsense viewpoint on stuff, it's fed by that prejudice that they can't control."

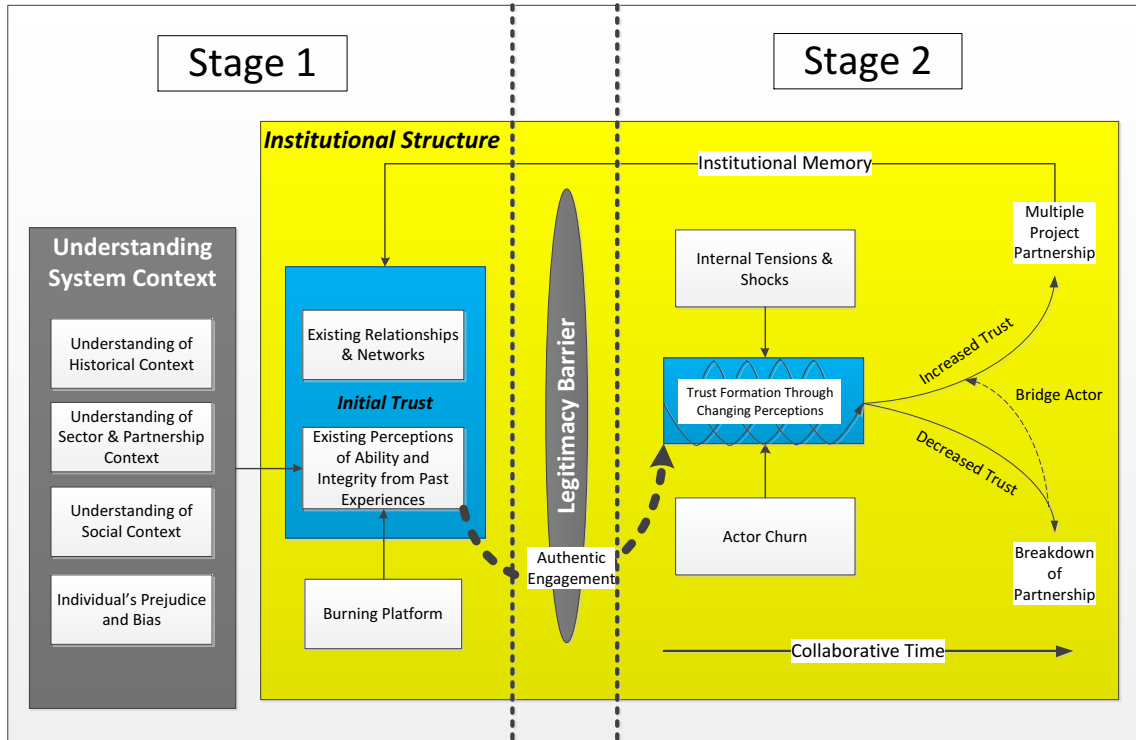
Bias was also highlighted by social sector respondent 16 in relation to strong relationships. They mentioned, "there certainly was a sense of a cabal in the senior management ... people who knew each other and would go and drink together ... you would have the sense of them running the department on a collegial basis." This bias can lead to confirmation of untruthful or misinformed perceptions. This was confirmed by public sector respondent 17 saying, "sometimes people agree about things that confirm an untruth."

5.4.3 The Updated Model

Phase 2 of the data content analysis showed that adjustments were required to the proposed process model of trust and trust formation. In particular the addition of 'institutional structure' and 'individual's prejudices and biases' as new components. 'Authentic engagement' was also added as a new mechanism to overcome the legitimacy barrier. Each of these new components or mechanisms were described

above in section 5.4.2 and are represented diagrammatically in the updated process model of trust and trust formation as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Updated Process Model of Trust & Trust Formation



Source: Authors Own

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter 5 aggregated and analysed the data content from 17 in-depth interviews through two separate phases, a data collection phase and a confirmation phase. The analysis approach followed was as described in Chapter 4. Results highlighted here confirm what is found in the literature in Chapter 2, but also provided some new insights which will be discussed in light of this literature in Chapter 6.

6 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of the results from Chapter 5 in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. It aims to conclusively answer the research questions detailed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 contained the aggregation and refinement of data gathered through content analysis in Phase 1 of the 14 in-depth interviews held with social, private and public sector respondents. These interviewees were sampled from social housing, inner city housing and enterprise development organizations, in order to gather data across both mandatory and voluntary partnership structures, as well as long and short term partnerships. Part of Phase 1 involved the development of a proposed model based on the results of research questions 1-5. This model was reviewed and refined by experts in Phase 2.

Whilst trust and cross sector partnerships are not new concepts in the literature, this chapter provides further insights of trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships that are embedded in a socially diverse, low trust environment. It also highlights the impact of shocks and tensions on the resilience of longer term, multi-project partnerships.

6.2 Discussion of Results for Research Question 1

Using the integrated cross sector partnership models by Bryson et al. (2015), Ansell & Gash (2008) and Emerson et al. (2012) as a framework, which components are important in a socially diverse, low trust environment?

Research question 1 sought to understand which components of existing CSP models were important in a socially diverse, low trust environment. This provided contextual relevance to the remaining research questions 2-5. It also created the basis for the proposed model of trust and trust formation by highlighting which components were important in a low trust environment. The results of the data content analysis in Chapter 5 are discussed in more detail below.

6.2.1 Important Model Components

The data content analysis relating to research question 1 suggests that in an socially diverse, low trust environment the emphasis is on relationships, trust, contextual understanding, legitimacy and resilience. Each of these will be discussed further below.

6.2.1.1 Relationships and Networks

The main theme around relationships and networks in relation to the Bryson et al. (2015) model was that the framework identified 'pre-existing relationships' as part of initial conditions. The data obtained from this research, indicated that relationships were important throughout the partnership as part of both initial conditions as well as during the collaborative phase. Respondents spoke about building new relationships and maintaining existing relationships. This is corroborated in the section on actor churn in section 5.2.4.2 where it was found that building relationships takes time and is impacted by changes in partnership members. Churn was particularly prevalent in the public sector where elected officials can change with voting cycles.

In addition to this, there were contrary views on the importance of trusted relationships, relative to institutional structure. It was clear that trusted relationships often don't require structure in the short term, as was highlighted by public sector respondent 11 and confirmed by Smith, (2007). In the long term however, when partners move on, the lack of institutional structure can negatively impact the partnership as was evidenced by public sector respondent 13 in section 5.2.2.1.1. The data showed that there is a balance required between institutional structure and building trusted relationships. This aligns with what is shown in the literature where the integrated models by Ansell & Gash (2008), (Emerson et al. (2012) and Bryson et al. (2015) all show some form of relationship importance as well as institutional importance. In the case of Emerson et al. (2012) institutional structure is termed collaborative governance regime and in Ansell & Gash, (2008) it is termed institutional design.

Phase 1 of the data content analysis highlighted this tension between structure and relationships in section 5.2.2.1.1. However, institutional structure did not emerge as a priority, possibly due to a lack of structure in this context ,as was evidenced by public sector respondent 9 who mentioned, "The biggest problem with improvement districts for the last five years is that there are no true service level agreements." It was therefore excluded from the original proposed model in section 5.3.

During Phase 2 however, the importance of embedding the entire model in an institutional structure was stressed and was therefore included in the updated proposed model in section 5.4.3. The literature confirms the importance of institutional structure in section 2.2.3 as well as identifying its relationship to trust and legitimacy (Henderson & Smith-King, 2015; Muir & Mullins, 2015; Smith, 2007; Van Gestel et al., 2012). These relationships will be discussed further in sections 6.3 and 6.2.1.4 respectively.

6.2.1.2 Trust and Trust Building

Trust and trust building was confirmed as an important component in a socially diverse, low trust environment as it ranked 2nd behind relationships and networks out of all the Bryson et al. (2015) model components, refer Table 2. The data in Table 6 also confirmed that it was important across all sectors showing that it is important for the entire partnership as a completely new entity and not just for a particular sector (Koschmann et al., 2012). This importance has been confirmed by many scholars as was highlighted in the literature review in section 2.3, but specifically referenced by (Henderson & Smith-King, 2015).

The Bryson et al. (2015) model considers trust and trust building as part of collaborative processes whereas the data content analysis in Phase 1 showed that there was a distinct separation between trust at inception of the partnership, initial trust, and the formation of trust during the partnership, refer section 5.2.3. This was corroborated in Phase 2 which showed that the legitimacy barrier is an appropriate juncture at which initial trust is required in order to move into collaborative processes and start trust formation, refer section 5.4. This separation was also recognised by both Ansell & Gash, (2008) and Emerson et al. (2012) who include initial trust as part of the starting conditions or system context with trust building as part of collaborative processes. Considering the Bryson et al. (2015) framework is more recent and referred to the Ansell & Gash, (2008) model in their literature review, it is clear Bryson et al. (2015) didn't consider this separation important. However, in a socially diverse, low trust environment, it clearly is important to separate them due to the significant hurdles to gain legitimacy. This will be discussed further in the section on legitimacy and license to operate, refer 6.2.1.4.

6.2.1.3 *Partnership System Context*

The results from section 5.2.2.1.3 highlight that understanding of the sector and partnership context was most important in terms of system context. Understanding is distinct from knowing as was shown by private sector respondent 8, “how do you start to bring the previously excluded from the economy groups back into the economy itself? Understanding a lot of the history that comes with it right.” This respondent also highlights the third most important element which was historical context.

The system context was introduced into the Emerson et al. (2012) model which considered the system context to include “political, legal, socioeconomic, environmental and other influences” (p.5). It does not mention historical context as an important contextual attribute except where there is a prior failure to address the issue. However, in environments that are plagued with a divisive history which influenced the social complexity that currently exists it is important to understand the historical context. Within the Bryson et al. (2015) model there is no mention of historical context either. In fact, from a system context perspective the model really only focusses on the institutional environment and not the broader macro environment within which it operates. The contingency model by Ansell & Gash, (2008) also only mentions history in relation to a prehistory of co-operation or conflict in partners rather than macro level historical context.

6.2.1.4 *Legitimacy and License to Operate*

Legitimacy and license to operate was ranked 4th in terms of important model components, refer Table 2. In analysing this further it became evident that in a socially diverse, low trust environment social transformation and recognition were most important outranking funding and regulation. Also interesting was that transformation, which is regulated by law in South Africa, was mostly important within the mandatory type partnerships, but was still considered important in the inner city housing partnership which was voluntary, refer Table 7.

Legitimacy was highlighted as important in all three of the integrated CSP models that were discussed in the literature review, which confirms the importance as found in the data content analysis, refer 5.2.2.1.4. There are however, some nuanced differences between the models. In the more recent Bryson et al. (2015) and Emerson et al. (2012) models both refer to internal legitimacy within the partnership as part of collaborative processes while the Ansell & Gash (2008) model discusses this as participatory inclusion

and forum exclusion. These form part of institutional design. None of these, however, sufficiently describe the barrier nature of this component as was described in Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the results chapter. In a socially diverse, low trust environment, legitimacy is considered a social license to operate as described by Rooney et al. (2014). The lack of social representation or the perception of this by certain partners could result in a partnership project being illegitimate from the start.

Phase 2 of the data analysis in section 5.4 confirmed that the way that legitimacy was represented in the proposed model as a barrier to partnerships was accurate. However, discussion evolved into how this barrier could be overcome in this context. The response from the interviewee was that it required authentic engagement. This authentic engagement is considered the same as principled engagement discussed in the literature by Emerson et al. (2012), however they discuss this as part of collaborative dynamics, whereas it is argued that in a socially diverse, low trust context it may be a requirement as part of initial conditions before entering collaborative action as described in their model. Once the representation is sufficient and a social license has been granted then the partnership may proceed with collaborative processes.

6.2.1.5 Vulnerability to Shocks and Tensions

This model component was ranked 5th by the interview respondents, it is therefore considered an important element in a socially diverse, low trust environment. The drivers of shocks and their relevant impacts are discussed in more detail under research question 5 in section 6.6 below.

From a literature perspective the Ansell & Gash (2008) model was a contingency based model and does not include specific reference to internal and external shocks. It assumes a cycle of positive relationship building through face to face dialogue, trust building, commitment to process, shared understanding and intermediate outcomes. It doesn't consider the long term resilience of the partnership to internal and external shocks. It is also scarce in the Emerson et al. (2012) model. While Bryson et al. (2015) do consider this element in their model it is a part of endemic conflicts and tensions which are shown to influence collaborative processes. Their views are very inward looking and only consider conflicts and tensions while executing. However, the evidence shown in section 5.2.6.3 highlights that external shocks at the macro level can in fact be a catalyst for collaboration between partners as part of the general antecedents or possibly initial

conditions. This is discussed in more detail as part of research question 5 below, refer section 6.6

6.2.2 *Less Important Model Components*

The Phase 1 data content analysis in section 5.2.2.2 found that neither technology nor multiple institutional logics were quoted by any of the respondents. While present in the model by Bryson et al. (2015) technology doesn't feature in any of the other models that have been looked at. Which may indicate that this is a new emerging theme in the literature. However, it wasn't considered relevant for the topic under discussion.

Similarly, multiple institutional logics didn't have any quotes coded to it in section 5.2.2.2. The tensions that arose were more as a result of shocks or as a result of some of the other tensions mentioned such as inclusivity versus efficiency as well as unity versus diversity (Bryson et al., 2015). The construct of multiple institutional logics also never features in the other models being discussed in chapter 2.

6.2.3 *Emerging Themes Not Represented*

The two main themes highlighted in the data content analysis in section 5.2.2.3 show that partner selection and perceptions are not considered important enough to be included in the Bryson et al. (2015). It was however specifically discussed by Seitanidi & Crane (2009) who show examples of where this would be of particular importance to private sector actors choosing a social sector partner where reputation is an important selection criteria. In the context under discussion the importance of partner selection is critical due to the need to cross the legitimacy barrier through adequate social representation and diversity in partners.

Partner selection is also critical when considering potential bridge actors who may be able to resolve internal trust issues through their reputation and strong network ties across the sectoral actors.

A second theme that was not adequately represented in the Bryson et al. (2015) model is the concept that actor perceptions as a result of past experiences also impacts the levels of initial trust between cross sector participants. These perceptions include prejudices and biases which may have been gained from micro level experiences and attached to the meso level institutions. This was shown in sections 5.2.3.1.1 and

5.2.3.1.3 respectively where actors past experiences of inability or lack of integrity by a specific partner was attached to the meso level institution, specifically the public sector in this case. These meso level perceptions were then reapplied in the perceptions of future partnership actors, thereby impacting the level of initial trust at project inception.

6.2.4 Conclusive Findings for Research Question 1

The findings for research question 1 show that in a socially diverse, low trust environment the following model components from the three baseline models are most important:

- Relationships and networks
- Trust and trust building
- Partnership system context
- Legitimacy and license to operate
- Vulnerability to shocks and tensions

Each of these components are found in the existing literature, so do not contradict the literature, however they do help to further it by highlighting those components that need to be considered more intensely in a socially diverse, low trust environment.

Some of the nuances that were also highlighted were areas where the three baseline models were not necessarily aligned. Specifically, what was identified was the following:

- The first two components, relationships and networks and trust and trust building, can both be separated between initial partnership role and collaborative process roles.
- As part of the system context a historical context is also important where social diversity has played a role in historical tensions
- Legitimacy is seen as so important that it acts as a strong metaphorical barrier to collaborative processes. To the point where a social license to operate may be considered necessary in order to start the partnership. This can be overcome through partner selection or principled engagement.
- External shocks can be an important catalyst in a low trust environment. Existing models focus predominantly on shocks and tensions internal to the partnership actors.

There were two existing model components which were not found in the data and were not considered important in the context under analysis. Namely technology and multiple institutional logics. Technology is a relatively new construct to the model from 2015 and therefore is still emerging in the literature and may not be relevant in a context where some of the more basic constructs are difficult to achieve.

Multiple institutional logics are considered a reasonable construct to expect in this context, but was potentially not identified due to the social nature of the partnerships being sampled which may show an alignment between individual, organisational and partnership logics.

Potentially where the baseline models are not comprehensive enough for this context is in recognition of partner selection processes as well as the impact of actor's perceptions based on past experiences. Partner selection was highlighted as important in this context due to the nature of the legitimacy barrier and the ability of the partnership to cross this. Initial perceptions based on past experiences was also considered important as this impacts the level of initial trust and brings potential misconceptions into relationships due to an actor's fluidity of perceptions between micro, meso and macro levels.

The existing models are a good starting point in answering research questions 2-5 as generally they corroborate the findings, however where nuanced differences have been identified these will be considered in terms of their impact on findings and how this extends the existing literature.

6.3 Discussion of Results for Research Question 2

What are the main drivers of trust in a socially diverse, low trust environment?

Research question 2 aimed to understand the nature of the relationship between initial levels of trust and its antecedents as well as to highlight some drivers of trust formation during collaborative processes. Both of these were in relation to the context being socially diverse and low in trust. They are discussed further below.

6.3.1 Initial Trust at Partnership Inception

The data content analysis for Phase 1 in section 5.2.3.1 showed that the top five elements of initial trust consisted of; perceptions of ability, recognition of partners and stakeholders, perceptions of integrity, bridge actors and being explicit in motives and expectations. Initial trust was shown as important at partnership inception by Edelenbos & Klijn (2007) which confirms the importance of discussing initial trust separately. The constructs highlighted are discussed in more detail below.

6.3.1.1 Perceptions of Ability and Integrity

Section 5.2.3.1.1 showed that generally respondents had negative perceptions towards the public sector in relation to ability, while negative perceptions of integrity were not sector specific. Schoorman et al. (2007) argue that perceptions of ability and integrity are antecedents to initial levels of trust between actors, this was confirmed by Getha-Taylor (2012), however there is some disagreement as to the relative importance of integrity and benevolence. Given the social context under analysis it may be that benevolence was assumed and therefore never showed up strongly in the data analysis. Perceptions of ability and integrity were both strong drivers of initial trust as was shown in the data analysis under sections 5.2.3.1.1 and 5.2.3.1.3 respectively.

It was also shown by Rousseau et al. (1998) and more recently Fulmer & Gelfand (2012) that trust can exist at a meso or macro level and is not purely found in dyadic relationships. Respondents often quoted trust in relation to meso level institutions as well as between individuals. An example was quoted by private sector respondent 3, “You ain’t gonna have a transformational project driven by the minister as the facilitator and the leader, because there is already mistrust between the implementers, the ministry and perhaps even the private sector.” This showed how trust is fluid and can be considered across the micro, meso and macro level.

Section 5.2.5.1 showed a link between actor perceptions based on past experiences and its impact on initial trust. This is also found in the literature by Sherman & Morley (2015) who looked at these relationships in the context of an employer about to start working with a new employee. They found that a prior violation of the employer’s psychological contract with a previous employer impacted the initial levels of trust at the new employer.

The data content analysis in section 5.2.5.1 on initial perceptions correlates with their findings in that many of the perceptions of partner sectors were based on past violations of psychological contracts. Interestingly in some cases this was not specifically between the actor and another individual, but based on generalised situations at the meso and macro level which were then attached to the meso level institutions or micro level participants in the new project or partnership. This confirms the literature by Fulmer & Gelfand (2012) which purports that attribution theory along with social information processing theory are useful in understanding how an individual can attach perceptions of trust between levels.

6.3.1.2 Recognition of Partners and Stakeholders

Recognition of partners and stakeholders was another important driver of initial levels of trust as shown in the results in section 5.2.3.1.2. This was discussed in detail under legitimacy in section 6.2.1.4 and will therefore not be discussed further here, except to highlight the linkage between recognition of partners as part of initial trust and how this impacts the partnerships ability to show internal and external legitimacy as discussed in section 6.2.1.4 and in the literature by Provan & Kenis (2008). This tension between inclusion and effectiveness is discussed further in the literature (Johnston et al., 2011; Jos, 2016) and corroborates the linkages found in the data in section 5.2.2.1.4.

6.3.1.3 The Role of Bridge Actors

The results in section 5.2.3.1.4 show that a bridge actor had the ability to create positive perceptions of the public sector even though these were predominantly negative in other data content analysis sections, refer 5.2.3.1.1. This was confirmed in the literature by Spekkink & Boons (2016) which highlighted that at the initial stage of a partnership there were certain actors who filled a bridging position which created capacity within the partnership.

While this is similar in the data analysed it was actually more relevant in circumstances where trust had already been broken through trust violation on past projects and a bridge actor was required in order to re-establish trust in the partnership for future projects, refer section 5.2.3.1.4. Therefore, in contrast to the literature, the proposed model showed the bridge actor after trust formation lead to a breakdown of trust and the bridge actor was required to close the trust deficit that existed between partners before they could move onto future projects.

This role was confirmed as accurate in Phase 2 of the results, refer to section 5.4. As this step was required prior to continuing with new projects it was seen as a potential linking mechanism between projects in a long term multi project partnership.

6.3.1.4 Being Explicit and Open

The results in section 5.2.3.1.5 highlighted the importance of being explicit and open in relation to an individual's motives for engaging other partners. This is confirmed in the literature, being explicit about motives helps to gain agreement on initial aims as argued by Bryson et al. (2015). Ansell & Gash (2008) discuss face to face dialogue as a way of having good faith negotiation as the first step in the collaborative process. They also discuss openness in the context of exploring mutual gains under 'commitment to the process'. This aligns with being explicit and open as found in the data content analysis. It also shows that it is important in both initial trust as well as trust formation.

Literature regarding psychological contracts also states that being explicit helps to clear up misconceptions that are created in implicit psychological contracts. Which if violated can lead to a breakdown of trust. It is therefore important to be explicit and ensure alignment between implicit signals and explicit written contracts (Rousseau, 1989).

6.3.2 Formation of Trust During Collaborative Processes

The data results relating to trust formation during the partnership in section 5.2.3.2 show that trust formation was driven by relationships at the individual level. It took time and required recognition of individual contributions as well as understanding of different actor's perspectives. These are discussed in more detail below.

6.3.2.1 Building Relationships Over Time

Relationships was the code with the highest co-occurrence with trust formation along with time which ranked 4th, refer Table 16. This aligns with the research performed by Getha-Taylor (2012) who suggested that building trust is dynamic in nature and therefore made it difficult to construct an integrated model for trust. Rousseau et al. (1998) also highlight this dynamic nature and the importance of analysing trust over time.

The results from section 5.2.4.2 in relation to actor churn showed that actor churn has a negative impact on trust formation given the relationships that have been built over time are ended and now have to start from scratch with new actors. The research performed by Johnston et al. (2011) showed that new actors could in fact be included in a way that maintains trust and commitment of actors. They considered a time based approach which was planned as well as a thoughtful based approach which limited risk to new participants. The problem with the partnerships under review was that actor churn was often a result of a shock, refer section 5.2.4.2, rather than something that was planned to improve inclusiveness as was the case in the research by Johnston et al. (2011).

What this indicates however is that resilience of long term partnerships could be improved through additional planning and intentional action rather than being reactive after a shock takes place. This will be discussed further under research question 5 in section 6.6.

6.3.2.2 Recognition and Understanding of Individual Actors

Ranked 2nd, 3rd and 5th respectively in relation to co-occurrence with trust formation were the codes 'understanding', 'individuals' and 'recognition, refer Table 16. In analysing the underlying quotes, it became evident in the data analysis on formation of trust, refer 5.2.3.2, that recognition and understanding of individuals was often a result of open discourse which happened as an outcome of internal tensions.

These attributes align well with the model of emotional engagement practices as argued by Sloan & Oliver (2013) who suggest that by asking provocative questions, offering sensitive disclosures, opening the agenda to pursue spontaneous ideas and valuing others in attitudes and acts. While the data was not sufficiently granular to ascertain whether all these criteria were utilised in what they term critical emotional incidents (Sloan & Oliver, 2013) it does suggest that recognition and understanding is similar in nature to valuing others. Offering sensitive disclosures is also similar in nature to the type of explicit openness as described in the data analysis in Table 15 and discussed further in on initial trust, refer section 6.3.1.4.

What this shows is that internal shocks and tensions also has a direct impact on trust formation and is contingent upon how these shocks and tensions are planned for and responded to.

6.3.3 Conclusive Findings for Research Question 2

The findings for research question 2 show that trust is a dynamic construct and should therefore be analysed over time. From a cross sector partnership perspective there are two distinct stages where trust is important. The first is in relation to initial trust at the inception stage of a partnership and the second is in relation to trust formation during the collaborative processes of the partnership.

The drivers or antecedents of initial trust were found to be:

- Perceptions of ability and integrity as a result of past experiences
- Recognition of partners and stakeholders
- The role of bridge actors
- Being explicit with motives, expectations and agendas

Perceptions based on past experiences did not necessarily have to have been between individual actors in a partnership setting. Prejudices and biases at the meso and macro level were also shown to impact initial perceptions of other actors in the partnership and therefore levels of initial trust.

Recognition of partners as legitimate was also key to ensuring high levels of initial trust. If partners were not considered legitimate, potentially as a result of being exclusive or non-transformational from a diversity perspective these partnerships were not able to move through the legitimacy barrier to start collaborative processes. This barrier effectively lowered trust across partners.

Bridge actors were shown as more of a linking mechanism between projects in a long term multi-project partnership which is an extension of the existing literature where they are only considered as capacity enablers at partnership inception. They have the ability to change existing perceptions from negative to positive when trust has been broken thus creating capacity for future projects.

Being explicit and open in relation to motives is most important at the inception stage of a partnership, however can also help with dealing with shocks and tensions during collaborative processes. It therefore has a dual role in facilitating initial trust as well as in forming trust throughout the partnership term. It helps to ensure fulfilment of psychological contracts thereby maintaining trust.

Formation of trust happens over time as relationships are built. It is impacted by actor churn as well as shocks and tensions. Both of these can result in either increased trust or decreased trust depending on the context, the level of planning and how actors respond through emotional engagement practices. It can only happen once all partners have been recognised as legitimate.

6.4 Discussion of Results for Research Question 3

How do relationships and networks in a socially diverse, low trust environment impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?

Research question 3 aims to help understand the dynamic between relationships, networks and trust in the context under analysis. From the data content analysis, it was evident that this dynamic is relevant in terms of existing relationships at partnership inceptions, actor churn during the partnership collaborative processes as well as the role of network ties. Each of these will be discussed further below.

6.4.1 Existing Relationships at Partnership Inception

The results from section 5.2.4.1 showed that there is a strong link between pre-existing relationships and trust. The importance of this link between existing relationships and trust plays out in the selection of participants to be involved in the partnership at inception (Seitanidi & Crane, 2009). It was shown that in the case of social housing and inner city housing the participants consist of a relatively small group of actors who all know each other well.

This was reiterated in the quote by public sector respondent 9 who mentioned, “We all know each other. I mean it's really a little group of people who all got grey haired and bald together.” The closeness of these relationships have been built over time as both these partnership types have existed for over 15 years and are interrelated. An observation based on input from the sampling technique used was that in general the relationships across the sectors involved in a voluntary setting were stronger than those under the mandatory structure even though people did not always agree with each other in the voluntary partnership there was still a lot of respect for one another. This was not quite the case in the social housing partnership where partners showed less trust and less respect for partners. The quotes relating to these have not been shared for

confidentiality reasons. This impact on relationships is confirmed in the literature by Muir & Mullins (2015) who showed that trust was reduced in mandatory partnerships with hierarchical governance structures.

What was also evident from the data is that where trusting relationships had evolved, as in the case of inner city housing, these partnerships were able to continue onto new projects, however in the case of social housing where trust was broken the pipeline for new projects was diminishing. To the point that only specific housing institutions who were either innovative or had additional access to finance were able to continue developing, refer section 5.2.4.1. Part of what allowed the actors to continue onto new projects was the institutional learning which is highlighted in the Bryson et al. (2015) model under resilience and reassessment learning. This connection between projects was also confirmed in Phase 2 of the data content analysis, refer to section 5.4.

6.4.2 Actor Churn During Collaborative Processes

The role of actor churn in influencing trust formation was already discussed in section 6.3.2.1. This section will discuss what drives actor churn in a socially diverse, low trust environment, which is particularly relevant in long term partnerships.

What was shown in the results in section 5.2.4.2 was that actor churn is particularly prevalent in the public sector as a direct result of political rotation which could also be considered an external shock due to unforeseen election results. There is also natural attrition which may occur in any form of organisation. In some cases churn may be deliberate in order to facilitate legitimacy criteria, discussed in section 6.2.1.4, or to attain access to resources and knowledge as argued in the literature by Ansell & Gash (2008).

The literature by Johnston et al. (2011) is also relevant here as it suggests that a planned approach to churn over time may allow levels of trust and commitment to be maintained. This was the same with a process of thoughtful inclusion. This is also relevant in considering when it may be necessary to include a bridge actor as discussed in section 6.3.1.3.

6.4.3 The Role of Network Ties

The role of network ties is important to understand in answering research question 3. This was highlighted in both Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the data analysis, where strong

network ties were linked to exclusion of potential participants. This exclusivity created a legitimacy barrier given that in certain cases the partnership was not sufficiently representative of society, refer to section 5.2.4 and the section on legitimacy, refer to 5.2.2.1.4.

These findings are in line with the literature by Jos (2016) who went as far as to say that in some circumstances inclusion would have to be mandated through “judicious use of government authority” (p. 10). This is indeed the case in South Africa which has meant that in some partnerships there is a lack of social license allowing them to proceed, refer to discussion in section 6.2.1.4.

The data also highlighted a positive relationship between weak ties and innovation, refer Table 17. This is corroborated in the literature by Granovetter (1973) who identified a strong relationship between weak ties and creativity. This is important in cross sector partnerships due to the complex nature of the problems being addressed. Without creativity and innovation the solutions put forward are generally the same ones that come from an existing pool of knowledge. This was backed up in the data by public sector respondent 9 who said, “I think that it is quite an incestuous ... there is a small pool of people that can actually do it and you find that it is even difficult hiring consultants because there is one group of consultants that always tender for, especially policy work, that are good but they recycle the work that they have been doing for years.”

6.4.4 Conclusive Findings for Research Question 3

The findings for research question 3 suggest that relationships and networks impact both initial trust at inception of a partnership as well as the formation of trust during collaborative processes.

The former is through pre-existing relationships where strong network ties are considered positive in terms of high levels of initial trust, however this may be a problem in overcoming the legitimacy barrier. The reason for this is that in a socially diverse, low trust environment social representation and diversity of partners can be considered a social license to operate.

Relationships need time to develop and can therefore be impacted by actor churn during the partnership. This churn has been shown to be a result of either unplanned external shocks or through a deliberate process of planned or thoughtful inclusion. The impact

on trust formation can either be negative or positive contingent upon the drivers of actor churn. If it's as a result of an unplanned shock this can be negative, however planned or thoughtful inclusion has been shown to maintain levels of trust with change in partners. It was also shown that tensions may negatively impact trust formation which could lead to actor churn, showing a reciprocal relationship between actor churn and trust formation.

Weak network ties are also considered an important consideration in both inclusive representation at the start of a partnership or as part of actor churn during the partnership. The reason for this is that it brings new knowledge into the partnership which can be a driver of creativity and innovation. Both of which are important when trying to resolve complex problems.

6.5 Discussion of Results for Research Question 4

How do perceptions of actors impact the level of trust in cross sector partnerships in socially diverse, low trust environments and what drives these perceptions?

Research question 4 sought to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamic between actor perceptions and trust in the context under analysis. Specifically, how these perceptions impact initial trust at partnership inception as well as how perceptions change during the collaborative process. These are discussed in more detail below.

6.5.1 Initial Perceptions at Partnership Inception

The data content analysis in section 5.2.5.1 showed that perceptions were generally aimed towards a meso level organisation such as the 'private sector' or the 'public sector'. The results showed that perceptions towards the private sector were negative based on past experiences of inability to deliver services, while perceptions towards the private sector were negative due to a perceived lack of transformation, refer Table 18. Both of these were linked to past experiences which influenced the actors schemata by violating either physical or psychological contracts as argued by Sherman & Morley (2015) and Lee et al. (2012)

When linked to trust it aligns to the criteria as set out by Schoorman et al. (2007) in that perceptions around lack of ability in the public sector creates low trust, refer to the discussion on initial trust in section 6.3.1.1. Similarly, perceptions around lack of integrity in the private sector creates low levels of initial trust.

Taken a step further and analysing the findings through the literature on trust by Rousseau et al. (1998) and more recently by Fulmer & Gelfand (2012) it can be seen that there is a strong correlation between macro level trust as indicated by the Edelman Barometer (Edelman, 2016) and meso level trust based on perceptions of actors on partner sectors as shown in the data, refer 6.3.1.1. However, at the micro level trust was considered stronger in the voluntary partnership than in the mandatory partnerships as discussed in section 6.4.1. Therefore, in the mandatory partnerships it could be shown that there is a strong link between macro, meso and micro level trust based on past experiences and how these impact perceptions. In the voluntary partnership however, actors were able to build micro level trust despite having similar perceptions at the macro and meso level. This corroborates the literature from Muir & Mullins (2015) as well as the expert opinions in Phase 2 which proposed institutional structure is a key factor impacting levels of trust.

It also shows that the schemata of actors are an aggregation of all past experiences regardless of what level these occur at. A perception of macro level violation of a psychological contract between an individual and the state, for example misappropriation of taxpayer money by a government official, can have a bearing on the individual's perceptions of the public sector as a meso level institution in a CSP. This may impact micro level perceptions at partnership inception, however through relationships and network ties these perceptions can be improved, refer to the discussion in section 6.4.3. This was discussed in the literature by Janowicz-Panjaitan & Krishnan (2009) and Fulmer & Gelfand (2012) who confirm these findings.

6.5.2 Changing Perceptions During Collaborative Processes

The data content analysis on changing perceptions in section 5.2.5.2 highlighted that there were two main drivers for actor's perception's changing. In both cases the changes were from negative to positive in the context being analysed, however it is not inconceivable that the reverse could be true contingent upon individual circumstances.

The specific catalysts for change were actor churn, external shocks and contextual immersion from section 5.2.5.2, additionally the results from the section on internal conflict and tension, refer 5.2.6.1, are also relevant as they show that well managed tension can also help to improve perceptions. This was highlighted by Sloan & Oliver (2013) through their emotional engagement practices model. The model was

corroborated by the data analysis and discussion in section 6.3.1.4 which showed that being explicit and open helps with both initial trust as well as building trust.

Interestingly the suggested inclusion processes by Johnston et al. (2011) found it wasn't possible to increase trust and cooperation by individuals who had low levels of initial trust. However, the data in section 5.2.5.2 shows that where there is a known positive reputation of an actor who is now included this actor may lead to increased levels of trust. This is referred to as a bridge actor in the proposed model, refer to the discussion in section 6.3.1.3.

There is not much literature to support the view of external shocks and contextual immersion as agents for changing perceptions. This could be a potential area for further research. However an article by Waddell (2011) confirmed the data analysis relating to contextual immersion saying it created improved understanding of the other person's perspectives and thereby was able to influence the individual's schema by adding new experiences.

Literature on changing intergroup perceptions by Weible et al. (2011) suggests that collaborative institutional structure, through improved policy, was a key determinant for decreased negative perceptions in intergroup actors. Again this corroborates the addition of institutional structure to the proposed model in Phase 2, refer 5.4.2.

A second approach to changing perceptions as discussed in the literature was by reducing risk through the provision of formalised guarantees (Burke & Demirag, 2015). While this was not shown in the data the concept could be applied to the impact of external shocks where the change is perceived by existing partners to reduce overall risk.

6.5.3 Conclusive Findings for Research Question 4

The findings for research question 4 show that perceptions impact trust in two ways. Firstly, initial perceptions of partnership actors which is based on past experiences and secondly, changing perceptions which occurs as part of collaborative processes.

Initial perceptions are driven by experiences across the macro, meso and micro levels. From a micro level perspective this may be as a result of prior violations of psychological contracts between the individual and the state or the individual and private or social

institutions, even where the individual may not be directly involved and could even relate to historical events. At a meso and micro level it may be due to past cross sector experiences where the individual was directly involved. In addition to this the micro level is impacted by an individual's own prejudices and biases.

These perceptions aggregate to form an opinion of the level of ability and integrity of respective partners. It was shown that in a mandatory context negative perceptions from the macro and meso level can carry down to the micro level. However, in a voluntary arrangement it was possible for individuals at the micro level to overcome their macro and meso level perceptions and build trust.

Trust was built by changing perceptions of actors from negative to positive. There were a number of possible ways of doing this as highlighted in the list below:

- Inclusion of new actors with a good reputation who are in a bridging position
- Introduce more collaborative policies into the institutional structure
- Reduce risk to partners through formalised guarantees
- Using emotional engagement practices as a response to tensions
- Contextual immersion of actors to help improve contextual understanding

Changing perceptions can mean reducing biases in relation to negative perceptions and is not always linked to increasing or creating positive perceptions. This is an important finding as it provides a more realistic view in terms of practical application where it might be impossible to create positive perceptions. It may be a lot easier and less time consuming to focus on reducing negative perceptions to create sustainable long term partnerships in a socially diverse, low trust environment.

6.6 Discussion of Results for Research Question 5

How do shocks and internal tensions impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?

The purpose of research question 5 was to understand the dynamic between shocks, internal tensions and trust in long term CSP's. This relates to a partnership's resilience in being able to sustain itself over the long term. The main themes identified from the

data, as well as the literature, are discussed further below and relate to; internal conflict and tension, political interference and evictions.

6.6.1 Internal Conflict and Tension

The data analysis in section 5.2.6.1 showed that tensions can come from both inter-organisational as well as intra-organisational sources. Intra-organisational tensions were strongly linked to negative perceptions of ability in the public sector and therefore lower levels of trust. This corroborates the data analysis on initial trust discussed in section 6.3.1.1.

In discussions with public sector respondents evidence showed that the main reasons for lack of execution capability in the public sector were linked to four things, refer 5.2.6:

- Lack of clarification of roles and responsibilities
- Lack of performance management systems
- Power struggles between local, provincial and national governments
- Actor churn in the public sector

The last bullet point has already been discussed in detail under section 6.4.2, but is included here for completeness. The other three items are confirmed to some extent by Bryson et al. (2015) in their integrative model where they refer to structural ambidexterity of the institutions involved in the partnership.

Structural ambidexterity refers to the ability of an institution to allow for a completely separate entity to be formed without any interference from the core organisation. It means being able to have both the original organisations structure as well as the new partnership structure coexisting without any negative impacts (Crosby & Bryson, 2010). It is often used in the contexts of private organisations trying to innovate using separate structures which are part of the group, but may have a completely separate culture from the original organisation (O'Reilly III & Tushman, 2011).

What is shown here is that in long term partnerships the setup of clear institutional structures that are completely separate from their core organisations is a necessary requisite to reduce intra-organisational tension. In addition to this planned or thoughtful inclusion of new actors might help with tensions arising through actor churn as discussed in section 6.4.2 and confirmed in the literature by Johnston et al. (2011).

In terms of inter-organisational conflict this was shown in the data, in section 5.2.6.1, as driven by:

- Internal emotional shocks and unplanned external shocks
- Misalignment of understanding of objectives

Examples of internal and external shocks are discussed in further detail later in this section under sections 6.6.2 and 6.6.3 respectively. The misalignment of objectives has also been discussed extensively in the literature and is included as the starting point of the emotional engagement practices model by Sloan & Oliver (2013).

Also linking with the Sloan & Oliver (2013) literature was data analysis showing that tensions are a potential opportunity to build trust if they lead to open discourse, refer Table 21. This discussion has also been mentioned previously in relation to being explicit to improve initial trust and using recognition and understanding of actors to build trust going forward, refer to section 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 respectively.

6.6.2 Political Interference and Evictions

Political interference was shown in the data as an example of an external shock which could lead to an internal tension. This was found in the data under section 5.2.6.2 and related to a case where an eviction was stopped due to political interference just prior to local elections. The stopping of the eviction put pressure on the social housing institution who would still need to pay its funding and legal costs, but would not get the benefit of being able to replace tenants who were not paying rent. This broke down trust within the partnership.

This external shock lead to an internal tension due to actual and psychological contract violation as described by Lee et al. (2012). These shocks can derail what might be considered a well-established partnership as was described by social sector respondent 12 who said, “Short terms shocks can knock an already established relationship which is delivering and shocks can derail a potential long term relationship ... I think clearly what happens in elections is uncertainty does shake things a little bit, as it is at the moment.”

It's important that the impacts of these shocks are minimised in order to reduce the negative impact on trust. This can be done through strategic planning (Clarke & Fuller, 2010), consideration of adaptive governance structures (Stone et al., 2010) and by building resilient long term relationships through strengthening of trust (Lee et al., 2012).

6.6.3 The Role of a Burning Platform

Ansell & Gash (2008) suggest that conflict can be a catalyst for collaboration given the high costs carried by all parties involved in a deadlock. This was confirmed by the data analysed in section 5.2.6.3, however the data went further to suggest that not only is this relevant to internal tensions, but also to external shocks. An example was given by private sector respondent 8 where the president replaced a minister unexpectedly which created turmoil in financial markets in South Africa. This significantly increased the risk of a credit downgrade for the country by the ratings agencies. The result was that captains of industry in the private sector got together with the public sector to discuss the crisis and come up with a plan to help stabilise the market.

In the data this was coded as 'forced collaboration' as shown in Table 22. The issue with forced collaboration is that it potentially acts in a similar way to a partnership with a mandatory structure. These types of partnerships have been shown in the discussion in section 6.4.1 to have a lowered level of initial trust due to a lack of existing relationships or what is contrived as bringing together people who would not choose to work alongside each other.

6.6.4 Conclusive Findings for Research Question 5

The findings for research question 5 highlight that internal conflicts and tensions can both increase or decrease the levels of trust within collaborative processes. Internal conflicts and tensions can arise through:

- Unplanned external shocks
- Lack of structural ambidexterity
- Actor churn in the public sector
- Misalignment of objectives
- Violation of actual and psychological contracts

In general, the immediate outcome of these conflicts and tensions is to reduce trust in the partnership, however there is evidence that if the response is adequately managed through emotional engagement practices that trust can be built as a result of conflict resolution. This iterative process is shown as a helix in the process model of trust and trust building.

It is important to note that actor churn can negatively impact trust formation which created conflict and tension in the partnership. There is therefore a reciprocal dynamic between these constructs.

Literature also suggests that partnership structures that are separate from core organisational structures helps to clarify roles and responsibilities, allocation of power and align objectives through performance management processes. This can reduce conflicts and tensions that arise as a result of intra-organisational tensions.

External shocks can create internal conflict and tension, however they can also act as a catalyst for collaboration between partners who would normally not partner. This is a form of forced collaboration which can impact initial trust levels.

Shocks can create uncertainty which negatively impacts trust. This can even be possible in long term partnerships. In order to create resilient long term partnerships, it is important to minimise the impact of these shocks. This can be done through strategic planning, consideration of adaptive governance structures as well as by building resilient long term relationships based on trust.

6.7 Enhancements to The Process Model

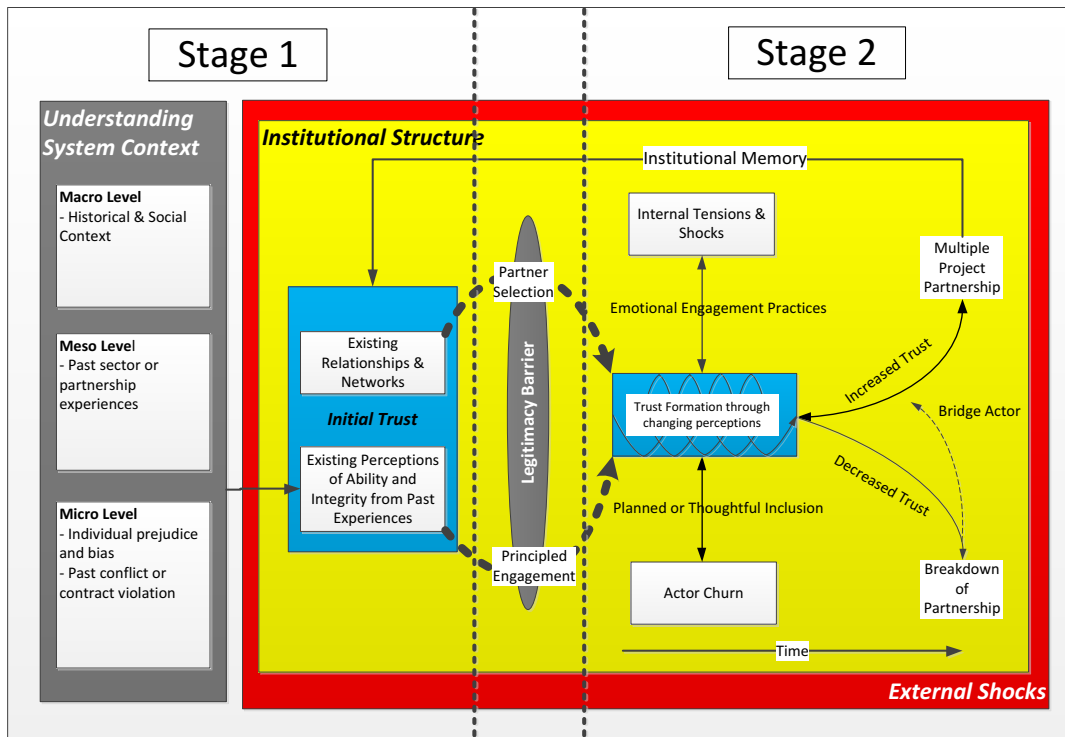
The discussion in Chapter 6 highlighted a number of items which enhance the updated process model of trust and trust formation from Chapter 5, refer to Figure 8. Those that were considered relevant in extending the model were included in the diagrammatic representation as follows:

- Understanding the system context was expanded to include prior conflict and contract violation. The constructs were also categorised between the macro, meso and micro levels to clearly show how perceptions are fluid between these levels, refer section 6.5.3.

- Partner selection was highlighted as another way that the legitimacy barrier could be overcome through an inclusive process which ensures adequate social representation, refer section 6.2.4
- Authentic engagement was reworded to align with the literature and was termed principled engagement, refer section 6.2.4
- The burning platforms component was extended to include other external shocks such as political interference and was therefore renamed to 'external shocks'. This expanded component was brought outside institutional structure given its impact across both stages of the process, refer section 6.6.4.
- The mechanism between actor churn and trust formation was updated to reflect the reciprocal nature of this dynamic, it was also shown that this mechanism is termed planned and thoughtful inclusion in the literature, refer section 6.4.4.
- The mechanism between internal conflict and tension and trust formation was updated to show the reciprocal nature of this dynamic, it was also shown that the mechanism used to regulate conflict and tension was called emotional engagement practices in the literature, refer section 6.6.4

These enhancements help to validate the updated process model from Chapter 5, but also shows how the data findings have extended the existing body of literature on trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships. The enhanced process model of trust and trust formation is represented diagrammatically below, refer Figure 9.

Figure 9: Enhanced Process Model of Trust & Trust Formation



Source: Authors Own

6.8 Conclusion

The discussion in Chapter 6 used literature reviewed in Chapter 2 to provide insight to the results from Chapter 5. The five research questions posed in Chapter 3 were conclusively answered through these discussions and were then used to enhance the updated process model of trust and trust formation that was presented after Phase 2 of the results.

The enhanced process model of trust and trust formation is a comprehensive framework consisting of components, linking mechanisms, barriers and boundaries. It shows a complex system of relationships, perceptions and tensions all interacting to form trust which enables multi-project long term partnerships which are resilient to shock.

7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 answered the research questions from Chapter 3 which helped to extend the process model of trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships. This chapter aims to highlight the contributions made to existing literature through a discussion of the model components. It also raises some practical recommendations for both collaborative leaders as well as for public servants and policy makers. Finally, some recommendations for future research are also discussed with research limitations highlighted.

7.2 Synthesis of Research Data

Chapter 1 highlighted some of the difficulties faced by cross sector partnerships in being effective mechanisms for solution delivery to complex problems. The importance of trust as an enabler to capacity building was demonstrated. However, this raised a burning question as to how trust can be built in a socially diverse, low trust environment. Particularly in long term multi-project partnerships which need to be resilient to shocks and tensions. In order to address this need for research, the literature in Chapter 2 was reviewed in five themes as follows:

- A review of existing cross sector partnership models.
- Understanding the drivers of trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships
- Understanding the dynamic between trust and relationships
- Understanding the dynamic between trust and perceptions
- Understanding the impact of shocks and tensions on partnership sustainability

The data content analysis from Phase 1 was synthesized into a proposed model of trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships. This model was then reviewed in Phase 2 of the analysis to refine the model in Phase 1. Certain model components were confirmed as being important while others were highlighted as missing. The model was refined by adding the following components:

- Institutional structure

- Authentic or principled engagement to overcome the legitimacy barrier
- The role of prejudice and bias in actor perceptions

The model was then extended further by considering the data through the lens of existing literature in Chapter 6. This discussion confirmed where the literature aligned to the data analysis as well as highlighting areas where the theory could be extended through insights gained from a different context. The main contributions made are reiterated below:

The first contribution relates to initial trust at partnership inception. The findings revealed that initial trust is strongly influenced by actor perceptions of ability and integrity of new partners. These perceptions are based on actor's past experiences of contract fulfilment or violation. However, were not limited to experiences they had necessarily been physically involved in. Therefore, negative perceptions were fluid between macro, meso and micro levels when there was no prior relationship at the micro level. However, where a relationship did exist a positive micro level perception was able to override the negative meso and macro level perceptions which allowed higher levels of initial trust.

The second contribution shows that in a socially diverse, low trust environment legitimacy is more than purely an element of collaborative processes. It can act as a barrier to entry into collaborative processes through the withholding of a social license to operate by actors with power. This barrier can be crossed through appropriate partner selection alongside principled engagement between actors.

The third contribution relates to the formation of trust during collaborative processes. What emerged from the research is that trust formation takes time as it is linked to changing initial perceptions, which can be difficult. It is impacted by actor churn as well as internal shocks and tensions. Both of these constructs can improve or breakdown trust based on the mechanisms used to respond to them. It is recommended from the literature that planned or thoughtful inclusion (Johnston et al., 2011) as well as emotional engagement practices (Sloan & Oliver, 2013) can help to build trust rather than break trust.

The fourth contribution relates to the role of a bridge actor who is able to facilitate trust building after trust has significantly deteriorated in the partnership. They can do this through their existing relationships across sectors as well as through leveraging strong reputations.

The fifth contribution relates to the sustainability of long term cross sector partnerships. The findings demonstrate that in order for partnerships to be resilient to shock they need to have a balance between strong institutional structure and trusting relationships which operate within this. A key element that links these is institutional memory which allows a single project initiative to become a long term multi-project partnership.

These contributions confirm the existing literature on cross sector partnerships and trust, but also extend it by looking at it through a different context. Specifically, one where the environment has low levels of trust and is socially diverse.

7.3 Recommendations for Collaborative Leaders

The research data, content analysis and discussion have revealed insights that would be useful in practical application for collaborative leaders. These leaders are often seen as a catalyst to creating cross sector partnerships and therefore are a central point of implementation of recommendations. These are listed below:

- At partnership inception it is important that actors are made to understand the partnership system context. This includes social and historical context at the macro level.
- To improve levels of trust between unknown partners the leader should try to unearth any prejudices or biases that might exist in individuals based on their past experiences. These should be addressed through explicit and open discourse.
- Collaborative leaders should select partners with social legitimacy in mind. Once partners are selected they should facilitate principled engagement between actors to ensure expectations from implicit psychological contracts are clear.
- Once the partnership starts with collaborative processes the leaders should use planned and thoughtful inclusion to ensure adequate buy-in from stakeholders.
- Leaders should ask provocative questions to encourage emotional engagement practices and to be explicit and open in conversations.
- If trust is broken through contract violation leaders should consider the introduction of a potential bridge actor who has a positive reputation across sectors in order to build trust again. The reputation should be founded on ability to execute as well as strength of integrity.

These items are all represented graphically through the process model of trust and trust formation and should be utilised as a reference point for collaborative leaders to refer to in order to improve levels of trust in a CSP.

7.4 Recommendations for Public Servants and Policy Makers

The public sector is a key role player in cross sector partnerships due to legitimate power they hold through their ability to influence legislation and to access public funds. Given this power they have a responsibility to ensure a strong institutional structure is in place that enables resilient long term CSP's to form which are sustainable. The findings from Chapter 6 highlight the following items which may guide public servants and policy makers:

- Policy makers need to ensure that partnership structures are sufficiently separated from core government structures to enable them to behave independently without political interference.
- Legitimate power should be utilised to enforce socially inclusive representation within partnerships, however be flexible enough to understand the challenges this may represent and to be adaptable to the contextual environment.
- Churn in public sector representatives should be managed through adequate planning as well as thoughtful rotation bearing in mind the impact this has on existing relationships which take time to build trust.
- Public servants need to understand their role as custodians of public funds and to demonstrate that they are able to execute on deliverables with high levels of ability and integrity. Perceptions created at the macro and meso level on these two characteristics can flow into micro level relationships when no prior relationship exists.

These practical recommendations for public servants and policy makers should be implemented along with the recommendations for collaborative leaders in section 7.3 above. Together they form a framework for creating trusting relationships which are resilient to shock and are institutionalised for long term sustainability.

7.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The fifth contribution highlights the difficulty involved in balancing strong institutional structure with strong trusting relationships. There is very little literature identifying the dynamic between these two elements and resiliency. It would be interesting to understand the contextual nuances which might show circumstances which require more trust versus those that require more structure. While this research identifies it as an important consideration it does not necessarily explain how much of each is required in different contexts.

A second element which is emerging from the literature and requires further research is the concept of group based emotion regulation (Goldenberg, Halperin, van Zomeren, & Gross, 2016) to help deal with internal tensions and shocks. It would be interesting to understand the dynamic between trust and group based emotion regulation to see if this can improve trust formation or not.

Individual recognition was highlighted as important, but further analysis would be required to understand the different contexts that recognition is helpful in relation to formation of trust. This could also incorporate more of our understanding of neuroscience and an individuals need for recognition and how this links to trust. Also in the domain of psychology is the concept of a psychological contract. This has been studied extensively in corporate literature, however does not appear much in the cross sector partnership context. It would be interesting to understand different types of contract violation and impact of this on trust.

Lastly, there is not much literature to support the view of external shocks and contextual immersion as agents for changing perceptions in cross sector partnerships. This could be a potential area for further research.

7.6 Conclusion

This research contributes to the body of knowledge relating to trust and trust formation in cross sector partnerships. Specific components were highlighted as important in establishing levels of trust at partnership inception as well as those that impact formation of trust during collaborative processes. Furthermore, this study extends the

understanding of legitimacy in cross sector partnerships within a socially diverse, low trust environment.

The findings from this research were presented as the process model of trust and trust formation. This model is a useful tool for both collaborative leaders as well as public servants and policy makers. Particularly those involved in creating resilient long term partnerships which are recognised as legitimate and therefore able to deliver solutions to complex problems through multi-project programmes. The process model shows a complex system of relationships, perceptions and tensions all interacting to increase or decrease trust contingent upon the use of linking mechanisms. The research provides insight which will facilitate increased trust which enables collaborative initiatives to become sustainable multi-project vehicles of value delivery.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Integrated Model of Cross Sector Collaboration (Bryson et al., 2015)

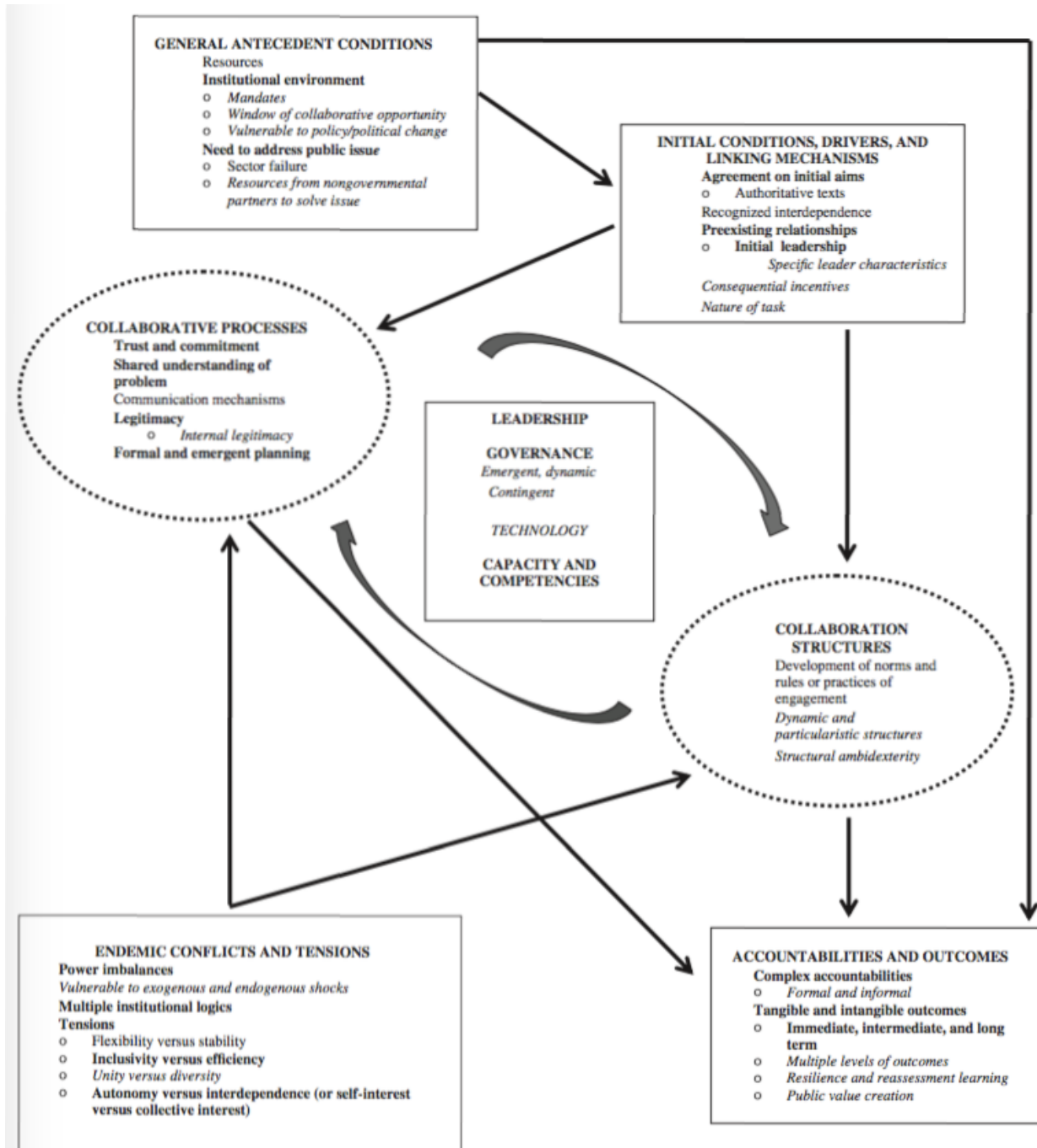


Figure 1 Summary of Major Theoretical Frameworks and Findings from Empirical Studies, 2006–15. Bolded elements are from both the theoretical frameworks and recent empirical studies; elements in italics are new elements from empirical studies



Appendix II: List of Respondents

Respondent	Position	Sector	Partnership Group
1	Funding Manager	Public	Social housing
15	Deputy Director General	Public	Social housing
17	Chief Executive Officer	Public	Social housing
9	Chief Executive Officer	Public	Inner city housing
11	Senior Manager	Public	Inner city housing
13	Head of Department	Public	Inner city housing
Respondent	Position	Sector	Partnership Group
5	Chief Executive Officer	Private	Inner city housing
10	Chairman	Private	Inner city housing
14	Consultant	Private	Inner city housing
3	Director	Private	Enterprise development
8	Director	Private	Enterprise development
Respondent	Position	Sector	Partnership Group
2	Managing Director	Social	Social housing
4	Consultant	Social	Social housing
6	Chief Financial Officer	Social	Social housing
7	Facilitator	Social	Inner city housing
12	Facilitator	Social	Inner city housing
16	Chief Executive Officer	Social	Inner city housing

Appendix III: Informed Consent Letter

Informed Consent Letter

I am conducting research on building trust in cross-sector partnerships, specifically I am trying to find out more about the impact of experiences prior to entering the partnership and how this shaped expectations going into the partnership. In addition, I am also interested in the impact of emotional events which occurred during the partnership which could have impacted trust between partners.

Our interview is expected to last about an hour, and will help us understand how trust can be improved in potentially low trust, high emotion contexts. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without penalty. Of course, all data will be kept confidential. If you have any concerns, please contact my supervisor or me. Our details are provided below.

Researcher name: Peter Hind

Researcher email: peter.d.hind@gmail.com

Research supervisor: Anthony Wilson-Prangley

Supervisor email: prangleya@gibs.co.za

Signature of participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Appendix IV: Interview Schedule Adapted from Sloan and Oliver (2013) – Phase 1

Date:

Location:

Background information on interviewee

1. Name:
2. Organization:
3. How many years with this organization?
4. What is your job title?

Involvement with partnership

5. How long have you been involved, directly or indirectly, with the partnership?
6. How did you first become aware of the partnership?
7. How did you first become involved? Why?
8. How would you describe the partnership when you first became involved?

Relationships and Perceptions prior to joining the partnership

9. Did you know anyone already involved in the partnership from previous experience?
10. What was your perception of them before entering the partnership? What shaped this perception?
11. Did you have any perceptions or expectations of the other organisation you had to partner with? What shaped these?
12. What were the general levels of trust like in South Africa when you joined the partnership? What were the reasons for this?

Evolution of the partnership

13. Were there any aspects of the process of developing the partnership that you found challenging? Why or why not?
14. How did you handle these challenges?
15. Were there any key incidents along the way that you found particularly important? Please describe them.
16. How were these incidents handled?

Evaluation of the partnership

17. Would you characterize this partnership as a success or failure?
18. What, in your opinion, are the key reasons for this success or failure?
19. Looking ahead, what do you see as some threats for this partnership?
20. Looking ahead, what do you see as some opportunities for this partnership?
21. If you had to give advice to someone beginning such a partnership elsewhere, what would it be?

Closing

22. Is there anything else you would like to add in relation to this partnership?

Appendix V: Interview Schedule – Phase 2

Date:

Location:

Background information on interviewee

- Name:
- Organization:
- How many years with this organization?
- What is your job title?

Interview Question 1

What is your perception of the private/social/public sectors? (delete sector of interviewee)

Interview Question 2

Do you think trust is important in cross sector partnerships which are embedded in a socially diverse, low trust environment like South Africa?

Interview Question 3

Is trust based on perceptions of individuals?

Interview Question 4

Do you agree or disagree that the following drive perceptions in this context?

- Networks and relationships
- Historical and social context
- Past experiences
- Legitimacy or social license
- Unexpected responses to shocks

Interview Question 5

Do you believe trust can be built or destroyed by the following?

- New relationships
- New experiences
- Ability to deliver
- Dealing with tensions

Interview Question 6

If trust is broken do you believe it can be built again using bridge actors? (explain bridge actors)

Interview Question 7

How does public sector go about changing perceptions and building trust?

Interview Question 8

Do tensions within government negatively impact ability to perform?



Appendix VI: Code List and Quote Frequencies – Phase 1

Name	Quote Frequency	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification Date
*Negative	200	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Sector - Public	168	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Perceptions	153	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
*Positive	90	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Quote	87	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Understanding	86	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Ability	83	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Context	79	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Past experiences	71	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Sector - Private	58	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Time	54	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Resources	50	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Churn	49	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Relationships	48	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
History	44	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Structure	42	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Individual	38	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Alignment	37	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Recognition	37	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Transformation	37	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Changing perceptions	36	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Roles	35	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Personal perceptions	33	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Relationships - Existing	33	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Impact on outcomes	29	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Political interference	29	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Tensions	29	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Complexity	28	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Social housing	28	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Term - Long	28	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Need for cross sector partnerships	27	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Tensions - IntraOrganisational	27	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Skill	26	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Trust - Formation	26	Peter Hind	16-Oct-16	Peter Hind	16-Oct-16
Incentives	25	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Regulation	25	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Burning platform	24	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Funding	24	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Outcomes	24	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Evictions	23	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Governance	23	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Leadership	23	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Need for multi-project partnerships	23	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Integrity	22	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16



Name	Quote Frequency	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification Date
Public-Private	22	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
*Sequence	21	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Bridge actor	21	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Personal motives	21	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Shocks - Internal	20	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Collaboration	19	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Critical emotional incidents	19	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16
Discourse	19	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Innovation	19	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
License to operate	18	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Need to resolve complex issues	18	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Organisation	18	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Explicit	17	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Organisational objectives	17	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Social context	17	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Agendas	16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Knowledge	16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Planning	16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Shocks - External	16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Network ties - Strong	15	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Performance	15	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Personal values	15	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Common ground	14	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
In-group	14	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Partner selection	14	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Race	14	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16
Sector - Social	14	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Trust - Deficit	14	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Collective objectives	13	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Local level	13	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Openness	13	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Profit margins	13	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Purpose	13	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Relationships - Maintenance	13	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Thresholds	13	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Collaborative leadership	12	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Communication	12	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Forced collaboration	12	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Immersion	12	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Measurement	12	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Objectives	12	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Open discourse	12	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Self perception	12	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Facilitation	11	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16
Government	11	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Learning	11	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Shared value	11	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16



Name	Quote Frequency	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification Date
Shocks	11	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Trust - Importance	11	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Benevolence	10	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Frustrations	10	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Inclusive	10	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Network ties - Weak	10	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Networks	10	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Organisational motives	10	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Participation	10	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Profit motive	10	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
*Negative to positive	9	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Barriers	9	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Trust - Breakdown	9	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Trust - Outcomes	9	Peter Hind	16-Oct-16	Peter Hind	16-Oct-16
*Issue	8	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Commitment	8	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16
Face to Face	8	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Legitimacy	8	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Stakeholder buy in	8	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Exclusionary	7	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Institutional memory	7	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Personal communication	7	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Personal objectives	7	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Processes	7	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Public-Public	7	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Values	7	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Accountability	6	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16
Cadre deployment	6	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Community Involvement	6	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Creativity	6	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Impact	6	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Output metrics	6	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Priorities	6	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Respect	6	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Positive to negative	5	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
CEO pay	5	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Definite vision	5	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Different views	5	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Diversity	5	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Enterprise development	5	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Listening	5	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
National	5	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Resilience	5	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16
Social behaving like private	5	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Stability	5	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Voluntary	5	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Attachment	4	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16



Name	Quote Frequency	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification Date
Expectations	4	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Misconceptions	4	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Motivation	4	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Opportunity rather than shock	4	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16
Partnership of equality	4	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Political ideology	4	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Robust dialogue	4	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Scepticism	4	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Sector Social-Social	4	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Self interest	4	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Social complexity	4	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Storytelling	4	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Affordability	3	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Confidence	3	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Economy	3	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16
Enabling environment	3	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Independent facilitation	3	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Knowledge transfer	3	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Negotiation	3	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Overlapping interests	3	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Passion	3	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Perspectives	3	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16
Potential projects	3	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Power	3	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Social forced to private	3	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Styles	3	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
*Wording wrong	2	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16	Peter Hind	05-Oct-16
Break from partnership	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Criteria	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Execution	2	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16
Foresight	2	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16
Formalised	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Implementation plan	2	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16
Informal	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Legal institutions	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Reciprocity	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Recognised interdependence	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Relationships - New	2	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Scenario planning	2	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Self motivation	2	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16	Peter Hind	08-Oct-16
Shocks - Management of	2	Peter Hind	06-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Shocks - Resistance to	2	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Survival mode	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16
Term - Short	2	Peter Hind	07-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
Win-win	2	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16	Peter Hind	03-Oct-16



Appendix VII: Code Groups – Phase 1

Name	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification Date
**Partner Selection	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
**Perceptions	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Comparitives	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Direction	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Functional Codes	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Sector Indication	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Sector Levels	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
*Time Sequence	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
1.1. Power-Resource-Knowledge Asymmetries	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
1.2. Prehistory of cooperation or conflict	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
1.3. Incentives for and constraints on participation	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	15-Oct-16
1.4. Need to address a public issue	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16
1.5. Institutional environment	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16
1.6. System context	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
2.1 Agreement on intial aims/purposes/objectives	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16
2.2 Recognised interdependance	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
2.3 Pre-existing relationships	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
2.4 Nature of task	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
3.1 Trust and trust building	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	16-Oct-16
3.2 Commitment to process	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
3.3 Shared understanding of the problem/Shared motivation	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16
3.4 License to operate (Legitimacy extended)	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	15-Oct-16
3.5 Formal and emergent planning	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16
3.6 Face to Face Dialogue and Communication	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
3.7 Cooperation/Principled engagement	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
3.8 Collaboration/Capacity for Joint action	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
3.9 Intermediate Outcomes	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
4.1 Governance	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
4.2 Technology	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
4.3 Capacity and competencies	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
5.1 Establishment of norms/rules/practices of engagement	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
5.2 Dynamic and particularistic structures	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
5.3 Structural ambidexterity	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	11-Oct-16



Name	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification Date
6.1 Power imbalances	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
6.2 Vulnerable to exogenous and endogenous shocks	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	10-Oct-16
6.3 Multiple institutional logics	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
6.4 Tensions	Peter Hind	04-Oct-16	Peter Hind	10-Oct-16
7.1 Complex Accountabilities	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16
7.2 Tangible and intangible outcomes	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16	Peter Hind	09-Oct-16



Appendix VIII: Code List and Quote Frequencies– Phase 2

Model Component	Existing or New	Quote Count
Institutional Structure	New	14
Authentic Engagement	New	10
Time	Existing	8
Understanding System Context	Existing	8
Existing Relationships and Networks - Negative	Existing	6
Tensions and Shock	Existing	6
Ability and Integrity	Existing	5
Intra vs Inter Organisational Tension	Existing	5
Prejudice and Biases	New	5
Bridge Actor	Existing	4
Formation of Trust through changing perceptions	Existing	4
Legitimacy Barrier	Existing	4
Actor Churn	Existing	3
Existing Relationships and Networks - Positive	Existing	3
Initial Trust	Existing	3
Complex System	Inherent	2
Initial Perceptions	Existing	2
Planned Inclusion	New	2
Immersion	Existing	1



Appendix IX: Consistency Matrix

No.	Research Question	Literature Review	Data Collection	Variable Analysis
1	Using the integrated cross sector partnership models by Bryson et al. (2015), Ansell & Gash (2008) and Emerson et al. (2012) as a framework, which components are important in a socially diverse, low trust environment?	Crosby et al. (2015) Ansell & Gash (2008) Emerson et al. (2012)	Evaluation of the partnership	Frquency of complexity, Race, transformation, history, context Frequency of CSP constructs, missing constructs
2	What are the main drivers of trust in a socially diverse, low trust environment?	Schoorman et al. (2007) Mayer et al. (1995) Lee et al (2012)	Evolution of the partnership	Frquency trust was mentioned Frequency of ability, integrity, benevolence, emotions, response
3	How do relationships and networks in a socially diverse, low trust environment impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?	Ulibarri & Scott (2016) Granovetter (1973) Bryson et al. (2015)	Relationships and perceptions at the start of and during the partnership	Relationships (new vs existing) with trust from previous Q Network ties (strong vs weak) with trust from previous Q
4	How do perceptions of actors impact the level of trust in cross sector partnerships in socially diverse, low trust environments and what drives these perceptions?	Rousseau (1998) Fulmer & Gelfand (2012) Sherman & Morley (2015)	Relationships and perceptions at the start of and during the partnership	Past experiences with +ve or -ve perceptions
5	How do external shocks and internal tensions impact the level of inter-sectoral trust in a long term cross sector partnership?	Sloan & Oliver (2013) Vangen & Winchester (2014) Clarke & Fuller (2010)	Evaluation and evolution of the partnership	Internal shock types (+ve vs -ve) with impact External shock types (+ve vs -ve with impact

Appendix X: Ethical Clearance

Dear Peter Hind

Protocol Number: **Temp2016-00949**

Title: **Unlocking cross-sectoral value; Building trust in a low trust, high emotion environment**

Please be advised that your application for Ethical Clearance has been APPROVED. You are therefore allowed to continue collecting your data. We wish you everything of the best for the rest of the project.

Kind Regards,
Adele Bekker