The cultural mechanisms of trust-building

A case study about trust-building between international and local police working together for a limited amount of time during the EULEX mission in Kosovo from 2011 to 2016

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[Fig. 1: The front page picture is called *tooth wheel mechanism with trust-building concept letters* and is retrieved from the website Shutterstock in 2018].

Abstract

The European Union Rule of Law mission in Kosovo (hereafter EULEX) is comprised of international and local police, who work together for a limited period of time, in order to contribute to the rule of law in the post-conflict country of Kosovo. This thesis assumes that there is a need for mutual trust in order for the established cooperation to be effective. However, the divergent cultural backgrounds and beliefs of the involved police officers heavily impact the perception of trust. This research aims to explain what cultural repertoire mechanisms shaped the trust-building process between police from different nationalities during EULEX in Kosovo between 2011 and 2016. The main data collection technique is in-depth individual interviews with selected samples from the Dutch National Police, the Kosovo Police, training institutes, experts, and interpreters.

The holistic mechanism-process-based approach from Tilly and Tarrow is used to explain what cultural repertoire mechanisms shaped the different episodes of this trust-building process. The cultural repertoires perceive the role of culture as an unconsciously existing *instinct*, a consciously present *script*, or a strategically chosen *toolkit*. It is thus assumed that culture is not only present, but is also performed by the international and local police.

The literature review about the trust-building process displayed that the variables *language, trust cues, legislation, reputation, and training* are significant in the initial or the on-going phase of the trust-building process in police missions. This research analysed how these variable are part of one or more cultural repertoires. Subsequently, their significant toward the particular episodes of the trust-building process was determined. The outcome of the analyses displayed the highly dynamic and complex interrelation between the five variables and their three different functions as cultural repertoires. It were mostly the variables *language* and *trust cues* that played a significant in almost all three cultural repertoire mechanisms; and thus shaped trust-building process in the given case-study the most. Even when the significance of the variables *reputation*, *legislation* and *training* was only moderate in comparison to the other variables, they both did contribute greatly to the formation of trusting beliefs in the initial phase of the trust-building process.

Preface

When I entered the cafe in my police uniform, I carefully looked for my counterpart from the Kosovo Police. It was our first meeting. As a Mobile Advisor working for the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (hereafter EULEX), I was expected to monitor his performance and give advice during our weekly meetings.

I had been fully prepared through pre-mission trainings about two crucial ingredients for effective cooperation: mutual trust and respect. In almost every policy report, their importance was confirmed. The application of these terms sounded easy and obvious…but very vague and abstract at the same time—especially in practice! In that first meeting, I wondered: How do I build that mutual trust? What mechanisms shape that trust?

With this thesis, I hope to not only give useful insight on the mechanisms of trust-building, but also bring theory and practice a little closer together. I believe that my unique position as a former police officer who entered the academic field enables me to slightly bridge this gap.

In theory, theory and practice are the same. In practice, they are not.

Albert Einstein

[Figure 2: this interaction between civilians and the Dutch National Police officer Anne van Grootveld was photographed by the EULEX Press Office in 2013. The faces of the civilians are made anonymous out of privacy reasons]

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Last but not least, my appreciation goes to all the respondents from the Kosovo Police, the Dutch National Police, EULEX, and the Royal Tropical Institute. They took the time and showed commitment in answering my questions. Thank you for your openness and honesty. It is deeply appreciated!

List of Abbreviations

DNP	Dutch National Police
Et al.	And others
ENTRI	Europe's New Training Initiative for Civilian Crisis Management
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law mission in Kosovo
KP	Kosovo Police
MMA	Monitoring, Mentoring, and Advising
Trans.	Translation
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Question

The personal experience that I described in the foreword was the sole empirical starting point for this thesis. I realized how crucial the presence of trust was during the cooperation between the international and local police when working in a police mission setting.[1] Parker emphasizes that building trust among the involved parties is "fundamental, achievable, and necessary for effective peacekeeping" (2010: 6). This need for mutual trust in inter-organizational relationships is emphasized in academic and policy-based articles (Reuter 2015: 148; Visoka and Bolton 2011: 205; Bstieler et al. 2017: 47; Hufnagel and McCartney 2017: 1). The presence or absence of trust is assumed to become most tangible during the exchange of information because that is the moment of social interaction where the involved parties must risk being vulnerable. This idea that knowledge sharing, trust and successful collaboration are self-reinforcing entities is acknowledged by Momani and Hibben (2015: 34-35).

But what about the complications concerning the creation of those trustworthy arrangements between police during missions that several scholars express in their work (Durch and Ker 2013: 1; Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 231; Parker 2010: 4, 10; Hufnagel and McCartney 2017: 1-10)? Let's face it: the creation of mutual trust in daily life is already challenging enough. It often takes time to build trust. However, a police mission is for most international police very bounded in time: approximately one year (ENTRI 2018: 147). Goldsmith and Harris display the high risk for local police counterparts to engage in the cooperation, due to this "uncertainty surrounding the length and success of international policing deployments (2012: 245)."

Besides this organizational implication, the work environment of international police officers working for EULEX in Kosovo[2] has an extra layer of complexity: different cultures (ENTRI 2018: 187). But what does 'cultures' mean, exactly? This thesis argues that "culture inheres in concrete social relations and the often fragmentary, inconsistent, and episodic interpretations people make of them. People create, adapt, apply, and deploy shared understandings—culture—in social interaction, just as the shared understandings they have at their disposal constrain their sense of what is possible and desirable" (Tilly 2005, 40). Thus, culture is about the shared understanding that is communicated by people through social interaction.

[1] Mayer et al. highlight that the distinction between trust and cooperation is often unclear. The difference is that in the trust process, at least one party is put at risk, whereas in cooperation this is not necessarily the case (1995: 712).
[2] In this thesis, the term 'Kosovo' is used because it is the official English translation, which is most commonly used term used in international politics (Judah 2008: x-xi). It should be noted that the politically correct name is 'Republic of Kosovo', which is often used in official documents.

The taken view on culture is that it shapes certain processes through three ideal typical mechanisms: as problem-solving toolkits, as scripts, and as instincts and taken-for-granted routine (Zhao 2010: 33). These three mechanisms are labelled by Zhao as *cultural repertoires*. They describe how culture can shape a process through unconscious and instinctive behaviour and through more learned and shared cultural values. Furthermore, culture can be consciously acted out and even be specifically applied to certain processes.

The given definition of culture also illustrates that interpretations can be fragmented and inconsistent. In the process of trust-building that is researched here, people who culturally differ indeed have divergent intrinsic and extrinsic reasons towards their willingness to trust (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 235). But it is exactly cultural proximity, combined with mutual trust and shared knowledge, that is crucial for effective collaboration (Momani and Hibben 2015: 36). It is not just the cultural proximity, but also the awareness of differences that is often limited (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 250). But how does the presence of international professionals from 33 different nationalities working for EULEX create complexity regarding the process of trust-building?[3]

The first cultural complication comes from the research of Goldsmith and Harris. They reveal that Australian police officers were challenged during their police missions in balancing the convergence between local and mission values versus their foundational Australian police values and personal values (2012: 245).[4] This illustrates the complexity of working in a "foreign environment exhibiting a vivid blend of social and cultural difference" in combination with the often inherent low cultural proximity between the national, institutional and personal background (ENTRI 2018: 187). Hence, the police working for EULEX are surrounded by a wide range of different cultures and subcultures. Not only do international police serve the mission, but local police also must deal with different perceptions regarding their 'cultural common sense' among counterparts from contributing member states. This diversity in cultures leads to different expectations, tensions, or even conflicts regarding cooperation among international police officers (ENTRI 2018: 194). Consequently, these expectations influence the trust-building process and are closely connected to the level of respect that locals give internationals (Goldsmith and Harris, 2012: 244). But what are the implications of the multi-layered web of different cultural expectations and beliefs?

[3] "EULEX is supported by all 28 European Union Member States and five Contributing States (Canada, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States)" (EULEX 2018).

[4] This argument was illustrated by the example that one local policeman wanted to use Missions resources to gather food. This is 'unacceptable' for the mission, but it caused a dilemma for the Australian police officer because it would harm the relationship; he also felt bad about turning down the initiative that was initiated because of the lack of food (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 245).

This is best explained by the empirical data that Goldsmith and Harris reveal in their article about trust-building in international police missions (2012: 231-54).[5] They state that the different stances from local and international police influence professional and personal relationships. An example of this is interest in the counterparts' family or the notable acknowledgment of cultural demands, such as respecting family ties (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 244-5). A good illustration of these family ties and how they can lead to 'cultural demands' is the difference in perception between the Dutch and Kosovars when facing a case of corruption. Van Leeuwen, manager of the Western Balkans for the Peacekeeping & Training Missions department of the DNP, explains in a radio interview how nepotism, family ties, and clan structures in Kosovo have intensely strengthened throughout the ages. He adds that this makes breaking these ties more difficult and, thus, lowers corruption (as some label it) (radio interview, 2018).[6] [7]

By now, it should be apparent that the explorative and interpretative research from Goldsmith and Harris hint at some cultural complications regarding the trust-building process in international police missions. However, there is very little information in their research concerning the specific differences between local and international police interpretations of culture, nor is their fieldwork conducted in the post-conflict area itself. Also, it lacks focus on actual social interaction. To overcome these limitations, this thesis will address the following research question:

What cultural repertoires shaped the trust-building process among police officers with different nationalities, who only have a short-term work relationship with each other, during the EULEX mission in Kosovo between 2011 and 2016?

This question will be answered based on the steps of the process-mechanisms theory from Tarrow and Tilly that are displayed in appendix F (2007: 207). Bluntly put, the mechanisms (e.g., cultural repertoires) that shape the process of social interactions (e.g., trust-building leading to cooperation) will be analysed based on their longitudinal development (e.g., episodes). The dynamics among mechanisms, processes, and episodes are central in this thesis and are reflected in the following sub-questions:

[5] They conducted interviews with 120 Australian police officers with mission experience in (one of) three police missions.

[6] Van Leeuwen explained at the start of the interview that Kosovo had been repressed for centuries. This has increased solid family ties because the family has been the safe haven during conflicts. The families formed a clan, and its function was to protect each other and survive (radio interview on 19 April 2018).

[7] The DNP James illustrated during an interview how this nepotism is indeed present in Kosovo, which leads to different perceptions of corruption. He added that when one has a well-paying job, he will take care of his family first. This also means that when someone is president of a firm, his family will come first. He explained that the Dutch would call this 'corruption' (the act of providing a job to a family member), whereas in Kosovo this would not be considered a case of corruption because other families act similarly (interview on 16 May 2018).

- What is the aimed for and actual outcome of the process of trust-building that is constructed out of the mechanism of cultural repertoires?
- What episodes within in the process of trust-building are crucial, and when do they shift?
- What are the major descriptive concepts and their relevant conditions of the mechanism of cultural repertoires, and how to they relate to each other and to the episodes of the process of trust-building?

1.2 Academic Debate

1.2.1 The debate about the process of trust-building

Before explaining the mechanisms, the process that is subject to it should be described and broken down into its basic causes.[8] This enables these causes to be reassembled in a more general account concerning how the process takes place. In order to aid in detection mechanisms, there will be attention to the longitudinal development of the process. These bounded and continuous sequences, or streams, of trust-building are called episodes (Tarrow and Tilly 2007: 207).[9] This process is called the mechanism-process approach.

There are multiple definitions of trust from different areas of science. Blöbaum states that the sociological literature perceives trust as a relation between two actors. Trust is thus relational in character (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 235). There are two widely accepted definitions that define trust. First, Mayer et al. define trust as "the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party" (1995: 712). There is a focus on the value that the action has on the trustee. Here, the emphasis is on the words 'vulnerability' and 'risk', which imply a certain cost connected to the process. The term 'willingness' is defined as a risk by making oneself vulnerable and must be offered in order to achieve trust (Roger and Davis 1995: 712; Doney et al. 1998: 603). A low willingness to trust could be expressed in, for example, an absence of engagement to exchange information from one or more involved parties. This definition has a very individualistic approach, whereas this thesis values a structurationist approach with more attention to the influence of structures. Also, it is found to be not feasible or appropriate to focus on interests of involved police officers because mission and interaction are ongoing during fieldwork, and the information could be too sensitive to share. Therefore, the secrecy of the mission mandate hints at a limited willingness to be transparent about its interests. Questions about interests are thought to have too many serious repercussions.

[8] This is according to step 4 of the eight-step method of Tilly and Tarrow (2007: 207).

[9] In this thesis the terms 'episodes' and 'phases' will be used interchangeably.

For this reason, "trust" in this thesis is perceived as "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another" (Rousseau et al. 1998: 395). This very common definition includes two elements that are found in almost all definitions of trust: the willingness to be vulnerable and the confident expectations (394). Werff and Buckley label this general willingness to trust others as *trust propensity* (2017: 751-2). McKnight and Chervany elaborate that this propensity is influenced by cultural backgrounds, personality types and developmental experiences (2006: 715). It leads to taking a 'leap of faith' (Werff and Buckley 2017: 747).

1.2.2 Episodes of trust-building and their assumed interactions

Since many risky interactions are conducted in this preliminary phase of trust-building, McKnight calls initial trust "the harbinger of the future of the relationships" (Harrison and Chervany 2006: 30).[10] This supports the assumptions that this initial phase determines trust throughout cooperation.[11] *Initial trust* is defined as the moment that parties become familiar with each other due to newness or relational distance (McKnight and Chervany 2006: 29).[12] This unfamiliarity means that "they have little solid, verifiable information about each other, and what they do know is not from first-hand, personal experience" (2006, p.29).[13] Initial trust stops when parties gain verifiable information.[14] This thesis will highlight the moment when the exchange of information between police takes place in the *ongoing* trust-building phase. Hence, two major episodes of trust-building are indicated.[15]

The features of initial trust are *trusting beliefs*, *trusting intentions* and *trusting behaviour.*[16] The first refers mainly to the "secure conviction that the other party has favourable attributes, such as benevolence, integrity, capability and predictability" (McKnight and Chervany 1998: 30).[17] The feature *intentions* refers to the committed willingness to depend on the other party (30). It is basically about making one vulnerable and, thus, creating reliance on the other. The last element is about how the trust is demonstrated through actions: the *behaviour* (30). These elements depict not only the

[10] This statement is widely supported by other scholars (Berscheid and Graziano 1979: 31-60; Boon and Holmes 1991: 190).

[11] In 1998, McKnight et al. compiled a unique model on initial trust formations in new organisational relations (1998: 473-490). Their focus on the initial phase of trust-building is valued by many scholars due to the extensive coverage of features to perceive initial trust. Eight years later, McKnight and Chervany wrote an article in the *Handbook of Trust Research* on the reflections on the theory of this Initial Trust-Building Model, supported by empirical research from other scholars (Harrison and Chervany 2006: 29-51).

[12] McKnight and Chervany elaborate that 'unfamiliar' means that "they have little solid, verifiable information about each other, and what they do know is not from first-hand, personal experience" (2006, p.29).

[13] An example could be that one heard about the reputation of one counterpart prior to the first meeting.

[14] The indication of these phases –also called: episodes- are according to step 5 of the eight step method of Tilly and Tarrow (2007: 207).

[15] Here, step 5 of the eight-step method that Tilly and Tarrow introduced is determined (2007: 207).

[16] McKnight and Chervany included the latter in 2006 due to evidence of new studies (2006: p.35-36).

[17] The indication of these streams of the process trust-building are according to step 3 of the eight step method of Tilly and Tarrow (2007: 207).

intrinsic motivations and beliefs, but also how they are performed. Due to the scope of this research, will the main focus be on the *trusting beliefs*, since they are assumed to set the base for the other two elements. But what are the main variables identified in the literature that shape this process of trust-building?

In the given definition of *trusting beliefs* are features mentioned such as benevolence, integrity, and capability. The term that Van der Werff and Buckley used to label these four features will be used in this thesis as *trust cue* (2017: 749). First, capability is defined as "that group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable a party to have influence within some specific domain (Mayer et al. 1995: 718). Second, benevolence is perceived as "the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustor, aside from an egocentric profit motive [and furthermore entails] the perception of a positive orientation of the trustee toward the trustor" (718-9). Integrity "involves the trustor's perception that the trustee adheres to a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable" (719).

The McKnight and Chervany article highlights a fourth personal trust cue, which is *predictability*. This is defined as "the degree of consistency in intended behaviour and the expectation that an exchange partner can be relied on to fulfil obligations" (McEvily and Zaheer 2006: 288). Several scholars link predictability with the concept of *reputation* (McKnight and Chervany 2006: 30-1; Blöbaum 2016: 110). In contrast to the preliminary assumptions, two different researches displayed that *reputation* does not play an influential role in the establishment of initial trust (e.g., 27% and just one out of three countries was sensitive for reputations) (Blöbaum 2016: 107; Hemmert et al. 2014: 607-13). But what are the assumptions about these episodes and how they interact?

The first assumption on the longitudinal development of trust is that the factors and processes of trust-building in the initial phase differ from the later phase—the ongoing relationship phase (McKnight and Chervany 2006: 31). This ties in with the second assumption that trust is assumed to be a "self-reinforcing phenomenon where trust leads to more trust" (Werff and Buckley 2017: 743). It can thus be perceived as a catalyst of its own process. Also, the third assumption is about the longitudinal character of the trust-building process: "Trust may develop quickly to [reach] a high level rather than growing incrementally and gradually over time" (McKnight and Chervany 2006: 31). The final assumption is that the factors and processes are ineffective after the initial phase (McKnight and Chervany 2006: 34). The results of Werff and Buckley's empirical research also reveal that the propensity to trust is salient at the start of the trust-building process and does not change over time (Werff and Buckley 2017: 750).

1.3 Contextualisation of the EULEX police mission

Regarding the complication of cultural diversity and the process of building initial trust, let us contextualise the selected case study: the EULEX police mission in Kosovo. This is highlighted because several scholars assume that the context of the relational interaction will have an impact on the need for trust and the perceived trustworthiness (Mayer et al. 1995: 727; Blöbaum 2016: 97; Van der Werff and Buckley 2017: 744). This subchapter will first provide a brief socio-political overview of Kosovo as a base to understand the local cultural repertoires. Second, the start and the aim of EULEX will be explored to understand the determined cooperation between the KP and the DNP in the given framework of the mission itself. Finally, empirical secondary data will be displayed about trust-building mechanisms in police missions in order to indicate the challenges of working in a post-conflict society.

1.3.1 A brief political overview about post-conflict Kosovo

Politically, Kosovo has undergone several political transformations and democratic developments. As often occurs in transitional countries with fragile institutions, citizens display a low level of expressed support and trust towards specific institutions such as parliament and government (Miller et al. 2004: 133-156). Camaj's research displays, however, a moderate level of trust towards the international rule of law institutions (2014: 187-209). A recent news article shows that the research of the Group for Legal and Political Studies noticed a decline in the positive perception of judicial institutions in Kosovo—in particular that the generally respected police experienced a decline in public opinion (Pristina Insight 2017).

In regard to Kosovo's position internationally, it can be said that Kosovo has a significant geographical position since it is surrounded by regions that are enveloped by the European Union and NATO. This means that "Kosovo and its neighbourhood are not some place out there in Europe's backyard, but rather they constitute its inner courtyard" (Judah 2008: xii). With its more than 10.000 square kilometres and not even two million inhabitants, the state has an important position in European security politics. Judah explains that the size of a state doesn't matter in world politics, but that the geopolitics and geography do matter (Judah 2008: 127). Furthermore, many European member states thus have an interest in Kosovo because of the backlash of the high migration rate [18] and the organised crime hub. [19]

[18] Halili and Ibrahimi state that Kosovo had approximately 66,885 asylum seekers in EU member states during 2015. This makes Kosovo fall just behind Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq on the asylum seekers' ranking list (82).

[19] Kosovo is considered one of the countries with high rates of drug smuggling, extremely high gun ownership, corruption, and discrimination based on political background (Halili and Ibrahimi 2017: 94; Marsavelski et al. 2017: 12).

1.3.2 The frontiers of the EULEX mandate

The UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (hereafter UNMIK) was established by the Security Council in 1999, directly after the war between the forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo Liberation Army. This mission aimed "for ensuring conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo and advance regional stability in the Western Balkans" (UNMIK 2018). Peacekeepers from all over the world contributed to this mission.

Meanwhile, Kosovo requested independence from Serbia and insisted that conditions needed to be met. One of the conditions that needed to be met to achieve this independence was to accept the obligations for Kosovo contained in the Ahtisaari Plan, or at least to incorporate this into law and invite the International Civilian Office and EULEX. Therefore, Resolution 1244 had to stay in place (Judah 2008: 142-145). Thus, Kosovo had to agree to act consistently with the principles of international law and resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations. Kosovo accepted this, which resulted in the European Union (hereafter EU) taking over the mandate shortly after Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence in 2008 (Oya Dursin-Öskanca 2018: 73-78). EULEX called for the deployment of almost 2,000 international judges, prosecutors, customs officials, and policemen, and 1.100 locals. The government of Kosovo was responsible for the basics of law and order in the state.[20] However, EULEX was granted to play an active role in the issues that directly impacted member states, such as organized crime and trafficking (Judah 2008: 135). Throughout the years, the local ownership of the Kosovo governmental institutions increased. But what is the current role of EULEX in Kosovo?

The Deputy Head of Mission Bernd Thran states in an interview that EULEX aims to "assist Kosovo in implementing a transparent, sustainable and accountable multi-ethnic justice system where police and customs operate with clearly defined roles within a sound legal framework, [and] where rule of law institutions conform to accepted European standards, free from political influence" (US EU World Affairs 2017). EULEX thus aims to strengthen the Kosovo Rule of Law institutions. This is done via Mentoring, Monitoring and Advising the areas related to the rule of law in Kosovo (European Council 2016). The Special Report European Court states that the Mentoring, Monitoring and Advising approach is a "structured transfer of knowledge, ideally based on trust and mutual respect […]" (European Court of Auditors 2015: 5). Meanwhile, the international community retains certain executive responsibilities (European Union External Action 2018: 2-16).[21] This role duality is visualised in the two main pillars of EULEX: the Executive and the Strengthening Divisions (US EU

[20] Currently, EULEX and the Kosovo force—also known as KFOR—are only the second and third responders, whereas the Kosovo governmental institutions have the first responsibility to act in case of a crisis.

[21] For example, the "right to investigate and prosecute independently sensitive crimes, such as organized crime, inter-ethnic crime, financial crime, and war crimes" (Judah 2008: 114).

World Affairs 2017). The EULEX mandate was recently extended until June 2020 (EULEX 2018). However, there is a significant, ongoing downsizing.[22]

1.3.3 Context-specific factors of trust-building in police missions

Goldsmith and Harris aimed for an everyday understanding of trust-building on an inter-institutional level in a police mission setting.[23] Even though the very explorative nature of the interpretive article leads to quite random and unstructured empirical evidence, it does display how theory and practice on trust-building can complement or contradict itself.[24] Nevertheless, they identified three mission-specific context factors on trust-building. First, they refer to the nature of policing and the police work itself, which basically trains police officers to distrust (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 233). It is assumed that police officers "typically trade in suspicion and distrust" (Reiner 2010: 121-2). Also, the particular foreign setting makes trust-building difficult due to the unfamiliar local conditions and the often low-trust setting (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 233). As noted in Chapter 1.1., another mission-related context that hinders trust-building is the duration of the mission. First, the frequent rotations of personnel are perceived as a limitation to building trust, as it is a process that takes time (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 233). Second, Durch and Ker state that the bounded duration of the police missions itself can potentially undermine the continuity of trust (2013: 2 and 35). The locals are aware that at some point the international police will leave, which can keep them from taking a risk and investing in a trustful relationship.

1.4 Significance

This research has theoretical and practical significance. The theoretical significance mostly concerns the methodological approach and the conceptualisation of the theory itself. In contrast, the practical justification of this thesis lies in the workable application of the information to pre-mission trainings and the social and political contribution for Kosovo and EULEX.

The academic significance of this research is multi-layered regarding the level of analyses, the setting of the research and the ontological approach. Limited research has been conducted regarding trust-building on the strictly horizontal inter-organizational level, especially about international police missions (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 240). More academic attention was given to the bottom-up—

[22] There are currently 503 employees, whereas the mission started with approximately 2000 employees (EUELX 2018). Since 2012, the Strengthening Division has been centralized in Pristina, and currently they are the only advisors aligned with the senior management of the police.

[23] This qualitative study had a three-dimensional approach from an international police perspective (e.g., local attitudes towards internationals, local police-international police, and trust-building in local communities) and was viewed through an interpretive and interpersonal lens (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 232).

[24] There could have been more coherency in argumentation between the theoretical framework and the empirical findings, leading to a more structured conclusion.

and thus vertical—trust dynamics (Van der Werff and Buckley 2017: 744). The second academic contribution is the specific focus on the initial phase of trust-building, which is considered the base of the process. Through contextualising this base, (ideally) the insights on the longitudinal aspect of the trust-building process in EULEX—and possibly other missions—can be identified. Also, the qualitative research about EULEX is bounded and mostly conducted from a political instead of a sociological perspective.[25] A fourth contribution to science is that the outcomes of this research regarding the role of cultural repertoires could be applied to other social science processes. The methodological significance is mainly the application of the analytic frame to a new process; thus, it 'thickens' science. [26] The last academic significance is that the mechanism approach based on social interactions enables researchers to form explanations about processes. The literature and my own observations during my work for EULEX established *that* an interaction between the KP and the DNP took place, but no significant research has analysed *what* shapes these interactions take that lead to trust-building in the specific case study. Hence, this research about cross-cultural trust-building can be called explorative.

Also, the conducted fieldwork in the post-conflict area itself gives more attention to the local perspective. It is therefore a great contribution to the current inter-institutional trust-building literature that exists about police missions. [27] Third, I believe that my access to sources and my familiarity with the organization and some police officers helped me collect information in the purest form possible about this quite abstract topic. For the scope of this research, the intensity and the quantity of the in-depth interviews are high: approximately 20 hours of interviews and 200 pages of transcripts. It is assumed that "if one can understand the conditions, factors and processes determining this, one can thereby influence the coordinative consequences to trust" (Harrison and Chervany 2006: 29).

On a practical level, this research has relevance because it provides explanations on the role of culture—and specifically the cultural repertoires—in the creation of initial trust between the prescribed cooperation. From a political perspective, it is clear that the official EULEX documents greatly value 'mutual respect and trust'. My research intends to explain the mechanisms that shaped this process. Since the mission is extended for two more years, my research could be significant in the EULEX induction training.[28] Academics have requested better preparation about these cultural divergences, including coping strategies for the international police (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 250). Therefore, EULEX is the largest civilian mission, so in terms of 'political pressure', there is something

[25] For the research, context-specific research on cultural characteristics would have been very insightful, as well as an evaluative academic report on EULEX regarding cooperation and trust level.

[26] E.g., the cultural repertoires that have thus far been used in the mobilisation theory are applied to the process of trust-building.

[27] E.g., Goldsmith and Harris conducted a large and impressive research on trust-building between police in missions, but the interviews only focused on international police, not local police.

[28] E.g., the practical insights about the cultural repertoires could be added to the handbook called *In Control: A Practical Guide for Civilian Experts Working in Crisis Managements Missions*, published by Europe's New Training Initiative for Civilian Crisis Management.

at stake (EULEX 2018). EULEX was also the first civilian mission of the European Union. The United Nations, in contrast, holds a rich experience and history in the field of Peacekeeping. EULEX does not yet have deep-seated and persistent traditional cultures and ideologies, as well as no previous experiences, to draw upon. This newness is thus unique in its mechanisms for interaction and gives the research an explorative touch. Also, due to the higher proximity of cultures than the UN, this case study seems to be more compact and therefore more suitable for the scope of this Master's research. For pragmatic political and security reasons, it will be of great benefit for the EU when the rule of law in Kosovo increases, as criminality will drop. The significance on the social level is somewhat indirect. Nevertheless, the research could improve the quality of trust-building that leads to efficient cooperation (e.g., the ultimate outcome), and optimal peace-building in a post-conflict state.

1.5 Chapter outline

This introduction has covered the empirical complication and the academic debate on the process of trust-building and its longitudinal development. Also, the context of the police mission and the country where it is taking place has been briefly discussed to better understand the cultural context of the case study. In Chapter 2, there will be a deductive, theoretically informed discussion about the role of culture in the process of trust-building. Here, specific attention will be given to the concepts and conditions of the selected mechanism: cultural repertoires. In order to explain the methodology of this research, Chapter 3 will address how I 'walked my walk' through this research, including not only the steps I took (e.g., operationalisation, the design, and the generation and the analysis of data), but the reflections on ethics, limitations, opportunities, and the methodological growth of the analysis will also be highlighted. The next three chapters will discuss the analysis of my fieldwork according to the analytic frame of cultural repertoires that Zhao introduced, whereas culture is perceived as instincts, scripts, and toolkits (2012: 33-50). These three concepts will be addressed in separate chapters. Each chapter will focus on the specific episodes of trust-building (e.g., the initial phase or ongoing phase) in which they take place, and will also analyse which specific sub-mechanisms are present per cultural repertoire concept. In Chapter 4, the mechanism *instincts* will be discussed. Here, the sub-mechanisms of *language, reputation* and *trust cues* will be analysed. Subsequently, Chapter 5 will include the fieldwork finding about *scripts*, which contains the sub-mechanisms of *training*, *legislation,* and *language*. Here, the different cultural levels that form the scripts will be taken into account. Chapter 6 will include the collected empirical data about *toolkits*. Here, the sub-mechanisms of *language, legislation* and *trust cues* will be analysed. Finally, in Chapter 7, the answer to the research question, as well as other conclusive notes and recommendations, will be given.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Defining culture within the mechanism of social interaction

Culture plays a significant role in almost every aspect of trust-building. The cultural condition in which initial trust is built is assumed to be crucial, because it will determine the level and quality of cooperation between the KP and the DNP. As mentioned in Chapter 1.1, these conditions are formed on different levels since people identify with their national culture as well as subcultures. In an international working environment such as the EULEX Mission in Kosovo, all these different cultures and subcultures merge together. They can even lead to the rise of new cultures. As Swidler puts it well: "All real cultures contain diverse, often conflicting symbols, rituals, stories, and guides to action…A culture is not a unified system that pushes action in a consistent direction" (1986: 277). The aim of this research is thus to explain the existing cultural conditions that shape the establishment and maintenance of trust. It also seeks to explain which mechanisms facilitate the domination of certain cultural behaviours over others during the different stages of the trust-building process.

Before discussing the role of culture in the trust-building process, let me first attempt to define culture.[29] Traditional cultural studies have a strong structurationist approach. [30] Even when this very primordial perception is highly contested, the dominant approach among scholars in the late 20th century was still that cultures shape every possible aspect of human life on all levels in society (Foucault, 1977; Bourdieu, 1990).[31] This thesis takes a structurationist approach because it strongly links to the theory of mechanisms, as Tilly explains during an interview in 1993 (Koopmans & Schaepdrijver 1993: 43-73). It thus agrees that cultures shape individuals, but disagrees with the absence of agency of individuals that live in society. This stance accepts that the *agency* of individual actors and the existing *structures*, such as institutions, are mutually constitutive entities and can even complement each other. This idea of duality of structure was introduced by Giddens and moves away from focusing on the actors and their influence to concentrating on the repetitive interaction between individuals and structure (1984: 25-6).[32] Tilly continues that this process enables unexpected sets of structures that will in turn constrain the next action (Koopmans & Schaepdrijver 1993: 49).

[29] Out of the hundreds of definitions provided on culture, it is a severe challenge to select one definition that is most applicable to this research.
[30] The utmost version of structuralism is expressed by Marx, who stated that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but the contrary, their social being, that determined their consciousness" (1963 [1859]: 51).
[31] Meaning that individuals are not only generally shaped by the macro-level structural forces (such as institutions), but cultures also modify the individual's biological behaviours on a micro-level.
[32] Tilly elaborates that an individual often enables an activity through the bargaining between that agent and someone who holds the resources.

Traditionally, sociologists with Weberian and Durkheimian traditions designated the epistemological location of culture only in the mind of social actors; thus, culture is perceived as a dependent variable (Geertz, 1973; Polletta, 2004). In contrast, cultural sociology perceives culture as a component—or independent variable—of explanations of social phenomena.[33] This thesis views "culture—shared understandings and their objectifications—as the frame within which social action takes place" (Tilly 2005: 39). Tilly elaborates that there is room for social construction, but that cultures "assert connections of cause and effect among material conditions, common identities, social relations, shared beliefs, memories, and experiences, collective interaction, and the reordering of power" (39). Here, the role culture has in declaring connections of cause and effect is crucial; they are both constraining and enabling in social interactions. The following definition of culture will be used in this thesis:

> *"*Culture inheres in concrete social relations and the often fragmentary, inconsistent, and episodic interpretations people make of them. People create, adapt, apply, and deploy shared understandings [and their objectifications]— culture— in social interaction, just as the shared understandings they have at their disposal constrain their sense of what is possible and desirable" (Tilly 2005, 40).

The exact functioning of these concrete social interactions is what Tilly calls *mechanisms*. They are "events that alter relations among some specified set of elements" and "aim at modest ends—selective explanation of salient features by means of partial causal analogies" (Tilly 2001: 24). He states that "great social regularities do not occur at the level of whole structures, full sequences, or total processes, but in the detailed social mechanisms that generate structures, sequences, and processes" (Koopmans & Schaepdrijver 1993: 43).[34]

The six basic assumptions that Tilly makes will help to deconstruct and understand this definition of culture. The main assumption is that "social relations (rather than individual mentalities or societies) are the fundamental realities" (2005: 40). Tilly explains how individuals or groups act out of an articulated interest, but that their relative capacity to act collectively through routine social interactions eventually shapes society. The second assumption is that people have limited available information and are therefore restricted from knowing about all cultural repertoires. Tilly assumes that people act based upon previous social experiences. He elaborates that these acts are within the beliefs

[33] Tilly critiques that the traditional approach limits culture to be only in the particular human brains. This results in the absence of any sort of collective character that culture can hold. Sociologist Tilly takes it a step further and argues to treat culture 'as changing phenomena to be explained rather than as ultimate explanations of all other social phenomena' (1999: 411). There is a clear request to perceive culture as the object of study instead of the outcome or initiator.

[34] When we treat cultural dimensions of social actions as basic mechanisms or ideal types, few scholars have strong objections. However, once we intend to empirically identify what mechanisms are behind any real-life social action, a problem occurs in that it is the combination of all the selected mechanisms that play in that action. Here, even the simplest social action can be interpreted in more than one way. Fortunately, although at the micro-level we may never be able to pin down the functioning of exact mechanism(s) in real-life social action such as trust-building, we should be able to analyse the relative importance of the selected mechanisms under different situations (Zhao 2010: 39).

and conventions that they hold (2005: 40). Culture is simply too complex and extensive in its content to perform all cultural elements (Zhao 2010: 36).[35] Third, Tilly acknowledges that one round of interaction will influence the next round of interaction. It is a continuously transforming process that is enabled through residues in the form of beliefs, social ties, information, etc. This evolution brings new social relations and shared knowledge on the one hand, but also constrains subsequent interactions on the other. It is thus a simultaneous restriction and an enabler of interaction that transforms shared values (2005: 40 -1).[36] How do we move from this abstract theory of mechanisms to more concrete research indicators?

2.2 Dissecting Cultural Repertoires

A good starting point to study the role of culture in trust-building is Zhao's concept of cultural repertoires, which is derived from the concept of contentious repertoires introduced by Tilly. Contentious repertoires are described as "the ways that people act together in pursuit of shared interests" (2005: 41).[37] These repertoires consist of one actor making collective claims and another becoming the object of those claims (42). Hence, it is not just one individual, but pairs or larger sets of actors that maintain a repertoire through action. Stinchcombe emphasized this mental and relational character of repertoires by stating that it simultaneously includes the ability of actors, and their available cultural forms, at a given time and place (1987: 1248). It is assumed that all parties understand the interaction of these cultural forms, because they derive an existing web of social relations from them (Tilly 2005: 45).

In regard to the second part of the definition, Tilly explains that repertoires help to give a description of what happens "by identifying a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice" (Tilly 2005: 41) [38]. In this definition, it becomes clear that routines through social interaction are not only learned and shared, but also acted out. Tarrow explains that "the repertoire involves not only what people *do* when they are engaged in conflict [or in this case, the trust-building process] with others but *what they know how to do* and what others expect them to do" (Tarrow 2011: 39). This attention to performativity of the interaction emphasis the practices-focused approach where the use of so-called cultural *toolkits* are more salient

[35] This infers that there is always a need for collective deliberation in order to have individuals make the most informed choices in cultural elements (Zhao 2010: 34).

[36] This more instrumentalist character of culture as a meaning maker of the interaction is also addressed by Alexander, who defines culture as "an organized set of meaningfully understood symbolic patterns" (Alexander 1998: 30). Barker explains that these representations, for example in the form of symbolic patterns, are one of the main focus points in cultural sociology, and that they are defined by how the "world is socially constructed and represented to and by us in meaningful ways" (8).

[37] Tilly introduced the term *contention repertoire*, which focuses on forms of contentious collective action and on the available resources for the mobilising actors.

[38] C*ontention repertoires* are described as learned cultural creations that emerge from struggle. To contribute to the always-evolving scientific research by creating a larger understanding of certain relational interactions, the analytic frame is adjusted and applied to fit the process of trust-building that is researched. Nevertheless, the whole core idea of repertoires of collective interaction as incentives for the ways that people act together is adopted (Tilly 2005: 41).

than the discussion on structures and agency (Lamont and Theveron 2000: 8).[39] Hence, the usage of cultural repertoire as an analytic frame fits perfectly with the ontological stance of this thesis.

The selected theoretical approach of mechanisms is not appreciated by all scholars. The widespread idea in science is still that mechanisms are unobservable (Mahoney 2001: 581). McAdams et al. contest that there are ways to observe the "present or absence of mechanisms either directly or indirectly" (2008: 308). The second critique is partly caused by the previous critique, which is that repertoires and interactive processes are often applied in a loose and undefined manner (Silber 2003: 431). This abstract and unconventional theory is thus perceived to be undefined and unclear. In regard to the latter, the counter argument is that throughout the years, more systematic promoters such as Lamont, Swidler and Tilly were able to increase the clarity and popularity of repertoires. Spillman emphasises that the double advantage of repertoires is that they not only focus on the performance of practical options, but also allow meaning to exist in an agency in the selection of publicly available cultural resources (Spillman 2002: 431). So there is a mix between performance and meaning making through practices and framing of social interactions. Hence, the abstractness of the use of mechanism and repertoires, and the loose application towards social interactions, are acknowledged. Nevertheless, it is mentioned that the benefits still outweigh the disadvantages.

One difference between contentious repertoires and cultural repertoires is that the latter includes linguistic and other resources available to the actors (Zhao 2010: 36). Even when sociologist Zhao's article lacks a specific definition of cultural repertoires, he does provide demarcated assumptions and elements. What are the assumptions? The first assumption is that cultural repertoires do not contain a coherent text. Instead, there are "conflicting symbols, values, ideologies and traditions that are there to be appropriated" by the actors (Zhao 2010: 36). The first thing to be taken from this assumption is that there is focus on conflicting rather than coherent texts. This implies that there is not necessarily a peaceful condition in which the so-called texts are applied. Hence, the mentioned available tools are assumed to possibly conflict. Also, it highlights how these non-coherent texts are appropriated by social actors. Zhao states that actors either follow the cultural codes that they are familiar with or modify existing cultural scripts. Thus, these codes and scripts form the basis of cultural repertoires. This corresponds with Sewell's idea that cultural codes can not only be applied mechanically in particular situations, but can also be elaborated upon, modified or adapted to novel circumstances (1999: 51). The cultural repertoires are thus continuously refracted among the interaction between social context and human action (Mizrachi et al. 2007: 144-6; Tilly 2005: 140; Zhao 2010: 36). [40] The second assumption is that cultural repertoires display the changeable character

[39] This use of culture as a component to construct recurrent strategic action was introduced in sociology by Ann Swidler in 1986, and will have prominent attention throughout this thesis.

[40] Even though the idea of mechanisms is used, there is still a very structure-based approach in the Zhao's article. It is claimed that even on the very basic, individual level—the level where 'instinct' takes place—it is still possibly the main power. He states that unconsciously, there could be influence from the system, in this case, the Chinese government, through indoctrination. It seems quite farfetched to believe that cultural indoctrination takes away agency completely. And because of the complex reasoning, it removes attention to the actual ontological stance that 'mechanisms' implicitly contain.

of the used texts. They are not fixed, and will be adopted and applied when they seem appropriate by the social actors. The third assumption is that the individual's mind should be equipped with many scripts in order to let others receive the interaction as meaningful (Zhao 2010: 36). This illustrates the instrumental approach of culture, where social actors appropriate and 'perform' cultural repertoires in different ways. It clearly shows Tilly's element of performativity. But how can these cultural repertoires be best analysed?

2.3 Breaking down the mechanisms

The used indicators are based upon the cultural repertoire theory that Zhao introduced in his 2010 article called *Theorizing the Role of Culture in Social Movement*s. I selected Zhao's indicators because they focus on communication and how social experiences are expressed. This focus on culture is chosen over the *trust repertoires* that Mizrachi et al. introduced because Zhao's indicators are more applicable to framed empirical complications of police from different nationalities working together on inter-institutional and intra-institutional levels. Despite the fact that Zhao shows appreciation to structuralism, it seems easy to approach his indicators with a more structurationist view. [41]

This pragmatic sociology is argued to display a systematic concern with the internal structure of the cultural repertoires due to the marginal attention to the internal structure (Silber 2003: 432). Silber questions whether the repertoires promote ideational or symbolic contents through the creation of a form of hierarchy or if they establish basic principles that depict internal contradictions (Silber 2003: 431). Indeed, there is a large variety in internal indicators of cultural repertoires. Nevertheless, this divergence also offers the opportunity to 'pick and mix' indicators, which ultimately leads to 'thickening science'. In this case, the choice is made to exclude one indicator from the cultural repertoires of Zhao: power. Zhao and Mizrachi et al. consider power as a mechanism that shapes the meaning and choice to the certain forms of trust in their theory of trust repertoires (2007: 145-148). The latter merely focuses on strategies of trust situated in an unequal power structure. This is, however, not thought to be applicable to the selected case study. [42] What are the selected concepts—which actually function as sub-mechanisms—that best enable this thesis to analyse cultural repertoires?

[41] Zhao's more structurationist approach shows in his description that both power and culture have the "capacity to modify the social actor's environment and even orient an actor towards doing things that the actor otherwise would not do" (Zhao 2010: 36). This focus on structures is perceived as tricky because it gives more value to the culture as a variable of social interaction instead of treating it as a component within the mechanism.

[42] Even when it could be argued that in my case study the power balance between the KP and the DNP is disrupted due to a certain dependency, it has not been identified as a mechanism of trust-building by the interviewees. In contrast, there is a strong sense of equality voiced and wished for among both police parties. Therefore, the feature of power is excluded as a feature for cultural repertories.

Zhao's cultural repertoire identifies three concepts that function as mechanisms (all in ideal forms): instinct and habit, value and ideology, and interest and strategy (2012: 36). In short, these mechanisms will be addressed as *instinct*, *script*, and *toolkit*. These concepts will be used in this thesis as analytic frames to research the cultural repertoires that shape the trust-building process.[43]

2.4.1. Instinct

The first mechanism through which culture shapes social actions is at the level of instinct, habit and taken-for-granted routines (Zhao 2010: 38). In contrast to the following two mechanisms, actors are here not consciously aware of their motivations and of what they are doing. *Habits* shape what is thinkable and what is not (Autesserre 2014: 33). This is based on Hofp's assumption that habits are "ready-made responses to the world that we execute without thinking. They prevent other behaviours by short-circuiting any need to decide what we are doing. So an infinite array of behaviours is effectively deleted from the available repertoire of possible actions" (2010: 542). Autesserre explains that the people working in the 'peacekeeping bubble' have different cultures, people, languages, histories and dynamics of violence.[44] She also stresses how interveners are connected through the same daily modes of operations (2014: 2).

Autesserre elaborates that three concepts are useful for analysing the everyday dimensions of life and work among interveners: practices, habits and narratives (Autesserre 2014: 29-35). For the scope of this research, we will only focus on the first two concepts. Practices are defined as "routine activities (rather than consciously chosen actions) notable for their unconscious, automatic, un-thought character" (Swidler 2001: 74). In turn, they are "sustained by a repertoire of ideational and material communal resources", or, in other words, toolkit (Adler 2005: 15).[45] These practices can be individual, but also transpersonal and embedded in an organizational process such as the EULEX mission (Swidler 2001: 75). Like habits, they are "actions that are patterned, competent, socially meaningful and so on" (Autesserre 2014: 32).[46] How are habits different from practices? First, a habit refers to a specific kind of practice. Examples of habits in the peacekeeping setting are following security procedures or socialising primarily with other expatriates (Autesserre 2014: 30). It could include gestures as well, such as giving a handshake at the first meeting or making eye contact while meeting with a counterpart. [47]

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[43] This is according to step 1 and 2 of Tilly and Tarrow's eight-step method (2007: 207).

[44] Autesserre discusses how her work in Kosovo and how the community of international interveners had a culture of its own and sort of lived in a 'peacekeeping bubble' (2014: 1). Autesserre assumes that many interveners do not consider that alternative ways of living and working are possible outside what is perceived as the 'everyday' (2014: 33). Basically, she claims that these people are stuck in their bubble, thus in their 'culture'. Even though Autesserre claims to have a structurationist approach (2014: 40), she does seem to give limited agency to the interveners in this claim.

[45] These resources are defined as "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, symbols and discourse" (Adler 2005: 17).

[46] Examples of practices are perpetually writing reports or resolving conflicts from the top down (Autesserre 2014: 30).

[47] This behaviour can be heavily influenced by cultural values, but the initial act can be seen as a taken-for-granted-routine.

The acceptation of non-rational or emotional actions is not often used in cultural studies, even though it is present in several classic studies (Wierzbicka 1994: 130-98). During the fieldwork of this thesis, it became apparent that an unconscious mechanism makes police officers from Kosovo and the Netherlands decide if one person is to be trusted. When the respondents were asked when they perceive someone as trustworthy, almost all instantly replied with: 'you feel it', 'you just know', or 'my instinct tells me that'. As Zhao explains, this instinct is intimately connected to cognition. However, the highly confounded connection between these two makes it difficult to illustrate this with a perfect real-life example of instinctive routines in trust-building. This is stimulated by the abstract and subjective nature of trust. Zhao explains that actors can "act out cultural codes instinctively without even invoking much thinking" because they are so indoctrinated by cultural codes (2010: 38). In his example about a Chinese student's movement, he explains how the Chinese culture has almost total power over its participants. However, the logic in Zhao's example is strongly questioned. It is assumed that the general trust level in one country might reflect on the perception of trust of one inhabitant. Instead of using words such as 'total power', the focus is on how unconscious habits and instincts shape the process of trust-building.[48]

2.4.2. Scripts

The second mechanism to analyse how cultural repertoires shape trust-building is at the level of value and ideology. Here, culture functions as 'scripts' or 'texts' of shared ideas (Zhao 2010: 37; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004: 70). The term cultural scripts refers to a "powerful new technique for articulating cultural norms, values, and practices in terms which are clear, precise, and accessible to cultural insiders and to cultural outsiders alike" (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004: 69). This articulation can be, for example, performed through speaking about or making sense of different local values and priorities regarding values (153). It is assumed that people follow these cultural scripts or ideologies when they are committed to them (Zhao 2010: 37). This commitment comes from the emotional attachment to certain values that makes them no longer think in terms of gain or loss. Instead, they think in terms of 'right' or 'wrong', even when that comes at the "expense of their instrumental benefit as judged by others" (37). This occurs because they consciously believe in the scripts they follow (38). Hence, it is assumed that this cultural belief drives actors and thus shapes the relational process.

In contrast with the last mechanism, actors may not be able to actively appropriate or enlarge different elements in the cultural repertoire. Zhao explains that this unavailability to strategize to their benefit is because the cultural values and the perceptions of right or wrong have severe influence on

[48] Zhao assumes that 'instinctive behaviour based on the mentioned indoctrination' might not be the only reason for the one student acting differently he refers to (2010: 38). This structuralism approach is critiqued because one broad culture is not assumed to have that that level of control over agents.

the actors (2010: 37).[49] It should, however, be clarified that there is not just one script in the cultural repertoire. There are multiple texts because there are different actors that operate in the cultural repertoire, all with different beliefs and values (Zhao 2010: 38). This cultural repertoire can contain conflicting texts among the actors, for example, on the inter-institutional level (e.g., the KP and the DNP) compared to the intra-institutional level (e.g., the organizational values of the EULEX compared to the values of the DNP). It should be noted that these two levels can be conflicting not only among actors, but also within one single actor. It is thus a very dynamic mechanism.

2.4.3. Toolkit

This third mechanism where culture functions as a toolkit is considered the earliest and possibly most systematic formulation of the repertoire theory (Silber 2003: 431). Here, actors select and adopt parts for constructing lines of action (Zhao 2010: 37). Hence, they perform the strategy that they consciously choose. Swidler explains the term strategies as "a general way of organizing action… that might allow one to reach several different life goals [or in this case, information exchange]" (1986: 277). One strategy could be a certain use of language to increase the chance of being trusted. In a first meeting with your counterpart, the words you choose can contribute a lot to the other person's perception of trust. One very common example is that cultures differ in being action-based or relation-based (trans., interview with Stout on 06 March 2018). When entering a mission, you might consider a different strategy in order to improve further cooperation or to increase the chance of reaching your goal. Culture thus "supplies actors with the means—the tools—for solving practical problems and for navigating their environment" (Weber 2005: 228). But what are the underlying assumptions of this mechanism?

In this concept of culture as a toolkit, there are linkages visible with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and 'theories of practices' from Schatzki et al. (2005). They believe that the causal significance of culture is not defined in the ends of the action, but in how actors strategize their activities in this existing cultural repertoire (Zhao 37; Weber 2007: 228). Tilly elaborates that the tools' "relative efficacy depends on the match among tools, tasks, and users" (2005: 47). This means that there is not a fixed toolkit that can be simply presented, because it can be associated with particular actors and in certain situations. Hence, actors can possess several toolkits, which are bounded sets of heterogeneous resources that constrain the available choices (Tilly 2005: 42).[50] It thus all depends on how 'rich' the toolkit is.[51] Tilly explains the second assumption, which is that these

[49] These scripts are almost intrinsically intertwined in that "social actions become no more than a script-driven theatrical performance" (Zhao 2010: 38).

[50] When Weber made a similar statement, he used the term 'heterogeneous resources' instead of 'means' and mentioned that this could be actions, stories, symbols and concepts (2005: 228).

[51] E.g., In one case, tool A might shape the process of trust-building best, whereas another situation or phase might require the conscious use of tool B to reach the goal of solving diverse problems in everyday life (Weber 2007: 228- 9). It is thus assumed that one person can possess several toolkits.

available tools articulate with, and help shape, several social arrangements that might not even be part of the process itself. However, they can channel the process to the degree of laws or certain routines that are organized externally (Tilly 2005: 42). One example here would be the pragmatic side of the EULEX mandate that could be used in a strategic way to shape the process of trust-building (James 2018 *interview*). Another example would be the training that police officers get before they start working actively in the mission.

The third assumption is that the learning capacity of social actors goes beyond adopting strategies to the extent that they can improvise and develop their strategies. Zhao discusses how this constant evolution of strategies can lead to cultural change. He concludes that the slow change of the cultural repertoires will provide cultures with the option to gradually adjust and thus to find stability (2010: 36). The whole innovative character of the cultural repertoires is therefore not assumed to have a large impact on culture. This means that repertoires will not 'surpass' culture itself. In short, the application of toolkits can vary and develop in content and per situation, and can thus shape several social arrangements.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Social research aims to capture "all representations of a portion of society, contained in a simple geographical relationship; a simpler and better way of saying it is that these are all ways of *telling about society* or some portion thereof" (Becker 1986: 6). The story here is about how cultural repertoires shape the initial trust-building process during the selected case study and time. In doing this case study-based research, I depart from a constructivist approach and adopt a structurationist perspective that puts emphasis on the iterative relation between agency and structure (Giddens 1984: 376). The epistemological stance of this thesis is explanatory, for that is what a process-mechanism approach aims to do: to explain what is going on and why a process is happening as it is.[52] Hence, I will examine the reason for, or association between, what exists. This methodology section will allow me to 'talk my walk' (Gibbert and Ruigrok 2010: 25).

3.1 Operationalisation

This research aims to explain how cultural repertoires shape the initial trust-building between police from different nationalities during the EULEX mission in Kosovo between 2011 and 2016. In order to provide a structured and researchable answer to this question, it is required to operationalise *cultural repertoires* so that they become "observable, empirical elements signifying different aspects of the 'whole'" (Lund 2014: 228). By operationalising concepts, internal validity is guaranteed because there is a solid link between evidence and theory (Gibbert and Ruigrok: 2010: 35). As explained in Chapter 2, I have carefully selected the concepts of cultural repertoires as the overarching mechanism that shaped the process of trust-building. Zhao summarises that "humans employ strategies, tend to follow what they believe, and act on instinct. Culture plays different roles in each of the three ideal situations: as a toolkit in the first instances, a script in the second, and reveals itself through instinctive behaviours in the last" (2010: 39). So the analytic frame to analyse the data is set: the three concepts will be analyzed per chapter. But what about the operationalisation of the research question?

The eight steps, as displayed in appendix G, that Tilly and Tarrow outline will be used as way to apply the process-mechanism theory appropriately (2007: 207). In the structure of this thesis, it should become apparent that I have accepted their comment that the order of the step can be adjusted as long as they are all explained in the end. In line with these eight steps, I compiled the following operationalisation questions to answer the main research question:

[52] The specific explanatory research can be labelled as analysing the "origins and formation of events, experiences, and occurrences" (Ritchie and Lewis 2013: 28).

– What is the aimed-for and actual outcome of the process of trust-building that is constructed out of the mechanism of cultural repertoires?
    - How can trust and trust-building be defined?
    - What are the main assumptions made towards trust-building?
    - What is the aimed outcome of the process of trust-building?
    - What is the actual outcome of the process?
    - Why is trust-building important?

  What episodes within the process of trust-building are crucial?
    - What are the episodes of the trust-building process?
    - What episodes have the most significant role in trust-building?
    - When do the episodes shift from one to the other?

- What are the major descriptive concepts and their relevant conditions that define cultural repertoires?
    - In what episode is which concepts of cultural repertoires present during the trust-building process?
    - How do the mechanisms relate and react to each other?
    - On which cultural level do the cultural repertoires take place?

3.2 Design

This section will be structured according to Ragin and Amoroso's research design method, discussing the data collection techniques, sampling, sample selection bias, and data collection design (2010: 26). These steps were addressed in the initial phase of the research and were put into writing for the submitted research proposal in February 2018.

First, the data collection technique of conducting in-depth, individual interviews was found to be most appropriate to answer the research question. The choice of a qualitative research approach enabled me to gather as much in-depth information as possible about a limited number of cases (Ragin and Amoroso 2010: 26-33). This type of research seemed most applicable because it takes into account unexpected factors, actors and issues. This is salient in a case study that demands context-sensitivity due to its post-conflict society and the shared responsibilities with the present international community. A quantitative research would not have captured the personal and subjective motivations and aspirations of the target groups. Ultimately, this research aims to interpret culturally significant phenomena, not make general claims (31). The in-depth interviews provided the opportunity to gather 'rich' or 'thick' data with detailed descriptions of peoples' personal perspectives and an in-depth understanding of the personal context (Curtis and Curtis 2011: 33; Ritchie and Lewis 2013: 36). Here, the individual people were perceived as cases and the questions as variables (Curtis and Curtis 2011: 30). It was planned to use a topic guide and a standardised list of questions in order to have structured interviews. In addition to in-depth interviews, bounded document-based research was also part of the

research proposal. This involves researching the EULEX documentation on the policy of information-sharing policies and the cultural awareness during pre-mission training.

In the initial stage of the research design, I selected only the KP and the DNP as sample units. The literature review displayed the theme 'training and preparation' as salient in the trust-building process (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 250). Therefore, the Royal Tropical Institute and the EULEX training officers were added to the sample units. The intention was to include the Vushtrri Police Academy to cover all training organizations. However, interviews with the KP showed that several international organizations provided the training, whereas currently no training regarding EULEX is provided by the KP. Therefore, it was out of the scope of this research to contact the police academy. The fourth sample group were interpreters, who were added after the first episode of fieldwork.

Since I used nonprobability samples, it was challenging to completely avoid sample selection biases. Since my access to the DNP was large, I had to select the most representative samples. To do so, I drafted a set of clear conditions for the sample groups prior to the fieldwork. First, the police sample groups needed to have interaction and cooperation with the other sample group on a regular basis. Also, the selected setting was that the interactions among these police sample groups needed to be in Pristina[53] in order to have no geographical differences. Therefore, actual cooperation between both nationalities was needed to be in the set time frame within the work for the EULEX mission.

The aim of my selection was to meet these conditions and to also have as much variety in gender, age, and heritage as possible. Therefore, I aimed for five samples for the police target groups and the interpreters to recognize some patterns. Furthermore, I considered the intensity and duration of cooperation between the KP and the DNP, and the availability to give an interview. Regarding the interviews with experts, I have randomly selected experts based on their years of cooperation within EULEX and their actual knowledge of the process of exchanging information between the KP and the DNP. To avoid sample selection biases regarding the samples of the training units, I contacted the chain of command and filed an official request to speak with the most appropriate sample for my research. The sample selection of the interpreters was mainly based on the availability of the interpreter, their interest in the topic, and the intensity of cooperation with the KP and the DNP.

The last design method concerns the data collection design. Here, the setting of my research and the time frame will be addressed. First, the setting of my fieldwork was in Kosovo's capital, Pristina, and throughout the Netherlands. I chose the post-conflict area of Kosovo because of my own experience within EULEX. I could use my personal contacts, the knowledge of the area and the culture, and my personal experiences in this research. Since EULEX is the first and biggest Civilian Mission, its mechanisms are new and quite unknown, so there was limited academic research on my

[53] In this thesis, the name Pristina is used because it is the official English translation (Judah 2008: x-xi). This city is called Priština in Serbian, and Prishtina or Pristinë in Albanian.

topic and case study. The location of Pristina was chosen because it holds the most reliable interactions due to its central location. Not only were all the regional positions centralised in Pristina in 2012, but the KP and EULEX Headquarters were also located there. Second, the selected time was bounded by the end of the academic year. I chose single research episodes for the fieldwork in Kosovo in April and May 2018, and a two-research episode for the fieldwork in the Netherlands. For this, stage one was between January and March 2018, and stage two was in May and June 2018.

3.3 Generating data

3.3.1. The stages of data collection

A strategy was needed to operationalise the design to systematically gather information about cultural repertoires and the relation to trust-building. This is salient because "there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head" (Dey 1993: 63). The method for generating data will be according to Kval's seven stages of conducting in-depth interviews: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying, and reporting (1995: 19-40).[54]

First, the thematising was conducted based on reviewing the trust-building literature and through a brainstorming session with the previous manager of the Western Balkan from the Department of Peacekeeping and Training Mission of the DNP. Also, I was given the opportunity to observe and participate in the *Cultural Awareness* training from the Dutch Royal Tropical Institute on 30th and 31st of January 2018.[55] This input led to the selection of themes that were used in the research proposal to operationalise my research question. These operationalisation questions were afterwards used as the base of the topic guide for the first in-depth interviews. The initial themes in the research proposal were: 1] cooperation (e.g., core values, general atmosphere, preparation, reputation), 2] trust-building (e.g., trusting beliefs, trusting intentions, and trusting behaviour), 3] culture (e.g., similarities and differences, language), and 4] information exchange (e.g., prescribed cooperation, vulnerability).

For the third stage, *Interviews*, I applied mainly in-depth interviews with thematic coding and open questions to the police sample groups. The questions were predetermined. Still, the interviews were semi-structured because the questions from the topic list were not always addressed in the same order. Also, the formulation of some questions sometimes slightly changed because not all questions were read from the paper, but sometimes asked by memory. Nevertheless, at the end of all interviews, all the topics and questions of the list were raised. But how was the data generated during the interview itself?

I used a topic list that was tailored per sample group, e.g., the KP, the DNP, training experts, and interpreters, during all interviews (see appendices A to D). In total, I conducted 18 individual in-

[54] To avoid overlap with Section 3.2, the stage of 'design' will not be addressed here.

[55] This course was provided by the Royal Tropical Institute and given to police officers as part of their preparation for their future police mission. During the two days, there was specific attention to religion, cultural awareness and cooperation.

depth interviews, with an average of over one hour per interview.[56] Of course, I used my personal experience and observations from 2012 and 2013 as illustrations during the interviews and in this thesis. The interviews with the experts were unplanned but provided helpful insights because they were particularly familiar with the cooperation situation in EULEX after working there for approximately 10 years.

Furthermore, I used questionnaire-based interviews, policy and document analysis, interviews with experts, observations, radio interviews, and informal conversations with locals. I recorded my observations in my notebook throughout my entire fieldwork period in order to reflect constantly on my findings and to maintain focus. Due to the secrecy of the information and the fact that the DNP was not working together one-to-one, I was not given the opportunity to observe the interactions between the DNP and the KP. Finally, a small part of the research required the mentioned document analyses (see Section 3.2).

In the first episode of my research, which took place during the fieldwork in the Netherlands, I interviewed three DNPs to get a general idea about the application of the main themes in my research. The interviews took approximately 1.5 hours. The topic guide was slightly adjusted prior to the second episode: my fieldwork in Kosovo. Here, I decided to establish contact with the KP not before, but during the fieldwork. This was mainly based on my own experience with the relational-based society in Kosovo. I had three semi-structured interviews with KP officers, with a length of approximately one hour. They were according to the questionnaire in appendix A. Also, I had one unstructured and non-recorded interview with KP Blerim, and I received one questionnaire via mail from one KP. In addition to these interviews with the KP, I also had three interviews with EULEX experts who had worked in the mission since 2008. In the third stage of my fieldwork, I interviewed seven DNPs. One interview was via Skype video chat since that DNP was deployed in another mission. Like the other, this interview was also recorded.

In the fourth stage, I transcribed all the interviews. In order to analyse accurate data, I made detailed transcripts of the almost 20 hours of recorded interviews. This resulted in more than 200 pages of transcripts. These have been provided to all interviewees by email for the sake of transparency and to provide the opportunity to incorporate additional comments. Only the interviews with the experts, as well as the officially assigned KP, were not recorded. Nevertheless, notes were made during the interviews or directly afterwards.

Analysing the data was done in the fifth stage of the research. This included re-reading the transcripts and labelling the different themes and indicators of the analytic frame (e.g., instinct, toolbox, and habit) in order to categorise the data. The sixth stage contained the triangulation of the

[56] The 10 in-depth interviews with the DNP had an average duration of around 80 minutes per interview, whereas the four in-depth interviews with the KP were around 50 minutes per interview. The interviews with the training experts and interpreters were between 20 and 40 minutes.

following data sources: observations, document-based research, radio interviews, new articles, newsletters from the DNP, sharing the experiences of experts and locals, etc. Finally, the reporting stage includes the production of this thesis.

3.3.2. The applied data generation strategies

In order to enable the techniques mentioned above, I incorporated some strategic choices regarding how to approach the respondents. First, I decided to always engage in small talk prior to the official interview. I mentioned that I had worked in EULEX myself as a police officer, as I was informed by multiple experts with vast experience with and knowledge of the KP that this announcement would be beneficial for me in gaining access to information.

My second applied strategy was using the 'snowball' or networking method. Here, the "initial number of participants are asked for the names of others, who are subsequently approached" (Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 40). Especially in the relational-oriented Kosovo society, it seemed most successful to not contact KPs per email prior to my fieldwork trip, but to take more time and have lots of coffees and lunches before conducting the interviews.

Third, I chose to get official approval for conducting interviews from the strategic management of the involved institutions (e.g., EULEX, the DNP and the KP). Regarding the first two, this approval was requested and granted prior to the fieldwork. The request for the KP was submitted at a later stage since I primarily gained access to the KP through informal channels. Their initial response was that one very experienced KP, who works on a daily basis with internationals, was assigned to take an interview. After explaining the purpose of the research and the necessity to interview multiple KPs, the approval to my request to interview five to 10 KPs was granted. Having this official request ensured that the KP who already gave an interview would not encounter any harm or backlash. Nevertheless, individual consent from the interviewee was needed and requested in all cases, despite the participatory approval from the highest authority (Ritch and Lewis 2003: 40). Due to budgetary reasons, my fourth strategy was to interview mainly English-speaking KPs. An additional advantage was that there was no 'indirect' communication because no translator was needed. Since the other four KPs were fluent in English, I only needed a translator for one interview with the only female KP. The chosen translator for this interview had worked with this particular KP before and was very aware of the KP organization due to previous working experiences in EULEX.

3.4 Data analysis

The aim of the data analysis is to interpret the 'common-sense' understanding of the interviewees and to transfer this into in a more conceptual understanding through critically 'observing' the collected data (Scott 1985: 46). The coding of the transcripts contributed greatly to this analysis, as it was based

upon the predetermined and adjusted themes as well as upon the selected indicators of Zhao's *cultural repertoires*. This latter resulted in carefully constructed specific concepts to give explanations to how trust-building was shaped by culture. To further increase the validity of the research, a wide range of data resources were used to enable triangulation of the data.

The data analysis was conducted in three episodes and took place in between the mentioned three stages of the fieldwork in the Netherlands and Kosovo. Prior to the fieldtrip to Kosovo, a brief analysis was made based upon the three interviews with the DNP. It displayed doubt from the DNP about the saliency of trust during the cooperation with the KP. Also, the term 'functional trust' was introduced to distinguish from the more personal trust. Furthermore, the role of the interpreters was highlighted by all three DNPs. For this reason, the interview questionnaire was adjusted. Where prior *language and communication* was previously just a sub-topic of the culture theme, it now became one separate theme. The second episode of data analysis took place directly after returning from the fieldwork in Kosovo, mainly based on the transcripts of the interviews and the field notes that I made. During the challenge to get official approval to interview more than one KP, I realized that this in itself could have a cultural reason. Therefore, I decided to put more emphasis on the differences in organizational culture between the KP and the DNP during the last fieldwork episode in the Netherlands. Also, more emphasis was put on the role of the EULEX mandate in the trust-building process. The third episode was the main analysis for the production of this thesis. This analysis was based on the transcripts of the interviews and was conducted through specific coding of the predetermined themes and the *cultural repertoires* indicators.

The analyses involved researching patterns, contradictions, and similarities between the formations of trust-building through cultural repertoires. Here, it was inevitable to include a slight comparative analysis between the KP and the DNP. The complication of this research concerns police from different nationalities working together; therefore, there must be a comparative component. By researching the differences and similarities between the KP and the DNP, a better and more extensive explanation about cultural repertoires could be provided.

3.5 Reflexivity and Ethics

This chapter will highlight the validity, objectivity and feasibility of the research, as well as the research ethics. It is crucial that academics verify that the data collection and the measurement procedures are valid (Ragin and Amoroso 2010: 6). To secure the reliability of the data from the interviews, I have carefully applied triangulation through the use of the mentioned data source (Chapter 3.3.1.).

Secondly, the objectivity of this research will be discussed. Here, I believe that my previous experience as a police officer working for EULEX led to the main challenge in that my loyalty towards the police could unintentionally jeopardize my critical eye toward the KP and the DNP. My experience in EULEX can also make me sensitive to presumed assumptions about the cooperation and information sharing. For example, my presumed assumption was that trust is needed to cooperate effectively. However, this might not be shared by the interviewees (as was the case during the interview with the DNP in the first episode of fieldwork). To tackle this 'blind spot' as much as possible, I used few very general and open-ended questions in my interviews (e.g., what ingredients are salient for an effective cooperation?) I wanted to create freedom for the interviewees to express their own vision. Through my attention to interviewees' remarks and by incorporating their suggested concepts in the topic list, I attempted to increase the objectivity of the research. Furthermore, I believe that the objectivity of the KP, in particular, could be influenced in two ways. The fact that I, a Dutch person, asked them about their cooperation with the DNP might have hindered the KP to speak freely about possible challenges with the DNP. It should be taken into account that EULEX is an ongoing mission, which could make the KP cautious about expressing negative remarks about the cooperation. One possible motivation for caution could be the fear that this could cause backlash as a result of the EULEX mission and thus on the process of Kosovo aiming to enter the EU.

The third reflection on the feasibility of the research is mainly influenced by language. In the initial stage, I decided that it was best to interview the DNP in Dutch. Because of the abstractness and sensitivity of the research topic, I found that it was best to provide the interviewees with the possibility to express themselves in their mother tongue: Dutch. In contrast, only one KP was interviewed in Albanian, with the presence of an interpreter to translate from Albanian to English, and vice versa. The other four interviews were conducted in the English language. The main benefit of speaking in English was that it created the possibility to communicate directly, without an interpreter. This created the opportunity to 'read' the body language while interviewing. It should be mentioned that every KP was asked prior to the interview whether language assistance was preferred. All turned this offer down.

The research ethics were also crucial in conducting research and writing this thesis. The informed consensus, publication anonymity, the expectation of management, and the relations with research partners will be reflected upon. First, the *informed consensus* is a crucial cornerstone of ethical research. All interviewees were assured that all the interviews were voluntary, and it was made clear that the information would be used for a Master's thesis. For all recorded interviews, explicit approval for recording was requested and given prior to the interview. As the setting was so informal and social, it felt unnatural to ask for official consent (Martin 2011: 49). However, the KP interviewee agreed before contributing to the research, he received the questionnaire in advance, and he was asked to carefully verify the transcript after the interview. Interviewees' requests were granted several times to pause the recording to give 'off-the-record' information. Furthermore, all transcripts were sent to the interviewees to correct any factual errors.

In regard to the second ethical consideration, *publication anonymity*, it can be stated that interviewees were assured that any summary interview content or direct quotations from the interview will be anonymised so that the interviewee cannot be identified. Due to the sensitivity of the topic, this is used to protect the interviewees from any possible harm. Great effort was taken to avoid interviewees' possible exposure because "most quotations are uncontroversial opinions or open secrets [that] might expose the speaker when they take written form" (Hull 2012: 32). The KP is mainly vulnerable to exposure because of the low sample group. There was great sensitivity regarding omission of the current workplace to avoid exposing their identity. Since two interviews took place in the police station and thus were registered, I have chosen to anonymise all KPs. In fact, all respondents have been given fictitious names that only indicate their gender because of the sensitivity of the topic. Some interviewed interpreters are still working for EULEX, and with the upcoming downsize of the mission, they should undergo no risk on behalf of their willingness to contribute to this scientific study that might cause any backlash on their career. Regarding the DNP, arrangements were made with the manager of the Peacekeeping & Trainings Mission of the DNP that the interviews would be anonymised to avoid repercussions when these DNPs apply for another mission.

The third ethical consideration related to my *relations with the research partners*. I made sure that there was no form of payment prior to the interviews. After the interviews, I paid for the drinks and beverages that were taken during the interviews to show my appreciation. One interpreter, whose services I needed for the interview with one KP, did not accept any financial payment for her provided services. She was awarded after the interview with a gift for her family.

3.6 Limitations and opportunities

3.6.1. Limitations

The limitations regarding the data gathering are the restricted access to data, the limited empirical data and literature, and the data reliability. The restricted access to data mainly concerns the restricted access to the data of the official EULEX documents. Out of integrity, I decided to only use open online sources, thus official documentation, regarding the EULEX values and operational plan. Hence, the provided unofficial information was disregarded to protect my sources from harm. Another initial restriction to information was caused by the postponed approval from the KP senior management to interview five to 10 KPs.

The second limitation I encountered was the limited empirical data and literature to triangulate the empirical problem that I experienced in practice when working for EULEX. It was easy to determine that 'mutual respect and trust' were core values of EULEX, but the implications in practice were not displayed in public sources. One reason for this censorship might be because the mission is currently ongoing. Since trust-building is a very sensitive topic, negative outcomes could jeopardize

the credibility of EULEX. Even when the empirical data on the chosen complication is bounded, tremendous enthusiasm was displayed concerning the importance of explaining the trust-building process.

The third limitation was the use of the English language with the non-Dutch interviewees. Since the interviews were not conducted in their or my mother tongue, the reliability of my data was influenced because the interviewees could not express themselves in the utmost way. Even when interviewees had a high proficiency of English, the language barrier resulted several times in minor vocabulary struggles. During the interview, however, this was resolved by describing the word and finding the correct translation together. On the contrary, the KP who was interviewed in Albanian did have the opportunity to express herself in her own language. The limitation here was that the presence of an LA made the communication between myself and the interviewees less direct (e.g., facial expressions and body language could often not be 'attached' to the correct phrases). Also, there was an ongoing duality of interpretation at the table: the LA's translation and my own communication. Luckily, the LA was very experienced and well-informed about my research topic. Therefore, my limited understanding of the Albanian language allowed me to understand approximately 30 percent of the conversation.

The fourth and fifth limitations of this research were the limited timespan with which I conducted the fieldwork and the possible implication of using the adjusted version of *cultural repertoires*. The limited time to conduct the fieldwork was caused by the bounded time frame of this Master's program. It required that time and patience were needed to establish useful contacts in Kosovo. Nevertheless, I decided to focus on quality over quantity because that is what this sensitive research topic requires. The last limitation concerns the theoretic frame. It could be argued that the way that the concept of *cultural repertoires* is tailored into an applicable framework for this research takes the meaning away from its original context. Even when the word 'struggle' is deliberately omitted in this thesis, all other core assumptions and conditions of the theory are incorporated and explained. I believe that this adjustment is exactly what academic research is about: one uses an analytic frame as a focus and then applies it to different processes (e.g., the trust-building process).

3.6.2 Opportunities

Now that the research limitations have been discussed, let us look at the opportunities I identified that contributed greatly to the success of this thesis. The central theme is my work experience and how that led to other opportunities (such as networking, willingness to accept an interview, etc.).

As previously mentioned, I believe that my work experience led to more in-depth and personalized data. This assumption is based on observations during the second episode of fieldwork. When the one KP heard at the start of the interview that I worked as a police officer for EULEX in 2012, he said: "Well, then, you know how it works!" He continued to say that he thought he had to do

a 10-minute 'standard' interview with 'another student'. My interview turned into a one-hour conversation about my research topic. To make myself clear, I do not want to claim that I am an 'insider', but I am convinced that my work experience did contribute by increasing the quality of the interviews. Secondly, my personal experience also resulted in my next opportunity: the access to a valuable network. Because I maintained my police network over the past few years, it was relatively easy to get approval from the DNP to conduct interviews with their staff. Also, the connections with the experts from EULEX and with the LAs definitely helped me to gain access to the KP. Several times, it was mentioned that the interview was granted out of respect for the person who introduced me. Therefore, it is expected that all of the above resulted in increasing the interviewees' willingness to participate. It is evident that this willingness is needed to enable qualitative research or any type of research involving human samples. Finally, I believe that, as a researcher, I have something unique to bring to the table: my work experience as a police officer working for EULEX. As illustrated above, this experience makes me not only the '*right person for this job'*, but also enables me to perform my personal academic mission: bridging the well-known gap between theory and practice.

3.7 Personal methodological growth

The main fundamental changes were related to the topic guide, the analytic frame, the sample units in Kosovo, and the data collection techniques.

The three changes related to increased attention for the themes *legislation, language*, and *organizational culture KP and DNP* in the interview topic guide. As already mentioned in Chapter 3.3, the role of the EULEX mandate got a more prominent position after the saliency was pointed out in the first episode of fieldwork. During an informal interview with one Kosovo student who is doing research about cooperation among different organizations in Kosovo, it became clear that the legal base is definitely a crucial mechanism that shapes trust-building. Second, the mechanism of language and communication received a more prominent position in the research when it became apparent that LAs play a major and dynamic role in creating trust among the cooperating parties. The third topic, guide change, was the increased attention for differences in organizational culture between the KP and the DNP during the third episode of fieldwork. There was more data available on the national differences between Kosovo and the Dutch than on the organizational differences and similarities between the KP and the DNP. Since both are part of the three layers of culture that are identified in this thesis, this adjustment was determined as needed to balance out the data. Now that the changes regarding the topic guide have been addressed, let us look at the methodological growth regarding the data generation.

During the fieldwork, the sample units and data collection techniques changed. I planned to interview the seven DNP currently working for EULEX. During my interview with the acting Dutch Contingent Leader, it became apparent that none of the currently deployed DNP had regular—or

any—direct contact with the KP. Hence, they didn´t meet the conditions for my sample group.[57] Another adjustment was the inclusion of the LAs as a target group. The main opportunity in data collection techniques was the move from individual in-depth interviews to additional questionnaire-based interviews in order to gather more data. It also increased the feasibility of my research because it limited the time-consuming process of transcribing recorded interviews. Therefore, the questionnaire-based interviews that I conducted with the LAs have enabled me to generate data from Kosovo also in the third episode of the fieldwork.[58]

The main change regarding the data analysis stage was the choice of my analytic frame to analyse the process of trust-building. Just after completing the fieldwork, the preliminary analytic frame of *mechanisms* was changed into the more narrowed-down *cultural repertoires*. The reason for this change was that the theme *culture* was acknowledged by all sample groups as crucial and salient in the process of trust-building. Since the differences in nationalities (and thus cultures) of police that cooperate in EULEX is the empirical complication of this research, it was suitable to introduce this more specific frame for analysing the mechanisms of trust-building. Hence, culture became the common denominator. This process of narrowing down was encouraged by the chosen deductive approach in which I constantly had to ask myself: 'what is this a case of?' (Lund 2014: 224). It became clear that me that this is a case that attempts to explain what cultural repertoires shape the trust-building process.

[57] The current DNP are mainly Pristina and work mostly in executive or strategic positions that focus on the internal organisation of EULEX, thus not having regular contact with the KP. This shift from MMA to executive is caused by the downsizing of positions in the Strengthening Department (Van Leeuwen, 2018).

[58] The questionnaire-based interviews with open-ended questions were considered a better platform than using the poor phone connections or other online video chat media.

Chapter 4: Instinct

As explained in Section 2.3, the analytical frame of cultural repertoires was broken down into three sub-mechanisms where culture is perceived as instinct, script, or toolkit. This chapter addresses the first sub-mechanism, whereby the assumption is that culture shapes social interaction at the level of instinct, habit and taken-for-granted routines (Zhao 2010: 38). Unconscious personal motivations and performances shape what is thinkable and what is not (Autesserre 2014: 33). Section 4.1 discusses the 'instinctive' cultural variables present in the episodes of the trust-building process between the KP and DNP during the EULEX mission between 2011 and 2016: *trust cues*, *reputation*, and *language*. The empirical findings are illustrated by examples from the sample group to explain the function of the mechanisms in practice.

4.1 The instinctive battle between four personal trust cues

The literature shows that the most used trust cues are: *capability, integrity, benevolence,* and *predictability* (Mayer et al. 1995: 718-9). They are the core elements of the unconscious trusting beliefs that make a person decide whether somebody is trustworthy. Several respondents referred to this judgment as their 'intuition'.[59] [60] James explains that intuition is a kind of spirituality, which can only occur when a person is emotionally open to it (interviewed on 16 May 2018).

This openness to accept intuition is strengthened throughout a career in the police, stated one respondent (Peter).[61] He explained that the police job requires one to trust on their instincts, because police officers have to make judgement calls. Police constantly assess situations and act upon them. A cautious link could be made with one assumed mission-specific factor on trust-building that Goldsmith and Harris briefly discussed in their article. They state that the nature of policing and police work itself, trains police officers to distrust (2012: 233). Ironically, police officers learn to trust their intuition that enables them to assess trustworthiness. But what most drives this abstract intuitive thought in the given case-study? The figure below provides an overview of the cues KP and DN found salient, as well as the interpreters and experts who have provided an answer on this matter.

[59] Five out of fourteen respondents mentioned this form of intuition, from which four were DNP and one was KP.
[60] Author's interviews with Eva on 06 June 2018, with Ethan on 16 May 2018, with James on 16 May 2018, with Peter on 15 May 2018, and with Teuta on 09 May 2018.
[61] Author's interview with Peter on 15 May 2018.

Figure 3: Outcome Ranking of the Trust Cues (1 highest valued – 4 least)

Name	Sample	Capacity	Integrity	Benevolence	Predictabilty
Richard	DNP	2		1	2
Aron	DNP			1	
Jason	DNP	1	2		
Peter	DNP	4	2	3	1
Adam	DNP			1	
Ethan	DNP	1	1	2	
James	DNP	1	1		2
Sara	DNP	1	2		2
Eva	DNP	2	3	1	3
Ilir	KP		1		
Teuta	KP	1	2		
Arton	KP		1	1	
Rinor	interpreter	2	1		
Arben	interpreter		1		
Lindita	interpreter		1		
Valbona	Expert	1	1		
Matthew	Expert		1		
	Total	**10**	**14**	**7**	**5**

(Van Grootveld, 2018) [62]

The interviewed DNP highly value *integrity* and *capability*. They moderately value *benevolence* and *predictability*, whereas none of the interviewed KP mentioned *predictability* and only one KP arguably displayed to find *benevolence* a salient cues to start the trust-building process.[63] The KP has a significant unanimous highest score on *integrity*. Remarkably, the other interpreters and expert respondents mentioned in the figure favoured the same trust cue. The in-depth analysis of the individual variables attempts to explain the outcomes. Special attention is paid to the context (e.g., dispositional factors) and the personal motivation (e.g., agency factors).

[62] This overview only depicts the respondents that have answered the question; the others have been left out. The interpreters and experts are included for the sake of triangulation.

[63] Only three out of the five KP have addressed input for this ranking, so with great care should there be any statements made towards the 'saliency' of one of the variables for the KP.

Figure 3 shows that having a capable counterpart is highly valued by both police as a trust cue. Several DNPs mentioned feeling fit for their monitor, mentoring, and advising (hereafter MMA) position, because they had the correct professional background through their decades of experience at various police departments. [64] They all reason that this led to increased respect and trust from the KP counterpart.[65] It enabled the KP and DNP to directly engage in the content of the police work from the first meeting onwards. Furthermore, the female KP officer Teuta expressed her pleasure in working with a DNP who specialises in her expertise (domestic violence). Teuta learned a lot from the experiences and lessons learned about the challenges that her counterpart faced years ago in the Netherlands (interviewed on 09 May 2018). Several respondents argue that age 'instinctively' contributes to gaining trust and respect from their KP counterparts. [66] Being older brings decades of work experience in the police and respect for elders embedded in the Kosovar culture, according to DNP Adam (interviewed on 17 May 2018).[67]

As mentioned in Subsection 1.3.2, the EULEX mission aims to strengthen the rule of law institutions in Kosovo. Hence, international police are present in Kosovo to professionally contribute to an improved KP through sharing their best-practices and experiences. The whole reason for the social interaction is based on professionalism and capabilities. Since this is the motivation for cooperation, it is not surprising that this trust cue is favoured. The downside is that when capability is absent, it will arguably lead to a very short cooperation, because the person will be overruled quickly.[68] [69] This shows that there are benefits when skilled and professional people are sent to the mission, but also downsides if this is not the case. The downside cost will directly bridge this trust cue and *integrity:*

> "If you enter the mission and you have no clue where you are talking about, than you lose your credibility. Actually, I believe that you are not acting in an integer way if that is the case! I mean: you are integer if you tell your counterpart: "Listen, I came to the mission, but I have no clue!" Only then, your credibility is gone as well…" (Interview with James on 14 May 2018).[70]

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[64] Authors interviews with Richard on 28 March 2018, with Eva on 04 June 2018, with Jason on 14 May 2018, with Sara on [24] May 2018, and with James on 16 May 2018.

[65] One DNP respondent stated that his counterpart from the senior management in the KP expressed to be pleased with his arrival, because he respected (or: taken serious) to work together with somebody that actually had the correct background (James on 16 May 2018).

[66] Author's interview with James on 17 May 2018 and Eva on 04 June 2018.

[67] As the DNP officer with Turkish heritage states, mentioned that he could easily recognize that elders are more respected, because this cultural habit is also present in the Turkish community (more than in the Dutch society).

[68] Author's interviews with Sara on 24 May 2018, and Richard on 28 March 2018.

[69] This is what according to KP officer Damir happed during the UNMIK period, when often international offers with "low ranks in their respective countries obtained senior police position in Kosovo" (Damir questionnaire on 08 May 2018). By now, the KP has already almost 20 years of experience within their post-conflict police organisation.

[70] This quote is directly translated from the original quote in Dutch: "Als jij daar binnenkomt en je weet niet waar je het over hebt; dan is je geloofwaardigheid weg. Ik vind ook dat je dan niet integer bezig bent dan! Ik bedoel, je bent integer bezig als

DNP James expressed his vision on trust cue *integrity* and how that relates to professional capabilities. After explaining the purpose of this research, several respondents shared their visions on integrity. One perception was that you should treat others the way you like to be treated. Another perceived integrity as not distributing information that was given to you in confidence.[71] A more context-sensitive perception of integrity was given by Aron, who expressed his appreciation when his counterpart honestly told him he couldn't give him the information he was asking for. His counterpart mentioned that giving the information would have serious security implications, so the risk was too big. Here, getting an honest answer from the KP counterpart was the highest possible form of 'integrity' within the complex, post-conflict work environment.

Some argued that it is—or at least should be—in the nature of police to have integrity. The training officer from EULEX said: "I think that without integrity, you don't have to [shouldn't] work for a rule of law institution. Because really: this is mandatory!" [72] It is mandatory, since integrity is one of the ethical values of the KP (Kosovo Police, 2018).[73] For this reason, it should not come as a surprise that this trust cue had the highest score among the KP and DNP officers.

This outcome is significant in comparison to the fieldwork on the longitudinal development of trust at an accountancy and consultation firm in Ireland. Van der Werff and Buckley concluded that the trust cue *integrity* was the least salient feature of the previously defined trusting beliefs.[74] This research offers too little evidence to make any claims, but the correlation between the nature of the police job and its corresponding mandate (e.g., the script), and the appreciation of integrity as core variable of trusting beliefs.

Remarkably, the five interviewed KPs did not or barely mention the trust cues *benevolence* and *predictability*. The local interpreters and expert Latife Neziri from Kosovo also did not mention the importance of these trust cues for the creating of trust.[75] In contrast, both trust cues were moderately to highly valued by half of the DNPs (see Figure 2).[76]

Only KP Arton gave the impression to value *benevolence* when he stated that for him it is important that his counterpart is able to speak some words in the local language (interview on 07 May 2018).[77] The handbook *In Control* elaborates that the ability of speaking the local language can have

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je tegen je counterpart zegt: "Luister, ik kom hier maar ik weet er geen ruk van!" Maar ja, dan is je geloofwaardigheid ook weg... (Jason on 14 May 2018).

[71] Author's interviews with Jason on 14 May 2018 and with Matthew on 04 May 2018.

[72] Author's interview with Latife Neziri on 07 May 2018.

[73] The other values are honesty, courage, responsibility, accountability, and forbearance.

[74] They do, however, state that integrity on itself will not increase the trustworthiness, but that there is a positive correlation between integrity and reliance. Hence, it has influence only at a later stage in the trust development (Van der Werff and Buckley 2017: 761).

[75] Author's interviews with Lindita on 07 May 2018, with Arben on 04 May 2018, with Latife Neziri on 07 May 2018, and with Rinor on 09 June 2018.

[76] Due to the limited scope of this research, combined with the limited appreciation of this trust cue by the KP, there will only be a short section about benevolence and predictability.

[77] One could argue that this is more an example of cultural sensitivity than actaully 'benevolence'. But in this case it is categorized as benevolence because it does indicate 'the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustor'.

great impact on the operational outcome of the cooperation since it is seen as an expression of cultural sensitivity (ENTRI 2018: 208).

Interestingly, *benevolence* was an often mentioned by DNP respondents as a variable of trust-building. The exchange of presents, or having lunch with KP counterparts was often mentioned as 'the stairway to trust' by DNP respondents.[78] This was in line with the expression of feeling the intrinsic motivation to join EULEX to 'do good' and to sympathize with colleagues. The senior trainer of the cultural awareness course at the Tropical Royal Institute in Amsterdam, Annemarie Stout, said in an interview that the missionary urge for benevolence is caused by the historically Christian religion in the Netherlands. She labels it as 'something Dutch' (interviewed on 06 March 2018).[79] There might be several personal or cultural reasons for the apparent willingness of the DNP to express goodwill, but the limited data of this research casts doubt on its contribution to generating trust with the KP in practice. A possible explanation for the absence of appreciation for benevolence from the KP side is that the KP does not have the same motivation as the DNP to interact with EULEX. As mentioned in the Subsection 1.3.2, EULEX was one of the conditions for the unilateral declaration of independence. Hence, there is a different motivation for cooperative participation present between both police forces.

The last trust cue (*predictability*) is most influenced by the national cultures (or scripts) of Kosovo and the Netherlands. In contrast with the relation-base culture in Kosovo, the Dutch culture values efficiency and punctuality as working standards.[80] This could reflect behavioural preferences. For respondent Peter, it is very clear: predictability is crucial in trust-building. In this explanation about the causality among the trust cues, he reasons that predictability and integrity are the most important. When that is in place, the goodwill will automatically follow. He is taking the trust cue capability for granted, since it is assumed that this is present given the hiring process at EULEX.[81]

4.2 The choice between speech or body language

It is generally accepted that language is both a way to express culture and a way to understand each other. However, there is often no way to express yourself directly when working in police missions because of the language barrier (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 250).[82] The mediators of the conversation are the interpreters. They translate the communication between the KP and the DNP and to receive the

[78] This remark slightly tips on using benevolence as a strategy, but that will be further on addressed in chapter 6 about toolkits. In this chapter, the motivation to do good comes from the instinctive behaviour of the police officer. However, the line between the mechanisms toolkit and instinct are very thin here.

[79] The original text in Dutch is: "Maar ik heb wel gemerkt dat – van de internationale werkende politie met wie ik werk- heel veel daarvan worden gedreven tot uitzending omdat ze iets goeds willen doen voor de mensheid. En dat heeft wel een Christelijke achtergrond vind ik. En dat is mijn eigen perceptie. Maar dat 'zenden' zit toch wel in in Nederland" (interview with Annemarie Stout on 06 March 2018)

[80] These cultural have been in length discussed during the course 'in touch with the Dutch', which is part of the Cultural Awareness Training that DNP officers receive from the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam to prepare for their police mission. Also in the interviews with Peter on 15 May 2018 and with Richard on 28 March 2018, the need for accountability, for fulfilling your promises, and showing up at meetings is high.

[81] Author's interview on 15 May 2018.

[82] Lindita claimed that a lot of KP officers are fluent in English because of working for nearly 20 years with internationals. She continued that at least 90% will understand the language, but that some might be able to speak (interview on 07 May 2018). This thesis, however, assumes that communication occurs via an interpreter.

speech message that both parties want to exchange. But because the KP and the DNP often cannot detect the exact tone of the voice when certain words are expressed, the communication is hindered. The inevitable dispositional factor of indirect communication unconsciously forces the KP and DNP to focus on body language when their counterpart is talking.[83] It is an instinctive behaviour to overcome the language barrier by trying to make as much sense of the social interaction as possible.[84] But there are more actions of communication and language that unconsciously shape the social interaction.

One such action is the cultural insensitivity towards the choice of words and expressions. One way to illustrate this unconscious act, shaped by culture, is through the example DNP Adam gave. He explains how he is aware of his impatience and result-oriented character[85] and that this could damage trust. Nevertheless, in some conversations with his KP counterpart, he unconsciously acts based on these characteristics. Subsequently, the interpreter culturally filtered the possible threat to the trust-building process. KP officer Arton also mentioned how he sometime unconsciously makes insensitive jokes, without taken into account that an international police officer is in front of him (interviewed on 07 May 2018).[86] Thirdly, two interpreters stated that another unconscious linguistic dilemma is the apparent lack of awareness that some police officers have regarding their strong accents when speaking English. They mention that this jeopardizes the understanding of the social interaction and thus trust-building.[87] The last linguistic social interaction, based upon the assumption that culture as *instinct* shapes the trust-building process, is that of the interpretation that interpreters give to certain texts or words. However well-trained and professional the interpreters may be, this delicate transmission of information can be easily subject to misunderstandings between the three parties, which would undermine the trust-building process.

4.3. The undefended power of reputation

In this Section, reputation is taken as a mechanism that unconsciously forms one's perception of a person's trustworthiness, possibly even prior to the first meeting. In the case-study context, there are three common ways to be informed about someone's reputation: via the colleagues of the professional organization (e.g., KP or EULEX), via the encoded cultural stereotypes about certain nationalities, or via the interpreter one is working with.[88] For the first option, one DNP officers mentioned that it is a small world inside the KP. Hence, word travels fast. Because of the network-based society in Kosovo (described in Section 1.3), it arguably puts great value on receiving a good reputation when someone

[83] Author's interviews with Richard on 28 March 2018, with Jason on 14 May 2018, with James on 16 May 2018, and with Eva on 04 June 18

[84] Here, the structurationist dynamics between the context (e.g. EULEX mission with different language) interacts with the agency (e.g. instinctive behaviour aiming to understand the interaction), and vice versa, become very clear.

[85] This could be stereotypically referred to as a 'standard Dutch' approach.

[86] He elaborated that humour is very culture specific, and that it is often not well understood by the Scandinavian colleagues he worked with (interview on 07 Mary 2018).

[87] Author's interview with Arben on 04 May 2018, and with Lindita on 07 May 2018.

[88] Author's interview with Peter on 15 May 2018.

is respected and trusted by members of the family. One KP officer explains how this mechanism works:

> "And also the background that people speak about him or her! Saying: "This is a very good person!" And if many people say this, kind of referencing [Anne: reputation you mean?]. Reputation…exactly! So they would say: "This person is nice and you can trust him. He did this, and he did this". And immediately you have this kind of information that you can easily trust […] (interview with Arton on 07 May 2018).

Second, it can occur that the cultural stereotypes that some people hold about certain nationalities, or some previous experiences people had with these nationalities, influence one's view. For example, almost all DNP mentioned that the Dutch have a good reputation and are known as: hard-working, sincere, direct, and dedicated persons. [89] This strongly suggests professionalism and the ability to do the job. If the KP shares this reputation about Dutch or the DNP, it contributes to shaping trust, especially given the displayed appreciation for the trust cues *capability*.

The last way that DNP can be unconsciously implanted with a bad reputation of their counterpart is through their interpreters. In three cases, the news given about the KP counterpart was about dubious historical involvement in the conflict, about corrupt acquisitions, or about participation in the secret service.[90]

What happens when one receives this information before one even started the cooperation, let alone trust-building? All three DNP respondents claimed to react differently. One mentioned that it caused severe doubt in his decision to trust his counterpart.[91] Similarly, the second DNP mentioned that the mental indoctrination already started when that news was given. He continues that this automatically changes your perception. This shows the inescapable power of reputation.[92] The third DNP was not impressed by the news. He stated twice that this is because his expectations were already to work with people with a "criminal background, who would not necessarily pass the integrity committee".[93] This dispositional factor is most likely inevitable when working in a society where the conflict only recently ended and the local former fighters are still heavily active in the current political structure.

James mentioned that he wanted to keep an open-mind towards a first meeting with on political leader in Kosovo. However, he meanwhile mentioned that it was very difficult to let go of the trustworthy and incriminating information about this person.[94] The diversity of outcomes about the influence of reputation on the trust-building process is in line with the on-going academic debates on this topic (Blöbaum 2016: 107; Hemmert et al. 2014: 607-13).

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[89] Information compiled from all interviews with the DNP conducted in 2018.
[90] One example is that Jason was prior to his meeting informed by his LA about the fact that his counterpart was accused of corruption, and of participating in dubious intelligence transactions.
[91] Author's interview with Jason on 14 May 2018.
[92] Author's interview with Richard on 28 March 2018.
[93] Author's interview with Aron on 28 March 2018.
[94] Author's interview with James on 16 May 2018.

4.4 Sub-conclusion

The three variables that have a causal relation on the *instinct* mechanisms are *trust cues*, *language*, and *reputation.*[95] In this chapter, these variables perceived as an unconscious social interaction that is driven by a certain feeling or emotion. The respondents often referred to the latter as their intuition. This intuition determines whether a person gives someone the benefit or the doubt and trusts them.

This sub-conclusion aims for searching the episodes for *instincts* mechanisms that are producing a significant footprint or change regarding the trust-building process.[96] Even when the three variables are all *instincts,* they all take place in different episodes of the trust-building process; and do not hold the same significance to shaping the trust-building in that episode.

The trust cues are most important in the first stage of initial trust, where the creation of *trusting beliefs* takes place.[97] Since the four trust cues are part of the definition of trusting beliefs, their significant position is clear: they have a monopoly in this first stage. Hence, only these influence the feelings (or intuition) about somebody's trustworthiness, even before having their first meeting with their counterpart. The focus is on the unconscious trusting belief, since the 'testing' of the actual presence of *capacity, benevolence, integrity,* and *predictability* can only be conducted after the first information exchange. Almost all respondents claim that *integrity* is the most significant trust cue for determining trust and *benevolence* and *predictability* were barely or not mentioned by the KP. The main reasons for both significant outcomes are dispositional (e.g., the nature of police requires integrity as core value in both countries).

Unfortunately, this research could not identify a pattern in the causal relations among the four trust cues due to limited data. Nevertheless, there two opposing causal explanations, given by two DNP officers, are assumed to give insight on the complexity of identifying longitudinal developments of trust-building. [98] Whereas one takes for granted that the *capability* is present due to the selective application process, the other found that in practice this expected *capability* is not present; which leads to a violation of the highly valued *integrity*.

The second variable (*language*), as an unconscious process, is most applicable from the start of the ongoing episode onwards. It is only when there is actual contact, with an exchange of

[95] These variables are not only relevant this mechanism, but occur again in Chapters 5 and 6.
[96] Here, step 6 from Tarrow and Tilly's eight step method will be addressed.
[97] This stage of initial trust is explained in chapter 1.2.2 and is assumed to be followed up by the other two stage of initial trust: *trusting intentions* and *trusting beliefs*.
[98] There have been already some causality claims and assumptions made regarding the longitudinal development of trust in the academic debate on trust-building in chapter 1.2.2. Purposely, there have not been made any claims about the causal relations between the four trust cues *capability, benevolence, integrity* and *predictability* awaiting the data analysis results.

information between the KP and DNP, that social interaction can take place. The significance of this variable can be questioned, since the described misunderstandings do not seem to occur that often.[99]

The third variable (*reputation*) is taken to be more related to the second stage of initial trust: *trusting intentions*. After the three DNPs received the incriminating information about their counterparts, it was up to them to decide if they wanted to let it affect their intention to trust. The significance of reputation was during the literature review labelled as moderate, because of the various impact of the information on the three DNPs.

[99] E.g., the examples of the way of speech, and the misunderstanding in jokes, are each only mentioned by one individual.

Chapter 5: Scripts

This mechanism focuses on the consciously shared values, beliefs, and norms that are present in a culture. Scripts are not applied – as is the case with the toolkit mechanism - rather they 'simply exist'. They are assumed to shape trust building. This chapter will contain an analysis of the ethical and cultural principles of the KP, the DNP, and EULEX, and of how these principles are expressed through language. The levels of analysis mainly focus on the inter-institutional level between police subcultures and on the intra-institutional level between members of the workforce for EULEX.[100]

As has been explained in Section 1.1, the hypothesis is that cultural proximity will benefit the trust building process. In this case it is assumed that there is a greater likelihood to create trust when the national cultural values and the organizational ethical principles of the involved organizations are similar. The second hypothesis is that cultural sensitivity will lead to increased trust building. Cultural sensitivity is not only perceived as a learning process about another's customs, the culture's customs or history, but also about "learning and acquiring a deeper understanding of your own" (ENTRI: 196). This chapter will therefore address the perceptions that KP and DNP have about themselves as well. The question of what variables related to trust building will be analyzed to display the cultural and ethical principles as a script however remains.

The variables *training*, *legislation* and *language* selected from the theoretical debate and the interviews are deemed most suitable for this script. Each subchapter will first address the ethical or cultural principles of the KP, the DNP, and EULEX, followed by comparing the differences and similarities to determine the cultural proximity. Subsequently, examples of challenges that the involved police experienced with the indicated differences will be utilized in order to illustrate the relevance of the variables toward the trust building process. Finally, the significance of the variables will be analyzed in relation to the indicated longitudinal development of trust building.

5.1 Cultural Awareness Training: understanding other cultures

The variable *training* is introduced as script because trainings are perceived in a way in which not only the organizational values and principles are acted out to the involved parties, but also in a way to highlight the cultural awareness regarding the differences in police cultures and national cultures.[101] Trainings form the settings where the conflicting or positively relating values between the KP, DNP, and EULEX become (publically) apparent. The trainings on cultural awareness are believed to contribute to the increase of trust building because they stimulate understanding of the involved

[100] Due to the limited scope of this research, the supra-institutional level between nationalities (e.g., Kosovo and Dutch) is assumed to be reflected upon through addressing the inter-institutional police level of KP compared to DNP. The intra-institutional level among internationals will be addressed only in regard to the ethical principles (e.g., the EULEX Code of Conduct). The cultural awareness aspect of the inter-institutional level, for example the EULEX culture, it is omitted due to the limited scope of this thesis.

[101] There are also trainings provided by both the DNP and EULEX regarding the legislation of the EULEX mission and Kosovo. Due to the scope of this research, the content of these trainings will not be addressed in this sub chapter.

parties' cultural habits and practices (Goldsmith and Harris 2012: 254; Van der Werff and Buckley 2017: 748). This subchapter will therefore focus on how cultural values of the KP and DNP were expressed.[102]

Since the available information about the KP's training was limited, these trainings will only briefly be discussed. The training's impact on the DNP officers will be analyzed in depth. KP officer Arton explains that the KP participated in trainings on the legislative part of the cooperation with EULEX 2008, but not on cultural awareness (interview on 07 May 2018).[103] Nevertheless, the KP has been working with internationals within the framework of the UN for ten years. So despite the fact that specific theoretical trainings on cultural awareness were not given at the start of EULEX in 2008, the KP has experience with internationals in practice. The question remains how the DNP was prepared for the cultural values of the mission and its host-location Kosovo.

5.1.1. The cultural values of both police forces displayed during trainings

Generally, the DNP receive two trainings on cultural awareness: one in the Netherlands provided by the Royal Tropical Institute, and one in Kosovo provided by EULEX during the so-called induction training.[104] After interviewing both trainers of the two courses, I conclude that the topics addressed in both training show overlap. One difference is however that the training in the Netherlands devoted specific attention to understanding the Dutch culture by comparing it to common post-conflict cultures. Another difference is that the EULEX training addresses the Kosovo culture; something that was absent from the training in the Netherlands. The exact cultural values that are expressed in these two trainings need to be discussed.

Newcomers to EULEX are obliged to take a mandatory induction training for all local and international members. One two hour session of this induction training is about cultural awareness regarding the cultural habits and courtesies that are shown in the Kosovo culture, as well as the work in the multi-cultural environment of EULEX and its challenges.[105] The EULEX training officer Latife Neziri mentioned that various practical examples of cultural habits are provided during the cultural awareness session. One example is the Kosovar cultural custom regarding punctuality when an

[102] The interpreters are here excluded because the training they received from EULEX was the induction training in the very first two weeks of their contract. Since that training it largely focused on the Kosovo culture –which they are aware of because they are locals- and not too much on the international or Dutch culture. Besides, they also received the training on the legal framework. But since interpreters are the persons that need to translate (and interpret) the information given by KP and DNP, their scripts are assumed to be less crucial for the trust building process. Their role and challenges will be discussed in the next chapter Toolkits.

[103] Since the information about the KP training is very limited and not significant, it will be just shortly mentioned in this section.

[104] The pre-mission training procedures have changed several repeatedly the past ten years. In this thesis, the most recent one will be taken into account (e.g. the cultural awareness training provides by the Royal Tropical Institute).

[105] Author's interview with Latife Neziri on 07 May 2018.

appointment for a meeting is set. Latife Neziri explained that an appointment at 3 pm means that it is 'around 3pm' and thus can be after three as well.[106] The information about Kosovar punctuality can be crucial information when forming trusting beliefs about counterparts. It could have impact specifically on the trust cue *predictability*. If one knows that it is generally accepted not to be punctual with regard to the starting time of a meeting, it might change the perception of accountability in the sense that it could be adjusted prior to the meeting. However, this is only applicable regarding punctuality, because the predictability with regard to counting on certain information to be provided is non-related. Next the content of the pre-mission training in the Netherlands and what cultural differences between KP and DNP are highlighted within will be discussed.

There is a two day training called *Intercultural Awareness* that is mandatory for all DNP that are selected to participate in a mission anywhere in the world (Libya, Georgia, Iraq, Kosovo). This training is not custom made for the EULEX in Kosovo.[107] I was allowed to observe this training on the 30th and the 31st of January 2018.[108] Most observations are of the sub course *Intercultural Awareness and Communication* where senior trainer Annemarie Stout emphasized the cultural differences in beliefs, expressions, and habits between DNP and the post-conflict areas.[109]

One useful insight obtained during this course was the explanation of the difference between high and low context cultures. On the one hand, there are low context cultures, such as the Netherlands, that are action-oriented. On the other side, there are high context cultures, such as Kosovo, which focus more on relations and interactions. All DNP officers in the training recognized the Dutch as being largely focused on outcome and efficiency, which is visible in the behavioral choice of directly focusing on the task list at the start of the meeting.[110] The DNP working for EULEX also acknowledged this action-oriented view, because they described the Dutch approach as pragmatic, solution-oriented, and direct.[111] Contrasting with this action-oriented culture, the KP officer Teuta states how the first meeting often starts with drinking coffee together in order to exchange personal information to get to know each other. She explains that the Kosovo culture is one that stimulates *socializing.* She elaborates that "it is a tradition to accept and socialize with people" (interview on 09 May 2018). During the induction training, newcomers get informed that it is a cultural Kosovar habit

[106]Ibid.

[107]However, there are various similarities between these post-conflict areas, the main religion, the political instability, and the cultural structures.

[108]The text below is largely written based upon the field notes made during observing and participating in the training.

[109]Halve of the training program contained courses on the religion Islam. Even when the majority of the population in Kosovo is Muslim, the religion is not indicated a separate cultural variable in this case-study. The reason for this is that multiple DNP and also KP stress that Kosovo has a –as they call it- "Muslim light" or "surrogate Muslim" version of the religion (interview with Arben on 07 May 2018, and with Peter on 15 March 2018). This so-called "light version" of Islamism is visible, for example, when walking the streets in Pristina because of the low amount of hijab's and the culturally accepted usage of alcoholic beverages in public by men and women.

[110]The Dutch and DNP characteristics and stereotypes were in length discussed during the two hour session called 'In touch with the Dutch' of the training *Intercultural Awareness.*

[111]Author's interviews with Aron on 28 March 2018, Richard on 28 March 2018, and Eva on 04 June 2018.

to "start the morning with a coffee break; this is a typical Balkan issue".[112] Trainer Latife Neziri explained that these breaks, as well as meetings, are often held in cafeterias because this social environment contributes to a 'warmer' conversation.[113] KP officer Ilir also referred to the necessity of this kind of natural atmosphere in order to connect with each other. He highlights that "we [Kosovars] have some kind of culture to express ourselves; or to create some kind of relation" (interview on 08 May 2018). Hence, the alleged theoretically claimed cultural difference in relation to the action- or relation-oriented approach is present in practice.

The course *Intercultural Awareness and Communication* devotes attention specifically to the difference between organizational cultures and their level of 'hierarchical structure'. In almost all interviews with DNP officers this was specifically mentioned as the largest difference between the organizational cultures of KP and DNP. Sara elaborated that "it is far more hierarchical [the KP]! That is for sure what I noticed. My counterpart really had prestige. People really feared him; because of his position, but also because of his rank. That is what we can call a difference between the KP and the DNP" (trans., interview on 24 May 2018).[114] This quote was selected because it highlights two interrelated additional differences between the KP and the DNP culture. The first difference is the KP's appreciation for higher ranked police personnel. DNP Hennie Bouwmeister explained that he was addressed as 'the general' by KP, which is his official rank according to militaristic conventions (2016: 9). This formal manner of addressing a peer is not common within the DNP. The second difference is the culture of fear for higher ranked officers, combined with the fear to be blamed for certain actions (taken without a superior's approval). The latter is what the DNP referred to as *afrekencultuur*. This fear results in personnel refusing to go stand up to their superiors and in them refraining from expressing their opinion too much because that can turn against them.[115] This hierarchical structure in the KP was visible during the informational exchange. Sara explains how an approval from a superior was needed every time she requested information from her counterpart. She states that there is more freedom to exercise discretionary power in the DNP, which indicates that the professionalism of the DNP is more valued by senior management (interview on 24 May 2018). When there is no awareness of this cultural organizational difference, the long process of exchanging information could be perceived by the DNP as an act of unwillingness. Since willingness is the core of the definition of trust, this could influence the perception of trustworthiness, which could possibly lead to distrust.

[112] Author's interview with Latife Neziri on 07 May 2018.

[113] Ibid.

[114] This quote is translated from the following Dutch quote: "En hierarchie: véél hierarchischer! Dat merkte ik wel. Mijn counterpart had echt aanzien. Men was echt bang voor hem; ook vanuit zijn rol maar ook vanuit zijn rang. Dat is wel een verschil tussen de Kosovaarse en Nederlandse politie" (author interview with Sara on 24 Ma 2018).

[115] Author's interview with James on 16 May 2018.

5.1.2. The workability of the theory in practice

When DNP officers were asked how they thought the training contributed to more effective cooperation with the KP – or even to trust building - opinions were divided. Some DNP argued that the information helped in raising awareness and knowledge on how to create effective cooperation, and some mentioned that it had limited to no impact. DNP officers Sara, Richard, James, and Jason remembered the trainings, but they could not recall the content of the trainings. Their effectiveness can be questioned.[116] Nevertheless, Richard stated that "you always take something from it."[117] Jason and Peter explained that the only difference was that the pre-mission trainings in the Netherlands are not country-specific, and therefore gave an impression of the security issues other than he had expected after the trainings.[118] Besides, all DNP stated that they conducted self-study through reading about Kosovo's history and culture. By doing so, James claimed that he was "prepared completely, so there were no big surprises. It was more recognition" (interview on 16 May 2018). The choice to read could be seen as part of the *training* variable, because it displays the scripts as well.

Critical notes toward the cultural awareness training were that "some things cannot be learned", and that often the content of these trainings was similar to common sense. First, Ethan stated that a certain level of abstract thinking is needed to function properly in a police mission, including the ability to switch in and estimate a given new situation. He elaborated that "you can't be trained in that. It is also not part of the training […]. I think that really it is in your character and in the experiences that you have" (trans., interview on 16 May 2018).[119] Secondly, cultural awareness was perceived as useless because "they knew everything already". It needs to be investigated how it is that information regarding cultural sensitivity is perceived as common knowledge, and is thus 'taken-for-granted'.

During the interview, trainer Annemarie Stout explained the relevance of cultural awareness, and also why the police who signed up for this mission yet have this awareness to be open for other cultures. She stated that culture not only determines how one perceives life, but also how one looks at others. She continued that people who are willing to go on peacekeeping missions already have an intrinsic 'cultural filter'. She continued that "especially police officers have this filter because in their regular job they work with people" (trans., interviewed on 06 March 2018).[120] Not only do police work with people, DNP is also used to being in contact with different cultural background while working in the Dutch multi-cultural society.

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[116] This claim should be made with precaution. Some interviews were taken up to five years after the training was provided. This could influence the memory about the content of the courses.

[117] Author's interview with Richard on 28 March 2018.

[118] Author's interview with Peter on 15 May 2018, and with James on 16 May 2018.

[119] "Daar word je niet op getraind. Dat staat ook niet in de training […] ik denk dat dat echt in jouw persoon zit en de ervaring die je hebt" (trans., interview on 16 May 2018).

[120] This is translated from the following originally Dutch quote: "[…] cultuur is zo bepalend voor hoe je zelf in het leven staat. Maar dus ook hoe je op een missie gaat. Maar ook daarmee hoe je naar de ander kijkt. En die culturele bril, of dat filter, hebben in mijn ervaring de mensen die uitzendbereid zijn sowieso al meer... maar zeker politiemensen omdat in politiewerk zijn 'mensen' waarmee je werkt" (Interview with Stout on 06 March 2018).

5.2 Codes of Conduct: comparing the ethical principles

5.2.1 Familiarizing with the values and ethics compared amongst the KP, DNP, and EULEX

The EULEX's purpose and the organizational structure have already been discussed in Section 1.3.2. However, no attention has so far been given to EULEX's values and ethical principles. In the partially censored document of the EU Council was written that the standard principles are "impartiality, integrity, gender equality, courage, discipline, loyalty and respect for human rights and diversity" (Council of the EU, 2012: 258). These are similar to the core values of effective cooperation that were mentioned by the respondents during the interviews (see appendix F). The international police is ought to exercise their profession with "patience, tolerance, tact, diplomacy, good judgement and common sense" (Council of the EU, 2012: 258). All EULEX members entering the mission agree to respect this organization's Code of Conduct and to maintain its reputation at all times (ENTRI 2018: 187).

KP officer Teuta stated that the KP aims to be responsible and professional.[121] These values are expressed through respecting the ethical values of the KP that are publically expressed on their website: integrity, honesty, courage, responsibility, accountability, and forbearance (Kosovo Police 2018). These values summarize the values that are recorded in the KP's official Code of Conduct.[122] This Code of Conduct and the ethical principles of the KP were regularly referred to during the interviews with the KP.[123] Hence, the KP scripts are not only publically accessible, but also seem to be well-known by the KP. Ilir states that the ethical principles of the KP are based upon the EULEX Code of Conduct.[124] Indeed, the KP document mentions that their Code of Ethics should be in "accordance with the above mentioned principles and with the European Code of Police Ethics (Republic of Kosovo: 2).[125] Next the ethical principles of the DNP will be analyzed.

The Code of Conduct of the DNP has four core values of the newly developed National Police in the Netherlands since January 2013. These are: integrity, reliable, courageous, and connecting.[126] Since this research also covers the period prior to 2013, the previous valid core rules will be stated as

[121] Author's interview on 07 May 2018.

[122] In this code of conduct is written that "the actions of the Kosovo Republic Police shall be guided by the following principles: 1.1] fair and equal treatment of all persons; 1.2] respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; 1.3] neutrality and impartiality regarding persons' political views and affiliations;1.4] integrity, honesty and accountability in public service; 1.5] transparency - providing information to the public and being open to public; 1.6] legitimacy, suitability and proportionality; and 1.7] commitment to employment, advancement and assignment of duties in comprehensive, merit-based and non-discriminatory manner, by reflecting the multi-ethnic character of Republic of Kosovo and by recognizing the principles of gender equality and human rights foreseen by the Constitution" (Republic of Kosovo: 1).

[123] Author's interview with Ilir on 08 May 2018, and with Teuta on 09 May 2018.

[124] Author's interview with Ilir on 08 May 2018.

[125] During an interview, Ilir elaborated on the similarities between the Code of Conduct of the KP and EULEX: "it is for the General, the Kosovo Police. Because, we created our Code of Ethics based to the EU police Code of Ethics. It was previously from the UN Code of Ethics for the colleagues. But now it is somehow reformed to the EU Code of Ethics, it was fit and suitable for us" (interview Ilir on 08 May 2018).

[126] These core values are translated from Dutch: "integer, betrouwbaar, moedig en verbindend" (Beroepscode Politie, 2018).

well: "respect, transparency, responsibility, engagement, reliable, just, and balances" (trans. Code Blauw, 2007: 8).[127]

Figure 4: Overview of ethical principles from involved parties

Kosovo Police	Dutch National Police	EULEX
Integrity	Integrity	Integrity
Courageous	Courageous	Courageous
Accountable	Reliable	Loyal
Honesty	Connecting	Discipline
Responsible		Impartial
Forbearance		Respect for Human Rights and Diversity
		Gender Equality

Source: Van Grootveld (2018)

Figure 4 shows that two ethical principles are unanimously valued in all three organizations: integrity and courage. It is remarkable that EULEX has two relatively specific principles in their code of conduct: respect for Human Rights and diversity, and gender equality. I would argue that this reflects the core principles and vision of the EU. It shows that EULEX is not 'just' a police organization that is concerned with the rule of law, but that is also has a geopolitical agenda. Their political position is reflected in their core value 'impartiality'.[128] Another significant difference is the word 'responsible' as ethical value of the KP. I would argue that this word reflects the political position of Kosovo, and its disposition to have an autonomous police force without interference of international rule of law. In short: the ethical principles are moderate to highly similar, but the EU displays additional ethical values that reflect their geopolitical character.

5.2.2. Informing the personnel: training on legislation

According to interpreter Adeline, it is salient to provide training on the EULEX Code of Conduct. She reasoned that challenges in information exchange between KP and DNP occurred because of the lack of 1) clarification of EULEX mission, duties and responsibilities, and 2) the legal framework and rules with regard to the exchange of information.[129] As stated in the thesis' introduction: information sharing is perceived as the most tangible way to measure the level of trust in social interaction.

[127] These core values are translated from Dutch: "respect, transpirantie, verantwoordelijkheid, betrokkenheid, betrouwbaarheid, rechtvaardigheid, and balans" (Code Blauw, 2013).
[128] This core value is not present in the KP and DNP because they are not directly concerned with the geo-political performance of their jobs, but only with the national concerns regarding national security.
[129] Questionnaire from Adelina on 10 May 2018.

KP officer Arton mentions that the KP received trainings on the vision of EULEX at the start of the mission in 2008. The main focus was the divide in responsibilities amongst KP, EULEX, and DNP.[130] EULEX personnel, including the DNP, receive two and a half hours of training on the legislative base in Kosovo, and on the EULEX mandate during the introduction training. The training officer from EULEX, Latife Neziri, shared the main message given to the entering staff regarding the expected cooperation approach contained the key elements are: respect, equality, and trust.[131] They not only largely reflect the ethical principles of EULEX that were stated in subsection 5.2.1, but also emphasize the importance of trust. The message above resembles the core values of all respondents regarding the most significant features of effective cooperation (appendix F).[132]

Besides the training given to the KP and DNP about the EULEX Code of Conduct, there is the publically accessible handbook *In Control* that is provided by ENTRI in 2018. It states that the Code of Conduct will guide police officers in upholding the highest standards of professionalism and morality (2018: 191). Although loyalty and respect for Human Rights were mentioned as core values, the handbook specifies that there is a "zero-tolerance policy on exploitation and abuse" (ibid.). The handbook also states that "misconduct of any kind is unacceptable and will result in the imposition of disciplinary measure" (ENTRI 2018: 191). This quote shows that theoretically it is unacceptable for the DNP to act outside of the given EULEX ethical framework. The next subsection will show how the EULEX ethical principles and values 'worked in practice' for the DNP.

5.2.3 The challenges for DNP working with the EULEX mandate

First of all, it should be noticed that no KP officer has expressed situations in which KP and EULEX caused personal or institutional ethical conflicts.[133] In contrast, various DNP expressed their personal challenges with exercising the EULEX Code of Conduct. In their research, Goldsmith and Harris conclude that "officers felt forced to choose between building trusting relationships with particular officers and compromising foundational Australian policing values" (245). Three challenges were indicated during fieldwork where DNP were struggling with the conflicting values between their personal (or DNP) values and the EULEX values.

The first example is given by Sara who faced the challenge that she wanted to give an honest performance evaluation report to her interpreter, based upon the Dutch standards (that is, not the highest score possible and with feedback on improvements). It would however mean that her

[130] Authors' interview with Arton on 07 May 2018.

[131] The complete message is as follow: "Here we are guests in this country, and respect the things that we see here: the laws and the culture. We are not better than them; we are just the same as them. We are just trying to share with them some of the best experiences from the countries. Respect everyone and try to improve them. Try to be friendly with them in terms of respecting and gaining trust. We ask them especially when we are working with local counterparts that the most important thing is that they build trust between each other" (interview with Latife Neziri on 07 May 2018).

[132] From the 20 respondents that named the core ingredients for effective cooperation responded 16 that *trust* is crucial, whereas 7 specifically highlighted the importance of *respect*, and 6 emphasised that *equality* is key to effective cooperation.

[133] There are various challenges addressed by KP officer Damir about the tactical and operational activities, but not on the ethical principles of EULEX. It was, however, expressed that in the UN time there were several issues regarding the equality and respect shown in the treatment from international toward the KP (interview on 10 May 2018).

interpreter would get a lower score than the EULEX score (the maximum score).[134] In order to give her interpreter a chance in the next selection procedure, she decided to adjust her personal DNP values on integrity, and give the highest score. She did, as a compromise, put feedback on the form. She chose to adjust her DNP standards of integrity.

Peter mentioned another challenge. He deliberately ignored the EULEX rule to not take any civilian people into a EULEX vehicle. He decided to ignore this rule since he felt the need to take an old man on the side of the street along with him due to bad weather circumstances. By doing so, he took the risk to receive a punishment issued by the organization he was working for.[135] He consciously chose to value his personal belief in *benevolence* over the practical EULEX Code of Conduct.

Jason provides the third challenges, which is that the image he had of EULEX as an organization and "the EULEX values are not in line with my personal values". [136] He elaborated that he disagrees to the way that EULEX treats its (local) staff, mainly with respect to the selection procedure. This conflict in work attitude resulted in him feeling no pride in identifying himself with EULEX. The next chapter will address how this discontent with certain EULEX values or work approach can be strategically used to gain a trustworthy relationship with a counterpart.

The first case displays how DNP officers adjust their personal and organizational values in order for them to fit with the EULEX standards. The other two examples display how the EULEX Code of Conduct is consciously ignored because it is in conflict with personal standards of DNP officers. Since the publically accessible EULEX Code of Conduct script states to enforce serious repercussions when the EULEX mandate is not exercised properly, the risk that DNP take to gain trust is relatively high.

5.3 Language: cultural speech patterns

In lots of Western task-oriented cultures, the use of direct speech is prevalent when communicating with counterparts (ENTRI 2018: 195). As discussed in the training *Intercultural Awareness*, this direct speech entails limited use of words and courtesies when expressing oneself (2018). A DNP officer can perceive direct speech as efficient (and thus respectful), whereas a KP officer might take it as rude and disrespectful. In interaction, there is a crucial role for the interpreter that transfers the factual message between the KP and DNP. When there is no awareness of this difference in cultural values, it can easily lead to misunderstanding or worse: it can impede the establishment or development of trust between the KP and DNP.

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[134] One might wonder why this is an issue? Well, the downsizing of EULEX requires large cuts in the local staff personnel. One of the criteria taken into account when hiring local staff is their score on the evaluation report.

[135] Author's interview with Peter on 15 May 2018.

[136] This quote is directly translated from the original quote in Dutch: "de waarden van de EULEX missie en van mij komen niet overeen" (interview with Jason on 14 May 2017).

All interpreters expressed that it is a significant part of their work to know and recognize the cultural manner of speech of both KP and other international police, such as DNP, in order to interpret messages correctly.[137] Both interpreters Rinor and Lindita stated that their job is to be linguistic and cultural mediators between the KP and the DNP.[138] Interpreter Lindita explained that "you [interpreter] have to master both languages. You have to know the culture of the people you are dealing with: besides you own culture […]. You know, you have to prepare international staff members with the mentality, with how the things are working here" (interview on 07 May 2018). Hence, the interpreter's task – or challenge - is not just to be aware of the difference, but also to overcome cultural and work attitude barriers between KP and international police officers whilst translating.[139] It is crucial to know of these barriers in order to make correct interpretations of the enacted speech and to, thus, transmit the meaning of the message.[140]

5.4 The longitudinal impact of scripts on the trust building process

As the process mechanism theory requires, it is crucial to determine in which phases of the trust building process the discussed variables *training*, *Code of Conduct*, and *language* are most significant.[141] I argue that the trainings basically form the framework of the trusting beliefs one has, because the trainings on the mandate and the cultural awareness take place prior to meeting the counterpart. In some way, this training variable is thus significant prior to the discussed initial phase in subsection 1.2.2. Instead of adding another phase to the *initial phase* and *on-going* phase, I would suggest to enlarge the period of the initial phase by adding that the familiarization of the parties starts before the actual meeting.[142] The exact significance of the cultural awareness part of the variable *training* is still debatable since the reactions of DNP on both the cultural awareness trainings in the Netherlands and Kosovo, as well as the legislative training, are divided. Some DNP argue that the information helped to raise awareness and knowledge to create effective cooperation, and some mentioned that the information is basically useless or quickly forgotten.

Whereas the *training* variable has most significance in the initial phase where the trusting beliefs are created, the *legislation* variable is more present throughout the whole process of trust building (that is, in the initial phase and the on-going phase). It is not only the legislative framework in which the KP and DNP work together; it also displays the organizational values and their ethical principles. Since these values and principles are very similar, they can be labeled as 'high cultural

[137] Author's interviews with Lindita on 07 May 2018, with Arben on 04 May 2018, and with Nuhi on 08 May 2018.

[138] Author's interviews with Lindita on 07 May 2018, and the questionnaire-based interview with Rinor on 09 June 2018.

[139] Author's questionnaire-based interviews with Nuhi on 08 May 2018.

[140] Author's interviews with Arben on 04 May 2018.

[141] Here the reference is made toward step 6 from the eight-steps method that is introduced by Tarrow and Tilly (2007:207).

[142] Here, the reference is made to the established *initial phase of trust-building* that was provided in sub Section 1.2.2, and defined as: "the moment that parties become familiar with each other due to newness or relational distance" (McKnight and Chervany 2006: 29).

proximity'. As argued previously, this proximity leads to more likelihood of trust building between KP and DNP. However, in practice, DNP personal values regularly conflict with the EULEX values and ethical principles. These challenges arose in the *initial phase* and the *on-going phase* of trust building.

The last variable *language* mainly applies to how the interpreters consciously administer cultural sensitivity by incorporating the cultural values while translating speech between KP and DNP. It requires knowledge, understanding, and experience with and of the Kosovar and Dutch cultural background. Since their role as interpreters is crucial from the very first to the very last meeting, this variable *language* is categorized as highly significant in the *initial* and *on-going phase* of trust building.

5.5 Sub conclusion

This chapter is written from the perspective of culture as publically accessible shared beliefs and values that are consciously present in the mind of the involved parties. The three variables that are correlated to the *script* mechanisms are the variables *training*, *legislation* and *language.*[143] These variables do not only express the cultural beliefs and values in written, but also in spoken form.

The first hypothesis was that there is a greater likelihood to create trust when the national cultural values and the organizational ethical principles of the involved organizations are similar. The analysis showed that the ethical principles between the three involved organizations are moderate to highly similar. However, the EU displayed additional ethical values that reflect its geopolitical character (that is, impartiality, gender equality, and respect for Human Rights and Diversity) which diverged from the other two organizations. Even when some ethical principles, such as integrity, of the DNP and EULEX are similar on paper, it turns out that the personal values of the DNP are challenged by the EULEX Code of Conduct and the work attitude of EULEX in practice. Hence, it could be cautiously concluded that the premise was correct.[144] Regarding the second hypothesis that cultural sensitivity will lead to increased trust building, it can be concluded that, for starters, all parties involved acknowledge and value the core of this statement. The practical performance displaying how cultural sensitivity can lead to shaping of the trust building process will be addressed in the next chapter.

In accordance to step 8 of Tilly and Tarrow's process-based theory, connections and comparisons will be made between the variables of other sub-mechanisms (2007: 207). In this case, a connection will be made between the variable *trust cues* that were discussed in the sub-mechanism *instinct*. First, there is an overlap observable between the concepts of cultural sensitivity and benevolence. Actually, a form of benevolence is already being displayed when being openly cultural

[143] The two latter variables will also occur in the next chapter, when they will be perceived as strategic means.

[144] The precaution is mainly toward the fact that the direct link between cultural proximity and its effect on trust-building is not analyzed. There is only analyzed what challenges officers faced regarding the ethical principles.

sensitive. The mentioned example of this cultural sensitivity is that one KP finds it important when counterparts learn a few words of each other's language at the start of the cooperation.[145] Nevertheless, benevolence is not always simply an act of cultural sensitivity. Hence, the relation is not reversible. Secondly, there is an overlap with the trust cues variable integrity. This word – or a comparative word - is present in all three Codes of Conducts. This adds up to the comments made in subsection 1.3.3 about integrity being 'the nature' of the police profession. The third trust cue *predictability* was briefly linked to the divergent cultural notion of time (that is, a meeting at 3 pm means 'around' 3 pm in Kosovo).

Finally, the phases where the three variables produce significant changes were analyzed. The variable *training* is most significant in the first stage of building initial trust: the trusting beliefs phase. This variable actually enlarges the time period of the set initial phase of trust building, because it adds that the familiarization of the parties starts prior to the actual meeting. Secondly, the variables *legislation* and *language* are categorized as highly significant throughout the entire process of trust building.

[145] Author's interview with Arton on 07 May 2018.

Chapter 6: Toolkit

In the previous two chapters culture was defined as an *instinct* or *script* that shapes the trust-building process. This chapter will analyze culture as a *toolkit* and focusses on the performance of the consciously chosen strategies from the KP, the DNP, and the interpreters.[146] The variables that are selected to best illustrate this toolkit mechanism are *language, legislation,* and *trust cues*.

6.1 Language as a strategic enabler of culture

Out of the three selected variables, the *language* variable will best express the dynamics of the tangible social interaction that is under research — the exchange of information. This exchange is carried out through intercultural communication, defined in the training *Intercultural Awareness* from the Royal Tropical Institute as the actively monitoring of communicative behavior which provides the possibility of adjusting one's own communication customs to that of people from other cultural backgrounds (2018). The role of the interpreter is crucial for exacting the strategies from the KP and the DNP, since interpreters are "like a mediator [who] makes people come together, join together, and talk to each other" (interview with Lindita on 07 May 2018). In order to perform such task, it is important for an interpreter to possess enough resources to exercise their job properly.[147] Throughout the entire cooperation between KP, DNP, and interpreters, the linguistic toolkits are actively used to the advantage of all three parties. Since none of the interpreters shared specific strategies about how they tried to guide trust-building, their perspectives will not be addressed in this chapter.

6.1.1 Language Assistants as an useful source of information

All the DNP respondents clearly expressed their appreciation for the crucial job that interpreters have in the cooperation between international and local police. Nonetheless, the saliency of the interpreters job is a downside for the KP and the DNP, because they have a linguistic dependency in relation to the interpreters or, as Peter argues, "a language assistant can make you, or break you!" (interview on 15 May 2018). Despite the risk to be harmed, most interpreters received the benefit of the doubt because they are seen as a crucial source of information. They are crucial unless the KP counterpart has a sufficient English proficiency, but even then it is important to consider whether the presence of an interpreter is not needed anyway. In practice, it occurred regularly that KP counterparts with sufficient English proficiency asked the DNP officer to have the meeting without interpreters.[148] The KP officer Blerim explained that he often requested communication without an interpreter because the

[146] The latter sample group will have a more prominent role in this chapter than in the previous ones.

[147] It is assumed that interpreters are well informed and in possession of comprehensive knowledge of language. Furthermore, interpreters need to be eloquent and capable in spoken language, as well as very correct in the written form. Finally, the interpreter should show readiness and trustfulness in performing tasks (questionnaire by Adelina on 10 May 2018).

[148] Author's interview with Richard on 28 March 2018, and with Eva on 04 June 2018.

interpreters were sometimes difficult to understand (interview 10 May 2018).[149] The concerning DNP accepted the request several times for small talks and private coffees, but the DNP officers Eva and Richard preferred to bring their interpreter to official meetings in order to achieve impartiality with those in the meeting who might not speak or understand English.[150] Since impartiality is one of the ethical principles of EULEX that needs to be honored, I assume that this reason can be clearly explained to the KP. Nevertheless, Richard strategically avoided giving the exact reason by telling his counterpart that the interpreters were 'great company' or 'fun' to bring along (trans., interview 28 March 2018).[151]

The first strategical role that interpreters can fulfil for the DNP officers is to provide information about the KP counterpart prior to the first meeting. All DNP officers stated that they tried to gain information about their KP counterpart in this manner.[152] Most of the interpreters working for EULEX have been employed already for nearly ten years and were able to create good rapport with most KP counterparts. As concluded in sub chapter 4.3, the information about somebody's reputation could help to decide the level of trustworthiness of the KP during the initial phase of trust building.

In the second place, the DNP officers used the cultural knowledge of interpreters to cross-check social skills, as well as their awareness of culture, when asking for feedback after a meeting with their KP counterpart.[153] This toolkit is explicitly mentioned in the handbook *In Control* from ENTRI: "Interpreters can also be your local specialists in public relations. They can often suggest the best way to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds and can notice nuances that you might have a tendency to overlook as a non-local" (2018: 209). One DNP often discussed with the interpreters how the atmosphere was during the meeting, and if the DNPs actions were 'culturally correct'.[154] When DNP officer Adam asked his interpreter for similar feedback, he was often told that he should display more patience towards his KP counterpart (interview on 17 May 2018). Aron stated in his interview that displaying patience is often difficult for the DNP officers not only because police officers generally do not seem to have much patience, but also because Dutch culture is very action-oriented and result-driven (interview on 28 March 2018). In order to overcome this cultural difference, Aron mentioned that he strategically acted out an offensive approach toward his KP counterpart. This means that he was choosing his professional battles and, thus, also ignored some behavior that he 'normally' (or instinctively) would address because it is against the organizational culture values. Here a link can be made with what was said in sub Section 5.1.1. Not only is this strategic action mentioned

[149] This was especially applicable during the UNMIK period, and became less apparent during EULEX because of the improved skills of the interpreters throughout the years.
[150] Author's interview with Richard on 28 March 2018, and with Eva on 04 June 2018.
[151] This 'great company' and 'fun' was translated from the Dutch quote: "voor de gezelligheid" (interview with Richard on 28 March 2018).
[152] Author's interview with Sara on 24 May 2018, with Ethan on 16 May 2018, and with Adam on 17 May 2018.
[153] Author's interview with Richard on 28 March 2018, and with Adam on 17 May 2018
[154] Author's interview with Richard on 28 March.

in the handbook *In Control*, but it also shows how information from trainings — when seen as useful — can be applied to increase the cooperation between KP and DNP.

6.1.2. The hidden English knowledge

The KP officer Damir stated that most senior KP officials have intermediate knowledge of the English language.[155] He considers that a lack of appropriate English cannot be an obstacle for cooperation anymore. Also interpreter Lindita reasons that most KP officers are able to understand around 90% of the English language because of their almost 20 years working with internationals.[156] She continues that their speaking capacity might be roughly 80%. This English proficiency was strategically used by KP Blerim since the beginning of his career, since he did not need a translator when working with the UN. Also, said proficiency enables him to exercise his current job at an international cooperation unit (interview on 10 May 2018). Yet, while Blerim was able to use his language skills, there are several KP officers that hid their English proficiency from DNP officers.

The DNP officer Sara illustrated how not only the DNP used the knowledge of interpreters as a toolkit, but also how this was conducted by the KP as well. She found out after six to nine months that her counterpart was able to speak sufficient English. Her counterpart never mentioned or used his English proficiency until he had to display his skills when Sara and he attended a conference together without the presence of an interpreter. According to Sara, it was more his insecurity than his level of English that held him from using his linguistic skills earlier. She decided not to push him to communicate in English after the conference because her counterpart had clearly mentioned that he "preferred to communicate via an interpreter to make sure he had understood correctly".[157] Sara strategically chose not to put pressure on him because she wanted to display respect for the cultural value called 'face saving'. As discussed before in sub Section 5.1.1, this face saving is a key characteristic of relation-based cultures, such as the Kosovar. The display of respect for this value — or script — could be taken as an act of cultural awareness. Thus, according to the hypothesis in chapter 5, it can increase the trust building.

A similar situation regarding the discovery of a KP officer's proficiency in English occurred to DNP officer Aron, only that here there is another party involved in the concealment of information — the interpreter. This example displays another — more contextual — point, which is the vulnerability of the interpreters' position within this intercultural communication. At the start of his mission, Aron was told by his interpreter that his KP counterpart did not speak English. After 4 months of cooperation, Aron learned the truth about the other's English proficiency when he met his counterpart

[155] Questionnaire from Damir on 08 May 2018.
[156] Author's interview with Lindita on 07 May 2018.
[157] Author's interview with Sara on 24 May 2018.

during a private event.[158] When I asked if he thinks that the interpreter knew about the KP counterparts English skills, he insinuated that the interpreter knew. He reasoned that it is all a kind of 'game'. He came to realize that interpreters that have rapport with the KP counterparts are often put in a fragile position. Even when he believed that his interpreter was most likely aware of the illegal activities of the KP counterpart, he still displayed understanding for his interpreter's interest in not exchanging all the information:

> "[The interpreter] knew that [the KP counterpart] was part of a crime. She was afraid of him. So if he tells her: "Hey X, — in his own language — remember that whatever happens, do not be a smart-ass!" Well, she will most likely respond with: "okay, okay" (trans., interview with Aron on 28 March 2018).[159]

Aron displayed great cultural sensitivity in this example. By understanding and pointing out the fragile position of the interpreter, he indirectly displays cultural awareness for the dispositional factors that possibly influence the interpreter's decision making. I could argue that not only is the cultural script where relations are a crucial part of the low culture context respected, but that also that the 'culture of fear' with its strong hierarchical divide is understood. There is too little data to argue that this cultural understanding has a direct effect on the trust building from the interpreter and the KP toward the DNP officer, but — according to the hypothesis — this cultural sensitivity is assumed to have a positive output on the trust-building process.[160]

6.2 Carefully applying the Mission's mandate

Several DNP officers have used the EULEX legislation as a toolkit by exposing parts of the secretive operational plan to their KP counterparts, or by expressing organizational and personal values to demonstrate one's own awareness of the norm.

It is mainly the DNP that used the EULEX mandate — or better said, the secrecy around the exposure of the mandate — to gain the trust of the KP counterpart. How? The first manner, used by three DNP officers, was the deliberate exhibition of the secretive EULEX Operational Plan of EULEX to their KP counterpart. This was partly done as a tactic to gain trust, but also because it was considered unreasonable to keep the KP in the dark about the mandatory 'common goals' in which KP plays a major role.[161] Aron disapproves of the information being secretive in the first place, since it

[158] Author's interview by Adam on 28 March 2018.
[159] This quote is directly translated from the original quote in Dutch: "Zij wist dat hij die mishandeling had gepleegd. Zij was bang voor hem. Dus als hij natuurlijk tegen haar zegt: "Hé **, - gewoon in zijn eigen taal- wat er ook gebeurt: ga niet de bijdehandte hier uithangen." Nou, dan denkt zij wel: okay okay" (interview with Aron on 28 March 2018).
[160] Nevertheless, this example could also suggest that the interests of the interpreters might not be in favour of the DNP officers, which could complicate the trustworthiness of the interpreter.
[161] Author's interview with Aron on 28 March 2018, with Sara on 24 May 2018, and with James on 16 May 2018.

implies in his opinion that the KP should make a separate plan independent of EULEX's plan (interview on 28 March 2018).[162] When analyzing culture as a toolkit, the sign of incomprehension regarding the reasons behind the secretive EULEX plan is not important, but the strategic act that Aron shared some information about this plan with his KP counterpart is salient. Aron used the transparency that he displayed as a strategy to win the 'heart and mind' of his counterpart.

This performative aspect of strategically using one's sources was also present in the example presented by DNP James. He encountered exactly the same disruptive thoughts on the secrecy of the plan at the start of this mission. He brought it up to his boss and suggested to openly present the operational priorities of the Operational plan to the strategic management level of the KP.[163] He proudly states: "But that is what will make them trust you: be transparent, be honest, and be consistent".[164]

The DNP officer Aron explained that he always explicitly mentioned the tasks for which he is hired by EULEX. He elaborates on purpose as well as about what is not his job responsibility (e.g., fighting corruption).[165] Additionally, he clearly expressed with premeditation to the KP counterpart his personal values in order to perform his norm awareness.[166] The DNP officer James also applies this strategy, but he expresses not only his personal values, but also the organizational EULEX values. For example, he gave his critical view on Human Rights during a discussion with his KP counterpart.[167] The DNP officer Sara motivated the use of a similar strategy by stating that it is in line with one of the core values of EULEX to express the 'best practices', not only regarding police work, but also toward Human Rights, gender equality, etcetera (interview on 24 May 2018). Hence, not only is the mandate used as enabler of expressing norms, but also the actual norms (or scripts) of EULEX are carefully performed.

6.3. Controlling the trust cues

The first trust cue that will be analyzed is how *benevolence* was strategically used by many DNP officers. Benevolence was performed through bringing personal gifts, displaying mutually shared values about goodwill, and dedicating time and effort to the KP counterpart. Others dedicated their

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[162] He uses the following analogy to illustrate his argument: "[Imagine somebody asking me:] "Aron, could you please go to place X to investigate if somebody is corrupt?" And when I am in the particular location to take a statement from that somebody, that I get told: "But you can't ask him any questions about corruption!" Well, that is weird!" (Trans., interview on 28 March 2018).

[163] At first, his boss objected to the idea, but quickly the approval was given fort his meeting. James expressed that the reactions from the KP, as well as his EULEX colleagues, were positive (interview on 16 May 2018).

[164] This quote is directly translated from the original quote in Dutch "Maar daarmee krijg je vertrouwen: wees transpirant! Weer eerlijk! En wees consistent!"

[165] Since corruption is a vulnerable topic in the Kosovo society, it could work to the benefit of the DNP to explicitly avoid having KP think that fighting corruption is his task.

[166] Author's interview with Aron on 28 March 2018.

[167] Author's interview with James on 16 May 2018.

time and interest by having lunch or coffee together.[168] Two DNP officers mentioned that they strategically use the knowledge about relation-based culture gained from the training. One relational-based strategy was to consciously chitchat with the KP counterpart.[169] This was also the displayed as the common solution to overcome the tensions between low and high cultures. When DNP officers focus on chitchat about personal issues during the first meeting, they avoid falling into the trap of addressing the to-do list directly in the first meeting with the KP counterpart.[170] It is exactly this suggestion that was taken as the most valuable lesson that the DNP officers got from the pre-missions training in the Netherlands and in EULEX.[171] Another relational-based strategy was that some even showed a picture of their kids to share this assumed mutual family bound.[172] More strategies to increase the idea of cultural proximity regarding valuing family ties were performed through inviting the KP counterpart for lunch when family from the Netherlands was visiting.[173] This act was received positively, because the respective KP officer expressed afterwards his gratitude for being invited. The last example of intentionally showing goodwill is by starting work at 6am (instead of 9am) to support one's KP counterpart. Through this act, which also requires a certain 'cost' from the DNP, benevolence is displayed.

The second trust cue to be analyzed is *integrity*. At first, there seemed to be no proper examples about strategizing integrity. My first reasoning was in line with the previously discussed idea that integrity is so inherent for the police that it is not deliberately performed. There was, however, limited strategic display of openness and transparency by DNP officers Aron and James. The first example is already explained in sub Section 6.2 and reflects the transparency in sharing the secretive operational plan of EULEX. The second strategy to display integrity is to openly and precisely telling the KP counterpart which parts of the conversation will be reported in the EULEX chain of command (interview with Aron on 28 March 2018). Besides these strategic acts of the DNP officers to display integrity, there are also strategies to test the integrity of counterparts.

Two of the five KP officers interviewed claimed to always conduct a small test at the start of the contact with new internationals to see if they are trustworthy.[174] Arton explains how he gives information about "imaginary things" to his new counterparts, and afterwards he waits to see if the information was spread.[175] Ilir applies the exact same test with unimportant information.[176] It could be argued, though tentatively, that this testing-act is cultural sensitive towards the Kosovo culture, since

[168] Author's interview with Eva on 04 June 2018, and with Teuta on 09 May 2018.
[169] Author's interviews with Sara on 24 May 2018.
[170] Observation from author during the Training Cultural Awareness.
[171] Author's interviews with Sara on 24 May 2018, with Richard on 28 March 2018, and with Cliff on 26 March 2018.
[172] Author's interview with Aron on 28 March 2018, and with Richard on 28 March 2018.
[173] Author's interview with Eva on 04 June 2018.
[174] Author's interview with Arton on 07 May 2018.
[175] Author's interview with Arton on 07 May 2018.
[176] Author's interview with Ilir on 08 May 2018.

none of the DNP mentions the application of this kind of test to their KP counterpart. In contrast, two DNP expressed their suspicion about being tested by their KP counterpart at the very start of the cooperation. Before elaborating on these cases, it should be noted that these tests were not related to 'secret' information given to them. In both cases they got the impression that their performance was being watched. Whereas Sara felt that her capability was tested during the first assignment for her KP counterpart, Peter felt that he was tested on his benevolence.[177] The latter was asked by this counterpart to join him for a long drive, whereas it is well-known that EULEX prohibits the transport of local police. In the end, it could be integrity that was tested by the KP officers in the first place.

There are two interesting toolkits mentioned regarding the third trust cue that will be analyzed — *capability.* James states that he had distributed this CV, including official job titles and educational degrees, to his counterpart at the start of the cooperation, as was recommended during the masterclass 'Security Sector Reform'.[178] By providing this competence overview, it shows that serious preparation efforts are conducted prior to the first meeting. The second *capacity*-related toolkit is similar to the former in the sense that they both strategically expose the professional background of the DNP, only that the first one does that more explicitly than the second. During the first meeting with her KP counterpart, the DNP officer Sara decided to present her professional background by going directly into a content-based discussion with her counterpart. Her initial plan was to consciously apply a more relational approach. However, she soon realized that it might be for the best to immediately display her capability regarding the work content. By doing so, she was able to act out her professionalism.[179] This example shows that Sara had the awareness of the relation-oriented culture of Kosovo, but she was able to realize in time that another feature of trust building is also salient: the trust cue *capability* (see Section 4.1).[180]

6.4 Sub conclusion

In accordance with the previous sections, the aim is to identity what *toolkits* are significant in which episode of the trust-building process (e.g. the initial phase or the on-going phase).[181] The first conclusion is that all three variables *language, legislation,* and *trust cues* occur in the on-going phase of trust-building. Nevertheless, the second conclusion is that elements of the variables have more significance in the initial phase of trust-building then in the on-going phase — for example, the DNP officers using the interpreter as a source of information to gain knowledge, the use of the secretive

[177] Author's interview with Sara on 24 May 2018, and with Peter on 15 May 2018.
[178] Author's interview with James on 16 May 2018.
[179] This strategy was partly chosen because the opening sentence of her counterpart did not display a high level of trust from the KP counterpart toward her. He stated that she was the first female counterpart, and made her clearly aware of the fact that had kicked out her predecessors. Sara states that she and her counterpart built a very professional and good relationship eventually (interview on 24 May 2018).
[180] The trust cue *predictability* has been left out in the analysis of chapter 6 because there were no useful examples provided during the interviews with DNP and KP.
[181] Here, step 6 from Tarrow and Tilly's eight-step method will be addressed.

EULEX mandate to achieve openness, and the display of capabilities in the first meeting. The third conclusion is that *language* is the most significant variable, from all three cultural toolkit variables, in the creation of trust-building because language is the way to enact culture in a direct manner. Here, the performance of speech is mediated by an interpreter who not only translates the spoken words, but also transfers the hidden cultural values. The fourth conclusion is that — even when language is a major part of the toolkit analysis — the interpreters displayed limited to no consciously performed strategic choices that could shape the trust-building process.

A related conclusion is that, mostly, the DNP officers displayed the use of toolkits. This could be on the one hand because there was more extensive empirical data gathered from the DNP than from the KP. On the other hand, it could also indicate that the available resources and information of the DNP officers are greater (e.g. multiple trainings about cultural awareness). It was only the DNP officers that could use EULEX legislation as a toolkit by exposing parts of the secretive operational plan to their KP counterparts, or by expressing organizational and personal values to demonstrate their own awareness of the norm. Also in the performance of the *trust cues* variable, the DNP officers had most strategic acts. It was only when it came to the trust cue *integrity* that the KP officers had input because they claimed to having tested the international police at the start of the cooperation. The final conclusion is that most strategies from DNP were related to *benevolence*. However, the data in chapter 4 carefully hints at a low valuation of benevolence from the KP side. It therefore can be questioned how significant this variable is towards the trust building process in the chosen case-study.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

This research aims to explain what cultural repertoires shaped the trust-building process among police officers with different nationalities, who only have a short-term relationship with each other, during the EULEX mission in Kosovo between 2011 and 2016. The empirical complication is trust-building is a time consuming process, while the DNP officers are often just employed for one year up to maximum two years. The context of EULEX is a post-conflict area, where international and local police, with divergent cultural backgrounds and beliefs, aim for establishing an effective cooperation through mutual trust.

The holistic mechanism-process-based approach from Tilly and Tarrow is used to explain what mechanisms shaped the different episodes of this trust-building process. The structurationalist ontological stance enables a focus on the social interaction contributing to trust-building, whereby the dispositional factors are taken into account as much as the agency of the involved parties. Since the mentioned multi-cultural context of the mission is very influential, the cultural repertoire mechanism was chosen as main focus in this thesis. These cultural repertoires perceives the role of culture as an unconsciously existing *instinct,* a consciously present *script,* or a strategically chosen *toolkit.* It is thus assumed that culture is not only present, but is also performed by the international and local police.

As mentioned, the process of trust-building aims for establishing an effective cooperation; which ultimately leads to a successful EULEX mission. Hence, a more stabilized and secure post-conflict Kosovo. It is assumed that trust building is key for establishing a fruitful cooperation between international and local police. The outcome of the research displays that trust, indeed, is by almost all respondents perceived as core ingredient of cooperation (see appendix F). In this research is trust defined as "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another" (Rousseau et al. 1998: 395). It is assumed that the intentions and the behaviour can only occur when the *trusting beliefs* are present. Due to the limited scope of this research, the main focus will be on these beliefs instead of the intention. The trusting behaviour, however, will be analysed indirectly because of the research's focus on performativity.

The academic debate about trust-building in police missions displayed five main variables that shape trust: 1] the personal trust cues one person holds, 2] the reputation one person has, 3] the presence of proper preparation training, 3] the way of communication between the involved parties, and 5] the ethical principles and the cultural values of mission mandate. They are labelled as: *trust cues, reputation, training, language*, and *legislation*. This research analyzed how these variables are part of one or more cultural repertoires, and what their significance is regarding the phases of trust-

building. No generalizations can be made from the presented data because of the nature of this qualitative research with the low *n.*

The two main phases of trust-building that were selected are the initial phase and the on-going phase. The initial phase was initially perceived as the moment were the parties becoming familiar with each other in a new situation. There is relational distance, and no actual information exchange takes place. The on-going phase starts as soon as there is (trustful) information exchanged. The main assumption on the longitudinal development of trust is that the factors and processes of trust-building in the initial phase differ from the later phase—the ongoing relationship phase. The second assumption is that the initial phase is perceived as most crucial phase, since because ones it is there –or is not there- is often stays that way. This research has proven that these assumption were correct.

The eight-step method of Tilly and Tarrow enables to re-arrange the longitudinal development of trust-building (2007: 207). The DNP officers stated that six weeks to four months were needed to establish 'trust' with their KP counterpart, whereas most of the DNP also mentioned that it was their intuition during the first meeting that shaped their perception of trust already. Due to the large time-frame where trust was created, it is difficult to determine the exact initial phase; and thus when there is a shift from one phase to the other. Nevertheless, the on-going phase is adjusted to the phase of perceived trustworthy contact between the KP and DNP (regardless the exact time it took to reach that point). The second reconstruction relative to the academic debate is that the initial phase in this case-study does not start when the KP and DNP meet for the first time, but already prior to that. The earlier mentioned *trusting beliefs* of mainly the DNP are already formed during the pre-mission trainings provided by the DNP and EULEX.

In regard to the cultural repertoires can be concluded that they are mainly present or applied in the initial phase of trust-building. The most *instinct* mechanisms take place in this initial phase, as well as *scripts*. It is only the *toolkits* that are mainly significant in the on-going phase of the trust-building. Nevertheless, what is more important is to determine which specific variable have impact on the different phases of trust-building. And even more important: to prioritize their significance in order to determine which variables shaped the trust-building process the most. The outcome of the analyses displayed the highly dynamic and complex interrelation between the five variables and their three different functions as cultural repertoires.

The main mechanism used to analyse the trust-building process was that of *cultural repertoires.* Here, culture is perceived as an unconsciously existing *instinct,* a consciously present *script,* or a strategically chosen *toolkit.* These three sub-mechanisms are connected by the five variables *trust cues, language, reputation, legislation* and *training*. Some of these variables are present or applied in all three sub-mechanisms (e.g. trust cues and language), whereas others only actively occur in one (e.g. training and reputation). In this thesis I claim that all these five variable shapes the trust-building

process between the KP and the DNP in the given case-study. However, their significance on shaping the trust-building process differs. The analysed displayed that the *trust cues* and *language* were the most significant variables, whereas the significance of *reputation* and *training* are debatable. Hence, I would conclude that there is a positive relation established between the amount of time one variable occurred in the different sub-mechanisms, and their actual significance in shaping the process.

The first variable (*trust cues)* is argued to be more significant in the initial trust-building phase. Since the trust cues are already part of the definition of trusting beliefs (which is considered to be the first phase of initial trust building), this outcome is not very surprising. The abstractness of the trust cues made it difficult to determine their individual importance; let alone to determine a causal relation among the four cues. The analysis shows that all trust cues are intertwined. Nevertheless, the trust cue *integrity* and *capability* are by the KP and DNP most valued. This research offers too little evidence to make any claims due to the low *n,* but I will insinuate that the appreciation for *integrity* is likely to be shaped by the nature of the police job and its corresponding ethical principles as exposed in the Code of Conduct (the script). Another insinuation is that the appreciation for *capability* is inherent on the purpose of the cooperation between the KP and the DNP: the MMA-task as well as the executive work. The analysis displayed as well the low appreciation of *benevolence*, whereas the strategic performance of this trust cue was often used by DNP to 'win the hearts and the minds' of their KP counterpart. It could thus be strongly questioned if the approach from the DNP officer has been was the most effective regarding creating trust. However, I have detected a positive correlation between cultural sensitivity and the trust cue *benevolence,* since the performance of benevolence was often perceived –or believed to be perceived- as an act of cultural sensitivity. Finally, the trust cue *predictability* was valued by the DNP officers, but got no appreciation from the KP counterpart or other interviewed locals. With care, I could suggest that the divergent national cultural values for punctuality play a role in this outcome.

Secondly, the widely analysed variable *language* has been proven to be mostly significant in the on-going phase of trust-building. It is especially when the actual exchange of information between the KP and DNP takes place hat the role of the interpreters is crucial and indispensable. They are the mediators of not only the speech acts between the cooperation parties, but also the translators of cultural values and habits. Their cultural knowledge is often used as a toolkit by DNP officers to enlarge cultural sensitivity in the on-going phase, but also to gain feedback on the do's and don'ts of usage of certain language, or the expression of cultural habits. Language 'as a toolkit' (or better said: hiding a language) is also strategically used by KP that have the English proficiency, but to not want or dare to express themselves in English. Hence, the variable *language* is mostly used as toolkit by the KP and DNP, and as script by the interpreters.

Furthermore, the analyses showed that the variables *training* and *reputation* have mainly influence on the initial-trust phase; although the information gained from trainings is regularly used by DNP officers to display cultural awareness to the KP counterparts. Nevertheless, the expressed opinions about the actual significance of both the training and the reputation are mixed; and thus ambiguous regarding their causal relation to the trust-building process. First, the information from the trainings were by some perceived as valuable and used in practice, whereas others mentioned that the content of the training were 'common sense' (and thus known), and quickly forgotten. Second, the impact of receiving information about the counterpart's reputation was by the DNP officers sometimes taken into account, and sometimes completely disregarded. The mixed impact of reputation corresponds with the academic debate literature. In contrast, one KP officer did highlight that reputation is valued in the high context Kosovo culture in the sense that opinions from trusted people about other people will incentivize the willingness to trust the introduced person.

The fifth variable *legislation* displayed a moderate to high significance, as both a script and a toolkit mechanism, regarding the selected process. Although the ethical principles and the cultural values seem to have similar significance in the both episodes of trust-building, they are inevitable in the process because they form the legislative framework of the cooperation between the KP and the DNP. On the one hand the *legislation* is strategically used by the DNP to increase the trust-building between them and the KP through displaying transparency. On the other hand are mainly the ethical principles of the EULEX operational plan causing internal dilemmas between the personal values of the DNP and the organizational norms. However, this is by some DNP used in their advantage regarding their relation with the KP counterpart.

7.2 Recommendations

The outcomes of this research provide not only pragmatic training opportunities, but also theoretical and methodological prospects regarding the academic research on trust-building. It is a significant but taken-for-granted process in life that deserves more academic attention. First, I recommend to conduct more research on trust-building in peacekeeping missions on an inter-institutional level instead of researching the level of trust from civilians toward government institutions. It is expected that the effectiveness of the cooperation between international and local police (or any other government actor, such as the judges, customs, or military) will rise when there is more knowledge that explains how trust in built.

My second recommendation is regarding the samples selection when conducting research about trust-building on an inter-institutional level. Since the establishment of trust takes place during interaction between people, it is advised to have awareness of all actors that shape this interaction. Hence, it is crucial to include not only the internationals' perspective, but also that of the local actors

and the interpreters. Since the scope of this research was limited, there has been only limited qualitative input from the local police. It is recommended to conduct further similar research among the KP, or any other local police actors in post-conflict areas. The research on the latter might even enable a comparative study among peacekeeping missions, which might expose more significant dispositional factors.

Thirdly, I recommend more qualitative research about trust-building because it will more precisely explain how trust is build. Especially in the organization management science, there is often quantitative research conducted with little attention for the interpretation of certain definitions (e.g., benevolence, integrity, and etcetera). The abstractness of the topic trust might easily create misunderstanding about this vague terminology, which can lead to incorrect categorizations of variables.

To combine theory with practice, I would also recommend to expand the list of 'trusting behaviours' that is displayed in the handbook *In Control* with the research results about how trust cue *capability* is valued (ENTRI 2018: 196-7).[182] It may seem obvious that the capability of internationals is valued due to the professional purpose of the cooperation between international and local police. However, it might be a useful 'toolkit' to apply when having the first meeting with a local police counterpart. Second, I would like to recommend the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam to include the outcomes of this research in their two-day training *Intercultural Awareness* that is given to all police officer that are to be deployed in a mission. It will be especially the dispositional factors, as well as the answers from the KP, that could be a great contribution to the course. But also the examples from chapter 6 can be used as inspiration for their future interaction with the local police in the multi-cultural setting of the police mission. And trust me: awareness of cultural repertoires works in the trust-building process!

[182] Curently, the main values displayed are: integrity, respect, benevolence, transparancy, resilience, results, development, expectation management, and understanding and listening (ENTRI 2018: 196-7).

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Appendix A: Questionnaire KP

Pristina, May 2018

Dear Sir/ Madam,

After working for 1.5 years as a Dutch police officer for EULEX Police Strengthening Department in 2012-2013, I got fascinated by the cooperation between international Police and Kosovo Police. Currently I am conducting field work for my Master Research in Pristina in order indicate what mechanisms shape(d) the cooperation between Dutch Police and Kosovo Police during the EULEX mission from 2008 onwards? By identifying the crucial mechanisms, I hope to depict what is found salient for an optimal cooperation; not only in theory but also in practice. Your input as Kosovo Police officer is crucial in this research in order to compare the wishes and needs of the selected target groups. Thank you very much for you valuable time and the effort to answer this questionnaire. It is highly appreciated!

Introduction

- What is your current department, rank, location, and job description?
- Since when are you working for the Kosovo Police?
- What is your gender, age and heritage?

Sub topic 1: Experience with IPOs

- In which period did you have contact with International Police Officers (hereafter IPOs)?
- How often did you have contact with IPOs (daily/ weekly/ monthly etc)?
- In what location was this contact taking place (which city? Which exact location: in the police station or a public space)?
- How was the cooperation generally between you and the IPO's? How was the atmosphere?
- What do you find important elements during cooperation with IPOs?
- What were or are the main challenges in the cooperation between KP and IPOs?

Sub topic 2: Preparation & Training

- What kind of trainings did you receive related to cooperating with IPOs?
- How well were you prepared for international cooperation?
- How were you informed about the legal base of the cooperation?
- How did you prepare your first meeting with your IPO counterpart?

Sub topic 3: Culture

- How important is culture during cooperation with IPOs?
- What local cultural habits should IPOs be aware of when cooperating with KP? What cultural practices are (often) violated by IPOs?
- What are the three most common cultural insensitivities that you came across with during cooperation with IPOs?

Sub topic 4: Language & Translation

- How do you experience the work with IPOs that do not speak the local language? How important is knowledge of the local language?
- How does a language assistant or translator influence the cooperation in your opinion?
- How is your experience with translators? What are the main challenges?

Sub topic 5: Trust-Building

- How important is it for you to trust your counterpart during the cooperation with IPOs? Is trust needed? If so, how do you built trust?
- What makes you trust a person? What characteristics create trust (think about integrity, predictability, capability, benevolence)?
- How was the willingness to share information from the IPOs to KP in general?
- Do you have additional remarks regarding cooperation with IPOs or Dutch in particular?

Thank you very much for your support. In case of any question, please feel free to contact me via email: annevangrootveld@outlook.com

Best wishes,

Anne van Grootveld

Student Conflict Studies

Utrecht University, the Netherlands

Annevangrootveld@outlook.com

Appendix B: Topic Guide Interview Dutch National Police

Utrecht, Maart 2018

Universiteit Utrecht

Beste Meneer/Mervouw,

Bedankt voor de deelname aan dit interview. Mijn scriptie van de Master Studies and Human Rights aan de Universiteit van Utrecht heeft de volgende onderzoeksvraag: What mechanisms shape trust-building between Kosovo Police and Dutch Police during thr EULEX mission from 2008 onwards? Het interview kan desgewenst anoniem worden afgenomen.

Functiegerichte vragen

Vraag 1:In welke periode(s) heeft u gewerkt voor EULEX? In welke plaats werkte u? Wat was uw functie en taken binnen EULEX?

Samenwerking

Vraag 2: Had u een vaste counterpart? Zo ja, wie was dit? Wat was zijn/haar functie? Hoe vaak had u contact?

Vraag 3: Hoe had u zich voorbereid om het eerste contact met uw counterpart? Heeft u uw voorganger gesproken?

Vraag 4: Was uw counterpart geinformeerd over u (denk aan mogelijke reputatie over u of over Nederlandse politieagenten)?

Vraag 5: Hoe kunt u dit contact omschrijven? Hoe was de sfeer?

Vraag 6: Hoe was de informatieverstrekking tussen uw counterpart en u? Mocht dit het geval zijn, welke obstakels heeft u ervaren omtrent informatieverstrekking?

Vraag 7: Wat is voor u het meest belangrijke in de samenwerking met een Kosovaarse collega?

Vraag 8: Welke zaken of activiteiten kunnen de relatie tussen de Kosovaarse Politie en Nederlandse Politie veranderen tijdens de opbouw van de samenwerking?

Trust-building

Vraag 9: Hoe belangrijk is trust-building voor u in een samenwerking? Heeft u vertrouwen nodig om informatie uit te kunnen wisselen?

Vraag 10: Wanneer heeft u het idee dat u iemand kunt vertrouwen? Hoe ontstaan het gevoel van vertrouwen? In welke fase van de samenwerking is vindt dat plaats?

Vraag 11: Welke eigenschappen van een counterpart versterken uw gevoel van vertrouwen?

Vraag 12: De literatuur wijst uit dat er vier elementen zijn die de 'trusting beliefs' vormen, te weten benevolence (goodwill), capacity (ability), integrity en predictability. Welke is voor u het meest van belang om vertrouwen op te bouwen? [Doorvragen over hoe elk van de vier zichtbaar waren tijdens het informatieprocess, hoe deze elementen de gedachten over de counterpart hebben beïnvloed, welke het meest van belang is, rangschikken op belangrijkheid]

Vraag 13: De literatuur wijst uit dat de 'trusting intentions' bepaald worden door: willingness, commitment, vulnerability and risk-taking. Hoe vond u de 'trusting intentions' van uw counterpart? Wat waren de bijzonderen? Waarvoor stellen partijen zich kwetsbaar op?

Vraag 14: Een derde fase van het opbouwen van initial trust is 'trusting behavior'. Wat voor gedrag van uw counterpart zorgde ervoor dat u hem of haar vertrouwde? Door welke concrete actie kan uw counterpart laten zien dat zijn of haar gedrag betrouwbaar is?

Vraag 15: Welke stappen heeft u ondernomen om vertrouwen te wekken bij uw counterpart?

Vraag 16: Welke situaties heeft u ervaren waarin het vertouwen in uw KP counterpart minder was of werd naarmate de tijd verstreek? Wat heeft de belangrijkste rol gespeeld hier?

Vraag 17: Hoe belangrijk is volgens u de (wanneer aanwezig) reputatie die er is van een bepaalde nationaliteit of van een collega?

Cultuur

Vraag 18: Hoe beïnvloede cultuur (en bewustzijn van cultuur) volgens u in de samenwerking met de Kosovaarse Politie? Hoe belangrijk was cultuur in de samenwerking?

Vraag 19: Welke (algemene) culturele praktijken, vertoningen en gebruiken zijn in uw ogen belangrijk in de beginfase van vertouwen opbouwen?

Vraag 20: Van welke Nederlandse gebruiken zou de Kosovo Politie moeten weten zodat het de samenwerking zal bevorderen? Dus: wat is volgens u de 'common sense' van Nederlanders?

Vraag 21: Welke Kosovaarse gebruiken vond u opmerkelijk/ anders of interessant in verhouding met de Nederlandse cultuur? Hoe bent u daarmee omgegaan? Wat zijn de drie meest verschillende culturele praktijken?

Vraag 22: Welke gebruiken van de Kosovaarse Politie vond u opmerkelijk/ anders of interessant in verhouding met de Nederlandse politiecultuur? Hoe bent u daarmee omgegaan? Wat zijn de drie meest verschillende culturele praktijken?

Vraag 23: Welke culturele praktijken zijn mogelijk hetzelfde in Nederland en Kosovo, maar anders in andere culturen?

Vraag 24: Welke rol speelde taal in uw samenwerking met de Kosovaarse Politie? En in het opbouwen van vertrouwen met uw counterpart?

Vraag 25: Welke rol speelt een language assistent in samenwerking? En in trust-building?

Informatieuitwisseling

Vraag 26: Hoe was de vrijwilligheid van de informatieverstrekkingen vanuit de Kosovaarse Politie tijdens de samenwerking? Kunt u een voorbeeld noemen?

Vraag 27: Hoe beinvloed de inhoud van het EULEX mandaat de informatieuitwisseling tussen de Kosovaarse Politie en de Nederlandse Politie? Hoe vaak is informatie die volgens de regeling verstrekt zou moeten worden niet gedeeld?

Vraag 28: Hoe waren uw ervaringen met betrekking tot het ontvangen van informatie die u nodig had?

Vraag 29: Wat is de verwachte (langere en kortere termijn) winst van de uitwisseling van informatie met KP? Hoe heeft deze verwachte winst uitgepakt in de praktijk? Welk risico neemt de KP is hun samenwerking met Nederlandse Politiemedewerkers?

Nogmaals dank voor de medewerking!

Met vriendelijke groet,

Anne van Grootveld

Student Master Conflict Studies and Human Rights

Universiteit van Utrecht

Appendix C: Questionnaire Interpreters

Pristina, May 2018

Universiteit Utrecht

Dear Sir/ Madam,

After working for 1.5 years as a Dutch police officer for EULEX Police Strengthening Department in 2012-2013, I got fascinated by the cooperation between international Police and Kosovo Police. Currently I am conducting field work for my Master Research in Pristina in order indicate what mechanisms shape(d) the cooperation between Dutch Police and Kosovo Police during the EULEX mission from 2008 onwards? By identifying the crucial mechanisms, I hope to depict what is found salient for an optimal cooperation; not only in theory but also in practice. Your inputs as (ex) EULEX language assistant is ought to be crucial in the cooperation between Dutch and Kosovo Police. Thank you very much for you valuable time and the effort to answer this questionnaire. It is highly appreciated!

Note: Please indicate if you prefer this questionnaire to be anonymous.

Introduction

- In which time period have you been working for EULEX as a translator?
    - How many years have you been working with the international police department?
    - With what departments of the Kosovo Police have you worked?
    - In which city/cities have you worked for EULEX?
- Which languages do you translate?
- Optional question: What are your gender and age?

Answer:

Sub topic 1: Preparation

- How were you prepared for your job as language assistant?
    - What related education did you have before your started to work as language assistant?
- What training did you receive from EULEX when you started as a language assistant?
    - Where these courses specifically related to your job as language assistant?
- What kind of specialization course have you received from EULEX?
- How can you best prepare for the job as EULEX language assistant?

Answer:

Sub topic 2: Tasks

- What tasks are officially parts of your job description?
- On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 is 'very low' and 10 the highest score): How much time did you spend, or are you spending on translating documents? And how much time on verbal translations?
- What are the three main challenges during your job as a language assistant? Please elaborate and give an example.
- What qualities do language assistants need to have in order to conduct the job properly in your opinion?

Answer:

Sub topic 3: Nationalities

- With which nationalities did you work (most)?
    - Have you worked with Dutch colleagues? If so, with how many?
- What is the biggest challenge working with different nationalities?

Answer:

Sub topic 4: Culture

- What are the two biggest cultural challenges that you faced during the job as language assistant?
- What are the similarities in the Dutch and Kosovar culture? And how do they differ?
- Which three advices related to culture would you give a Dutch Police officer that enters the missions?
- If it is case the case, how did the culture within the Kosovo Police change over the past ten years?
- Do you think there is a kind of 'police culture'?
    - If so, how would you describe this culture?
    - How does it differ from other disciplines within EULEX (e.g. customs, justice etc.)?

Answer:

Sub topic 5: Information Exchange

- How is or was the information exchange generally between the Kosovo Police and the international Police officers?
- How was the willingness to share information from the IPOs and Kosovo Police in general?
- What were the main challenges in this information sharing process in your experience?

Answer:

Sub topic 6: Trust-Building

- How important is trust during your cooperation with international Police and Kosovo Police? Is trust needed?
- What makes you trust a person? What characteristics create trust (think about integrity, predictability, capability, benevolence)?
- Optional: What are you additional remarks regarding cooperation between international Police and Kosovo Police, and the role of the translator in this process?

Answer:

Thank you very much for your support and for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. In case of any question, please feel free to contact me via email: annevangrootveld@outlook.com

Best wishes,

Anne van Grootveld

Student Conflict Studies at Utrecht University, the Netherlands

Appendix D: Questionnaire Training EULEX

Pristina, May 2018

Dear Madam,

Thank you for participating in his interview for my Master Research for Conflict Studies at Utrecht University. I am interested in the mechanisms that shape the cooperation between internal and local police during working for EULEX from 2008 onwards. One of the identified mechanisms is training and preparation. I would like to pose the following questions at you:

- How does the training office of EULEX prepare the incoming staff on cooperation with the KP (induction training etc.)?
- What are the main elements of this training related to cooperation between IPOs and KP?
- How much attention do the training(s) provide(s) for the following topics: trust, cultural awareness, the legal base of the cooperation, and the organizational values of EULEX? What is the core information you provide about these topics?
- Are there any specialisation courses offered by EULEX on cooperation, information sharing or cultural difference? If so, which ones?
- How was the KP prepared back in the days for working with International?
- What are the three main advices for IPOs that you can give to prepare them for the mission?
- What other salient issues regarding cooperation between IPOs and KP would you like to stress?

Thank you very much for your participation and your time! In case of any questions or remarks, please feel free to contact me per mail: annevangrootveld@outlook.com

Best wishes,

Anne van Grootveld

Student Conflict Studies at Utrecht University, the Netherlands

Appendix E: Sample list

Figure 3: Overview of the sample list, including the anonymized names

Interviews	Synonyme	Sample	Date Interview	Type
[redacted]	Peter	DNP	26.03.18	Interview
	Richard	DNP	28.03.18	Interview
	Aron	DNP	28.03.18	Interview
	Jason	DNP	14.05.18	Interview
	Rene	DNP	15.05.18	Interview
	Adam	DNP	17.05.18	Interview
	Ethan	DNP	16.05.18	Interview
	James	DNP	16.05.18	Interview
	Sara	DNP	24.05.18	Interview
	Eva	DNP	04.06.18	Interview
	Damir	KP	08.05.18	Questionnaire
	Teuta	KP	09.05.18	Interview
	Ilir	KP	08.05.18	Interview
	Blerim	KP	10.05.18	Interview
	Arton	KP	07.05.18	Interview
Latife Neziri		Training	07.05.18	Interview
Annemarie Stout		Training	06.03.18	Interview
[redacted]	Lindita	LA	07.05.18	Interview
	Arben	LA	04.05.18	Interview
	Adelina	LA	10.05.18	Questionnaire
	Nuhi	LA	08.05.18	Questionnaire
	Rinor	LA	09.06.18	Questionnaire
	Matthew	Expert	04.05.18	Interview

Source: Van Grootveld (2018)

Appendix F: Core elements for effective cooperation

Figure 4: The ingredients of effective cooperation as valued by the respondents

Name	Trust	Capacity	Openness	Emphaty	Respect	Equality
Richard		1				
Aron					2	
Jason	1	1	2			
Peter	1		1		1	1
Adam	1		1			
Ethan	1		1	1		
James	1	2	1	1		1
Sara	1	1	1	1	1	
Eva	1		1		1	1
Damir					1	1
Teuta	2	1				
Ilir	1	2				
Blerim	1					
Arton	1		2		1	
Latife Neziri	1		1		1	
Annemarie Stout	1			1		
Lindita						
Arben						
Adelina	1					
Nuhi		1				1
Rinor	1	1	1			
Matthew	1		1			
Total[183]	**16**	**8**	**11**	**4**	**7**	**5**

Source: Van Grootveld (2018)

[183] This figure displays the outcome on the question that was raised to all repondents at the start of the interview: What are the code ingedients for effective cooperation [not trust!] in your opinion? The figure only shows the outcomes that were valued by more than 3 respondents. Hence, thee answer ‘sympathy’, ‘neutrality’, ‘understanding’, ‘ethics’, and ‘networking’ are excluded from this graph.

Appendix G: The Eight-Step method from Tilly and Tarrow

Figure 5: Steps in the Mechanism-Process Approach to explanation of Contention

Step	Steps as displayed in Box A3	Applied to case-study of this thesis
1	Using the major concepts as identified of contentious politics, specify the *site(s)* of contention you are studying	Using the major concepts as identified of cultural repertoires, specify the *site(s)* of repertoires you are studying
2	Using the same descriptive concepts, describe relevant *conditions* at those sites what the contention you are studying begins	Using the same descriptive concepts, describe relevant *conditions* at those sites what the cultural repertoires (e.g., instincts, scripts, and toolkits) you are studying begins
3	Identify and describe the *streams(s)* of contention at or among those sites you want to explain	Identify and describe the *streams(s)* of cultural repertoires at or among those sites you want to explain
4	Specific the outcome(s) whose relation to the contention under study you want to determine	Specific the outcome(s) whose relation to the contention under study you want to determine
5	Break the streams of contention unto coherent *episodes*	Break the streams of process trust-building unto coherent *episodes*
6	Search the episodes for *mechanisms* producing significant changes and/or differences	Search the episodes for *mechanisms* producing significant changes and/or differences
7	Reconstruct the *processes* into which those mechanisms compound	Reconstruct the *process* of trust-building into which those mechanisms compound
8	Using analogies or comparisons with similar processes elsewhere, combine conditions, mechanisms, and processes into explanations of specific outcomes	Using analogies or comparisons with similar processes elsewhere, combine conditions, mechanisms, and processes into explanations of specific outcomes

Source: Van Grootveld (2018) based on Tilly and Tarrow (2007: 207)