

**Where is the Trust?**  
**– Conflict and Trust Assessment between Large-Group Conflict**  
**Parties for 3rd Parties Conflict Intervention**

Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktorgrades  
an der  
Fakultät für Erziehungswissenschaft, Psychologie und Bewegungswissenschaft  
– Fachbereich Psychologie –  
der Universität Hamburg

vorgelegt von Mariska Kappmeier

Hamburg, 2012

Tag der Disputation: 10. Juli 2012

Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Alexander Redlich

Zweitgutachter: Jay Rothman, Ph.D.-

Disputationsgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Eva Arnold

Disputationsgutachter: Prof. Dr. Matthias Burrisch

Vorsitzende des Promotionsprüfungsausschusses: Prof. Dr. Martin Spieß

**Widmung**  
**für meine Mutter – Du bist immer ein Teil von mir**

## **Acknowledgments**

“It takes a village to raise a child”

At the end of the long path of my dissertation, this African saying comes to my mind. However, in my case it is not a child but a Ph.D. I would have not been able to succeed in conducting and writing my dissertation without the tremendous support from a great circle of friends and fellow scholars – amounting to my personal village of supporters.

First of all, I want express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Alexander Redlich – thank you Alex for believing from the first time I set foot into your office in my project in spite of its magnitude. Thank you for your stimulating ideas and conversations, your responsiveness and your valuable insights. Thank you also for exposing me for ongoing opportunities and actively being involved to make them happen, such as ripping off last minute research proposals with frantic forward and backwards emailing .

In this line of thinking, I also thank my second advisor Jay Rothman, thank you for your engaging discussion and sharing you widespread network with me for my first interview study.

Working on the ground in a foreign country is not possible without the outstanding support from a local team– I want to thank Svetlana Haraz for her tremendous impact and effort to coordinate my study in Moldova. Thanks to her endless efforts, insight and persistence I was able to reach such a huge and even distributed pool of participants on both banks of the Dniester. In this manner, I also want to thank my translators Daniela Haraz, Katja Bedicov and Mirabela Osadci for giving me a voice through their translation efforts.

I also wish to thank Rebecca Chamberlain and Denis Matveev for their help before I set first foot in Moldova. Thank you both for connecting me and for being such an endless source of knowledge for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.

After gathering the data in the region, the hard work only got started. In this matter, I want to thank Anne Wirth, Bimini Carter and Caroline Hartman for their support in the data preparation. Thank you for your patience, effort and inspiring discussions, during the long and tedious endeavor creating the coding schemes.

Very special thanks goes to my writing buddies Joanna DeDas, Franny Sullivan and Arthi Devarajan for all your moral support on the final stretch of the dissertation. You kept me sane over the past nine months. Thank you all for your cheery good humor during our

long hours together in the library and of course for the countless proof reading efforts and support to find the right English terminology for my huge cumbersome German terms.

Similarly, I would like to thank Janice Adelman and Matthew Jarman, my online writing buddies in California. Thank you for your bi-weekly commitment for joint objective setting and your availability to me when I ask countless methodological and internal logic questions. Thank you also to Aurore Chow, who helped as well with proofreading.

I really want to thank my host Department of Conflict Resolution, namely Eben Weitzman, Darren Kew, Rezarta Bilali, Robert Weiner, David Matz and Roni Lipton. Thank you all for extending your knowledge to me, giving me advice and the opportunity to practice and present my research. All your feedback including conceptual methodological and content-based insights, as well as hands on advice on how to overcome the writing block, was incredibly helpful.

And of course I thank all the participants in my two studies who took the time and meet with me to share their insights and perceptions regarding trust in large-group conflicts. I hope that the findings of my dissertation give justice to their insight and personal story. I also thank the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) for funding this project.

I wouldn't be today where I am if it hadn't been for my family, who accompanied me longer than just on the path of the Ph.D. Thank you for your support, to my dad and my sister for always believing in me.

And my very special thanks goes to my partner Neil Fernandes: For your ongoing belief in my work, that came with a price on the two of us, never doubting my capability to pull it off and supporting me morally throughout the path of the dissertation as well as with countless delicious meals so my brain can keep functioning.

I would not have been able to create this dissertation without any of you! Thank you again for the accompaniment on the long path we traveled!

## Table of Contents

Summary .....	10
1. Theory: No Peace without Trust.....	11
1.1. Conflict: General and Large-Group Specific .....	12
1.2. No Peace Without Trust.....	16
1.2.1. Definition of Trust.....	19
1.2.2. Trust Construct.....	20
1.2.3. Trust Conditions and the Assumed Interplay Between Trust Conditions and Trust.....	23
1.2.4. Summary of Trust.....	25
1.3. Conflict Assessment and Conflict Assessment Tools.....	26
1.4. Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts.....	31
1.5. Summary: No Peace Without Trust.....	34
2. Research Objectives, Design and Dissertation Outline .....	36
2.1. Research Objectives .....	36
2.1.1. Conceptual Research Objective.....	37
2.1.2. Applied Research Objectives: Development of a Trust-Sensitive Conflict Assessment Framework.....	37
2.2. Preoperational Overview on the Research Design .....	39
2.3. Dissertation Outline.....	40
3. Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire.....	43
3.1. Literature review.....	43
3.1.1. Conditions of Trust Inventory (Butler, 1991).....	44
3.1.2. Trust Index (Emergency Capacity Building Project, 2007).....	45
3.1.3. Comparison of the CTI (Butler, 1991) and Trust Index (ECBP, 2007).....	47
3.2. Pre-Study: Expert Observation on Conditions That Foster Trust in Conflict Settings.....	49
3.2.1. Method.....	49
3.2.2. Results .....	50
3.3. Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) .....	52
3.3.1. Structure of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ).....	54
3.4. Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI).....	55
3.5. Summary: Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire .....	57
4. Background: Transdnistrian Conflict.....	58
4.1. Synopsis: the Moldova – Transdnistria conflict.....	59
4.2. Sources of the Conflict.....	60

4.3.	<i>Course of the Conflict .....</i>	<i>61</i>
4.3.1.	<i>Pre- &amp; Soviet Time 1400 – 1960.....</i>	<i>61</i>
4.3.2.	<i>Collapse of the Soviet Union and Armed Conflict, 1989 – 1992.....</i>	<i>62</i>
4.3.3.	<i>Frozen Conflict, 1992 – 2009.....</i>	<i>63</i>
4.3.4.	<i>Current Situation in 2012.....</i>	<i>64</i>
4.3.5.	<i>Final Remarks - Conflict Characteristics.....</i>	<i>65</i>
5.	<i>Method.....</i>	<i>67</i>
5.1.	<i>The Qualitative Approach.....</i>	<i>67</i>
5.2.	<i>Epistemology or Orientation Within Qualitative Research Conduct.....</i>	<i>68</i>
5.3.	<i>Rigor in Qualitative Research Review.....</i>	<i>69</i>
5.3.1.	<i>Objectivity / Conformability.....</i>	<i>69</i>
5.3.2.	<i>Reliability / Dependability.....</i>	<i>70</i>
5.3.3.	<i>Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder Reliability .....</i>	<i>70</i>
5.3.4.	<i>Internal Validity / Credibility / Authenticity .....</i>	<i>71</i>
5.3.5.	<i>External Validity / Transferability .....</i>	<i>71</i>
5.3.6.	<i>Utilization / Application .....</i>	<i>72</i>
5.4.	<i>Study Design.....</i>	<i>72</i>
5.4.1.	<i>Interviews and Sample Specifics.....</i>	<i>72</i>
5.4.2.	<i>Instruments.....</i>	<i>76</i>
	<i>Conflict &amp; Trust Map Interview (CTMI).....</i>	<i>76</i>
	<i>Trust Map Questionnaire TMQ.....</i>	<i>77</i>
5.4.3.	<i>Language .....</i>	<i>78</i>
5.4.4.	<i>Transcription .....</i>	<i>79</i>
5.5.	<i>Quantitative Analyses .....</i>	<i>79</i>
5.6.	<i>Qualitative Analysis.....</i>	<i>80</i>
5.6.1.	<i>Development Coding Scheme .....</i>	<i>80</i>
5.6.2.	<i>Parsing.....</i>	<i>82</i>
5.6.3.	<i>Coding Procedure.....</i>	<i>83</i>
5.6.4.	<i>Overlaps of Codings .....</i>	<i>84</i>
5.6.5.	<i>Rigorousness of the Presented Study .....</i>	<i>84</i>
	<i>Objectivity / Conformability .....</i>	<i>84</i>
	<i>Reliability / Dependability .....</i>	<i>85</i>
	<i>Internal Validity .....</i>	<i>89</i>
	<i>External Validity / Transferability .....</i>	<i>90</i>
	<i>Utilization / Application.....</i>	<i>90</i>
5.7.	<i>Summary: Method .....</i>	<i>91</i>
6.	<i>Coding Schemes of the Conflict &amp; Trust Map.....</i>	<i>92</i>
6.1.	<i>Conflict &amp; Trust Map .....</i>	<i>92</i>
6.2.	<i>Conflict Map .....</i>	<i>94</i>
6.2.1.	<i>Description Conflict Map.....</i>	<i>95</i>
6.2.2.	<i>Conflict Map Booklet.....</i>	<i>101</i>
6.2.3.	<i>Potential for Generalization of the Conflict Map.....</i>	<i>104</i>
6.3.	<i>Trust Map.....</i>	<i>120</i>

6.3.1.	<i>Description Trust Map .....</i>	121
6.3.2.	<i>Trust Map Booklet .....</i>	124
6.3.3.	<i>Potential of Generalization of the Trust Map.....</i>	130
6.4.	<i>Summary: Coding Scheme of the Conflict &amp; Trust Map.....</i>	136
7.	<i>Trust in Large-Group Conflicts .....</i>	138
7.1.	<i>Evidence Supporting the Relevance of the Previously Identified Trust Conditions .....</i>	138
7.1.1.	<i>Trust Map Questionnaire – Condition Confirmation .....</i>	139
7.1.2.	<i>Conflict &amp; Trust Map Interview – Condition Confirmation .....</i>	142
7.1.3.	<i>Results From the Trust Code Others.....</i>	148
7.2.	<i>Moldova-Transdnistria Trust Map.....</i>	150
7.2.1.	<i>Conflict Trust Map Interview (CTMI) .....</i>	151
7.2.2.	<i>Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ ) .....</i>	161
7.2.3.	<i>Comparison Between CTMI &amp; TMQ .....</i>	170
7.3.	<i>Trust as a Crucial Component of Conflict Dynamics .....</i>	172
7.3.1.	<i>Frequencies Conflict Categories and Their Relation to Trust Conditions.....</i>	175
7.3.2.	<i>Content Comparison: Conflict Category – Trust Conditions Relations.....</i>	181
	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties .....</i>	181
	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> Area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict .....</i>	185
7.4.	<i>Summary: Trust in Large-Group Conflict.....</i>	189
8.	<i>Application: Conflict &amp; Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict.....</i>	191
8.1.	<i>1<sup>st</sup> Area - Pillar of the Conflict.....</i>	192
8.1.1.	<i>Conflict Parties .....</i>	192
8.1.2.	<i>Terminology .....</i>	199
8.1.3.	<i>Roots of the Conflict .....</i>	200
8.1.4.	<i>Summary 1<sup>st</sup> Area – Pillar of the Conflict.....</i>	202
8.2.	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties .....</i>	202
8.2.1.	<i>Frequency of the Conflict Categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” .....</i>	203
8.2.2.	<i>Conflict Category: Perception of Parties’ Interests .....</i>	206
8.2.3.	<i>Conflict Category: Others as Suppressor/Aggressor/ Negative Attitude .....</i>	211
8.2.4.	<i>Perception of Other’s Fear .....</i>	218
8.2.5.	<i>Other as Unpredictable Partner.....</i>	220
8.2.6.	<i>Good Friendly Contact/ Communication/ Relationship With the Others.....</i>	223
8.2.7.	<i>Summary 2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties .....</i>	226
8.3.	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict .....</i>	228
8.3.1.	<i>Frequency of the Conflict Categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict .....</i>	228
8.3.2.	<i>Elites: Criticism against The Elites .....</i>	231
8.3.3.	<i>Propaganda .....</i>	236



8.3.4.	<i>Language: Differences Regarding the Language .....</i>	241
8.3.5.	<i>Further Separation &amp; Insisting on Legal Aspects.....</i>	243
	<i>Further Separation .....</i>	243
	<i>Insisting on Legal Aspect .....</i>	246
8.3.6.	<i>Summery 3rd area – Characteristic of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict</i>	
	<i>249</i>	
8.4.	<i>Summary: Application of the Conflict &amp; Trust Map.....</i>	251
9.	<i>Conclusion: Where is the Trust? .....</i>	254
9.1.	<i>Trust-Sensitive Conflict Assessment Framework: Conflict &amp; Trust Map.....</i>	254
9.2.	<i>The Two Instruments: Conflict &amp; Trust Map Interview and Trust Map</i>	
	<i>Questionnaire .....</i>	255
9.2.1.	<i>Coding Schemes Conflict Map and Trust Map.....</i>	258
9.2.2.	<i>The Framework: Conflict &amp; Trust Map .....</i>	259
9.2.3.	<i>Conclusion ‘Conflict &amp; Trust Map’ – Where to go From Here?.....</i>	261
9.3.	<i>Conclusion: The Focus on Trust.....</i>	261
9.3.1.	<i>Trust &amp; Conflict – Where to go From Here??.....</i>	261
9.3.2.	<i>To Foster Trust - How to Apply the Findings?.....</i>	262
9.3.3.	<i>Interplay of Trust Conditions - Where to go From Here?.....</i>	264
9.4.	<i>Final Notes.....</i>	265
10.	<i>References .....</i>	266
Appendix A:	<i>Expert interview guidelines.....</i>	277
Appendix B:	<i>Conflict &amp; Trust Map Interview (CTMI).....</i>	285
Appendix C:	<i>Master Version: Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) .....</i>	294
Appendix D:	<i>Conflict Map Booklet.....</i>	301
Appendix E:	<i>Trust Map Booklet .....</i>	332
Appendix F:	<i>Results TMQ Hamburg Student Population.....</i>	353
	<i>List of Tables.....</i>	354
	<i>List of Figures.....</i>	357
	<i>Eidesstaatliche Erklärung .....</i>	359

## Summary

“Parties cannot enter into a peace process without some degree of mutual trust, but they cannot build trust without entering into a peace process” (Kelman, 2005, p. 641)

Although the vast majority of research in the field of psychology and conflict resolution stresses the importance of building trust in post-conflict areas and assigning trust a crucial role for parties to move from conflict toward conflict resolution, there has been a lack of empirical research on exploring how exactly trust manifests in large-group conflicts, and how it can be built in a systematic manner. Trust is a multi-dimensional construct, which is determined through different conditions. While for dyadic and intra-group settings conditions were identified engendering trust, for the context of inter-group conflicts, attempts to identify and measure a comprehensive set of conditions leading to trust are missing.

This dissertation aims to fill these gaps through (a) identifying a comprehensive set of trust conditions engendering trust between large-group conflict parties and (b) the development of a trust sensitive conflict assessment framework, the Conflict & Trust Map.

It thereby addresses two aspects of trust in conflict: (1) Conceptual questions, such as what trust conditions constitute trust in the context of large-group conflict and what is the interplay between trust and conflict themes in the conflict setting; and (2) applied questions such as how can trust be measure in the context of conflict?

These questions were addressed through two studies: An expert study, in which a set of 21 trust conditions were identified. These conditions were the base on which to develop the trust-sensitive conflict assessment framework, the Conflict & Trust Map, created in the form of an assessment kit consisting of two instruments for data gathering – two coding schemes for data structuring and the framework itself, for data interpretation. The Conflict & Trust Map and its instruments were tested for their feasibility in the case study of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict, an Eastern European site of a 1992 civil war. In this real-world large group conflict between Moldova and Transdnistria, evidence was found for the relevance of the pre-identified 21 trust conditions and a more nuanced insight was gained about the circular relationship between trust with conflict themes. Additionally, the framework and its instrument proved themselves applicable.

## **1. Theory: No Peace without Trust**

If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then  
he becomes your partner.

- Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela refers here to the difficult path of making peace between large-group conflict parties. He emphasizes the need for cooperation as a crucial component of the peace-making process, a perspective I share in this dissertation. Echoing this point, Kramer and Carnevale (2001) states: “Trust tends to beget cooperation and cooperation breeds further trust” (p. 451). I will build on this perspective and argue that cooperation and peace are only achievable through parallel trust-building. Furthermore, I will stress that trust building should be based on a systematic trust assessment. In the course of my dissertation, I develop and present two instruments supporting practitioners and researchers in the endeavor of trust assessment.

Peace making without at least a minimal degree of trust is an impossible undertaking. However, I am not the first researcher to make this point. As Kelman (2005) summarizes: “Trust is a central requirement for the peaceful and effective management of all relationships—between individuals, between groups, and between individuals or groups and the organizations and societies to which they belong” (p. 640). In my dissertation, I focus especially on trust between large-group conflict parties and its role in peace making. Further, I propose two new instruments for comprehensive trust assessment. I conduct my research and apply my findings in the realm of “large-group conflicts,” a term that refers to conflicts involving thousands or millions of group members. In large-group conflicts, even though large numbers of members are part of the same group, they may never meet or interact with all their intra-group fellows, complicating the process of achieving peaceful results.

In the following section, I will explain my understanding of conflict from a psychological point of view and clarify my reasoning for using the term large-group conflict. The second part of this chapter covers my conceptual understandings of trust for which I will introduce definitions and models of trust. I make the claim that one must first gain knowledge about the conditions that foster trust. To understand the specifics of conflict, I will then reflect on conflict assessment tools, which traditionally fail to grapple with the important issue of trust. I will conclude the chapter with brief coverage of different third-party interventions that

can be applied in large-group conflicts and introduce a framework focusing on the relationship between conflict parties to understand the intra-group dynamics. Throughout I will emphasize that trust relationships are an underlying component in conflict. While not the core project presented here, in future work the findings of this dissertation ultimately aim to contribute to enhanced peace making processes through contributing an analysis of, and methodology for, informed trust building.

### **1.1. Conflict: General and Large-Group Specific**

*Conflict.* Conflicts can arise when “when parties [...] act out of an incompatibility of goals or a perceived divergence of interest” (Ross, 1998, p. 159). They can occur on the level of resources, objectives, or identity (Rothman, 1997). Ross poses the three levels in relation to one another, explaining, “Conflict is about concrete interests – differences over specific scarce resources (e.g. land, money, positions) which divide parties in conflict. At the same time it is also about identities and the interpretations of disputants, including the motives [objectives] they attribute to themselves and to opponents [...]” (p. 159). Rothman takes this differentiation further, stating that resource-based conflicts (concrete tangible resources) are the most tractable conflicts. More challenging to resolve are objective-based conflicts, which are about interests, often associated with the resources. Finally, conflicts in which parties see their identity as threatened are the most intractable (Rothman, forthcoming). An example for the three levels is two office workers, who fight over a new office, which would be a resource conflict (office as a tangible resource). When the conflict moves to the objective associated with the resources, it becomes an objective-based conflict. One of the workers could be interested in the office, not for the office sake, but because she needs more space to store her files. It becomes an identity-based conflict, when one worker seeks the office as recognition for her work in the company. Not receiving the office, as a symbol for not being valued by the company, can threaten her “work-identity”. Ross and Rothman agree that conflicts in which parties’ identities are threatened are also about objectives and resources.

Conflict can be studied through the parties’ perception of (1) incompatible goals regarding resources, or through (2) incompatible interests, which lie behind incompatible goals, or through (3) the perceptions of the parties that their identities are threatened by the other. This leads to different scientific perspectives through which conflict can be examined, such as economic, political, social, or psychological angles (Ross, 1998). The analysis in the presented dissertation emphasizes the psychological perspective for understanding large-

group conflicts, paying specific attention to the relationship between the large-group parties and to their trust relationship. The importance of relationships at play in conflict and conflict resolution is accentuated by Lederach (1997): “First and foremost is the perhaps self-evident but oft-neglected notion that relationship is the basis of both the conflict and its long-term solution” (p. 26).

*Large-group conflict.* The definition for my term *large-group conflict* used in this thesis is loosely based on Volkan’s term “large-group identity.” “Large-group identity” describes how “thousands or millions of individuals, most of whom will never meet in their life-times, are bound by an intense sense of sameness by belonging to the same ethnic, religious, national, or ideological group” (Volkan, 2004, p.11), Volkan’s concept of identity captures the interplay between individual and large-group identity. He uses the analogy of wearing two layers of clothing: “The first layer, the individual layer, fits us snugly. The second layer, one’s core group identity, is loose fitting but allows us to share a sense of sameness with others under a common large-group tent” (2008, p. 157). The sense of sameness captures the often vague but implicitly understood categories in which group memberships are formed. Large-groups are seldom homogeneous, but include many individuals with their differences. However, under the tent canvas, one characteristic, such as ethnicity or religion, creates the boundaries of the shared large-group membership.

While I do not share Volkan’s psychoanalytical background and understanding of conflict dynamics, I borrow from Volkan the notion of large-group as consisting of thousands or millions of individuals, most of whom will never meet in their life-times. Membership in the large-group is defined by a sense of belonging, identity, and shared group characteristics tied to the group. While group members may not consciously build their everyday lives and routines around their large-group identity (Volkan, 2004), they can develop significant identification and commitment to their group and allied groups through the intensification of a conflict (McCauley, 2001).

The categories, along which conflict parties separate, can be authentic but arbitrary categories relevant to the conflict (Coleman, 2003), such as nationality, ethnicity, race or religion, etc. (Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003; Kelman, 1999b). Coleman elaborated, “in time, however, the collective identities that emerge take on meaning and value of their own” (p. 22). It is because group categories are authentic and important to members, but also arbitrary that I have decided to borrow Volkan’s term “large-group.” The term is broad and generic

enough to capture the essential characteristics of conflict without reducing them to more specifically descriptive terms such as “intercultural,” “religious,” “identity-based” or “ethno-national.”

“Intercultural” explains group memberships and conflicts through analysis of culture. Triandis (1994) understands culture as a multi-dimensional array of shared beliefs, norms, assumptions, roles, and values of a particular group. Culturally-determined conflicts arise when members find these arrays of shared beliefs, norms, assumptions, roles, and values either not compatible with or threatened by other cultural groups. Religion is linked with individual and collective identities and can fuel conflict, especially when it is politicized and when the sacred is emphasized in justifying war (Abu Nimer, 2001). Defining conflict in terms of identity centers on the aspect that at least one party has experienced a deprivation of their identity (Bar-Tal, 2010). According to Rothman, these conflicts are “deeply rooted in the underlying human needs and values that together constitute people’s social identities” (1997, p. 6).”

While the three described conflict labels, cultural, religious and identity-based can occur on a large-group level they may also appear in a dyadic setting. Ethno-national conflicts, however, will not appear in a dyadic setting. According to Cashmore (1995, p. 102), ethnic groups possess “some degree of coherence and solidarity composed of people who are, at least latently, aware of having common origins and interests” (restated in Knox & Quirk, 2000, p. 2). Knox and Quirk build on this understanding, arguing “once the consciousness of being part of an ethnic group is created then distinct languages, religious beliefs and political institutions become part of that ethnicity” (p. 2). In ethno-national conflicts, conflict may arise over a national identity linked to this understanding of ethnicity.

This list of four conflict labels is by no means exhaustive but it does illustrate that shortcomings are attached to each label. These labels come with limitations in that they try to capture specifics of conflict that, while seemingly sufficient, do not necessary prove exhaustive. These specific labels can limit understandings of the conflict. Furthermore, it is seldom possible to subsume complex conflicts with one label. For example, the large-group conflict in Northern Ireland is often referred to as a religious conflict (e.g. Abu Nimer, 2001; Knox & Quirk, 2000), an ethno-national conflict (e.g. Kelman, 2010) ethnic conflict (e.g. Crighton & MacIver, 1990; Ross, 1998), or an identity-based conflict (e.g. Barton & McCully, 2005; Camplisson & Hall, 1999). Each label invites debate among academics and practitioners regarding the ‘real’ nature of the conflict, leading to distraction from more

productive discussion towards peace-building. To avoid this danger, I have chosen deliberately the term “large-group conflict,” for its less restrictive nature and its low likelihood of causing academic and practitioner distraction. Under which umbrella large-groups define their memberships, such as culture, ethnicity, religion, language or statehood is secondary.

One important clarification is the conceptual difference between the terminology “large-group identity” used by Volkan (e.g. 2004) and the terminology “identity-based conflict” used by Rothman (1997). Both researchers created their own conceptual terminology, which sound alike but are still different. Identity-based conflict, according to Rothman, can include disputes over goals and resources, but the main characteristic is that the needs associated with the core identities of the conflict parties are perceived as threatened or deprived. This perception of threat or deprivation is not an inherent component of the large-group identity of Volkan. The large-group identity rather set the boundaries of the group membership. While it does not exclude the perceived threat on this identity, it is not as inherently included as in the concept of Rothman. In summary, while large-group conflicts can consist of cultural, religious, ethnical or identity-based components, they do not have to be defined exclusively by these labels.

Independent of the chosen label, what all of these conflicts have in common and, as Lederach (1997) points out, “has to be acknowledged and addressed from the start [...] are the uniquely human dimensions of the types of conflict under consideration” (p.23). These human dimensions are the specific relationships between the conflict parties that determine the relationships, and more importantly, how they can be improved towards being stable, respectful and cooperative relationships. This specific contribution from the field of Conflict Resolution and Psychology is missing in the field of International Relations, which focuses on strategic factors, such as security or economics. Exploring conflict through the lens of relationships sheds light on how individuals act within the social structures of the conflict system, (Kelman, 2007) and thereby provides a deeper understanding of static and strategic factors.

Coleman (2003) echoes the notion that conflict cannot be understood without reflecting on relationships. He presents a framework capturing the five main characteristics, which have to be addressed for a successful conflict resolution, among them relationships. His five categories are: aspects of the context, the issues, the relationships, the processes, and the outcomes of the conflict (p.7). Regarding relationships, Coleman specifies, “conflicts that

escalate and de-escalate but persist over time tend to damage or destroy the trust, faith, and cooperative potential necessary for constructive or tolerant relations” (p. 21). He further elaborates, that especially when relations came close to making peace but collapsed back into hostile relations, these re-damaged relations detained the parties in the conflict.

In summary, this section has focused on defining conflict and introduced the term “large-group conflict.” I have also emphasized the importance of various psychological perspectives in understanding conflicts. For the purposes of the study, two elements are key: First, the study is done in the realm of large-group conflicts; second, the lens through which conflict is understood here emphasizes relationship dynamics, which I will show in the next section includes the trust relationship as well. The next section will elaborate the important role of trust in conflict. It is structured in four parts: An introduction that highlights the role of trust in conflict, a definition of trust, which leads over to a reflection on the trust construct. I will close the section with an elaboration on conditions that foster trust. Based on existing research, I claim that successful conflict intervention is not possible without reflecting on and improving the trust-relationship between conflict parties.

## **1.2. No Peace Without Trust**

Trust is “...the glue that holds relationships together.” (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000, p. 86). Various research emphasized, that in conflict, the lack of trust or distrust is one of the core aspects that propels groups towards or holds groups in conflict (e.g. Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003). For instance, Honeyman, Goh, and Kelly (2004) identify “distrust as one formidable obstacle between the two most polarized conflict groups” (p. 2). They suggest that conflict leads to the deterioration of accepted moral standards, which damages cooperation and trust, leaving societies without firm ground on which to engage constructively in social tension and on which to grapple with arising conflict.

In addition to holding groups in conflict, the lack of trust can also hinder attempts to settle conflicts. For example, this dissertation will explore trust in the case of the Transdnistrian conflict, an Eastern European site of a 1992 civil war. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Transdnistria, which used to be part of Moldova, declared itself independent. The tensions, which were raised, lead to a short, but violent conflict. Today Transdnistria is a de-facto state with its own state structure, border control and currency, albeit not internationally recognized as its own country. There is still tension between the large-group parties, on the political as well as civil level. Twenty years after the war, no



settlement has yet been reached. Hensel (2006), who researches the Transdnistrian conflict, names the lack of trust as one of the main contributing factors preventing the parties from reaching a conflict settlement. This finding, that lack of trust is an impeding factor in peace processes, is also found by other researcher, working in different context, such as Kelman (2005) and Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns (2009). Thus, the ability to build trust is a crucial factor in lasting conflict resolution. For example, Hauge-Storholt (2001) emphasizes that in Mali, conflict parties were able to reach a lasting agreement only through the ability to build trust, a feat accomplished through careful timing and a careful inclusion of the political and civil sectors of the society in the process<sup>1</sup>. These core findings are echoed by Swart, Turner, Hewstone, and Voci (2011) in describing the cases of Northern Ireland and South Africa, where trust, together with intergroup contact and forgiveness, is an important factor for conflict resolution.

The research studies trust in different phases of conflict, from (active) conflict, to conflict reduction, to conflict resolution. Miller (2001) and Kelman (2010) differentiate these three in as the following:

- (1) (Active) Conflict: Parties are actively caught in conflict that can include escalation or violent actions. Miller refers to this stage as hot war (2001).
- (2) Conflict reduction: Parties are willing to engage in the peace process that can occur as official or unofficial negotiations, but tensions still remain. Kelman (2010) refers to this phase as conflict settlement; Miller also calls it cold peace (2001).
- (3) Conflict resolution: Parties redefine their relationship and engage in cooperative measures. Miller refers to this phase as warm peace (2001).

For all three phases, trust has been studied and research has emphasized its importance for either keeping parties in conflict through distrust, preventing parties engaging in conflict reduction measurement when trust is lacking, or fostering conflict resolution when trust exists. Figure 1 summarizes the role of trust in the three phases of conflict. The research findings on trust at each stage reflect its impact.

---

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately in 2012 violence erupted again in Mali, after a considerable peaceful decade.

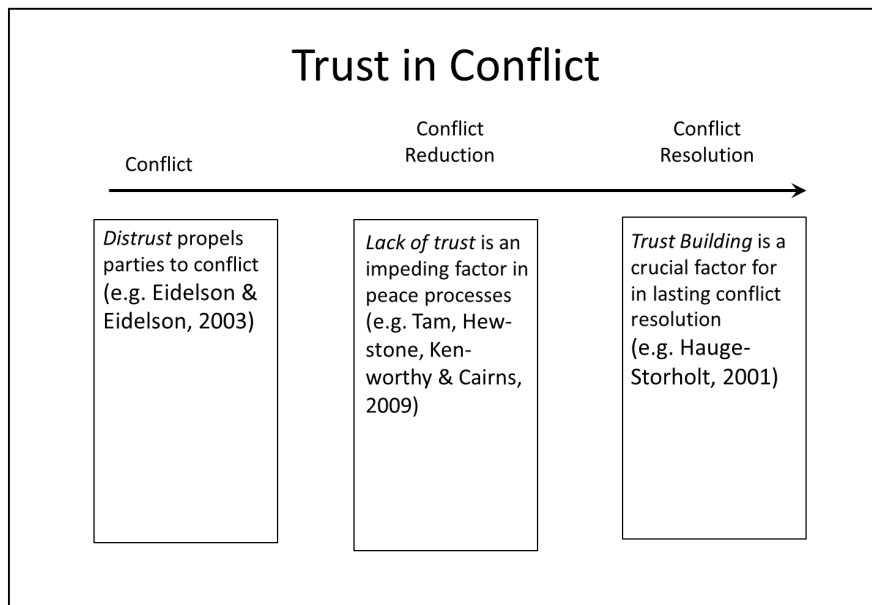


Figure 1. Research findings on trust in the three different stages from conflict to conflict resolution.

Despite the shared understanding that trust plays a crucial role in conflict, the relation of trust to conflict is understudied. This is partly due to the complexity of the trust construct, as noted by Gambetta (1988), who writes, “Scholars tend to mention [trust] in passing, to allude to it as a fundamental ingredient or lubricant, an unavoidable dimension of social interaction, only to move on to deal with less intractable matters” (restated in Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995, p. 712). Thomas (2005) notes that trust in large-group settings is not explicitly studied by psychologists. When trust is studied by psychologists, it is mainly studied in the clinical-psychological context (trust between doctor and patients or trust between therapist and client), trust in dyadic relationships, and trust between teacher and students (Thomas, 2005, p.12). It also has been studied in organizational settings, between managers and their employees and in negotiations (e.g. Butler, 2000; Mayer et al., 1995; Ross & LaCroix, 1996). However, in the context of large-group conflict Gambetta’s point still holds true.

Thomas links the lack of research on trust, outside of interpersonal relationships and other small-group settings, to a dearth of theories on trust as well as to a lack of instruments to measure trust. This is especially true in the context of conflict. Although scholars and practitioners emphasize that trust between conflict parties’ plays an import role in conflict resolution, there is no shared understanding, of *what* exactly trust is in large-group conflicts and, more importantly, how to measure it in order to systematically improve it. This

dissertation will offer thorough research, along with newly developed tools to measure trust, in order to specify the relationship between trust and conflict and to advance significantly the conflict resolution process.

### 1.2.1. *Definition of Trust*

Psychologists recognize trust as a complex, multi-layered construct (e.g. Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006; Thomas, 2005). Due to its complex nature, there are numerous definitions of trust as well as understandings of the trust construct. For example, trust can be seen as a stable disposition, assessing how much a person is willing to trust. The roots for this type of trust are often seen in childhood development (e.g. Erikson, 1963; cited in Lewicki, 2006; Simpson, 2007), with researchers arguing that the relationships built and experienced in childhood are the foundation for trusting or distrusting future relationships.

This strong focus on trust as a stable disposition, shaped through early childhood experience, however, undermines the importance of the specific interaction in which the relationship appears and the specific history between the trustee and the respective interaction partner. Lewicki, Wiethoff, and Tomlinson (2005) capturing the specific relationship to the other person, define trust as “a belief in, and willingness to act on the basis of, the words, actions and decisions of another” (p. 256). Ross and LaCroix (1996) add to their definition of trust the components of risk and vulnerability, writing, “One can define trust [...] as one party’s willingness to risk, increasing his or her vulnerability to another [...] whose behaviour is beyond one’s control” (p. 315).

The relationship between the willingness to take risk and to trust is also stressed by the functional approach to trust developed by Luhmann (2000). For Luhmann, to trust someone reduces complexity; when an individual trusts another, he or she decreases his or her need to control the other’s behavior and also reduces the need to develop protective mechanisms in case the other’s actions are damaging. Luhmann includes the notion of “personal trust” in his understanding of larger trust patterns. Personal trust is based on past personal experiences with the other person in the relationship. Additionally, Luhmann discusses the importance of “trust in system,” that is, trust in the reliability of historically developed interaction patterns. However, for parties who share a common history of mostly hostile interactions, the historically developed interaction patterns are shaped by a firm belief, usually with a long history of supporting evidence, that what the other party does undermines one’s own welfare and causes harm (Kelman, 2005, p. 640). This highlights the aforementioned dilemmas

intrinsic to conflict resolution and summarized in Kelman's earlier stated quotation: "Parties cannot enter into a peace process without some degree of mutual trust, but they cannot build trust without entering into a peace process" (p.641). Building on Kramer and Carnevale's (2001) notion that trust begets cooperation, which begets further trust, leads to the inverse conclusion that distrust begets more hostile interaction, adding to distrust. Before reflecting on this key dilemma, the next section first elaborates fundamental assumptions of this thesis about the trust construct.

### 1.2.2. *Trust Construct*

How exactly does trust manifest in conflict? To answer this question, one must first clarify how trust is constructed. Contemporary studies of trust agree that trust has to be understood as a multidimensional construct (e.g. Butler, 1991; Lewicki et al., 2006; Mayer et al., 1995; Simpson, 2007; Thomas, 2005). Multidimensional means that trust is not determined by one single component of the relationship, but by multiple components. For example, when two colleagues, A and B, work together and B's task builds on A's, B depends on A's performance. If trust would be uni-dimensional, and A does a poor job, B would come to completely distrust A (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998). The trust relationship would be fully determined by the one task, ignoring any other context or relational interdependency. Since trust is multidimensional, B may no longer trust A's work performance, but still will likely trust A to return the movie she borrowed from her.

Hardin (2001) captures this proposition in the formula "*A trusts B to do X*", where *A* is the truster, *B* is the trustee and *X* the object of trust (p. xiv). The formula captures the understanding that trust is not only defined by the truster (A), but also by the person he puts his trust in (B) as well as the object of trust X – what A trusts B to do.

In the context of conflict, Kelman (2005) builds on this differentiation with his concept of working trust, which is a matter of limiting the object of trust (X) to the simple notion of trusting that it is in both parties' interest to cooperate. Working trust comes "largely out of its own interests, to finding a mutually acceptable accommodation. [...] It increases to the extent each side is convinced that the other is moving in a conciliatory direction out of its own interests" (p.646).

The idea behind working trust is that trust can change over time and increase through positive experiences. That assumption is captured in the model of Lewicki and Bunker (1995) on *interpersonal* trust. They differentiate three stages of trust: (1) Calculus- based trust; (2)

knowledge-based trust; and (3) the, deepest stage of trust, identification-based trust. The first type of trust in Lewicki and Bunker's model, calculus- (or deterrent-) based trust, describes the stage when an individual can be trusted to do what he or she says because the trustee fears the consequences of not doing what he or she said. The second type, knowledge-based trust, is grounded in a deeper knowledge about the other, about the other's values, and about the other's predictability. In other words, it is rooted in the ability to anticipate the other's behavior. The third and final stage of trust is the identification-based trust. This stage of trust, which may not be reached in every relationship, is characterized by the full internalization of the needs and values of the other side. Both parties fully identify with each other.

An important aspect of the model is that these stages are not to be seen as linear, but circular. Trust relationships can, for example, deteriorate from knowledge-based trust to calculus-based trust or can be restored from knowledge-based trust to identification-based trust. The core concept of the model is that each level of trust creates conditions that facilitate the two parties moving into next type of (deeper) trust (Ross & LaCroix, 1996, p. 333). However, aside from self-interest, which is a necessary condition for working trust (Kelman, 2005) as well as calculus-based trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995), it is unclear which further conditions are needed for the parties to move towards knowledge or identity-based trust or past working trust.

How exactly trust manifests in large-group conflicts, is still an unanswered question. Various scholars working with the concept of trust have suggested significantly varying concepts as to the appropriate measures of trust. For example, Tam et al. (2009) measure trust in Northern Ireland in several ways: by assessing one group's perception of the other group's sincerity, by assessing the benevolence of the other group's members, and by promise fulfillment of the other group (in this case, politicians). On the other hand, Swart et al. (2011), measure trust between large-group conflict parties with other measures, specifically by focusing on empathy and self-disclosure.

Bearing in mind these diverging opinions as to what constitutes the appropriate measure of trust, this dissertation further explores the multidimensionality of trust by identifying a comprehensive set of conditions each fostering trust in the context of large-group conflicts. The purpose is to allow researcher to assess the basis for trust. While such an inventory is missing in the context of large-group conflicts, researchers have provided them for interpersonal and intra-group relations.

In the context of interpersonal relations, Butler (1991) undertook the task of identifying, through qualitative and quantitative studies, ten conditions that foster trust. Based on his research, he developed the “Conditions of Trust Inventory” (CTI), which measures trust between two people in any given context. He found that trust is fostered in dyadic settings when one party believes in the other’s *competence, fairness, integrity, loyalty* and *promise fulfillment* capability, among other conditions.

Regarding intra-group context, the Emergency Capacity Building Project (2007) has explored how trust is built between members of Emergency Response Teams. Such teams, which are sent into emergency situations after major catastrophes, often consist of members from different nationalities and different agencies who have never met before but are required to work efficiently together with short notice. Like Butler, the project also identified ten criteria that enable these groups to trust each other and work more efficiently together. The ten conditions are divided between “swift trust,” or trust that is quickly established, and “deeper trust,” which takes longer to develop. The Emergency Capacity Building Project associated conditions such as, *competence, integrity* and *reciprocal behavior* in interactions with swift trust, and conditions such as *compatibility, predictability* and *security* with deep trust.

Regarding intergroup relations, Sztompka (1999) identifies three expectations, that lead to trust: (a) Expectations of persistence, which refer mainly to the regularity and predictability of a party’s behavior or of the social order; (b) expectations of competence which refer to a party’s efficiency, expertise and performance level; and (c) expectations of moral and fiduciary obligations which include, in particular, expectations of honesty, integrity, truthfulness, fairness, and of one placing the other’s interests before one’s own (restated in Gheorghiu, 2007, p. 27). While Butler (1991) and the Emergency Capacity Building Project (2007) conceptualize conditions under which trust is fostered, Sztompka conceptualizes expectations of one party towards the other. However, according to Sztompka, these expectations are linked to prerequisite conditions for trust: (a) The expectation of persistence, which builds on a condition of consistency, (b) the expectation of competence, which builds on a condition of competence, and (c) the expectation of moral and fiduciary obligations, which build on a condition of integrity.

In summary, scholars have identified several conditions of the multilayered trust construct that are necessary for dyadic interaction (Butler, 1991), and for intra - and inter-group context (Emergency Capacity Building Project, 2007; Sztompka, 1999). Through the

work of these researchers it is apparent that trust can be assessed through its conditions. I will elaborate in Chapter 3 “Instrument Development”, for which conditions their inventories match or differ.

However, even though they consider trust to be an essential component in the movement from conflict to peace in large-group conflict parties, no one has yet attempted to identify and measure a complex and exhaustive set of the conditions leading to trust in the complex context of large-group conflict. This dissertation aims to fill this gap and to present a comprehensive set of conditions that expand understanding of the conditions that support trust building between former conflict parties.

### 1.2.3. *Trust Conditions and the Assumed Interplay Between Trust Conditions and Trust*

The advantage of approaching trust through identifying its conditions is that it allows for a more nuanced understanding of how trust plays out in specific conflict relations. It enables researchers and practitioners to gear interventions precisely to improve specific trust conditions. Possible intervention can build on trust conditions that maybe existed in the relations between the parties, but can also reflect which trust conditions are missing and have to be explicitly fostered, while leaving room for some “healthy” distrust.

This is particularly important specifically in the context of conflict relations, since distrust or lack of trust is not in and of itself necessarily a negative component of the peace-building process. For conflict parties that share a violent history, distrust can be “functional and even healthy, particularly when there are valid reasons to suspect that another party is not trustworthy within the broader bandwidth of a relationship” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1016). Overly extended trust can potentially create a “blindness” in which the truster is possibly exploited and taken advantage of (p. 1016), This is especially the case in relationships that are marked by a perception that both parties’ interests and needs are not only opposed to each other but also threatened by the other side, as it is often the case in conflict relations.

By identifying the conditions that engender trust within large-group conflicts, researchers and practitioners can address the coexisting needs for trust and distrust. For example, two of the 21 conditions that I found through my research presented in this dissertation were *Security* and *Promise Fulfillment*. While it is possible that conflict parties mistrust one another when it comes to their *security*, in that they do not trust the other side not to harm them, it is possible that they simultaneously *do* trust the other side to comply with a reached agreement, and thus fulfill the trust condition *promise fulfillment*. Hence, approaching

trust through its promoting conditions as well as through careful attention to the nuanced process of trust, in which one party can partially but not fully trust the other, is a way to attend the basic dilemma, that trust is a prerequisite for parties to enter a peace process, for which it needs trust to enter.

To illustrate the relationship between trust conditions and trust, I use the metaphor of a “Wheel of Trust” (Figure 2). While trust lies in the hub of the wheel, it is supported (or weakened) by different spokes, represented by the trust conditions. Which spokes are relevant is determined by the rim, which represents the circumstances under which trust conditions interact. For example, the rim could be the intention that the conflict parties meet in unofficial peace building intervention, or official politicized negotiations and the spokes are different conditions needed to foster trust in this context. I present a brief introduction of the third parties intervention under section 1.4 “Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts”.

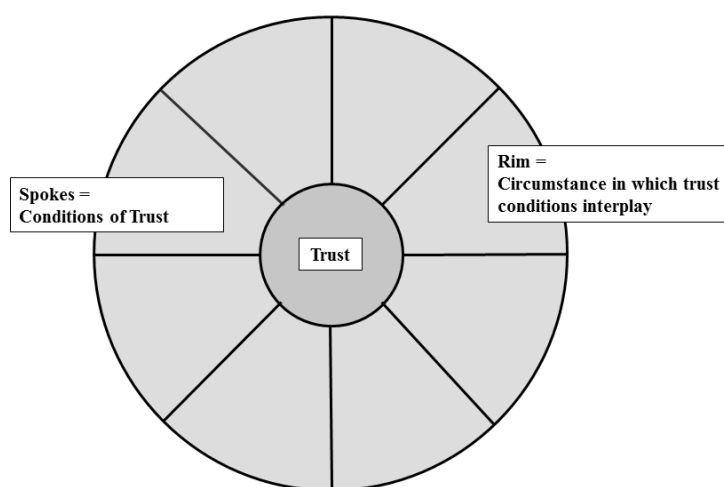


Figure 2. Wheel of Trust

This thesis does not aim to undertake a comprehensive response to the questions about how the trust conditions contribute to the overall trust, if their interplay is cumulative, or whether some conditions are more crucial than others. Rather, I take for granted the idea that not all trust conditions must be present in order for conflict parties to trust one another. This approach is based on the conceptual notion that trust depends on the dispositional factors of the truster, the specific circumstances of interaction between conflict parties, and the circumstances in which trust appears. Depending on these factors, different conditions can become relevant and each trust situation will be unique. According to Kelman’s concept of working trust, to achieve this type of trust, the trust condition *security* (the belief that the other



side will not harm one) does not have to be fulfilled. This is especially true for former violent conflicts, in which parties are wise not to fully trust the other side. However, in order to achieve working trust, the trust conditions *competence* and *promise fulfillment* can be very important, when parties try to reach first agreements.

This perception that not all trust conditions are needed in every situation is shared by Sztompka (1999), who, as previously mentioned, understands trust based on three expectations of (a) persistence, (b) competence and (c) of moral and fiduciary obligations. Sztompka also argues that not all three expectations are necessary for *A* to trust *B* (restated in Gheorghiu, 2007, p. 27).

In summary, for the purposes of this thesis, trust is a multidimensional construct, with different conditions that can promote its growth between conflict parties.

#### 1.2.4. *Summary of Trust*

The previous section introduced different definitions of trust and explained that trust can be a disposition, but that it can also have situational components, shaped by the relationship between interaction partners and the circumstances in which trust appears. In the context of large-group conflict, trust is a core component. The absence of trust holds parties in conflict. The presence of trust is necessary for engaging in a peace process.

In the present study, both the multidimensional nature of trust and the conditions that promote trust are pertinent. When researchers and practitioners understand which conditions lead to trust, they are able to follow different avenues toward trust building, and therefore toward peace building. For example, a practitioner aiming to foster “working trust,” can build on the trust conditions that are already well developed between conflict parties. No matter how one plans the intervention, however, the endeavor will benefit significantly from a solid understanding of which trust conditions are met in a given situation and which ones are not.

This information can be obtained through a careful conflict assessment, which will be introduced in the following section, which is divided in two parts: Conflict assessment and conflict assessment tools. First, I elaborate on the relevance of conflict assessment. Second, I present some of the currently existing key tools in the field.

Of particular importance is the fact that, while dominant psychological theories of conflict all recognize the need to evaluate the relationships between parties, the existing conflict tools spend little effort addressing relationships. Moreover, none of the current conflict assessment tools explicitly addresses trust, in spite of its crucial role in conflict.

### **1.3. Conflict Assessment and Conflict Assessment Tools**

Conflict assessment is the art of systematically gathering data about a conflict and the parties involved, prior to conflict interventions measures. Data gathered and conclusions reached through conflict assessment improve the intervention, by generally informing and ensuring that the relevant parties are participating and the relevant conflict issues are addressed. However, conflict assessment is not an easy task, as the following quotation illuminates:

Generally, “good enough” thinking is required. [One has to] accept that the analysis can never be exhaustive, nor provide absolute certainty. Conflict dynamics are simply too complex and volatile for any single conflict analysis process to do them justice. Nevertheless, you should trust your findings, even though some aspects may remain unclear. [...] no matter how imperfect, is better than no analysis at all (Barrena, 2002, p.2).

The above quotation from Barrena captures one of the main problems of conflict assessment: conflict dynamics are complex and variable so each assessment can only be a snapshot capturing a glimpse of the conflict in a specific moment in time, often with a particular bias, based on the background of the assessor. Nevertheless, as Barrena points out, even with these shortcomings, conducting a conflict assessment is vital for implementing informed intervention and gearing the intervention to the specific needs of actors within the conflict.

Wehr (1979) defines conflict assessment as “the process of systematic collection of information about the dynamics of a conflict.” He further elaborated, “one needs to use primary information from the parties -for they are the ones who created and maintain the conflict.” Susskind and Thomas-Larmer (1999) elaborate on the benefit of conflict assessment and point out that conflict assessment allows the assessor to identify the relevant stakeholders, their interests, and possible areas of conflict and agreement.

While scholars and practitioners agree that conflict assessment is a vital step towards resolution, few have taken steps to systematically implement an assessment procedure. Susskind, McKernan and Thomas-Larmer’s (1999) “Comprehensive Handbook of Consensus Building,” which argues on the importance of conflict assessment and in addition offers concrete descriptions of how to conduct conflict assessment, was published over a decade ago and yet no serious attempt to follow Susskind and his colleagues advice seems to

have been endeavored. It is perhaps the most comprehensive handbook on conflict assessment and intervention on the market and is frequently cited, yet continued research since its' 1999 publication is rare or nonexistent. Thurston (2008) summarizes this situation in the opening of her article:

There is no single textbook that includes a thorough discussion of conflict analysis frameworks and models at the individual, community, and international level. There are textbooks for one level or another, or that focus on a particular theory (such as communications or social-psychology) or approach. But there is no single source that reviews the major theories and associated models or that is organized by a concise framework with concrete examples of how models are actually used to analyze complex conflicts. (p. 2)

Not only is a textbook or a comprehensive approach to conflict assessment missing, but there also exists no shared understanding in the field of conflict studies, of what a conflict assessment includes, and how it should be conducted. Susskind and Thomas-Larmer (1999) touch upon this issue: "Although most dispute resolution practitioners agree that some sort of assessment should be conducted at the outset of a convening effort, they differ on exactly what needs to be done and what to call the process" (p.5). For example, Volkan (2006a) structured his resolution approach, using what he calls a Tree Model, providing a loose framework for how to gather information and lead psycho-political dialogue meetings through to concrete conflict interventions. The tree model includes three parts of conducting a conflict intervention: The roots are the phase of conflict assessment; the tree trunk is the phase of bringing the parties together to a creative problem solving attempt. In Volkan's work the problem solving attempts are often year-long series of psychopolitical dialogues between high-level representatives of the opposing groups. The final phases are the branches which are the rolling out of concrete measures, developed during the workshop, taking what has been learned from the psychopolitical dialogues to both the grassroots level and the official level in order to institutionalize peaceful coexistence.

Another example of explicit conflict assessment in the realm of conflict mediation and moderation is Redlich's (2009) approach, Conflict Moderation in Groups (KoMo). In this six-step process of conflict moderation, the first step is to reach an agreement with the parties about their involvement in the process. This step is called "contracting" and also includes conflict assessment measures through pre-talks with the parties to clarify the purpose and

objective of the conflict moderation. While the approaches of Redlich and of Volkan include explicit data gathering before the interventions (in these cases psycho-political dialogue or conflict moderation), they still don't offer any models or frameworks which specific information should be gathered and how this information should be analyzed.

To reiterate, despite the shortcomings of available conflict-assessment methods, practitioners still agree that some sort of assessment should be conducted. However, a shared understanding of how these assessments should be conducted and which information, and in which form should be gathered, is missing. (Susskind & Thomas-Larmer, 1999). Nevertheless, frameworks and models for conflict assessment do exist. In the following, I introduce six exemplary models and offer a cross-selection from different disciplines and different conflicts. While it is not the purpose of this section to undertake a comprehensive overview of all conflict assessment tools, which would exceed the scope of this dissertation, these six examples give a sufficient impression of the existing assessment tools.

Of the six models I explore, three are developed for political analysis: Wehr's Conflict Map (1979), Sandole's Three Pillar Approach (1998) and Mitchell's SPITCERO framework (2002). The other three models are mainly developed for inter-organizational, interpersonal and interdisciplinary conflict assessments; Susskind and colleagues' Consensus Building Approach (1999), which is mainly applicable for intra-organizational conflicts; Wilmot and Hocker's (2011) Conflict Assessment Guide developed for interpersonal relationship; and Thurston's SSAGE framework (2008), which explicitly aims to be interdisciplinary and applicable for interpersonal, organizational and international conflicts. For each, a short story exemplifies the main types of information they assess. None of the methods discussed here, however, evaluate trust and the majority of the methods do not truly interrogate dynamic aspects of the relationship between conflict parties. They concentrate instead on more static factors, such as who are the stakeholders and what their interests are. Lederach (1997) echoes the critique and elaborates on the shortcomings of the statistic assessment tool and the intervention building on it, and stressed the importance to assess and improve the relationship between parties.

The focus on the statistic factors is especially evident in the three tools developed in the realm of political science. In his Conflict Map, the components of conflict that Wehr evaluates are Context, Parties, (Contrasting) Beliefs, Dynamics, Causes, and Consequences. His examination of contrasting beliefs of the parties can offer some indication about the relationship between conflict parties, but it does not focus on the interaction directly. Trust is

not part of the map. Mitchell's SPITCERO framework stands for Sources, Parties, Issues, Tactics, Changes, Enlargement, Resources, and Outcomes. Just as with Wehr's framework, these components are mainly static factors, which disregard the parties' relationships. And just as in the Conflict Map of Wehr, SPITCERO does not address the presence or absence of trust between parties. Sandole identifies three pillars for the conflict assessment: "Conflict," "Conflict Causes and Conditions," and "Conflict Intervention and 3rd Party Objectives." The distinctive feature of Sandole's framework is his inclusion of possible third-party interventions. Mainly developed from a political science perspective, Sandole's tools fail to focus on measures that improve the relationship and trust between parties.

For their intervention tool, Consensus Building, Susskind and Thomas-Larmer (1999) offer a step-by-step procedure for how to conduct a conflict assessment, addressing mainly intra-organizational conflicts. Just as the previous three frameworks, the main focus of their work is on identifying stakeholders and their associated interests. The relationship between parties and trust between them is not part of the explicit assessment.

For interpersonal conflicts, Wilmot and Hocker (2011) developed a Conflict Assessment Guide. This guide does consider the relationship between the parties, offering a set of complex and extensive questions that differentiate between ten central categories, such as Nature of Conflict, Orientation to the Conflict, Interest and Goals, Power, and Style. Within the category "Interest and Goals" they also assess the relationship between the parties, but only in relation to their goals. The guide, again, does not assess trust between parties.

Thurston's SSAGE (2008) framework captures components of conflict, such as Source, Situation, Attitudes, Group Maintenance and Escalation. In the section on Group Maintenance, it addresses goals and relational issues, and thus covers something of the relationship between parties. Yet, while SSAGE does focus on relationships between conflict parties, it still does not address trust between parties.

Even though the above-mentioned scholars address diverse types of conflict (such as interpersonal, organizational, and international) and even though they represent a range of disciplines (including political science, conflict resolution, and psychology), few focus on relationships between parties, let alone the crucial element of trust between conflict parties. Table 1 compares the six assessment tools, listing the contexts they were developed to address, whether or not they consider the relationship between the conflict parties, and whether they assess trust.

Table 1.

*Comparisons of Conflict Context & Relationship and Trust Assessment*

<b>Conflict Assessment Tool</b>	<b>Conflict Context</b>	<b>Assess Relationship</b>	<b>Assess Trust</b>
Susskind: Conflict Assessment for Consensus Building	mainly intra-organizational	Not part of the assessment;	NO
Wehr: Conflict Map	international	Only implicitly through assessing contrasting beliefs	NO
Sandole: Three Pillars Approach	international	No	NO
Mitchell: SPITCERO	international	No	NO
Wilmot & Hocker: Conflict Assessment Guide	interpersonal	Yes, assessment of relational issues and goals; Implicitly through perception changes, attitude and power asymmetries	NO
Thurston: SSAGE	interpersonal, organizational & International	Yes, assessment of relational issues and goals and through attitudes	NO

None of these tools used in the field assess trust between conflict parties, despite the generally accepted belief that trust or a lack of trust plays an important role in conflict. As a matter fact, only in two, Wilmot and Hockers Conflict Assessment Guide and Thurston's SSAGE model, do scholars even broach the subject of the relationship between parties.

Scholars and practitioners agree that trust and trust deficiencies play a crucial role in conflict and conflict resolution. Trust is recognized to play a crucial role in conflict and in conflict resolution. However, the instruments that have been mainly developed for psychological research, to measure (and therefore assess) trust are not well suited for conflict assessment, since these instruments cannot capture the specific conflict context in which the trust relationship is embedded. On the other hand, the instruments that were developed to assess conflict do not assess the trust relationship. My dissertation aims to fill this gap. I provide, first, a deeper understanding of the conditions that promote trust between conflict parties. Second, I develop a Conflict & Trust Map that allows researchers and practitioners to

assess conflicts with a specific focus on the trust relationships between parties. Before I expand on the research objectives and design, I will finish this theoretical discussion with a short excursion into third party intervention.

#### **1.4. Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts**

Most studies of conflict include not only conflict analysis but also implicit or explicit focus on associated conflict resolution (Ruckstuhl, 2010). The current study is no exception. While I focus on developing and applying instruments to assess trust and conflict, the intended goal of my work is to support conflict resolution measures. I finish therefore the theory part with a short excursus covering third party intervention.

For this section, the terminology and concepts I use are heavily borrowed from conflicts with political tensions. I decided to use them, even though they include a political element, because they are still applicable to other, non-political large-group conflicts. Third party assistance in conflict is an often-used non-adversarial avenue toward conflict resolution. Burgess (2004) refers to third parties as “people, organizations, or nations who enter a conflict to try to help the parties de-escalate or resolve it. (p.1)” Third parties attempt “to help parties reach a settlement, whatever its particulars may be” (Lewicki, Weiss, & Lewin, 1992, p.230). The third parties attempts, which Burgess and Lewicki and colleagues describe, often refers implicitly to dialogue-based work such as negotiation intervention on the political level) and unofficial diplomacy attempts, such as problem-solving workshops or peace group facilitation for broader populations (e.g. Chigas, 2003; Hauge-Storholt, 2001; Lewicki et al., 1992).

The focus of the dialogue-based work is based on the relationships between the parties: “Reconciliation [through dialogue work] is not pursued by seeking innovative ways to disengage or minimize the conflicting group’s affiliations, but instead is built on mechanisms that engage the sides of a conflict with other as humans-in-relationship” (Lederach, 1997, p. 26). Through the focus on relationship, of which trust is an inherent component, there is a natural fit between the contribution of my study and these third party interventions. These kinds of intervention include often negotiation, mediation, problem-solving workshops, but also trainings. Lederach (1997) differentiates between different levels of affected populations within large-group conflicts (Figure 3) and associated each with possible interventions. I have adapted the peace-building approaches by concentrating mainly on those interventions which would mainly benefit from the finding of my dissertation, but are still in agreement with Lederach’s suggestions.

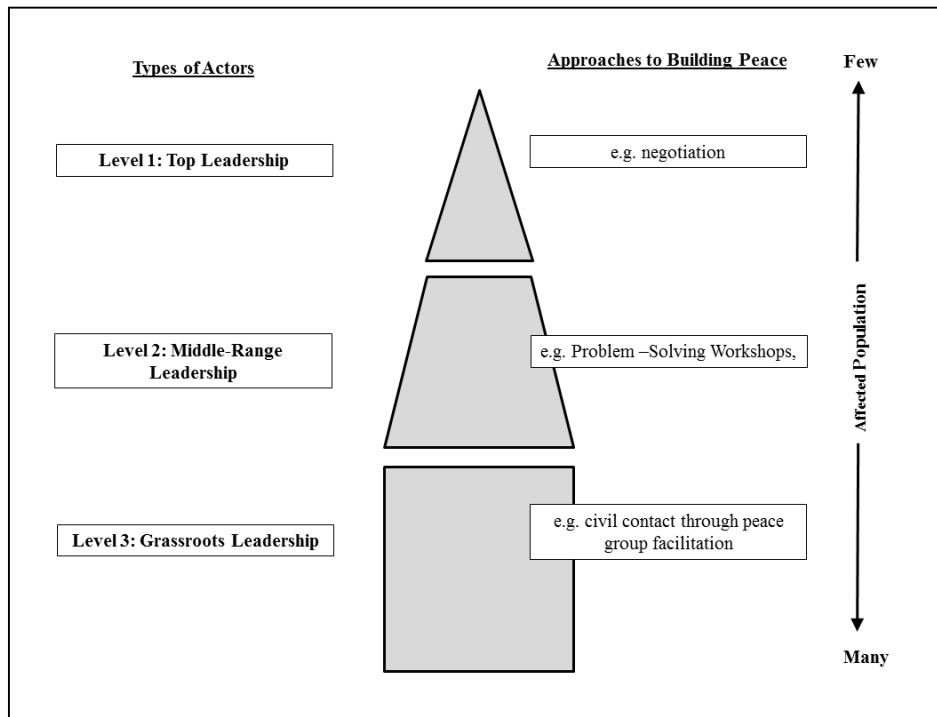


Figure 3. Actors and approaches to peace building adapted from Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliations in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press., p. 39

In Figure 3, on the left hand, the actors of the conflict are listed, the top-leadership, middle-range leadership and grassroots leadership. The top-leadership refers to the most visible leaders of the group, which are in a position to make decisions impacting the whole group and course of the conflict. The middle-range leadership is less visible than the top-range leadership and includes people who hold influential positions in the large-group setting. They are not linked to formal structure of the large-group and are not bound by political demands, while at the same time they are connected to and known by the top-level leadership. Choosing influential individuals outside the executive governmental set of politicians leads to two advantages: first, those individuals are able to influence politicians indirectly and, second, they are more appropriate as multipliers in exchange with people on the local communities and grassroots leadership levels. The grassroots “represents the masses, the base of society” (Lederach, 1997, p. 42). Grassroots leadership includes influential members of local communities, individuals or organizations, such as local politicians, local NGO’s, etc. Grassroots leaders normally possess expert knowledge about the local impact of the conflict on the population.



The pyramid features an inverse relationship in the conflict setting. The higher the leadership is located in the pyramid the greater access to information it has and the greater the impact of its decision has on the whole population. It is also less affected by the conflict and further removed from the conflict's day-to-day consequences. The lower the leadership is located in the pyramid, the more knowledge it has about the day-to-day consequences and how the conflict impacts the population. Lower-level actors have, however, less information about the bigger conflict picture. Furthermore their capacity in the decision-making power is severely reduced. Additionally, the framework of Lederach's pyramid emphasizes the role of restoration and rebuilding of relationships. Through its focus on leadership and on the various levels of leadership associated with intervention, the pyramid is paradigmatic of relationship building instead of being focused on conflict issues. Addressing and engaging the relationship aspect is a central component of peace building.

On the top-leadership level appears high level official negotiation between visible leaders and key-persons. The strength is that the actors not only have more access to information but also better resources. However the players are also bound by their official position and thus may be constrained in their flexibility (Nan, 2003). For the middle-range leadership, Kelman (1999a; 2000; 2002; 2008) has developed the problem-solving workshop, an event hosted by a third party, bringing together the middle range leadership to analyze and reframe the conflict. Through this reflection of all interests, parties should be enabled to explore new solutions to their mutual conflict. Parties should develop alternative ways for a possible conflict engagement in an open and creative atmosphere without the pressure to reach binding agreements or to protect any political role. The involved members can also use their influential position within their own society to impact the political decisions regarding the conflict.

The grassroots level focuses on the importance of involving the wider population in conflict resolution attempts. Workshops on the grassroots levels also bring together antagonistic members from the large-group conflict and engage them in creative solution finding for problems manifested in their community and connected to the large-group conflict. Additionally, work on this level is important to consolidate agreements reached at the higher leadership level. Hauge-Storholt (2001) stresses the importance of the grassroots involvement in peace work in Mali:

Without the involvement of the population at large, neither trust in the decision-makers nor effective implementation of the agreement could have been achieved. Third parties,

who acted as facilitators rather than mediators, contributed to keeping fear of a settlement low on all sides of the conflict, thereby helping to lay the foundation for a peace process that could become truly Malian. (p. 332)

The current study is mainly geared towards intervention at the middle-range and grassroots levels. Workshops on this level share in common the feature of being based on the principles to foster communication, contact, and cooperation between parties through the intervention of an impartial third party. They also entail a specific understanding of the third party's role, which is generally to facilitate communication between the parties, assist them in focusing on the real issues of the dispute, and generate options that meet the interests or needs of all relevant parties in an effort to resolve the conflict. Within the field of psychology, this kind of third party intervention is called mediation or conflict moderation and can be defined as the "[...] 'assistance to two or more interaction parties' (Kressel & Pruitt, 1998) by third parties who (usually) have no authority to impose an outcome" (Wall, Stark, & Standifer, 2001, p. 370). In this dissertation I'll use the term conflict moderation, because the Latin root of moderation means "temper the process" (Redlich, 2009). Moderation stresses that the professional moderator is responsible for the process, while the participants are responsible for the content.

As I will elaborate in more detail in the next chapter on my research questions, my work's contribution is to support these kinds of dialogue based moderations at the grassroots and middle-range leadership level. Independent of the level the moderation occurs or its specific label (conflict workshop, moderation etc.), the dialogue-based third party intervention focuses on the relationship between the parties (see Lederach, 1997) and as elaborated previously, trust is inherently a crucial component of this relationship. The contribution of my work offers important insight about current conflict and trust-relationships, as well as an idea about pressing issues needing attention before initiating these workshops.

### **1.5. Summary: No Peace Without Trust**

When approaching large-group conflicts from a psychological angle, the relationship between the large-group parties plays an important role in understanding conflict dynamics (e.g. Coleman, 2003; Kelman, 2007; Lederach, 1997). The glue that holds these relationships together is trust (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). Scholars widely recognize the importance of trust either through the belief that distrust holds parties locked in conflict (e.g. Eidelson &

Eidelson, 2003) or the understanding that trust is important for engaging with each other (e.g. Kelman, 2005) as well as for consolidating peace agreements (e.g. Hauge-Storholt, 2001). In spite of its recognized importance, however, trust tends to be mentioned either as a diffuse concept or measured in random terms. A comprehensive understanding of which conditions lead to trust and how trust appears in large-group conflict is missing.

## **2. Research Objectives, Design and Dissertation Outline**

The previous theory chapter ‘No Peace Without Trust’, has introduced four different areas related to the research focus of the present study: large-group conflict, trust, conflict assessment and third party intervention. With this theoretical introduction in mind, the current chapter will bridge the four areas and lay out the research objectives of the dissertation.

A cautionary note is in order before I begin presenting my work. This dissertation studies trust in a large-group conflict setting. The thesis is thus applicable to two highly complex research topics, conflict and trust. Coleman (2003) attributes protracted (long-standing) conflicts as having a “high degree of intransigence, complexity, persistence, and malignancy” (p. 4) and being “complex, nonlinear, self-sustaining systems” (p. 4). Mayer et al. (1995) capture the difficulty of studying trust by listing several reasons why the topic is unwieldy, including “problems with the definition of trust itself; lack of clarity in the relationship between risk and trust; confusion between trust and its antecedents and outcomes; lack of specificity of trust referents leading to confusion in levels of analysis; and a failure to consider both the trusting party and the party to be trusted” (p. 709). Similarly, Lewicki et al. (2006) reflect on the rich meaning of trust and how it gets created through “the complexity of components that go into a judgment of trust, and particularly of the dynamic and changes in trust over time” (p. 1015) while Gambetta (1988) refers to trust as an “intractable matter” (restated in Mayer et al., 1995, p. 712).

This holds especially true in the context of large-group conflict. In this context (often involving long-standing disagreement, multiple interaction partners, different levels of leaderships, a shared past frequently marked by hostile interaction and trust violations) trust is particularly dynamic, multilayered and complex. This complexity of both topics, trust and conflict, creates severe obstacles in their studying. The following dissertation therefore must be seen as a first explorative attempt to tackle a complex trust construct in the challenging context of large-group conflicts. Based on the cautionary note, I choose for the research method the qualitative approach, since it provides more flexibility to accommodate the complexity as well as creating first explorative insights. In recognition of the explorative nature, I do not formulate hypotheses but research objectives.

### **2.1. Research Objectives**

As indicated in the theory introduction, conflict studies not only deal with the issue of conflict analysis, but are also closely linked to concrete applied conflict resolution. The

current study is in this regard, no exception; the greater purpose of the study is to identify entry points for confidence (trust) building measurements. To do this in a systematic and purpose-driven manner, the current study provides conceptual and applied insight to assess the conflict dynamics and trust relationship before launching interventions. Therefore, the objective of the research can be viewed from two angles, the conceptual and the applied. The research objectives are mainly examined through a field study in the large-group conflict that exists between Moldova and Transnistria, the Eastern European site of a 1992 civil war.

#### **2.1.1. *Conceptual Research Objective***

Conceptually, the literature review demonstrates that trust plays a crucial role in conflict dynamics, either by holding parties in conflict through its absence or by allowing them to move towards conflict resolution through its development. However, a comprehensive understanding of which conditions determine trust in large-group conflict is currently missing.

*Conceptual Research Objective (1):* Therefore the first research objective of the dissertation is to identify conditions that engender trust in large-group conflicts and to provide evidence for their relevance in an exemplary large-group conflict. This conceptual objective is achieved when from different sources, a comprehensive set of conditions emerge. To ensure the comprehensiveness, relevant literature will be consulted and an interview study will be conducted with conflict experts. Identified conditions are examined for their relevance in the Moldovan-Transnistrian relation, through interviews and a questionnaire inquiry. The set will be considered as comprehensive, if (a) their relevance is confirmed in the Moldovan-Transnistrian relation and (b) no further conditions are named in the second study.

#### **2.1.2. *Applied Research Objectives: Development of a Trust-Sensitive Conflict Assessment Framework***

Building on the first research objective, it is not only necessary to identify the trust conditions that engender trust in the context of large-group conflict, but also to develop an assessment framework that allows practitioners and researchers to measure trust and trust conditions in the context of large-group conflict. As elaborated in the theory introduction of conflict assessment, undertaking a conflict assessment is not an easy task and the assessor can easily be disheartened and swept away by the amount of received information. While different conflict assessment tools are available from different fields, they differ in their foci and

mostly consider static factors. The relationship aspect is often not considered, even more, the prevalence of trust and its conditions are not assessed. So, not only is a conflict assessment framework which has the capacity to assess trust needed, but also instruments to gather the data and schemes to structure the gathered data.

*Applied Research Objective (2.1):* This research aims to develop a trust-sensitive conflict assessment framework; the Conflict & Trust Map (CTM). This framework is in response to the demand, for a conceptual understanding of the interplay of the conflict and trust dynamics as well as the need for methodological tools to conduct the assessment. The CTM includes an explicit focus on the relationship between the parties in conflicts, specifically the trust relationship.

The Conflict & Trust Map can be divided into a Conflict Map and a Trust Map. The Conflict Map, focuses on conflict components, such as parties, their interest and relations to each other. The Conflict Map also captures factors sustaining the conflict. The Trust Map assesses the trust conditions identified under *Conceptual Research Object*, their prevalence for specific conflicts and puts them into relation to the Conflict Map, resulting in a comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map. It further has the claim to be pre-structured and help researcher and practitioner to structure their data in a systematic manner, to reduce the overwhelming complexity of the data jungle.

To be pre-structured, instruments and data preparation frameworks are needed, which leads to the next applied research objective:

*Applied Research Objective (2.2):* To compile the Conflict & Trust Map, instruments are needed which allow researchers and practitioners to gather and analyze the needed information for the Conflict & Trust Map. In the course of the dissertation two instruments will be developed to gather the information: (1) The Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) that assesses interviewee perceptions about the main conflict issues, such as the stakeholders, the relationship between the conflict parties, and which aspects contribute to sustaining the conflict, and (2) the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) which assesses and measures the trust conditions which have previously been identified through the Conceptual Research Object. Furthermore two coding scheme will be developed, one coding scheme for the Conflict Map and one for the Trust Map, allowing researcher and practitioners to analyze and structure the

data for each map (Conflict Map and Trust Map) in a systematic manner, and to compile them into the comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map.

The feasibility of the instruments will be tested in the large-group context Moldova-Transdnistria, resulting in the third and final research objective:

*Applied Research Objective (3).* The instruments CTMI and TMQ are tested firstly on the case study of Moldova and Transdnistrian for feasibility. It will explore, if they are fit to gather the acquired information about the conflict and trust relations and if a Conflict & Trust Map can be compiled based on these data.

The main purpose of the study is to identify entry points for confidence (trust) building measurements. To do this in a systematic and purposes-driven manner, the current study provides conceptual and applied insight to assess the conflict dynamics and trust relationship before launching interventions.

In summary, the task can be divided in:

- 1.) Identify possible conditions that foster trust;
- 2.) Develop two instruments that allow researcher and practitioners to assess these conditions in relation to their relevant conflict components;
- 3.) Develop two coding scheme, that allow researcher and practitioners to structure and analyzes these data in a systematic manner
- 4.) Test the relevance of these conditions and the feasibility of the instruments on the case of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian example in order to explore whether the two instruments are applicable and if a Conflict & Trust Map can be generated

## **2.2. Preoperational Overview on the Research Design**

The above listed research objectives are realized in the current dissertation through two qualitative interview studies, accommodating the explorative nature of the study. The first study is a pre-study using the insight of eight conflict experts. Through the study, the crucial role of trust shall be reconfirmed and conditions that influence trust in large-group conflict shall be identified. The latter is also based on an extensive literature study. The concrete results of the first steps are (1) the identification of the possible trust conditions for the large-

group conflict and the (2) development of the instruments Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) and the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI).

The second study highlights the practical applications and aims to confirm the feasibility of the TMQ and CTMI in the case of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict. It is also a qualitative study, consisting of 41 interviews with representatives from the middle-range leadership from both conflict parties and external experts. The TMQ was also administrated for some of the interviews. For the context of this study, the a priori identified conditions are confirmed. Furthermore, the codings schemes for the Conflict & Trust Map and the Conflict & Trust Map itself are shaped based on the gathered data in the second study. Figure 4 illustrates the structure of the dissertation and which results each study provides.

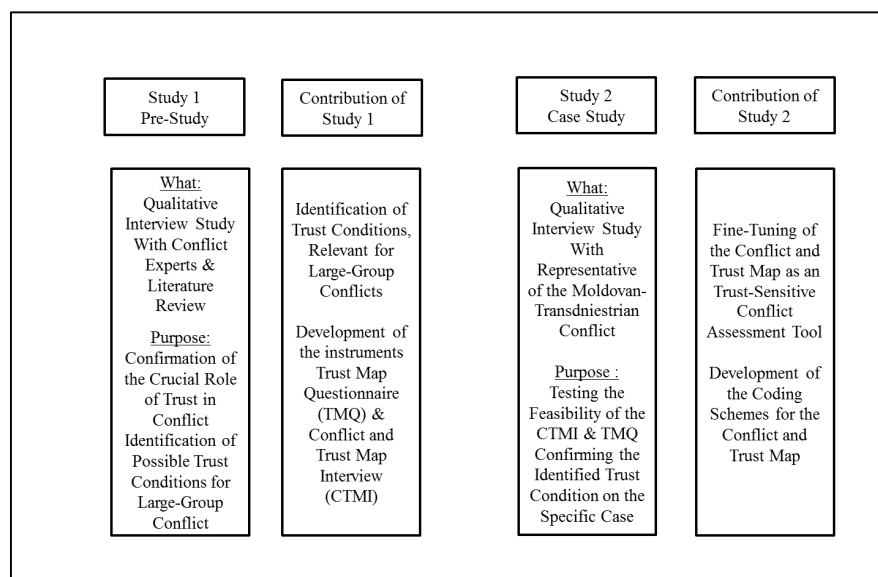


Figure 4. Conducted studies of this dissertation and their contribution to answer the research objectives.

### 2.3. Dissertation Outline

This dissertation aims to answer the above-posed research objectives. Chapter Three ‘Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire’ focuses on how the two instruments, the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) and the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) were developed based on the results of a relevant literature review and a pre-study. For the pre-study, eight conflict experts were interviewed for their insight into the role of trust in conflict intervention with a specific focus on which conditions the expert used to foster trust. Chapter 3 addresses the *Conceptual Research Objective* (1) and the *Applied Research Objective* (2.2).



The two instruments gather the data on which a Conflict & Trust Map for large-group conflict can be created. The CTMI and TMQ were tested for their feasibility in the case-study of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict. Chapter Four 'Background: Transdnistrian Conflict' provides the reader with factual background information about this specific conflict.

Just as for the pre-study, the test for feasibility is conducted primarily through qualitative research methods. The reasoning behind this decision and compliance with the qualitative scientific standard is elaborated in Chapter Five 'Method'. Chapter Five also includes a description of the participants, who were interviewed for the field study, and an explanation of how the interview data were processed and transformed into two coding schemes.

Chapter Six 'Coding Schemes of the Conflict & Trust Map', Chapter Seven 'Trust in Large-Group Conflicts' and Chapter Eight 'Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict' are the heart of the dissertation, since these cover the results and contribution of the work. Chapter Six 'Coding Schemes of the Conflict & Trust Map' describes the development of two coding schemes, one for each of the Conflict Map and the Trust Map. The former was derived from the data gathered from the interview, while the latter was derived from the Trust Map Questionnaire, developed through the pre-study. Together, these two coding scheme allow researchers to construct the Conflict & Trust Map in a systematic manner. Chapter 6 addresses *Applied Research Objective* (2.1) and (2.2).

Chapter Seven 'Trust in Large-Group Conflicts' reports my specific findings regarding trust. It confirms the identified trust conditions, presents the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Trust Map, based on the data gathered with the two instruments, the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) and the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ). It also looks into how exactly the trust conditions and conflict themes relate to one another. Chapter 7 addresses the *Conceptual Research Objective* (1) and the *Applied Research Objective* (2.1) and partly (3).

Chapter Eight 'Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict' illuminates, how exactly trust conditions and conflict categories are closely interwoven, using the example of Moldova – Transdnistrian relations. The Conflict & Trust Map in this specific case example is deployed to analyze the civil society, capturing the conflict impact of the middle range and grassroots leadership. Chapter 8 addresses the *Applied Research Objective* (3).

Chapter Nine 'Conclusion: Where is the Trust?' completes the study. The core findings of the dissertation are summarized and the contributions to the field of conflict resolution and

the relevance for the practitioner are presented. Also the limitations of the study and its findings are addressed as well as outlooks for further possible research.

### **3. Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire**

As elaborated in the introducing, trust plays a crucial role in the dynamics of conflict; its absence can either hold parties in conflict, and its gradual building can move conflict parties towards reconciliation (e.g. Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003; Hauge-Storholt, 2001 see also Chapt. 1.2 'No Peace Without Trust') In spite of the important role trust plays in conflict dynamics, there is no comprehensive inventory that assesses trust in the context of large-group conflict. This is partly due to the fact that the conditions leading to trust in the context of large-group conflict have not yet been identified. This gap manifests itself in the following two research objectives, which are addressed in this chapter:

*Conceptual Research Objective (1):* To identify and confirm conditions which engender trust in large-group conflicts.

*Applied Research Objective (2.2):* To develop two instruments which allow researchers and practitioners to assess conflict in a trust-sensitive manner. The instruments are the *Trust Map Questionnaire* (TMQ) and *Conflict & Trust Map Interview* (CTMI).

Two characteristics on which trust is conceptualized are important for the operationalization of these two objectives: firstly, the understanding that trust is multidimensional, and secondly that, due to this multidimensionality, trust can be assessed through conditions. The two instrument developed in this dissertation assess these trust conditions in the context of large-group conflicts, based on the results of relevant literature review and a pre-study. The chapter first described the literature review and introduced conditions of trust inventories, which had been developed for the interpersonal and intra-group context. In a second step, it describes a pre-study, conducted with eight experienced mediators, and reflecting on the conditions these conflict experts found important to build trust when working with conflict parties. These steps are the base for the development of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ), which will be described in this chapter. The chapter closes with a brief description of the second instrument, the Conflict & Trust Map Interview, which was tested through two pre-interviews.

#### **3.1. Literature review**

As elaborated in the theory introduction, there is no shared understanding of how to measure trust in the context of large-group conflict (see '1.2 No Peace Without Trust'). In the context of dyadic trust relations, conditions that lead to trust have been considered repeatedly

in the literature (Mayer et al., 1995), none have been systematically introduced for the context of conflict. Researchers often identified one or two concepts through which trust can be assessed (see ‘1.2 No Peace Without Trust’) For example, as elaborated in the theory chapter, trust in large-group conflicts is assessed by many factors, including one group’s perception of the other group’s sincerity; one groups perception benevolence displayed by the other group’s members, and by promise fulfillment of the other group. Other studies focus more on empathy and self-disclosure. The multidimensionality of trust allows different measurements of assessing trust. However, this also leads to the shortcoming that only part of the overall trust-relationship is assessed. Having a comprehensive set of conditions to assess trust provides two advantages. Firstly, it provides an exhaustive picture of the trust relationship, versus a mere snap shot under one or other biases, depending how trust is operationalized. Secondly, in the particular case of interventions, it is not enough to know that the trust relationship may be poor. It is important to understand which precise conditions affect the relationship negatively in order to improve it in a systematic way. Furthermore, the inventory also allows researchers to identify trust conditions which may be well-developed, and thereby offer a resource for possible intervention.

Such a comprehensive set of conditions, in the form of an inventory, is missing for the context of large-group conflicts. Since this research was provided for the context of dyadic relationship (Butler, 1991) and intra-group contexts (Emergency Capacity Building Project, 2007), these inventories provided a good starting point for the development of a condition of trust inventory in the context of large-group conflicts. In the following section, I will present each inventory by itself and then compare the trust conditions identified by the two inventories.

### 3.1.1. *Conditions of Trust Inventory (Butler, 1991)*

In the context of interpersonal relations, Butler (1991) undertook the task of creating the “Condition of Trust Inventory” (CTI) through qualitative and quantitative studies. Conducting 84 interviews with a manager, Butler identified ten conditions that foster trust. He confirmed these conditions in a second step through confirmative factor analysis, and assessed for construct validity. Based on his research, he developed the “Conditions of Trust Inventory” (CTI), which measures trust between two people in any given context. In addition to the ten conditions, the CTI also measures “overall trust”. Table 2 displays all the conditions measured by the CTI and a short description.

Table 2.

*The Conditions of the Condition of Trust Inventory (Butler, 1991)*

Condition	Description	Condition	Description
1. Availability	Being able to get in touch with the others	7. Loyalty	Others use mistakes against one, is act in own interest
2. Competence	Others handle things competently	8. Openness	Others share thoughts and essential information
3. Consistency	Others' behavior is predictable or stable	9. Overall Trust	Others are trustworthy
4. Discreetness	Others will treat confident information in a sensitive manner	10. Promise Fulfillment	Others follow through on promises made
5. Fairness	Others treat one equally, fairly	11. Receptivity	Willingness of others to take in one's ideas
6. Integrity	Others are honest when dealing with one		

The CTI was specifically developed for dyadic relations, and aims to be applicable in multiple relationships. Nevertheless, it has a bias toward organizational relationships. The bias is partly due to the fact that the CTI was developed on the sample of managers and validated with students enrolled in management courses.

### 3.1.2. *Trust Index (Emergency Capacity Building Project, 2007)*

Regarding intra-group context, the Emergency Capacity Building Project (2007) has explored how trust is built between members of emergency response teams. Such teams, which are sent into emergency situations after major catastrophes, often consist of members from different nationalities and agencies who have never met before, but are required to work efficiently together with short notice. Like Butler, the project also identified ten conditions<sup>2</sup> that enable these groups to trust each other and work more efficiently together. The conditions were identified through 29 interviews with members of agencies that employ first responders. These members had to have extensive relevant experience, either at the front line, or in

<sup>2</sup> Unlike Butler, the ECBP does not speak about “conditions,” but uses the term “criteria”. However ECBP uses the term “criteria” in the same conceptual manner as Butler uses “conditions.” For ease of reading I will use the term “conditions” instead of “criteria”.

national, regional, or head offices during emergencies. Based on the interviews, the Emergency Capacity Building Project (ECBP) developed the Trust Index.

In the Trust Index, the conditions are additionally divided in “swift trust” and “deep trust”. Swift trust can develop quickly, somehow based on easy-to-access information such as reputation, credibility and quick observation. Table 3 displays all the conditions measured by the Trust Index, and short descriptions of each.

Table 3.

*The Conditions of the Trust Index (ECPB, 2007)*

<u>Swift Trust</u>		<u>Deep Trust</u>	
Condition	Description	Condition	Description
1. Competence	Trust based on the perception that team members are competent, and will not let one down	5. Compatibility	Trust based on background, values, approaches, interests and objectives hold in common
2. Openness with information	Trust based on the observation that other team members share information important to the team proactively and clearly	6. Benevolence	Trust based on the belief that other team members are concerned about my welfare
3. Integrity	Trust based on the observation that other team members maintain promises, are team-oriented, and behave towards me in accordance with a moral code	7. Predictability	Trust based on the observation that the behavior of team members is consistent over time and different contexts
4. Reciprocity	Trust based on one's observation that other team members are trusting and co-operative towards one	8. Security	Trust arise from the feeling that I have nothing to fear from other members of the team
		9. Inclusion	Trust based on the observation that other team members actively include me in their social and work activities
		10. Accessibility	Trust based on the observation that other team members share their true feelings and I can relate to them on a personal level

### 3.1.3. *Comparison of the CTI (Butler, 1991) and Trust Index (ECBP, 2007)*

The two aforementioned trust inventories identified each of the ten trust conditions, which are of relevance to build trust, either in dyadic or intra-team context. Table 4 compares the conditions found for both contexts, distinguishing which conditions matter in both contexts, which conditions are similar with only subtle conceptual differences, and which conditions are only found in one context or the other.

Table 4.

*Comparison of the CTI and Trust Index*

Shared Conditions		Similar condition with subtle conceptual differences		Condition only found in one inventory	
CTI	Trust Index	CTI	Trust Index	CTI	Trust Index
Competence Predictability	Consistency	Openness	Openness with information	Availability	
			Accessibility	Discreetness	
		Promise Fulfillment	Integrity	Fairness	
			Reciprocity	Integrity	
			Benevolence		Compatibility
		Loyalty			Security
					Inclusions

Table 4 compares a total of 20 conditions, ten per index. It omits *Overall Trust* from the CTI since Butler does not label overall trust as a condition.

Only two sets of conditions are shared in both contexts – *Competence* and *Predictability* (CTI)/ *Consistency* (Trust Index), accounting for four conditions. Even so, *Predictability* and *Consistency* are differently labeled in the CTI and Trust Index; both address the same condition – that is, the perception that others' behavior is predictable or stable.

Four sets of conditions capture conceptual similarities, accounting for nine conditions. *Openness* in the CTI addresses the idea that others shares essential information and thoughts, supporting emotional accessibility. This notion is captured in the Trust Index through two conditions: *Openness with Information*, which explicitly addresses the idea that others share important information, and *(Emotional) Accessibility*. While the CTI only addresses the idea that others share thoughts, the Trust Index emphasizes that the others share their true feeling, and through this sharing foster a relationship through emotional closeness.

The second set of subtly different conditions is *Promise Fulfillment* (CTI) and *Integrity* (Trust Index). While both inventories have a condition called *Integrity*, they conceptualize it differently. The CTI mainly understands *Integrity* as honest and dishonest behavior, whereas the Trust Index conceptualizes *Integrity* as acting in accordance with a moral code, which includes honesty but is much broader in scope. This broadness explicitly entails the notion that others “do what they say” – that is, the quality of following up with promises. *Promise fulfillment* is its own condition in the CTI, overlapping with the Trust Index’s understanding of *Integrity*.

The next set of conceptually-related trust conditions is *Receptivity* (CTI) and *Reciprocity* (Trust Index). The CTI focuses on the fact that trust is fostered through the perception that others willingly take in one’s ideas (*Receptivity*). The Trust Index also holds this notion, but in a broader manner. Trust is fostered through cooperative and trusting behavior (*Reciprocity*) that can include the willingness to take in other’s ideas.

The final set of conceptually-related conditions is *Loyalty* (CTI) and *Benevolence* (Trust Index). *Loyalty* captures the perception that the other would not use one’s mistakes against him or her. This perception entails a goodwill component, which is the base of *Benevolence* – trust based on the belief that other team members are concerned about one’s welfare.

Seven conditions are found in only one of the two inventories: *Availability*, *Discreetness*, *Fairness* and *Integrity* in the CTI, and *Compatibility*, *Security* and *Inclusions* in the Trust Index.

To recap, four of the 20 conditions in both inventory match each other, nine conditions share at least conceptual similarities, and seven conditions are found in only one of the two inventories. The 16 non-matching conditions – that is, the seven only found in one of the inventories, and the nine conditions being only conceptually similar – highlight the relevance of the contexts in which and for which trust is assessed. Butler (1991) himself warns that his ten conditions might not represent a complete content domain for trust conditions in friendship or family relationships. Hence, while being a good starting point for the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) for large-group conflict, the CTI and Trust Index may not cover all relevant conditions for this context.

For this reason I conducted an expert interview study, in which I interviewed conflict experts (more precisely, conflict mediators) to identify relevant trust conditions in the context of large-group conflicts. The study and its results are reported in the following section.



### **3.2. Pre-Study: Expert Observation on Conditions That Foster Trust in Conflict Settings**

As a result of the lack of conditions of trust inventories for conflict parties in general, and for large-group conflicts specifically, I conducted expert interviews to identify trust conditions which specifically foster trust between conflict parties. Since the majority of these experts are conflict mediators, the study has a slight bias towards the context of conflict mediation and moderation workshop.

The objectives of the study were (1) to confirm the assumed important role of trust when working with conflict parties, and (2) to identify (further) trust conditions relevant to building trust between the parties. I will report the methods and the findings of the study in an abbreviated manner. The data are currently being analyzed in a broader scope in a Diploma Thesis at the University of Hamburg.<sup>3</sup>

#### **3.2.1. Method**

*Participants.* For the pre-study, eight conflict experts were interviewed about the role of trust in conflict intervention, mainly in the context of conflict mediations. Among the eight experts were seven mediators, with mediation experience in large-group, organizational, intercultural, juridical, or identity-based conflicts. The eighth expert specialized in conflict resolution and the launching of various conflict interventions in large-group conflicts. All experts possessed a considerable amount of practical experience, each of them working in their fields for more than two decades.

*Procedure and instruments.* The interviews took place between October 2007 and June 2008. The interviews were half-structured, and covered the issue of how the experts established trust in conflict mediation, and what in their experiences mattered to build trust between the parties. The interview guideline is attached as Appendix A. Six interviews were conducted in personal, face-to-face meetings in the experts' offices; two interviews were carried out by Skype. The interviews generally lasted between 60 – 90 minutes. The interviews were separated in two stages: it started with an open question part in which interviewees spoke about their approaches to conflict engagement (mainly conflict moderation), and were then asked to recall incidents in their work when they actively built

---

<sup>3</sup> Berendsohn, K. (forthcoming). *Expert Observation on Trust in Conflict*. Unpublished diploma thesis. Hamburg, Germany: Hamburg University, Department of Psychology.

trust, or when trust between the parties and themselves was harmed. The answers to these open questions allowed opportunities for identifying conditions that are relevant to the trust relationships. After the interviewees described the incidents in a detailed and structured manner, they were asked a series of follow-up questions. The interviews concluded with questions regarding the demographic background of the experts. Interviews were transcribed, and the resulting texts were analyzed through qualitative content analyses. The content analysis enabled a structured and systemic analysis of verbal material through the development of specifically-adapted categories and codes. “The strength of the content analysis is that it analyzes the material step by step and by doing so is highly methodically controlled” (Mayring, 2002, p.114).

### 3.2.2. *Results*

The expert interview study revealed that trust is an essential component of conflict moderation in political, juridical, and identity-based conflicts. The participating experts came from a number of interdisciplinary areas (political and juridical conflicts, and conflict within organizations or between business partners); all of them highlighted the importance of helping the parties to build trusting relationships. In the expert interviews, 13 conditions were named as fostering trust between conflict parties. From the 13 conditions, nine were also identified by either the Condition of Trust Inventory (CTI) from Butler (1991) or the Trust Index from the Emergency Capacity Building Project (2007). Four of the 13 conditions named in this pre-study were absent in the previous instruments. Table 5 and Table 6 list the conditions in more detail.

Table 5.

*Nine conditions identified in the experts interviews, also found in the CTI or Trust Index*

	<b>Condition</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Exerts (N)</b>	<b>Match CTI</b>	<b>Match Trust Index</b>
1	Competence	Handling things competently;	7	Competence	Competence
2	Consistency	Predictable and stable behavior	1	Predictability	Consistency
3	Egalitarianism	Treating others as equal	1	Fairness	
4	Trust-worthiness	Being seen as trustworthy	1	Overall trust	
5	Security	No hurt will come to one either from others or through the process	5		Security

	<b>Condition</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Exerts (N)</b>	<b>Match CTI</b>	<b>Match Trust Index</b>
6	Perceived Sameness	Others share background, values, beliefs or interests	7		Compatibility
7	Integrity	Others act in accordance with a moral code,	4		Integrity
8	Benevolence	Others are concerned about one's overall welfare	5		Benevolence
9	Connectivity	Relating to each other on a personal level	5		Accessibility

note: The description is on purposed phrased mainly context free, even so the majority of the statements of the experts where uttered in relation of a third party to conflict parties

The nine conditions displayed in Table 5 were identified in one to seven experts' interviews (Column: Experts (N)). Table 5 also shows that these conditions are more often matched by the Trust Index than by the CTI, probably reflecting the shared context of group interaction. Of interest is the mentioning of Trustworthiness, matching the overall trust assessment in the CTI. The perception of trustworthiness as supporting the trust relationship is an indicator that overall trust can be labeled as its own condition. This understanding is shared by Thomas (2005), who expands on the theory that general trust influences specific trust, and can be assessed through specific conditions.

The next table displays four conditions, which were newly identified in the experts' interviews.

Table 6.

*Conditions newly identified through the experts' interviews*

	<b>Condition</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Exerts (N)</b>
1	Authenticity	Others are authentic in their self-expressions	4
2	Knowledge Accuracy	Other state and knows fact correctly	4
3	Competence	Others are able to deliver upon agreements	5
4	Empathy	Others are willing to understand what is important for one's group	7

Four to seven experts independently named *Authenticity*, *Knowledge Accuracy*, *Competence* and *Empathy* as important additional conditions fostering trust in the context of

conflict. It is of interest that the experts deliberately differentiated between two kinds of competence: *Competence/Ability*, which focuses on how well things are handled and is also assessed through the CTI and Trust Index. The experts also identified the competence on being able to deliver upon agreements. Some of the experts link the latter competence with the notion of being professional. However, this kind of competence of delivering upon promises differs conceptually from the competence seen as indicative of ability.

The experts also differentiated between *Benevolence* and *Empathy* as two conditions that foster trust. *Benevolence* expresses the concern for the other's welfare, while *Empathy* is the process of actively putting oneself into the other's shoes, and hence involves a stronger perspective change.

Based on the CTI, Trust Index and the Experts Interviews, I derived 21 trust conditions, which provide the conditions for the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ), and address trust between conflict parties. Some of the conditions derived from the CTI were adapted to the more nuanced understanding gained from the expert interviews. In the following I describe the TMQ with an overview of the 21 conditions.

### **3.3. Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)**

Building on the existing trust inventories, CTI and Trust Index, and the insight gained through the experts' interviews, 21 conditions arise that may contribute to the trust relationship between large-group conflict parties. These conditions are partly taken from the CTI and Trust Index, but also adapted using the more nuanced insight provided by the expert interviews and literature reviews. Table 7 lists all the conditions, which are considered relevant for trust relationships between large-group parties. It also gives a short description of the conditions, and indicates the original source of the condition. The underlined conditions are adapted either in name or nuance from the original instruments. Such changes are described under the column labeled "Comment."

Table 7.

*The 21 Trust conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire*

	<b>Condition</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Comment</b>
1	(physical) Availability	Being able to get in touch with the others	CTI	
2	<u>Competence/Ability</u>	Others handle things competently	CTI Trust Index Expert Interviews	Competence-Ability is nuanced toward how well things are handled in the process
3	Predictability	Others' behavior is predictable or stable	CTI/ Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	
4	Discreetness	Others will treat confident information in a sensitive manner	CTI	
5	<u>Fairness</u>	Others treat one equally, fairly, with dignity	CTI/ Expert Interviews	Fairness is extended to being treated as equal
6	<u>Honesty</u>	Others are honest when dealing with one	CTI	Former term, Integrity, is focused on the component of Honesty
7	<u>Loyalty – Self Interest</u>	Others use mistakes against one, is act in own interest	CTI/ Expert Interviews	In the CTI also had a benevolence component, in the TMQ more focused on self-interest
8	<u>Openness with information</u>	Others share essential information	CTI/ Trust Index	In the CTI, also had a (emotional) accessibility component, in the TMQ more focused on information exchange
9	Overall Trust	Others are trustworthy	CTI/ Expert Interviews	
10	Promise Fulfillment	Others follow through on promises made	CTI	
11	Receptivity	Willingness of others to take in one's ideas	CTI	
12	Authenticity	Others are authentic in their self-expressions	Expert Interviews	

	Condition	Description	Source	Comment
13	Knowledge Accuracy	Others state and know facts correctly	Expert Interviews	
14	Competence for Delivery	Others are able to deliver upon agreements	Expert Interviews	Competence for Delivery focuses on being able to follow through (with agreements)
15	Security	Others will not hurt one's group	Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	
16	Compatibility	Others share background, values, beliefs or interests	Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	
17	<u>Integrity</u>	Others act in accordance with a moral code	CTI/ Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	Integrity in the broader sense of following an moral code, omitting the notion of following through with promises
18	Benevolence	Others are concerned about one's overall welfare	Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	
19	(emotional) Accessibility	One can relate to others on a personal and emotional level	Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	
20	Reciprocity	Others are trusting and cooperative towards one's group	Trust Index/ Expert Interviews	
21	Empathy	Others are willing to understand what is important for one's group	Experts Interviews	

### 3.3.1. *Structure of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)*

These 21 conditions are the base of the Trust Map Questionnaire. The objective of the TMQ is to assess and measure the identified trust conditions for large-group conflicts parties, and through its fine-grained assessment of 21 conditions, also provide a trust profile for the parties. Each of the 21 conditions is framed through two anchors, as opposite points of a 7-point scale. *Availability* for example is framed through “(1) – it is usually hard to us to get in touch with them” versus “(7) – We can get easily in touch with when we need to”. The master version of the TMQ, which also indicates the conditions behind the anchors, is provided in Appendix C. In addition to measuring the prevalence of each condition, the TMQ also assesses the perceived importance of each trust condition on a five-point scale. Participants responded using a 5-point scale that ranged from 1 (“not important at all”) to 5 (“very important”), with a midpoint of 3 (“neither important nor unimportant”).

The TMQ opens with an instruction page, on which the respondents are directed towards a conflict moderation setting, as a specific third-party intervention (see ‘1.4 Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts’). This introduction was chosen for two reasons: firstly, it provides a concrete setting in which the conflict parties interact, and helps the respondent to answer the questionnaire. Secondly, as introduced in Chapter 1, while it is not the main purpose of the dissertation, the intended finding of this work is to support conflict resolution measures. Therefore, there is an explicit bias towards possible conflict moderation workshops as a conflict intervention. However, the context provided in the introduction page can be adapted to any context, in which the trust relationship will be assessed.

In addition to the trust conditions, the TMQ also includes five attitude measures. Three are based on the findings that in deep-rooted or identity-based conflicts, adversarial framing fuels conflict escalation. Adversarial framing is supported by key processes, such as blaming the other side for the conflict, polarizing one’s side against the other, or attributing negative characteristics to the other side (Rothman, 1997). The TMQ assesses, through 7-point scales, how much respondent belief the other side is applying to one of these three features of their group. The final attitude measurement is assessed in a manner of a “Should-Is” comparison: the perception of how the other side acts in the conflict, versus how they *should* act; and how trustworthy they are, versus how trustworthy they *should* be. These measurements facilitate the assessment of the expectations that parties have of each other, and how their perceptions of the other differ from these expectations. The TMQ concludes with demographic questions.

After describing the Trust Map Questionnaire as a quantitative instrument to assess trust in the previous section, the next section of this chapter focuses on the qualitative instrument, the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI).

### **3.4. Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)**

The objective of the Conflict & Trust Map Interview is to collect relevant information about the conflict and the trust relationship between conflict parties. It is understood as a conflict assessment tool, building on Wehr’s (1979) insight that a comprehensive conflict assessment has to include the primary information from the parties, since they have insights about how the conflict first manifested itself.

The Conflict & Trust Map Interviews is divided into two parts, an extensive conflict analysis and an assessment of the trust relationship. The conflict analysis facilitates the developing of an understanding of the interviewee’s perception of the conflict, the involved

parties, and their own interests. In the trust section, questions assessed the trust relationship between the interviewee's own group and the group perceived as most relevant to interactions. The interview guideline for the CTMI is attached as Appendix B. The interview captures the parties' perceptions of four main conflict issues: (1) an identification of the involved stakeholders, (2) the relationship between the conflict parties, (3) the aspects that contribute to sustaining the conflict, and (4) the trust relationship between parties. It is constructed as a half-structured interview.

The interview opens with confirming the terminology of the conflict. Many conflicts receive official or unofficial terminology, such as the Israel – Palestine conflict or the Transdnistria Conflict. These terms can include biases, and the purpose of a mutually established terminology is to avoid any bias and ensure the parties' perceptions are acknowledged and respected. Furthermore, by using the term, which reflects the interviewees perception helps to create a close connection between the interviewee and interview and can help to foster trust between the two, leading to a more authentic and open interview.

With its focus on conflict resolution, the interview guideline next explores if the interviewees are engaged in any conflict resolution attempts. Next, through open questions, the perception of the interviewees on conflict is assessed, including an abbreviated description on the source of the conflict. This open answer leads into identifying the main conflict parties and their attributed interests, needs and concerns. The second block of questions focus on the trust relationship between the conflict parties, identifying factors that foster and diminish trust on the other side. Within the course of the interview, the Trust Map Questionnaire is then administered. After completing the TMQ, the interview closes with a question about the interviewee's perceived "perfect solution," which helps gain insight on the interviewee's position and aspiration for conflict resolution. It is followed up by a question about the predominant obstacles that the interviewee perceives as standing between the status quo and the aspired "perfect solution". This query helps identify the main obstacle which may have to be tackled for the conflict assessment, and also facilitates a comparison between the conflict parties: are their aspirations compatible with each other, or diametrically opposed to each other? The same holds true for perceived obstacles – do these obstacles reflect the parties' conflict relations? The question also gathers information about the key processes of conflict escalation, such as blaming, attributing or projecting (see '3.3.1 Structure of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)'). The latter would require conflict resolution measures to address the relationship between parties. The obstacles can also be rooted in concrete factual issues that



may be addressed through concrete measures. The interview ends with demographic questions for the interviewee.

The CTMI is deliberately developed to assess the Conflict & Trust Map for civil society. It is therefore a psychological assessment, with a strong focus on relationships, and well-suited for Level II and Level III interventions (see Lederach, 1997).

The CTMI was developed and tested through two pre-interviews, both located within large-group conflicts: the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, and an intra-group conflict within Romania between two minority groups. The latter was done with a third-party intervener in an intra-group conflict in Romania between Hungarian-speaking Romanians and rural Roma. In the case of the former, interviews were conducted with a Palestinian peace activist, who lived the majority of her life in the West Bank and participated in various attempts to stop the occupation, as well as in a reconciliation project between Israelis and Palestinians. Both interviews were done via Skype. The structure of the CTMI mainly stayed unchanged as a result of the pre-test, although some of the formulations were altered for clarification.

### **3.5. Summary: Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire**

The present chapter described the development of the two conflict and trust assessments instruments, the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) and the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI). The chapter mainly focused on the development of the TMQ, since its development addressed the first part of the *Conceptual Research Objective* (1): To identify and confirm conditions which engender trust in large-group conflicts. Building on existing inventories and an expert study, 21 trust conditions were identified. The TMQ was constructed based on these conditions

Additionally the CTMI was developed together with the TMQ, these two instruments for a trust-sensitive assessment fulfilled the *Applied Research Objective* (2.2): To develop two instruments allowing assessing conflict in a trust-sensitive manner. Both instruments, the CTMI and TMQ, will be tested for feasibility in the context of the Moldova-Transdniestrian conflict in form of an interview study. The interviewees for this study have been recruited from Level 2 middle-range leadership, offering an insight into how their sector is or is not affected by the conflict. Before exploring the field study in chapter 5 and beyond, the next Chapter Four, 'Background: Transdniestrian Conflict' will provide background information about the specifics of the conflict that will serve as the case study in this dissertation.

#### **4. Background: Transdnistrian Conflict**

The case study forming the basis of this dissertation is the Moldova-Transdnistria conflict in Eastern Europe, referred to as the “Transdnistrian conflict” in interdisciplinary literature. Indeed, merely labeling the conflict can prove a conflictual process. Throughout the course of the dissertation, I will use both “Transdnistrian conflict” and “Moldova-Transdnistria conflict” interchangeably in order to balance two terms, both of which carry implicitly partisan messages. To refer to the “Moldova-Transdnistria conflict” is to join the Transdnistrian narrative, which implicitly claims that the conflict was between two equal sides. . On the other hand, to use the label “Transdnistrian conflict” is to join a discourse that sees the nature of the conflict as “a Transdnistrian problem”, with Transdnistria itself, or its existence, being an issue that needs to be resolved. This latter usage is most commonly deployed in the official Moldovan narrative. In this dissertation, I use the term “Transdnistria” simply to refer to the geographical region and not to make any claims either in favor of or against Transdnistrian independence/statehood.

Transdnistria is a break-away region of Moldova, where separatist efforts escalated in a short lived armed conflict in the beginning of the 1990s. The armed fighting led to a frozen conflict between Moldova and Transdnistria, which has ended with Transdnistria emerging as a de-facto, albeit unrecognized, state. The term ‘frozen conflict’ is used for four Eastern European conflicts, all of which arose around separatism (Weiner, 2007). The term further refers to conflicts that “freeze” between active hostilities and the implementation of formal peace agreements (Kachuyevski, 2008). The term ‘frozen’ does not imply that the conflict dynamics are frozen, but it does imply that peace agreement cannot be implemented, even though violence has ceased. In fact, conflict parties’ relations to and perceptions of one another, as well as the power structure of ruling elites, are far from static. Rather, relations between parties are in a process of worsening, as the “freeze” typically results in a deep entrenchment of “us versus them” thinking and the gradual disappearance of any feelings of belonging citizens of separatist regions have to the wider state (Weiss, 2008).

Moldova and Transdnistria are separated by the Dniester River. Both regions are landlocked, enclosed by their neighbors, Romania and the Ukraine (see Figure 5). In international terminology Moldova is also often referred to as the “right bank” and Transdnistria as the “left bank,” an attempt to reduce political bias. These terms are borrowed from nautical lingo and refer to an observer looking downstream (south); somewhat counter intuitively, the right bank, therefore, is to the west and the left bank is to the east.

This chapter gives an overview of the history of Moldova and Transnistria and the course of the conflict, from its violent eruption in 1990 to its state of frozen conflict for the past two decades. This necessary background information will help the reader understand the data later presented.



*Figure 5.* A Map of the Moldova-Transnistrian Region and its surrounding neighbors, Romania in the West and Ukraine in North, East and South.

#### **4.1. Synopsis: the Moldova – Transnistria conflict**

The former Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova (Moldovan SSR) was formed in its current borders in 1940. Figure 5 illuminates the borders that include the region Moldova and Transnistria. However, 1940 was the first time that the region known as Transnistria became part of Moldova (International Crisis Group, 2003). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Transnistria declared unilaterally in August of 1991 its independence as the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR)<sup>4</sup>. Two days later Moldovan SSR also declared its independence as the Republic of Moldova, but included Transnistria in its borders. Transnistria rejected this inclusion. The international community recognized Moldova's declaration of independence, perceiving Transnistrian as a part of Moldova.

---

<sup>4</sup> In Russian Transnistria is called Pridnestrovie. In its English translation, numerous spellings exist. For ease of reading it is often spelled as Transnistria. In my dissertation I use the form Transnistria, as an appropriate hybrid between the Romanian and Russian spelling of the Latin form. It is also the term being used in numerous international publications. This term is chosen without any political reason. For an extended explanation of the problems in translating the word Pridnestrovie from Russian to English, see (Troebst, 2003).

The tensions between the both sides intensified into an armed conflict in 1992. The Russian 14<sup>th</sup> Army, which was and continues to be based in Transdniestria, intervened on behalf of Transdniestria (International Crisis Group, 2003). As of July 21, 1992, there has been a formal cease fire in place between Russia and Moldova. However, since that time, all attempts to settle the conflict have failed. The case is now considered a ‘frozen conflict’ that is manifested, among others aspects, in a separation of land and civil society. Transdniestria has developed into a de-facto state, with its own currency and governmental structure, but is unrecognized by the international community. At the time this study was conducted in 2009 the president of Transdniestria was Igor Smirnoff, who ruled in Transdniestria from October 1991 to December 2011. During his presidency, a power structure was established within Transdniestria that can be described as authoritarian, complete with a secret police and surveillance apparatus.

#### **4.2. Sources of the Conflict**

Differences over language, status, and economic interests led to the eruption of conflict in 1992

*Language.* Reacting to a long history of Soviet suppression of Romanian, Moldova declared Romanian the official-state language<sup>5</sup> of Moldova in 1989. This move was widely rejected by the Russian-speaking population of Transdniestria. The ensuing tension over language is a significant source of conflict in the region.

*Status of Transdniestria.* In the downfall of the Soviet Union and through the pro-Romanian movements, the two sides became deeply committed to their respective positions on the status of Transdniestria, with unification favored on the right bank and Transdniestrian independence favored on the left bank.

*Economic Interest.* During Soviet times and partly due to the Russian state-directed economy, Transdniestria became the industrial heart of Moldova. With threat of separatism, Moldovan leaders were faced with the possibility of losing access to Transdniestrian territory

---

<sup>5</sup> Officially the state language of Moldova is Moldovan. There is an ongoing political debate about whether a unique Moldovan language exists or, rather, if it is simply Romanian written in Cyrillic letters with Russian terms incorporated. By now this discourse has been hijacked by political ideology. For ease of reading I refer to the official language of Moldova as Romanian, since that is how the majority of interviewees of the presented study and international publications refer to the language. This decision was made without any political intention.

and resources. Similarly, Transdnistrian leadership was motivated to protect access to and control over its own resources.

### **4.3. Course of the Conflict**

The following section describes the historical background of the conflict, providing a timeline from the conflict's development in Soviet times through the current period, capturing the main events.

#### **4.3.1. *Pre- & Soviet Time 1400 – 1960***

Until 1940 Moldova and Transdnistria were separate territories. In the fifteenth century, the principality of Moldova stretched from the Carpathians (present-day Romania) to the west of the Dniester. Transdnistria was on the east bank (Meyer, 2005). However, under the Molotov- Ribbentrop pact of 1938, which divided Northern and European States between Nazi-Germany and the Soviet Union sphere of influence, the Moldovan SSR was formed, reducing Moldova's territory in the North and West, and adding Transdnistria to the republic. The Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was founded on August 2, 1940, after the Red Army invaded the region. This was the first time that both banks shared the same administrative structure (International Crisis Group, 2003), an argument often used from the left bank in their claim that they are not an integral part of Moldova. The joint administrative structure was dissolved in 1941 – 1944 when Romania, as a German ally controlled the area of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. Under Romanian control, the banks were treated differently, the right bank was formally reintegrated with Romania while the left bank was treated as an occupied territory. (International Crisis Group, 2003). This period is still important in the Transdnistrian collective memory. Transdnistrians often understand Romania to represent a continued threat, a feeling rooted in the 1941-44 experience.

After the end of the Second World War, the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was reconfirmed in its border and both banks were governed under one administration again. An era of Russification lasted from 1944-1959. 300.000 Russians settled in Moldova, mainly on the left bank, and Russian became the official language of the republic. Further, 500.000 Moldovans, mainly the elite, were deported (International Crisis Group, 2003). The lost status of their native language and widespread deportations during the Era of Russification has become part of the Romanian-speaking collective memory on the right bank. In the same period, the industrialization of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic began, and

Transdnistria became an industrial center, adding to its economic value (International Crisis Group, 2003; Meyer, 2005).

#### 4.3.2. *Collapse of the Soviet Union and Armed Conflict, 1989 – 1992*

The period of Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika enabled pro-Romanian intellectuals to address and reject the Russian language's domination. This pro-Romanian movement occurred mainly on the right bank. While there are three main languages spoken on both banks, Russian, Romanian and Ukraine, the majority on the right bank speak Romanian, while the majority on the left bank speak Russian (Bogomolov, Semyvolos, & Pushkar, 2009). With the fall of the Soviet Union, the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic adapted Romanian as the state language in August 1989 (e.g. Meyer, 2005). Romanian's introduction as state language created a considerable obstacle for the Russian speakers since it required that all persons holding private enterprise and state-related jobs speak Romanian. While Romanian-speakers tended to be bilingual, sufficiently fluent in both Russian and Romanian, Russian speakers tended to speak only Russian. With Romanian as the official state language, many Russian speakers were prevented from obtaining or keeping their government positions (International Crisis Group, 2003). Eight months later, in April 1990, Moldova gave up its former flag and adapted the Romanian-styled Tricolor national flag (Bogomolov et al., 2009; Meyer, 2005). Adapting the Moldovan language and the Romanian Tricolor, were resisted by the six districts on the left bank, which declared their loyalty to the Soviet Union in September 1990.

Tension between the two banks deepened over the course of the next 11 months, culminating in Transdnistria's declaration of independence on August 25, 1991. Two days later, on August 27, 1991 the right bank declared itself independent from the former Soviet Union, as the Republic of Moldova, but it included the left bank within its borders (Hensel, 2006).

Differing positions about the future of the two banks intensified over the course of the next 11 months, erupting in violent assaults mainly in villages on the border between the two banks. Even though the Moldovan authorities formally proposed on 18 June of 1992 that they intend a peaceful resolution to the crisis, one day later Moldova forces attacked Bender, a city on the left bank (Bogomolov et al., 2009). The 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army, which was still based on the left bank and was still the strongest military player in the region, intervened and established a cease fire with the Moldovan forces (International Crisis Group, 2003). On July

21, 1992, a signed agreement between Moldova and Russia marked the end of hostilities (Bogomolov et al., 2009).

#### 4.3.3. *Frozen Conflict, 1992 – 2009*

The cease-fire agreement marked the end of hostilities but relations between the right and left banks remained tense. Russia's military intervention and the deployment of Russian forces as peace keepers helped secure Transdniestria's de facto independence (International Crisis Group, 2003), a separation that has continued in the following years.

In 1993, the right bank changed their currency from Ruble to Moldovan Leu. This change was not implemented on the left bank, and, in fact, in 1994 the left bank introduced its own new currency, the Transdniestrian Ruble (International Crisis Group, 2003). This development is doubly significant. First, Moldovan authorities heavily rejected the introduction of the Transdniestrian Ruble, another major step in cementing Transdniestria's de-facto independency. Having two different currencies deepened the separation between the two banks and complicated a (possible) unification of the two banks. Second, the currency-issue is interesting because it illuminates the relevance of external players, Romania and Russia, through which the left and right banks affiliate themselves. It is not a coincidence that the currency in the right bank is called the Moldovan Leu, mirroring the Romanian currency, Romanian Leu, while the left bank's Transdniestrian Ruble mirrors the Russian Ruble.

In the period from 1992 to 2006, the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE) initiated numerous attempts to negotiate between Moldova and Russia a withdrawal of Russian forces and find a solution for Transdniestria's status. With the support of the OSCE multiple memorandums were drafted, offering Transdniestria a special status within Moldova (Memorandum on Peace Settlement, June 1996) or proposes an asymmetric state (Kozak Memorandum, November 2003). None of the negotiations or memoranda were successful.

Since 1993, the OSCE tried to foster talks between Moldova and Transdniestria with the OSCE, Russia and Ukraine being mediators.<sup>6</sup> In 2003 the European Union and the USA

---

<sup>6</sup> The term 'mediator' is used here in the political-science meaning and is not in accordance with the definition introduced in Chapter 1. The mediators in the 5+2 talks (OSCE, Russia and Ukraine) bring and protect their own interests to the negotiations. Unlike in the psychological understanding of mediators, the political science notion emphasizes that mediators influence the content of the mediation and are not responsible for process alone.

were added as formal observers. This negotiation format “5+2 talks”. However, mediation came to a stalemate after October 2006 and was not reinitiated until 2011(OSCE, 2012a).

During the period from 1992 to 2012, political players in the left bank remained unchanged. Igor Smirnov from the Republic party was president of Transdniestria for two decades. Since Transdniestria is an unrecognized state, none of its elections were recognized by the international community nor were independent election observers present during the elections. The elections were widely perceived as neither free nor fair. Serious candidates that could have challenged Smirnov were not allowed to run (International Crisis Group, 2003). Furthermore, the Transdniestrian political atmosphere became more and more restrictive in the years after the declaration of independence and Smirnov’s group is often referred to as an “authoritarian regime” (International Crisis Group, 2003). While there is genuine popular support for Smirnov, his group and him has abused administrative resources and suppressed political pluralism with the help of a pervasive security service apparatus, a complacent judiciary, and tightly controlled media (Hensel, 2006). Western involvement is seen with suspicion (Beyer, 2011) and politically independent NGO’s are impeded in their work (International Crisis Group, 2003), further cementing the ruling elite’s sphere of influence.

On the right bank, the political players changed during the 1992 - 2009 period, with three different presidents and different parties coming to power. The longest president in power was Vladimir Voronin, from the Communists Party, who held office from April 2001 until September 2009. His resignation came as result of elections which were followed by civil unrest in May 2009, in which Voronin and his party were accused of election fraud and holding unrightfully on to office. He was succeeded by a coalition of opposition parties, the Alliance for European Integration. With no candidate securing the requisite number of seats, in September 2009, Mihail Ghimpu took office as an acting president (Cristescu & Matveev, 2011). The parties in his coalition were mainly united by their desire to replace the Communist Party, but lacked a coherent platform on how to rule and which positions to take towards the left bank. This uncertainty over goals is reflected in the data collected in present study, which took place from September 2009 until October 2010, weeks after Ghimpu was confirmed as acting president.

#### **4.3.4. *Current Situation in 2012***

The study collected data at the end of 2009. The data reported in the study are embedded in this time set. In the past three years there have been three important



developments in the course of the conflict, which I report briefly in this section but are not further considered in the data analysis:

On the Moldovan side, after two and a half years of political stalemate, the parliament elected a new president Nicolae Timofti. He is a candidate of the Alliance for European Integration (OSCE, 2012b). His election ends the interim period that began in September 2009 and also provides a legitimate and accountable negotiation partner for the 5+2 talks.

On the Transnistrian side, there were elections in December 2011. Yevgeny Shevchuk from the Renewal Party won the election and ended Smirnov's two-decade presidency. Nevertheless, just like Smirnov, Shevchuk and the Renewal party insist on Transnistria's independence. However, Shevchuk is open to participating in the resumed 5+2 talks (OSCE, 2011).

Third, the 5+2 talks, which had been suspended in 2006, were resumed in November 2011, with a first official meeting in February 2012 (OSCE, 2012a)

So, by today (mid-2012) both banks have new governments that are less entrenched in ideologies and that seem to be sincerely receptive to attempts at a negotiated solution. They have both demonstrated the willingness to participate in the conflict, even though they hold opposite positions regarding the status of Transnistria. At this point, it is too early to say how these changes will be manifested in the conflict and on the ground, or they affect relations between the two civil societies.

#### **4.3.5. *Final Remarks - Conflict Characteristics***

The Transnistrian conflict is often called a "strange one" as no clear animosity existed from the outset and nobody has been killed since hostilities have ended (Bogomolov et al., 2009, p. 12). Despite disagreement over language, which played an important role in the outbreak of the 1992 war, the conflict is not an ethnic conflict (e.g. Bogomolov et al., 2009). It is also not a fight between hostile communities or national groups. The conflict is mainly between elites with political and economic interest (Bogomolov et al., 2009), , who derive profits from the status quo (Cristescu & Matveev, 2011)

This position that it is not an ethnic conflict but a conflict between elites, is also reflected in data of the current study (see Chapt. 8; 'Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transnistrian Conflict'). It is important to note that elites like Bogomolov and his colleagues as well as the interviewees referred to in this study, had an upper-echelon status in 2009, but are no longer in power.

In spite of the perception that it is not an ethnic conflict and in spite of the absence of political violence in the past two decades, fear to be suppressed by each other among the two civil populations are still alive (Hensel, 2006), a fact also reflected in the data of the study. This fear of ongoing violence also extends to the two external players, Russia and Romania (e.g. Hensel, 2006).

This chapter provides the reader with broad background information about the Transdnistrian conflict, the case study of this dissertation. The data gathered in the dissertation have been deployed to address the *Conceptual Research Objective* (1), to provide evidence for relevance of the previously identified 21 trust conditions in the Transdnistrian conflict. The data also address the *Applied Research Objective* (2.1), to develop and adapt the trust sensitive conflict assessment framework and the Conflict and Trust Map, and *the Applied Research Objective* (2.2), creating the two coding schemes for the Conflict Map and Trust Map. Finally, in the specifics of the Transdnistrian conflict, the two instruments, Conflict and Map Interview (CTMI) and the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ), have been tested for their applicability in large-group conflicts (Applied Research Objective (3)).

The Research Questions were addressed through a qualitative interview study with representatives from both banks. Before reporting the results of the study, I address in the next chapter the method used for data gathering and analysis.

## 5. Method

### 5.1. The Qualitative Approach

“Qualitative data are sexy.” Miles and Huberman (1994; p.1) open their introduction in their seminal textbook, explaining that the sexiness of qualitative data is rooted in the data’s richness and ability to capture a holistic momentum of the studied phenomena that is often missing in quantitative data. Furthermore, qualitative data allow researchers the opportunity to not only verify hypotheses, but also to explore and create new insights in the studied questions (e.g. King, 2004). Another important advantage of qualitative data relevant for the present study is the notion that “social facts are embedded in social action, just as social meaning is constituted by what people *do* in everyday life” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 4; emphasis in original)

In my work, I study the impact of large-group conflict and trust. The former is impossible to study in an experimental setting. The dynamics in large-group conflict are not possible to simulate in an experiment. To gain a true understanding of the various factors holding groups in conflict – such as collective memory, mutual perceptions, stereotypes and influences of the large-group identity, or trust –it is necessary to work with individuals who have experienced these factors and live in the context of a large-group conflict. In my research, I did not want to make the implicit assumption that trust between individuals of large-group conflict parties is comparable with interpersonal trust and refrained from the experimental method used to study trust in dyad and work-related relationships. I chose the qualitative approach for my research since it allowed me the opportunity to study the trust relationship between members of large-group conflict parties in the field, while taking into account the contextual influences and recognizing “that context matters for human lives” (Hammack, 2011, p. 48). It also allowed me to conduct my research in both a deductive (theory based) and inductive (theory building) manner, understanding the field setting as a “macro laboratory” for real human concerns and relations (Bar-Tal, 2004, p. 681).

Despite the numerous advantages, one risk of qualitative data is that they can be influenced by subjective bias of the researcher. Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) summarize this problem with the following observation:

When relying on human observers, researchers must worry about the quality of the data—specifically, their reliability. Are the data being made and subsequently used in analyses and decision making the result of irreproducible human idiosyncrasies or do

they reflect properties of the phenomena (units of analysis) of interest on which others could agree as well? (p. 78)

I will touch upon these important aspects and how to ensure the objectivity, reliability and validity of qualitative research in general in section 5.3. *Rigor in Qualitative Research*. The applied quality criteria of my dissertation are described in section 5.6.5 *Rigorousness of the Presented Study*.

## **5.2. Epistemology or Orientation Within Qualitative Research Conduct**

The field of qualitative research can be divided into various different epistemologies ranging from positivism and post-positivism to constructivism (Lincoln & Guba, 2005). Each of these epistemologies can then again be differentiated into different approaches, such as content theory (e.g. Mayring, 2002) or grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) (for an overview see also Denzin and Lincoln (2005) or Mey and Mruck (2010)). Between some of these schools deep ideological contradiction prevails regarding the definition of appropriate epistemology and appropriate methods. By speaking about orientations instead of epistemologies, Miles and Huberman (1994) offer a solution to these sometimes fierce debates with a more pragmatic point of view and separating the epistemological arguments from the working level. Following their terminology, for my research I followed the school of “realists.” This school reasons that

...social phenomena exist not only in minds but also in objective world – and that some lawful and reasonable stable relationships can be found among them. The lawfulness comes from the regularities and sequences that link together phenomena. From these patterns we can derive constructs that underlie individual and social life. (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 4)

While Miles & Huberman point out in their later text that a “pure” orientation is seldom found, they still link their understanding of the realistic school to a more inductive approach. I differ from this understanding and use the inductive approach, but also employ deductive methods, which seems to be more common in the field of psychology. I use the inductive approach for identifying relevant categories for a comprehensive conflict map, but also building on existent research in employing the 21 trust conditions, using pre-designed instruments for deductive reasoning. Weitzman (2009) explicitly states that “many qualitative studies operate in a deductive mode, beginning with a theory, and collecting and examining

data in systematic ways to see whether the theory is supported or should be rejected or modified” (p. 10). Additionally, in line with the methodical approaches within the field of psychology I quantify my qualitative data and conduct frequencies analysis as well as code-relation analysis (King, 2004). The results will be reported in ‘5.5. *Quantitative Analyses*’.

With the vast variety of different epistemologies of qualitative research and its extended usage throughout different disciplines, I conclude this section with another quotation from Miles & Huberman: “To us it seems clear that research is actually more a craft than a slavish adherence to methodological rules” (1994, p. 5). While I agree with the overall notion I would like to change the quotation to the following motto of my scientific practices: ‘To me it seems clear that research is actually more a craft than a slavish adherence to an *epistemology*.’ I cannot fully identify with any epistemology or methodological labels since I am using pre-designed frames and instruments for deductive reasoning as well as inductive reasoning. Nevertheless, I believe in having methodological standards to ensure the quality of my work as discussed in the next section.

### **5.3. Rigor in Qualitative Research Review**

One contribution to the ‘sexiness’ of qualitative data is their richness which allows the researcher to “use his or her intelligence flexibly to consider multiple possible interpretations of what it all means” (Weitzman, 2009, p. 3). But this flexibility also leads to one of the main critiques on qualitative research: its lack of objectivity. That said, systematic and rigorous application of different measures can decrease the risk of subjectivity biases, and enables the research to benefit from the richness that only qualitative data can provide. Miles and Huberman (1994) created a framework to assure the scientific standard of qualitative research. The five variables that create the framework are:

- 1) Objectivity / Conformability
- 2) Reliability / Dependability
- 3) Internal Validity / Credibility / Authenticity
- 4) External Validity / Transferability
- 5) Utilization / Application

#### **5.3.1. *Objectivity / Conformability***

Objectivity / Conformability addresses the issue of relative neutrality and reasonable freedom from unacknowledged research biases – or at least asks the researcher to be explicit

about his or her biases. To minimize subjective bias, the research can be reviewed by another researcher. Upon reviewing the same data would the researchers agree that the conclusion is plausible? In other words, are the findings due to the data themselves rather than the beliefs of the researcher?

### 5.3.2. *Reliability / Dependability*

Reliability / Dependability addresses the issue of “whether the process of study is consistent, reasonably stable over time and across researches and methods” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 278). A consistent and stable process in the data collection can be ensured through following data collection protocols (such as interview guidelines). Data analysis reliability / dependability can be enhanced through an explicit coding protocol, such as decision rules, parsing rules, and prime examples. One specific index of reliability is the intercoder agreement or intercoder reliability.

### 5.3.3. *Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder Reliability*

One reliability within the field of qualitative research received especially high attention and therefore will be further elaborated: the intercoder agreement or intercoder reliability.

Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) argue:

The key to reliability is the agreement observed among independent observers. The more observers agree on the data they generated, and the larger the sample of units they describe, the more comfortable we can be that their data are exchangeable with data provided by other sets of reproducible, and trustworthy. (p. 78)

In other words, intercoder reliability specifically looks at whether two (or more) independent researchers assign quotations (units of analysis) to the same code, thus measuring how high the rate of agreement is. Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguish between two kind of codes: (1) Descriptive codes capture what the respondent is saying and (2) Interpretive codes capture what the analyst thinks that means or is important about it (p. 57). For my codes I use the same differentiate but distinguish a third code, narrative codes. In my coding scheme, descriptive codes are used for standard question within the interview, such as the terminology for the conflict or the list of stakeholders. These are descriptive since they do not use the slightest interpretive attempt on the side of the researcher. Narratives codes are still very close to the original meaning, but already one step removed from quotations. Quotations can be summarized under codes, such as “good contact/communication”. The interpretative

codes are mainly for the Trust Map, since in the Trust Map an implicit concept is captured and require from the coder side a higher level of interpretation.

#### 5.3.4. *Internal Validity / Credibility / Authenticity*

Internal Validity in qualitative research can be understood as a ‘Truth Value’ of the finding. That is, was the researcher able to achieve an ‘authentic portrait’ of the studied phenomena? Simply put, internal validity provides a sense of how credible the results are. Maxwell (1992) differentiates between three understandings<sup>7</sup> of internal validity within qualitative research: (1) *descriptive validity*, the researcher’s factual accuracy in providing a valid description of the physical objects, events and behavior in the setting of the study; (2) *interpretive validity*, the researcher’s interpretation regarding what these events mean to the people involved; (3) *theoretical validity*, addresses explicitly the theoretical construction that the researcher aims to develop through his or her study. The differentiation allows developing protocols that enhance the validity of the study in line with the research questions and the researched phenomena. Depending on the purpose of the research, the relevant validity may vary. To ensure greater internal validity Miles and Huberman (1994) recommend to check for context-rich and meaningful descriptions, plausible reasoning and internal coherency of the findings as well to seek for negative evidence while considering alternative explanations and exposing the results to be reviewed by other researchers.

#### 5.3.5. *External Validity / Transferability*

Weitzman (2009, p. 12) points out that in qualitative work, where samples are rarely drawn at random and where statistically calculated probability statements about the likelihood of a finding holding true for an entire population are generally impossible, the question of external validity can be vexing. That said, it doesn’t mean that generalizations are impossible *per se*. It does mean that generalizations have to be drawn within the means of the sample used for the study. The more broad and heterogeneous the sample, the wider the generalization, within reasonable means is possible.

---

<sup>7</sup> Maxwell distinguishes in his paper five kinds of validities, two of them (generalization and evaluative validity) referring in my opinion to external validity. Therefore, I do not discuss them separately here.

#### 5.3.6. *Utilization / Application*

If the qualitative study focuses not only on building and utilizing theory, but also on applying findings to relevant real-world situations, then a final question is needed to enhance validity: “Do these findings make sense to users?” Specifically, the consumers must be able to transfer any research findings into action. (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 280). If the findings and study conclusions are not applicable in the field, the trustworthiness of these results becomes questionable.

It should be noted that it is not always possible to fully comply with all of the five criteria, depending on the specifics of each study, research question or sample. However these difficulties and the variance between the qualitative studies should not be taken as an excuse for not at least trying to apply a minimal approach to meeting scientific standards.

Before applying these criteria to the presented study, I will introduce first the study design and data preparation.

### 5.4. **Study Design**

In the following section I will give an overview of the study design. Firstly, I present the data collection process that was based on interviews with incorporated questionnaire. The duration and locations of the data gathering will be given. I also describe how the interviewees were recruited and which requirements they had fulfilled in order to be included in the study. Furthermore I will describe how the after conducting the interviews they were transcribe and pay special attention to the language aspect, since the interviews were conducted in four different languages.

#### 5.4.1. *Interviews and Sample Specifics*

*Duration.* From September 9th, 2009 to October 20th, 2009 forty-one interviews in Moldova and Transdnistria were conducted with influential representatives from both civil societies and external experts on the conflict.

*Recruitment.* The interviewees were recruited through the local project coordinator. The requirement for the interviewees was that they came from a broad range of sectors within civil society, such as academia, politics, economic sector, etc. It was also important that the interviewees had an influential position within their profession that gives them a nuanced insight into how their sector is or is not affected by the conflict. Furthermore, interviewees needed to hold their own opinion regarding the conflict and not simply reiterating the official



discourse. Finally, I tried to cover different opinions and positions within the Moldovan and the Transdnistrian society, equally to capture a comprehensive perception of the conflict and trust relationship between the two sides. Once the possible groups of interviewees were identified, potential interviewees were approached through the local project coordinator or through references from other international researchers and practitioners working in the region.

*Sample specifics.* A total of 41 interviews were conducted: 20 on the Moldovan side, 17 on the Transdnistrian side and four with external experts. The average mean age of all interviewee was 39 years; the youngest 25, the oldest interviewee was just under 60 years old. Table 8 illustrates the heterogeneous background of the samples. It shows that the ultimate interview sample was demographically diverse and representative of most of the civil society of Moldova and Transdnistria:

Table 8.

*Professional background of the interview sample. Differentiating for large-group and gender.*

Moldovan ( <i>n</i> = 20)	Male	Female	Total
Academic	2	1	3
Analyst	1	0	1
Politician	2	1	3
NGO	2	1	3
Municipal	3	0	3
Economist	0	2	2
Journalist	1	1	2
Other	3	0	3
Total Moldovan	14	6	20
Transdnistrian ( <i>n</i> = 17)			
Academic	0	2	2
Analyst	2	1	3
Politician	3	0	3
NGO	3	3	6
Municipal	0	0	0
Economist	0	1	1
Journalist	1	0	1
Other	1	0	1
Total Transdnistrian	10	7	17
Experts ( <i>n</i> = 4)			
Political Advisor	2	0	2
Analyst	1	0	1
International Observer (EUBAM)	0	1	1
Total	3	1	4

However, the sample has two limitations, which have to be pointed out the diversity of language within each group (Russian voices within Moldova, Romanian voices within Transdnistria) and rural voices are underrepresented. Table 9 summarizes the native languages for the Moldovan, Transdnistrian and Expert group.

Table 9.

*Large-group membership & language*

Large-group	Native Language		
	Romanian	Russian	Other
Moldovan	19	1	0
Transdnistrian	1	16	0
External experts	1	1	2
Total	19	19	2

As seen in Table 9, the majority of the Moldovan group, were native speaker of Romanian, and the majority of the Transdnistrian group were native speakers of Russian. *Table 10* addresses the second limitation, the underrepresentation of rural voices.

Table 10.

*Urban and rural setting of the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews*

Large-Group	Urban	Rural
Moldovan	16	4
Transdnistrian	17	0
Total	33	4

The lack of the intra-group language diversity is partly connected to the absent of urban voice and the requirement of the study as well to demographic specificities. The uneven prevalence of native speakers of Romanian in Moldova is also partly due to the distribution with the Moldovan: According to a census in 2004, from 3.4 million inhabitants on the Moldovan side, 78 % are ethnic Moldovan/Romanian, 8 % ethnic Ukrainian, 6 % ethnic Russian and 8% are other minorities (International Crisis Group, 2006, p 1.). The ethnic Romanian s population is not only a majority on the right bank; Romanian is also the State

language, favoring Romanian speakers within institutions (Bogomolov et al., 2009). Since, it was a requirement of the study, that the interviewees hold some influential position within their profession. This requirement led to an unwanted bias on the Moldovan side towards urban interview partner, which are also Romanian speakers.

On the Transdnistrian side, the distribution of ethnicity differs from the Moldovan side; the ethnic composition of Russian and Romanian are almost equally represented, with 32% Moldovan/Romanian, 30.4 % Russian and 28.8% Ukraine (Fomenko, 2009, p. 152). Even so in Transdnistria there is no specific State language, Fomenko points out that “a Transdnistrian identification [...] was formed on the basis of a single language of international communication dominating in the post-Soviet area – the Russian language. (2009, p. 151)” The dominance of the Russian language also leads to higher prevalence of Russian speakers in influential area, repeating the same unwanted bias toward urban and Russian speakers on the Transdnistrian side. These pattern manifest themselves partly in the notable fact the only native speaker of Russian in the Moldovan group choose to conduct the interview in Romanian, while the only native speaker of Romanian in the Transdnistrian group choose to conduct the interview in Russian. In both cases was a translation in their naïve tongue available. Nevertheless the distribution of the sample limit the generalization of the study partly to the Romanian speaking, rural population on the Moldovan side and Russian speaking, rural population on the Transdnistrian side.

*Location.* Of the 20 Moldovan interviews, 16 were conducted in Chisinau, the capital of Moldova. Four were with representatives from two different villages in border regions. I attempted to mix rural and urban background, but this that proved itself difficult since, as mentioned above the majority of influential members tend to live in capital cities. Of the 17 Transdnistrian interviews 15 were conducted in Tiraspol, the acting capital of Transdnistria, and two in Bender – a bigger town located on the Transdnistrian side and close proximity to Chisinau.

On the Moldovan side, nine interviews were conducted in an office at the Free International University of Moldova (ULIM), my host institution. The other 11 were conducted in the offices of the interviewees, that includes the four interviews conducted in the villages. On the Transdnistrian side, I didn't have a cooperation with an academic institution and I let the interviewee chose where to meet. Eleven of these meetings took place in the offices of the respective interviewees; six interviews were conducted in outdoor places such

as coffee shops and in one case on a park bench (see Figure 6). I adopted the strategy not to object to the interviewee's choice of location, especially since speaking with western researchers could have negative consequences for my interviewees (see also Chapt. 4 Background: Transdnistrian Conflict'). Therefore, I let them choose the location in which they would feel most comfortable. The interviews with the external expert took all place in Chisinau, one in an office of the ULIM, two in the offices of the expert and the fourth interview in a coffee shop.



Figure 6. Bench in the outskirts of bender. This bench was one interview location.

#### 5.4.2. *Instruments*

The objective of the interviews was to gather data regarding the Conflict and Trust relations between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group. The two instruments to gather the data on trust were: the Conflict & Trust Map Interview guidelines (CTMI) and amended through the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ). Both instruments are described in the following:

##### *Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)*

The interviews were conducted as half-structured interviews. Open-ended questions were developed a priori and the interviews were conducted with the flexibility to follow up on statements made if the interviewee addressed issues which were of interest and relevant for the research questions but were not part of the interview guidelines. The interview ran in

average between 60 – 90 minutes. The interview guidelines for the CTMI can be found under Appendix B. The interview began with a clarification of terminology, or how to refer to the conflict, to establish a mutual accepted terminology. It was my policy to use the preferred terminology of the interviewee throughout the interview. This strategy was supposed to demonstrate my willingness to really take in his or her narratives, to build a relationship, creating a setting in which the interviewee can be more open and forthcoming with his or her perception of the conflict and trust relations to the other side.

The interview was divided into two parts, an extensive conflict analysis and an assessment of the trust relationship. The conflict analysis allowed developing an understanding of the interviewee's perception of the conflict, the involved parties and their interest. In the trust section questions assessed the trust relationship between the interviewee's own group and the group perceived as most relevant to interact with. This reference group was deliberately left open for the interviewee to name since we are dealing with a multi-party conflict and it depends on the personal assessment of the interviewee as to which group he or she found most relevant for interaction to improve the current conflict situation. In cases where the interviewee could not decide, I, as the interviewer suggested to focus on the Moldovan - Transdniestrian trust relationship. All 41 interviews were conducted by me, as well as two pre-interviews in which the outlines of the CTMI were tested and adapted (see '3.4 Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)').

#### *Trust Map Questionnaire TMQ*

After exploring the trust relationship the interviewees were then asked to fill out the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ). The development of the TMQ was previously described in Chapter Three 'Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)'. The master version of the TMQ can be found under Appendix C. The TMQ was administered only after the self-perception and input regarding the trust relationship with the interview was completed. This order ensured that interviewee responses were not biased by the TMQ content.

A total of 21 TMQs were filled out over the course of the study: Thirteen on the Moldovan and eight on the Transdniestrian side. In 15 interviews, the TMQ was not completed. This was partly due to time restrictions: The interviews took on average two hours. In some cases where the interview ran even longer, or the interviewee did not have much time, the TMQ was not used. It also showed that the Transdniestrian participants were more resistant towards the TMQ. I assume that this is partially due to the political atmosphere

in Transdnestrian where providing some written data could be potentially compromising or dangerous for the interviewee (see Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transdnestrian Conflict’)

#### 5.4.3. *Language*

The interviews were conducted in four different languages: English, Romanian, Russian and German. 17 interviews were conducted in English (ca. 40%), 12 interviews were conducted in Romanian and 11 in Russian (each 30%) and one interview with one external expert was done in German. *Table 11* lists the large-group membership and the chosen interview language.

Table 11.

*Language, in which interviews were conducted differentiating for large-group membership*

Large-Group Membership	Language, in which interview was conducted			
	Romanian	Russian	English	German
Moldovan	12	0	8	0
Transdnestrian	0	10	7	0
Experts	0	1	2	1
Total	12	11	17	1

When the interviewee could speak English and German, the interviews were conducted by me without a translator. In the 24 cases when the interviewee did not speak English, the interviews were done with the support of either a Russian or Romanian speaking translator, depending on the native language of the interviewee. A total of three translators assisted me throughout the study, the Romanian interviews were all translated by the same translator, for the Russian interviews I worked with two translators. Each translator received a briefing and training before the first translation to assure the quality of their translation.

When used, the TMQ was available in English, Russian and Romanian. The English speakers were able to choose the language in which they wished to complete the TMQ. The Russian and Romanian versions were translated from the English version, then back translated into either English (the Romanian version) or German (the Russian version) to

ensure the accuracy of the translation. In a second step some small changes were made in the Russian and Romanian version to ensure the quality and comparability of the questionnaires.

#### **5.4.4. *Transcription***

All but six interviews were recorded and later transcribed by two transcribers. Together with the two pre-interviews, a total of 36 interviews were transcribed. 17 interviews were transcribed in the Moldovan group, 16 in the Transdnistrian and one expert interview. From the 17 interviews on the Moldovan side, one interview however was not regarded for the analysis. The interviewee refused to work with a translator and insisted in speaking English. His English however was not sufficient and his statement not coherent. Even so transcribed and coded it could not be used for the analysis.

The transcription was done by one researcher of the region and one local translator. The translator spoke fluent English, Romanian and Russian. She transcribed the majority of Russian and Romanian interviews paying attention to whether the translation differed from the original meaning of the interviewee's statements. She marked these incidents with her own summary of the translation in brackets in her transcription. In the 17 interviews she transcribed, this happened for less than ten statements, attesting to the accuracy of the translations.

### **5.5. Quantitative Analyses**

After conducting and describing the interviews, the data were prepared for analyses. Quantitative analyses were done with the research tool SPSS Statistics 19.0 for some of the trust data. The trust data derived from two sources, the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) and the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ). The TMQ measured the prevalence of the 21 trust conditions. It assesses as well the conditions perceived importance for trust. A total of 21 questionnaires were completed. The TMQ was analyzed with the help of SPSS 19 for descriptive statistics, such as arithmetical means and standard deviation. Furthermore, the both groups Moldovan and Transdnistrian were compared if they differ in the means for each condition with t-tests. That allows comparing the nature of the trust conditions between the two groups and will be reported in Chapter 7.

## 5.6. Qualitative Analysis

In the previous section I briefly described the quantitative analyses. In the following I focus in greater detail on the qualitative data, since the procedure requires different steps adherent scientific standards. The qualitative analyses were done with the qualitative research tool MaxQDA 2007.

### 5.6.1. *Development Coding Scheme*

The first step of each qualitative analysis is the development of a coding scheme. The coding scheme for the Conflict & Trust Map was developed in successive steps, following different procedures. When developing a coding scheme, it is necessary to differentiate between deductive and inductive coding (Weitzman, 2009, p. 10). Deductive coding derives mostly from theory that provides the framework under which the codes are developed and the texts analyzed. The Trust Map was mainly deductive coding. The development of the TMQ (see '3.3 Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)') already identified 21 trust conditions. These conditions were used as the base for the Trust Map coding scheme, with the option to add possible new conditions derived from the interviews. The Conflict Map was generated using a more inductive approach. That is, from examining specific events, we identified larger categories of phenomena (in this case – conflict conditions).

The codes for both maps were developed in a cooperative manner with the principle investigator and three research assistants. We initiated the process of developing the coding scheme with the method of a starting list. A starting list is a basic framework of codes – for the Trust Map we used the 21 conditions of the TMQ. For the Conflict Map I presented the research assistants with the following guiding questions to give them some focus in creating their own conflict coding scheme:

- 1) What are conflict themes?
- 2) Who are the conflict parties?
- 3) Which groups matter for a round table discussion?
- 4) Other points of interest?

The questions helped to stay focused and avoid creating conceptual categories that can be a distraction from the purpose of the study (Weitzman, 2009, p.17). Each researcher independently analyzed four interviews and started to create her<sup>8</sup> own conflict coding scheme. In follow-up meetings the conflict coding schemes were presented, discussed and merged.

---

<sup>8</sup> All four researcher were female.



Figure 7 and Figure 8 depict the process of the development of the coding schemes. The conflict coding scheme that emerged was then applied to a different set of four interviews to ensure its generalization.



Figure 7. Visualization of the trust coding scheme.



Figure 8. Research assistants discuss the definition of the codes.

The trust codes were developed through the same circular manners. The only difference was that with the Trust Map we already started with 21 pre-created conditions, with the option to add more conditions. After five sequences both coding systems were finalized and two code booklets were written, one for the Conflict Map (see Appendix D), and one for the Trust Map (see E). The code booklets include a concrete definition of each condition. In addition, decision rules were also included to differentiate from similar conditions with some overlap regarding the content. Finally, prime examples were also given to ensure the objectivity of the ratings.

Through the circular procedure of developing the coding scheme and the subsequent code booklets, a rater training session was conducted in which each category was clarified. To ensure that the coding will be based on the parameters of the code booklet intercoder agreement was assessed (see '*Intercoder Agreement / Intercoder Reliability*').

The resulting coding scheme attempts to ensure the comprehensiveness of the Conflict & Trust Map. The Conflict Map consists of three area, the "Pillar of the Conflict", "Characteristics of the Relations Between Parties" and "Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict". Each of the area consist of sub-categories. The Trust Map consists of the 21 pre-identified trust conditions. The concrete nature of the Conflict & Trust Maps and their respective code booklets are part of the result section and are presented in Chapter Six 'Coding Schemes of the Conflict & Trust Map'. They were developed with the objective to be disseminated and to be used in the context by other conflict researchers and practitioners to allow them to create and study specific Conflict & Trust Maps within their own conflict cases.

Therefore they will be further elaborated in Chapter Six, under 6.2.2 Conflict Map Booklet and 6.3.2 Trust Map Booklet. For the current chapter is important to note that the comprehensiveness of the Conflict & Trust Map leads to plentiful sub-codes, capturing the complexity of the conflict and trust relations between the parties from different angles. That also results inherently to include overlapping codes, leading to multiple codings of some statements. This will be explained in greater detail in Chapter Six. However, the demand of a comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map is in contradiction with a high intercoder agreement, as will elaborate under '*Reliability / Dependability*' where I will also give example for some overlapping codes.

### 5.6.2. *Parsing*

The qualitative interview data analysis also includes some frequency measures. To allow this step, the coding process has to be completed in a stringent manner, following explicit rules about what is coded as the unit of analysis. Every response that is three sentences or less is coded as one unit. If the response continues with two to three more sentences, another code is applied. Below is one example of an expressed lack in the trust condition *Consistency* from a Transdnistrian interviewee:

After all these steps have been proposed to Transdnistria, in a few weeks, in Chisinau was adopted a law was it was mentioned that all the cars from Transdnistria must be registered in Moldova. If a car had Transdnistrian numbers the owner could not go with that car in another country. This thing disturbed many people because they had to waste more money and time in order to make a registration their cars in Moldova. (TD: 23\_GD:31)

The whole response contains three sentences and is treated as one coding. The interviewee went on with her explanation and followed with these two sentences:

So in one day the president proposes all these attractive steps for Transdnistria and on the other day he adopts this law which is not advantageous for them. As a result of this people understood that he gives them something with one hand and takes away something with the other hand. So there is no trust. (TD: 23\_GD:31)

Even though this is still the same narrative and coded as well under *Lack of Consistency*, it receives a separate coding from the first. This procedure allows to code in a

manner that recognizes that both parts of the response are meaningful while also capturing their relevance. It is assumed that if an interviewee speaks for an extended period of time about a topic, that this holds a higher relevance than a topic that was mentioned with less elaboration.

In the case that a sequence consisted of only four sentences, it would be coded as one coding, since in general the fourth sentence, that follow three preceding sentences on the same topic is by itself not as meaningful. Only starting with five sentences is the sequence broken down into two codings. For example, the following statement is four sentences, relating to the “Lack of Compatibility” and was coded as one coding:

Somewhere around 97% of the society is oriented towards Russia. It does not depend on the nationality. There is no such thing that Moldavian people want to unify with Moldova and Russian people want to unify with Russia...Most of the people that live in Transdnistria are oriented toward Russia. (TD: 23\_GD:57)

### 5.6.3. *Coding Procedure*

The actual coding process of the 36 transcribed interviews was done in a three-fold procedure. Firstly, for quality standard, the intercoder agreement was assessed to ensure the assignment of codes to specific units of analysis (quotations) was done in a stringent, coherent manner that allows generalization of the found results. The intercoder agreement was assessed with a sample of four interviews for the Conflict & Trust Map coding scheme. The results of the intercoder agreement are described under ‘*Intercoder Agreement / Intercoder Reliability*’. After assessing a sufficient intercoder agreement, each of the remaining 33 interviews was coded independently first for the Conflict Map and then for the Trust Map. The qualitative software MaxQDA allows blocking previous done codings. The coding sessions occurred in average two days apart from one another. Coding was done without displaying previous conducted codes. Furthermore, in the raw interviews, each quotation<sup>9</sup> has the same likelihood

---

<sup>9</sup> Terminology:

*quotation* is a direct quotation of an interviewee that could be, but doesn’t have to be coded

*codings*: A unit of analysis, refers to quotations that were coded according to the coding scheme

*Code*: pre-developed categories under which quotation can be coded.

Some researchers differentiate between themes and codes depending on their epistemology, using theme for constructivist approaches and code for quantitative content analysis. I don’t share this differentiation; I use code and theme interchangeable. When I use the term code I refer to it as a category with no epistemological meaning implied.

of becoming a unit of analysis (codings) and the beginning and end of a unit is not pre-determined but is instead shaped only by the context. That is of relevance when assessing the overlaps of units of analysis, coded for the Conflict & Trust Map in Chapter Seven '7.3.1 Frequencies Conflict Categories and Their Relation to Trust Conditions' and introduced in more detail in the next sections.

#### 5.6.4. *Overlaps of Codings*

Quotations can be assigned to more than one code, capturing closeness in the content between two codes. These overlap can occur between conflict codes in the Conflict Map, trust codes in the Trust Map and between conflict and trust code. The latter is of relevance since it allows identifying relations between trust and conflict. MaxQDA offers the tool Code Relation Browser (CRB) The CRB is a visualization of the relations between codes. A table shows how many text segments to which any two codes are attached. This tool allows to which conflict and trust codes frequently overlap with other categories, indicating a close content association. It is important to note that the overlap is not a correlation but displays the frequency how often the codes are coded together, indicating a close content association. It allows then in a final step to identify the nature of association while reflecting again at the explicit codings determine themes and threads within the category. This analysis was used in Chapter 7 to deepen the understanding of trust as a crucial component in conflict (see '7.3 Trust as a Crucial Component of Conflict Dynamics').

#### 5.6.5. *Rigorousness of the Presented Study*

Under 'Section 5.3. Rigor in Qualitative Research', I introduced a framework to create trustworthy and reliable conclusion in a qualitative research. In the following sections these five measurements are applied to the presented study to demonstrate and give references to its scientific standard.

##### *Objectivity / Conformability*

For the Conflict Map, objectivity is achieved through triangulation. Triangulation is a method of checking for convergence among different sources of information, different investigators, or different methods of data collection (Creswell, 1994). In the presented study the results of the Conflict & Trust Map are embedded in different sources of information with

reports from the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and findings from other researchers working in the Moldova – Transdnistria regions.

Since the Conflict Map is more than just a replication of earlier findings, the conclusions were also confirmed by up to two independent experts, who are not related to the presented research. Both experts found the conclusions coherent and insightful, stating that the findings shed new light on the conflict analysis of the frozen conflict between Moldovans and Transdnistrian. The experts considered especially the approach to understand conflict dynamic through the combination with the underlying trust dynamics as helpful. Both stated, that these finding provided new insight to the dynamic. As I will present in Chapter Eight ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’ one factor sustaining the conflict is the perceived difference in language (see 8.3.4 Language: Differences Regarding the Language). This is not a new insight into the conflict dynamics. However, my study reveals that the trust relations of both groups are strained through these differences. This strain occurs based on different trust conditions. One expert considered especially this finding particular interesting.

For the Trust Map, the triangulation approach of using multiple sources of information is not feasible, since there has been no research done in this domain before. I attempted to combine the quantitative data (in the form of the Trust Map Questionnaire, TMQ) with the qualitative data. However due to the fact that only a few TMQs were filled out (compare *Trust Map Questionnaire TMQ*) this limits the strength of the triangulation through different sources of information. Therefore for the Trust Map, I turned also to expert opinions. In this case, the results were presented to an independent researcher and preliminary results were critiqued at workshops and conferences. There was a general consensus that the Trust Map is comprehensive and it identified conditions matters for the trust-relationship in large-group conflict. Among researcher examine the 21 conditions, was Prof. Daniel Bar-Tal from the Tel Aviv University in Israel. Bar-Tal also works on the topic of trust in conflict contexts. My findings are compatible with findings from his research lab, supporting their accuracy.

#### *Reliability / Dependability*

The consistent and stable process was applied throughout the process of the data collection up to the coding and analyzing. So where the interviews conducted in a half-structured manner (see also Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) to ensure the comparability of the interviews while still being open to new and unpredicted information.

The data coding was done following the rules of the developed code booklets (in more details explained under ‘5.6 Qualitative Analysis’). Systematic rules were also included how to parse text sections into coding (in more details explained under ‘5.6.2 Parsing’).

*Intercoder Agreement / Intercoder Reliability.* While the reasoning of the intercoder reliability (ICR) and its necessity for the scientific standard of qualitative research was already explained under the section ‘5.3.3 Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder’, the following section concentrates how the texts and quotations were prepared for the ICR as well on the actual results for the Conflict & Trust Map. The ICR was assessed separately for the conflict coding scheme and trust coding scheme.

A 10% sample of the interviews was used to calculate ICR. Four interviews were chosen, two from Moldova and two from Transdnistria (36\_CD, 13\_XDw, 15\_PF & 22\_PU) 200 quotations randomly selected. All the quotations could be assigned to more than one code, resulting in multiple codings. In each interview 50 quotations were selected, each of them subject to be multiple coded or not coded at all. As elaborated before, the demand for a high ICR is in contradiction to the demand of a comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map, with has inherently to include overlapping codes. The allowance of overlapping codes lower the ICR results. The impact of these contradictions on the ICR result is explained under ‘Clarification of the ICR Results’.

The quotations were selected with the help of the following webpage: <http://www.random.org/integers/>. The webpage generates random numbers between any former chosen values in any chosen quantity. For each interview 50 random numbers were created between 1 and the numbers of paragraph per interview. For example, when the interview had a total of 160 paragraphs, 50 numbers were generated between 1 and 160. The number then indicated the respective paragraph. If a paragraph consists out of more than one sentence, another random number was generated that then indicated the sentenced to be quoted.

If a sentence was not suitable for a quotation, such as questions asked by the interviewer, one word answer such as “yes” or no” or was already marked as a quotation, and no other sentence could be used in the paragraph, the first paragraph above was chosen instead. If this was also already marked the next paragraph below from the original paragraph was then chosen. This procedure was repeated (two up, two down, etc.) as often as needed until a quotable sentence appeared. A maximum of three sentences could be summarized to

one quotation. If one, two or three sentences were summarized as suitable quotation depend on the judgment of the randomizer in order to ensure that the quotations were meaningful and could be coded.

The ICR was calculated with a program developed by Lenz (2008) that allows to calculate the ICR with MaxQDA 2007. The underlying formula to calculate was:

$R = 2 \times CA / C1 + C2$	
R = Reliability coefficient	C1 = Coder One
CA = Coder agreement	C2 = Coder 2

*ICR Results Conflict.* The 200 quotations were coded in the Conflict Map by two independent coders. Coder 1 coded the 200 quotations in 212 codings, Coder 2 in 252 codings. The difference is possible since multiple codings were allowed per quotation as well as the option not to code a quotation at all. The overall reliability coefficient is  $R = 0.64$  which equals 64% of agreements. A reliability coefficient of 0.64 is considered a moderate level and for the purpose of the study within acceptable norms.

*ICR Results Trust.* For the Trust Map Coder 1 coded the 200 quotations in 151 codings, Coder 2 in 176 codings. Again, the difference is possible since multiple codings were allowed as well per quotation as the option not to code a quotation at all. The overall reliability coefficient is  $R = 0.58$  which equal 58 % of agreement which is still consider to be moderate, but low level of agreement.

*Clarification of the ICR Results.* Both ICR coefficients for Conflict Map and the Trust Map lie in the moderate level, the coefficient for Trust Map on the rather low side of moderate. These results were expected and are due to two specifics of the study: First, as described under ‘5.3.3 Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder ’ I used for my codes descriptive, narrative and interpretive codes. The latter two further removed from the statements of these interviews. As Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 64) points out it is harder for these codes to reach an agreement. The standard for the study is additionally ensured through the detailed description of the codes in the code booklets. Second and more crucial for the result is the complex nature of the study. In order to receive a high level of agreement, categories should be mutually exclusive, meaning that a coding can be only associated with one code. To develop a comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map this requirement is actually harming the objective of comprehensiveness: Both maps display a complicated, multi-layered relationship. The develop maps are therefore in tradition with the Hamburger communication model in

which each statement has four different sides and contain a self-revelation, an appeal, a relationship and a factual part (Schulz von Thun, 1981) . Even so this model is not 1:1 transferable to the Conflict & Trust Map, the core idea that each quotation of an interviewee contains more than one aspect holds also true for the two maps. The Conflict Map for example can be divided in two sections: Categories that capture the perception of and the relationship to the other side and categories that collect codings to factors sustaining the conflict. One of these categories is *Criticism on the Elites*. These criticism are often also quotations that can be coded as well under negative attribution of the other side. The following quotation from a Transdniestrian interviewee was coded under the category *Moldova as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* as well *Criticism against the Elites*:

The only political culture that they [Moldova] had was a soviet one. There was no opposition party and no other opinion except the one of the ruling party (just like in USSR). The conflict appeared as a result of the Moldova's unwillingness to make a compromise. They did not know how to make compromises. They just knew to rule the country in a severe and totalitarian way. The opinion of the ruling party (of the President of Moldova) was the correct one. There could not be other opinions. (TD: 25\_UU: 15)

For a nuanced understanding of the conflict dynamic it is important to carve out the differences in the sustaining factors and the aspects that influences the mutual relationship, hence the categories are overlapping. The above quotations exemplifies, that sometimes the *Criticism against the Elites*, which are a factor for the maintenance of the conflict also reflects the negative attributions towards the other side.

For the Trust Map the situation is even more complicated. While the codes on the Conflict Map were still descriptive and narratives codes (see 5.3.3 *Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder* ), capturing closely what the interviewee said and staying closely to the original data, the code of the Trust Map are interpretative codes, due to the fact that trust is an multidimensional construct (see 1.2.2 Trust Construct) The conditions impacting trust in a direct, explicit manner, but also through an indirect, implicit manner. The interpretative codes capture what the researchers are thinking the interviewee is saying. Such codes are by nature more vulnerable to less agreement, since it involves an extra interpretative step. Furthermore in its first analysis step the Trust Map tries to capture the different nuisances of the conditions with the objective to merge some of the conditions at a later point. But for the first step of coding a broader, fine-grained and partly overlapping overview of the conditions is necessary



to reach the deeper level of understanding how these conditions relate to each other. For example, in the Trust Map two conditions of competence are measured, one focusing on the outcome, how well outcomes are handled “They are able to deliver on agreements”. The other focusing on the process, how well things are handled in the process “They are handling things competently”. I also measured two kinds of integrity, one more related to honesty (e.g. “They would not lie to us”), the other one related to broader moral codes and capture more the dispositional perception of the other party (e.g. “They act in accordance with a moral code”). With this given level of complexity a high rate of agreement above 65% was never expected and 58% agreement is considered sufficient for the study. Furthermore other means of methodical standards were employed to ensure the scientific quality of the study.

### *Internal Validity*

Different measures were taken to ensure the internal validity. The internal validity of the study partly derives from the context-rich and meaningful material, consistent of the 41 conducted interviews, which were additionally embedded in additional material, such as related research and reports. The major step was the exposition the results to other experts, if they follow the line of reasoning and found the results and conclusion plausible. This exposure addressed the (1) *descriptive validity*: The external experts agreed on the factual accuracy of the provided conflict description, including the identified players and meaningful conflict themes. The (2) *interpretive validity*, was also confirmed, especially the interpretation of the conflict and trust relation to each other were found accurate and fitting. The (3) *theoretical validity*, addresses explicitly the conclusion drawn regarding trust, about the multi-dimensionality of trust, the associated 21 trust conditions and the relation between trust and conflict. The latter is mainly done through frequency comparison. Building on (Mayring, 2000) approach of quantitative content analysis, a frequent coded conflict category and frequent coded trust conditions are interpreted as important codes for the conflict narratives. While this is valid approach, this is not the only possible attempt. One expert pointed out that frequency does not necessarily equals importance and it is also possible to weight categories according to their importance. However the expert did agree, that the latter is more vulnerable towards subjective biases and for an explorative study the approach through frequency is acceptable and feasible. Revisions and comments of the experts that were considered to improve the internal validity were included in the result and conclusion sections.

### *External Validity / Transferability*

External Validity / Transferability was ensured through a broad and heterogeneous sample of interviewees, that were equally distributed between two conflict parties, including some external experts (compare also ‘5.4.1 Interviews and Sample Specifics’). One main limitation of the sample however, is the lack of language diversity. One the Moldovan group the sample consists mainly of Romanian speakers, thus neglecting the voices of Russian speakers in Moldova. In the Transdnistrians group, the sample consists mainly of Russian speaker, thus neglecting the voices of Romanian speakers in Moldova. Thus, the results, that refer to the specific conflict dynamics on the Transdnistrian conflict has to be seen under this limitation.

However, in spite of these limitation and while the conclusion of the Conflict & Trust Map are still mainly valid for the studied sample it is also feasible in the case of the Conflict Map to draw conclusion how general the conflict categories are for other conflict zones and in the case of the Trust Map if the identify condition could also apply to describe the trust relationship of other large-group conflict parties. These implication can be drawn since on two data sets: First, two interviews, using the CTMI (Conflict & Trust Map Interview), were conducted in two unrelated conflicts. These two conflicts were then assessed with the Conflict & Trust Map, proving the external validity of the findings in the Conflict & Trust Map (see Chapter Six ‘Coding Schemes of the Conflict & Trust Map’). Secondly, the 21 trust conditions were identified before the study in Moldova and Transdnistria. Since the conditions were applicable and confirmed in the context of the Transdnistria conflict (see Chapt. 7 ‘7.1 Evidence Supporting the Relevance of the Previously Identified Trust Conditions’), it stands to reason, that the conditions also appear in other conflict.

### *Utilization / Application*

To show the applicability of the presented study holds a circular momentum. The Conflict & Trust Map framework and its instruments were developed with the objective that they be used in the field and also tested during the study for their applicability by the researcher. For the course of the study they proved themselves applicable and usable. In addition they were further improved and refined through the course of the work. However, further research has to show, if they are applicable to other conflicts as well.

It speaks for the application of the study that based on its data, in the past three year conflict intervention project were launched and sustained Moldova and Transdnestrian. These projects were based on the preliminary data of the current study.

### **5.7. Summary: Method**

In the previous chapter I introduced the research design of the current dissertation. The main study is the case study, conducted in the context of the Transdnestrian conflict. The study was run mainly in a qualitative manner. I elaborated on the chosen epistemology for the study and introduced standards that ensure the scientific quality of the presented research. I also described the sample of the case study and introduced the used instruments, the Conflict & Trust Map Interview and Trust Map Questionnaire. The following three chapters concentrate on the concrete results of the study, starting with Chapter Six 'Coding Schemes of the Conflict & Trust Map', that described the development of the Conflict & Trust Map framework.

## **6. Coding Schemes of the Conflict & Trust Map**

Trust is a crucial component in conflict dynamic. As elaborated Chapter One Theory: No Peace without Trust, successful conflict interventions have not only to consider the trust relationship between conflict parties but also aim to strengthen and improving it for lasting results. However, as further elaborated, conflict assessment tools which also include trust in their assessment are missing for large-group conflicts. The second applied research objective of this dissertation addresses this gap and aim to develop a trust-sensitive conflict assessment tool, the Conflict & Trust Map. Furthermore to ensure that the conflict assessment can be done in a structured and systematic manner, the dissertation also provides two instruments to gather the data and two coding scheme to analyze the data (see also Chapt. 2 'Research Objectives, Design and Dissertation Outline'). This chapter addresses the research objective and introduces The Conflict & Trust Map and its structure as well as the two coding schemes. It focuses on the contribution of the Conflict & Trust Map for practitioner and researchers in the field of conflict studies as well as its capacity for generalization. While the procedural steps of how the coding scheme of The Conflict & Trust Map were developed are described under section '5.4.2 Instruments', this chapter focuses on the question about the necessity of a coding scheme that allows one to create a Conflict & Trust Map. Additionally it presents the developed tools. It also addresses the question of generalization. While the Conflict & Trust Map was developed based on the data gathered in the conflict of Moldova – Transdnistria, but it aims, with small adaptations, be used for other conflicts as well.

The chapter is structure is in the following: First I introduce the Conflict & Trust Map. The Conflict & Trust Map consist of the two components Conflict Map and Trust Map. For each segment, I developed a coding scheme. In the second part of the chapter, I introduce the Conflict Map and its coding scheme followed in the third part by the Trust Map and its coding scheme. Within each part I also elaborate on the potential for generalization of The Conflict & Trust Map to other conflicts and conclude the chapter with a summary.

### **6.1. Conflict & Trust Map**

The Conflict & Trust Map consists, as the name indicates, of two components, the Conflict Map and the Trust Map. It addressed the second applied research objective intending to be a trust-sensitive conflict assessment tool. The two maps differ slightly in the development. The Trust Map mirrors closely the structure of the Trust Map Questionnaire and uses the 21 previous identified trust conditions as the base for its coding scheme (see'3.3

Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)'). The Conflict Map derives its conflict categories partly from the structure of the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) (see '3.4 Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)' and Appendix B) but also from the data gathered in the case study of the Transdnistrian conflict. In comparison to the Trust Map the Conflict Map is developed more through a bottom up approach while the Trust Map more through a theory-based approach. Both maps compose the Conflict & Trust Map as Figure 9 displays.

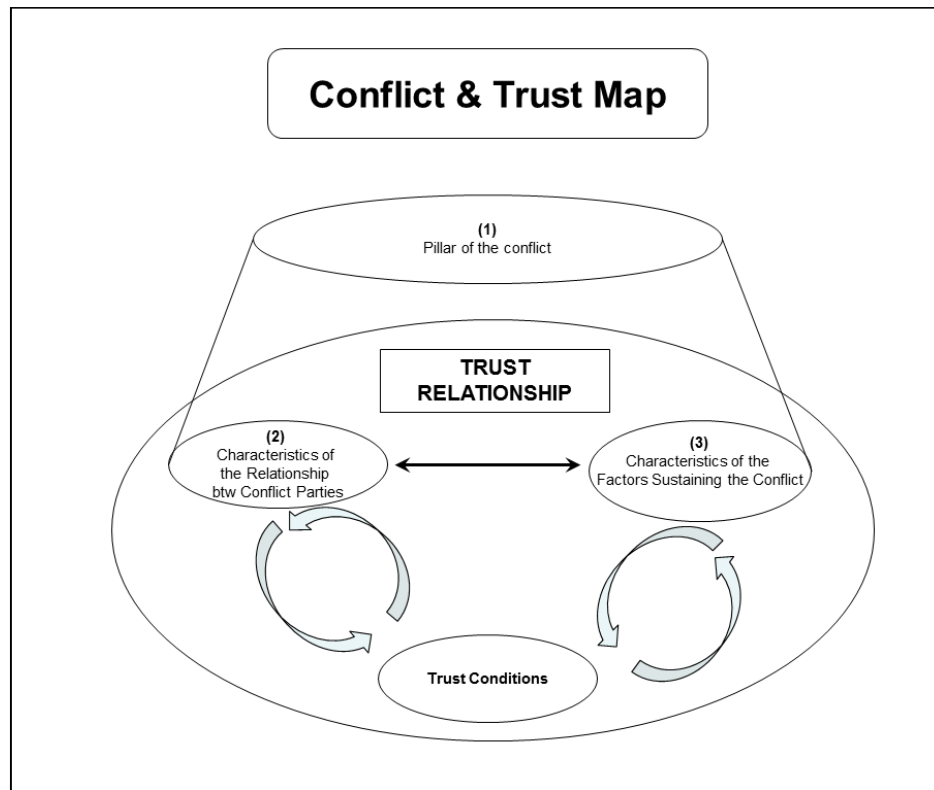


Figure 9. Conflict & Trust Map.

As can be seen the Conflict Map, consist of three area:

1<sup>st</sup> area: Pillar of the Conflict

2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties

3<sup>rd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict

The first area captures the cornerstone of the conflict, such as who the conflict parties are. The second area focus on the relationship between these parties and the third area captures the factors which contribute to the continuation of the conflict. Since the first area captures only descriptive corner stones, thus not touching upon relationship issues, the trust relationship is generated through the linkage between the trust condition of the Trust Map and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map.

To create the Conflict & Trust Map, two coding schemes were developed one for the Conflict Map and one for the Trust Map. Both coding scheme are described through two code booklet, the Conflict Map Booklet and the Trust Map Booklet. This specific step sets the Conflict & Trust Map apart from other assessment tools, since it provides not only a framework but also a structure how to organize the raw data. Conflict assessment tools have the tendency to function on a high abstract level, without a clear understanding how to organize the gathered raw data within them. Furthermore there is a danger that the richness of the raw data is lost through the higher abstracting. The Conflict & Trust Map is no exception, the three are of the Conflict Map are the result of an abstraction of the original raw data. However, through the development of the coding schemes and code booklets, the Conflict & Trust Map also provides the researcher and practitioners with concrete assistance in how to code raw data codes from which the more abstract and complex categories from the Conflict Map derives. The data organized in the coding scheme can be analyzed systematically with the help of qualitative software such as for example and used in the current dissertation MaxQDA (see ‘5.6 Qualitative Analysis’) The systematic structuring and the systematic analyzing improve the accuracy of the assessment. Thus the coding schemes offer a three step procedure for data analyzing: First, they structure the raw data systematically in the conflict category and trust conditions, reducing the complexity of the data. Secondly, the conflict coding scheme allows abstracting from the categories the three area of the Conflict Map. And in a third step the Conflict Map can be joint with the Trust Map and explore how the trust relationship between the conflict parties interplays with the conflict dynamics.

Since the development of the coding schemes were already described in the Chapter Five Method (see ‘5.6.1 Development Coding Scheme’, I concentrate in this chapter on a more detailed description of the coding scheme for Conflict Map and Trust Map, their booklets on potential for generalization of the Conflict & Trust Map.

## **6.2. Conflict Map**

While the structure of the Conflict Map is influenced by the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI), it mainly derives from the interview data collected in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict. The following section describes first the Conflict Map, followed by an introduction of the Conflict Map Booklet and I close the section with elaborating on the potential for generalization of the Conflict Map.

### 6.2.1. *Description Conflict Map*

The objective of the section is to give the reader an overview about the content and structure of the Conflict Map. The structure of the Conflict Map should allow researchers and practitioners to organize their raw data in a systematic manner, thus reducing complexity. The categories in this chapter are samples for all the categories of the Conflict Map. An overview of the whole coding scheme, including a detailed description of the categories can be found in Appendix D ‘Conflict Map Booklet’. Figure 10 lists all the 14 main conflict categories of the Conflict Map. The figure is a screen shot of the qualitative data analysis program MaxQDA 2007.

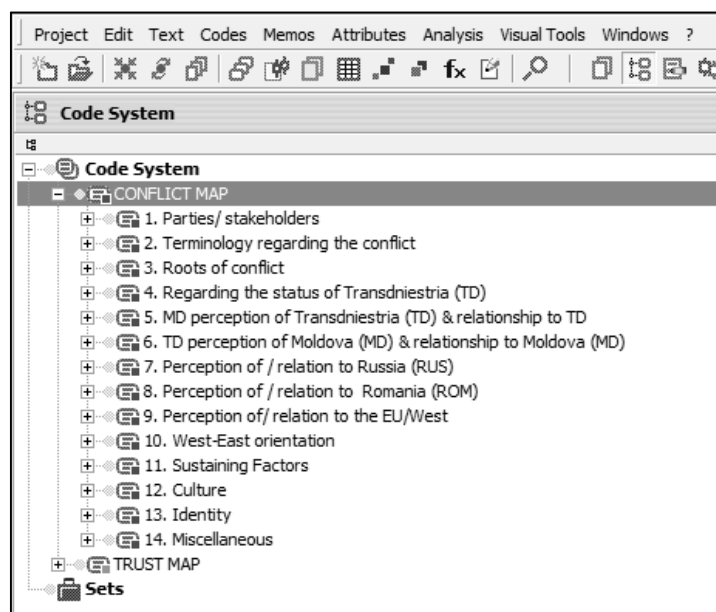


Figure 10. Conflict Map. The coding scheme for the Conflict Map with its conflict categories.

With the exception of four conflict categories, which will be mentioned in the section ‘6.2.2 Conflict Map Booklet’ all of these categories can be clustered into three areas of the conflict, creating the Conflict Map (Figure 11):

1. Pillar of the Conflict
2. Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties
3. Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict

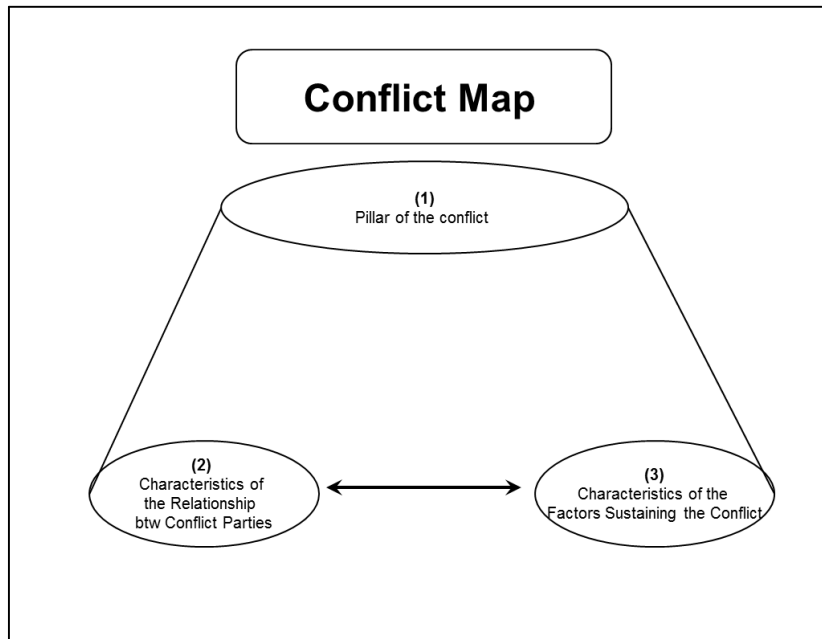


Figure 11. Conflict Map.

Figure 11 displays the Conflict Map and the relation of the three areas to each other, which I will elaborate below. The Conflict Map consists of three areas on a higher abstraction level, which are composed through concrete conflict categories, which are based on raw data. The conflict categories are described through the coding scheme, which are then in a structural second step coalesce to their respective conflict areas.

1<sup>st</sup> area “Pillar of the Conflict” include three conflict categories, *1. Parties/ stakeholders*, *2. Terminology regarding the conflict*, and *3. Roots of the conflict*.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” includes all the main categories and its subcategories that captures the perception and relations between the conflict party (categories 5-9 in Figure 11). For the Moldovan – Transdnistrian relation the relevant categories to assess the relationship are *5. MD perception of TD & relationship to TD* and *6. TD perception of MD & relationship to MD*. As I will show in chapter Eight in section ‘8.1.1 Conflict Parties’, sometimes it is helpful to look also into the interviewees perception of the relationships to other players, such as Russia (7.) Romania (8.) or the EU/West (9.)

The 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” includes the main category *11. Sustaining factors*, which I will in more details below.

Five categories are not compiled in on the three areas of the Conflict Map: *4. Status of the Transdnistria*, *10. West-East orientation*, *12. Culture* *13. Identity* and *14. Miscellaneous*. I reflect on these five categories again at the end of this section.



The data gathered in these three areas of the Conflict Map gives the assessor, who can be either a researcher or practitioner a systematic understanding of the conflict dynamic and also allows him or her to make informed decisions about possible interventions. As can be seen in Figure 11, there is a close relation between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area. The relationship becomes apparent through the below description.

The 1<sup>st</sup> area, “Pillar of the Conflict” provides the reference points in which the conflict dynamics can play out. It is not directly associated with trust, since it provides some more descriptive background information (see Appendix D ‘Conflict Map Booklet’). The information in the 1<sup>st</sup> area derives from the standard question within the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (see Appendix B) Categories of the 1<sup>st</sup> area are such as listing the *Parties/stakeholders*, *Terminology for the conflict*, how the parties refer to their conflict, and *Roots of conflict*. The first conflict category captures which groups the interviewee sees as parties of the conflict. The second conflict category, *Terminology of the conflict* codes which terminology the interviewee prefers to name the conflict. For example, the conflict between Moldova-Transdnistria is often referred to as the “Transdnistrian conflict,” a terminology half of the Moldovan interviewees found accurate. On the Transdnistrian side, the terminology was not approved. Only two of 17 interviewees accepted the name; the majority preferred terminology such as the Moldovan – Transdnistrian conflict or asked to call it “problem” instead of conflict. The former term puts holds the bias, that Transdnistria itself, or its existence, being the problem. The latter defines both sides a conflict parties (see Chapt. 4, ‘Background: Transdnistrian Conflict’). Having a category that captures the terminology helps to visualize such subtle conflict dynamics is important for conflict moderation or other conflict intervention. The final conflict category, *Roots of the conflict* allows differentiating more precisely what causes lie underneath the conflict. For example, is it seen as an ethnic conflict, an intercultural conflict, a conflict about resources or identity or a conflict between external players? The codings used in the 1<sup>st</sup> area is a descriptive code capturing what the respondent is saying without further interpretative attempts (see Chap. 5, ‘Method’).

The 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map is “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties”. The 2<sup>nd</sup> area is compiled of conflict categories which use narrative codes. Narrative codes are still closely based on the raw data but also include some degree of abstraction, done by the researcher (see Chap. 5, ‘Method’). The nature of the narrative codes and the degree of abstraction becomes apparent in the following section under the section ‘6.2.2 Conflict Map Booklet’.

The specific dynamics of each conflict determine the number of the involved parties, and based on this number the possible relation-constellation that has to be captured by the Conflict Map. In the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict Map, the interviewees named Moldova, Transdnistria, Russia, Romania and “the West” as important parties. Figure 12 shows, that for each party, conflict categories are created under which the characteristics of the relationship can be coded.

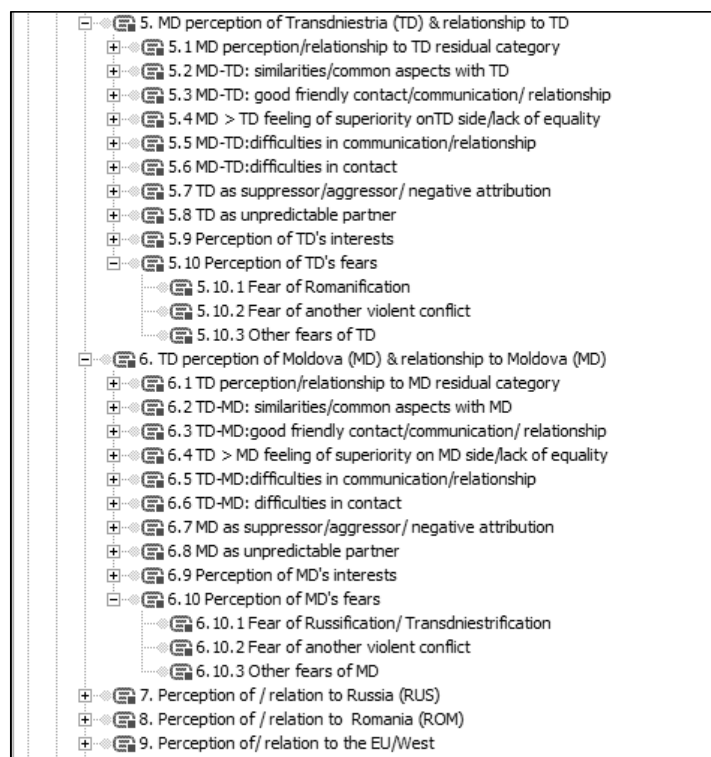


Figure 12. 2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties. The coding scheme for the 2<sup>nd</sup> area with its conflict categories

The conflict categories that describe the relationship are the categories 5-9. The Moldovan and Transdnistrian relationship is coded in the category five and six and their sub-categories. The conflict categories 7-9 capture the quotations refereeing to the perception of and relations to Russia (7), Romania (8) and the EU/West (9). For illustration Figure 12 displays all ten subcategories for the Moldovan – Transdnistrian relation, on which I elaborated upon next. All description of all conflict categories and its coding rule can be found in Appendix D ‘Conflict Map Booklet’.

As can be seen in Figure 12 the ten subcategories structure the quotations uttered describing the relationship between Moldova and Transdnistria starts with a broad category

5.1 *MD perception / relationship to TD miscellaneous category* that can capture all data relating to the relationship between the conflict parties. The subsequent categories become more fine-tuned, allowing for organizing the raw data in a more nuanced manner. Being so fine-tuned includes that the subcategories are also partly overlapping; an inherent consequences of the coding scheme (see also Chap. 5 ‘Method’). For example, data coded under the category 5.8. *TD as an unpredictable partner* would also fit to be coded as negative attribution under the category 5.7 *TD as suppressor/aggressor/negative attribution*. Since being seen as unpredictable has a negative impact on possible interventions, especially peace negotiation, this theme received specific attention through its own category. However, if in a different context a researcher decided he or she does not need the area of an unpredictable partner, these data still can be coded under 5.7 because “unpredictable” is a negative attribution, and will not be lost. Hence the coding scheme is flexible enough to adapt to specific situations without losing the richness of the raw data. This flexibility is also visible in the subcategory 5.10 *Perception of TD’s fears* and 6.10 *Perception of MD’s fear*, which are partly colored by the specific narrative of each side. For the Moldovan side this is the fear of Russification (6.10.1), mirrored on the Transdniestrian side by the fear of Romanification (5.10.1.) (see also Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transdniestrian Conflict’). *Fear of another violent conflict* or more general *Other fears*, are experienced by both sides. Therefore fear category further divided for the both sides in *fears of another violent conflicts* and *other fears*. The fear category can be modified for the specific modulation of each conflict; however, it can be assumed that the fear of another violent conflict is a standard area in many conflicts

The 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” captures also positive aspects, strength in the relationship, such as similarities with each other or friendly contact, as well as strains, such as the perception of aggression on the other side, the lack of equality or difficulties in communication. The Conflict Map therefore focuses not only on strains on the relationship between the conflict parties but also on areas in which cooperation, dialogue or positive relations (still) exists. Depending on their nature, this could provide the assessor with an entry point to start a conflict moderation workshop or other kinds of interventions (see Chapt. 1, 1.4’ Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts’).

The 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” captures the factors that sustain the conflict and how the conflict impacts the societies. Fifteen categories were formed and are displayed in Figure 13.

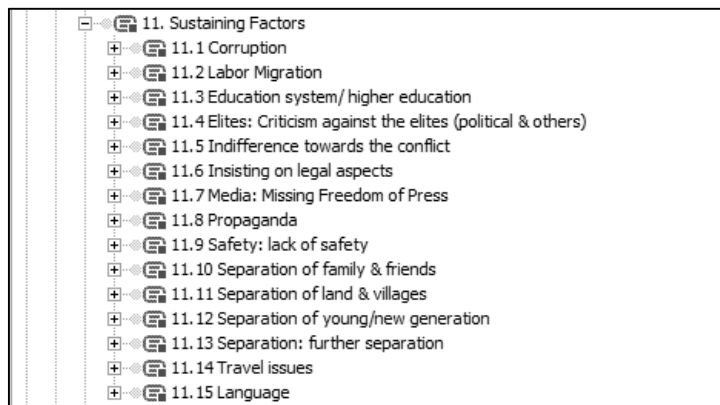


Figure 13. 3<sup>rd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict. The coding scheme for the 3<sup>rd</sup> area.

These categories mainly give room for conflict-specific areas which researchers and practitioners find in their data. It will be mainly shaped by the specifics of the conflict the assessor works with. For example, since the Transdnistrian conflict is a so-called “frozen conflict” (see also Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transdnistrian Conflict’), the issue *Indifference toward the conflict* (11.5) is frequently coded. It captures the problematic, especially on the Moldovan side, that other problems such as the lack of economic development are seen as more important for some regions of Moldova than resolving the conflict with the Transdnistrian.

As mention in the beginning of the section, five conflict categories are not flow into the Conflict Map: 4. *Status of the Transdnistria*, 10. *West-East orientation*, 12. *Culture* and 13. *Identity*. Additionally there is one category 14. *Miscellaneous*. *Miscellaneous* codes all conflict relevant quotations which are important but do not fit in any of the other conflict categories to ensure that these quotations are not lost. The first two categories *Status of Transdnistria* and *West-East orientation* are two categories that are specific for the Transdnistrian conflict. Both categories are descriptive categories, the first coding what status (unification versus independence) the interviewee prefer for Transdnistria. The latter accommodates the specific geopolitical situation of the Moldova and Transdnistria. Located between the East and West, having historical ties with both in addition to the interests the EU and Russia have in the area, it is a constant question if Moldova and Transdnistria oriented themselves toward the East or West. These two codes are due to the fact that the Conflict Map is a bottom-up approached, deriving from the raw data of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict and therefore reflecting very specifics of the conflict. However in the next analysis steps it became apparent, that they did not add to the conflict understanding. Quotations coded

in the two codes, tend also to be coded in other conflict categories, where they provided a more nuanced insight into the conflict dynamic.

The same hold true for the other two codes, not used in the Conflict Map, 12. *Culture* and 13. *Identity*. These two categories were theory-based and created because conflict can be labeled as intercultural conflict or identity-based conflicts (see also 1.1 ‘Conflict: General and Large-Group Specific’) Since culture and identity can be rather “fuzzy” concepts with a high variety what can be called culture or identity relevant, the two categories were coded as descriptive and only coded when the keywords are explicitly mentioned. Thus, after the coding it became apparent, that the two categories were, at least in the Transdnestrian, conflict rather used as template, without much content, as the following quotation illustrates:

NS: Yes, I think there are some differences between the identities of these two states.

[?]: What is it so special about the Transdnestrian identity?

NS: It is special that it exists [laughing]...It is special that our people consider themselves citizens of Transdnestria.

That suggests that culture and identity played only a secondary role in the conflict. Nevertheless, having these two categories helps to visualize this role. Also with the outlook of generalization, it is safely to assume that there are other conflicts in which identity and culture can play a more important role.

All conflict categories and their subcategories, including the five that are not incorporated in the Conflict Map are described in the Conflict Map Booklet. It also provides coding rules. The next section describes the Conflict Map Booklet in more details.

#### 6.2.2. *Conflict Map Booklet*

To ensure the comprehensiveness of the Conflict Map, multiple, partly-overlapping categories are needed. To provide a clear understanding of the categories, as well as their purpose, a 29-page Conflict Map Booklet was developed. The booklet defines each category’s meaning and purpose and clarifies under which circumstances a category can be coded or not. Furthermore, for the majority of categories, a prime example is given as orientation for the coding process. This ensures that different researchers share the same understanding of the categories and that when data are recoded after breaks, the same standards are applied. Therefore the Conflict (and Trust) Map Booklets contribute to the scientific standard of the data sample (see also Chap. 5, ‘Reliability / Dependability’). Last but not least, the precise

description is needed to allow the dissemination of the system to other researchers and practitioners. The objective of the section below is to give a better understanding of the Conflict Map Booklet. Three categories, 2. *Terminology regarding the conflict*; x<sup>10</sup>6 MD-TD: *difficulties in contact incl. cooperation* and 11.10 *Separation of family & friends* will be exemplary described, representing each one representing one of the three areas of the Conflicts Map.

The exemplary category from the 1<sup>st</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Pillar of the Conflict” is the conflict category 2. *Terminology regarding the conflict*. This category is part of the descriptive area and gives an example, for the character of the area. The quotations coded are coded as descriptive codes since they are direct answered of explicit questions from the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) (see also Chap. 5 ‘Method’). The following box is the description of the category in the Conflict Map Booklet:

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>(2) Terminology regarding the conflict</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Descriptive category</u></li> <li>• Answers on the standard interview question regarding the terminology of the conflict</li> <li>• Category is developed to allow a quick quantitative assessment of the different terminologies of the conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Allows in a second step an interpretation of the perception of the conflict and which aspects are stressed</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <u>Except:</u> If an interviewee agrees with the international term (‘Transdnistrian conflict’), but also refines it with own explanations, <u>code both notions</u></li> <li>• Prime example: 24_QC (9): “Yes, I say Transdnistrian conflict.”</li> </ul>
--

It can be seen, that the purpose of the category is explained (Category is developed to...) as well the indication for the next analysis step (Allows in a second step) Furthermore it is defined when to code it (Answer on the standard interview question...) but also an exception rule which allows multiple coding, in order to capture specifics (Except:...). Additionally a prime example is provided to give a concrete illustration to the category description.

The following quotation is a Transdnistrian interviewee’s response when asked if the term “Transdnistrian conflict” was acceptable. It was coded under the subcategory

---

<sup>10</sup> Each relationship category is numbered for easier orientation; the X. indicated that it depends on the interaction partner (Moldovan, Transdnistrian Russian, etc.) to which the statement refers, each have their own section number

*Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict*: It highlights the benefit of the category 2. *Terminology regarding the conflict*, how it adds to the insight into subtle conflict dynamics: “For my opinion it is the Moldova - Transdnistrian conflict, because in a family, you cannot blame wife or husband; it is the same here. (TD: 32\_PM:45)”

The second example, x.6 *Difficulties in contact incl. cooperation*, illustrates how the perception of the relationship between the conflict groups is coded and also how the Conflict Map Booklet gives an orientation to differentiate between categories that are similar to each other.

**(x. 6) MD-TD: difficulties in contact incl. cooperation**

- Category includes difficulties in contact between both sides and lack of cooperation, both on the system level
- Cooperation in the sense of organizational cooperation, cooperation (or lack of cooperation) regarding a mutual project and exchange
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if it is due to attitude
    - ➔ then code “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.6)”, or “unpredictable partner (x.7)”
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if problem due because of the attitude or lack of willingness to travel?
    - ➔ maybe code “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.6)” or “unpredictable partner (x.7)”
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if lack of cooperation due because the other is not willing
  - ➔ ➔ maybe code “feeling of superiority/ lack of equality (x.4)” or “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.7)”
- Prime example:  
25\_UU (94). “*My colleagues from Chisinau come more seldom in Tiraspol then the colleagues from Tiraspol go to Chisinau*”

A Moldovan quotation from the category summarizes the problem of cooperation: “High-level politicians are against any human contact with Transdnistria. They stopped the human contact between me and the people working in [an Organization] in Transdnistria. (MD: 1\_OH:17)” This quotation is also an example for an overlap, since it was also coded in 11.4 *Criticism against the elites*. Having the clear definition of the Conflict Map Booklet helps the coder to code the quotation under 5.6. *Difficulties in contact/cooperation* since the expressed lack (which also includes lack of communication) is due to a political decision, not the attitude of the cooperation partner.

The final example, 11.10 *Separation of family & friends*, illustrates as well how the Conflict Map Booklet allows for differentiation between categories. It also demonstrates the overlap between the 2<sup>nd</sup> Conflict Map area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between

Conflict Parties” and the 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”, to which the described category belongs.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><i>Separation of family &amp; friends</i></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All statements that refer to the fact that family, relatives and friends had been/are (physically) separated due to the conflict</li> <li>➔ DO NOT CODE: statements that refer to separation due to migration movement</li> <li>➔ DO NOT CODE: statements that refer to separation due to problems in communication</li> <li>➔ YES CODE: If statement reflects that relatives/ friends are separated by the border <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ also check, if maybe “difficulties in contact apply (x.6)”</li> </ul> </li> <li>➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement reflects that relatives/ friends have problems speaking to each other, indicating that they have opposite position regarding the conflict history <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ code under “difficulties in communication (x.5)”</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Prime example: 6_CE (123): “<i>I am talking about families that are torn apart.</i>”</li> </ul>
---

The Conflict Map Booklet gives for each conflict categories description just as the three exemplary introduced categories above. The Conflict Map conflict scheme intend to reflect the complexity of the conflict and to offer an approach to handle the overwhelming, sometimes even contradicting amount of data collected in the phase of conflict assessment. To address the former the conflict categories of the coding scheme are nuanced and partly overlapping. The Conflict Map Booklet provides an understanding, what each category codes and addresses the nuances by also providing rules to differentiate between similar codes. The coding scheme provides some pre-structure for the data, while it is still flexible enough to be adapted to the specifics of other conflicts. The question if the Conflict Map has the potential to be disseminated to other conflicts will be addressed in the next section.

### 6.2.3. ***Potential for Generalization of the Conflict Map***

Can a Conflict Map that was developed on the case of Transdnistria be extended to other conflicts and used by researcher working in other regions?

To answers this question, two criteria have to be examined:

- (1) How well does the coding scheme fit in existing conflict assessment tools? Does it add on insight in comparison? Is it lacking aspects in comparison?
- (2) When applied to conflicts other than the Transdnistrian conflict, how well does the Conflict Map capture these conflict dynamics?

I introduced in the theory introduction ‘1.3 Conflict Assessment and Conflict Assessment Tools’ different existing modes for conflict assessment. In the introduction I



elaborated that none of these tool assess trust and the majorities focus more on static factors and less on relationships. Based on the elaborated strength of the coding scheme previous in the chapter ('6.2.2 Conflict Map Booklet') another strength of the Conflict Map and its coding scheme is that it helps researcher to organize the raw data in a systematic manner.

To address the above raised questions, this section will first compare the Conflict Map to findings of Mitchell's frameworks (see Chapt. 1, '1.3 Conflict Assessment and Conflict Assessment Tools'). In the second half of, the Conflict Map coding scheme is then applied to code two conflict interviews covering the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and an intra-group conflict within Romania between two minority groups, testing the potential for generalization of the Conflict Map.

Focusing on the first quest, the question is raised, if in comparison to Mitchell's framework does the Conflict Map provide comparable findings? Are there areas in which it provider further information than Mitchell's framework? Are there blind spot of the Conflict Map, where is missing information Mitchell's framework can assess? Mitchell was chosen for three reasons: Mitchell's framework is (a) an established framework and (b) his approach was developed for international conflict, fitting my focus on large-group conflicts. Furthermore, (c) he uses categories, which allows a direct comparison with and fit of the Conflict Map, since one of the contributions of the Conflict & Trust Map is that it helps to organize the raw data before these get abstracted in further-removed frameworks. The comparison therefor also demonstrated how the coding scheme of the Conflict Map help researchers organizes their raw data.

Mitchell's (1981) conflict assessment includes a perceptions section labeled "Adversary Images" that differentiates between five images of the others: 1) "they have evil leadership" [Black Top Image], 2) "Their people actually like us, but they are being manipulated by their evil leadership" [Pro Us Illusion], 3) "Even their leaders like us, really, they just are being manipulated by other leaders" [Puppet Leadership], 4) "'They' are all the same" [Unified Enemy Image], and 5) "The enemy is an alien, or The enemy is among us" [Intruder Images] (adaption after Thurston, 2008). Table 12 below demonstrates to what extent the Conflict Map areas and categories match with Mitchell's Adversary Images. It also demonstrates how the conflict categories can help researchers organize their raw data to reach Mitchell's higher abstraction level. Furthermore, it demonstrates in which area the Conflict Map is more nuanced than Mitchell's Adversary Images and for which information the Conflict Map has a blind spot.

Table 12.

*Comparison between Mitchell's Images of the Others and the Conflict Map*

Mitchell: Images of the Others	Conflict Map	
	Area	Category (Categories described in Conflict Map Booklet Appendix D)
[1] They have evil leadership [Black Top Image]	3 <sup>rd</sup> : Factors Sustaining the conflict	(11) Criticism on the elite:
	2 <sup>nd</sup> : Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties	(x. 7) Conflict party as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution:
[2] Their people are actually like us, but they have been manipulated by their evil leadership [Pro Us Illusion]	1 <sup>st</sup> : Pillar of the Conflict	(3.2) Roots of Conflict: Conflict between leaders, not people
	2 <sup>nd</sup> : Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties	(x.2) Similarities with the other side
		(x.3) Good friendly contact with the other side
Mitchell: Images of the Others	Conflict Map	
	Area	Category
[3] Even their leaders like us, really, they just been manipulated by other leaders [Puppet Leadership]	1 <sup>st</sup> : Pillar of the Conflict	(3.1 ) Roots of conflict: Conflict between external players
	2 <sup>nd</sup> : Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties	(7.4./8.4) External players as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution /
	3 <sup>rd</sup> : Factors Sustaining the conflict	(11.8) Propaganda
[4] “They are all the same” [Unified Enemy Image]	2 <sup>nd</sup> : Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties	(x.1) Miscellaneous categories
		(x.7) Conflict party as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution
		(x.5) Difficulties in communication/ relationship between conflict parties
		(x.6) Difficulties in contact incl. cooperation between conflict parties
[5] The enemy is an alien or the enemy is among us [Intruder Images]	1 <sup>st</sup> : Pillar of the Conflict	(1) Parties Stakeholders
	2 <sup>nd</sup> : Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties	(x.7) Conflict party as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution

As the above table shows, the Conflict Map offers a more detailed rubric of the first four issues than the Enemy Image of Mitchell. For example, the fourth issue, “They are all the same,” would be in the Conflict Map further differentiated by the intention of the statement – is this seen as a negative attribution, is it referring to difficulties in contact, or difficulties in communication? In comparison to Mitchell, the Conflict Map is geared toward a more

nuanced understanding of the conflict dynamics as a preparation for informed intervention. Thurston (2008) argues that Mitchell's framework is not fine-tuned enough, a notion echoed by the Conflict Map. The Conflict Map offers two to three categories to underline one group of Mitchell's and therefore allows a more fine-tuned and detailed understanding of the conflict dynamics without losing the richness of the raw data. Thus the Conflict Map provides more insight for preparing an informed intervention. However, the final group of Mitchell's Enemy Image the Intruder Image captures a dynamic that the Conflict Map cannot represent so well. The Conflict Map does not offer conflict categories for the element that a foreign group actively mingles among one's own group. It could be coded with the proposed conditions in the table, furthermore the spoiler within could become its own group would be labeled as a Party/ stakeholder and then the subset of categories (*perception to and perception of relation*) would be developed for this group as well. But nevertheless, this would be a compromise.

In conclusion however, it is notable that the Conflict Map, with the exception of the Intruder Image is able to assess the same themes as Mitchell's framework. Furthermore the Conflict Map is able to organize the raw data in a manner that allows researchers to transfer it to the more abstract level of Mitchell's framework. It is thus compatible with the framework and since the Conflict Map tends to assess the themes more nuanced manner adding to a deeper insight into the conflict dynamics allowing more nuance conflict interventions.

After addressing the first quest of the previous section, in the following I will elaborate on the potential of the Conflict Map to be generalized to other conflicts as well. This quest is based on data from two interviews I conducted with the CTMI (Conflict & Trust Map Interview), covering two different large-group conflicts. In both conflicts, communities of different sizes are in conflict with each other. Exploring the generalization of the Conflict & Trust Map also supports the external validity of the study (see also Chap. 5 '5.3 Rigor in Qualitative Research Review'). By being applied to a different context, the findings of the Conflict & Trust Map show the tendency that they exceed the context of the Transdniestrian conflict. Therefore the dynamics captured in the Conflict & Trust Map have the potential to be applied in other conflicts as well.

The first additional conflict interview was done with a third-party intervener in an intra-group conflict in Romania between Hungarian-speaking Romanians and rural Roma. The second interview was conducted with a Palestinian peace activist, who lived the majority of

her life in the West Bank and participated in various reconciliation project between Israelis and Palestinians. The data on this conflict reflect more the Palestinian perception, while the intra-group conflict interview is more an outsider perspective on the current conflict.

Romania's population consists of many different minorities. Among others is the Hungarian-speaking minority, who has lived in Hungarian-speaking enclaves. As another minority, Roma have lived for centuries in all parts of Romania, including the Hungarian-speaking enclaves. While these Roma tend to speak Hungarian also, in recent times more and more Romanian-speaking Roma have moved into the Hungarian-speaking villages. Largely unemployed with no prospect of work, the Roma are accused by the Hungarian-speaking Romanians of stealing and being troublemakers. The violence escalated in the mid-1990s, when Roma were burned to death in some of the villages. In 2009, the time of the interview violence again erupted from the Hungarians-speaking Romanians towards the Roma.

Because the objective of the dissertation is the development of the Conflict & Trust Map as an assessment tool together with the two instruments Conflict & Trust Map Interview and the Trust Map Questionnaire and the two coding schemes, an extensive testing for generalization would exceed the scope of the current research work since it require more than two extra interviews. However, the two interviews are sufficient to highlight the potential of for generalization while not claiming to fulfill the rigid scientific standards described in Chapter Five under '5.3 Rigor in Qualitative Research Review'). Therefore, I will report no frequencies analysis, since only one interview was done per extra conflict, but compare only the extent to which the Conflict Map captured the specifics for the two additional conflicts.

To explore the potential of generalization, I will follow the three areas of the Conflict Map (see Figure 11. Conflict Map.) and display the comparison in Table 13 to Table 16. I will indicated for each category if the category was mentioned (+) or if no quotations were coded in the category (-). The minus (-) does not necessarily indicate that this category does not matter in the specific conflict, but rather that the category was not mentioned in the conducted interviews.

Table 13.

*1<sup>st</sup> Area: Pillar of the Conflict of the Conflict Map. Comparison of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.*

<b>Pillar of the Conflict</b> (Categories described in Conflict Map Booklet Appendix D)	<b>Transnistria Conflict</b>	<b>Conflict between Roma &amp; Hungarian- speaking Romanians</b>	<b>Israel – Palestine Conflict</b>
<b>(1) Parties</b>	+	+	+
	Interview partners named various conflict parties	Interview partner named various conflict parties	Interview partner named various conflict parties
<b>(2) Roots</b>	+	+	+
	Among other Interview partners named differentiated between political and economical	Interview partner referred to conflict as resource and ethnical conflict	Interview partner referred to conflict as resource and identity based conflict
<b>(3) Terminology</b>	+	–	+
	Interview partners named various name for the conflict	<i>Interview partners didn't named various name for the conflict</i>	Interview partner agreed on the term “Israel-Palestine Conflict”

The “Pillar of the Conflict” of the Conflict Map captured the Romanian intra-group conflict as well by differentiating between the different stakeholders. While the Roma and the Hungarians are both Romanian citizens, in the context of this conflict, they were identified as stakeholders and afterwards their perception of each other and their relation with each other could be coded in the Conflict Map. Since it is a “hot” conflict that is freshly developing, no terminology to label it has been established yet. It would be of interest to see if in further interviews the conflict parties come up with a terminology for their conflict, and if so, if there are biased perception embedded, such as the Transnistrian who refer to the conflict as the Moldovan-Transnistrian conflict instead of Transnistrian conflict (see also Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transnistrian Conflict’ and Chapt. 8 ‘8.1.2 Terminology’).

Table 14 compares the three conflicts on the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map, the describing the characteristics of the relationship between conflict parties. The remarks stated in each category are example and derive from quotations out of the interviews.

Table 14.

2<sup>nd</sup> Area: *Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties*. Comparison of the prevalence of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.

Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties (Categories described in Conflict Map Booklet Appendix D)	Transdnistria Conflict	Conflict between Roma & Hungarian-speaking Romanians	Israel – Palestine Conflict
(x.1) Perception / relationship to the other side miscellaneous category	Since this is a broad category capturing mainly neutral statements about the relation, it can be found in any conflict	+	
(x.2) Similarities aspects with the other side	Mainly in shared history, lifestyle and language	Interviewees didn't mention similarities shared with the other side	–
(x.3) Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship to the other side	Interview partner mentions friendly contact in general as well as specific cooperation between individuals	Interview partner mentions friendly contact between Hungarian- speaking Romanians and Hungarian-speaking Roma in the past	Cooperation exists between peace activists of both sides – they are able to work, even so often with tension with each other
(x.4) Feeling of superiority on the other side/ lack of equality to the other side	Both sides experience the feeling that the other side looks down on them	The Roma experiences that the Hungarian- speaking Romanians don't respect their way of life and look down on them	The Palestinian side perceives that the Israeli side looks down on the Palestinian living conditions and lack of education
(x.5) Difficulties in communication/ relationship to the other side	Both sides experience that interaction with each other is difficult and that it is difficult to talk to each other	Both sides experience that interaction with each other is difficult and that it is difficult to talk to each other	Interviewee didn't mention difficulties in the communication or in the relationship to the other side

Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties	Transdnistria Conflict	Conflict between Roma & Hungarian-speaking Romanians	Israel – Palestine Conflict
(x.6) Difficulties in contact incl. cooperation to the other side	<p>+</p> <p>Both sides experience a lack of contact due to border issues as well as a lack of cooperation due to the political situation</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Even though the both communities are distant to each other and do not interact nor cooperate, e.g. Roma have no role in the Hungarian-speaking community, even when they live in the same villages, the difficulties are less rooted in structural problems created</i></p>	<p>+</p> <p>Road Blocks and Restriction of the Israeli government inhibit contact and cooperation between both sides for cooperation on the civil sector</p>
(x.7) The other side as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution	<p>+</p> <p>Both side recall aggressive acts of the other party and perceive them as aggressor</p>	<p>+</p> <p>The Roma population was repeated attacked by the Hungarian-speaking Romanians and perceive them as aggressor</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Both side recall aggressive acts of the other party and perceive them as aggressor E.g. Israelis try to evacuate Palestinian from their houses</p>
(x.8) The other side as unpredictable partner	<p>+</p> <p>Both side recalls promises made by the other side that they did not follow through with or (negative) acts the other side conducted without warning or was seen as surprising</p>	<p>+</p> <p>For the Hungarian-speaking Romanians the action of the Roma are not rational and neither predictable. The Roma seem to invoke in self-destructive tendencies just to harm the Hungarian- speaking Romanians</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewee didn't describe other side as unpredictable</i></p>
(x.9) Perception of the other side's interests	<p>+</p> <p>Interviewees were able to list diverse interests of the other sides</p>	<p>+</p> <p></p>	<p>+</p> <p></p>
(x.10) Fear	<p>+</p> <p>Both side report the fear of another violent conflict as well as the fear of being assimilated by the other side</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Hungarian- speaking Romanians Fear of demographic change, extinction Roma Fear of losing their way of living</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Israelis Fear for the Nation Palestinians Fear of being transferred. Fear of losing their land</p>

As can be seen in Table 14, the category (x.2) *Similarities with the other side*, is only found in the context of the Transdnestrian conflict. If conflict interveners conducting future interviews find no similarities, they have two options: drop the whole category as not relevant for the conflicts or keep it as a “red light.” Having the pre-structured coding scheme also allows a possible intervener to ask specific for similarities and common aspect, and probe for the potential as an entry point for interventions.

Similarities are possible entry points in conflict moderation to help parties to open up and build trust between them. This of course does not only hold true for conflict moderation but also for other peace interventions. All the other categories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map can be found in at least one, and usually both, of the other conflicts as well. That is a strong indicator that the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” is broadly-enough defined to capture core issues of conflict in general.

The final comparison between the three conflicts is done regarding the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”. Table 15 below compares the three conflicts on the 3<sup>rd</sup> area, capturing which factors sustain the conflict.

Table 15.

*3<sup>rd</sup> Area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict. Comparison of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.*

<b>Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict</b> (Categories described in Conflict Map Booklet Appendix D)	<b>Transdnestria Conflict</b>	<b>Conflict between Roma &amp; Hungarian-speaking Romanians</b>	<b>Israel – Palestine Conflict</b>
	+	+	+
<b>(11.1) Corruption</b>	Problems of clans controlling local systems, money laundering and black market on both sides	Money that is supposed to be spent on the development of Roma villages disappears in official channels	International Aid Money disappears unaccounted in the official channel, not reaching the population
	+	+	+
<b>(11.2) Labor Migration</b>	Both side are leaving the area for a better living	Roma moving in large numbers into Hungarian-speaking Romanians villages	Many Palestinians leave the territory for abroad
	+	+	–
<b>(11.3) Education</b>	The education system on both sides is less and less compatible The Transdnestrian system offers their student less opportunities	Roma children do not attend schools, limiting their chances within Romanian society Authorities try to force Roma to send their children to school	<i>Interviewee didn't speak about issues on the education</i>



Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict	Transnistria Conflict	Conflict between Roma & Hungarian-speaking Romanians	Israel – Palestine Conflict
<b>(11.4) Elites: criticism against the elites (political &amp; others)</b>	<p>+</p> <p>Elites on both sides are seen as not handling the conflict well and taking advantage of their position</p>	<p>+</p> <p>The criticism is not directly addressed against elites, but against authorities. It is criticized that the authorities do not calculate the need of villages accordingly, which lead to underfunding in the villages and distrust from the communities toward the authorities</p>	<p>+</p> <p>The Palestinians do not handle the conflict well, e.g. how the issue of evicted Palestinians in East Jerusalem is handled</p>
<b>(11.5) Indifference towards the conflict</b>	<p>+</p> <p>The Moldovan side ignores the conflict and is more concerned about other issues, such as economic development</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Not a conflict area, since both communities are invested in the conflict</i></p>	<p>+</p> <p>The Israeli society blend out the reality of the conflict</p>
<b>(11.6) Insisting on legal aspects</b>	<p>+</p> <p>The Moldovan side makes the legal argument for territorial integrity while both side bring arguments to subvert the legitimacy of the other side</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Settlement of Roma families illegal</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Palestine is not a legal country (but strives for recognition with the international community) The Separation Wall is built illegally</p>
<b>(11.7) Media: lack of freedom of press (restrictions)</b>	<p>+</p> <p>Both sides report lack of freedom on the press in both territories</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewees didn't speak about the media</i></p>	
<b>(11.8) Propaganda</b>	<p>+</p> <p>Both side mention propaganda in both territories</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewees didn't mention propaganda</i></p>	
<b>(11.9) Safety: lack of safety</b>	<p>+</p> <p>Both side are afraid of losing their culture as well as being attacked by the other side</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Hungarian- speaking Romanians villagers attack Roma and vice versa</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Israeli soldiers at the road blocks and settlers in the Palestinian territories are seen a threat Israelis are afraid of suicide bombers from the Palestinian side and of attack from the Arabic countries</p>
<b>(11.10) Separation of family and friends</b>	<p>+</p> <p>Moldovan side reports how family and friends are separated by the internal border</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewees didn't mention separation of family and friends</i></p>	

Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict	Transnistria Conflict	Conflict between Roma & Hungarian-speaking Romanians	Israel – Palestine Conflict
(11.11) Separation of land/ villages	<p>+</p> <p>Both sides report that the internal border or separation line divides villages or cut villages of their lands</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewee didn't mention separation of land or villages</i></p>	<p>+</p> <p>Settlements separate in some areas of the West Bank villagers from the fields, Palestinian were deprived from land</p>
(11.12) Separation of younger/new generation	<p>+</p> <p>Both sides report that the younger generation has not experienced living together and is more distant from each other</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewees didn't mention if the young generation are explicitly separated by the conflict</i></p>	<p>–</p>
(11.13) Further separation	<p>+</p> <p>Both sides report further separation in different domains</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanian are separated through different life styles, values, their communities are separated</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewee didn't mention further separation</i></p>
(11.14) Travel issues	<p>+</p> <p>Both sides report the how each side's passport limits the freedom of travel or free movement</p>	<p>–</p> <p><i>Interviewee didn't mention restriction or problem in regarding travel or free movement</i></p>	<p>+</p> <p>Israelis cannot travel to Arab countries, Palestinians have problems leaving their territory freely due to roadblocks</p>
(11.15) Language	<p>+</p> <p>Groups, as well as their subgroups are divided by their spoken language which fuels directly into the conflict</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Groups, as well as their subgroups are divided by their spoken language which fuels directly into the conflict</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Wish was expressed that each side respects the other side's language</p>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” is more conflict-specific, reflecting more than the other two areas the origin of the Conflict Map, based on the Moldovan-Transnistrian raw data. It is therefore from explicit interest to see if the 3<sup>rd</sup> area is applicable to conflict outside the Transnistrian conflict. This potential can be seen by the fact that from 15 categories 11 categories were found in at least one other conflict outside the Transnistrian conflict, six of them even shared by all three. Only four areas did not appear outside the Transnistrian conflict.

I will start to comment on categories of separation as an example of non-shared category. The Conflict Map differentiates between three kinds of separation that appear due to

conflict: (11.10) *separation between family and friends*<sup>11</sup>, (11.11) *separation of villages*<sup>12</sup> or (11.12) *land and separation of the younger generation*<sup>13</sup>. Neither for the conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians nor for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict do the interviewees mention the issue of the separation between family and friends or the separation of the younger generation. In the context of the conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians, it is reasonable that the issues are not mentioned, since it is a fairly new conflict. Therefore all generations involved in the conflict do remember, for example, that the communities lived fairly well with each other when only the Hungarian-speaking Roma lived in the villages. Also, it is reasonable that the interviewee did not mention separation of family and friends because no (internal) borders are involved in the conflict, and the communities live fairly distant from each other even in 'peaceful' times.

In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it is more surprising that the two areas *separation of family/ friends* and *younger generation* did not appear. That the topic did not occur in the example interviews is surprising since, on the Palestinian side, families did experience separations. After 1948 and 1967, family members found themselves on both sides of the moved new borders. Within families, some family members become refugees in other Arab states, while other members were able to stay in the territories. This separation differs slightly from the separation experienced by the Transdnestrrian conflict: The Palestinian case is multi-dimensional and for a conflict intervention it has to be differentiated between separation due to moved border, but without having the individual moved and the problem of civilians becoming refugees. This differentiation can be important for conflict intervention when determining who should be at the table as well as, based on this decision, which conflict topic will or will not be covered. Of course multiple interviews are necessary before being able to reach a conclusion. Again, the strength of the pre-structured coding system is to illuminate such blanks in the response sets.

The comparison of three different conflicts in this area reveals also another important issue: The Conflict Map's general framework for conflict assessment must be adapted to the

---

<sup>11</sup> Family, relatives and friends had been or are (physical) separated due to the conflict, excluding separation due to migration

<sup>12</sup> Land (meaning the country, fields, villages or town) had been separated due to the conflict; Focus lies on the physical separation in the geography, expressed via separation in country, fields etc.

<sup>13</sup> The generation born after/shortly before erupting of the conflict does not have the experience and memories of living together

specifics of a conflict as can be seen on the issue of (11.2) *Migration*. Migration due to conflict plays a role in the same manner in both the Transdnestrrian and Israel-Palestine cases: locals leave the region in a brain- and workforce drain, worsening the economic conditions in the area. Migration also plays role in the conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians, but instead of a consequence is a cause of the conflict: Due to the increased migration of Romanian speaking Roma into the Hungarian villages the tensions between the communities heighten, leading to violent eruptions. That leads to the second important indication of the Conflict Map. How the specific conflict area impact possible intervention has to be decided by the conflict assessor individually for each conflict. An assessment is done Transdnestrrian conflict and will be presented in Chapter Seven ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’ and Chapter Eight ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnestrrian Conflict’.

The comparison within the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map showed that the majority of the categories do match for different conflicts as well. Even so, the categories were developed in different conflict contexts. This is a strong indicator for the potential of generalization for the Conflict Map. The fact that some categories have to be adapted towards the specific conflict (e.g. how separation plays out in the Israel-Palestine conflict or migration in the Hungarian-Roma) conflict does not limit the generalization. Since the majority of categories are repeatedly mentioned in all conflicts, they can be regarded as common products of the conflict that affect the population in different sectors (economically, developmentally etc.). The impact on the conflict and possible conflict intervention are then up to the conflict assessor to determine.

As previous mentioned four conflict categories are not captured under the umbrella of the Conflict Map, two of them 12. *Culture* and 13. *Identity*, could be of relevance for other conflicts, but did not add deeper insight for the Transdnestrrian conflict. Therefore Table 16 displays the final comparison in these two categories. Both categories were coded as descriptive codes and only coded when the interviewee explicitly mentioned *culture* and *identity*.

Table 16.

*Culture and Identity as conflict categories. Comparison of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.*

<b>Conflict Categories</b> (Categories described in Conflict Map Booklet Appendix D)	<b>Transdnistria Conflict</b>	<b>Conflict between Roma – Hungarian- speaking Romanians</b>	<b>Israel – Palestine Conflict</b>
<b>(12) Culture</b>	+	+	+
	The Transdnistrian side mainly states that they share a Russian culture	Roma live according to their culture and cultural rules, including their own language Hungarian- speaking Romanians see Roma's culture in clash with their Hungarian- speaking Romanians Culture	Palestinian culture is not treated with respect as it is portrayed as backwards and non-civilized
<b>(13) Identity</b>	+	+	–
	Sides disagree if a Transdnistrian identity exists or not	Romanian speaking Roma are seen as a threat to the identity of the Hungarian- speakers	<i>Interviewee didn't speak about identity</i>

Due to the generic terms of *culture* and *identity* it was expected that they would at least be mentioned in the context of all three conflicts. What is surprising so, is that *identity* was not mentioned in the Israel-Palestine conflict. The Israeli-Palestine conflict is often described as *the* identity-based conflict par example (Rothman, 1997) and many conflict description focus on identity-based dimensions (e.g. Hammack, 2011; Kelman, 2006).

There are three possible reasons for the absence of identity for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict interview: (1) Since it is the objective of the Conflict Map to stay close to the raw data, identity is only coded when explicitly mentioned. As a consequence, even if identity-based remarks were made, they were not coded under *13. Identity* if they lacked the term identity. (2) This specific interviewee did not focus on identity issues and no statements were made. (3) The official or civil discourse has changed in Israel – Palestine and identity is really not part of it any more. Displaying such blank categories on such important and often-referred-to categories highlights such an important change. Therefore, by having such template categories the Conflict Map helps researchers not only pay attention to existing categories, but also to missing or changing discourse in the conflict.

I will conclude the comparison among the three conflicts on the Conflict Map with Table 17, which lists new categories that were mentioned in the context of the Conflict

between Roma – Hungarian-speaking Romanians and the Israel – Palestine conflict and could not be coded in the Conflict Map.

Table 17.

*Newly found conflict categories in the two additional interviews.*

New categories	Transdnistria Conflict	Conflict between Roma – Hungarian-speaking Romanians	Israel – Palestine Conflict
<b>Self-determination</b> (Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties)	– <i>Category could be interpreted into some statements of the Transdnistrian side; it did not come up as explicitly as in the other two conflicts</i>	+	+
<b>Recognition</b> (Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties)	– <i>Category could be interpreted into some statements of both side, it didn't come up as explicitly as in the other two conflicts</i>	+	+
<b>Refugee</b> (Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict)	– <i>While there are some refugees in this conflict as well, their existence does not play a dominant role in the conflict dynamic (only one interview partner mentioned the issue of refugee)</i>	– <i>Refugees did not seem to be part of the conflict</i>	+

A total of three categories had to be added to capture missing areas from the Conflict between Roma – Hungarian-speaking Romanians and the Israel – Palestine conflict. Two would be part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” and one part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” of the Conflict Map. It is notable that these are not fully new categories; self-determination and recognition are also part of the Transdnistrian and quotations from both sides could be coded, but the subjects did not come up as explicitly as in the other two conflicts. The issue of

refugees, while apparently not part of the conflict dynamic of the Conflict between Roma – Hungarian-speaking Romanians was mentioned in the Transdnistrian conflict. However, refugees do not play a critical role in the current conflict dynamic, since only one interview partner mentioned them as an issue. This is not a disadvantage since it is the objective of the Conflict Map is to be flexible enough to be adapted to the specifics of each conflict while comprehensive enough to capture the main conflict dynamic, adherent to the majority of large-group conflicts.

Given the data presented in this section, the Conflict Map developed on the case of Moldova – Transdnistria holds the potential be extended to other conflicts and used by researchers working in other regions. Furthermore, it is compatible with other conflict assessment tools but offer a more nuanced understanding of the data and concrete help how to deal with the raw data. Nevertheless, in comparison to Mitchell and through the data gathered in the two additional conflicts some weaknesses appeared. For example, of the Conflict Map was not able to capture Mitchell theme of the Intruder Imagine. Through further research it can be determine to include the theme as well. Also, while the coding scheme draws attention which categories are missing, when no quotations are coded there, the assessment tool of the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) (see also ‘3.4 Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)’ & ‘5.4.2 Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)’), does not address key categories. Thus is not clear in the analyzing phase if categories were not coded because they are absent in the conflict dynamic or because the interviewee didn’t mention them. Further works can include a modification of the CTMI and include a concrete inquiring about key conflict categories.

Nonetheless in spite of these two issues, the coding scheme of the Conflict Map makes four main contributions to the field of conflict assessment. First, it allows researchers to structure the raw data without losing their richness and prepare for possible intervention such as conflict moderation. Second, although the coding scheme of the Conflict Map tends to be very detailed, researchers can easily adapt the coding scheme to a broader scheme, by dropping fine-tuned categories and using just more general categories, depending on the objectives of their conflict assessment. Third, by offering templates, the coding scheme of the Conflict Map also draws attention to missing categories, which can highlight changes or conflict-specific dynamics. Finally, the Conflict Map itself also includes a systematic trust assessment, expanding it to a Conflict & Trust Map. The second half of the chapter describes the Trust Map and its coding scheme.

### 6.3. Trust Map

While the Conflict Map mainly focuses on conflict areas and perceptions of the conflict parties, the Trust Map explicitly focus on the trust relationship between conflict parties. As elaborated in Chapter One ‘Theory: No Peace without Trust’, trust and trust building are crucial factors for conflict resolution and in reverse the lack of trust, is an impediment to conflict resolution and propels groups towards conflict. Trust is multidimensional construct and is determined not by one single component of the relationship, but by multiple components (see ‘1.2.2 Trust Construct’). Hence, trust can strengthen or weaken through conditions that contribute to the trust. The Trust Map aims to assess a comprehensive set of trust conditions to capture the trust-relationship between parties. Trust is a core component of inter-group conflict dynamics that captures the intransigent part of the conflict, the relationship between the parties, and the perception of this relationship Composing a Trust Map guarantees the researcher and practitioners a comprehensive insight into the often complicated and multi-layered relationship between conflict parties.

The Trust Map is closely interwoven part of the Conflict Map. As previous mentioned, Figure 9 displays the nature of the imbrications of the Conflict with the Trust Map.

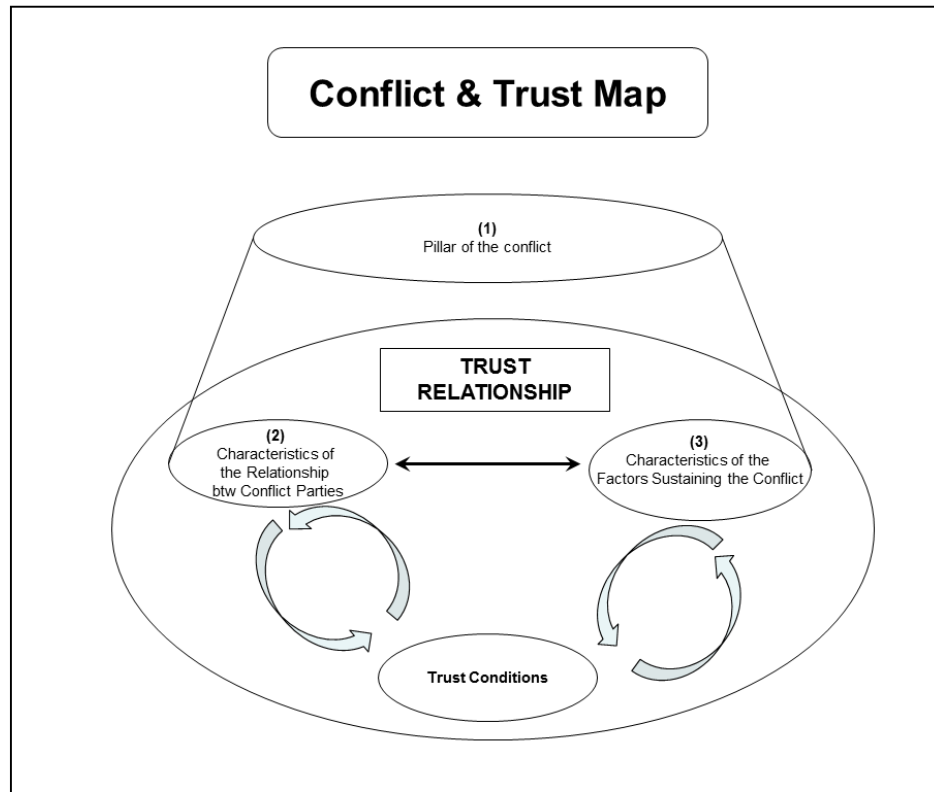


Figure 9. Conflict & Trust Map.



Figure 9 shows the proposition of the interwoven relationship among the Conflict Map's 2<sup>nd</sup> area "Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties", 3<sup>rd</sup> area "Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict", and the trust conditions. Since trust is more than just the addition of the individual trust condition, this triangular relation creates the overall trust relationship. This conceptual understanding of trust in the context of large-group conflict is another contribution of the dissertation and will be elaborated in Chapter Seven 'Trust in Large-Group Conflicts'.

As previously mentioned under '6.1 it is assumed that the 1<sup>st</sup> area of the Conflict Map "Pillar of the Conflict" is not explicit part of the conflict-trust relation since it only captures conflict dynamics on a descriptive level. The 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map "Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties" already captures the perception and the relation between conflict parties and is therefore a natural link to the trust relationship. The 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map "Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict" captures the conflict issues. These issues can either have a negative impact on the trust relationship (e.g. issue of corruption, issue of propaganda) or it can be difficult to improve the issue due to the lack of trust. Trust can be therefore the maintaining factor of the conflict as well as being negatively affected and deterrent due to the conflict dynamics (for an elaboration see Chapter 8 'Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdniestrian Conflict').

The following section describes the Trust Map (6.3.1) and introduces the Trust Map Booklet (6.3.2), allowing readers to understand how to code and measure trust. The section also highlights the potential of generalization of the Trust Map (6.3.3).

### 6.3.1. *Description Trust Map*

The Trust Map focuses on the relationship among conflict parties through the lenses of trust. It mirrors the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) and uses the same 21 conditions, identified for the TMQ (see Chapt. 3 'Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)').

The Trust Map coding scheme still captures the richness of the raw data and the narrative of the conflict. Unlike the Conflict Map, however, the quotations are mainly on the narrative and interpretive level (see Chapt 5 Method '5.3.3 Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder ') The narrative codes are still close to the original quotations but include the interpretation of the interviewer. For example, as part of the guideline in the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) the interviewer asks: "What do you need in order to trust possible representatives from

the Transdniestrian side?” (see Appendix B): The following quotation is a reply to the question: “All the declarations should be argumentative and well-founded. They should know what they are talking about. (MD: 4\_KQ:133)” As can be seen in the quotation, this answer captures an analytic response: what conditions are needed for the interviewee in order to trust. The above quotation was coded under (2) *Competence/ Ability* (Others handle things competently) and (13) *Knowledge Accuracy* (Others state and know facts correctly).

While this quotation is fairly straightforward, many interviewee statements which are further removed from the trust conditions or more implicitly stated involved a higher level of interpretation by the interviewer, and hence are considered as interpretative codes. An example is the following quotation from the interview that took place in the Israel-Palestine context. The (Palestinian) interviewee expressed her wish for a one-state solution open for every Jew in the world. She elaborates: “It is [the State being open to every Jew in the world] a need to the Israelis. They want all the Jews to be nationals of Israel and if this meets their needs in a democratic state, let's do it.” This quotation was coded under *Empathy*, since the interviewee expresses “a willingness to understand what is important for the other side” and “takes on the concern of the other side” (excerpt Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E). In comparison to the first quotation, this is not an analytic reference to what helps build trust, but instead a concrete display of one of the 21 trust conditions. More precisely, it is part of the implicit trust relationship. While the quotation by itself does not lead to a good trust relationship, it is a base on which an intervener could build on through the shown capacity of empathy. The difference between analytic expression (mainly coded as narrative codes) and actually displayed trust conditions (mainly coded as interpretative codes) highlights the complicated nature between implicit and explicit path of trust. The Trust Map does not differentiate whether the quotations are on the narrative or interpretative level, since this adds a new layer of complexity in the coding step. However, if needed for specific research it can be easily integrated into the Trust Map.

These decisions how to code the quotations are based on the definition and decision rules provided through the Trust Map Booklet. Just as for the Conflict Map, a booklet was created that described each category and be found in Appendix E. Firstly, I elaborate more on the 21 trust condition, which were first introduced in Chapt. 3 ‘Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire’. Figure 14 lists all trust conditions. The figure is a screen shot of the qualitative data analysis program MaxQDA 2007.

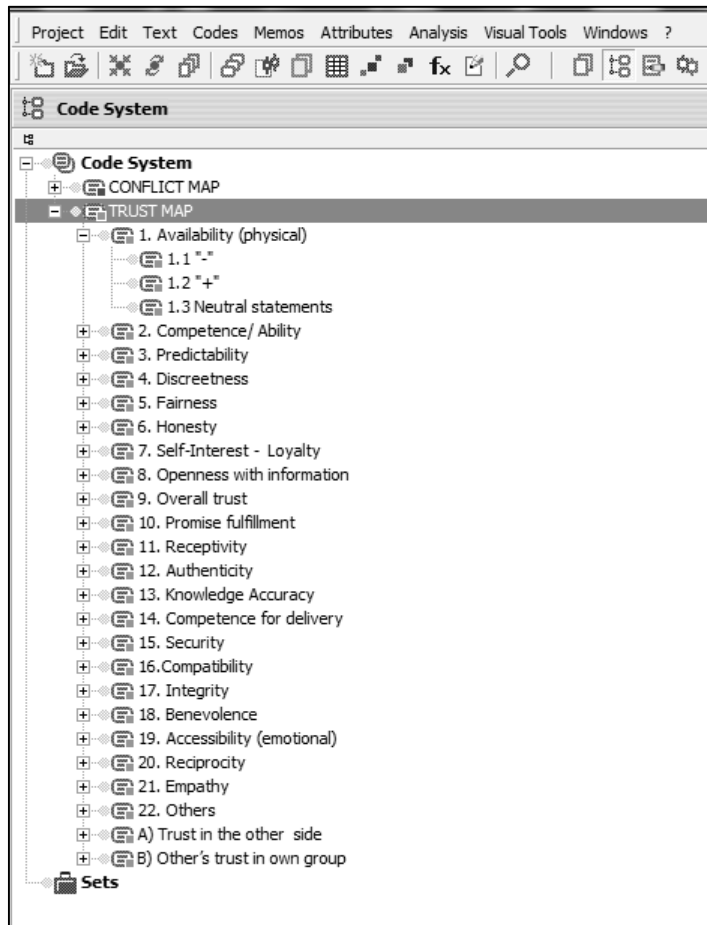


Figure 14. 21 Trust Conditions. The coding scheme for the Trust Map.

Having 21 distinct trust conditions is demanding to process, and therefore gathering these conditions into main clusters helps with comprehending them. Reflecting the complex and multidimensional nature of trust (see ‘1.2.2 Trust Construct), different research organize trust on different abstractive categories. Tropp, Stout, Boatswain, Wright, and Pettigrew (2006) for example differentiate between cognitive, affective or behavioral categories of trust. Trust conditions can also be grouped by their focus on intra-personal reactions (e.g. values someone ascribed towards the interaction partner), inter-personal factors (which manifest in the specific relationship between the groups), or by situational components ascribing the specific circumstances of the interactions (Tropp, 2008). Another structural approach is taken by Mayer et al. (1995). They suggest that the majority of conditions identified in interpersonal and organizational trust relations can be summarized under three factors: ability, benevolence and integrity. This suggestion fits best the structure of the 21 trust condition identified in this research and provides a good starting point. However, three main factors are not sufficient, due to the lack of reciprocity within large-group conflict contexts. Reciprocity as a fourth

factor, that reflect the reciprocate relationship between parties would be needed. Table 18 clusters the 21 trust conditions under the four categories of ability, benevolence, integrity and reciprocity.

Table 18.

*The 21 Trust Conditions aggregated under four main factors.*

<b>Ability</b>	<b>Benevolence</b>	<b>Integrity</b>	<b>Reciprocity</b>
2. Competence/ Ability	4. Discreetness	6. Honesty	1. Availability (Physical)
13. Knowledge Accuracy	5. Fairness	7. Loyalty – Self- Interest	3. Predictability
14. Competence for Delivery	18. Benevolence	10. Promise Fulfillment	8. Openness with Information
	21. Empathy	17. Integrity	9. Overall Trust (in others)
			11. Receptivity
			12. Authenticity
			15. Security
			16. Compatibility
			19. Accessibility (emotional)
			20. Reciprocity

Note: Trust condition are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

The analysis of the data reflects on each single one of the 21 conditions. The introduction of the four main categories solely serves the purpose to reduce the complexity and to illustrate that the conditions can be summarized under the four categories Ability, Benevolence, Integrity and Reciprocity. Concrete findings regarding trust and conceptual conclusion will be reported in Chapt. 7 ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’ and Chapt. 8 ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistriian Conflict’.

### 6.3.2. *Trust Map Booklet*

One objective of the Trust Map is to ensure the comprehensive measure of the complex and multi-layered trust relationship for conflict parties, which entails the necessity of partly overlapping categories. The Trust Map Booklet describes the 21 trust conditions and offers

definitions, rules, and prime examples. The Trust Map differentiates between the lack of trust conditions (as a warning for practitioners) or the existence of trust conditions (as a possible resource). A condition is defined as missing (“–”) when “[the] Interviewee mentions that the described trust condition is exist in its negative form (e.g. dishonesty instead of honesty) or is concretely missing; it does not exist in the current large-group trust relationship” (excerpt Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E). A condition is defined as existing (“+”) when “[the] Interviewee mentions that the described trust condition exists in the current large-group trust relationship” (excerpt Trust Map Booklet Appendix E). In addition to the missing and existing conditions, the Trust Map also captures “neutral statements”, when “[the] Interviewee mentions that the described trust condition is important for trust without any references, if the condition is existent or non-existent in the current large-group trust-relationship” (excerpt Trust Map Booklet Appendix E). The coding scheme helps to provide a more nuanced understanding of which conditions influence the trust relationship. In Figure 14, the condition *Availability* displays how these sub-categories are integrated underneath the conditions. This coding procedure expresses an important perception of the trust conditions, rooted in the multidimensionality of trust (see Chapt. 1): Because trust is multidimensional, a condition can be missing in one domain, but be existent in other. For example, I may not trust my neighbor that he fulfill his promise to pay back his debt, but I do trust him that he will fulfill his promise that he will moan my yard. The trust condition *Promise Fulfillment* is therefore not fully missing, but also not fully existent. Trust and the trust conditions have to be seen therefore as a continuum and not a dichotomy characteristic.

To give the reader a better understanding how the Trust Map Booklet describes and defines trust conditions, I will present exemplary six conditions: (16) *Compatibility*; (7) *Loyalty-Self-Interest*; (2) *Competence/Ability*; (14) *Competence for Delivery*; (10) *Promise Fulfillment* and (22) *Others*.

In the context of the Transdnistriean conflict, the trust condition that was most-often mentioned as an existing resource is (16) *Compatibility*. Because of its important role in the specific Moldovan-Transdnistriean trust relationship, it will be, together with the oft-mentioned strain (7) *Loyalty – Self-Interest* the first two extracts from the Trust Map Booklet. *Compatibility* is listed in the Trust Map Booklet as:

#### (16) Compatibility

- Others share background, values, beliefs or interests
- Trust based on background, values, belief, approaches, interests and objectives held in common
- Trust based on the perception: “We are the same”
- Prime Examples:  
27\_CU (115): *Now we have a new generation of people on the both banks which do not remember either USSR either united Moldova.*  
22\_PU (9): *There exists a big difference between the mentality of the young people from Transdnistria and young people from Moldova, the language is different, the level of education etc.*

Each trust condition first describes how the interviewee perceives the other side acting toward him or her. These bullet points correspond with the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ). Additionally, just like the Conflict Map Booklet the Trust Map Booklet provides prime to illustrate the abstract description of each condition.

The majority of all trust conditions are defined as either/or conditions. One exception is (7) *Loyalty– Self-Interest*, which is also the main strain on the Moldovan-Transdnistrian trust relationship. The characteristic of this dimensional trust condition is that it is not either/or condition, but that there is a conceptual definition behind the condition how it expresses itself in as a resource (loyalty) or as a strain (self-interest). These conceptual definitions derived from the data analysis.

#### (7) Loyalty – Self-Interest (dimensional)

- Others use mistakes against one, is act in own interest
- Capture dimension between Self-Interest & Loyalty
- The other side would not take advantages of one.
- The other side would not use critical information one shared with them, against one.
- The other side would not do anything to make one look bad.
- Loyalty in the sense of ‘not using weaknesses against us’.
- having motives for protecting and making the other side look good.
- Selfishness in the sense that intentionally the other sides seeks its own advantage or if the information /situation present itself in this way it will be used for the own advantage

To be differentiated from:

↔ (4) Discreetness

Breach of Discreetness happens *WITHOUT* intentions, but maybe due to inconsideration, naivety

Breach of Loyalty (in favor of Self-Interest) happens *WITH* intention – the intention to take advantage of the knowledge

To be differentiated from:

↔ 15. Security

Acting in one's Self-Interest can also endanger others. Security is only coded, when it very apparent from the context that security is threatened.

- Prime Example:  
19\_CN (8) *"That is why they take advantage of the situation and they just do not let go of Transdnistria"*

As indicated in the title, this trust condition is positioned as a dimension, ranging from *Loyalty* (not using weaknesses against us) to *Self-Interest* (seeking their own advantage). The benefit of a dimensional definition is that it narrows the conditions and allows for more precise coding. This is especially helpful with such a broad concept as loyalty or self-interest.

The final set of examples focuses on conditions that are closely interwoven. The Trust Map differentiates between two kinds of competence: the actual ability to do something and the ability to deliver on agreements. The latter then has to be differentiated from the condition of *Promise Fulfillment* (see also Chapt. 3 'Trust Conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)'). Figure 15 visualizes how the three conditions are assumed to relate to each other.

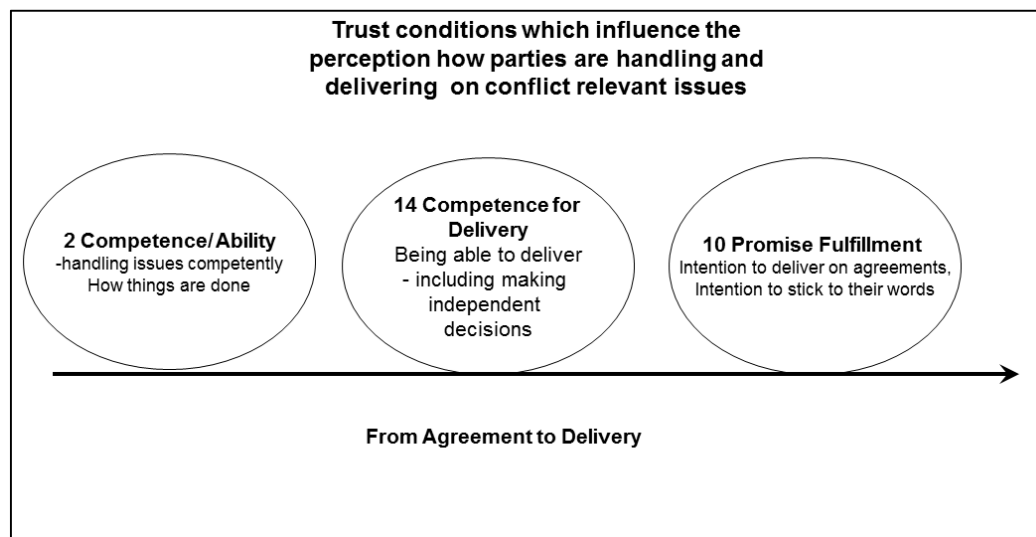


Figure 15. Assumed relation between Competence/Ability; Competence for Delivery; and Promise Fulfillment

The three trust conditions influence the perceived trustworthiness of the others when it comes to handling and delivering on agreements in regards of competence and in regards to delivery on agreement. Trustworthiness can be based on the perception that others handle things in a competent manner. The Trust Map assesses this through the trust condition *Competence/ Ability*. The second component of trustworthiness is not only how things are handled but also if others are able to deliver upon it, for example do they have the competency,

the authority or the means to implement agreements. This competence is assessed through the condition *Competence for Delivery*. *Competence for Delivery* includes the *intention* to act upon the agreement and focus if the party possesses the needed competency. The latter has to be differentiated from *Promise Fulfillment*. Disregarding any competency, the trust condition *Promise Fulfillment* influence the perceived trustworthiness if others have the *intention* to deliver upon agreement vis-à-vis if they are likely to break their words.

The Trust Map Booklet helps researchers and practitioners to differentiate between these three conditions as it also highlighted the closeness between them and offer decision rules when to code a quotation. In the Trust Map Booklet the three conditions are defined as the following:

### (2) Competence/ Ability

- Others handle things competently
- *How* something is *done* (in a competently manner)
- Trust that the other side has the skill to perform the task
- Action-orientated, the technical and interpersonal skills required for one's job; knowledge and skills related to a specific task

To be differentiated from:

↔ (10) Promise Fulfillment (different origin/source for trust)

When other COULD handle things competently, but don't want to act on it.

↔ (14) Competence for Delivery

If mentioned, that the other side has no authority to handling something or is not able to do independent decision, code as (14) Competence for Delivery

- Prime Example:  
24\_QC (18): *Politics of Moldova, Moldovan government, and not all of them, but some persons who was really not [word not understood] in general they wasn't tolerant, these people. People is resource and you can manage it, they could not do it.*

### (14) Competence for Delivery

- Others are able to deliver upon agreements
- Others hold the competence, possibility or means (e.g. material) to put agreements into action/ reality.
- Others do not have no authority, no competency or means (e.g. material) handling something or is not able to do independent decision

To be differentiated from:

↔ (10) Promise Fulfillment

With Promise Fulfillment the *intent* to deliver is missing, not the competence

Competence for Delivery can include the *intent* but is lacking the *authority or competency* to deliver

To be differentiated from:

↔ (2) Competence/ Ability

Focus on process, how thing are handled

versus results, if one can act upon agreements



- Prime Example:  
19\_CN (121) *Yes, they are not competent...this is the problem. They must ask permission from Russia for everything they do*

#### (10) Promise Fulfillment

- Others follow through on promises made
- The other side follows through on promises made to one.
- If the other side promises one something, they will stick to it.
- Keeping a promise is a problem for the other side.

To be differentiated from:

↔ (14) Competence for Delivery

If mentioned, that the other side has *no authority/ no competency* handling something or is not able to do independent decision

Others could have intend to follow through but have not the competence.

- Prime Examples:  
25\_UU (53): *Each of them wants to have a total control upon Moldova and Transdnistria. They make an agreement about one thing and act in a total different way. In such conditions it is impossible to solve this problem.*  
7\_IPq (207): *I have less trust in the Transdnistrian authorities because they did not respect the agreements between the left and the right part of the Dniestru.*

As can be seen in addition to the explanation of the conditions, the Trust Map Booklet also mentions explicitly the other conditions. For example for *Competency/ Ability* it mentions explicitly *Promise Fulfillment* and *Competency for Delivery*, as being closely related to *Competence/Ability*. The booklet gives explicit instruction when each condition is to be coded, thus contributing to the accurateness of the coding process.

I close the section the description of the Trust Map Booklet with the condition (22) *Others*.

#### (22) Others

- All statements that are related to trust, but do not fit to any of the other categories.

The condition *Others* is relevant to capture all quotations that are related to the trust relationship but cannot be coded under existing conditions. This condition is necessary to ensure the comprehensiveness of the Trust Map. Depending on the quotations coded under this condition, it may be necessary to add new conditions or revisit the definitions of the existing ones. This flexibility is particularly important for the potential of generalization of the Trust Map and will be partly explored in the following section and in more detail in Chapt. 7 ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’.

### 6.3.3. *Potential of Generalization of the Trust Map*

The final section of this chapter analyzes the potential of the Trust Map for generalization to other conflicts and mirrors section '6.2.3 Potential for Generalization of the Conflict Map'. To determine generalizability, this section assesses whether the 21 conditions of the Trust Map are comprehensive enough to capture the trust dynamics in the two additional conflicts, namely the Conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians and Israel-Palestine conflict. I will not compare the Trust Map to other conflict trust measures since there exist currently no other any conflict assessments that explicitly include a trust assessment (see also Chapt. 1). Since the 21 trust conditions have been identified a priori to the case study, Chapter 7 addresses how 21 trust conditions are appear in the context of the in the Transdnistrian conflict under 7.1 'Evidence Supporting the Relevance of the Previously Identified Trust Conditions'.

To address the question for the potential of generalization of Trust Map I used again the two interviews, which I conducted with the Conflict and Trust Interviews, but which cover the Conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians and Israel-Palestine conflict. I analyzed both conflict with the coding scheme of the Trust Map, assessing how the 21 trust condition of the Trust Map fit the additional two conflicts. Table 19 to Table 22 display the conditions group in four sets: (1) Conditions that are present in all three conflicts, (2) conditions that are only present in the Transdnistrian conflict (3) conditions that are present in the Transdnistrian conflict and one of the other two conflicts, and (4) conditions that aren't present in any of the three conflicts. The four groups are displayed in. For each condition I indicate if the trust condition was mentioned (+) or not mentioned (-) in the specifics of the conflict. If the condition was mentioned, the plus (+) only indicates that this condition played a role in the trust relationship, it does not indicate if the condition is well developed or lacking. For the Transdnistrian conflict this analysis will be done in Chapt. 8 'Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict'.

I also differentiate between whether the condition was explicitly mentioned during the trust assessment in the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI), or if the condition came up generally speaking and was interpreted by the coder as a relevant quotation for the trust relationship. The latter are marked through underlining.

Table 19.

*Trust conditions appearing in all three conflicts.*

<b>Conditions appearing in all three conflicts</b>		<b>Trust Condition Description</b>	<b>Transdnistria Conflict</b>	<b>Conflict between Roma &amp; Hungarian-speaking Romanians</b>	<b>Israel – Palestine Conflict</b>
1	<b>(5) Fairness</b>	Others treat one equally, fairly, with dignity	Fairness is part of the trust relationship	+	
2	<b>(7) Loyalty – Self-Interest</b>	Others use mistakes against one, is act in own interest	Loyalty – Self-Interest is part of the trust relationship	+	
3	<b>(9) Overall Trust</b>	Others are trustworthy	Overall Trust was mentioned in the interviews	+	
4	<b>(10) Promise Fulfillment</b>	Others follow through on promises made	Promise Fulfillment is part of the trust relationship	+	
5	<b>(13) Knowledge Accuracy</b>	Others state and know facts correctly	Knowledge Accuracy is part of the trust relationship	+	
6	<b>(18) Benevolence</b>	Others are concerned about one's overall welfare	Benevolence is part of the trust relationship	+	
7	<b>(19) Accessibility</b>	One can relate to others on a personal and emotional level	Accessibility is part of the trust relationship	+	
8	<b>(21) Empathy</b>	Others are willing to understand what is important for one's group	Empathy is part of the trust relationship	+	+
					<u>Statements refereeing to empathy were done in the interview</u>
9	<b>(15) Security</b>	Others will not hurt one's group	Security information is part of the trust relationship	+	+
				<u>Statements refereeing to Security were done in the interview</u>	Security information is part of the trust relationship
10	<b>(16) Compatibility</b>	Others share background, values, beliefs or interests	Compatibility is part of the trust relationship	+	+
				<u>Statements refereeing to Compatibility were done in the interview</u>	Compatibility is part of the trust relationship

As can be seen, ten of the 21 conditions are found in all three conflicts, and seven of these conditions were explicitly mentioned in trust section of the CTMI. For the Israel-Palestine conflict, nine of the 21 conditions were mentioned as having an impact on the conflict dynamic. The next comparison in Table 20 explores how many trust conditions only appear in Transdniestrian conflict and one of the other two conflicts.

Table 20.

*Trust conditions appearing in one additional conflict to the Transdniestrian conflict.*

Conditions appearing in one additional conflict to the Transdniestrian conflict	Trust Condition Description	Transdniestria Conflict	Conflict between Roma & Hungarian-speaking Romanians	Israel – Palestine Conflict
1 (2) <b>Competence/ Ability</b>	Others handle things competently	Competence/ Ability is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Competence/ Ability was not mentioned in the interview</i>
2 (3) <b>Predictability</b>	Others' behavior is predictable or stable	Predictability is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Predictability was not mentioned in the interview</i>
3 (11) <b>Receptivity</b>	Willingness of others to take in one's ideas	Receptivity is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Receptivity was not mentioned in the interview</i>
4 (20) <b>Reciprocity</b>	Others are trusting and cooperative towards one's group	Reciprocity is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Reciprocity was not mentioned in the interview</i>
5 (8) <b>Openness with Information</b>	Others share essential information	Openness with Information is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Openness with Information was not mentioned in the interview</i>
6 (12) <b>Authenticity</b>	Others are authentic in their self-expressions	Authenticity is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Authenticity was not mentioned in the interview</i>
8 (17) <b>Integrity</b>	Others act in accordance with a moral code	Integrity is part of the trust relationship	+	– <i>Integrity was not mentioned in the interview</i>

It is promising for the Trust Map that eight conditions appear in at least one of the additional conflicts. Table 20 also visualizes the advantage to differentiate between the

competence regarding ability and competence for delivery. While the former influences the trust dynamic in the conflict between the Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanian, it was not mentioned in the interview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The latter however, played a role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but not in the conflict between the Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanian. Having excluded one or the other understanding would have missed the role of competence in one or the other interview.

The final comparison in *Table 21* list the conditions that were only found the Transdnistrian conflict but not in the interviews of the other twos.

Table 21.

*Trust conditions only appearing in the Transdnistrian conflict.*

	<b>Conditions only appearing in the Transdnistrian conflict</b>	<b>Trust Condition Description</b>	<b>Transdnistria Conflict</b>	<b>Conflict between Roma &amp; Hungarian-speaking Romanians</b>	<b>Israel – Palestine Conflict</b>
1	<b>(1) Availability</b>	Being able to get in touch with the others	+	–	–
			Availability is part of the trust	<i>Availability was not mentioned in the interview</i>	
2	<b>(6) Honesty</b>	Others are honest when dealing with one	+	–	–
			Honesty is part of the trust relationship	<i>Honesty was not mentioned in the interview</i>	

While 18 conditions of the Trust Map were found outside the Transdnistrian conflict, two conditions were limited to this specific context. Table 22 reveals that the trust condition *Discreetness* was not coded in any conflict context.

Table 22.

*Trust conditions appearing in none of the conflict*

	<b>Conditions only appearing in none of the conflict</b>	<b>Trust Condition Description</b>	<b>Transdnistria Conflict</b>	<b>Conflict between Roma &amp; Hungarian-speaking Romanians</b>	<b>Israel – Palestine Conflict</b>
1	<b>(4) Discreetness</b>	Others will treat confident information in a sensitive manner	–	–	–
			<i>Discreetness was not mentioned in the interviews</i>		

Table 22 shows that the Trust Condition *Discreetness* was not found in any interview, including the ones from Transdniestrian conflict. I will elaborate on this fact in more detail in Chapt. 7 ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’, where I will make the case to keep this condition in the Trust Map in spite of the lack of quotations.

Based on the above displayed finding, what can be said about the potential of the Trust Map for generalization? Table 23 summarizes the above-mentioned frequencies of the conditions in one table. It differentiates if a trust conditions is explicitly or implicitly mentioned. As previous introduced, explicitly mentioned refers to quotations that interview explicitly utter that a specific condition is relevant for them to trust or not to trust the other group. Implicitly mentioned refers to quotation which hold an indirect link to trust and thus are interpreted by the coder as trust related (see also 6.3.1 ‘Description Trust Map) Of course not every statement was coded and interpreted as trust relevant. Implicit trust quotations were only coded, when there was some implication for trust in the context (see also Chapt. 7 ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’)

Table 23.

*Frequencies contribution of the trust conditions among all three conflicts, differentiated for explicit and implicit codings.*

Conditions in present in	Explicit	Implicit	neither	total
<b>all 3 conflicts</b>	7	3	0	10
<b>In TD &amp; Roma conflict</b>	4	0	0	4
<b>In TD &amp; Israel-Palestine conflict</b>	4	0	0	4
<b>Only in TD conflict</b>	2	0	0	2
<b>Neither</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	17	18	1	21

The findings allow the conclusion that the Trust Map holds the potential for generalization. Eighteen of the 21 trust conditions identified by the Trust Map as important to understanding the trust relationship between large-group conflict parties are found in all three conflicts. Therefore it can be said that the conditions measured by the Trust Map are mentioned as relevant for the trust relationship and are found outside the Transdniestrian conflict as well.

To shed light on the generalization of the Trust Map, however, one must ensure that there are not critical conditions not captured by the Trust Map. Therefore I will look at trust quotations from the conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians and the Israel-Palestine conflict, coded under the trust condition *Others*, capturing quotations which are related to trust, but do not fit to any of the other categories. A total of five quotations were coded under others, two from the conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians interview and three from the Israel-Palestine interview.

*“Causing Trouble” conflict between Roma and Hungarian-speaking Romanians area.* Both of the quotations from the Roma-Hungarian interview which are coded under *Others* include the area “causing trouble.” The interviewee stated: “Hungarian people always say that Roma people cause them only trouble. And they have proofs for that (their vegetables and animals are missing all the time)” and “[To mistrust leads] ...the fact that Hungarian people have proofs that Roma people are causing troubles all the time.”

Hungarians-speaking Romanian do not trust the Roma, since they always cause them trouble, an area that the Trust Map cannot capture. “Causing trouble” is a broad statement that can imply many kind of trouble. The second further explanation, that causing trouble appears in the form of “stealing,” could be coded under (6) *Honesty*, when this condition broadens.

(6) Honesty	
•	The other side would not lie to me/us.
•	The other side tells me/us the truth.
•	The other side is honest when dealing with me/us.
•	Anti-poles: Being honest versus lying

It currently is narrowed to telling the truth, but does hold the potential to enact actions as well. This potential to broaden the definition will be readdressed in the conclusion (Chapter 9 ‘Conclusion: Where is the Trust?’).

*“Good intention” an Israel-Palestinian area.* All three quotations from the Israel-Palestinian interview which are coded under *Others* include the area “good intention.” The interviewee stated: “First, I would need proof of good intentions and willingness to take action on the ground.” and “I don't think that they have good intentions; and this is because they have the power.”

The Trust Map captures concrete action, statements, and behavior between conflict parties. It does not capture the existence or lack of plans, meaning intention, which is expressed in this first quotation. The third quotation goes even further, stating:

I think first of all, they have to do something before we can try to sit down, to show good intention measures like to remove all checkpoints from the west bank, for example; it is such a small measure but very effective; release of the big portion of the prisoners would be a good measure to prove good intentions; this is what I mean by good intentions.

It expresses more than just the need for good intention in order to trust. The interviewee expresses the need for concrete actions, something that can be summarized as the policy of small actions, a policy often done in international relations. The Trust Map cannot capture this need as a pre-condition for trust.

Given the evidence presented in Table 18 to Table 22, the Trust Map holds the potential be extended to other conflicts and used by researchers working in other regions. Eighteen of the 21 trust conditions appear in the context of trust relationship between the Roma and the Hungarian-speaking Romanians and in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Additionally, only two new areas appeared that the Trust Map did not fully capture. Two new areas are such a small number that their existence does not lessen the claim for potential of generalization of the Trust Map.

#### **6.4. Summary: Coding Scheme of the Conflict & Trust Map**

This chapter explained the development of the coding schemes to create the Conflict & Trust Map. It systematically introduced the specific conflict category and trust conditions of the Conflict & Trust Map and presented the Conflict & Trust Map Booklets. The latter are important not only to ensure the objectivity of the understanding of the categories from a scientific point of view, but also to generalize the Conflict & Trust Map for other conflicts. The booklets provide a good base for the training researcher and practitioner who wish to apply the Conflict & Trust Map. In spite of the limitation due to the small sample size of two interviewees outside the studied Transdnistrian conflict, the findings are very promising for the potential of the generalization.

In addition to the important potential of generalization and thus being useful in other conflict context and of other researchers, this chapter highlighted the three important aspects of the Conflict & Trust Map: The first aspect is its capacity to structure the raw data and thus



reduce their complexity. The second aspect is its inclusion of trust in the assessment as an important component of the conflict dynamic. And the third is its systematic approach to the data analyzing through the application of the code booklets in addition to the use qualitative software, which this chapter has left reflected on, but was introduced in Chapt. 5 ‘Method.

While this chapter mainly concentrated on the assessment qualities of the Conflict & Trust Map, the following chapters focus specifically how trust relates to large-group conflict (Chapter 7 ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’) and analyze the results for the specific conflict and trust relationship findings in the Transdnistrian conflict (Chapter 8 ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’).

## **7. Trust in Large-Group Conflicts**

The following chapter focuses on the trust in large-group conflicts. More precisely, in the chapter I address the conceptual research objective (1) and provide evidence if the 21 trust conditions found are relevant for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relation. It provides support for the comprehensiveness of the set of 21 conditions by exploring if the interviewees as members of large-group conflict parties named further trust conditions, which are not part of the set of 21 conditions. Additionally the chapter addresses the applied research objective (3). I present the Trust Map for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group, exploring in detail if the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) and Conflict & Trust Map Interview were applicable to assess the trust relationship and how they contribute to the findings.

In the last section of the chapter I also address the applied research objective (2.1) by demonstrating *how* the trust condition relate to the conflict categories, thus proving insight into the structure of the Conflict & Trust Map.

In order to address these objectives, this chapter consists of the following sections:

- (1) Evidence supporting the relevance of the previously identified trust conditions for the trust relations between large-group conflict parties and more specifically for the Moldova-Transdnistria relations.
- (2) A comparison of the specific trust relations of the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees.
- (3) Evidence supporting the idea that trust is a crucial component in conflict dynamics.

### **7.1. Evidence Supporting the Relevance of the Previously Identified Trust Conditions**

As elaborated in Chapter Three ‘Instrument Development Conflict & Trust Map Interview & Trust Map Questionnaire’ through experts interviews and a review of the existing trust inventories, 21 conditions were identified that may contribute to the trust relationship between large-group conflict parties. These 21 conditions were then used as a basis for the coding scheme under which the Conflict & Trust Map Interviews (CTMI) were coded and analyzed. Furthermore, the 21 conditions were used to construct the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ). This section demonstrates that these previously identified conditions are central for assessing trust relations in the large-group conflict between Moldova and Transdnistria. The demonstration will be done using data gathered from the CTMI and TMQ following a three-fold procedure:

- (1) TMQ: The Trust Map Questionnaire measured the specificity of each trust condition and how relevant the condition is to the overall trust relationship. These data will be reported
- (2) CTMI: From the Conflict & Trust Map Interviews, explicitly mentioned trust conditions are extracted and compared to the previously identified 21 trust conditions.
- (3) CTMI: It is also assessed, if interviewees mention further conditions, that exceed the 21 previous identified trust conditions.

#### **7.1.1. *Trust Map Questionnaire – Condition Confirmation***

The Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) measures the 21 previous identified trust conditions on a seven point scale. When responding to the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ), participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with a series of statements that focused on the 21 trust conditions. The statements were framed through two anchors, as opposite's point of a 7-point scale (see 3.3.1 "Structure of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) & Appendix C). In addition to the measurement of the prevalence of each condition, the TMQ also assess the perceived importance of the each condition for trust on a five point scale. Participants responded using a 5-point scale that ranged from 1 ("*not important at all*") to 5 ("*very important*"), with a midpoint of 3 ("*neither/nor*"). A total of 21 interviewees filled out the TMQ, 13 on the Moldovan side, eight on the Transdnistrian side, contributing to the data reported (see also 5.4.2 'Trust Map Questionnaire TMQ') However, respondents failed to answer different questions, resulting in a range of sample sizes from 16 to 19. Table 24 displays the descriptive statistics for each condition regarding its importance for the trust. The conditions are ordered regarding their importance, listing the conditions ranked as the most important first and then descending.

Table 24.

*Descriptive statistics for importance of the trust conditions in the TMQ*

rank		Trust condition	n	$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max
1	3	Predictability	17	4.65	0.61	3	5
2	11	Receptivity	17	4.59	0.62	3	5
3	14	Competence for Delivery	18	4.56	0.51	4	5
4	13	Knowledge Accuracy	18	4.50	0.62	3	5
5	19	Accessibility	18	4.50	0.86	2	5
6	20	Reciprocity	18	4.50	0.62	3	5
7	12	Authenticity	19	4.42	0.77	2	5
8	1	Availability	17	4.41	1	1	5
9	21	Empathy	17	4.41	0.71	3	5
10	8	Openness with information	18	4.33	0.77	3	5
11	9	Overall Trust	18	4.33	0.59	3	5
12	15	Security	18	4.33	0.77	3	5
13	16	Compatibility	18	4.33	0.91	2	5
14	17	Integrity	18	4.33	0.84	2	5
15	2	Competence/ Ability	16	4.31	0.7	3	5
16	6	Honesty	17	4.29	0.69	3	5
17	7	Loyalty – Self-Interest	17	4.29	0.85	2	5
18	5	Fairness	18	4.28	0.89	2	5
19	10	Promise Fulfillment	18	4.28	0.57	3	5
20	18	Benevolence	19	4.16	0.76	2	5
21	4	Discreetness	17	4.12	0.86	3	5

Note: Trust condition are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

As seen in Table 24 the mean for every condition is above four, on a five-point scale, indicating that each condition is considered to be important for the trust relationship. Furthermore the relatively small standard deviation also shows that there are barely any outliers in the responses of the participants.<sup>14</sup> With such high means, there is a question as to whether the participants really display variability in their answers or if the consistently high means are due to biases in participants' patterns of responses. This concern is unfounded,

<sup>14</sup> The same analysis was done with 37 students from the University of Hamburg. The results display the same pattern. The mean of conditions, with the exception of two are above 4. For *Accessibility* and *Compatibility* the mean is slight under 4 with  $\bar{x} = 3.85$  and  $\bar{x} = 3.96$  and therefore can still be considered as important. The table with the all results is listed as Appendix F.

however, because the responses do show adequate variability, ranging from (1) not important to (3) neither/nor to (5) very important. While the majority of conditions are ranked from (3) to (5), each condition does display its own pattern of responses, suggesting that the interviewees reflectively gave their responses. Having the mean of above four therefore can be seen as strong support for the importance of these particular conditions for trust.

Before concluding this section, special attention will be given to the *Discreetness* and *Empathy* conditions. As I will show in the section ‘7.1.2 Conflict & Trust Map Interview – Condition Confirmation’ *Empathy* and *Benevolence* are barely mentioned in the Conflict & Trust Map Interview. *Empathy* was only mentioned twice in the Transdnistrian interviews and not at all in the Moldovan interviews and neither group mentioned *Discreetness* as a factor contributing to trust (see also Table 25). This underrepresentation can bring into question the role of these conditions in the trust relationship. However, their consistently high ratings in the TMQ support the claim that they are relevant trust conditions that should be included in analysis. *Discreetness* had a mean above four, with a minimum importance rating of three and maximum of five ( $n = 17$ ;  $\bar{x} = 4.12$ ;  $std = 0.86$ ,  $min = 3$ ;  $max = 5$ ), and was similar in its distribution to the other conditions. The same holds true for *Empathy*, which had a mean above four, with a minimum importance rating of three and maximum of five ( $n = 17$ ;  $\bar{x} = 4.41$ ;  $std = 0.71$ ,  $min = 3$ ;  $max = 5$ ). As elaborated in Chapter Three there are one more sources supporting the claim to include the two conditions into the trust analysis. Both conditions were reported as relevant to build trust in the expert interviews (see 3.3.1 ‘Structure of the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)’) In addition *Discreetness* as a relevant trust condition is furthermore recognized in other existing trust inventories, such as the CTI from Butler (1999) (see 3.1.1 ‘Conditions of Trust Inventory (Butler, 1991)’). A possible explanation, while *Discreetness* and *Empathy* were not mentioned in the CTMI could be the different context. The experts’ interviews were conducted in the context of a third party intervention in which *Discreetness* and *Empathy* take crucial roles. Another explanation lies in the nature of the Conflict & Trust Map Interview: In the CTMI the interviewees are asked with an open-ended question which conditions are relevant for them to build trust. The CTMI does not confirm any previous identified conditions. Hence, even if an interviewee found *Discreetness* and *Empathy* relevant, if they don’t mention it by themselves, the CTMI will not assess it. It is therefore considered reasonable to retain *Discreetness* as one of the 21 trust conditions.

In summary, it can be said that, the analysis of the TMQ displays an overwhelming perception that all 21 conditions are relevant for trust. Findings of the TMQ therefore give evidence for the importance of these conditions. The next section focuses on the results of the Conflict & Trust Map Interviews, assessing which conditions the interviewees as members of large-group conflict parties consider as relevant for trust and compare how these findings relate to the previous identified 21 trust conditions.

#### 7.1.2. ***Conflict & Trust Map Interview – Condition Confirmation***

The CTMI consists of two parts – the opening of the interview focuses on the conflict assessment, while the second part specifically focuses on trust relationship between the conflict parties (see 3.4 & 5.4.2 ‘Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)’). Trust is assessed throughout the whole interview whenever the conflict parties implicitly refer to conditions that contribute to trust. Trust is also assessed when conflict parties explicitly list conditions related to the strengthening or weakening of trust with the other group. To confirm the relevance of the previous identified trust conditions, trust conditions that are mentioned explicitly by the interviewees are coded and mapped. Trust conditions are coded as explicit when they were listed as response to the CTMI questions: “What factors helps you to trust the other side” and “What factors diminish your trust in the other side?” Conditions are also coded as explicit when interviewees linked them directly to trust as in the following quotation.

There are different steps that can be taken in order to gain trust but these steps must not only be spoken about but they have to be really implemented. For example the former president of Moldova mentioned 2 or 3 years ago 10 steps that he intended to do towards Transdnistria, like for example the recognition of the Transdnistrian diplomas etc. All these steps were seen with good eyes by people from Transdnistria but these steps were never realized (TD:23\_GD:27).

This quotation is coded as an explicit lack of *Promise Fulfillment*, since the interviewee first talks about the need to gain trust and then links this statement with an example of trust violation.

As Table 25 displays, the majority of the 21 trust conditions are explicitly mentioned as important factors for trust by the interviewees. As explained in Chapter 5 (5.4.2 ‘Trust Map Questionnaire TMQ’), at this point of the interview the interviewees had not completed the

TMQ yet, since the TMQ was administered only at the end of the interview. This ensured that interviewee responses in the CTMI were not biased by the TMQ content. As such, the explicitly mentioned conditions by the interviewees can be considered to reflect their own understandings of trust.

Table 25.

*Trust Conditions explicitly mentioned by Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees*

<b>Rank</b>	<b>condition</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>strain</b>	<b>ress</b>	<b>neutral</b>	<b>total %</b>	<b>accum %</b>
1	13. Knowledge Accuracy	<b>29</b>	21	2	6	9.57	9.57
2	5. Fairness	<b>28</b>	18	1	9	9.24	18.81
3	9. Overall trust	<b>28</b>	12	8	8	9.24	28.05
4	20. Reciprocity	<b>19</b>	7	4	8	6.27	34.32
5	1. Availability	<b>18</b>	7	4	7	5.94	40.26
6	10. Promise fulfillment	<b>18</b>	10	2	6	5.94	46.20
7	15. Security	<b>18</b>	12	1	5	5.94	52.15
8	16. Compatibility	<b>17</b>	2	10	5	5.61	57.76
9	7. Loyalty – Self-Interest	<b>14</b>	12	1	1	4.62	62.38
10	19. Accessibility	<b>14</b>	3	8	3	4.62	67.00
11	11. Receptivity	<b>13</b>	6	0	7	4.29	71.29
12	17. Integrity	<b>13</b>	8	3	2	4.29	75.58
13	6. Honesty	<b>12</b>	4	3	5	3.96	79.54
14	14. Competence for Delivery	<b>11</b>	7	2	2	3.63	83.17
15	2. Competence/Ability	<b>10</b>	6	0	4	3.30	86.47
16	12. Authenticity	<b>10</b>	5	2	3	3.30	89.77
17	3. Predictability	<b>8</b>	6	0	2	2.64	92.41
18	8. Openness with information	<b>8</b>	2	3	3	2.64	95.05
19	18. Benevolence	<b>8</b>	5	2	1	2.64	97.69
20	22. Others	<b>5</b>	1	3	1	1.65	99.34
21	21. Empathy	<b>2</b>	1	0	1	0.66	100.00
22	4. Discreetness	<b>0</b>	0	0	0	0.00	100.00
<b>total</b>		<b>303</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

Notes: Trust condition are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E  
ress = resource; accum %= accumulated percentage

Table 25 ranks the trust condition according to their frequencies across all Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews combined (*total*). Since the current section explores, which conditions were mainly mentioned to be relevant for the interviewee to contribute to trust, the column *total* is of main interest. When looking specifically into the prevalence of the trust relationship it is also of interest if a condition is experienced as missing, and thus straining trust or experienced as existing, contributing to trust (see also 6.3 ‘Trust Map’). Therefore Table 25 further differentiates how often the condition is mentioned as a strain or resource (*ress*) or in a neutral manner (see also 6.3.1 ‘Description Trust Map’). The table also indicates the percentage accumulated by each condition in relation to all explicitly mentioned trust conditions (%). The final row reports the accumulated percentage (*accum %*).

With the exception of *Discreetness* all other conditions are explicitly mentioned as an important factor contributing to trust. Furthermore, Table 25 reveals that, excluding *Discreetness* and *Empathy*, the majority of conditions are fairly evenly distributed, each condition receiving between 3% and 9% of all the quotations explicitly describing trust.

The most frequently mentioned trust condition is *Knowledge Accuracy*, with 29 quotations accounting for almost 10 % of all mentioned conditions. The other dominating conditions are *Fairness* and *Overall Trust* both individually coded with 28 quotations, accounting for almost 10% of all mentioned conditions). The last three conditions that account for more than 6% are *Availability*, *Promise fulfillment* and *Security*, all individually coded with 18 quotations. With the exception of *Empathy* and *Discreetness*, the remaining 14 trust conditions are mentioned with eight to 17 quotations. Table 25 also reveals that the top seven conditions, accumulating for almost 50% of the explicit trust conditions, are mentioned mainly as a strain on the trust relationship and less as a resource. *Compatibility* fell into the eighth position and was mainly mentioned as a resource. Besides *Compatibility*, the only other conditions mentioned as resources contributing to trust are *Accessibility* and *Openness with information*. This deficit focus of the quotations will be revisited in section ‘7.2.3 Comparison Between CTMI & TMQ’.

Of special interest is the frequency contribution for the code *Others*. *Others* code trust conditions that were mentioned by the interviewees to be relevant of trust, but cannot be captured by the 21 trust conditions (see also 6.3.2 ‘Trust Map Booklet’). It speaks for the comprehensiveness of the Trust Map that from a total of 303 explicit mentioned trust conditions only five are coded under *Others*, accounting for less than 2% of all quotations and ranking on the 20 position of frequency. Due to its small number of five quotations, which in



addition also capture different trust conditions, I will omit the condition *Others* from the further analysis and return to it, in section 7.1.3 ‘Results From the Trust Code *Others*’, in which I reflect, if new trust conditions appeared through the case study in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict.

The three previously described patterns that (1) the majority of trust conditions are explicitly mentioned, that (2) the conditions are fairly even distributed, and (3) the deficit orientated distributions, are also found when looking at the individual distributions for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian groups. First, as Table 26 shows, when both groups are considered separately, all conditions are explicitly mentioned in both groups except for *Empathy* among Moldovans and *Discreetness* among either group.

Table 26. *Trust condition explicitly differentiating Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees. Elaborated in text*

<b>rank</b>	<b>Moldovan group condition</b> (described in Appendix E)	<b>total</b>	<b>strain</b>	<b>ress</b>	<b>neut.</b>	<b>total %</b>	<b>accum %</b>	<b>rank</b>	<b>Transdnistrian group condition</b> (described in Appendix E)	<b>total</b>	<b>strain</b>	<b>ress</b>	<b>neut.</b>	<b>total %</b>	<b>accum %</b>
1	13. Knowledge Accuracy	14	9	2	3	10.61	10.61	1	5. Fairness	21	13	1	7	12.65	12.65
2	10. Promise fulfillment	11	6	1	4	8.33	18.94	2	9. Overall trust	19	8	6	5	11.45	24.10
3	7. Loyalty- Self-Interest	9	7	1	1	6.82	25.76	3	13. Knowledge Accuracy	15	12	0	3	9.04	33.13
4	9. Overall trust	9	4	2	3	6.82	32.58	4	20. Reciprocity	14	6	2	6	8.43	41.57
5	1. Availability	8	4	1	3	6.06	38.64	5	15. Security	12	10	0	2	7.23	48.80
6	6. Honesty	8	2	3	3	6.06	44.70	6	16. Compatibility	11	2	4	5	6.63	55.42
7	14. Competence for Delivery	8	5	2	1	6.06	50.76	7	19. Accessibility	11	3	5	3	6.63	62.05
8	17. Integrity	8	4	2	2	6.06	56.82	8	1. Availability	10	3	3	4	6.02	68.07
9	5. Fairness	7	5	0	2	5.30	62.12	9	11. Receptivity	8	4	0	4	4.82	72.89
10	8. Openness with information	7	2	2	3	5.30	67.42	10	10. Promise fulfillment	7	4	1	2	4.22	77.11
11	12. Authenticity	7	3	2	2	5.30	72.73	11	2. Competence/ Ability	5	4	0	1	3.01	80.12
12	15. Security	6	2	1	3	4.55	77.27	12	3. Predictability	5	4	0	1	3.01	83.13
13	16. Compatibility	6	0	6	0	4.55	81.82	13	7. Loyalty-- Self-Interest	5	5	0	0	3.01	86.14
14	2. Competence/ Ability	5	2	0	3	3.79	85.61	14	17. Integrity	5	4	1	0	3.01	89.16
15	11. Receptivity	5	2	0	3	3.79	89.39	15	18. Benevolence	5	3	1	1	3.01	92.17
16	20. Reciprocity	5	1	2	2	3.79	93.18	16	6. Honesty	4	2	0	2	2.41	94.58
17	3. Predictability	3	2	0	1	2.27	95.45	17	12. Authenticity	3	2	0	1	1.81	96.39
18	18. Benevolence	3	2	1	0	2.27	97.73	18	14. Competence for Delivery	3	2	0	1	1.81	98.19
19	19. Accessibility	3	0	3	0	2.27	100	19	21. Empathy	2	1	0	1	1.20	99.40
20	21. Empathy	0	0	0	0	0.00	100	20	8. Openness with information	1	0	1	0	0.60	100
21	4. Discreetness	0	0	0	0	0.00	100	21	4. Discreetness	0	0	0	0	0.00	100
total		132	62	31	39	100		total		166	92	25	49	100	

Table 26 ranks the trust condition according to their frequencies separated for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews combined (*total*). For both groups Table 26 further differentiates how often the condition is mentioned as a strain or resource (*ress*) or in a neutral manner (see 6.3.2 ‘Trust Map Booklet’). The table also indicates the percentage accumulated by each condition in relation to all explicitly mentioned trust conditions (%). The final row reports the accumulated percentage (*accum %*). A description of the trust condition is provided in the Trust Map Booklet (see Appendix E).

In the Moldovan group, the majority of conditions are equally distributed with five to nine quotations, accounting individually for 4 to 7% of all trust references, and ranking between ranks three and 16. The most frequent conditions are *Knowledge Accuracy* with 14 quotations accounting for 11%, and *Self-Interest-Loyalty* with 11 quotations accounting for 8%. The top ranking of *Knowledge Accuracy* is mirrored in the combined distribution of responses from both Moldovans and Transdnistrians. The fact that each condition, with the exception of *Empathy* and *Discreetness*, is mentioned in at least 2% of all references again supports the relevance of the previously identified 21 trust conditions.

The same pattern is partly mirrored in the Transdnistrian group; the conditions can be broken into those from the first rank to the tenth in one set, and all others in a second set. The first set alone accounts for a cumulative 77% of all nominations. The top ranking of *Fairness* with 21 quotations accounting for 13% of the Transdnistrian trust references, is mirrored in the combined distribution of responses from both Moldovans and Transdnistrian. Unlike in the Moldovan group, *Empathy* is mentioned by the Transdnistrian group in two quotations. *Empathy* and *Benevolence* together form the least frequently mentioned conditions.

Shared on both sides is the deficit orientation in the interviewees (i.e., the focus on strain as opposed to resources). This pattern continues, when considered separately for each group. The majority of trust conditions are described as an absent in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian trust relationship. There are four exceptions in the Moldovan group: *Compatibility*, *Reciprocity*, *Accessibility* and *Honesty*, the latter, almost equally often mentioned as a strain (which contained only one quotation more on the as resource, than as strain). These four conditions account for 20% of all mentioned conditions in the Moldovan group.

In the Transdnistrian group, only two conditions are described as a resource, *Compatibility* and *Accessibility*. *Availability* was mentioned equally as a resource and a strain.

This reflection on the deficit orientation displayed within the interviews will be more closely examined in section ‘7.2 Moldova-Transdnistria Trust Map’.

To summarize the main finding from the analyses reported in this section, 20 of the 21 previously identified trust conditions were independently mentioned by the interviewees in both groups. Therefore, the qualitative data of the CTMI justify the usages of the conditions as the foundation for the Trust Map.

The next section explores in more detail the quotation which had been coded under the code *Others*. This category is of special interest to examine, if the set of 21 trust conditions is comprehensive.

### 7.1.3. *Results From the Trust Code Others*

The trust code *Others* codes all quotations that were mentioned by the interviewees, to be relevant of trust, but cannot be captured by the 21 trust conditions (see also 6.3.2 ‘Trust Map Booklet’ & Appendix E ‘Trust Map Booklet’). The quotations coded under *Others* can be differentiated between explicit and implicit quotations (see 6.3.1 ‘Description Trust Map’) As previously explained, explicit quotations are quotations which are linked directly by the interviewee to trust. Implicitly mentioned refers to quotations which hold an indirect link to trust and thus are interpreted by the coder as trust related (see 5.3.3 ‘Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder ’ & 6.2 ‘Conflict Map Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder ’) For the implicit coding the context was of relevance. Only statements were coded as implicit and interpreted as trust relevant when the context in which they were uttered indicated that they impact trust between the parties

Table 27 lists trust conditions, which were explicitly mentioned by the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees and could not be coded with the 21 conditions of the Trust Map.

Table 27.

*Other trust conditions explicitly mentioned by Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees*

<b>condition</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>strain</b>	<b>ress</b>	<b>neutral</b>
No specific themes/ Individual case	<b>1</b>	1	0	0
Sincerity	<b>4</b>	0	2	2
<b>total</b>	<b>5</b>	1	2	2
ress = resource				

As previously mentioned under ‘7.1.2 Conflict & Trust Map Interview – Condition Confirmation’, only five quotations are coded under *Others*. As *Table 27* displays, one quotation is an individual case that cannot be linked to a specific trust condition. Four of the five quotations however, are referring to *Sincerity*. The interviewee expressed that the other side should be sincerer in order to be trusted. The following quotation illustrate, that the other side is trusted, based on the perception that they are interested being involved in solving the shared problem: “That would be a discussion and all of those groups from the border, they are interested in making a decision, how to resolve their problems and how to use their situation better, for better, for good. (TD: 24\_QC:88)” This pattern repeats for all quotations, explicit and implicit, coded under *Others*, as *Table 28* reveals.

Table 28.

*Other trust conditions explicitly and implicitly mentioned by Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees*

<b>condition</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>strain</b>	<b>ress</b>	<b>neutral</b>
No specific themes/ Individual condition	<b>3</b>	2	0	1
Sincerity	<b>6</b>	0	3	3
total	<b>9</b>	2	3	4
ress = resource				

When adding the implicit quotations, a total of nine quotations were coded under *Others*. Three quotations were individual cases that cannot be linked to any trust conditions. Six quotations captured the same theme: trust based on the perception that the other party is sincere. The sincerity can also include self-interest. Even so, the Trust Map includes the condition *Loyalty – Self-Interest*, the self-Interest in this condition serves a more selfish notion, and adds to lack of trust – based on the perception that the other side cannot be trusted, since they take advantage of one. The self-interest in sincerity actually adds to trust: Trust is based on the perception that is serving the other sides self-interest to be sincerely in the interaction with each other. It operationalized in this manner the concept of working trust from Kelman (2005) (see also 1.2.2 ‘Trust Construct’) The following quotation illustrates this understanding:

Second, [I trust them because] people from Transdnistria know that we have more links with the west when it comes to organizing dialogues, projects or round tables. So

they are happy that with the help of Moldova they might also gain something through these projects. (MD:29\_ID:90)

Based on the theoretical backing it stands to reason to consider to add *Sincerity* to the Trust Map, which will be reflected in the Chapt. 9 ‘Conclusion: Where is the Trust?’ However, for the comprehensiveness of the Trust Map it can be disregarded. A total 303 explicit trust quotations were coded (see Table 25), only 5 were coded as *Other*, accounting for less than 2% of all explicit quotations. Combining explicit and implicit quotations, a total of 1015 trust relevant quotations were coded (see Table 29), nine of them as *Others*, accounting for not even 1 % of all quotations. Based on this finding, it can be said that the Trust Map is sufficient comprehensive.

The first two sections provided first evidence that the 21 previous identified trust conditions are relevant for the trust relations between Moldovan and Transdnistrian. The second section then explained that the Trust Map is sufficiently comprehensive being able to code more than 95% of trust related quotations.

In summary, it can be said that, for the Transdnistrian conflict from the 21 pre-identified conditions, 20 conditions are of high relevance to understanding and measuring trust in the Moldovan –Transdnistrian relations. This conclusion is based on the fact that 20 of these 21 were identified explicitly as meaningful for trust by the interviewees who were themselves members of large-group conflict parties. Furthermore, the analysis of the TMQ displays an overwhelming perception that all 21 conditions are relevant for trust, justifying their use in the Conflict & Trust Map for analyzing the trust relationship between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees. It strengthens the set of 21 conditions that in the Moldovan – Transdnistrian interview only one more theme appeared, that holds the potential of a conflict condition. And finally, since the conditions were developed prior to their assessment within the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict context, and were, with the exception of *Discreetness*, confirmed in this large-group conflict, it stands to good reason that these conditions can also be found in other large-group conflicts.

## **7.2. Moldova-Transdnistria Trust Map**

Having established the relevance of the 21 trust conditions, this section focuses on the trust relationship between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees. More precisely it

elaborates, which trust conditions are experienced missing and adding a strain on the trust relationship and which conditions are experienced as existing, thus fostering trust. As elaborated previously, the Trust Map derives its data from two sources, the CTMI and TMQ. The following section reports first the results from the CTMI and then those from the TMQ. In a final step, comparisons are made between the two the trust instruments. In Chapt. 8 ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’ the results will be put into relation with the Conflict Map.

#### **7.2.1. *Conflict Trust Map Interview (CTMI)***

When it comes to coding trust quotations, the trust coding scheme indicates whether or not a specific trust condition is missing or less fulfilled (strain), is present or good fulfilled (resource), or is referred to in a neutral manner without specifying whether it is missing or present in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian trust relations. Table 29 lists the frequency of all 21 trust conditions for both groups, including explicit and implicit quotations.

Table 29. *Frequency of Trust Conditions in Moldovan and Transdnistrian Interviews. Elaborated in text.*

rank	Trust Moldova Conditions	total	strain	ress	neut.	total %	accum %	rank	Trust Transdnistria conditions	total	strain	ress	neut.	total %	accum %
1	15. Security	52	42	5	5	10.55	10.55	1	16. Compatibility	59	34	16	9	11.30	11.30
2	5. Fairness	51	45	0	6	10.34	20.89	2	5. Fairness	56	43	3	10	10.73	22.03
3	7. Loyalty – Self-Interest	46	43	1	2	9.33	30.22	3	18. Benevolence	39	29	7	3	7.47	29.50
4	13. Knowledge Accuracy	46	36	5	5	9.33	39.55	4	15. Security	36	32	1	3	6.90	36.40
5	17. Integrity	46	40	3	3	9.33	48.88	5	11. Receptivity	34	17	7	10	6.51	42.91
6	16. Compatibility	29	9	18	2	5.88	54.77	6	7. Loyalty – Self-Interest	29	29	0	0	5.56	48.47
7	2. Competence/ Ability	25	19	1	5	5.07	59.84	7	2. Competence/ Ability	28	19	3	6	5.36	53.83
8	1. Availability	20	8	7	5	4.06	63.89	8	20. Reciprocity	28	9	8	11	5.36	59
9	3. Predictability	20	17	1	2	4.06	67.95	9	13. Knowledge Accuracy	27	22	1	4	5.17	64.37
10	11. Receptivity	20	13	3	4	4.06	72.01	10	17. Integrity	27	24	2	1	5.17	69.54
11	18. Benevolence	20	14	4	2	4.06	76.06	11	9. Overall trust	25	14	6	5	4.79	74.33
12	10. Promise fulfillment	19	13	2	4	3.85	79.92	12	1. Availability	24	7	10	7	4.60	78.93
13	6. Honesty - Dishonesty	16	10	3	3	3.25	83.16	13	19. Accessibility	24	5	14	5	4.60	83.52
14	14. Competence for Delivery	15	12	2	1	3.04	86.21	14	3. Predictability	22	20	0	2	4.21	87.74
15	20. Reciprocity	15	6	5	4	3.04	89.25	15	21. Empathy	20	16	1	3	3.83	92
16	9. Overall trust	12	7	2	3	2.43	92	16	10. Promise fulfillment	13	9	2	2	2.49	94.06
17	8. Openness with information	11	5	3	3	2.23	93.91	17	14. Competence for Delivery	13	11	1	1	2.49	96.55
18	21. Empathy	11	8	0	3	2.23	96.15	18	6. Honesty - Dishonesty	10	7	0	3	1.92	98.47
19	19. Accessibility	10	1	8	1	2.03	98	19	12. Authenticity	5	3	0	2	0.96	99.43
20	12. Authenticity	9	3	2	4	1.83	100	20	8. Openness with information	3	0	3	0	0.57	100.
21	4. Discreetness	0	0	0	0	0.00	100	21	4. Discreetness	0	0	0	0	0.00	100.
total		493	351	75	67	100		total		522	350	85	87	100	



Just as the previous tables, Table 29 ranks the trust condition according to their frequencies separated for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews combined (*total*). For both groups Table 29 further differentiates how often the condition is mentioned as a strain or resource (*ress*) or in a neutral manner (see Appendix E, ‘Trust Map Booklet’). The table also indicates the percentage accumulated by each condition in relation to all explicitly mentioned trust conditions (%). The final row reports the accumulated percentage (*accum %*). A description of the trust condition is provided in the Trust Map Booklet (Appendix E).

It is notable that the report of strain is a dominant pattern, as Table 29 reveals. Both groups display in the interviewees a deficit orientated attitude regarding existing trust conditions. From the 493 quotations coded for trust in the Moldovan interviews, 351 are deficit orientated, accounting for 71% of all Moldovan quotations. From the 20 coded conditions, 14 are primary described as missing or negative fulfilled, thus being a strain on trust. Four are balanced between strain and resource, and only two conditions are described as positive fulfilled, thus being a resource for trust. From 522 quotations for trust in the Transdnistrian interviews, 350 are deficit orientated, accounting for 67% of all Transdnistrian quotations. From the 20 coded conditions, 16 are primary described as missing, only one is balanced between strain and resource, and three conditions are described as resources. Accessibility, as already mentioned, is the only resources condition shared with the Moldovan group.

Among the most frequently mentioned conditions and experienced on both side as mainly missing is the trust condition *Fairness*. The condition was mentioned with the 2<sup>nd</sup> highest frequency in both groups. Both groups feel that their counterpart doesn’t treat them fairly. The following quotation illustrated how Transdnistrian group link the lack of fairness as not being treated equal: “They [Moldovans] do not want to have dialogues on equal positions. They do not see Transdnistria as the other part of the dialogue. They want to impose us their decisions.(TD: 25\_UU:83)” On the Moldovan side, the focus tends to be more on the lack of fair treatment, as shown in the interaction between villages located on the Moldovan and Transdnistrian unofficial border:

One of the villages [...] is under the jurisdiction of Moldova but all the territories, lands, fields and all the manufactory plants were under the jurisdiction of Transdnistria. As a result, people were not allowed to go and work on their lands or use their manufactory plants. (MD: 19\_CN:12)

While both sides report unfair behavior of the other group towards them, they tend to put the emphasis differently. The Moldovan interviewees tend to emphasize concrete unfair behavior, such as that the Transdnistrian do not give them access to their fields. The Transdnistrian focus more on the equality component of fairness – not being treated fair by the Moldovan manifest in the perception that they are not treated as an equal partner.

As previously mentioned, when it comes to the overall trust relationship between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian, the analysis of the interviews reveals, the majority of trust conditions are reported as missing or negative fulfilled. The Moldovan group reports only two conditions which are experienced as existing; the Transdnistrian group reports three conditions. Shared for both groups is the perception that *Accessibility* is well developed between each other. The Moldovan group also reports *Compatibility* and the Transdnistrian group *Availability* and *Openness with information* as resource. Out of these three conditions, *Compatibility* is most intriguing, since it is diametric opposite experienced in the two groups. While the Moldovan interviewees stress their compatibility with the others side, from 29 quotations condition, 18 quotation refer to the condition as existing, two mention it as important for trust and only nine quotations are strain-focused statements. The perception of *Compatibility* is a direct opposition to the Transdnistrian group. In the Transdnistrian group, *Compatibility* is the most frequent coded condition, with 59 quotations, however, 34 coded as *Compatibility* a lacking and therefore reported as a strain in the Transdnistrian narratives (see Table 29) This distribution is not picked up by the Trust Map Questionnaire and will be analyzed in more depth under section 7.2.3 ‘Comparison Between CTMI & TMQ’. It plays an important role when trust is put into relation to conflict and will be elaborated in Chapt. 8 ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’.

The following section focuses on the distribution of the trust conditions in terms of their perception as being strains or resources. Building on the understanding that trust and the trust conditions are a continuum and not a dichotomy characteristic (see 6.3.2 ‘Trust Map Booklet’) they can be experienced and described in a threefold manner—as a strain, resource, or neutral—it can be misleading to look only at their overall distribution. For example, the trust condition *Reciprocity* was code with 28 quotations in the Transdnistrian group is reported eight times as present, qualifying it as one of the more frequent coded resources (see Table 29). The eight quotations however do not reflect that *Reciprocity* was also coded with nine quotations as absent in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relationship. Therefore the

conditions are reported as percentages reflecting how often they were reported as a strain and resources, disregarding neutral statements in the calculation. Excluding the neutral statements ensures that the impact of a condition as a resource or strain is fully recognized. Neutral statements only reiterate the relevance of the condition for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian trust relationship without indicating if the condition is present or lacking in the relationship. The following quotation gives an example for a neutral quotation for the trust conditions *Knowledge Accuracy* and *Openness with information*. The quotation followed the questions, what are for you the most important factors to be able to trust the other representatives. “Mutual information. And discussing about the future. (TD:10\_VI: 252).

As can be seen, for the interviewee *Knowledge Accuracy* and *Openness with information* are important to trust the others, but the quotation does not indicate if these conditions are found or not found in the current trust relationship.

Table 30 list the trust conditions for each group, in their frequency as strain. The composition of the table was based on the following procedure: To be included in the top rank, their overall number of quotations as a strain on trust, first the mean is calculated, for the average frequency of all conditions ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 16.71$ ,  $n_{quotations} = 351$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 16.67$ ,  $n_{quotations} = 350$ ). For example, in the Moldovan group, the mean of conditions reported as a strain is  $\bar{x} = 16.71$  (see Table 30). Second, the conditions are separated into two groups, the conditions which frequency is above and below mean. And in a third step the conditions are ordered within their block (above and below the mean, indicated by dotted line) finally ranked by percentages, reflecting how absolutely they were reported as strain or resource. This procedure helps to avoid an over-interpretation. For example, as can be seen in Table 30, the condition *Authenticity* is mentioned 100% of the time as strain on trust on the Transdnistrian side. However, overall it was only mentioned five times, being less present as a strain as a for example *Compatibility*, with is 68% of its quotations coded as a strain, but being reported much more frequent (with 34 strain quotations, 16 resource quotations and 9 neutral (see Table 29) Table 30 therefore reports the mean of all trust conditions, and orders the conditions according to their percentages when above the mean and then again, when below the mean, separating the two section with a dotted line.

Table 30.

*Trust condition mentioned as strain in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews*

<b>Trust-MD</b> $\bar{x} = 16.71$					<b>Trust-TD</b> $\bar{x} = 16.67$				
rank	condition	lack	% lack	total	rank	condition	lack	% lack	total
1	5. Fairness /	45	100	51	1	7. Loyalty-Self-interest	29	100	29
2	7. Loyalty-Self-Interest	43	97.73	46	2	3. Predictability	20	100	22
3	2. Competence/ Ability	19	95.00	25	3	15. Security	32	96.97	36
4	3. Predictability	17	94.44	20	4	13. Knowledge Accuracy	22	95.65	27
5	17. Integrity	40	93.02	46	5	5. Fairness	43	93.48	56
6	15. Security	42	89.36	52	6	17. Integrity	24	92.31	27
7	13. Knowledge Accuracy	36	87.80	46	7	2. Competence/ Ability	19	86.36	28
8	21. Empathy	8	100	11	8	18. Benevolence	29	80.56	39
9	10. Promise fulfillment	13	86.67	19	9	11. Receptivity	17	70.83	34
10	14. Competence for Delivery	12	85.71	15	10	16. Compatibility	34	68.00	59
11	11. Receptivity	13	81.25	20	11	21. Empathy	16	94.12	20
12	18. Benevolence	14	77.78	20	12	6. Honesty	7	100	10
13	9. Overall trust	7	77.78	12	13	12. Authenticity	3	100	5
14	6. Honesty -	10	76.92	16	14	14. Competence for Delivery	11	91.67	13
15	12. Authenticity	3	60	9	15	10. Promise fulfillment	9	81.82	13
16	8. Openness with information	5	62.50	11	16	9. Overall trust	14	70	25
17	20. Reciprocity	6	54.55	15	17	20. Reciprocity	9	52.94	28
18	1. Availability	8	53.33	20	18	1. Availability	7	41.18	24
19	16. Compatibility	9	33.33	29	19	19. Accessibility	5	26.32	24
20	19. Accessibility	1	11.11	10	20	8. Openness with information	0	0	3
21	4. Discreetness	0	0	0	21	4. Discreetness	0	0	0
<b>total</b>		<b>351</b>	<b>71.20</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>total</b>		<b>350</b>	<b>67.05</b>	<b>522</b>

Note: Trust conditions are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

First of all, Table 30 shows that, when focusing on strain, the distribution of the 21 trust conditions is quite different for the two groups. The closest match is the trust condition *Loyalty – Self-Interest*, which is strongly experienced as strain on the trust relationship for both groups. In the Moldovan group, the condition is the second highest rank as strains in the group. Overall the Moldovan interviewees describe it to 98% described as strain-focused, with a total of 43 quotations, leaning towards (selfish) self-interest or the absence of loyalty.

In the Transdnistrian group, it the condition ranks in the top position. The Transdnistrian interviewees report *Loyalty – Self-interest* to a 100% as a strain (29 quotations). While for both groups the strain on trust through the perception of the other group's (selfish) self-interest appeared in multiple themes in the conflict dynamic, in the Moldovan group it was primarily observed in deteriorating trust in the political elite and will be elaborated upon in greater detail under 8.3.2 'Elites: Criticism against The Elites'). For the Transdnistrian group, (selfish) *Self-Interest* is most pronounced in the perception of Moldova's interests. The Transdnistrian interviewees ascribe three selfish interests to the Moldovans: (1) the Moldovan interest in Reunification. This interest is linked to (2) economic interest. The economic interest also is seen as the reason why Moldova strives (3) towards European integration. In other words, Transdnistrian account of *Self-Interest*, which is associated with a lack of *Loyalty*, is mainly associated with Moldova's interests in reuniting and therefore acquiring economic gains, as the following quotations illustrates:

There are some parties that want to expand the territory of Moldova and to reunite the left and the right part of the Dniestru River. More than that people see that Russia offers its economic and military support to Transdnistria and Moldova wants to take control over Transdnistria's economic potential. (TD:27\_CU:113)

The interests of both the Moldovan and Transdnistrian groups, including the self-proclaimed interests as well as ascribed interests by their counterpart, are part of the Conflict & Trust Map and will be elaborated upon in 8.2.2 'Conflict Category: Perception of Parties' Interests'. When looking at the above section, it replicates the pattern that the response in the CTMIs are mainly deficit orientated. Table 30 displays how the 350 quotations per group indicating strains on trust are distributed over the 20 trust conditions. For the Moldovan group, the 350 quotations amount to a total of 71% for all quotations uttered in the context of trust. For the Transdnistrian group, deficit oriented statements made up 67% of all statements.

In the following I will present the distribution of the quotations in which the trust conditions are expressed as a resource. The conditions are listed in Table 31 order regarding their appearance as a resource. Table 31, like Table 30, reports the mean for all quotations, that describe trust as a resource ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 3.75$ ,  $n_{quotations} = 75$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 3.38$ ,  $n_{quotations} = 71$ ), and separates the condition into two blocks, regarding if the uttered quotations per condition is above or below the mean. Just as in Table 30 the condition are then finally ranked by percentages, reflecting how absolutely they were reported as resource

Table 31.

*Trust condition mentioned as resource in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews*

Trust-MD $\bar{x} = 3.75$					Trust-TD $\bar{x} = 3.38$				
rank	condition	lack	% lack	total	rank	condition	lack	% lack	total
1	19. Accessibility	8	88.89	10	1	19. Accessibility	14	73.68	24
2	16. Compatibility	18	66.67	29	2	1. Availability	10	58.82	24
3	1. Availability	7	46.67	20	3	20. Reciprocity	8	47.06	28
4	20. Reciprocity	5	45.45	15	4	16. Compatibility	16	32.00	59
5	18. Benevolence	4	22.22	20	5	9. Overall trust	6	30.00	25
6	13. Knowledge Accuracy	5	12.20	46	6	11. Receptivity	7	29.17	34
7	15. Security	5	10.64	52	7	18. Benevolence	7	19.44	39
8	12. Authenticity	2	40.00	9	8	8. Openness with information	3	100.00	3
9	8. Openness with information	3	37.50	11	9	10. Promise fulfillment	2	18.18	13
10	6. Honesty	3	23.08	16	10	2. Competence/ Ability	3	13.64	28
11	11. Receptivity	3	18.75	20	11	14. Competence for Delivery	1	8.33	13
12	9. Overall trust	2	22.22	12	12	17. Integrity	2	7.69	27
13	14. Competence for Delivery	2	14.29	15	13	5. Fairness	3	6.52	56
14	10. Promise fulfillment	2	13.33	19	14	21. Empathy	1	5.88	20
15	17. Integrity	3	6.98	46	15	13. Knowledge Accuracy	1	4.35	27
16	3. Predictability	1	5.56	20	16	15. Security	1	3.03	36
17	2. Competence/ Ability	1	5.00	25	17	4. Discreetness	0	0.00	0
18	7. Loyalty-Self-Interest	1	2.27	46	18	12. Authenticity	0	0.00	5
19	4. Discreetness	0	0.00	0	19	6. Honesty	0	0	10
20	21. Empathy	0	0.00	11	20	3. Predictability	0	0.00	22
21	5. Fairness	0	0.00	51	21	7. Loyalty-Self-Interest	0	0.00	29
<b>total</b>		<b>75</b>	<b>15.21</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>total</b>		<b>71</b>	<b>13.60</b>	<b>522</b>

Note: Trust conditions are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

There are two interesting differences between the distribution of resource-focused and strain-focused statements. First, as stated before, there are considerable differences between the frequency with which statements were resource- or strain-focused. From the 493 quotations on the Moldovan side, only 75 quotations described a resource, accounting for only 15% of all statements Moldovan. On the Transdnistrian side, 71 quotations describe a

resource out of a total of 522, accounting for 14% of all statements. The numbers demonstrate once more the deficit orientation within the CTMI. Secondly, when it comes to resource focus, there is actually a similarity between the two groups. For both groups, the main resource conditions are *Accessibility*, *Availability*, *Reciprocity*, and *Compatibility*. Of greatest interest is *Compatibility*, which is the fourth highest ranking trust category by the Transdnistrian group. Out of 59 *Compatibility* statements, 16 (32%) were described as a resource. *Compatibility* as resource appears mainly in the context in which Transdnistrian interviewees mention that families are living on both sides of the Dniester or when shared tradition are reflected upon: “It helps [to trust each other] because in the most part there are the same traditions among people on the both sides and they also have relatives and friends on the both sides of the River. (TD:27\_CU:140)” While these notions are expressed, at the same time *Compatibility* is also described by 34 (68%) of the *Compatibility* statements as a strain on trust in the Transdnistrians group (see Table 30). The lack of compatibility is mainly expressed when the Transdnistrians interviewees stress their need for independence and base their argumentation on the issues which separate them from the right bank. Frequently the interviewees point out that the new generations of Moldovans and Transdnistrians, consisting of children born after the civil war, grew up separately from each other. This separation manifests itself on multiple levels, as expressed in the Transdnistrian quotation: “There exists a big difference between the mentality of the young people from Transdnistria and young people from Moldova [...] the language is different etc.(TD:22\_PU:9)” The idea that *Compatibility*—a trust condition that has the potential to serve as a resource—is not shared by the next generation explains why it is expressed as both a resource and strain. This reflects the high complexity of the trust relationship. Depending on the context, a condition may fall on the side of resource or strain.

How this phenomenon, that trust conditions can act as strain and resource, impacts the conflict, will be further analyzed in Chapter Eight ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’. In the context of this chapter it is important to recognize that while they may be overwhelmingly expressed as missing, there are also themes in which the conditions may be a resource. Trust and the trust conditions have to be seen therefore as a continuum and not a dichotomy characteristic. The following two quotations from a Transdnistrian journalist illustrate the continuum of *Compatibility*. In the first quotation he expresses the lack of compatibility between the new generations on both sides: “And now we have got a generation which does not know about the war in 1992, but

instead they know that Transdnistria is an independent state. [...] The same time, Moldova has got a generation which considers themselves Romanian. (TD:28\_IX: 41)” The same interviewee also points out, that there is still a shared culture, and also mentioned explicitly a folk singer, that can bring both banks together through their shared culture, their shared roots:

We need to make an approach to people of culture. And this is a neutral group which is really good to be taken into consideration from both sides. For example, [name not understood], one of the Moldavian singers, without problems, he can make concerts in Transdnistria and Moldova also. [...] Nobody sees an enemy in him. They see everything: culture, folk music. These are our roots. (TD:28\_IX: 55)”

The continuum understanding is best seen in Table 29, which lists the overall frequency and then separates each condition according to how often it is listed as a strain or resource. For researchers and interveners it is useful to explore in which regions the conditions are also experienced as a resource and build upon with intervention. This was partly illustrated in the previous section on the example of *Compatibility*.

In conclusion, the CTMI provides in-depth information about the prevalence of the different trust conditions, which impact trust. Chapter 1 introduced the Wheel of Trust, as a possible metaphor (see Figure 2).

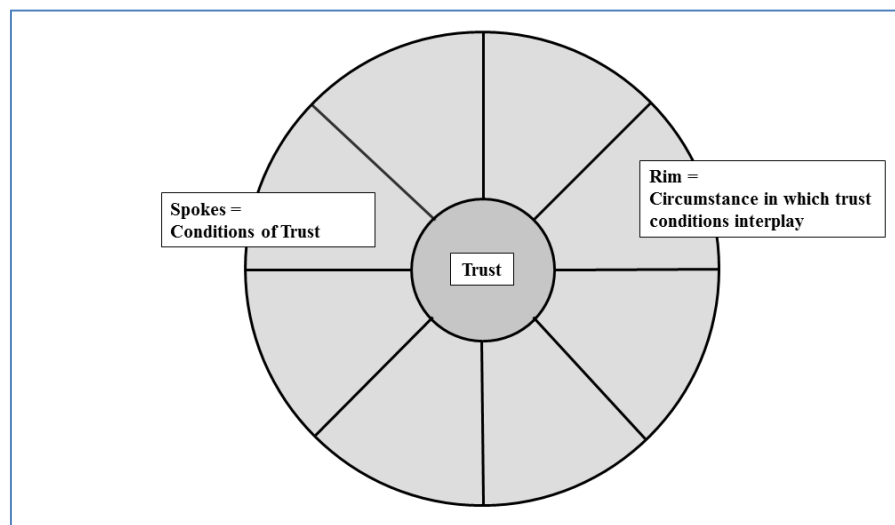


Figure 2. Wheel of Trust

Data from the CTMI reveal that the trust conditions are mainly deficit-oriented, affecting trust as a strain. For concrete intervention, the data gathered and organized raises awareness for third party interveners. Reflection on the findings of Table 29, displays that



both groups feel they are not treated fairly by the counterpart. Trust from Transdnistrian interviewees into Moldovans are strained mainly by the perception that they are not treated equally – a situation that can easily appear in conflict moderation talks. Having this information upfront, helps the moderator to be more sensitive in reactive towards notions of inequality that may arise between representatives of both groups.

Another important red light is the ambiguous role of *Compatibility*. The Moldovan interviewees trust the Transdnistrians, based on the perception that they are compatible, sharing the same background, values, even goals of a better life. This perception is only partly shared by the Transdnistrians interviewee, which rather stressed differences, mainly to back their position of being an independent entity. If not aware of this possible conflicting perception, the situation can arise, in which the Moldovan perception of perceived sameness is violated by the Transdnistrians, with the potential to lead to a trust violation on the Moldovan side. The Trust Map helps to raise the awareness of the moderator for such a potential difficult situation and give the opportunity to either address openly or prepare strategy how to handle a potential explosive situation. CTMI are able to capture and display the ambiguities, since it can describes trust conditions as deficits- and resources-focused.

#### 7.2.2. *Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)*

The present section focuses on the distribution of the conditions within the TMQ. Due to the quantitative nature of the data (quantitative versus qualitative) the section differ in its internal structure from the section on the CTMI. As mentioned under ‘7.1.1 Trust Map Questionnaire – Condition Confirmation’ the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) measures the 21 previous identified trust conditions on a 7-point scale, framing each condition through two anchors. Sample items include “It’s usually hard for us to get in touch with them.” versus “We can get easily in touch with them, when we need to” (*Availability*) and “We are not treated fairly by them” versus “They treat us fairly” (*Fairness*). Twenty-one interviewees filled out the TMQ—13 on the Moldovan side and eight on the Transdnistrian side—contributing to the data reported (see also 5.4.2 ‘Trust Map Questionnaire TMQ’)

Table 32 displays the descriptive statistics for the 21 conditions, separated for Moldovan and Transdnistrians group.

Table 32.

*Descriptive statistic values of the TMQ*

Trust condition	n	Moldova				n	Transdnistria			
		$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max		$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max
1 Availability	13	4.46	2.18	1	7	8	6.50	0.53	6	7
2 Competence/ Ability	12	4.5	1.83	2	7	8	4.63	1.51	2	7
3 Predictability	13	4	2.42	1	7	8	4.25	1.83	2	7
4 Discreetness	13	3.46	1.98	1	7	8	5.25	1.16	4	7
5 Fairness	13	2.46	1.66	1	6	8	3.88	1.25	2	6
6 Honesty	13	4.15	1.82	1	7	8	4.50	0.93	3	6
7 Loyalty – Self-Interest	14	3.21	1.81	1	6	8	2.12	1.73	1	6
8 Openness with information	14	3.14	1.66	1	7	8	4.25	1.04	3	6
9 Overall Trust	14	4.5	1.79	1	7	8	4.75	1.67	2	7
10 Promise Fulfillment	14	3.5	1.79	1	6	8	4.88	1.73	2	7
11 Receptivity	14	3.57	2.28	1	7	8	4.25	1.83	2	7
12 Authenticity	14	3.64	1.98	1	7	8	4.00	1.51	2	6
13 Knowledge Accuracy	14	3.5	1.95	1	7	8	3.88	1.46	2	6
14 Competence for Delivery	13	3.08	1.85	1	7	8	4.50	1.31	2	6
15 Security	14	4.35	1.98	1	7	8	5.37	1.19	4	7
16 Compatibility/	14	4.38	2.68	1	7	8	4.25	1.58	2	6
17 Integrity	14	3.21	1.53	1	7	8	3.75	1.83	2	7
18 Benevolence	14	3.57	1.79	1	7	8	4.00	1.31	2	5
19 Accessibility	14	5.5	1.95	1	7	8	6.38	1.06	4	7
20 Reciprocity	14	4.07	2.06	1	7	8	4.63	1.69	2	7
21 Empathy	14	3.86	1.02	1	7	8	3.75	1.16	2	5

Note: Trust conditions are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

A total of 15 TMQs were filled out by the Moldovan interviewees, however three respondents missed some of the conditions, explaining the consistent n=14 on the Moldovan side. As can be seen through the indication of the minimum and maximum values in each condition, the Moldovan interviewees used the entire scale and ranged from (1) negative to (7) positive. While the Transdnistrian group also used the full range for the majority of conditions, it is notable that the four conditions *Availability*, *Discreetness*, *Security* and *Accessibility* are only rated within the range of four to seven. The variability in response across the different trust conditions suggests that individuals responded thoughtfully and that the TMQ profiles (see Table 33) reflect the specific perceptions of the groups.

The TMQ allows researcher and practitioner to first draw a quick trust profile and then to compare the Moldova and Transdnistria trust perceptions on the different trust conditions. The TMQ profiles for Moldova and Transdnistria are displayed in Table 33. The 7-point scale of the TMQ increased by 1. To reflect the variety of the answer the scale of the aggregated profiles increase by 0.5. An anchor explanation is offered next to each condition, the elaborate description can be found in the Trust Map Booklet (Appendix E). The profiles are reported with a rounded arithmetic mean. The TMQ-profiles give indication which trust conditions are positive developed and can be possible resources, which conditions are negative pronounced and therefore can be a strain for possible conflict intervention. The TQM profiles also display symmetries and asymmetries between the two groups regarding the prevalence of the each trust condition.

Table 33.

*Trust Profile for Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees*

Trust Condition		Lack														Presence													
1 Availability	Being able to get in touch with the others	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
2 Competence/ Ability	Others handle things competently	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
3 Predictability	Others' behavior is predictable or stable	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
4 Discreetness	Others will treat confident information in a sensitive	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
5 Fairness	Others treat one equally, fairly, with dignity	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
6 Honesty	Others are honest when dealing with one	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
7 Loyalty - Self-Interest	Others use mistakes against one, is act in own interest	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
8 Openness with information	Others share essential information	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
9 Overall Trust	Others are trustworthy	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
10 Promise Fulfillment	Others follow through on promises made	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
11 Receptivity	Willingness of others to take in one's ideas	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
12 Authenticity	Others are authentic in their self-expressions	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
13 Knowledge Accuracy	Others state and know facts correctly	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
14 Competence for Delivery	Others are able to deliver upon agreements	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
15 Security	Others will not hurt one's group	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
16 Compatibility	Others share background, values, beliefs or interests	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
17 Integrity	Others act in accordance with a moral code	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
18 Benevolence	Others are concerned about one's overall welfare	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
19 Accessibility	One can relate to others on a personal and emotional level	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
20 Reciprocity	Others are trusting and cooperative towards one's group	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															
21 Empathy	Others are willing to understand what is important for one's group	(1)	1.5	(2)	2.5	(3)	3.5	(4)	4.5	(5)	5.5	(6)	6.5	(7)															

**Moldovan (MD) n = 13****Transdnistrian (TD) n = 8**

What is apparent is the overall positive rating of the majority of conditions in both groups. In the Moldovan group only four out of 21 conditions were rated as a strain. The positive ratings in the Transdnistrian group were even more pronounced, with only one

condition (*Self-Interest-Loyalty*) rated as a strain. This pattern of positive responses stands in contrast to the data reported in the CTMI (see ‘7.2.1 Conflict Trust Map Interview (CTMI)’). This is especially interesting since the TMQ was filled out *after* the interviewees finished the CTMI. It surprises that while in the interview setting the interviewees primary report on strains on the trust conditions, in the questionnaire, they reveal a difference, more resource-orientated pattern. The implications of the two different orientations displayed in the CTMI and TMQ will be elaborated under ‘7.2.3 Comparison Between CTMI & TMQ’.

In the following section analyzing the TMQ profiles, two approaches are used to interpret the TMQ. First, trust conditions that are mutual described as a strain or resource by both groups are identified. Second, statistical comparisons are made between the average scores of the two groups.

*Shared trust conditions.* Shared refers to the direction of response, if a condition is mutually described in both groups as a strain on or resource for trust. To avoid over-interpretation of minor differences displayed in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian means per condition, the following two rules of interpretation were applied to determine whether a condition was a shared resource or strain: (1) The rounded mean for both sides should not be neutral ( $\bar{x} = 4$ ) equal four. Furthermore, the means of both groups has to display the same direction in their responses, both means have to be either on the left of the neutral point to be consider a *shared* condition. (2) A t-test comparing the means of the conditions has to be non-significant for both groups (i.e.,  $p > .05$ ). A significant t-test would suggest that there is a systematic difference between the two group scores that cannot be accounted for by chance variability.

*Significant differences in trust conditions.* Given the small sample sizes in the present data, a larger alpha cutoff value will be used in order to be more conservative about whether or not the group means are considered to be similar enough to one another. To be reported as a different trust condition, the trust condition has to show significantly difference through a t-test ( $p < .06$ )

*Shared trust conditions.* A total of five trust conditions fulfill the criteria of being shared: (2) *Competence/ Ability*; (7) *Loyalty – Self-Interest*; (9) *Overall Trust*; (15) *Security* and (19) *Accessibility*. Table 34 displays the descriptive statistic values of these shared conditions.

Table 34.

Descriptive statistic values of the shared conditions in the TMQ

Trust condition Described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E		Moldova					Transdnistria				
		n	$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max	n	$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max
2	Competence/ Ability	12	4.5	1.83	2	7	8	4.63	1.51	2	7
7	Loyalty – Self-Interest	14	3.21	1.81	1	6	8	2.12	1.73	1	6
9	Overall Trust	14	4.5	1.79	1	7	8	4.75	1.67	2	7
15	Security	14	4.35	1.98	1	7	8	5.37	1.19	4	7
19	Accessibility	14	5.5	1.95	1	7	8	6.38	1.06	4	7

As seen in Table 34 the conditions *Competence/ Ability*; *Overall Trust*; *Security* and *Accessibility* were all perceived by both groups to be resources, while *Loyalty – Self-Interest*, was perceived by both groups to be strains.

In spite of the ongoing conflict for more than 20 years, it is remarkable and encouraging for intervention efforts that the trust condition *Overall Trust* is considered positive for both groups ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 4.5$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.79$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 4.75$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.67$ ;  $t(15.73) = -3.21$ ,  $p > .05$ ). The TMQ also shows that on both sides the trust condition *Security* is emphasized more as a resource ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 4.5$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.98$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 5.5$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.19$ ;  $t(19.89) = -1.31$ ,  $p > .05$ ), indicating that both groups tend to perceive the other side not as a threat. Especially on the Transdnistrian side, the minimum value in the condition is the mid-point 4 (see Table 34) indicating that the participants tend to agree more with the anchor “We have nothing to fear from them” than with the counterpart “They will hurt us”. This result is of interest since it differs from the results of the CTMI (see Table 30), and will be elaborated upon further in ‘7.2.3 Comparison Between CTMI & TMQ’. More precisely, the different contribution of the TMQ and CTMI will be elaborated on the example *Compatibility*, illustrating where the strength of each instrument lies and the blind spots.

The trust condition with the highest rating as a resource on both sides is (19) *Accessibility* ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 5.5$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.95$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 6.5$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.06$ ;  $t(20) = -1.16$ ,  $p > .05$ ) with the - positive anchor “We can relate to them on a personal level.” When the groups come into contact with one another, they both feel that they can relate to the other group on a personal level, enabling personal and meaningful interactions. This finding is consistent with that from the CTMI (Table 31) supporting the understanding of *Accessibility* as a trust resource for conflict interventions.

The final shared resource condition is *Competence/ Ability* ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 4.5$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.83$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 4.63$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.51$ ;  $t(14) = -0.09$ ,  $p > .05$ ) with the positive anchor “they handle things in a positive manner we agreed upon” Both groups indicate, when agreeing with the other side upon specific issues, they believe the others will handle these issues with competence. *Competence*, as a relevant trust is less visible in the CTMI data. However, when speaking about the Competence of the other side, the interviewees tend to express more the opinion, that their counterpart is lacking *Competence* (see Table 29). In Chapter 8, I will elaborate how this strain orientated perception interweave with the conflict category (see 8.3.2 ‘Elites: Criticism against The Elites’)

The TMQ also revealed shared perceptions of strain in the trust relationship. The trust condition *Self-Interest - Loyalty*, captures the belief that the other group is likely to take advantage of your own group and the perception that the other group members are acting in a selfish manner. This condition was rated to be a strain for both the Moldovan participants and the Transdnistrian participants. ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 3$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.81$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 2$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.73$ ;  $t(20) = 1.38$ ,  $p > .05$ ). This finding is consistent with the results from the CTMI concerning the *Self-Interest - Loyalty* condition (Table 30).

*Significant differences in trust conditions.* While the Moldovan and Transdnistrian participants report the previously mentioned five trust conditions in similar patterns (i.e., consistently a resource or consistently a strain), there were significant differences between group mean scores for the trust conditions (1) *Availability* and (4) *Discreetness*, and marginally significant results ( $p < .10$ ) in the conditions (5) *Fairness* and (14) *Competence for deliver*. Table 35 displays the descriptive statistic values of these shared conditions.

Table 35.

*Descriptive statistic values of the significant different conditions in the TMQ*

	Trust condition Described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E	n	MD				TD				
			$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max	n	$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max
1	Availability	13	4.46	2.18	1	7	8	6.50	0.53	6	7
4	Discreetness	13	3.46	1.98	1	7	8	5.25	1.16	4	7
5	Fairness	13	2.46	1.66	1	6	8	3.88	1.25	2	6
14	Competence for Delivery	13	3.08	1.85	1	7	8	4.50	1.31	2	6

As seen in Table 35 the condition *Availability* was perceived by both groups to be resources, while *Fairness* was perceived by both groups to be strains. *Discreetness* and

*Competence for Delivery* were both perceived as a strain in the Moldovan group, but fall on the side of a resource in the Transdnistrian group.

The trust condition *Availability* is reported for both groups as a resource. The ability to get in touch with the others is experienced on both sides ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 4.46$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 2.18$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 6.5$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 0.53$ ).

While this experience is shared by all eight Transdnistrian respondents, as indicated by the small standard deviation, the Moldovan respondents indicate within their group a higher in how they perceive the feasibility of getting in touch with the counterpart. This comparatively high Transdnistrian mean score and low standard deviation accounts for the significant difference in perceptions of the two groups ( $t(14.22) = -3.21$ ,  $p = .006$ ). These results mirror the findings of the CTMI in which both sides repeatedly declare that they are able to easily meet with the other group and to cross between both sides. The CTMI data also reveal, that it more common for Transdnistrian participants to travel to Moldova—especially its capital Chisinau—than vice versa. The difference will be also taken up in Chapt. 8 ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’, since it affects the conflict category good friendly contact/communication/ relationship with the other side (see 8.2 ‘2<sup>nd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties’)

The next condition in which the Transdnistrian group differs significantly from the Moldovan group is (4) *Discreetness*—the understanding that the others will treat confidential information in a sensitive manner. It is experienced as a resource by the Transdnistriens, while it is reported to be neutral to a strain by the Moldovan participants ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 3.46$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.98$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 5.3$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.16$ ). In other words, the Transdnistrian interviewees indicated that they believed Moldovans would keep secrets confidential, while this sentiment was not shared but the Moldovan participants regarding the Transdnistriens. The fact that *Discreetness* was not mentioned as a relevant trust condition in the CTMI and was not coded in a single interview makes it difficult to gauge its impact in the context of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian trust relations. However the fact that it was coded as important in the TMQ ( $\bar{x} = 4.12$ ,  $sd = 0.85$ ; (see Table 24) indicates that it is a possible resource for the Transdnistrian group members but a possible strain for the Moldovan participants.

So far, both groups differed significant in the reported trust conditions. In the next two conditions the difference is only marginal significant. When it comes to *Competence for Delivery* the Transdnistriens’ scores indicate a neutral position regarding the Moldovan ability to deliver upon agreements while the Moldovan interviewees appear to believe that the



Transdnistrians are not able to deliver upon reached agreements ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 3.08$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.85$ ;  $\bar{x}_{TD} = 4.5$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.31$ ). The difference in mean scores was marginally significant ( $t(18.47) = 2.06$ ,  $p = .054$ ).

The final condition in which the two groups differ *Fairness*. This condition is neutral reported in the Transdnistrian ( $\bar{x}_{TD} = 3.9$ ,  $sd_{TD} = 1.25$ ), not leaning on either the side as a strain or resource. It is more negative in the Moldovan sample ( $\bar{x}_{MD} = 2.46$ ,  $sd_{MD} = 1.25$ ). The difference between group means was marginally significant ( $t(19) = -2.3$ ,  $p = .053$ ). In addition, these findings for the Transdnistrian group in the TMQ do not match those from the CTMI, in which (5) *Fairness* was primarily reported as a strain on the trust relationship (see Table 30).

Summing up, the TMQ measured the explicit trust ratings and can be converted them into aggregate means for each group. For the specific data gathered in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian context the profiles reveal that the majority of trust conditions are for both sides moderately positive (13 out of 21) (see Table 33), a pattern that differ from the data gathered with the CTMI.

The benefit of the TMQ to assess trust between conflict parties is two-folded. As demonstrated in the previous section, it allows drawing and comparing a trust profile for the conflict parties. It can be administrated on a larger number, creating a trust profile for the large-group. Based on the profile, confidence building measures can be developed reflecting the specific characteristics of the trust relationship of the conflict parties.

The TMQ also can be administrated for a small sample, as in the previous study and geared explicitly towards participants of specific conflict intervention measure, such as conflict moderation workshops. For the latter it creates also a possible entry on explicit trust work. The TMQ can provide the moderator with graphic data about the often implicit and hard to grasp construct of trust. The TMQ-profiles can be handed back to the participants, as an illustration of the group perception of each as well as the individual response, which can be a base for explicit work on trust with the participants.

In the next section, the findings from the TMQ will be compared with the findings from the CTMI. The strengths and shortcomings of each instrument will also be reflected on in addition to how they complement each other.

### 7.2.3. *Comparison Between CTMI & TMQ*

The Trust Map derives its data from two sources, the CTMI and TMQ. The former relies on qualitative interview data, while the latter uses quantitative data collected through questionnaires. After reviewing both instruments individually, it can be said that the two instruments complement each other, regarding the data and information they contribute: The TMQ enables a quick assessment for possible sources of strain and resources as well as pronounced asymmetries in the perceptions of trust conditions. The CTMI can inform these numbers with conflict-specific details in addition to enriching them with contextual circumstances that can increase or constrain the trust between the parties.

What is surprising and important to notice is the different pattern of findings for the two instruments. The CTMI displays a deficit orientation, reporting the majority of the conditions as strains, while the TMQ reveals a general resource orientation. Table 36 compares the patterns between the two instruments, the numbers indicating how many of the conditions were reported as a strain, resource or balanced. Balanced indicate that in the CTMI an even number of quotations were uttered as a strain or resource. For the TMQ balanced means, that the condition received an average mean of three or four,

Table 36.

*Comparison Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) and Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) for deficit and resource orientation*

	Moldovan group			Transdnistrian Group		
	Strain	Resource	Balanced	Strain	Resources	Balanced
CTMI	14	2	4	16	3	1
TMQ	1	6	14	1	10	11

As mentioned above, the resource orientation of the TMQ is especially surprising since it was administered at the end of the interview in which interviewees spoke for approximately 1.5 hours about the conflict and its impact. It appears that the TMQ opens a different perception on the relation to the other side through the positive and negative framed anchors. It therefore is more neutral and captures trust also as a resource while interview tends to be more strain-focused.

The observed differences in whether a condition is perceived by a given group to be more of a resource or strain in the two instruments reflects the complex nature of trust, the context it occurs in, as well as the specific interaction. For example, the most pronounced difference between the CTMI and TMQ is found for the *Security* condition. *Security* is

reported in the TMQ for both groups as a resource, with a mean of 4.5 for the Moldovan group and with a mean of 5.5 for the Transdnistrian group. These mean scores indicate that both groups do not feel threat by each other.

In the CTMI however, from the 52 quotations coded for the condition *Security* in the Moldova group, 42 referred to it as a strain and only five described *Security* as a resource (see Table 29). When speaking about the lack of *Security*, the Moldovan interviewees mainly speak about the (threatening) presence of the Russian army in the region and that the relations to Transdnistria are perceived as instable, revealing a critical issue with the instruments. The interviewees can switch the reference points about whom the talk. This is partly intended, since the CTMI assess more than two parties. As introduced under 6.2.1 'Description Conflict Map' the Conflict Map is able to differentiate between the different relations. However, the Trust Map in its current state does not differentiate if an interviewee refers to the Moldovan-Russian or Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations. The reference change is apparent when it comes to the perception that *Security* exist between the two groups. This perception is mainly be based on the close relation between the civil societies. For example, one interviewee explained that "Many have relatives on the left side of the Dniester, we don't have and they don't have anything to be afraid of [from each other].(MD: IO\_4:101) "

In the Transdnistrian group, 36quotations referred to *Security*. 32 of these referred to it as a strain and only one described *Security* as a resource. Moldova is seen as a threat towards the security of Transdnistria, with a need of protection from it: "This speaks about the fact that people in Transdnistria feel more comfortable if this army [the Russian army] is present on our territory and it also speaks about the fact that they do not trust fully the other part [Moldova]." The one quotation describing *Security* as a resource mirrors the line of reasoning on the Moldovan side, that there is no threat due to the good relations between the two civil societies: "People from Transdnistria do not fight with people from the other side of the Dniester. They have good and friendly relations between them.(TD:35\_OD:85)"

It seems that the TMQ with its two anchors "They will hurt us" and "We have nothing to fear from them" puts the more forcefully expressed perceived threats into relation to the existing good relations between the civil societies and creates some awareness for these resources, resulting in the positive anchored TMQ scores.

Further research has to determine if the strain- focus of the CTMI and the resource-focus of the TMQ are specific for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian sample or if these pattern consist among others conflicts and interview samples.

In conclusion, it can be said that the two instruments—the CTMI and TMQ—are best administered together. The two procedures combined give a depth to study of the complex trust relationship. The CTMI areas the different shades in which the different trust conditions occur in the conflict specifics that can be easily lost in the quantitative data.

However, the CTMI is also time consuming. The TMQ offers by itself a means of gathering large amounts of information concerning the trust relationships between conflict parties. The TMQ allows collecting large amounts of data and, thus making the results more generalizable to larger groups. For the small sample of the present study the TMQ is valuable in a twofold manner: First of all, it provides quantitative data that lend themselves to comparison. Second, it made participants more aware of resource-oriented trust conditions, possibly yielding a more accurate big picture of the situation than would be found in the CTMI alone. While qualitative interviews provide richness, understanding these data which is not possible from questionnaires the TMQ also adds information, not captured by the CTMI. Therefore the two instruments complement each other. However one limitation of the TMQ results is the small number of administrated questionnaires and its lack of validation. Further research has to conduct a validation of the instrument and explore further if the resource-orientation is due to the sample, or the instrument. The experiences of current study showed that at least the Trust Map has to further developed in a manner to differentiate between the exact reference point, to which trust relation the interviewee refers to.

After (a) showing evidence that indeed the previously identified 21 conditions are relevant for the understanding of trust in large-group conflict, and (b) reflecting upon the specific trust relations between Moldova and Transdnistrian sample, including comparing the two used trust instruments, the chapter closes with the third objective of the dissertation to (c) increase the understanding how trust relates to conflict and to support the claim that trust is a crucial component of conflict dynamics.

### **7.3. Trust as a Crucial Component of Conflict Dynamics**

One important focus of the present research is to add to the understanding of the interplay between trust and conflict dynamics. The understanding that trust is a crucial component for understanding conflict leads to the question how exactly these association is

expressed. This last section of the chapter also addresses the applied research objective (2.1) by demonstrating *how* the trust condition relate to the conflict categories, thus proving insight of the structure of the Conflict & Trust Map (see Figure 9).

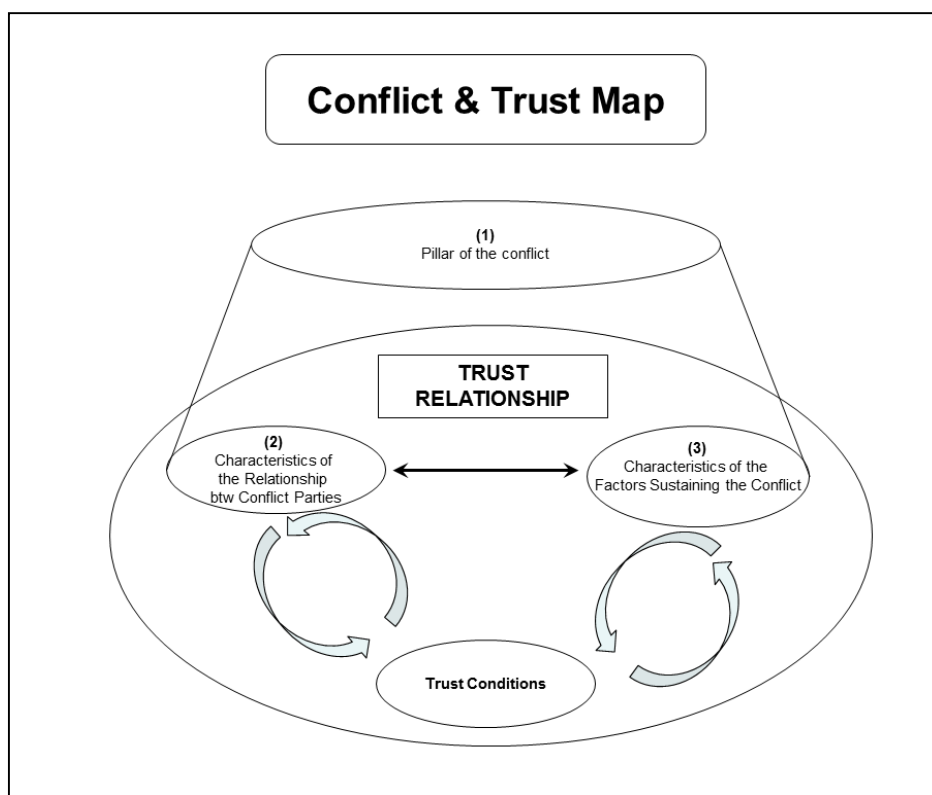


Figure 9. Conflict & Trust Map.

As elaborated in Chapter 6, the Conflict the figure shows the proposed interwoven relationship between conflict and trust among the Conflict Map's 2<sup>nd</sup> area "Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties", 3<sup>rd</sup> area "Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict", and the trust conditions. The 1<sup>st</sup> area, "Pillar of the Conflict" of the Conflict & Trust Map captures the corner stone of the specific conflict, such as conflict parties, terminology or perceived roots of the conflict (see Appendix D, 'Conflict Map Booklet). The 1<sup>st</sup> area is excluded from the following section due to its primary descriptive nature.

How exactly is the interwoven relationship between conflict and trust shaped? If trust is a crucial component in conflict, it should be associated with the main conflict categories. In accordance with Mayring (2002), it can be assumed that the main conflict categories are the most coded categories, reflecting in their frequency their relevance for the conflict. Therefore the following section looks specifically on the frequency distribution of the conflict

categories. In addition, it assesses how often the conflict categories are associated with trust. The association is operationalized when a quotation is coded in a conflict category as well as in a trust condition. For example, the following quotation is coded in the Conflict Map as *Good Friendly Contact/ Communication* and in the Trust Map as existence of *Benevolence*:

Well, I do not remember all of those steps but some of them were to recognize the diplomas given to the students of Transdnistria, some reforms in medicine and also something regarding the pensions given to old people...At that time we made a research here in Transdnistria and all those steps were seen with good eyes by the local people, everyone agreed with all those steps (TD: 23\_GD:29)

The quotation is an example in which the conflict category *Good Friendly Contact/ Communication* is interwoven with the trust condition *Benevolence*, since it holds both components, the conflict code *co-occur* with a trust condition. I will elaborate on the coding procedure in more detail, but it is important to note that the conflict and trust coding was done in separate sessions by the same person that happened in average two days apart from one another. Coding was done without displaying previous conducted codes, so that the co-occurrence is due to content, not coding procedure.

The relation between conflict and trust are analyzed for the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map. The main conflict categories of these were examined separately for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees in relation to their associated trust conditions. In a first step this is done mainly for frequency (How often are the conflict conditions associated with trust?) and in a second step on the content level (Which trust conditions are associated with the most prevalent conflict categories?). A more nuanced interpretation how the association between the trust and conflict manifest in context of the Transdnistrian conflict will be offered in the next Chapt. 8 ‘Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict’. In this chapter a more elaborate analysis of the frequency distributions will be reported.

The analysis for the co-occurrence, exploring if the main conflict categories of the Conflict Map are associated more associated with the trust conditions than the less prevalent categories are done with the tool Code-Relation Browser within the qualitative data analysis software MaxQDA. The tool Code-Relation Browser was used to visualize the relations between codes. The Code-Relation Browser also generates a table that shows how many text

segments any two codes are attached to, indicating the number of co-occurrences of codes. MaxQDA does not offer the possibility of analyzing these relations with quantitative measures such as correlation. However, the qualitative data reveal trends between which conflict categories and trust conditions close associations appear. These can be interpreted based. The following section lists the frequencies of the conflicts categories and their co-occurrence with trust conditions.

### 7.3.1. *Frequencies Conflict Categories and Their Relation to Trust Conditions*

The three conflict areas, covering different aspect of the conflict narrative, each consist of different subcategories (see 6.2.1 ‘Description Conflict Map’ & Appendix D). The 2<sup>nd</sup> area consists of nine subcategories and the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of 15 subcategories. For the following analysis, these categories are ordered regarding their frequencies *within* their respective conflict area. I will pay specific attention to the categories ranking in the top-third of each area. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> area, these are categories placed on ranks one to three and for the 3<sup>rd</sup> area one to five. Table 37 reports the frequency of the subcategories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> conflict area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” (column on the left) and their co-occurrence with trust condition (column on the right). The table is divided into the Moldovan group (tables on the left) and the Transdnistrian group (table on the right). The tables of each group are structured in the same manner. The structure of the partial complicated table is explained in the text below the table.

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties

Table 37. Conflict category frequency and code-relation frequency in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Conflict Map area for the Moldovan & Transnistrian interviewees. Elaborated in text.

rank	Moldovan group conflict category	n	n	co-occurrence conflict category & trust condition	rank	rank	Transnistrian group conflict category	n	n	co-occurrence conflict category & trust condition	rank
1	5.7 TD as suppressor [...]	38	↔ 35	5.7 TD as suppressor [...]	1	1	6.7 MD as suppressor [...]	40	↔ 65	6.7 MD as suppressor [...]	1
2	5.9 Perception of TD's interests	25	↔ 29	5.9 Perception of TD's interests	2	2	6.3 TD-MD: good friendly contact [...]	33	↔ 46	6.3 TD-MD: good friendly contact [...]	2
3	5.10 Perception of TD's fear	21	↔ 23	5.10 Perception of TD's fear	3	3	6.9 Perception of MD's interests	25	↔ 38	6.8 MD as unpredictable partner	3
4	5.5 MD-TD: difficulties in communication [...]	17	↔ 23	5.5 MD-TD: difficulties in communication [...]	3	4	6.8 MD as unpredictable partner	23	↔ 29	6.4 TD > MD feeling of superiority [...]	4
4	5.3 MD-TD: good friendly contact [...]	17	22	5.8 TD as unpredictable partner	5	5	6.4 TD > MD feeling of superiority [...]	18	27	6.9 Perception of MD's interests	5
6	5.8 TD as unpredictable partner	15	19	5.4 MD > TD feeling of superiority [...]	6	6	6.2 TD-MD: similarities [...]	16	19	6.2 TD-MD: similarities [...]	6
7	5.2 MD-TD: similarities [...]	13	15	5.2 MD-TD: similarities [...]	7	7	6.6 TD-MD: difficulties in contact [...]	13	19	6.6 TD-MD: difficulties in contact [...]	6
7	5.6 MD-TD: difficulties in contact [...]	13	10	5.3 MD-TD: good friendly contact [...]	8	8	6.5 TD-MD: difficulties [...]	11	12	6.5 TD-MD: difficulties in communication [...]	8
9	5.4 MD > TD feeling of superiority on TD	11	7	5.6 MD-TD: difficulties in contact [...]	9	9	6.10 Perception of MD's fear	1	0	6.10 Perception of MD's fear	9



*Frequency distribution conflict categories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area* (left section). The first column (*rank*) indicates the position of the category regarding how frequent it was coded. The second column (*conflict category*) states the name of the conflict category. A descriptive of the category can be found in Appendix D ‘Conflict Map Booklet’. The third column lists the total number of quotations (*n*) per category. This frequency is compared with the frequency of the co-occurrence between conflict categories and trust conditions, which are listed on the right.

*Frequency distribution co-occurrence conflict category & trust condition* (right section). The right section starts with the total number of co-occurrence (*n*) per category. The ‘*n*’ indicates how often the quotations in the conflict category were also coded as a trust quotation. The second column lists the conflict category for which the co-occurrence is assessed. The final column (*rank*) indicates the position of the category regarding how many co-occurrences appear –the conflict categories who has the most co-occurrence with trust, appears on first position descending to the conflict category with the lowers co-occurrence of conflict and trust

Table 37 reveals that the most frequent conflict condition in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area (rank 1-3), are also the categories on both sides primarily associated with trust. The most frequent conflict conditions are also the ones that mainly determines the conflict narrative in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area. For the Moldovan group, the most dominant conflict categories are the perception of *Transdnistria as a suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude*, and *Perceptions of Transdnistria’s interest and fear’s* (see Appendix D ‘Conflict Map Booklet’) All of three conflict categories display also a high co-occurrence with trust. Quotations that were coded under one of these three conflict condition were also, independently from the Conflict Map coding, coded for the Trust Map as relevant for one or more of the 21 trust conditions.

This same pattern, in which the prevalent conflict categories are also the categories with the stronger trust association, repeats itself in the Transdnistrian interviewees. The top two conditions, *Moldova as a suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* and *Good friendly contact/communication/ relationship to Moldova* are also the conditions with the most frequent co-occurrences to trust conditions. This pattern is not consistent for the third position. The conflict category with the third most frequent trust association (n=38), is the perception of Moldova as an unpredictable partner. However, with a total of 23 quotations in the conflict category that ranks it in the fourth position, it is not part of the top three of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area for the Conflict Map. Nevertheless, it still fits the pattern that dominant conflict conditions are also highly associated with trust.

Due to the possibility of one statement having multiple codes (because one quotation can describe more than one trust condition) it is possible, though rare, that the number of trust codes exceeds the total number of quotations in a conflict category, as can be seen for the category *Moldova as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* and *Good friendly contact/communication/ relationship to Moldova*.

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict

Table 38. Conflict category frequency and code-relation frequency in the 3<sup>rd</sup> conflict map area for the Moldovans and Transdnistrian interviewees. Elaborated in text.

rank	Moldovan group	n	n	co-occurrence conflict category & trust condition	rank	rank	Transdnistrian group	n	n	co-occurrence conflict category & trust condition	rank
conflict category						conflict category					
1	11.4 Elites: criticism	57	44	11.8 Propaganda	1	1	11.4 Elites: criticism	54	47	11.4 Elites: criticism	1
2	11.8 Propaganda	39	37	11.4 Elites: criticism	2	2	11.15 Language [...]	50	43	11.13 Separation: further separation	2
3	11.15 Language [...]	36	31	11.15 Language [...]	3	3	11.13 Separation: further separation	47	31	11.15 Language [...]	3
4	11.6 [...] legal aspect	35	30	11.6 [...] legal aspect	4	4	11.8 Propaganda	29	30	11.8 Propaganda	4
5	11.14 Travel Issues	30	22	11.14 Travel Issues	5	5	11.3 Education	22	18	11.3 Education	5
6	11.9 Safety [...]	17	16	11.9 Safety [...]	6	6	11.9 Safety [...]	18	18	11.9 Safety [...]	
6	11.3 Education	17	11	11.3 Education	7	7	11.2 Migration	16	15	11.12 Separation of young generation	6
8	11.13 Separation: further separation	16	11	11.13 Separation: further separation	7	7	11.6 [...] legal aspect	16	14	11.6 [...] legal aspect	6
9	11.7 Media [...]	15	11	11.11 Separation of land & villages	7	7	11.14 Travel Issues	16	13	11.14 Travel Issues	8
10	11.5 Indifference towards the conflict	14	9	11.5 Indifference towards the conflict	10	10	11.1 Corruption	10	6	11.7 Media [...]	
10	11.1 Corruption	14	8	11.7 Media [...]	11	11	11.5 Indifference towards the conflict	9	5	11.2 Migration	9
12	11.11 Separation of land & villages	8	7	11.1 Corruption	12	12	11.12 Separation of young generation	8	5	11.5 Indifference towards the conflict	
12	11.2 Migration	8	6	11.12 Separation of young generation	13	13	11.7 Media [...]	7	4	11.1 Corruption	
14	11.10 Separation: of family & friends	5	5	11.10 Separation of family & friends	14	14	11.11 Separation of land & villages	3	0	11.11 Separation of land & villages	
15	11.12 Separation of young generation	3	2	11.2 Migration	15	15	11.10 Separation of family & friends	0	0	11.10 Separation of family & friends	

Table 38 reports the frequency of the subcategories in the 3rd conflict area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” (column on the left) and their co-occurrence with trust condition (column on the right) for the Moldovan group (Table on the right) and Transdnistrian group (table on the left). The tables of each group are structured in the same manner as Table 37.

Table 38 demonstrates that the pattern of dominant conflict categories are also associated with trusts conditions repeats itself in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map and is even more pronounced than in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area. The top third of conflict categories (separated by a dotted line from the other categories) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area are also the most frequent association with one or more trust conditions. The factors that are reported the most frequent by the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees to sustain the conflict, are also most frequently coded independently for the Trust Map and coded as relevant for one or more of the 21 trust conditions.

It is important to note that the observed pattern is not because a frequently coded category simply has a higher likelihood to be coded more frequently with trust. This can be ruled out since the quotations are coded out of free standing text, meaning that the text segments are not pre-marked as possible quotations. In the raw interviews, each statement has the same likelihood of becoming a quotation used for analysis, and the beginning and end of a quotation is not pre-determined but is instead shaped only by the context (see also 5.6.2 ‘Parsing’) The conflict and trust coding was done by the same person in separate sessions that occurred in average two days apart from one another. Coding was done without displaying previous conducted codes. Given the fact that each interview ran for at least 1.5 hours, the transcripts were long and made an extremely large number of possible quotation codes possible. Furthermore, theoretically it would be possible for a conflict category with a few quotations to still coincide with a high number of trust conditions, due to the possibility of multiple coding (see also 5.3.3 ‘Intercoder Agreement/ Intercoder ’) Though, this was not the case. It can therefore be said with relative confidence that (a) any co-occurrences are not by chance but due to actual associations in the content and that (b) the prevalent code categories also display the higher amount of trust association is also due to content.

An alternative explanation of the overlap between the conflict categories and the trust conditions is a possible overlap in code definitions for the conflict categories and a trust conditions. The following section will address this possibility by looking in greater detail at

which specific trust conditions are associated with the conflict categories. , and will show that the co-occurrence is not due to an overlap in the coding schemes.

### 7.3.2. *Content Comparison: Conflict Category – Trust Conditions Relations*

The previous section focused mainly on the frequency distributions and the association between most frequent conflict categories and trust conditions. The following section explains in greater detail which trust conditions are associated with the most prevalent conflict categories. For explanatory purposes, one conflict category will be described for each area. The description of the conflict categories is found in the Conflict Map Booklet (Appendix D) and for the trust conditions in the Trust Map Booklet (Appendix E).

This section also addresses the question of whether the associations between the conflict categories and trust conditions are due to overlapping code definitions and will present evidence of discriminating validity, showing that overlapping conflict categories and trust conditions are not due to the code definitions.

#### *2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties*

From the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties”, the conflict category *Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* is chosen to explore the close association between this conflict category and trust conditions.

The conflict category *Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* addresses the perception that the other side is suppressing its own group. It also includes statements that refers to the other party as being either *aggressive* or having aggressive intentions towards one or ones’ group. Statements in which interviewees are critical towards the other side in the sense of negative attribution are also coded in this conflict category.

This category is chosen as an example because due to its frequency in both groups it affects for both groups the conflict narratives in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area. The conflict category is with 38 quotations the second frequent category for the Moldovan group and with 40 quotations the most frequent coded category in the Transdnistrian group. For both groups, the category is highly associated with trust with 35 associations in the Moldovan group and 65 in the Transdnistrian group (see Table 37).

From the 35 quotations in the Moldovan interviews, 25 relate to one or more trust condition, equaling 65% of all aggressor/suppressor quotations. In the Transdnistrian group 36 quotations (90%) out of 40 are also coded as a trust condition. Since some of the quotations are coded with multiple trust conditions, the total amount of co-occurrence

between the conflict categories and trust conditions amount to 40 in the Moldovan group and 85 in the Transdnistrian group. Table 39 lists which concrete trust conditions in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group are related conflict category *Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude*, reporting the amount of overlapping quotations (n).

Table 39.

*Frequency of trust condition associated with the conflict category Others as an suppressor/ aggressor/negative attribution.*

Moldovan group			Transdnistrian group		
rank	trust conditions	n	rank	trust conditions	n
1	5. Fairness	9	1	5. Fairness	16
2	17. Integrity	6	2	18. Benevolence	10
3	22. Others	5	3	17. Integrity	7
4	15. Security	4	4	15. Security	5
5	7. Loyalty-Self-Interest	3	5	3. Predictability	4
6	21. Empathy	2	6	2. Competence/ Ability	3
7	3. Predictability	2	7	6. Honesty	3
8	13. Knowledge Accuracy	1	8	10. Promise fulfillment	3
9	14. Competence for Delivery	1	9	21. Empathy	3
10	16. Compatibility	1	10	11. Receptivity	2
11	18. Benevolence	1	11	13. Knowledge Accuracy	2
<b>total</b>		<b>35</b>	12	20. Reciprocity	2
			13	7. Loyalty-Self-Interest	1
			14	9. Overall Trust	1
			15	14. Competence for Delivery	1
			16	16. Compatibility	1
			17	22. Others	1
			<b>total</b>		<b>65</b>

Notes: For description conflict category, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D  
For description trust conditions, see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

As seen in Table 39, the two most frequent trust conditions for the Moldovan group are *Fairness*, with nine matching quotations with the conflict code *Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* and *Integrity* with six matching quotations. In the Transdnistrian group the two most frequent trust conditions coinciding with the conflict category are *Fairness* (as in the Moldovan group) and *Benevolence*. *Fairness*, with 19 matching quotations, actually makes the highest amount of overlap between all trust and

conflict conditions. The relation of *Fairness* to the conflict category *Moldova as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* in the Transdnistrian group mirrors the Moldovan data in which *Fairness* is also the highest associated trust condition with this conflict category. The Transdnistrian group differs from the Moldovan group in the association of the trust condition *Benevolence* with 10 overlapping quotations. In Chapt. 8, I will elaborate in detail how the link between the trust conditions and the conflict category concrete manifests in the Moldovan and Transdnistrians conflict narratives.

In the following I will demonstrate that these co-occurrences are not due to similar coding schemes. In both groups *Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* is primary associated with *Fairness*. *Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* is defined in the coding scheme as any statement that refers the other sides suppress their own group members, or act aggressive toward the other group. It furthermore refers to any statement that contains a negative attribution or statement in which interviewees are critical towards the other side (see Appendix E, 'Trust Map Booklet'). This understanding is only partial congruent with the definition of the trust condition *Fairness* which includes statements when interviewees express that they are not treated fairly by the other side or are not treated equally. While the *Fairness* definition includes a connotation of negative attribution, not every quotation that holds a negative attribution also included the notion that the attribution is based on some form of unfair treatment. In the case of *Fairness* it is therefore justified to assume that the co-occurrence is therefore not due to similar definition but to content.

In the both group the conflict category is also highly associated with *Integrity*. In the Moldovan group is the second most associated trust condition with the conflict category and in the Transdnistrian the third. *Integrity* is defined as, the understanding that the other side acts in accordance with a moral code (see Appendix E, 'Trust Map Booklet'). It could be plausible to say that not acting in accordance with a moral code also includes critical attribution towards the other side. While these two coding schemes are display a close connotation in the coding scheme, it is also important to note that of 38 overall quotations coded in conflict conditions *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* for the in the Moldovan group, 32 are not associated with the trust condition *Integrity*. In the Transdnistrian group from the 40 overall quotations, 33 were not coded with *Integrity*, This supports the claim that *Integrity* is distinct from the conflict categories.

The final trust condition frequently associated with the conflict condition *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* is *Benevolence* in the Transdnistrians group. *Benevolence* is defined that the others are concerned about one's overall welfare and bases

trust on the belief that other side is concerned about one's overall welfare (see Appendix E, 'Trust Map Booklet').

The definition reveals proximity between the two codes, since it could be plausible to say that aggressive behavior also displays a lack of concern for one's welfare. In spite of the connotation, the co-occurrence between *Benevolence* and *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* 30 from the overall quotation in the Transdnistrian group are not associated with *Benevolence*.

The reflection on the coding schemes illustrated that proximity on the content level exists between the conflict category and the trust conditions. This proximity was to be expected since the co-occurrences are based on content related coding. While it is important to avoid a tautology even though the tautology cannot fully be avoided, it is also safe to assume that the co-occurrences are more due to the content. If the co-occurrence would be due to coding instruction, each quotation in the conflict category should have to be associated with the same trust condition, which was not the case. Also given the fact that the trust condition *Benevolence* is highly associated with the conflict condition *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* on the Transdnistrian side, but barely in the Moldovan group, indicates that it more an association based on the content and not on the coding scheme.

While an expected proximity on content does exist, the multiple associated trust conditions also illustrate the evasiveness of trust, which is partly rooted in its multidimensionality (see 1.2.2 'Trust Construct') Table 39 displays that the conflict category *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* is associated in the Moldovan group with 11 and in the Transdnistrian group with 17 trust conditions, all of the conditions contributing as a strain or resource to trust between the parties. On the one hand side it offers multiple entry points for a possible intervention. So can a moderator focus explicitly on strengthening the trust condition *Fairness* between the parties when working on the perception of each other as being aggressive. However, in order to improve trust he or she has also to address the perceived lack of *Integrity* and in the Transdnistrian group, the perceived lack of *Benevolence*. On the other hand, this multidimensionality gives the parties the possibility to elude themselves from the process by concentrating on the conditions which were not addressed yet. Nevertheless, understanding the associated trust condition also provides a more nuanced understanding how exactly the trust conditions shade the conflict conditions.



I will elaborate in chapter 8 the concrete Conflict & Trust Map for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees and describe in more detail the conflict category *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* and its associated trust conditions.

The previous section illustrated that the close link between the dominant conflict categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” on the example of *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution*. It has shown that the link is not due to just one closely associated condition, but through multiple. Nevertheless the main trust condition were identified for both groups, such as lack of *Fairness* and *Integrity* for both groups and additionally lack of *Benevolence* for the Transdnistrian group (see Table 39).

The next section will look into the trust association with the dominant conflict categories in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”.

### *3<sup>rd</sup> Area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict*

For the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map, two categories are chosen to explore the close link between trust and the dominant conflict categories: *Propaganda* and *Language: Difference in Language* and. *Language: Difference in Language* is chosen for its important role in the conflict narratives: according to the official discourse the difference in language is perceived as one of the roots of the conflict (see Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transdnistrian Conflict’). *Propaganda* is chosen because its coding scheme displays close links to the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy*. This section therefore focuses on whether it is valid to claim that trust is a crucial component in the conflict dynamic, even though if these associations are partly due to the coding scheme. Additionally, even though the category *Propaganda* is not the most prevalent condition for both groups (see Table 38), it is one of the categories in the top third.

In both groups the conflict category *Propaganda* influences the conflict narratives. It In the Moldovan group it is the second frequent category in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area with 39 quotations and the third frequent category in the Transdnistrian group with 28 quotations (see Table 38) For both groups, the category is highly associated with trust, with 44 associations in the Moldovan groups and 30 in the Transdnistrian group

Out of the 39 quotations drawn from the Moldovan interviews, 28 relate to one or more trust condition, equaling 72 % of all propaganda quotations. In the Transdnistrian group, 21 quotations out of 29 are associated with at least one or more trust condition (73%). Table 40

lists which conditions in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group are related with the conflict category *Propaganda*, reporting the amount of overlapping quotations (n).

Table 40.

*Frequency of trust condition associated with the conflict category Propaganda*

Rank	Moldovan Group trust conditions	n	rank	Transdnistrian group trust conditions	n
1	13. Knowledge Accuracy	22	1	13. Knowledge Accuracy	11
2	5. Fairness	4	2	1. Availability	3
3	15. Security	3	3	15. Security	3
4	22. Others	3	4	5. Fairness	2
5	6. Honesty	2	5	6. Honesty	2
6	7. Loyalty -Self-Interest	2	6	9. Overall trust	2
7	9. Overall trust	2	7	10. Promise fulfillment	2
8	17. Integrity	2	8	16. Compatibility	2
9	1. Availability	1	9	2. Competence/ Ability	1
10	11. Receptivity	1	10	7. Loyalty -Self-Interest	1
11	16. Compatibility	1	11	14. Competence for Delivery	1
12	18. Benevolence	1	total		30
total		44			

Notes: For description conflict category, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D  
For description trust conditions, see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

As seen in Table 40, the most frequent trust condition for both groups is *Knowledge Accuracy* with 22 matching quotations in the Moldovan group and with 11 matching quotations in the Transdnistrian group. This co-occurrence is partly related due to an intended conceptual overlap between *Propaganda* and *Knowledge Accuracy*. The definition of *Knowledge Accuracy* is that “Others state and known facts correctly” the lack of *Knowledge Accuracy* is that “Others distorts the truth” with specifying that propaganda could be a distortion of facts (see Appendix E, Trust Map Booklet). The Trust Map Booklet creates and strengthens so a close link between the conflict category *Propaganda* and trust category *Knowledge Accuracy*. Propaganda is by definition information put forth by an outgroup serving specific conflict related interest of the outgroup and is perceived by an ingroup to be inaccurate or misleading.

While there is no question of a high concurrency between the conflict category *Propaganda* and *Knowledge Accuracy*, which manifest also in the high co-occurrence for both groups (see Table 40). From the total of 44 co-occurrences between the conflict category

*Propaganda* and trust in the Moldovan group, 50% are with the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy* (22 co-occurrences). In the Transdnistrian group, *Knowledge Accuracy* accounts for 1/3 of the co-occurrences. In spite of the high concurrency, the two codes are not fully redundant. For example *Propaganda* holds trust components, which are not fully covered by the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy*. *Propaganda* was coded 39 times in the Moldovan group and 29 times for the Transdnistrian group. If *Knowledge Accuracy* as a trust condition is disregarded from trust associations with propaganda in the Moldovan group, there are still 17 quotations associated with one or two trust conditions other than *Knowledge Accuracy*, accounting for 22 co-occurrences. In the Transdnistrian group, the pattern of associations also still exists; out of the 29 quotations, 13 are still associated with one or two trust conditions other than *Knowledge Accuracy*, accounting for 19 co-occurrences. That indicates that there are trust related components of *Propaganda* that is not congruent with *Knowledge Accuracy*. Even though there is an inherent connection between *Knowledge Accuracy* and *Propaganda* on the conceptual level, the two codes are not redundant.

Between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group, *Knowledge Accuracy* is used to code 73 quotations. Twenty-eight of these quotations coincide with *Propaganda* but the remaining 44 are either coded by themselves or in co-occurrence with other conflict categories. The same holds true for the *Propaganda* category. Between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group, *Propaganda* is used to code 68 quotations. Fifteen of these quotations coincide only with *Knowledge Accuracy*, 10 quotations were coded with *Knowledge Accuracy* and at least one other trust conditions. Furthermore 24 quotations are associated with *Propaganda* was associated with other trust condition, without *Knowledge Accuracy* and 19 quotation were not associated with any trust conditions. *Propaganda* therefore can vary in its relationship to trust. Similarly, although *Knowledge Accuracy* describes propaganda, there are many other conflict categories that may or may not be coded as *Knowledge Accuracy*, depending on the context. Thus, although there is some intrinsic conceptual overlap between the two, each code still serves a unique role. Further research should elaborate if the coding scheme for *Propaganda* and *Knowledge Accuracy* should be adjusted to loosen the inherent link. That decision should be based on data gathered in different large-group conflict contexts, where maybe propaganda plays a less important role for sustaining the conflict.

In conclusion, even though *Knowledge Accuracy* is the main trust condition associated with *Propaganda*, these two conditions are not mutually interchangeable. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8 under 8.3.3 'Propaganda' it becomes apparent that in spite of the conceptual link through the Trust Map Booklets for *Propaganda* and *Knowledge*

*Accuracy*, *Propaganda* has more facets to itself and holds the potential to affect mutual trust through straining different conditions, for example through the perception of unfair treatment or the perceived impact on security by the Moldovan or Transdnistrian groups.

The second category chosen to explore the close link between trust and the dominant conflict categories in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map is *Language: difference regarding language*. This category was chosen, for the important role language played in the outset of conflict in 1992 (see Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transdnistrian Conflict’) but also as a dominant category in sustaining the conflict.

With 36 quotations in the Moldovan group and 50 quotations in the Transdnistrian group (see Table 38) *Language* was coded in the top third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group. For both groups, the category is highly associated with trust, with 31 co-occurrences in each group.

Table 41.

*Frequency of trust condition associated with the conflict category language*

MD Group			TD Group		
Rank	trust conditions	n	rank	trust conditions	n
1	5. Fairness	9	1	11. Receptivity	9
	13. Knowledge				
2	Accuracy	3	2	16. Compatibility	6
3	15. Security	3	3	18. Benevolence	5
4	17. Integrity	3	4	15. Security	3
5	18. Benevolence	3	5	1. Availability	1
6	22. Others	3	6	3. Predictability/	1
7	11. Receptivity	2	7	5. Fairness	1
				13. Knowledge	
8	12. Authenticity	2	8	Accuracy	1
9	16. Compatibility	2	9	19. Accessibility	1
10	21. Empathy	1	10	20. Reciprocity	1
	total	31	11	21. Empathy	1
			12	22. Others	1
				total	31

Notes: For description conflict category, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D  
For description trust conditions, see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

As seen in Table 41, in the Moldovan group the trust condition *Fairness* is with nine matching quotations mostly associated with the conflict category *Language*. In the Transdnistrian group, the two most frequent trust conditions characterizing the *Language* conflict category are *Receptivity* with nine matching quotations and *Compatibility* with six quotations. That the two groups differ in the main associated trust condition is due to their respective conflict narratives. The Moldovan group associated with *Language* not being

treated as equal (lack of *Fairness*), the Transdnistrian group focuses more on the lack of being able to communicate with each other (lack of *Receptivity*) I will elaborate upon this issue in greater detail in Chapt 8 (see 8.3.4 ‘Language: Differences Regarding the Language’).

What is of interest, is that the conflict category *Language* repeats the same pattern as seen in the other two exemplary conflict categories: the high trust association of *Language* is not just due to the association with one condition, but with multiple trust conditions. In the Moldovan group, a total of ten trust conditions co-occur with the conflict condition *Language*. In the Transdnistrian group a total of 12 trusts conditions coincide with *Language*. This pattern holds true for the main conflict categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area as well. *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* (2<sup>nd</sup> area) is in the Moldovan group coincide with 11 trust conditions, in the Transdnistrian group with 17 trust conditions (Table 39). *Propaganda* (3<sup>rd</sup> area) coincides in the Moldovan group coincide with 12, in the Transdnistrian group even 11 trust conditions (see Table 40). As previously elaborated with the conflict category *Other as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attribution* the association of multiple trust condition reflects the multi-dimensionality of trust, as well its evasiveness. While having more than one trust condition available to address specific conflict categories, it also complicates the work of possible interveners. To address just one trust condition is not sufficient to tackle the multi-dimensionality of trust associated with dominant conflict categories. Assessing the conflict and trust dynamic can help to identify the main trust conditions associated with one conflict category, such as the lack of *Fairness* in the work with the Moldovan group and the lack of *Reciprocity* in the work with the Transdnistrian group. A content analysis of how these conditions apply and play out in the specifics of the Transdnistrian conflict is given in Chapt. 8 “Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on of the Moldovan – Transdnistrian conflict”.

#### **7.4. Summary: Trust in Large-Group Conflict**

The present chapter described support for the dissertation’s approach to understanding trust through the conditions that lead up to trust. Building on expert interviews, existing trust inventories (see Chapter 3), and qualitative (CTMI) and quantitative (TMQ) collected data in the real-world large-group conflict between Moldova and Transdnistria, evidence was found for the relevance of the pre-identified 21 trust conditions. Since the conditions were developed prior to their use in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict context, it stands to good reason that the trust conditions are also relevant in other large-group conflicts.

Furthermore, it was demonstrated that these trust conditions are relevant for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict dynamics. Following the school of quantitative content analysis (Mayring, 2002), allows the proposition that a high frequency in coding indicated an higher relevance of the respective codes. Under this proposition, the close link between the most prevalent conflict categories and the trust conditions supports the reasoning that trust is an important component for understanding conflict dynamics.

This chapter also illustrates the complex nature of trust and its trust conditions. Trust and the trust conditions cannot be understood in absolute terms, as either present or missing. Instead trust has to be seen as a dimensional concept that can appear in variety of ways, including apparent contradiction, reported as missing in one conflict area but existent in another.

The complexity supports the currently used approach to assess trust through the qualitative instrument of the CTMI and the quantitative instrument of the TMQ. In closing I reiterate the previous made point, that the CTMI complement each other. The CTMI is able to provide deeper insight into these contradictions while the TMQ assess the overall nature of the conditions in the conflict context.

## 8. Application: Conflict & Trust Map illustrated on the Moldovan – Transdnistrian Conflict

One of the main propositions of the dissertation is that a conflict assessment that does not consider the underlying trust relations does not allow a comprehensive understanding of the conflict dynamics. Trust, as an essential core component, underlies the majority of the conflict pattern. After providing evidence in Chapter 7 ‘Trust in Large-Group Conflicts’ that trust is a core component of conflict dynamics, I will illustrate in this chapter, on the example of the Moldova – Transdnistrian conflict how exactly trust conditions and conflict categories are closely interweaved. Furthermore, for some conflict category I will also demonstrate that in order to fully comprehend the subtleties of conflict dynamics and to react on them adequately through interventions a close consideration of trust is indispensable.

I will demonstrate it by covering the three areas of the Conflict & Trust Map, as first introduced in Chapter 6 (see Figure 9), and presents the results for each area from the Moldovan and Transdnistrian perspectives.

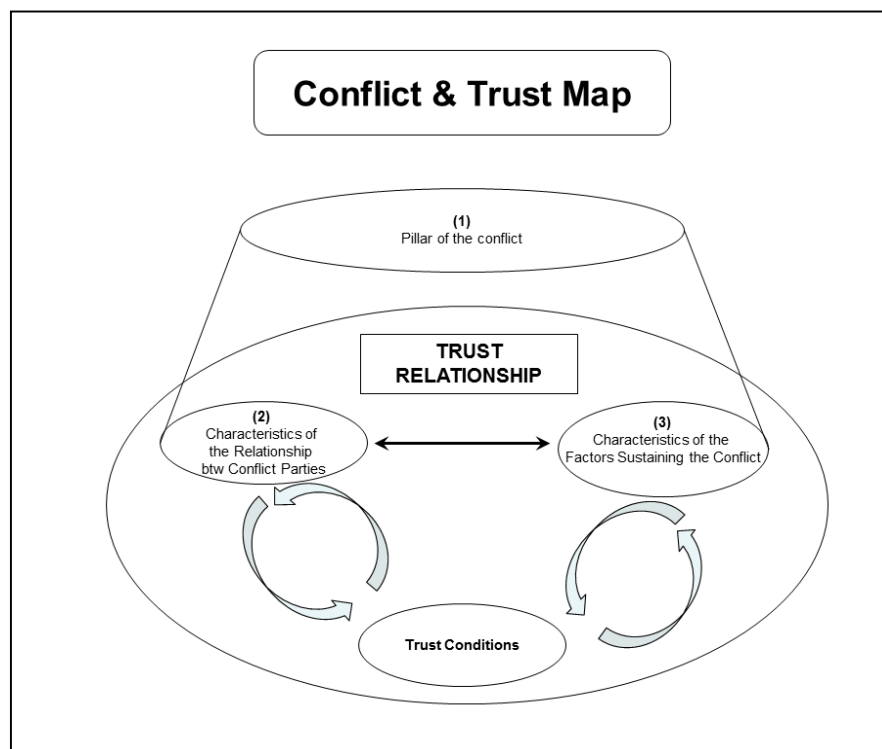


Figure 9. Conflict & Trust Map.

As elaborated in Chapt. 6, the figure shows the proposition of the interwoven relationship between conflict and trust among the Conflict Map's 2<sup>nd</sup> area of 'Characteristics

of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties’ and the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of ‘Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict’, and the trust conditions. Due to the structure of the Conflict & Trust Map, the nuanced reflection of trust takes place in the depiction of the 2nd area. The Conflict Map will open with the 1st area ‘Pillar of the Conflict’, paying close attention to the descriptive aspect of the Conflict & Trust Map, which do not directly impact the trust relations, but covers necessary topics for a comprehensive understanding. The chapter illustrates, how the specific quotations emphasize the dominant conflict categories and trust conditions, which impact the conflict narratives of the two groups.

The current chapter is divided into four sections. Sections one through three follow the outlines of the Conflict & Trust Map, and section four presents the conclusions. For each section, I describe the main findings, highlight similarities and differences between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian narratives, and delineate a comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map. The elaborated description for the conflict categories can be found in the Conflict Map Booklet (Appendix D) and for the trust condition in the Trust Map Booklet (Appendix E).

The sections are written with two lenses: the first lens describes how the Conflict & Trust Map is build based on the data from the Conflict & Trust Map Interview. Hence the first focuses on the procedure itself, titled as *‘summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework’*. The second lens focuses on the contribution of the Conflict & Trust Map; how does the data help for example a moderator for intervention work in large-group conflicts titled as *‘summary for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations’*.

## **8.1. 1<sup>st</sup> Area - Pillar of the Conflict**

The 1<sup>st</sup> area of the Conflict & Trust Map captures the different pillars of the conflict, which provide the reference points in which the conflict dynamics can play out. It is not directly associated with trust, but provides some descriptive background information. Therefore the following section on the 1<sup>st</sup> area does not reflect on the trust conditions or the trust relationship. The 1<sup>st</sup> area includes the perceived main stakeholders of the Transdnistrian conflict, what terminology the interviewees prefer for the conflict, and what roots they point to as underlying the conflict.

### **8.1.1. *Conflict Parties***

As expected, Moldova and Transdnistria were named as the main conflict parties. The majority of interviewees also touched upon the political arena of the Transdnistrian conflict and named Russia, Romania and Ukraine as additional conflict parties. The European Union



or more generally the West, including USA and OSCE, was also identified as a stakeholder. Table 42 captures the frequency per interview in which the parties were referenced as explicit stakeholders. It shows that alongside Moldova and Transdnistria, interviewees saw Russia as a key player. It also appears that EU and Ukraine play important roles, while Romania, as the neighbor on the East, has a much smaller influence.

Table 42.

*Frequency per interview with which party stakeholders are referenced. (MD = 20, TD = 17).*

<b>Perceived stakeholders</b>	<b>Moldovan</b>	<b>Transdnistrian</b>	<b>Total</b>
Moldova	18	15	33
Transdnistria	18	15	33
Russia	18	10	28
Romania	3	4	7
Ukraine	8	7	15
EU/West	10	10	20
US	3	6	9

Note: The frequencies exceed in total the number of 36 interviews conducted with Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees, since more than one stakeholder is mentioned per interview. 18 is the total of possible references per group

However, this impression alters after a closer examination. It becomes apparent that the interviewees list the Ukraine and the US in an additive manner, mainly mirroring the political 5+2 negotiation talks initiated by the OSCE (see also Chapt. 4 ‘Background: Transdnistrian Conflict’), as illustrated in this quotation: “5 + 2: Moldova and Transdnistria; Russia, Ukraine, OSCE, as observers EU and USA. (TD: 26\_XN: 89)” Although the Ukraine is listed as a stakeholder, the interviewee does not elaborate in what capacity or for which reason it would play a role. Therefore in a second assessment, I determined how often the interviewees elaborate the stakeholder’s role and (conflict-related) interest per interview. The following quotation is an example for an elaboration on Russia as stakeholder through its support for Transdnistria, and the EU as a stakeholder through its support for Moldova: “I mean that behind or in the support of Transdnistria are the Russian people and in support of Moldova are the majority of people from the European Union. (TD: 27\_CU:9)” The frequencies of the elaborated statements per interviews are displayed in Table 43

Table 43.

*Frequency per interview with which party stakeholders are elaborated. (N of interviewees = 20 MD, 17 TD).*

<b>Stakeholders with elaborated role or interest in the conflict</b>	<b>Moldovan (MD)</b>	<b>Transdnistrian (TD)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Moldova	18	15	33
Transdnistria	18	15	33
Russia	12	10	22
Romania	3	2	5
Ukraine	5	5	10
EU/West	7	7	14
US	2	2	4

The adjusted Table 43 reveals that interviewees barely follow up with the Ukraine's role in the conflict. In the ten cases the interviewees do elaborate, two interviewees described Ukraine's proximity to the West, which was more pronounced in 2009. In 2008, Ukraine became a candidate to join the NATO (NATO, 2012). The interviewees assume that Russia perceives Ukraine closeness to the west as a threat. Having a pro-Russian Transdnistria to the west of the Ukraine becomes an important asset for Russia:

It is very difficult for Ukraine to be in NATO since Russia is so close to Ukraine. It is the same as somebody has a knife and uses it. So Transdnistria is not against Moldova, Transdnistria is being used by Russia in this very important area especially for Ukraine, because Ukraine is big and economically important. (MD: 1\_OH: 13)

The role of Ukraine in the quotation above is defined by Russia's fears and interest. Only four interviewees on the Moldovan side actually highlighted Ukraine's role as a neighbor state. One interview, who wrongly assumed that Ukraine is part of the EU stated,

We are lucky that we have Ukraine as a neighbor because Ukraine is member of European Union, it is a democratic country and it stops at its borders trafficking attempts, money laundering etc. If Ukraine had a pro-Moscow regime we would have a total different situation in Transdnistria...it would be a closed circle. (MD: 3\_ND: 29)

A survey conducted in Transdnistria (Bobkova, 2009) mirrors the findings of this dissertation that, for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian civil society, Ukraine plays a less

visible role than Russia or even Romania, despite being an important neighbor in the East. Ukraine is not even mentioned as stakeholder in the conflict.

Moldovan interviewees shared the perception that EU plays an important role in the conflict, mainly as a mediator. One Moldovan politician summarizes: “We think that this neutral part or mediator must be the European Union or the United States of America. (MD: 7\_IPq:25)” But there is also the understanding that the involvement and influence of the European Union is regulated and restricted by its own delicate relations with Russia:

As I already mentioned, I think that the European Union is reluctant to enter into a geopolitical competition with Russia. They do not really want to be against Russia because Russia has defined this territory as it’s exclusively region of influence. They do not want anyone interfering in that sphere of influence. That is why the European Union is reluctant in starting a geopolitical competition with Russia. (MD: 12\_XM:42)

The Transdnistrian society also perceives the EU’s actions as determined by Europe’s relationship with Russia. The Transdnistrian interviewees express more concern about the EU’s influence and possible self-interest, especially because they perceive that the EU is biased towards unification between Moldova and Transdnistria:

Moscow and Brussels speak about the unification of Moldova but, actually, these states have their own interest. Each of them wants to have a total control upon Moldova and Transdnistria. They make an agreement about one thing and act in a total different way. In such conditions it is impossible to solve this problem. (TD: 25\_UU: 53)

While the Moldovan interviewees do not share Transdnistrian critical view of the EU, they do share its view of Russia. Russia is seen as stakeholder with its own interest: “I mean the huge interest that Russia has in this part (in Transdnistria). Russia will not withdraw its army from this territory just because our people want this. (MD: 15\_PF: 19)” The Romanian-speaking population on the Moldovan side has a fairly skeptical position towards Russia, while the derogatory view expressed in the Transdnistrian quotation above reflects the ambiguous relationship Transdnistria has with Russia. On the one hand, the interviewees recognize that the Russian government has its own political interest in the region. On the other hand, they see Russia as the protector and close ally, so the idea of uniting with Russia can be compatible with the Transdnistrian, Russian-speaking civil society:

And in the best case, we should be allies to Russia. Let Chisinau leaders should go to Bucharest and Tiraspol would go to Russia. As Smirnov [President of Transdniestria at the time of the interview] told us: We are ready to lose our sovereignty, sacrifice our position as a territorial state to be maybe a kind of village, but to be in Russia. This is how people think. (TD: 28\_IX: 75)

The first part of quotation also captures the perception of Romania's role in the conflict. Romania is not part of the 5+2 talks and therefore not part of the peace negotiations between Moldova and Transdniestria. However, it is omnipresent in the perception of the interviewees, mainly as a thread on the Transdniestrian side. The Transdniestrians fear that Moldova will reunite with Romania:

This region [Transdniestria] was always part of Russia...other factors that lead to this position are the ideology that was formed here in Transdniestria about Moldova wanting to reunite with Romania. People are afraid that they might be attacked by Romania and imposed to speak Romanian language. (TD: 23\_GD: 73)

While the Moldovans are aware of this fear on the Transdniestrian side, Romania as a player is less stressed in the Moldovan discourse on the Transdniestrian conflict: "In Moldova there is a total different political process than in Transdniestria. We are an independent state, with internal problems and we do not have at the moment the intention to unite with Romania. (MD: 9\_CI:99)"

Table 44 captures the Moldovan and Transdniestrian perceptions that Russia and Romania fuel the conflict. The frequencies displayed in the table are overall made quotations, not interviews. Furthermore, to ensure the accuracy of the presentation of the interviewees' citations, only the interviews that were recorded and transcribed entered the analysis. On both sides, 16 interviews were recorded and transcribed, providing a base of 32 interviews for the following analysis.

Table 44.

*Frequencies per quotations and interview on Moldovan and Transdnistrian perceptions on Russia and Romania (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD).*

<b>Conflict Category</b> (for description, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D)	<b>Moldova (MD)</b>		<b>Transdnistria (TD)</b>	
	<b>quotation (n)</b>	<b>Interview (n)</b>	<b>quotation (n)</b>	<b>Interview (n)</b>
Russia as aggressor/ suppressor/ neg. attribution	<b>47</b>	<b>11</b>	4	4
Russia as supporter	2	2	<b>19</b>	<b>12</b>
Own side similarities/ close relation with Russia	3	2	18	9
Other side similarities/ close relation with Russia	8	6	0	0
Fear of Russification	5	2	0	0
Romania as aggressor/ suppressor/ neg. attribution	0	0	12	3
Romania as supporter	3	1	0	0
Own side similarities/ close relation with Romania	<b>4</b>	4	0	0
Other side similarities/ close relation with Romania	1	1	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>
Fear of Romanification	0	0	17	7

The table illustrates that both external players (Russia and Romania) have the role of a scarecrow for the either Moldova or Transdnistria (Russia for Moldova, Romania for Transdnistria). Neither side acknowledges the threatening role the larger nation has for their counterpart. This asymmetric perception is most visible in the differential perception of Russia. On the Moldovan side, 47 quotations in 11 interviews indicate a negative attitude towards Russia versus four quotations in four interviews on the Transdnistrian side. It is also remarkable that on the Moldovan side only three quotations in two interviews are made expressing similarities with Russia, in spite of the fact that part of the Moldovan population is Russian-speaking and holds Russian traditions. This lack of acknowledgment indicates that the Romanian-speaking population tends to diminish those similarities. On the

Transdnistrian side, however, the similarities are more salient and much more pronounced, as the quotations shows: “The majority of Transdnistrian population is citizens of Russia. Many of them work there and they want their children to study in Russia. The official language of Transdnistria is Russian and we also have the Russian culture. (TD:22\_PU :69)” So while on the Moldovan side the prevalent perception of Russia is as a threat, whereas on the Transdnistrian, it is recognized that Russia also plays a critical role, but the prevalent attitude is that Russia is a friend, an ally, someone to rely on. Russia’s ongoing support of Transdnistria is also expressed by Moldovans, but more with the implication that this support keeps the conflict going: “Russia financially supports the schools from Transdnistria, a lot of plants from Transdnistria are [run] by Russia, because that is where they get their materials from, the base that it is functioning on; if Russia would not support Transdnistria, it would go down. (MD: 10\_VI:127)”

When it comes to Romania, the asymmetric perception displays itself in a different manner. While Moldovans interviewees barely mention Romania, either as a supporter or as a threat, the country is salient in the Transdnistrian narrative, with 15 quotations in five interviews stressing Romania’s similarities and close relation to Moldova: “At the same time, Moldova has got a generation which considers themselves Romanian. (TD: 28\_IX:41)” The omnipresence of Romania as a player extends to the Transdnistrian expression of Romania as an aggressor, suppressor or negative attribution (12 quotations in three interviews) and the Transdnistrian fear of Romanification (17 quotations in seven interviews). “They [Transdnistrian population] are afraid that they would be forced to speak only Romanian language, that all their traditions and culture will be neglected and that those who will oppose this system could be repressed. (TD: 27\_CU: 81)” The Moldovan interviewees acknowledge that the Transdnistrian side perceives Romania negatively, but without the slightest notion that Romania could assimilate Moldova against the latter’s will. When it comes to the fears on both sides, the Transdnistrian group displays more asymmetries, which will be picked up under section ‘8.2.4 Perception of Other’s Fear’.

In summary, independent of Romania’s and Russia’s multilayered role in the political realm, both countries have manifested in the civil discourse as a threat for one side and as an ally for the other side. The report on the involved stakeholders reveals that the constellation perceived by interviewees, as representatives of the civil society differs from the constellation on the political level (s. Figure 16).

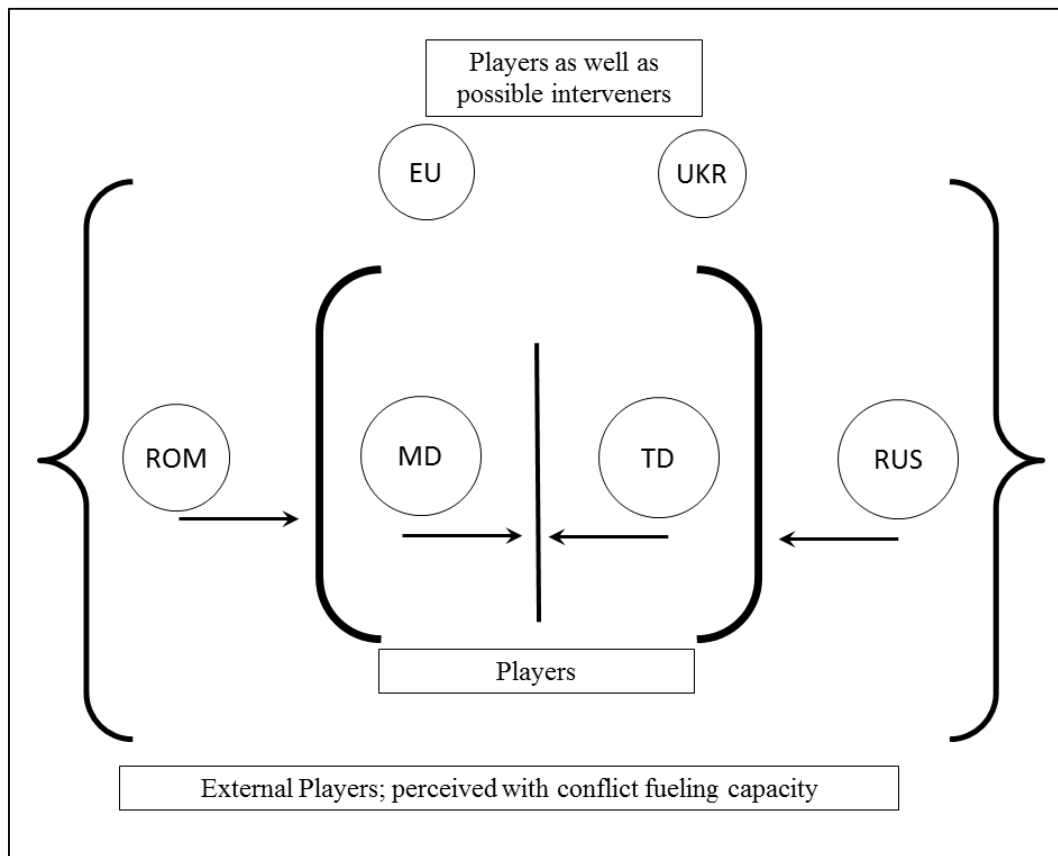


Figure 16. Conflict constellation from the interviewees perception. Elaborated in text.

The figure shows the stakeholder in the conflict. The core of the conflict is Moldova and Transdniestria, both of them having Romanian and Russian speaking population. In contrast to the political arena (e.g. Bogomolov et al., 2009; International Crisis Group, 2003; OSCE, 2012a; see also Chapt. 4) from the perspective of the interviewees the external main players are Russia and Romania (see also Table 44). The perception of the EU also differs between Moldovan and Transdniestrian interviewees, even so not as deeply divided as the roles of Russia and Romania. While both sides accept the EU as a mediator, it is more associated with and seen biased towards Moldova, making it a more attractive and positive perceived external player for Moldova than for Transdniestria. This analysis leads to the hypothesis, if Ukraine, which is currently perceived as less of a viable player, could give support to the civil societies on both banks in a more neutral role than the EU can provide.

### 8.1.2. Terminology

As an explicit part of the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI), the interviewees were asked if it is adequate to use the internationally used term *Transdniestrian Conflict* (see

also Chapter 6). In five interviews on the Moldovan side, the question was not answered due to the individual course of the interviews. In the whole sample nine interview partners agreed with the term, whereas 18 modified it. Table 45 displays the frequency per interview:

Table 45.

*Frequency per interview for preferred term to name the conflict. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD)*

<b>Terminology</b> (for description, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D)	<b>Moldova</b>	<b>Transdnistria</b>	<b>Total</b>
TD conflict	7	2	9
TD problem/ question/ issue	1	4	5
MD-TD conflict	1	5	6
MD-TD problem/ relation	1	2	3
MD conflict	0	2	2
Others	1	1	2
Total	11	16	27

It is noteworthy that the Moldovan and Transdnistrian sides differ in the preferred terminology: While the majority of Moldovans (7) agree with the international term Transdnistrian conflict or modify it as the Transdnistrian issue, only two Transdnistrian interviewees agreed with the term. The majority of Transdnistrian interview partners (56%) prefer terms such as Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict or Moldovan-Transdnistrian problem, stressing that the responsibility of the conflict is on both sides: “Experts from Transdnistria say that it is a Moldo-Transdnistrian problem. Our Moldavian colleagues make it [Transdnistrian conflict] on purpose in order to deny their responsibility in these confliction relations. (TD: 31\_TU: 9)”

### 8.1.3. *Roots of the Conflict*

Almost every interviewee at one point in the interview mentioned his or her perceived root of the conflict, and Table 46 displays no difference between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian perceptions:



Table 46.

*Frequency per interview for the root of the conflict. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD)*

<b>Conflict category</b> (for description, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D)	<b>Moldova</b>	<b>Transdnistria</b>	<b>Total</b>
Conflict between external player	7	6	13
Conflict between leaders/ not a conflict between people	7	9	16
Geopolitical/ regional conflict	5	4	9
Economic/financial conflict	4	3	7
Other: - based on linguistic differences	0	2	2

Note: The frequencies exceed in total the number of 36 interviews conducted with Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees, since some interviewees mention more than one roots for of the conflict.

Both sides stress that this conflict is a conflict between external parties, often referring to the stakeholders Russia and the West. The Moldovan and Transdnistrian groups see the conflict also as a conflict between local political authorities. One Moldovan interviewee stated, “There is no conflict when talking about the civil society, there is a conflict only about the political level, (MD: 10\_VI: 139)” and a Transdnistrian interviewee concurred, “In fact there is no conflict between people from the both sides of the river. The conflict is only between the politicians. (TD: 33\_FH: 45)” This conception of the conflict manifests also in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area’s conflict category, *Criticism against the elites*, one of the main conflict categories in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian narratives. The next three perceived roots of the conflict – geopolitical interest or economic – reflect the belief that external players factor largely. Geopolitical expresses the notion that the conflict is due to the fact that Russia and the European Union hold an interest in the region: “Russia has a geopolitical interest. It is a form to maintain their control upon all the regions and countries of the former Soviet Union. (MD: 9\_CI: 81)” This also extends to the notion of an economic conflict, shared by the Moldovans and Transdnistrians, stressing the economic interest of external players: “I can realize that Russian interference was guided from Moscow. When there is a conflict there is also a material interest. (MD: 15\_PF: 17)” Even though the official discourse in the 1990s regarding the root of the armed conflict attributes the hostilities to the language issue (e.g. Camplisson & Hall, 1999; International Crisis Group, 2003), only two interviewees, both

Transdnistrians, mention the linguistic component as a root of the conflict: “This problem is about Transdnistrian territory and about their official language. (TD: 22\_PU: 9)”

Because language does play a role in the understanding of conflict dynamics and will be touched upon throughout this chapter, mainly under the 3rd area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”, it is remarkable that it only was named twice throughout all interviews as being the root of the conflict. This fact displays the limitation of the official political discourse (see also Chapter 4).

#### 8.1.4. *Summary 1<sup>st</sup> Area – Pillar of the Conflict*

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework.* The previous section illustrated how the perceived stakeholders in the conflict can be extracted from the Conflict & Trust Map Interviews (CTMI). Furthermore by reflecting upon the frequency of quotation as well as interviews, the stakeholder can be placed in first relation towards each other (e.g. see Table 44). Based on the data of the CTMI it is also possible to extract the preferred terminology for the conflict with the potential of uprooting possible biases in the discourse (see also Chapt. 4 & Chapt. 6)

*Summary for intervention in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* From the interviewees’ perception the main stakeholders in the conflict are Moldova and Transdnistria, with a strong ascription to Russia and Romania as international power players. The roots of the conflict are mainly attributed toward the influence of external players or the self-interest of the political leaders on each side.

The next section examines in more detail the relationships between Moldova and Transdnistria, with special consideration of the trust relationship between the two parties.

### 8.2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties

While the 1<sup>st</sup> area captures the “pillars” of the conflict, the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” pays special attention to the perception of the conflict groups. It focuses specifically on the positive and negative perception the parties have of each other, including the perceived interest about what each side wants to gain or protect, and what may keep them in the conflict.

The subcategories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area amount to a total of 10. The residual category capturing all data relating to the relationship between the conflict parties will be disregarded for the analysis because of its lack of identifying specific threads.

Before analyzing the dominant categories of conflict narratives for both sides, I report the frequencies of each sub-category. For all analysis appearing in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area only the interviews that were recorded and therefore transcribed entered the analysis to ensure accurate presentation of the interviewees' citations. On both sides, 16 interviews were recorded and transcribed, and these 32 provide the base for the following analysis.

8.2.1. *Frequency of the Conflict Categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties”*

Table 47 displays the 10 subcategories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area, separately reported for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews. The categories are ordered according to their frequencies in each group. For each group, the table lists the total number of quotations (n), amounting to a total number of quotations in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area (line total). The percentage gives the relation to the frequency *within* the whole conflict area, in relation to the total of all quotations.

Table 47.

Frequency conflict categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” differentiating Moldovan and Transnistrian interviewees. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD)

rank	Moldovan group Conflict categories	Quotations	%	interviews	Transnistrian group Conflict categories	n	%	Interviews	rank
1	5.7 TD as suppressor [...]	38	22.35	11	6.7 MD as suppressor [...]	40	22.22	12	1
2	5.9 Perception of TD's interests	25	14.71	11	6.3 TD-MD: good friendly contact [...]	33	18.33	11	2
3	5.10 Perception of TD's fear	21	12.35	11	6.9 Perception of MD's interests	25	13.89	11	3
4	5.3 MD-TD: good friendly contact [...]	17	10	9	6.8 MD as unpredictable partner	23	12.78	9	4
4	5.5 MD-TD: difficulties in communication [...]	17	10	7	6.4 TD > MD feeling of superiority [...]	18	10.00	8	5
5	5.8 TD as unpredictable partner	15	8.82	4	6.2 TD-MD: similarities [...]	16	8.89	6	6
7	5.2 MD-TD: similarities [...]	13	7.65	8	6.6 TD-MD: difficulties in contact [...]	13	7.22	6	7
7	5.6 MD-TD: difficulties in contact [...]	13	7.65	6	6.5 TD-MD: difficulties in communication [...]	11	6.11	6	8
9	5.4 MD > TD feeling of superiority on TD	11	6.47	3	6.10 Perception of MD's fear	1	0.56	1	9
Total		170	100		total	180	100		

Note: For description conflict category, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D

The number of quotations coded under the conflict category emphasizes the dominant (or less dominant) role of the conflict categories, which impact the conflict narratives of the two groups. In addition to the number of the quotations, it is also of relevant how many interviewees mention the specific category, implicating if the category is perceived by the majority of interviewees or just a small number.

The most frequent category in the Moldovan interviews that characterize the relationship between the parties, is the perception of *Transnistrian as a suppressor/aggressor or negative attribution* with 38 quotations, accounting for more than 20% of the Moldovan conflict narratives. This category is also the most frequent coded conflict category

on the Transdnistrian side with forty quotations accounting as well for more than 20% in the Transdnistrian conflict narratives. This frequency allows the conclusion that the mutual perception of each other as aggressor or suppressor determines a notable part of the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relationship and will be elaborated in more details on the content level under '8.2.3 Conflict Category: Others as Suppressor/Aggressor/ Negative Attitude.

Of special interest is the second-most frequent category in the Transdnistrian interviews: *Good friendly contact/communication/ relationship*. With 33 quotations, accounting for 18 % of the conflict narrative, this category is clearly distinguished in its prevalence from the other categories, especially from the conflict category addressing *difficulties in communication/ relationship*, being the least frequent coded category with 11 quotations, accounting for 6 % of the conflict narratives. This pattern is not found in the Moldovan group, for which both categories *Good friendly contact/communication/ relationship* and *Difficulties in communication/ relationship* are equally frequent, both categories are coded 17 times and each of them account for 10 % of the conflict narratives. The apparent contradiction and on which levels the contact is well or threatening will be elaborated as the final analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the conflict map.

The fourth most frequent category on the Transdnistrian side is the perception of Moldova as an unpredictable partner, with 25 quotations accounting for ca. 14% in the Transdnistrian conflict narratives when it comes to the characterizing of the relationship to the other group. Regarding this category, the Transdnistrian and Moldovan groups differ also in their conflict narrative. In the Moldovan group, the category ranks only in 5<sup>th</sup> position, with a total of 15 quotations amounting to only 9% of the conflict narratives, not giving the category such a prominent position in their conflict narrative.

The second and third frequent categories in the Moldovan group are perceptions of the Transdnistrian interest (2<sup>nd</sup> rank with 25 quotations) and the perception of the Transdnistrian fear (3<sup>rd</sup> rank, 21 quotations). While the Moldovan interviewees are receptive towards the fear of the Transdnistrians, in the Transdnistrian group only one quotation was coded referring to the Moldovan fear and will be elaborated in more details under section '8.2.4 Perception of Other's Fear'.

The conflict categories referring to strains in the relationship (all categories from x.4 – x.8; *perception that other feel superior* (x.4), *perception of difficulties in communication* (x.5) and *contact* (x.6) and *perception of others suppressor/ aggressor* (x.7) amount to a total of 94 quotations (55%) of the conflict narratives in the Moldovan group and 106 quotations in the Moldovan group (58%) area. For a conflict assessment this is a promising result, since the

interviewees by themselves focused on the existing positive relations and perception and were not probed through the interview guidelines.

The content analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” will focus on five different conflict categories: *x. 9 Perception of parties’ interests*; *x. 7 Others as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude*; *x.10 Perception of Other’s Fear*; *x. 8 Other as unpredictable partner* and *x. 3 Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship with the others*.

These conditions accumulate on both sides to more than 65% (68%<sub>MD</sub>; 67%<sub>TD</sub>) of the conflict narratives, and provide a comprehensive overview on the characteristics of the relationship between the conflict parties.

I will start with the description of both sides’ interest, presenting both groups equally with 25 quotations each. The category ranks as the second most frequently coded category in the Moldovan group, accounting for almost 15% of the conflict narratives and accounting for 14 % in the Transdnistrian group in rank three.

#### 8.2.2. ***Conflict Category: Perception of Parties’ Interests***

The content analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area opens with the interest category, since the category creates context for the other conflict categories (Ross, 1998; Wehr, 1998). The Conflict Map Booklet (Appendix D) defines interest as every statement, in which the interviewees speak about gaining or protecting resources such as power, territory, laws, money and mobility. Interest includes all issues that help a group to manage the conditions within their own group through money and legislations. In contrast, issues which cannot be created through legislation or money, such as good relationships, trustworthiness etc. are not understood as interest but rather needs.

Having a nuanced understanding of the self-ascribed interest as well as the interest ascribed to the other group provides reference points for the quotations of the other conflict categories and their associated trust conditions in all four conflict areas of the CTM. The conflict category *Perception of Interest* by itself is not analyzed under a trust focus, since, as above introduce, the perception of the interest provide the context in which the relationship between the parties appear. The focus on the section is on the comparison of the self-ascribed interest of the parties and which interest the other sides ascribe to them.

In the Moldovan interviews, five main interests of the Moldovan can be identified: (1) *Having a good life, mainly focusing economic stability*; (2) *Economic development of the region*, including access to the tax revenue and factories in Transdnistria. Closely connected

to this interest is (3) *Reunification with Transdnistria*, also mentioning the territory. The fourth interest is (4) *achieving European integration*. Interviewees view EU-integration as a means to achieve a better life on the civil society level, with a higher living standard. Also mentioned in the Moldovan interviews is the interest of (5) Improving/ not leaving behind “their” people on the left bank. The latter appears in different coloration, including statements focusing on Human Rights issues such as “we want to make all the human rights respected on the left side of the River. (MD: 7\_IPq: 131)” One quotation expresses the notion that the Transdnistrian needs to be “rescued” from the ruling authorities: “I would never want Transdnistria to gain its independence because it will mean that they will keep going with that stupid system...and it is not fair to those people...those are our people...they are Moldavians just like we are. (MD: 15\_PF: 81)”

The Transdnistrian interviewees reveal an understanding of these Moldovan interests but abbreviate the Moldovans interest to three themes. The Transdnistrian interviewees also recognize (1) *the Moldovan interest in reunification*. The interest is linked to (2) *economic interest*. The economic interest also is seen as the reason why Moldova strive (3) *towards the European integration*. The “rescue” theme for the interest on reunification however is not shared; the interest of Moldova on reunification is limited to more (selfish) economic reasons, as the following quotation illustrates: “They want to reunite with Transdnistria because the economy of the country will be more developed. Another reason is that solving this conflict is one of the most important tasks in order to be admitted in the European Union. (TD: 23\_GD: 89)”

When the Transdnistrian interviewees state their own interests, six themes appear: (1) *Being an independent and recognized state*. This interest leads to two connected interests that Transdnistrians share with Moldovans: (2) *Economic development* of the region, including access to the free market and trade, and (3) *Living a good life*, with stability and economic safety. The fourth interest, however, is unique to the Transdnistrian situation: (4) *Self-determination*, deciding and protecting their spoken language and culture, which is partly perceived differently by the Moldovans. Related to self-determination is (5) *To be treated as an equal partner by the Moldovan*. The final interest often expressed interest is (6) *To uphold the close connection with Russia*, even leading to the possibility to unite with Russia.

The Moldovan interviewees also recognize a majority of these interests. In their interviews, they identify five main interests for Transdnistrians: (1) they articulate Transdnistrian *interest in independence*, but modify it to say that (2) there is also *an interest*

for integration with Moldova, claiming that it's only due to the political discourse that the Transdnistrians strive towards independence, as the Moldovan voice expresses:

The ones on the left side of the Dniester don't really care what is going on. Practically, they want to be unified with Moldova in order to have a decent level of living on the left side and on the right side, they just want to have a normal life. (MD: 4\_KQ: 99)

Moldovan interviewees also acknowledge the Transdnistriean interest in (3) *Having a good life*, with economic stability in the region. Part of the basic life is also (4) *Having cultural autonomy and protection of their identity*. And the final mentioned interest again matches the Transdnistriean narrative (5) Staying part of the Russian Empire, building on the past experiences of the past grandness.

Before comparing the self-interest expressed by the Moldovan interviewees with the Transdnistriean interviewees, I will focus again on the second interest ascribed by the Moldovan interviewees: the perception that Transdnistrians want to unify with Moldova. Transdnistriean interviewees do not share this perception, and when they mention unification, they explain that it may be of interest for the Romanian speaking population or that it is not a widely shared interest: "There are very few of us who want to be part of Moldova." Or in another quotation: "The Moldovan-speaking population, just like other minorities here, has different opinions. Most of the Moldovan-speaking population is in the cities Dubasari and Grigoriopol and they would like to be integrated in Moldova.(TD: 27\_CU: 91)"

Furthermore, when looking at the interest of the Moldovans and Transdnistrians, it is notable that these match very closely, each side pursuing the same basic interest, modified within each side's conflict narrative context, as illustrated in *Table 48*.

Table 48.

*Moldovan and Transdnistriean interests match within the context of the conflict narrative*

	<b>Moldovan interest</b>		<b>Transdnistriean interest</b>
1	Reunification with Moldova	⚡	Independence and Recognition
2	A good life } economic stability		A good life } economic stability
3	Economic development of the region		Economic development of the region
4	European Integration	⚡	Unity with Russia
5	Ending the suppression of the Transdnistriean society by unification	⚡	Self-determination
6			Being an equal partner



In the table the interests are rearranged to better illustrate the matches and differences. Differences are marked through the flash symbol. The two group interests differ in three interests, which are connected with each other. That the two sides differ in their interest regarding the status of Transdnistria being part of Moldova or an independent state coheres with the conflict context. The political position did find its way into the civil discourse and positions. Also the match of the second and third interests fits into the groups specific narratives: Moldova and Transdnistria are the poorhouses of Europe, manifesting in poor infrastructure of the countryside such undeveloped road network, lack of running water and also in a high unemployment rate leading to a migration drain (International Crisis Group, 2006). To strive therefore for a better life condition and economic development is to be expected in the context.

The interests listed under position four are intriguing; the interest expressed in the Moldovan interviews to strive toward European integration and in the Transdnistrian interviews to belong to Russia either through loose association, receiving Russian support, or through unification with Russia. The latter is not a widely-shared interest in Transdnistria (Bobkova, 2009) with some interviewees expressing explicitly that this is not very realistic, but still part of the Transdnistrian narratives:

Many of them work there and they want their children to study in Russia. The official language of Transdnistria is Russian and we also have the Russian culture. That is why most of the people would rather rejoin Russia then Moldova. (TD: 22\_PU :69)

Both banks share explicitly the narrative of integrating with a bigger partner – EU on the Moldovan side, and Russia on the Transdnistrian side. While of course there are differentiation and subtleties behind these interests, the trends manifest in the narratives. The trends is also mirrored in the involved conflict parties (see as can be seen in ‘8.1.1 Conflict Parties’) and illustrated in Figure 16.

Given this data, the question emerges: Is this orientation towards a bigger partner that can provide economic benefit a trend in other regions of conflict? For example, is it a trend that can also be seen in Cypress with orientation of the Greek Cypriots towards Greece and the Turkish Cypriots towards Turkey? Or is that maybe more typical for the cultural context of former Soviet countries, trying to substitute for not being part of the Soviet Empire anymore? Or does the pattern reflect Transdnistria’s and Moldova’s specific economic challenges as well as a drive for identity?

I will close the section on interest with a final intriguing contradiction, displayed in positions five and six of *Table 48*. As elaborated above, the Moldovan interviewees expressed

the desire to “rescue” the Transdnistrian from the regime on the left side. In direct contradiction is the Transdnistrian interest for self-determination:

So we want to be independent; from the geographical point of view, we don’t want to be a colony, we want to have our language, we want to have the right for self-orientation, self-direction. We want to direct ourselves as we want. (TD: 30\_GL : 99)

While the Transdnistrians do express criticism of their own elite and its suppressive tactics, they prefer to strive towards independence and recognition to fight the suppression with internationally recognized legal instruments rather than seek it through unification with Moldova whom the Transdnistrians interviewees see as a condescending, belittling partner. This area manifests as a thread throughout the conflict narrative and also appears within the next conflict category described in the next section *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude* as well as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” (see 8.3.5 Further Separation), where it will be picked up again.

I analyzed the perception of the parties interest without a specific focus on the associated trust conditions, since the self-ascribed and ascribed interest serve for good references points for the other prominent conflict categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” and the 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” of the Conflict & Trust Map.

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework.* The section shows the Conflict & Trust Map Interview assess the interest of the parties, which are coded through the coding schemes. This step allows clustering the interest in occurring themes and comparing the interest between the parties for possible matches and conflicts, as illustrated above on the example for the Moldovan – Transdnistrian interviewees. Furthermore it allows comparing the self-perception of the parties in regards of their interest with the social perception of their interest by the other group, with the possibility to reveal matching and conflicting perceptions.

*Summary for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* The assessment of the interests uttered in the Moldovan and Transdnistrians interviews revealed the implicit perception of the Moldovan interviewees that the Transdnistrians needs to be “rescued” from their own government. This perception stands in contradiction to the Transdnistrian self-perception and actually fuels the perception of the Transdnistrian interviewees that they are belittled by the Moldovans and not treated equally. This dynamic can manifest in conflict moderation

workshop and it could be helpful to address it openly to explore ways to meet the Moldovan interviewees interest of supporting the Transdnistrian, while respecting the Transdnistrian interviewees interest in self-determination.

### 8.2.3. *Conflict Category: Others as Suppressor/Aggressor/ Negative Attitude*

The conflict category *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude* is for both groups the most frequent category in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties”. Furthermore for both groups the categories are also highly associated with trust. The conflict category *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude* is the first conflict category which I will examine in its relationship to trust. The Conflict & Trust Map assumes that trust is structured through the interrelation of the conflict categories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> area and 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map and the trust conditions (see also 6.1 ‘Conflict & Trust Map’)

Starting with the current condition, I will elaborated on this relation in a qualitative manner (for quantitative elaboration see 7.3.1 ‘Frequencies Conflict Categories and Their Relation to Trust Conditions’) Adding the analysis how the trust condition are interwoven with the conflict condition adds another level of complexity. The description of the conflict category is built in the same manner: I introduce first the conflict category and then elaborate for the Moldovan and Transdnistrians group separately how it is related to trust. Then I compare where the groups match or differ in their associated trust conditions and how it can impact their conflict narrative. I end the description *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude* of the category with a summery for the two lenses of the chapter: First, what is relevant for the instrument Conflict & Trust Map as procedure for conflict assessment and second, what implication can be drawn for possible interveners working in the Moldovan-Transdnistrians conflict.

(x.7) *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude* is the most dominant conflict category impacting the relationship between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian groups. The category addresses the perception that the other side is suppressing its own group. It also includes statements that refers to the other party as being either *aggressive* or having aggressive intentions towards one or ones’ group. Statements in which interviewees are critical towards the other side in the sense of negative attribution are also coded in this conflict category (see also Appendix D, Conflict Map Booklet) The category holds three different perceptions of the other side as a (1) suppressor, (2) aggressor or (3) related negative

attitudes toward the others. The category has to be elaborated under the focus of these three foci.

*Moldovan group.* From 16 Moldovan interviewees, 11 uttered a total of 38 quotations that were coded under the category *Transdnistria as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* amounting to 22% of all quotations in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area (see Table 47), allowing the conclusion that this perception is widespread within the Moldovan society. As elaborated in Chapter 7, the category is also highly associated with trust (see '7.3.1' Table 37). From the 38 quotation in the conflict category, 25 are also coded as relevant for one or more trust condition, implying the close link to trust. For the Moldovan group, the category is mainly associated with a lack of the trust condition *Fairness*. This manifests especially in the perception of the Transdnistrian leadership as a suppressor. The Moldovan interviewees perceive that the Transdnistria leadership *does not* treat its own citizens with dignity (see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E):

Yes, exactly [the authorities want to keep their citizen from leaving], because if they let them [the citizen] out they see the world and they begin to think differently. It is a real problem for the Romanian speaking people from Transdnistria because they have no Romanian literature there, they are not allowed to talk in Romanian and they even want to close all the Romanian schools over there. (MD: 7\_IPq :115)

The perception that Transdnistria's own citizens generally speaking are not treated with fairness adds a possible strain on the trust in the Transdnistrian authorities through the trust condition *Fairness*, the attribution that 'others treat one equally, fairly, with dignity'. The perceived suppression is not just limited to (a) the Romanian speaking population on the left side or (b) the perception to restrain the civil society. It also extends to the perception that the Transdnistrian leadership constrains its population in acting upon their right as Moldovan citizens and therefore actively parting in the civil domain. On July 29th, 2009, Moldova elected its new government. The election led to a regime change, marking the end of the communist leadership and providing an opening for the liberal parties. Since Transdnistria is officially part of Moldova, the Transdnistrians are entitled to vote. However, the Transdnistrian leadership is accused of inhibiting the deployment of election booths on the Transdnistrian, confirmed by the Election Observation Mission (2009).

For example, new elections for Moldova; the position of Moldova was that everyone should have access to the elections. But Transdnistria stopped the

elections and did not allow people to go to the elections; it is not in their interest to let people go to the election like the ones from July, 29. (MD: 10\_VI :153)

These activities hold the lack of acting in line with principle of an open democratic government as well as lacking *a moral code*. They can therefore strain trust through the lack of the trust condition *Integrity*. *Integrity* is based on the perception that others act in accordance with a moral code (see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E):

The notion that the Transdniestrian leadership is not acting in accordance with a moral code also underlies the perception of them as being aggressor. When it comes to the second focus *Transdnistria as an aggressor* the same trust association pattern as in the first focus *Transdnistria as a suppressor* is found. This focus is also mainly associated with strains in the trust conditions *Fairness* and *Integrity*. Unlike the focus suppressor the latter focus is also extended to the Transdniestrian population as being aggressive and is not limited to the Transdniestrian leadership. The following quotation is made in the context of a contact building project, bringing Moldovan and Transdniestrian youth together:

They [Transdnistrians] raised their voices, they can start a conflict [...]. People from the left bank were discussing some people from the right bank [in Russian] and, of course, people from the right bank understood everything that they were talking about. And this is really unpleasant when somebody discusses you and you can understand everything and hear everything because they could do it when they were together somewhere where nobody will hear them but they were doing it quite openly. (MD: 13\_XDw: 79)

The quotation demonstrates how the Moldovan interviewee perceives that the Transdnistrians do not treat them fairly or with dignity (speaking badly about them in Russian) thus straining the trust condition *Fairness* and that they act aggressively (raising voice and starting a conflict. Just as for the leadership, the Moldovan interviewees also refer to the Transdnistrian population as aggressive:

I remember very well the soviet mentality, it is called “homo-sovieticus” and when I see the people from Transdnistria they remind me of Moldova 20 years ago...intolerance towards other opinions and if you feel or think different than you are the enemy of these people. (MD: 15\_PF:41)

This perception can impact trust through the trust condition *Integrity*, since the labeling “homo-sovieticus” comes with the negative implication that the moral code of being tolerant is missing and therefore Moldovans are unfairly treated as an enemies.

I conclude the section with a quotation highlighting that the final focus of *negative attribution* toward the Transdnistrian leadership displaying also a lack of the trust condition *Integrity*: “All the official people from Transdnistria. They have betrayed their country. Here is Moldova and here is Transdnistria. They have separated Transdnistria from Moldova. (MD: 19\_CN:95)” The notion of betrayal again can be interpreted as the disregarding a moral code and therefore straining the trust condition *Integrity*.

Overall, the strong manifestation of the conflict category *Transdnistria as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* is directed toward the leadership as well as the population. The dominance of this category also allows the conclusion that the Moldovan’s group trust of Transdnistrians is negatively affected by the associated strains on the trust condition *Integrity* and *Fairness*.

*Transdnistrian group.* From 16 Transdnistrian interviewees, 12 uttered a total of 40 quotations that were coded under the area *Moldova as suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude* amounting to 22% of all quotations coded in the second area (see Table 47), allowing the conclusion that this perception is wide-spread within the Transdnistrian society.

Just as in the Moldovan group and as elaborated in Chapter 7, the category is also highly associated with trust in the Transdnistrian interviewees (see ‘7.3.1’ Table 37). From the 40 quotations in the conflict category, 36 are also coded as relevant for one or more trust condition, implying the close link to trust. Just as for the Moldovan group, the conflict category is for the Transdnistrian group mainly associated with a lack of the trust condition *Fairness*. Unlike the Moldovan group, it is also associated with a lack of the trust condition *Benevolence*, the perception that ‘others are not concerned about one’s overall welfare’ (see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E)

From the three areas of the category, Moldova as suppressor, aggressor and negative attitudes towards Moldova, the Transdnistrians interviewee only perceive the Moldovans authorities as aggressor and the interviewees hold a negative attitudes toward the Moldovan authorities. Unlike the Transdnistrian authorities, the Moldovan authorities are not seen as a suppressor of their own population, hence the foci others as suppressor is missing in the conflict category. Another difference from the Moldovan narratives is that the category is mainly directed toward the Moldovan leadership, not the Moldovan population. More specifically, the Transdnistrian interviewees address mostly how regulation passed by the Moldovan government hurts them economically, perceiving this course of action as aggressive. This affects the trust conditions *Fairness* through the implication that

Transdnistria is not treated with dignity or on equal ground by the Moldovan leadership, as illustrated in the following quotation of a Transdnistrian opposition politician:

Just the war itself, turning informational war, on the political and on so many, many levels, an economical war; the term war is not even worth to be used; it is not the war, maybe the conflict. This showed the people the mode of treatment from Moldova, how the treat Transdnistrian people; what methods does the Moldovan government use, according to Transdnistria. These methods led to worse conditions in Transdnistria. (TD: 21\_GU:8)

The Transdnistrian interviewees also speak about aggressive action by the Moldova leadership standing in close relation to the interviewee's belief that the Moldovan do not consider their welfare, impacting negatively the trust condition *Benevolence*:

This problem refers to the regions of the ex-soviet Moldova. Transdnistria has a Russian nationality but the government of Moldova from 1990 was spreading ideas about Romanification. They wanted to impose the Romanian language in Transdnistria too. (TD: 27\_CU: 35)

The perceived neglect of the Russian identity (lack of *Benevolence*) in combination with the aggressive action of imposing the Romanian language illustrated how the conflict condition Moldova as an aggressor interlinks with the strain on the trust condition benevolence. That holds true not only for the action committed in the mid-1990s, but also for recent action:

After all these steps have been proposed to Transdnistria, in a few weeks, in Chisinau was adopted a law where it was mentioned that all the cars from Transdnistria must be registered in Moldova. If a car had Transdnistrian numbers the owner could not go with that car in another country. This thing disturbed many people because they had to waste more money and time in order to make a registration their cars in Moldova. (TD: 23\_GD:31)

The final quotation illustrate some of the negative attributions from the Transdnistrian interviewees toward Moldova. Their feeling of unjust accusations of being bandits or smugglers also adds to the perception of being treated unfairly and adding a strain on the overall relationship, as expressed in the quotation, but can also affect the trust relationship through another strain on the trust condition *Fairness*.

On the intellectual level, it looks not very appropriate, not very good, if there is nothing to accuse of, but they accuse you of everything: bandits, smugglers ... but of course that was not so. And our people know that it is lies. And these activities of the Moldovans also undermined our relationship. (TD: 21\_GU: 16)

In comparison, for both groups the trust condition *Fairness* is highly associated with the conflict category *Other side as aggressor/suppressor/ negative attitude*. However only in the Transdnistrian group *Benevolence* is also closely associated with the category, indicating the different shades between how the trust relationship is colored on both sides. While the Moldovan interviewees stress more the lack of *Integrity* and accompanying the lack of the Transdnistrian to act in accordance with a moral code, the Transdnistrian stress more the fact that the Moldova's actions do not regard their (Transdnistrians) welfare. These finding have implication for both lenses of the chapter, the intervention lens and the lens on the Conflict & Trust Map framework.

*Summery for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* The above analysis reveals that for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees, the conflict category *Other side as aggressor/suppressor/ negative attitude* is a dominant category, which highly impacts the conflict narratives of each group. For both groups it is also highly associated with trust, revealing how trust underlies conflict categories. Both sides accuse each other of not treating each other well, revealing a lack in the trust condition *Fairness*. The Moldovan group extends the lack of *Fairness* to the leadership as well as to the population. The perception that the other side is not treating them well, as illustrated on the example in the youth camp is accompanied by the perception that the other side is not acting in accordance with a moral code, hence a lack of the conflict condition *Integrity*. Additionally the lack manifests among others that in the ascription 'homo-sovieticus - mentality' to the Transdnistrian population, further straining the trust condition *Integrity*.

This association is slightly different for the Transdnistrian group. They also perceive the lack of *Fairness*, manifesting mainly in regulations which are passed by the Moldovan authorities for trade. But this perception is also shaded by the perception that the Moldovan side not only does not treat them fair, but also does not care about their wellbeing. For example, the new (unfair) regulations impact the Transdnistrian population quite negatively, but the Moldovan group is perceived to be oblivious towards these consequences. When



working with the two groups, sensitivity for the different connotation within the conflict categories is needed.

Finally, the above analysis reveals the circular relation of trust and conflict. The conflict category *Other side as aggressor/suppressor/ negative attitude* can either have a negative impact on the trust relationship (e.g. through the perception that the others do not treat one well (lack of *Fairness*) or disregard ones welfare (lack of *Benevolence*). Trust is strained as a *result* of the conflict dynamic. However, it can also be difficult to break the dominant perception of the others as aggressor due to the lack of trust. Without improving the trust condition *Benevolence* or *Fairness* the conflict category *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude* maintains a dominant factor of the conflict narratives. Trust can be therefore the maintaining factor of the conflict as well as being negative affected and deterred due to the conflict dynamics. Figure 17 and Figure 18 depict the interwoven relation in form of helix.

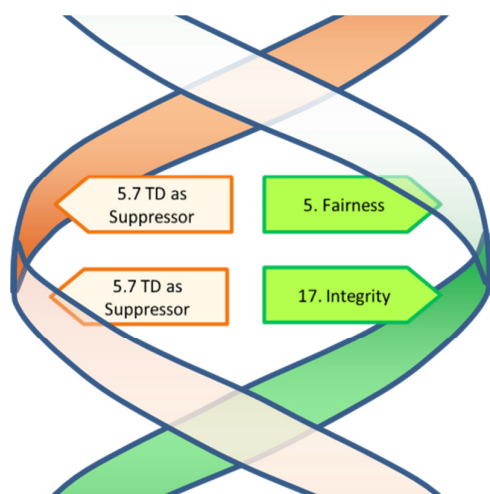


Figure 17. Moldovan Conflict- Trust –Helix for *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/negative attitude*

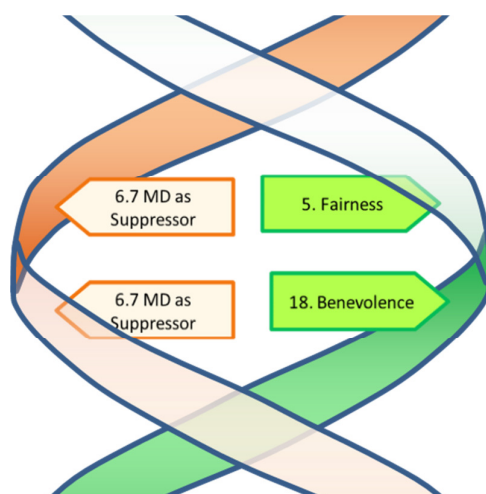


Figure 18. Transdnistrian Conflict- Trust –Helix for *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude*

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework.* The difference of associated trust conditions with conflict category *Other side as aggressor/suppressor/ negative attitude* shade the impact of the conflict condition on the two conflict narrative. The finding strengthens the necessitate to approach trust through the understanding of 21 conditions. Even so the same conflict category was coded for both groups, the association with the different trust conditions display the connotation for the groups' subtle differences that need different sensitivities when addressed.

This analysis also supports the approach of differentiating subtle differences in the trust relationship. One could easily assume that *Benevolence* would be lacking in every conflict category, since the assumption that conflict parties do not care about each other welfare is quite obvious. However, when analyzing the data in this case, it reveals that (a) not every conflict category is associated with *Benevolence*, but also that (b) differences exist between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian groups, in which conflict categories *Benevolence* as a trust condition is strained.

#### 8.2.4. *Perception of Other's Fear*

The third most frequent coded conflict condition for the Moldovan group, after the two categories *Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution* and perception of others interest which had been elaborated above is the perception of the Transdnistrian fear. *Other's fear* is described in the Conflict Map Booklet (see Appendix D) to be coded only, when interviewees explicitly mention fear.

Within the interviews two different kind of fears appeared: The concrete fear of Romanification on the Transdnistrians side and Russification on the Moldovan side as well the fear of another violent conflict (see also section '8.1.1 Conflict Parties'). What is of interest are the imbalances between the two groups, how often *Perception of other's fear* was coded. The Moldovan interviewees could emphasize and anticipate the fears on the Transdnistrians. Of 16 interview partners, 10 mention the perceived fears on the Transdnistrian side amounting to 21 quotations and taking up to 13 % of the conflict narratives in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map (see Table 47). However, on the Transdnistrian group, such a perceptive change did not appear. From 180 quotations uttered in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map, only one referred to the fear of Russification on the Moldovan side, but only in the context of Transdnistrian fears as well: "Transdnistrians fear about their language and Moldavians fear about Russian influence.(TD; 23\_GD: 17)"

*Moldovan group.* From 16 Moldovan interviewees, 10 uttered a total of 21 quotations that were coded under the *Fear of Romanification* (see Table 47), allowing the conclusion that this perception is wide-spread within the Moldovan group. This category illustrates the reciprocity of trust, since the *Fear of Romanification* impacts the trust of the Transdnistrian into the Moldovan group. The Moldovan interviewees link the *Fear of Romanification* with two trust conditions: the lack of *Security* and the lack of *Knowledge Accuracy*. The lack of *Security* is due to the close content overlap between the conflict category *Fear* and the trust

condition *Security*, which absence's often equals fear (see also Code Booklets, Appendix D &E). When linking the trust condition to the conflict category, the Moldovan interviewees express that trust of the Transdnistrians *into* the Moldovan are weakened by the perceived threat of *Security*: "They fear the Romanification of Transdnistria and they fear the reunification with Romania. They fear as well that the Moldovan-Romanian speaking population will dominate them, will be manager, will be the leaders; they don't want it. (MD: 2\_RP: 63).

However, the quotations also reveal that fear of Romanification weaken trust through the lack of *Security*, but also through the lack of *Knowledge Accuracy*. The Moldovan interviewees express that the fear of Romanification is not based on current concrete facts, but on misinformation. And if the Transdnistrian would know better (lack of *Knowledge Accuracy*, see also Appendix E) the fear would diminish, and thus the strain on trust:

The 60 % of Russian and Ukrainian citizens, which speak basically Russian, are afraid that if Transdnistria reunites with Moldova, the Romanian army will come to fight them. This is told in mass media in Transdnistria in order to scare the Russian speaking (MD: 7\_IPq:61)

*Transdnistrian group.* From 16 Transdnistrian seven uttered a total of 18 quotations that were coded under the *Fear of Romanification*. The majority of the quotations also impact the trust relationship through the lens of lack of *Security*, which is due to the great content proximity of the two codes. However, the association found in the Moldovan group, which linked *Fear of Romanification* with a lack of the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy* does not appear in the Transdnistrian group. . Only one Transdnistrian interviewee refer to the issue:

For youth, a lot means stereotypes; since they have been born they heard about that we are an independent state and Moldova is the aggressor state that can capture Transdnistria any time. Romanian integration is happening there. One day, NATO is going to be there. Moldova will be inside of Romania. (TD: 28\_IX:75)

The Moldovan and Transdnistrian express their own fears within the interviews. While in the Transdnistrian group the fear of Romanification is the prevalent fear, for the Moldovan group it is the fear of another violent conflict. However, while the Moldovan interviewees address their perception of the Transdnistrian fears, this perception change does not appear in the Transdnistrian interviewees. It displays therefore an important asymmetry, of the Transdnistrian group not expressing a concern for the Moldovan fears, lacking the

ability to put themselves in their shoes, can affect the trust through an experienced lack in the conflict category *Empathy*. Although *Empathy* does not play the most dominant role for the trust relationship, in all ten quotations the Moldovan interviewees speak about *Empathy*, twice the mention it is important in general terms for trust and eight times they report *Empathy* as missing (see Chapt. 7).

*Summery for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* The lack of empathy within the Transdnistrian interviews for the Moldovan fear is a strain on the relationship and can hinder processes in conflict moderation workshops. However, the displayed recognition of the Moldovan side for Transdnistrian fears offers a possible resource to build on. The red-light for a conflict moderator lies within the close connection between the conflict category and the associated trust condition Lack of *Knowledge Accuracy*. If the perceived fear of Romanification of the Transdnistrian is reduced to the perception that the fear is solely rooted in misinformation could also negatively impact the course of a conflict moderation workshop.

#### 8.2.5. *Other as Unpredictable Partner*

*Others as unpredictable partner* is the fourth frequent coded conflict category for the Transdnistrians group, after the two conflict categories *Others as suppressor/aggressor/negative attitude, perception of the other's interest*, which are already elaborated and the third category *Good/ friendly contact to the other side*, with which I will close the section on the 2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict Map. For the Moldovan group *Others as unpredictable partner* rank the matching category at position six.

The code *Others as unpredictable partner* includes 2 dimensions: The perception of the others as unpredictable based on past experiences as well as the perception of other as unpredictable based on anticipated prospective behavior.

Even though the conflict category *Others as unpredictable partner* is not as amplified in the Moldovan interviewees, it is of interest that the two sides differ on their markers in which the unpredictability manifests, which will be elaborated in more detail.

*Transdnistrian group.* From 16 Transdnistrian interviewees, 9 uttered a total of 26 quotations that were coded under the category *Moldova as an unpredictable partner*, amounting to 13% of all quotations in the second area (see Table 47), still allowing the conclusion that this perception is widespread within the Transdnistrian society.

The quotations within this category target Moldovan leadership. From the 23 quotations describing Moldova as an unpredictable partner, 13 specify that it is the Moldovan leadership that acts unpredictably, either because it refuses to sign agreements negotiated to move toward a settlement, breaking promises toward Transnistria, or because of its indecision about whether the leadership should move closer to the East or West:

All these years when Voronin was the president of the country he changed his visions, partners, principles and orientations all the time...from east to west, from communism to European Union...Such people change their principles all the time and they cannot keep their word. (TD: 25\_UU: 21)

The quotation portrays the strong link between the conflict categories of being unpredictable (changing his visions, partners, principles) and its connection to the trust category *Integrity* (changing principles) as well as *Promise Fulfillment* (cannot keep their word, see also Appendix E). The link to trust, specifically to *Promise Fulfillment* is even more pronounced in the next quotation:

There are different steps that can be taken in order to gain trust but these steps must not only be spoken about but they have to be really implemented. For example the former president of Moldova mentioned 2 or 3 years ago 10 steps that he intended to do towards Transnistria, like for example the recognition of the Transnistrian diplomas etc. All these steps were seen with good eyes by people from Transnistria but these steps were never realized. (TD: 23\_GD:27)

That the two trust conditions *Promise Fulfillment* and *Integrity* are associated with the conflict category is coherent with the internal logic of the categories and conditions, especially *Promise Fulfillment*, or better not fulfilling a promise, is from the content very close to *being unpredictable*. For the category is more intriguing that its prevalence is unilateral and only found as pronounced with the Transnistrian interviews.

*Moldovan group.* Although the position of the category *Other as an unpredictable partner* is not too far apart in the Transnistrian and Moldovan group (rank 4 and rank 5) it is important to note that from 16 Moldovan interviewees, only four mention the *Transnistria as an unpredictable partner*, amounting to 9 % of all quotations in the second area (see Table 47), indicating that the perception is less widespread within Moldovan society. It is also of interest that in the Moldovan interviews, the category is not as clearly

aimed toward the Transdnistrian leadership but also includes references towards Transdnistrian local authorities. While the Transdnistrian interviewees addresses the Top Level Leadership includes the Moldovan interviewees also the grass roots leadership (see 1.4 ‘Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts’). As a matter of fact, seven quotations, the majority of quotations are uttered in the context of a concrete lack of agreements between two bordering villages, one on the Moldovan side, one on the Transdnistrian. The majority of quotations capture how the mayor of the Moldovan side tries to reach an agreement with the local authorities of the Transdnistrian side to access the field of his village:

At a moment he promised me that people from the district Dubasari (under the jurisdiction of Moldova) will be able to pass the border in order to work their lands. He promised me that he will take the necessary measures to keep his promise. He did not want to sign any treaty with me... When people from the district Dubasari tried to cross the border they were not allowed to go to Transdnistria. (MD: 19\_CN: 113)

The other eight quotations mirror the Transdnistrian group’s focus on the leadership breaching agreements. And just as within the Transdnistrian narratives, the quotation holds a salient close link to trust, mainly to a lack in the condition *Promise Fulfillment*: “I have less trust in the Transdnistrian authorities because they did not respect the agreements between the left and the right part of the Dniester.(MD:7\_IPq: 207)”

Therefore, while the notion of Transdnistria as an unpredictable partner exists and also displays a close association to trust, this category tends to be much more case specific and less prevalent than the notion of Moldova as an unpredictable partner on the Transdnistrian side.

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework.* The above section reveals a limitation of the Conflict & Trust Map framework which is embedded in the complexity of the conflict dynamic. The framework has problems to differentiate if the reference point to the other side is the leadership or other representatives of the civil society. This is an important differentiation, since research suggest existing differences between trust into the leadership differ from trust in to the society (Gheorghiu, Vignoles, & Smith, 2009). While in the current analysis the different levels were broken down in a second step, further modification of the instrument can entail a differentiation of the different leadership levels.

*Summery for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* For the context of possible 3rd party intervention, it has to be differentiated on the level of the intervention, top range leadership, middle-range leadership and grass root leadership. Given the fact that for both

societies the perception of the other side's leadership as unpredictable is prevalent, with an associated strain on trust through the lack of the conflict condition *Promise Fulfillment*, transparency for negotiation appearing on this level could be helpful. If both leadership would openly communicate the progress of negotiation and the attempts to fulfill the reached agreement, could help to weaken the perception of unpredictability and strengthen the trust condition *Promise Fulfillment*.

#### 8.2.6. *Good Friendly Contact/ Communication/ Relationship With the Others*

The final conflict category which I will elaborate under the 2<sup>nd</sup> area "Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties" is the conflict category *Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship with the others*. The name of this conflict category is slightly misleading, since its code captures non conflict-prone relations. But since the code is embedded in the Conflict Map, it shares label conflict categories with all other codes of the Conflict Map coding scheme.

The category *Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship with the others* codes statements that refer to positive contact, communication or relationship with the other side. The code describes that in general positive contact or communication appears with the other side (see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D)

The category displays an intriguing disproportion between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees. It is ranked as the second most prevalent category in the Transdnistrian interviewees, accounting for 19 % of the conflict narratives on the 2<sup>nd</sup> area. In the Moldovan interviewees the category does not have the same dominance. While it still in the ranks at position four, it only accounts for 10 % of the Moldovan conflict narratives.

This distribution is surprising since it is part of the Moldovan narratives that Moldova and Transdnistrian should be unified, not only geographically but also in regard to civil society. "Moldova cares about Transdnistria because this territory was part of Moldova. It is our land and our people there. (MD: 3\_PD: 91)" It would be coherent with this position to stress or elaborate on good communication or relationships. In the Moldovan group's narrative, the positive category is as often coded as the category capturing difficulties in communication and in the relationship to Transdnistrians.

More intriguing, however, is the fact that Transdnistrian interviewees depict mainly examples and quotations of good and friendly relationships. In the Transdnistrian conflict narratives, the Transdnistrian interviewees pronounce their Russian identity to be different from the Moldovan: "We prefer to celebrate Russian celebrations, Russian holidays and

Moldavia prefer to celebrate Moldavian, Romanian holidays.(TD: 36\_CD: 26)” Furthermore, they express firmly their interest in being independent (see 8.2.2 Conflict Category: Perception of Parties’ Interests) and to support this position, stress existing separation between the two banks, as will be elaborated under 8.3.5 ‘Summery 3rd area Further Separation’. Therefore to find a conflict category, elaborating on good communications and relations to the right bank as the second most prevalent category in the conflict narratives is surprising and less coherent with the conflict contexts.

*Transdnistrian group.* From 16 Transdnistrian interviewees, 11 uttered a total of 33 quotations that were coded under the category *Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship with the others* amounting to 16 % of all quotations in the second area (see Table 47) allow the conclusion that this perception is widespread within Transdnistrian society. Furthermore, from the 33 quotations, 26 are associated with at least one trust condition.

From the four main trust conditions, the top three evenly distributed, are: *Availability*, the possibility of being able to get in touch with the others; *Reciprocity*, indicating that the others are trusting and cooperative; and *Accessibility*, capturing that one can relate to others on a personal and emotional level see also Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E). To be able to get (physically) in touch with each other is the base of the Transdnistrian group’s perception of good friendly contact, communication and relation to the Moldovans: “This [good relationships] happens because there is a constant exchange between the people from the left bank with those from the right bank of the River. TD: 27\_CU: 124)” While *Availability* is the basic trust condition to build to ensure good relations, for trust to develop further, the perception that the other side cooperates leads to the next level of relationship strength. The following quotation captures how trust can develop when the Transdnistrian experiences in the context of a civil society roundtable, where the Moldovans are *available* to them, and they can discover that the Moldovans are also interested in solving the conflict, being cooperative towards them, as an example for the trust condition *Reciprocity*, perceiving the others as trusting and cooperative:

For example, when the representatives of Moldova come to a roundtable and speak about the desire of Moldova to solve the Moldova-Transdnistria problem, the representatives of Transdnistria are very surprised because they had no idea that Moldova is willing to solve this conflict. (TD: 22\_PU:25)



In more general terms, a Transdnistrian politician summarizes the notion of reciprocity and good relations: “People from Transdnistria do not fight with people from the other side of the Dniester. They have good and friendly relations between them. (TD: 35\_OD: 85)”

If fostered, *Availability* and *Receptivity* can lead to *Accessibility*, the ability to understand each other, to relate on a personal level: “Now we communicate with people from the other side, we have friends there, we have relatives there and people from right bank come to us, and we come there, so we understand each other. (TD: 23\_AB:14)” Another interviewee expounds even more on the issue on *Accessibility*. “People from the both sides of the Dniester respect each other. They have the same culture, some of them speak the same language and have the same identity, they drink the same wine and eat the same food (TD: 31\_TU:55)” Sharing the same culture and identity, especially the notion of sharing the same food, often a human synonym for affiliation and belonging, illustrating how both sides to relate to each other on a personal level.

*Moldovan group.* In contrast to the Transdnistrian group, for the Moldovan group the conflict category *Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship with the others* is only a mildly well-developed category. From 16 Moldovan interviewees, nine uttered a total of 17 quotations, amounting to 10 % of all quotations in the second area (see Table 47).

Additionally, the Moldovan interviewees discuss this category in a more analytic or detached manner, whereas the Transdnistrian interviewees frequently cited their own personal experiences. The following Moldovan quotation illustrates the detached nature of the references: “At this moment it is not a problem to have unofficial discussions with people from the left side of the Dniester. MD: 7\_IPq: 197)”

As mentioned in the introduction, the mild impact on the Moldovan conflict narratives initially surprises, since it is part of the Moldovan narrative that Moldova and Transdnistria are one country and share a common background. However it is coherent with the conflict narrative in the manner, that the Moldovan group tends to stress the impact of the conflict on the two regions including the strain the conflict takes on the contacts. Also given the fact the majority of Moldovan do not travel to Transdnistria, while for Transdnistrian, at least in Tiraspol it is more common to travel to Chisinau, the Transdnistrian interviewee had more experiences to share regarding contact and cooperation.

The pattern observed in the specific conflict category matches one overall complaint in the Transdnistrian interviewees: that the majority of Moldovans no longer care about Transdnistria or put effort into going to the left bank: “Most young people from Moldova

know very few about Transdniestria. Many of them have never been to Tiraspol or Transdniestria. (TD: 22\_PU: 41)”

It also reveals that it is much more common for Transdniestrians to travel to the right bank then vice versa. As a matter of fact, within the conflict narrative of the Moldovan group, the category *Good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship with the others* is as frequent as the category *Difficulties in communication/relationship*. Going to Transdniestria is portrayed as frightening for Moldovans: “When I go to Transdniestria, when I cross the border, I feel a little afraid, sometimes I do not know how to react and what may happen. (MD: 15\_PF: 45)”

Summary for the Moldovan-Transdniestrian relations. It seems that it is more important for the Moldovan narrative to stress the damaging impact of the conflict than to focus on communities. On the Transdniestrian side specific conflict categories are also highlighted which support the Transdniestrians conflict narrative for independence (see mainly ‘8.3.5 Further Separation’). But when it comes to the description of the relations between the two societies there seems no threat, at least for the civil society to express positive relations. Since the same pattern holds true for both banks when comparing the conflict categories Similarities and common aspects to the other side and Difficulties in contact/ cooperation, equally distributed in the Moldovan interviewees, the former more pronounced in the Transdniestrian narratives, the latter even the least often coded category in the Transdniestrian group (see Table 47), allows the conclusion that this is more than a just a fluke but a trend in the narratives.

#### 8.2.7. **Summary 2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties**

*Summary for the Moldovan-Transdniestrian relations.* In conclusion it can be said, both groups have a good perception of each others’ interest which partly mirrors the political discourse. In both groups’ conflict narratives, the perception that the other side is an aggressor or suppressor predominates. Connected to this negative perception is a strain on trust conditions *Fairness Integrity* and *Benevolence*. In order to address the existent negative perception and improve the relations, trust measurements that gives the parties a chance to treat each other fair, highlight the integer behavior and to sensitize the sides for the needs and concern of their counterpart. To address the obstacles that mainly the Transdniestrians accuse the Moldovan leadership of being unpredictable, measurements, mainly in the political area, that show both sides an integer negotiation partners as well as deliberately actions that will be

followed through can improve and overcomes the strains on trust that is created through this perception. However surprising is that even though Moldovans purportedly strive toward unification, it is the Transdnistrian group that has a higher frequency of mentioning good and friendly contact with the other side, serving as a resource on the conflict. The existing trust condition in the Transdnistrian group *Availability* and *Receptivity* can foster through diverse measurements, that build and extend on availability as well as creating and highlighting situation in which both sides to take in the other side's perception, can lead and be strengthened to *Accessibility*, the ability to understand each other, to relate on a personal level.

Of specific interest is that the Transdnistrian group did not address the fears of the Moldovan group. The inability to predict the Moldovan fears can be seen as a lack of expressed empathy and also as a manifestation of the concept “egoism of victimization” by Volkan (2006b). Egoism of victimization “refers to the to the externally limited empathy a large group feels for the suffering of its enemy, even when that enemy is being the more severely victimized” (Volkan, 2009). Egoism of victimization is also a principle refer to that keeps large-groups in conflict (Mack, 1990) The pattern displayed by the Transdnistrians interviews fits the pattern, by the clear expression of its own fears while, at the same time the total disregard of the fears existing on the Moldovan side.

#### *Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework*

The previous section shed light on how trust and conflict are interwoven.

Figure 19 and Figure 20 depicts interwoven relations in form of a DNA helix for the 2<sup>nd</sup> conflict area. It shows that the conflict categories are shaded in their connotation by different trust conditions. It also shows that, as elaborated in the previous section, depending on the conflict narrative the Moldovan and the Transdnistrian groups associate different trust conditions with the conflict categories. For example, only the Transdnistrian group associates the lack of *Benevolence* with the conflict category *Others a suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude*. This result strengthens the claimed necessity of approaching trust through understanding the 21 conditions in order to display subtle differences between the connotation of the groups.

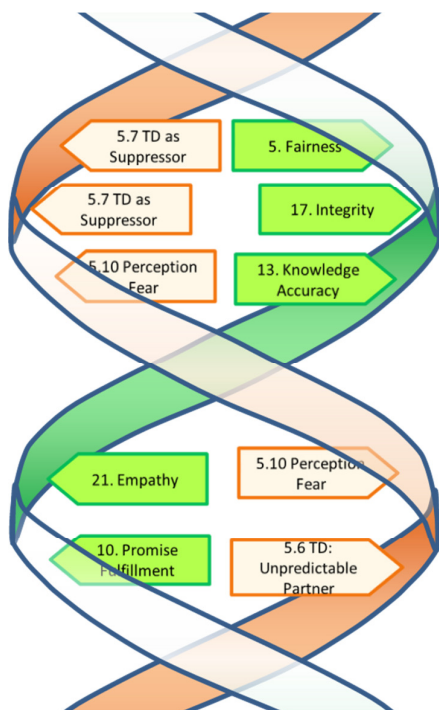


Figure 19. Moldovan interviewees Conflict- Trust – Helix for the 2nd area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties”

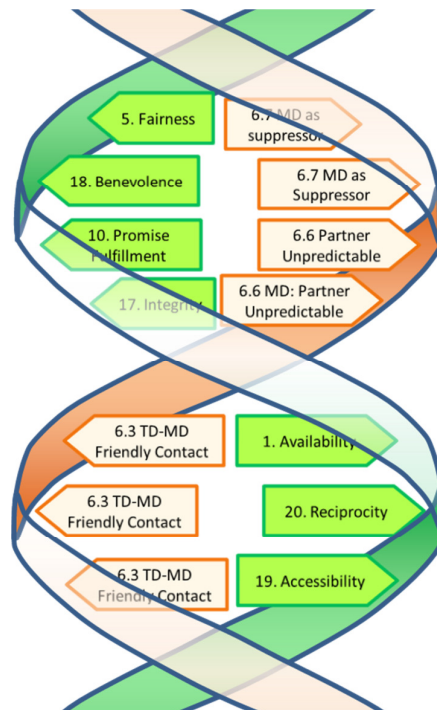


Figure 20. Transnistrian interviewees Conflict-Trust –Helix for the 2nd area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties”

### 8.3. 3<sup>rd</sup> Area – Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict

The 3<sup>rd</sup> are of the Conflict Map moves from the focus on the relations between the parties to factors that sustain the conflict and how the conflict impacts civil society. The subcategories of the 3<sup>rd</sup> area amount to a total of 15. Before analyzing the predominant conflict categories on the content level, I report the frequencies of the sub-categories.

#### 8.3.1. *Frequency of the Conflict Categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict*

Table 49 displays the 15 subcategories of the 3<sup>rd</sup> area, separately reported for the Moldovan and Transnistrian interviews. The categories are ordered according their frequencies in each group. For each group, the table reports the total number of quotations (n), amounting to a total number of quotations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area (line total). The percentage gives the relation to the frequency *within* the whole conflict area, in relation to the total of all quotations.

Table 49.

*Frequency conflict categories in the 3<sup>rd</sup> conflict map area Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict differentiating Moldovans and Transdnistrians. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD)*

rank	Moldovan group Conflict categories	Quotations	%	interviews	Transdnistrian group Conflict categories	n	%	interviews	rank
1	11.4 Elites: criticism	57	18.15	16	11.4 Elites: criticism against the elites	54	17.7	10	1
2	11.8 Propaganda	39	12.42	10	11.15 Language [...]	50	16.39	11	2
3	11.15 Language [...]	36	11.46	7	11.13 Separation: further separation	47	15.41	13	3
4	11.6 [...] Legal aspects	35	11.15	7	11.8 Propaganda	29	9.51	10	4
5	11.14 Travel issues	30	9.55	9	11.3 Education	22	7.21	9	5
6	11.3 Education	17	5.41	6	11.9 Safety [...]	18	5.90	3	6
6	11.9 Safety: [...]	17	5.41	9	11.2 Migration	16	5.25	9	7
8	11.13 Separation: further separation	16	5.10	8	11.6 [...] legal aspect	16	5.25	4	7
9	11.7 Media [...]	15	4.78	7	11.14 Travel Issue	16	5.25	9	7
10	11.1 Corruption	14	4.46	7	11.1 Corruption	10	3.28	6	10
10	11.5 Indifference towards the conflict	14	4.46	6	11.5 Indifference towards the conflict	9	2.95	6	11
12	11.11 Separation of land & villages	8	2.25	2	11.12 Separation of young generation	8	2.62	6	12
12	11.2 Migration	8	2.25	3	11.7 Media [...]	7	2.30	5	13
14	11.10 Separation of family & friends	5	1.59	4	11.11 Separation of land & villages	3	0.98	2	14
15	11.12 Separation of young generation	3	0.96	2	11.10 Separation of family & friends	0	0	0	15
total		314	100		total	305	100	100	

Note: For description conflict category, see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D

The number of quotations coded under the conflict category emphasizes the dominant (or less dominant) role of the conflict categories, which impact the conflict narratives of the two groups. In addition to the number of the quotations, it is also of relevant how many interviewees mention the specific category, implicating if the category is perceived by the majority of interviewees or just a small number.

As can be seen in Table 49, the most frequently coded conflict category in both groups is criticism of the elites. The category amounts for both groups for more than 15% of the conflict narratives, with 57 quotations in the Moldovan and 54 quotations in the

Transdniestrian interviewees. This distribution is in line with the understanding that it is not a conflict between the people but between the political leadership of each society, as elaborated under ‘Pillar of the Conflict’ the 1<sup>st</sup> area of the Conflict & Trust Map (see 1<sup>st</sup> Area - Pillar of the Conflict’). The next prevalent category is *Propaganda*, on both sides a frequently quoted conflict category. It is the second most frequent category in the Moldovan group with 39 quotations accounting for 12% of the conflict narratives and the third most frequent category in the Transdniestrian group accounting for almost 10% of the conflict narratives with 29 quotations.

A difference exists regarding the occurrence of *Insisting on legal aspects* and *further separation* on the two sides. *Insisting on legal aspects* is the third most frequent category in the Moldovan group, accounting for 11% of the conflict narratives with 35 quotations. In contrast, the Transdniestrian interviewees refer to the category only with 16 quotations accounting for 5 % of the conflict narratives. There is also difference in the frequency distribution of *Further separation* as a conflict sustaining factor. *Further separation* is the second most frequent category on the Transdniestrian side accounting for 18% of the conflict narratives with forty-seven quotations. In contrast, the Moldovan interviewees refer to the category only with 16 quotations accounting for 5 % of the conflict narratives. Under closer scrutiny, it becomes apparent that both categories, *Insisting on legal aspects* in the Moldovan interviews and *Further separation* in the Transdnistriens interviews feed the same thread of conflict narrative as will be explored under ‘8.3.5 Further Separation’.

The content analysis of the 3<sup>rd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” will focus on five different conflict categories: *11.4 Elites: criticism on Elites*, *11.8 Propaganda*, *11.15 Language: differences regarding the language*; *11.6 Insisting on legal aspects*; and *11.13 Separation: further separation*.

These conditions accumulate on both sides to more than 68% (58.28%<sub>MD</sub>; 64.26%<sub>TD</sub>) of the conflict narratives, and provide a comprehensive overview on the characteristics of the factors sustaining the conflict.

For the content analysis, these conditions are again put in relation to trust. The description of the conflict categories are all build in the same manner: I introduce first the conflict category and then elaborate how it is related to trust for the Moldovan and Transdnistriens group separately. Then I compare where the groups match or differ in their associated trust conditions and how it can impact their conflict narrative. I end the description of each conflict category with a summery for the two lenses of the chapter: First, what is relevant for the instrument Conflict & Trust Map as procedure for conflict assessment and

second, what implication can be drawn for possible interveners working in the Moldovan-Transdnistrians conflict.

### 8.3.2. *Elites: Criticism against The Elites*

The conflict category *Criticism against the elites* is the most frequent conflict category for both groups. This captures that the elites of both groups are seen as the main factor sustaining the conflict. The category codes every statement that contains criticism against the elite group of either side. The term elites include political leadership, as well as economic influential groups of each side or other influential groups which are associated with the top-level leadership. The top-leadership refers to the most visible leaders of the group, which are in position to make decisions impacting the whole group and course of the conflict. (see also 1.4 ‘Third party Intervention in Large Group Conflicts’ & Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D)

The criticism against the elites has to be differentiated on three levels, (1) criticism against both elites, (2) criticism against the other side’s elites, and (3) criticism against one’s own elites. This section focuses on the first two aspects since they are mainly relevant for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian conflict relations. Both sides aim their criticism of the elites at political leaders. More precisely, the criticism can be summarized into two areas: (1) political elites lack the will to solve the conflict and, closely connected (2) elites refuse to engage unless it benefits their own economic or power interests. In this sense the criticisms are consistent with the reported root of the conflict to be not a conflict between people but between leaders (see also Table 46.) Criticism against the elites is not only the most frequent conflict category on both sides, but also a prominent trust theme. On both sides, the majority of quotations are associated with one or more trust conditions.

*Moldovan group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews in the Moldovan group, all 16 interviewees uttered a total of 57 quotations that were coded under the category *Criticism against the elites* amounting to 18% of all quotations in the third area (see Table 49), which suggest that this perception is widespread within Moldovan society. Thirty-three of the quotations are directly aimed at the Transdnistrian elites, 13 addressed both sides, and 11 regard their own elites.

When addressing both side elites, the criticism includes specific targeting the two prominent leaders on both sides, the former Moldovan president Vladimir Voronin and the then-current leader of Transdnistria, Igor Smirnov. Both left their mark in the politics due to

their long period of governance; Smirnoff was in office from 1991 to 2011 and Voronin from 2001 to 2009.

Because of their [Moldovan and the Transdnistrian powers], economic interests as well. You know Smirnoff, for instance, is the richest man in Transdnistria and the same thing for Voronin, that Moldovan president, whose son is the richest man in Moldova, really rich, multi-millionaire. There are certainly many, many interests in preserving this status quo which will protect also these economic interests. (MD: 2\_RP: 127)

When just addressing criticism on the Transdnistrian elites, the Moldovan interviewees display an addition facet in their criticism, stating explicitly that the Transdnistrian leaders are authoritarian, lacking the ability to comprise and also actively controlling their population in order to stay in power: “Of course it [cooperation] is going to be difficult because Transdnistria is a controlled territory and the security services are still strong and they control the most part of the social life. (MD: 12\_XM :56)”

In addition to being a main part of the conflict narrative regarding maintaining aspects of the conflict, the category *Criticism against the elites* is highly associated with trust. From all 47 quotations uttered against the elites on both sides, 26 are also independently coded under at least one trust condition (see ‘7.3.1’ Table 38). The main associated trust conditions are lack of *Integrity* accounting for 13, and *Loyalty – Self-Interest* with nine associations. The following quote refers to the issue that the political elites on all levels are perceived to profit from illegal activities, such as trafficking, an involvement that lacks accordance with a moral code, therefore eroding the trust condition *Integrity*:

When I say that the human traffic is under an official control I mean that if somebody tries to take a girl out from Tiraspol to Turkey for example, that persons needs the permission of the police from the border and prosecutors. (MD: 1\_OH :65)

Much criticism of the elites captures the belief that the elites do not solve the conflict, due to their own interest, straining the trust condition *Loyalty – Self-Interest* as illustrated in the following quotation: “People don't understand anymore; they [Moldovan and Transdnistrian leaders] should have met so many times but they did not; they put their personal interests first, above the people's interests. (MD: 10\_VI :13)” The perception, that the action of the leaders straining the trust condition *Loyalty – Self-Interest* as well as *Integrity* is also shared by Transdnistrian interviewees.



*Transdnistrian group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews on the Transdnistrian group, ten uttered a total of 54 quotations that were coded under the category *Criticism against the elites* amounting to 17 % of all quotations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area (see Table 49). Twenty-one of the quotations are geared towards both sides, 17 of the quotations directly addressed the Moldovan elites and 16 are expressed regarding their own elites.

Just as in for the Moldovan group, the conflict category is highly associated with trust in the Transdnistrian narratives. From the 38 quotations addressing the criticism on both sides or explicitly towards the Moldovan elites, 28 are associated at least with one trust condition, amounting to 74 % of the quotations. Unlike in the Moldovan narrative, where there are two main trust conditions associated with the criticism category, *Integrity and Loyalty – Self-Interest*, the trust conditions on the Transdnistrian side are more scattered, with 14 associated trust conditions. When it comes to the conflict category, three main criticism threads can be identified: (1) the elites have their own interest in the status quo; (2) they act aggressively towards each other and more precisely, the Moldovan elite is aggressive towards the Transdnistrian population; and (3) they lack the ability to handle the conflict capably.

Shared on both sides is the perception that the political elites benefit from the status quo and therefore have an interest in maintaining the conflict, whether for economic interest, personal political interest, or in the interest in maintaining their own governmental organizations: “Keeping this conflict frozen is in the benefit of the government of Transdnistria and Moldova. Moldova gets moral, financial and political benefits from the west and Transdnistria gets the same benefits but from the east.(TD: 33\_FH :16)” More pronounced is the critique from this Transdnistrian academic, condemning the power interest of the elites in the region:

So, the main characteristic of all these representatives of the government (in Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Transdnistria, Russia etc.) consists in the fact that they don’t have principles. They have only one principle and only one desire – to get as much power as possible, using different methods. So it is an absolutely immoral political culture. (TD: 25\_UU: 21)

The latter quotation also illustrates how the *Criticism against the elites* is associated with the trust condition *Integrity*, affecting the overall trust in the leaders.

*Comparison between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group.* While so far the focus has been mainly on matches between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees in the areas regarding the criticism, there exists two interesting differences. One, the Transdnistrian

interviewees express criticism of their own elites. From the overall 44 quotations, 16, almost 1/3 are aimed towards their own elites, accounting for 29% within the category. This tendency is not as prevalent in the Moldovan group. From 57 quotations, only 11 regard their own leaders, accounting for 19 % in the category criticism of elites. Interviewees criticize their own leadership for the same reason they criticize the other side's leadership, namely, that the elites keep the conflict going for their own benefit: "So, the main question is who is benefiting from this conflict? If you look at this region and ask yourself who is winning, then you can see those people that still govern the country even after 20 years. These people own the republic. (TD: 33\_FH: 8)"

Transdnistrian interviewees shared the Moldovan perception that Transdnistrian elites are authoritarian:

They could do this if they are allowed. And in Transdnistria, not everyone is allowed to deepen this problem. For example, to make a simple conference you have to have the approval of the government and [adhere] to some rules, which are not written. Or you just won't be allowed to pass the borders. (TD: 28\_IX:43)

This is a manifestation of the same thread of the 2nd area '8.2.3 Conflict Category: Others as Suppressor/Aggressor/ Negative Attitude', and will recur under '8.3.5 Further Separation'.

The second intriguing difference between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian groups regarding the criticism category lies in another dominant thread appearing only in the Transdnistrian interviews: the criticism that the authorities on both sides do not handle the political affairs in a competent manner, a natural association with a strain on the trust condition *Competence/ Ability*: "Both governments do not have the necessary knowledge about dialogues; mass media must keep the society absolutely informed about all the changes in the society.(TD\_23\_GD: 108)"

The Transdnistrian interviewees further contend that the leadership refuses to rely on people who have an expertise in important knowledge-based topics:

They [the politicians on both sides] may ask the opinion of experts only in some small and insignificant issues, regarding a problem that only an expert can solve. The most important political decisions are taken by politicians without taking into consideration the opinion of the experts.(TD: 25\_UU: 37)

The latter quotation is not coded under the trust condition *Competence/ Ability* but under *Receptivity*; not taking in another's idea. It is harder for civil society to trust the

leadership when the perception prevails that political elites are not willing to listen or taking into account expert knowledge. In addition to the perceived lack of competency, the strain on these two trust conditions can severely weaken the trust in both sides' politicians.

The thread of handling political affairs in an incompetent manner in the Transdnistrian interviews is also expressed specifically to the Moldovan elites:

Because sometimes Moldovan government make so stupid decision like say they want to go to EU as a member of EU and they ask money from Russia, the same time. Or they say they will work with Russia but they ask money from EU. (TD: 24\_QC: 132)

Interestingly, the perception of the political elite as not being capable is not as dominant in the Moldovan interviews. The perception of the Moldovan government's incompetency is a sore spot for Moldovans and dates back to Soviet rule, when Romanian, which is mainly spoken by the Moldovan elite, was labeled as a "kitchen language," reflecting the issue that the Romanian-speaking population used to hold the less prestigious occupations (International Crisis Group, 2003) as well as the fact that Romanian speakers tended to be less educated than Russian speakers. Additionally, the Russian citizen or speakers were seen as experts (International Crisis Group, 2003). This perception is still not overcome and something the Moldovan population still struggles with, as expressed in the following Moldovan quotation: "And this left a very bad mark on the Moldovans because they felt maybe inferior and they always think that if you speak Russian, then you are the best of the best.(MD: 13\_XDw: 25)" It is also assumed that this attitude still exists within the Russian-speaking Transdnistrian population:

And I met also two similar situations [in which the Russian speaking Transdnistrian act superior towards Romanian speaking Moldovans] with Transdnistrian young people [...] because the Russian speaking population in Transdnistria came to Moldova during the Soviet time as specialists and as engineers and highly qualified but Moldovan people in their perception were peasants.(MD: 2\_RP: 13)

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework.* I close this section with a final reflection on the wide distribution of the trust conditions associated in the Transdnistrian group with the conflict category *Criticism against the elites*. On the one hand side it shows it strengthens the approach of different trust conditions. Since for the Moldovan group, two trust conditions were sufficient to capture the majority of trust related connotation, for the Transdnistrian group, more subtleties were revealed, as expressed in the association of *Competence*, *Reciprocity* or *Integrity*, just to mention some. Nevertheless, the question

occurs, if the conflict category *Criticism against elites* by itself is not concrete enough. There is a difference in the abstraction level between the conflict categories and trust conditions, inherent to the fact that the former were developed as bottom-up approach from the Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviews and the latter based on existing trust inventories (see Chapt. 6) I will reflect on this issue more in the conclusion (Chapt. 9).

*Summery for intervention in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* For the concrete intervention work however it is not a disadvantage that in the Transdnistrian narrative no dominant trust condition appears. It strengthens the fine-grained differentiation and allows more precise reaction towards the different themes within the elite category. Looking, for example, at the conflict thread “handling political affairs” through the different foci of *Competence* and *Receptivity* not only captures the depth of the areas but also opens up different angles with which to approach them. For example, the above quotation “Both governments do not have the necessary knowledge about dialogues; mass media must keep the society absolutely informed about all the changes in the society” could be addressed through explicitly and transparently engaging experts from both side, with a close follow up of implementing their advice, and therefore strengthen the trust condition receptivity.

### 8.3.3. *Propaganda*

The conflict category *Propaganda* is for both groups within the top third of frequently coded categories. *Propaganda* belongs to the conflict categories capturing aspects that sustaining the conflict. Statements were coded under *Propaganda*, when propaganda was explicitly mentioned by the interviewees or statements that indicate that the official discourse or the opinion of the population got influenced. Just like *Criticism against the elite*, it can be differentiated in three ways: Propaganda on both sides, propaganda on the other side, and propaganda on one’s own side. *Propaganda* is also a highly associated with trust on both sides, having the majority of quotations associated with one or more trust conditions.

*Moldovan group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews in the Moldovan group, 10 interviewees uttered a total of 39 quotations that were coded under the category *Propaganda* amounting to 12% of all quotations in the third area (see Table 49) allowing the conclusion that this perception is widespread within Moldovan society. The overwhelming majority of 34 quotations are directly geared towards Transdnistrian propaganda; only two addressed the propaganda on both sides and only three regarded their own propaganda. More precisely, only

two of the ten interviewees speak about the propaganda on both sides, and only one of them touches upon the propaganda within the Moldovan group.

*Propaganda* is a highly associated with trust condition. The 39 quotations also display a strong association with the trust relation, having 28 associated with at least one or more trust conditions. As elaborated in Chapter Seven (see 7.3.2 ‘Content Comparison: Conflict Category – Trust Conditions Relations the vast majority of 22 quotations are connected with *Knowledge Accuracy*, which is partly due to the coding scheme. However there are two closely-connected main areas in the Moldovan perception of the Transdnistrian propaganda, how the lack of *Knowledge Accuracy* plays out in its impact on trust. Firstly, (1) Moldovan interviewees note the presentation of Moldova as an enemy of Transdnistria: “Because mass-media talks about it every day. When you hear every day that Moldova is an enemy, you begin believing it and when people keep leaving with that mentality it is very hard to change it.(MD: 15\_PF: 39)”

A variation of this area is secondly, (2) Transdnistrians portray Moldova as having a close connection with Romania, which is presented as a threat to Transdnistria. “They [Transdnistrian] think that if Moldova will reunite with Romania there will come a bunch of Romanian people and throw them out of their homes. They think their property and businesses will be taken away, etc. (MD: 12\_XM: 20)”

Both quotes show that the propaganda area strains the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy* in the sense that Moldovans believe that the Transdnistrian society believes the wrongly presented facts about Moldova. Beside the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy*, the trust condition *Security* is also connected with these two specific *Propaganda* areas. Moldovans perceive that the Transdnistrian society believes, due to the propaganda, that the Moldovans and Romanians are like to attack them and thus are a real threat to Transdnistrian security. Both conditions highlight the inherently reciprocal nature of trust. Even though the lack of *Knowledge Accuracy* and lack of *Security* are associated with the Moldovan group’s perception of propaganda, the possible strain on the trust relation manifests on Transdnistrian side as well.

The two quotations from the two interviewees that referred to the propaganda on both sides are interestingly enough associated with overall trust:

A new generation has grown up now. There is a new generation of people on the both sides of the Dniester. Now they look with suspicion towards each other because of the propaganda campaigns that were conducted not only in Transdnistria but also here, in Moldova. (MD: 12\_XM: 20)

It seems that despite a close link between *Propaganda* and the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy* in the Moldovan group, this trend exists only in the perception of how propaganda affects the Transdnistrian side. This connection is not as explicit regarding the propaganda within Moldovan society. For example, the following quotation refers to misrepresentation from the Moldovan leadership regarding the Transdnistrian elites: “Moldovan government over the last 17 years spread a lot of wrong information about Transdnistria. There were talks about the criminal regime from Transdnistria and about criminals shooting on the streets. (MD: 12\_XM: 20)” Even so, this quotation can be associated with a strain on *Knowledge Accuracy*; the interviewee did not elaborate any further on it. As a matter of fact he switched perspectives immediately afterwards and dove into a longer explanation of Transdnistrian erroneous beliefs about the Moldovan threat:

They think that if Moldova will reunite with Romania there will come a bunch of Romanian people and throw them out of their homes. They think their property and businesses will be taken away, etc. And a big part of all this is not true. (MD: 12\_XM: 20)

The quick switch and the few quotations addressing the possible propaganda or campaigns within the own group, to use a less provocative term, indicates a lower awareness for the own exposure towards possible political discourse.

*Transdnistrian group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews in the Transdnistrian group, 10 interviewees uttered a total of 29 quotations that were coded under the category *Propaganda* amounting to 11 % of all quotations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area (see Table 49) allowing the that the perception of this maintaining factor is widespread within the Transdnistrian society. Unlike the Moldovan interviews, the quotations are evenly distributed among the three different directions of propaganda. Ten quotations are geared towards propaganda on both sides, nine address the Moldovan propaganda, and ten discuss their own propaganda. Six of the ten interviewees stressed the propaganda on the both sides, and only three of these stressed propaganda explicitly on the Moldovan group. Five of the interviewees addressing the propaganda on both sides additionally explicitly mentioned the propaganda within Transdnistria and one interviewee solely speak about the propaganda within his own group.

In another contrast with the Moldovan group, the areas captured within the Transdnistrian narrative on propaganda are more diverse and no dominant main areas appear. When addressing the propaganda on both sides, the Transdnistrian interviewees rely more on empty clichés, using the terms propaganda or stereotypes without concrete references:

Because there are stereotypes, there is propaganda. Because of the time. Newspapers are not sold on the other side of the river; their newspapers are not sold here. Because there is no common TV, they are different. How can we trust, how can they trust us? (TD: 28\_IX: 148)

However when reflecting upon the propaganda within Transdnistria, the interviewees statements become much more concrete and actually confirm the perception of the Moldovan interviewees on the impact of the Transdnistrian internal propaganda that presents Moldova as an enemy: “For youth, a lot means stereotypes; since they have been born they heard about that we are an independent state and Moldova is the aggressor state that can capture Transdnistria any time. (TD: 28\_IX: 75)”

And just as with the Moldovan group, the quotation shows the close link between propaganda and a possible strain on the two trust conditions *Knowledge Accuracy* and *Security*. A difference is that the Transdnistrian group recognizes the impact of the propaganda on its own society, acknowledging it strains trust through the strain on the aforementioned conditions.

Furthermore not only Moldova but also the other (western-) oriented neighbors are presented as enemies, creating a feeling of isolation and solidarity within Transdnistrian society: “The government created an artificial isolation. This self-isolation reflects the politics of our country. The government created an image of enemies for all the countries around us, Ukraine, Romania, and Moldova. Our only friend is Russia and maybe North Korea.(TD: 33\_FH: 179)”

The commonality with Russia is also expressed in the Transdnistrian perception of the Moldovan propaganda. Two threads appear in the quotations: (1) the perception that Moldova tries to weaken and ostracize Transdnistria and (2) the perceived positive influence of Russia in the region. The following quotations capture the first thread:

One of the things was that the Moldovan government issued a worked-out program of informational pressure on the public opinion in the western world about the situation here in the country. To be more exact, they tried to persuade of the existing in this place production of weapons, trafficking of people and trafficking of narcotics and trafficking of illegal money, which is not true. [...] They wanted to attract attention of the western world and to make it possible to limit the resources coming from abroad to Pridnestrovie and in this way, pressure on our republic, economically, they supposed to make us more obedient and finally to give in. (TD: 21\_GU: 116)

Just as in the Moldovan group, in the Transdnistrian group *Propaganda* relates highly with trust. Out of 29 quotations 21 are associated with at least one or more trust conditions (73 %). Of more interest, all nine quotations addressing the propaganda on the Moldovan side are trust associated. *Knowledge Accuracy* is the main trust condition associated with *Propaganda*, but it also strains *Honesty* and *Fairness* trust conditions.

The Moldovan propaganda in the western world is associated with the trust condition *Honesty*; indicating that on the Transdnistrian group the trust relation with Moldova is strained due to dishonest action, such as creating a program to discredit Transdnistria in the west. Feeling that Moldovans try put pressure on them also strains the Transdnistrian belief that Moldovans would treat them fairly, affecting the trust condition *Fairness*. The next quotation illustrates the second thread in the expressed perception that Moldova's propaganda discredit Russia, a close ally of Transdnistria, holding the potential of straining the trust conditions *Knowledge Accuracy* and *Fairness*:

They made informational campaigns inside of Moldova and inside of Moldovan population: And they said, they live very badly because Russia [word not understood] their perestroika, and Russia has the politic interest on Moldova, we must be free of Russia, let's say to Russia: Go from Moldova! (TD: 24\_QC: 22)

Transdnistrians hold the dangerous perception that Moldova tries to isolate them not only from the West but also from the East. Both quotations also display that Moldova is perceived as perverting the facts and not present them correctly.

*Summery for intervention in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* Propaganda as a sustaining factor in the conflict is addressed by both groups. However in spite of this recognition both groups are prone to two dangerous perceptions. For the Moldovan group it appears that the group holds a lower awareness level for their own exposure towards possible political discourse which can lead to a higher vulnerability that also impacts the trust relationship to the Transdnistrian side, through the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy*. This lack of awareness to double check information and campaigns geared against Transdnistria from Moldovan side impacts negatively the trust condition *Knowledge Accuracy*.

While the Transdnistrian group recognizes, there is propaganda within their own group, the thread that becomes mainly recognizable is the stigmatization of Moldova as an enemy. This perception however also extends to the assumption that Moldova ostracize



Transdnistria from the west, hence the perception of western players, such as the EU also gets tainted through the propaganda.

#### 8.3.4. *Language: Differences Regarding the Language*

The conflict category *Language: differences regarding the language* is one of the three most frequently coded categories. In the Moldovan group it is the third frequent and in the Transdnistrian group the second frequent conflict category. Both groups identify the difference regarding the language as a main factor sustaining the conflict. Statements were coded under *Language: differences regarding the language* when interviewees explicitly used the term language or spoke about the use of the Russian or Romanian (Moldovan) language. This conflict category displays an interesting difference in the trust association between the Moldovan and Transdnistrian group. For both groups the condition is highly associated with trust, but the association display important different connotation when it comes to the conflict category *Language: differences regarding the language*.

*Moldovan group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews, seven uttered a total of 36 quotations that were coded under the category *Language: differences regarding the language*, comprising 12% of all quotations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map (see Table 49). Twenty-two of these quotations are also independently coded as at least one or more trust conditions, displaying the high association between this conflict category and trust.

The main trust conditions on the Moldovan group associated with category *Language: differences regarding the language* is *Fairness*. The trust condition *Fairness* bases trust on the perception that ‘others treat one equally, fairly, with dignity’ (see also Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E). For the conflict category *Language: differences regarding the language* the Moldovan interviewees experiences a strain on the trust condition *Fairness*. The lack of being treated fair or with dignity is mainly expressed through the perception that in Transdnistria Romanian is perceived as something negative: “People over there are taught from childhood that the Romanian language is bad, that everything that is related to the right bank is bad, (MD: 13\_XDw: 17)” being consistent with the narrative elaborate previously under propaganda (8.3.3). The other notion that has been mentioned before (see ‘8.3.5 Further Separation & Insisting on Legal Aspects’) acting as a possible strain on trust through the trust condition *Fairness* is the perception that Romanian is treated inferior to Russian, as not being treated equal: “In Transdnistria you can feel very good the difference between Russian people and Romanian people. People from there are afraid not to speak in Russian because they might be treated with inferiority and without respect. (MD: 15\_Pf: 65)”

*Transdnistrian group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews, 11 interviewees uttered a total of 50 quotations accumulating for 17% of the conflict narrative in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map (see Table 49). Twenty-three of these quotations are also independently coded as at least one or more trust conditions, displaying the association between this conflict category and trust. However, the Transdnistrian side does not share the Moldovan side's association between *Language: differences regarding the language* and the lack of the trust condition *Fairness*. For the Transdnistrian group *Language: differences regarding the language* is associated with strains on the trust conditions lack *Compatibility* and lack of *Receptivity*. *Compatibility* contributes to trust through the perception that parties share background, values, beliefs or interests. *Receptivity* contributes to trust through the perception that others are willing to listen to the ideas and input of the other side. It extends to mental availability of the other side, which includes receptivity regarding language aspects' (see also Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E). The following quotation captures the lack of *Receptivity* as well a lack in *Compatibility* between the two groups:

As in Transdnistria, most people speak only Russian, but in Moldova, only Moldovan and Romanian, so, you see, it is still separated ... as someone said, soon young people from Moldova and Transdnistria, will not speak in Moldavian, not in Russian, but in English. This is the common language. (TD: 32\_PM: 65)

In the quotation stresses the lack in *Compatibility* through the different use of language. This is consistent with the theme, that language is used by the Transdnistrians to support their claim on independence and therefore stressing the difference from the Moldovan side. This theme will be further elaborated under '8.3.5 Further Separation & Insisting on Legal Aspects'.

In the quotation also stresses the lack in *Receptivity*, which includes the understanding being able to communicate with each other. Nine quotations on the Transdnistrian side refer to the constrain to be able to talk to each other due to the lack of a mutual shared language creating the link between language and the possible strain on the trust condition *Receptivity*.

*Summery for intervention in the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* It can be said although language is a prevalent category in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees, the two groups differ in the associated trust conditions. In the Moldovan narrative, language is mainly used to stress an unjust treatment, associated with the trust condition *Fairness*.

However language in the Transdnistrian group is mainly used to stress differences between the two banks, and through the focus being a possible strain on the trust condition *Compatibility* as well as through the notion that the both banks are quite literally only able anymore to communicate through a third foreign language, a strain on the trust condition *Receptivity*. The connotation of the Transdnistrian group fits with the narratives of being an independent entity of Moldova, which appears again in the next conflict category '8.3.5 Further Separation & Insisting on Legal Aspects

#### 8.3.5. *Further Separation & Insisting on Legal Aspects*

The final two categories in the 3<sup>rd</sup> conflict area reported are that sustain the conflict are the categories *Further separation* and *Insisting on Legal aspects*. Both categories are within the top third of the most frequently coded categories in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area. *Further separation* is the third most frequently coded category in the Transdnistrian group and *Insisting on legal aspects* is the fourth most frequent category in the Moldovan group. The conflict category *Further separation* was created as a consequence of already existing, more specific separation category which address for example the separation of families through the conflict (for more elaboration see Conflict Map Booklet, Appendix D). The conflict category *Further separation* codes includes all statements that refer to separation, but cannot be coded under the more specific categories. It codes statements that reflect the fact, that Moldova and Transdnistria are in one way or the other separated. The conflict category *Insisting on legal aspects* focuses on a legal argumentation within the conflict narratives. It codes all statements that stress legitimacy for interviewees own group as well as statement that subvert the legitimacy of the other side.

Interestingly, even though both categories cover different contents, they fulfill for both groups the same need of justification for respective positions in the conflict. The Transdnistrian interviewees stress diverse areas of separation to back their stand on independence while the Moldovan interviewees rely on the legal argumentation for their stand on unification.

##### *Further Separation*

*Transdnistrian group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews on the *Transdnistrian* group, 13 uttered a total of 47 quotations that were coded under the category *Further separation* amounting to 15% of all quotations in the third area (see Table 49) allow the conclusion that this perception is wide-spread within the Transdnistrian society. From the 47

quotations in the conflict category, 33 are also coded as relevant for one or more trust condition, implying the close link to trust. The conflict category also displays a close relation to a strain on trust through a negative developed trust condition *Compatibility*. With the separation, the perception to share the same background, values or beliefs with the other side evaporates (see also Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E).

All 47 quotations which are coded in the Transdnistrian interviews for the category *Further separation* support the Transdnistrian position on independence and also discredit the Moldovan position on unification.

One dominant theme emerging is that Moldova and Transdnistrian differ nowadays due to the 20 years of separation: “We have a wish to develop ourselves as independent state because since 1992 we have been separated and we have developed in a different ways, strategies, different modes.(TD: 36\_CD: 22)” This notion of separated development is also closely related to a strain on the trust condition *Compatibility* as the next quotation illustrated:

Moldova and Transdnistria have different economic strategies and in all these years the economic development of these two regions was different. Nowadays the economy of Moldova is mostly based on the development of agriculture while Transdnistria’s economy is more oriented towards the export of different goods...it is an industrial region. (TD: 25\_UU: 17)

The above quotation stresses the difference from a political perspective, stressing the separate development of the two banks, adding their *incompatibility*. The negative impact on trust is more pronounced in the next quotations, which stresses Moldova’s orientation towards Romania and Transdnistria’s orientation towards Russia: “Moldova and Transdnistria are oriented towards different countries. Transdnistria is oriented towards Ukraine and Russia... mostly toward Russia. Moldova has made another choice- to be oriented towards European Union.(TD: 25\_UU: 17)” That this development is not just a political development but also includes the civil society expresses the next quotation:

They [Moldovan citizen] want to be or they are already citizens of Romania. According to information, there are 300 or 400.000 people who are citizens of Romania in Moldova. In this way, it is continuing our moving away from each other, from the both sides, the banks of the river Dniester. (TD: 23\_ES:22)

While the Transdnistrian interviewees stress their difference to the right bank that has increased in the past 20 years of separation, there is also the understanding that this notion is not shared by the Moldovan perspective: “People [Moldovans] do not consider that there is a

difference between them and people from Transdnistria. But these are just words...it is just what people from Moldova say...but when they meet with Transdnistrian people you can feel the distance.(TD: 31\_TU: 107)”

*Moldovan group.* The conflict category *Further separation* is not dominant in the Moldovan conflict narratives. From 16 transcribed *Moldovan* interviews, eight interviewees also point out further separations, but only with a total of 16 quotations accumulating for only 5% of the conflict narrative in the 3rd area. Nevertheless from these 16 quotations 11 are associated with one or more trust conditions. Just as in the Transdnistrian group, the separation is mainly put in association *Compatibility and Receptivity*, but not as a strain but resource.

This estrangement of the two populations stressed by the Transdnistrian group, is also recognized in the perception by the Moldovans, but is also linked to the political situation as something that can be overcome and not as a deep inherent difference:

[...] this estrangement between the population of the both sides of the Dniester but it is not really rooted in religion or ethnicity. Here in Chisinau we have more Russian speaking people than we have in Transdnistria. So this is also an interesting fact. That basically gives us a lot of hope because the ethnic mix of the population from the both sides is proximately the same. Of course there are more Romanian speaking people on this side (on the right side) than on the other side. But on the other hand the number of Russian schools here in Chisinau is also big. So there are no fundamental divergences and differences that would lead you to the conclusion that this estrangement is irreparable. It is not irreparable. (MD: 12\_XM: 30)

As can be seen in the above quotation, *Compatibility* between the two banks are stressed through the shared ethnical mixed population on both sides and also through the perception that Russian is spoken on both sides of the Dniester. As can be already seen in the quotation above, language is not seen as a main separation, as is more pronounced in the following quotation of a Moldovan Romanian native speaker:

I would say the right bank; they are more docile and more flexible regarding the Russian language. They know the Romanian language but if you speak in Russian, then that's OK. If you understand in Romanian, I could speak in Romanian, you could speak in Russian. (MD: 13\_XDw: 17)

This quotation does not just stress the existence of *Compatibility*, but also of *Receptivity*, expressing the mental availability of the other side regarding language aspects (see Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E)

In summary, the areas of further separation are only partly shared by the Moldovan group. While there is agreement regarding the estrangement, there is less agreement on its final and harmful status.

However, it is of interest that the different development of the societies is not described in a value-free manner on the Moldovan side, but with the judgment that the Moldovan society developed in the past 20 years in a more open and mature society than its Transdnistrian counterpart.

But we are just at the beginning of a real mature society. Transdnistria instead is absolutely undeveloped so the society cannot influence politicians. This is the tradition of Russian society and soviet society- not to follow the decisions of the society but to force, to impose the society to follow the political decisions. (MD: 1\_OH: 6)

What is more remarkable is that the Transdnistrian interviewees in the overall trust assessment through the Conflict & Trust Map Interview (see '7.2' Table 30.) report the lack of *Fairness* which they experience from the Moldovan side as an impact on the trust relationship. The expressed patronizing perception on the Transdnistrian interviewees, that their society is less mature than the Moldovan can serve as a prime example that the Transdnistrian perception is rooted in accurate perception.

### *Insisting on Legal Aspect*

The conflict category *Insisting on legal aspect* focuses on a legal argumentation within the conflict narratives. The conflict category can be differentiated on two levels: legal aspects that legitimize one's own position, and legal aspects that subvert the legitimization of the other side.

*Moldovan group.* From all 16 transcribed interviews in the Moldovan group, seven uttered a total of 35 quotations that were coded under the category *Insisting on legal aspect* amounting to 11% of all quotations in the third area (see Table 49). It is therefore a medium widespread category within the Moldovan society, probably due to its specification in the legal domain, but has nevertheless a prominent impact on the conflict narratives.

*Insisting on legal aspect* as a conflict category serves in the Moldovan group the same purpose as the category *Further separation* in the Transdnistrian group: to justify its own position on unification and also discredit the Transdnistrian position on independence.

From the 34 quotations using legal aspects, nine stress the legitimization of one's own position. When done, the interviewees stress that the international law backs the position of Moldova as a united country: "All the international acts and agreements are on our side [for unification] and they must be respected. (MD: 7\_IPq: 17)" In addition to accentuating the legitimization of one's own position, 26 quotations subvert the position of Transdnistria and only eight strengthen one's own position. The latter is also highly associated with trust, mainly as a strain on the trust condition *Integrity*.

Within the subverting statements two main areas are apparent: Transdnistria as a non-democratic entity and a society that breaks international laws, mainly Human Right laws. The following quotation refers to the former:

According to Smirnov, these referendums showed that the majority of Transdnistrians want to live in an independent state. Moldova cannot approve these results since we know that elections and referendums are not organized in a democratically way in Transdnistria, so it is impossible to know what people from Transdnistria want. (MD: 9\_CI: 73)

The above quotation is closely associated with the trust category *Integrity*, since is the interviewee questions if the election was democratic, hence lacking a moral code. Furthermore, the perception also holds the potential of subverting trust in Transdnistrian leadership through its association with the trust condition *Honesty*, since the quotation holds the connotation of deceit in the Transdnistrian claims.

The other line of argumentation in which the Moldovan narrative subverts the Transdnistrian position on independence is the violation of human rights within the Transdnistrian territory: "Moldova cannot control Transdnistria and that leads to the violation of the human rights in that territory including the human traffic. (MD: 7\_IPq: 89)" There is no dispute that there are severe human rights violations committed on the left bank as illustrated by the Netherland Institute of Human Rights (Netherland Institute of Human Rights, 2004). The following quotations mention one of the most prominent cases: *Ilașcu vs. Russia and Moldova*. *Ilașcu* was an activist whom the Transdnistrian government imprisoned for allegedly engaging in anti-Soviet activities and illegally combating the legitimate government of the State of Transdnistria as well as murders. Since Transdnistria is an unrecognized territory, he sued Moldova as well as Russia for his incarnation:

For years he was kept in solitary confinement without access to family and medical assistance. Ilașcu was eventually released in 2001, two years after he filed an application with the European Court of Human Rights and following a verdict of the European Court for Human Rights, where he sued both Russia and Moldova. European Court of human rights mentioned in its decision that Ilașcu's rights have been violated during the trial and that art. 4 and 7 of the European Convention for Human Rights have been violated too. (MD: 9\_CI: 87)

The European Court of human right not only considers the incarceration unlawful, but also the condition of it, the long period of eight years without contact in an unheated cell. These circumstances are known on the right bank, also straining trust in the regards of *Integrity* and *Security*.

In summary, the line of legal argumentation and legal aspects are used by the Moldovan interviewees to strengthen their position on unification, while also emphasizing the toll the separation takes on the Transdnistrian citizens in the form of Human Rights violations.

*Transdnistrian group.* In comparison, in the 16 transcribed Transdnistrian interviews, four interviewees cite legal aspects in their conflict narratives with a total of 16 quotations accumulating for only 5 % of the conflict narrative in the 3rd area of the Conflict Map, covering the characteristics of the factors sustaining the conflict. It is not surprising that these legal lines of argumentation barely persuade the Transdnistrians. As elaborated in the conflict description, the international community applies international laws that favor the integrity of Moldova, rejecting Transdnistrian stands on independence (see Chapt. 4 'Background: Transdnistrian Conflict'). This line of argumentation was challenged by an opposition politician in Transdnistria, one of the few quotations that aim to (legal) legitimization of the Transdnistrian independence:

They work in the frame of the international dogmas that the borders should not be divided, for example Helsinki agreement, the decision of United Nations about recognition of Moldova; you know, life does not always correspond to the rules because the situation in Pridnestrovie is unique. [...] In this situation, the relationship are not regulated, are not settled; so we have to use as a main principle the humanistic principles. (TD: 21\_GU: 16)



The fact that severe Human Rights violations appear in Transdniestria is widely recognized within the Transdniestrian society. The attribution and consequences however differ from the Moldovans: The human right violations are seen as a consequence of the refusal of the international community and Moldova to recognize Transdniestria. Without the international recognition, the citizens lack international protection as well access to instruments to battle the Transdniestrian authorities.

I don't feel the protection of international organizations, for example. If my human rights are violated, I can't receive any international protection and I think in Moldova, too. [...] And if Transdniestria will be recognized, the international instruments to protect people here will start to work. But now, no. I want Transdniestria to be recognized, then we will be protected. (TD: 24\_QC: 32)

*Summery for intervention in the Moldovan-Transdniestrian relations.* The summary does not solely address the final two sections *Further separation* and *Insisting on legal aspects* but builds on the last quotation and how the conclusion drawn from it fits in to the overall Moldovan and Transdniestrian conflict narratives.

The last Transdniestrian quotation illustrated that the perception of Human Rights violations on the Transdniestrian bank and the suppression through the leadership is shared by both banks. But it also illustrated that both sides draw differed conclusion from it. In the Moldovan interviews, this perception is a dominant conflict thread and appears in different variation in the three prevalent conflict categories Transdniestria as *suppressor* (2<sup>nd</sup> area), *Criticism on the elites* (3<sup>rd</sup> area) and finally in *Insisting on legal Aspects*. The conclusion drawn from this thread is that through unification the Transdniestrian society can be protected from further suppressive actions and Human Rights violations.

The Transdniestrian interviewees do not contradict the existence of suppressive actions and Human Rights violations conducted by the Transdniestrian authorities. However their conclusion is not that through unification these actions and violations can be stopped, but rather through international recognition of Transdniestria, which would help them to access and to apply international law, including direct access to the Human Right court.

#### 8.3.6. *Summery 3rd area – Characteristic of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict*

*Summery for the Moldovan-Transdniestrian relations.* The conflict narratives between Moldovans and Transdniestrians have several striking matches. Both groups are explicit in the criticism against the political elites in maintaining the conflict, but they differ on the ascribed

role of their own propaganda. While the Transdnistrian interviewees refer to the propaganda on the left bank in equal manner to the Moldovan propaganda, the possibility of Moldovan propaganda is not salient in their group. Also well expressed on both sides is the criticism against the elites, which comes with two important implications: Firstly, the conflict narrative has to be understood under the view that it is perceived as it is a top-top conflict, which could be partly due to the remains of Soviet culture, which engraved a strong hierarchical culture. Secondly, this could have the consequences that also civil conflict engagement is inhibited, when the civil society perceives themselves detached from conflict. What is also of special interest, that even though both groups differ in the ranking for *Insisting on Legal Aspect* on the Moldovan, *Further Separation* on the Transdnistrian group, both categories serve the same need of justification for the respective position on unification versus independence.

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework.* From the conceptual point of view it is of interest that in the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”, just as the 2<sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” the top conflict categories are also highly associated with trust. While this issue had been already elaborated in Chapter 7, the associations were in the above section put into the context of the conflict narrative and illustrated through the content analysis.

Just as the 2<sup>nd</sup> area, the elaboration of the 3<sup>rd</sup> area sheds light on which factors sustain the conflict from the perception of the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees, and also how these factors are impacted by trust. Figure 21 and Figure 22 displays which trust conditions are interwoven with the conflict categories for both groups. The figures emphasize how the different conditions shade the connotation of the categories. For example, even though both groups match each other in their perception that the *differences in language* are one main factor for the sustainment of the conflict, and even though for both groups the factor is also highly associated with trust, they differ in the connotation, how trust is strained through the experienced differences. This finding supports the idea that conflict should be understood through trust and that trust should be assessed in a nuanced manner.

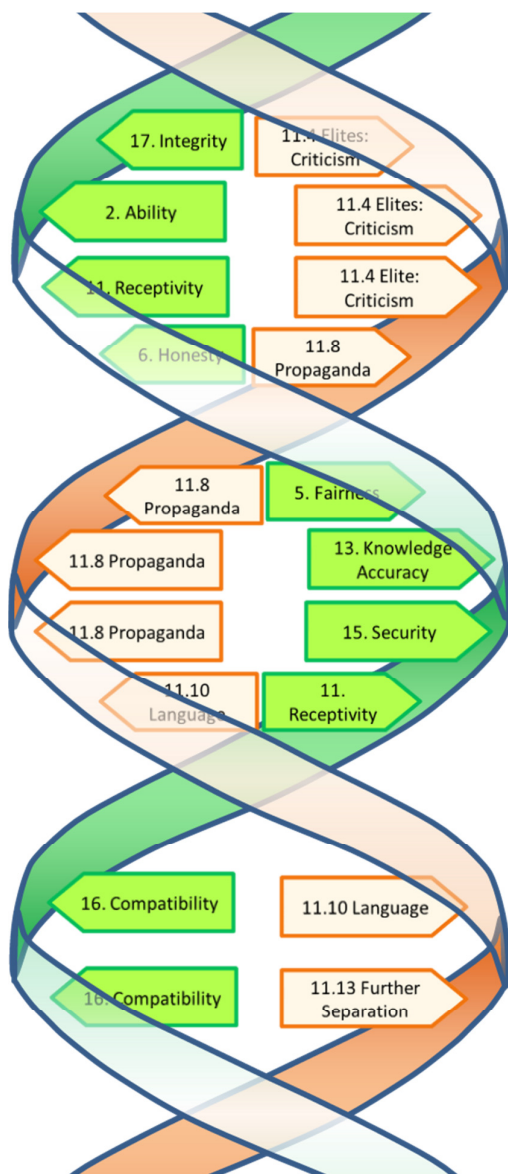


Figure 21. Moldovan interviewees Conflict-Trust – Helix for the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”

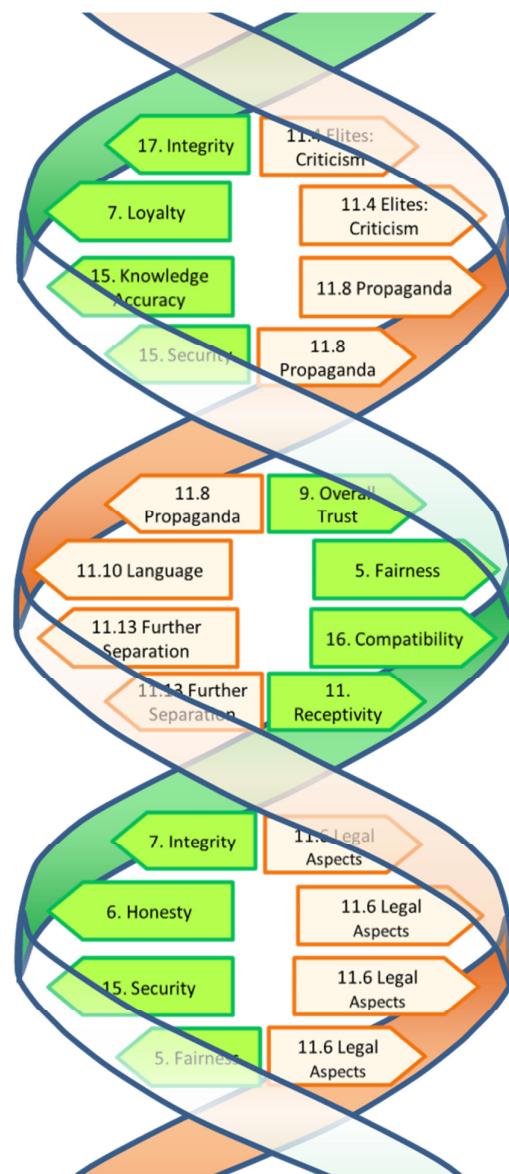


Figure 22. Transnistrian interviewees Conflict-Trust –Helix for the 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict”

#### 8.4. Summary: Application of the Conflict & Trust Map

*Summary for the Conflict & Trust Map framework* . In the chapter Conflict & Trust Map I illustrated how the Conflict & Trust Map can be created based on the data structured with the Conflict & Trust Map coding schemes, introduced in Chapter 6. The Conflict & Trust Map consist of three area, the 1<sup>st</sup> area “Pillar of the Conflict” describing the corner stone of each conflict. The 2<sup>nd</sup> area describes the character of the relationship between the conflict

parties and the 3<sup>rd</sup> area which factor sustain the conflict (3<sup>rd</sup> area). As previously introduced, on one the hand side the lack of trust can sharpen the conflict. Through negative prevalent trust conditions the relationship between the parties (2<sup>nd</sup> area of the Conflict & Trust Map) can deteriorate and factors, sustaining the conflict (3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict & Trust Map) can consolidate. On the other hand a dominant conflict category can weaken or strengthen trust conditions. The trust helixes (Figure 19 to Figure 22) illustrated this circular relationship

Trust by itself is impacted by the trust conditions as illustrated through the Wheel of Trust (Figure 2, see also 1.2.3 ‘Trust Conditions and the Assumed Interplay Between Trust Conditions and Trust’

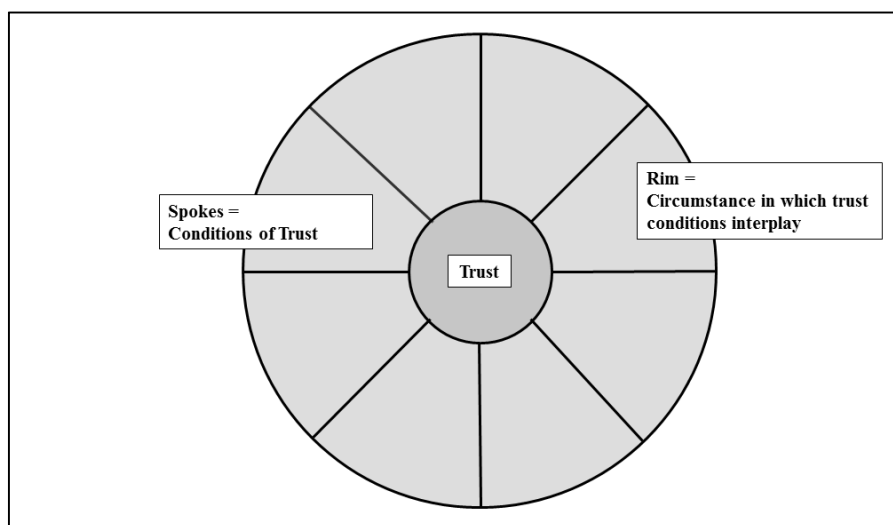


Figure 2. Wheel of Trust

The prevalence of the trust condition is impacted by the conflict categories, which relationship the Conflict & Trust Map helps to establish.

It is therefore of interest that the groups not only differ when trust conditions are experienced as resources (such as *Reciprocity* and *Accessibility* for the Transdnistrian group in conflict category *Good friendly contact*; see section ‘8.2.6 Good Friendly Contact/ Communication/ Relationship With the Others’) or strain, but also that the conflict categories are associated with different trust conditions in the two groups. As shown in the previous chapter, even though the conflict areas between both groups match frequently 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area, and both groups also match in their associated trust condition with the conflict categories, the groups also display differences in their association. To reiterate a previous point, this finding strengthens the claim that trust should be assessed in a nuanced manner, differentiating for its

specific components. If trust would be only assessed in a general manner, the shades of connotation associated with the different conflict narrative would be lost.

*Summery for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations.* As shown in the previous chapter, even though the conflict areas between both groups match frequently 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area, and both groups also match in their associated trust condition with the conflict categories, the groups also display differences in their association. This is of specific interest for possible intervention. For example for the concrete conflict, the data shown that the association *Other as an aggressor* with *Benevolence*, is only experienced by Transdnistrians group (2<sup>nd</sup> area), or that only the Moldovans strongly associate the Criticism against the elites with lack of *Integrity* and *Loyalty – Self-Interest* (3<sup>rd</sup> area). This is of importance for possible intervention – these findings indicate that it is not just enough to understand how the parties perceive each other or relate to each other (area 2) and which domains are mainly affected by the conflict or contribute to the existence of the conflict (area 3). For deep routing interventions it is also important which trust condition are associated with these categories as well as the understanding that parties differ in their association depending on their own respective conflict narratives. Especially in context of conflict moderation workshops, the moderator should not only be familiar with the different conflict narratives, but also how they are shaded for each group through their association with specific trust conditions.

## **9. Conclusion: Where is the Trust?**

The study presented in this dissertation examined trust in the context of large-group conflict. It addressed conceptual questions, such as which trust conditions constitute trust in the context of large-group conflict. These findings were the base to develop a trust-sensitive conflict assessment framework, the Conflict & Trust Map, which was developed within the dissertation. In the following chapter, I readdress the core findings, and reiterate their main contribution to the field of conflict resolution and their relevance for practitioners. Additionally, I will address the limitations of the study and its findings, as well as present an outlook for further possible research. The chapter engages the same lenses on which the whole study is built: the first lens is applied perception, and focuses concretely on the contribution of the developed tool, the Conflict & Trust Map, for conflict assessment. Its strengths and weaknesses are reiterated, as well as steps for further development. The second lens is conceptual, and focuses on trust and new insights into trust in the context of large-group conflict that were gained; it also indicates further research.

### **9.1. Trust-Sensitive Conflict Assessment Framework: Conflict & Trust Map**

The starting point for the development of the Conflict & Trust Map as a trust-sensitive assessment framework lies in the fact that current conflict assessment tools do not consider the underlying trust relations between conflict parties. This is remarkable, since there is a shared understanding that trust plays a crucial point in conflicts, both for conflict consolidation and for conflict resolution. Therefore, without assessing trust, a comprehensive understanding of the conflict dynamics cannot be reached.

Thus, within this dissertation, the Conflict & Trust Map was developed as a trust-sensitive conflict assessment framework (see Figure 9). This framework resembles an assessment kit consisting of two instruments for data gathering – two coding schemes for data structuring and – the framework itself, for data interpretation. The two instruments, Conflict & Trust Interview (CTMI) and the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) allow researchers and practitioners to conduct conflict assessment in a systematic manner. The two coding schemes of Conflict Map and Trust Map allow for the structuring of this data, which then can be organized and elaborated within the framework of the Conflict & Trust Map.

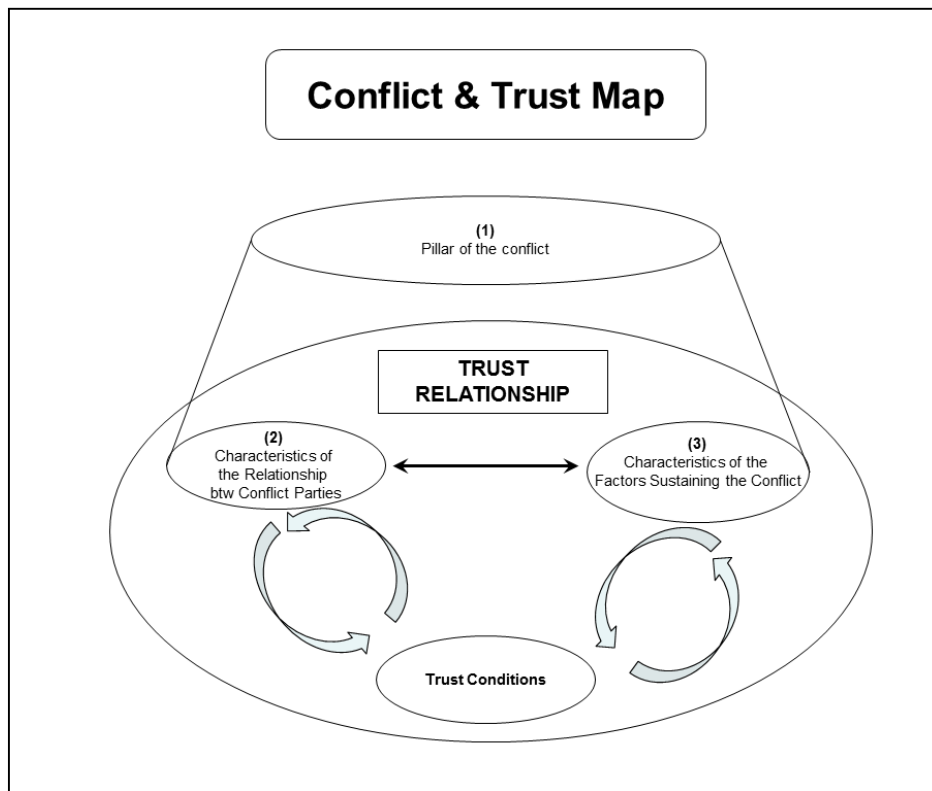


Figure 9. Conflict & Trust Map.

## 9.2. The Two Instruments: Conflict & Trust Map Interview and Trust Map Questionnaire

The framework Conflict & Trust Map comes with two instruments, which gather data for conflict assessment: the Conflict & Trust Map Interview and the Trust Map Questionnaire. Both instruments were developed prior to the case study on the Transdnistriian conflict. The most important finding is that both instruments proved themselves applicable and provided important data to understand conflict and trust dynamics.

*Conflict & Trust Map Interview.* The Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) gathers data in a qualitative manner. It is divided in two parts, and assesses in the first part the conflict-relevant dynamics, such as who are the conflict parties, what are their interests and how do the conflict parties relate to each other. The second part concentrates on trust relations between parties. The current study proved that the CTMI is able to gather important conflict data that allows a nuanced insight into complex conflict and trust dynamics. Based on the data it was possible to develop a comprehensive conflict assessment, as illustrated in Chapter 8.

However, the first application of the CTMI also reveals that some modifications are needed. The CTMI in its current form uses semi-structured, open-ended questions (see

Appendix B). The advantage of this is that it is able to capture the specific perception and experiences of the interviewees. On the other hand, when specific themes are not explicitly mentioned by the interviewees, the CTMI cannot distinguish if these themes are (a) not relevant, (b) missing or (c) just not mentioned. For example, in this study, the Moldovan interviewees barely spoke about the theme 'identity'. From this lack of mentioning "identity," it cannot be determined if identity is not of relevance for the Moldovan interviewees in the conflict context, if a Moldovan identity does not exist (as claimed by some Transdnistrian interviewees), or if the Moldovan interviewees simply omitted speaking about identity in the limited time of the interview. The same shortcoming applies for the trust conditions. For example, in the concrete study the trust condition *Discreetness*, which bases trust on the perception that others will treat confidential information in a sensitive manner, was not coded from the interviews. Again, it is not possible to derive from the missing nomination if the interviewees did not consider *Discreetness* to be relevant for trust, if *Discreetness* doesn't play a role in the Moldovan -Transdnistrian relations or was just not mentioned since other conditions primarily covered in the interviews.

With new insights gained from the current study and from developed coding schemes, it is possible to modify the CTMI in a manner that could include core conflict categories and trusts conditions as closed questions. At the end of the interview, specific categories and conditions, which had not been mentioned before, could be explicitly addressed, to assess (a) if they exist within the specific conflict context and (b) to determine their relevance.

*Trust Map Questionnaire.* The Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) assesses in a quantitative manner the trust relationship between conflict parties. It includes 21 trust conditions, and frames each condition through two anchors: one positive frame, indicating that the condition is positive and well developed in the relation exist between the parties and one negative frame, indicating that the condition is sparse or negative developed (see Appendix C). In the current study, the TMQ was used as an embedded part of the CTMI. Interviewees were asked at the end of the interview to fill out the TMQ. However, the TMQ can stand on its own as well, and could be used without the framework of the CTMI. In this manner, it would be more time-efficient and also possible to reach a bigger sample, when for example a representative trust assessment of a larger sample is needed.

The current study provides evidence that the conditions assessed in the TMQ provide a comprehensive and sufficient set of conditions to assess the trust relationship between large-group parties.



The 21 trust conditions used in the TMQ are based on the pre-study, conducted with conflict experts, as well as on existing trust inventories for different context. Additionally, the conditions were independently found in the CTMI as well, where the interviewees named them as relevant. Based on the interviews, only one more possible trust condition was named, which is currently missing in the TMQ: *Sincerity* – trust based on the perception that the other side is sincerely in their words and action. Only this theme of *Sincerity* appeared from the analysis of the CTMI as a possible addendum to the listed trust conditions; this indicates the sufficiency of the TMQ otherwise, to assess relevant trust conditions. Further research has to indicate whether *Sincerity* is really its own condition that has to be added to the TMQ, or if existing conditions, such as *Authenticity*, can be modified to capture the theme of *Sincerity* as well.

Furthermore, the TMQ assess the importance of trust conditions. On a 5-point scale, participants indicated the importance of specific conditions in order to trust the other side. For the Moldova and Transdnistrian sample, as well as for a sample of Hamburger students, all conditions are rated as important to very important. The results of the current study suggest that the set of 21 conditions measured within the TMQ offers a sufficient and comprehensive understanding of trust relationship between conflict parties.

The strength of the TMQ lies in its manifold applications: it can be used by researchers to study and measure trust in conflict settings. It can also be applied by practitioners in the phase of conflict assessment to assess the trust relationship between larger samples. The data could serve as a basis to develop confidence-building measures. The TMQ can also be used for small group interventions, such as conflict moderation workshops. Its results provide the intervener with helpful trust profiles, capturing perceptions between the parties. This can serve as good bases for structured sessions on trust. The TMQ can provide the moderator with graphic data and visualization about the often implicit and hard to grasp constructs of trust. The TMQ-profiles can be handed back to participants, illustrating the group perception of each side as well as individual responses, which can be a basis for explicit work on trust with participants.

The next step of development for the TMQ is validation. Further research should validate the conditions and anchors. Also, researchers could consider developing a short version of the TMQ. The conditions are already clustered under the four factors *Ability*, *Integrity*, *Benevolence* and *Reciprocity*. Further research with a bigger sample in the context of large-group conflicts could indicate, through a factor analysis, which conditions load on the

same factors and provide statistic values for compiling some conditions under these specific factors. A shorter TMQ could address one possible problematic feature when using the TMQ by itself without the context of the CTMI: depending on the status of the relations between conflict parties, the TMQ could raise problematic levels of awareness of shattered trust relations between parties.

#### 9.2.1. *Coding Schemes Conflict Map and Trust Map*

In the next step, the data gathered with the Conflict & Trust Interview (CTMI) and the Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) had to be structured in a systematic manner. Therefore two codings scheme were developed, one coding scheme for the Conflict Map and one coding scheme for the Trust Map.

*Coding Scheme Conflict Map.* The coding scheme for the Conflict Map was developed through a bottom-up approach. It derived mainly from the structure of the CTMI and data gathered in the context of the Transdnistria conflict. The bottom-up approach is reflected in the nature of the coding scheme, which manifests in specific and less abstractive categories.

The overall strength of the coding scheme is that it allows the analysis of data in a systematic manner. Through the systematic structuring of the data into pre-organized categories, it reduced the risk of distorted perceptions and supported the construction of a comprehensive picture. Furthermore, the coding scheme is structured in a way that researchers and practitioners can adapt it to the needs of the respective conflicts with which they are working. In its structure, it moves from broader to more nuanced categories, allowing researchers and practitioners to drop the more nuanced categories if not needed, but also adding specific categories relevant for their work. The findings of the current study imply that the coding scheme is applicable for other large-group conflicts, being able to code and categorize the main conflict themes.

As a next development step, the coding scheme would benefit from further dissemination to other conflicts. Due to the bottom-up approach of generation, the coding scheme for the Conflict Map tends to be specific and less abstractive. Applying the scheme to other conflicts would be helpful to refine the abstraction level of the categories, and to create them in a more concept-oriented manner.

*Trust Map Coding Scheme.* The Trust Map coding scheme shares the same strengths of the conflict coding scheme, in that it allows the analysis of data in a systematic manner and thus reduces the risk of distorted perceptions. The coding scheme of the trust map are based

on the 21 previous identified conditions, and therefore matches the TMQ. The qualitative data from the CTMI structured in the coding scheme complements the quantitative data from the TMQ. It provides a more nuanced understanding of how exactly trust conditions manifest in specific conflict contexts. The structure of the coding scheme prepares the data in a structured manner, allowing a systematic consolidation of the conflict and trust map.

The application of the coding scheme in the Transdnistrian conflict proved that the scheme is able to extract from the interviews the interwoven trust relations. The biggest challenges of coding lie in the complex nature of trust, since trust has explicit and implicit components. The latter in particular is more complicated to capture, but the coding scheme proves to be a helpful tool to structure these intangible underlying implications.

### 9.2.2. *The Framework: Conflict & Trust Map*

One of the main contribution of the current study is the development of the Conflict & Trust Map as a framework for trust-sensitive conflict assessment. The Conflict & Trust Map provides the framework for the interpretation of the data structured through the two coding scheme.

The first framework combines a systematic trust assessment with the conflict assessment, and thus is capable of examining the complex relationships of concrete conflict dynamics with trust relations. It is also characterized by its specific psychological approach to conflict, through its strong focus on relationships. Within the three areas of the Conflict & Trust Map, the 2<sup>nd</sup> area specifically looks into the characteristics between the conflict parties, and additionally it includes the specific trust relations between the parties.

Through the development of the accompanying instruments, the Conflict & Trust Map also supports researchers to move in a systematic manner from the sometimes overwhelming jungle of raw data to a more abstract level, that allows one to derive a more comprehensive picture of conflict dynamics and trust relations. Furthermore, the current study has also demonstrated that the Conflict & Trust Map is compatible with existing frameworks, such as the conflict assessment method of Mitchell (1981).

So far, a comprehensive Conflict & Trust Map was developed for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations. The Conflict & Trust Map proved applicable and helpful to structure the data. External experts working on the conflict agreed about the map's implications. Its findings, particularly those regarding differences in language stressed by the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees, were considered to be important and new

insights. The analysis with the Conflict & Trust Map revealed that differences in language as a conflict category is considered to be an important factor in the conflict from both the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees. The more nuanced analysis with the Trust Map further revealed that conations differed when the both groups spoke about language difference. While the Transdnistrians utilize this theme to stress their differences from the Romanian-speaking Moldovans and thereby as an indicator of their stand on independence, the Moldovan group focused more on the lack of fair treatment when it comes down to how the Romanian-speaking population on the left side is treated, thus straining their trust of the Transdnistrian leadership. This was one of many examples, where direct comparison from conflict categories and trust conditions in the framework of the Conflict & Trust Map provided a deeper insight that was missing in other conflict assessments.

However it's important to note two limitations, one with regard to the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations, the other with regard to the framework itself. With regard to the concrete findings for the Moldovan-Transdnistrian relations and the framework of the Conflict & Trust Map, when it comes to concrete findings of the Transdnistrian conflict, the limitation of the sample cannot be omitted. Due to the focus on speaking with influential representatives of both sides, an unwanted bias appeared, consisting of a Romanian-speaking sample on the Moldovan side, and a Russian-speaking sample on the Transdnistrian side. This division within the sample occludes the important perceptions of Russian speakers on the right bank and Romanian speakers on the left bank, and limits the findings and conclusion for the Moldovan and Transdnistrian relations to the specific difference between Romanian-speaking Moldovans and Russian-speaking Transdnistrians.

For the framework, it has to be noted that the Conflict & Trust Map was developed within the context of the Transdnistrian conflict. The same holds true for the coding scheme for the Conflict Map, unlike the coding scheme for the Trust Map, which was based on previously identified conditions. Because the coding scheme for the Conflict Map and the Conflict & Trust Map was developed within the Transdnistrian conflict, to ensure its potential for generalization, it has to be applied in further conflicts outside the Transdnistrian conflict. If the Conflict & Trust Map can be generated through other conflicts as well, it can be used as a general framework for conflict assessment. What is promising in this regard is that the fact that the conflict map coding scheme, on which the Conflict & Trust Map is based, was applied for two other interviews, and covered different large-group conflicts. In this context the coding scheme proved itself suitable.

### 9.2.3. *Conclusion ‘Conflict & Trust Map’ – Where to go From Here?*

The Conflict & Trust Map is an assessment tool that lives up to the complexity of conflict and trust, which it aims to assess. It provides instruments that obtain crucial information from conflict and trust relations between conflict parties and provide coding schemes, which allow for structuring data in a systematic manner. The framework itself allows for comparing the findings, extracting the main conflict themes, setting them in relation with each other, and determining the underlying trust relations, and provides a base for conflict resolution intervention measures.

Further research should go in two directions: first, the Conflict & Trust Map should be used to assess various large-group conflicts, to adapt it for a broader range of conflicts with refined conflict categories. That includes the TMQ, which should be validated on a bigger sample. Secondly, the assumption of how the three conflict areas and trust play together were created based on the explorative data of the current study. Focused, hypothesis-driven research should attempt to confirm these relations.

The last directions address the second lens of the current study to provide a deeper conceptual insight into what defines trust in conflict, and how trust and conflict interplay in large-group conflict. The second part of the conclusion will address this lens.

## 9.3. **Conclusion: The Focus on Trust**

Trust matters – the findings of the current study can be abbreviated to these two words. Furthermore, not only does trust matter, it can also be assessed through a set of conditions, which foster or strain trust. Through the explorative study presented here, readers can derive the implications for how trust can be built, a theme which I will address next. Furthermore, the study gave indications for further research.

### 9.3.1. *Trust & Conflict – Where to go From Here??*

The explorative finding of this current study revealed that the dominant conflict categories for the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict & Trust Map tend to be highly associated with trust. These findings can be seen as supporting the claim that trust is an important component in conflict. That implies that the most important conflict categories cannot be understood in depth without reflection on their associated trust conditions.

These findings are based on explorative results. A hypothesis-based validation is needed to confirm these findings. Also, the results are based on the assumption that a frequently

coded conflict category and trust condition indicates importance in conflict narratives. This approach is based on the method of quantitative content analysis (Mayring, 2002). To back the conclusion, the results could be linked back to the participants for validation – a step that exceeded the scope of the current dissertation research, due to the requisite translation in Romanian and Russian; but validation would be helpful to prove the here implied close link between trust and conflict, and should be addressed in further research. Further research should also control for the congruency between the conflict and trust map coding scheme, that could have impacted some of the co-occurrence, such as between the conflict categories *Propaganda* and *Knowledge Accuracy*, or *Perception of other fear's* and *Lack of Safety*. As reported under the results, even though some of the co-occurrences are due to this congruency in the coding scheme, there are a notable amount of other conflict conditions associated with these conflict categories to make claims of a relationship, which would be worth studying further.

### 9.3.2. *To Foster Trust - How to Apply the Findings?*

The greater purpose of the study is to identify entry points for confidence (trust) building measurements. To do this in systematic and purpose-driven manners, the current study provided conceptual and applied insights to assess the conflict dynamics and trust relationship before launching interventions. The whole study is based on the notion that a deeper understanding of trust condition helps to improve trust between parties. Throughout the study, I have also elaborated that trust conditions relate to conflict categories, and that their interplay impacts trust. Through understanding the conditions, how can trust be fostered?

Behind the approaches to trust lies a reciprocal notion of trust – that is, it is not just enough to understand which conditions foster trust, but it is also important to make these conditions salient, so the other side shares this perception. Based on the multi-dimensionality of trust, for parties and 3<sup>rd</sup> parties to foster trust, it is necessary to highlight why someone is trustworthy through explicitly announcing it, through self-disclosure, but then also acting upon these announcements.

For example, if party A perceived that party B breaks his promise, the observation impacts trust negatively through straining the trust condition Promise Fulfillment (see Figure 23)

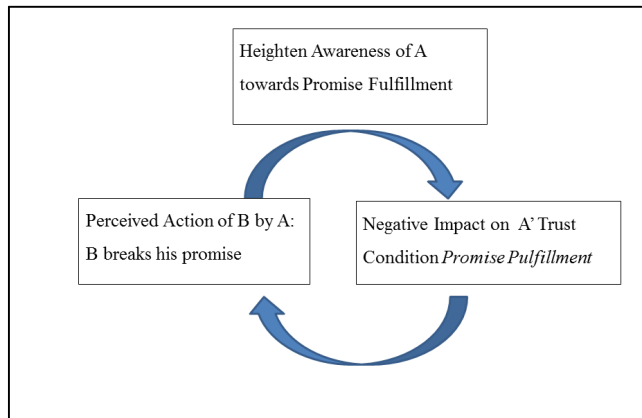


Figure 23. Strain on the trust through harmful action.

Through the understanding that (a) trust can be built through the condition *Promise Fulfillment* and (b) if the condition is of relevance for concrete interaction contexts, trust can be built through by an attempt of Party B to fulfill the condition *Promise Fulfillment*. This fulfillment should be accompanied by either the self-disclosure of Party B, or the pointing out (and possible insurance) of the third party, to make the condition salient for party A. This process, which is illustrated in Figure 24, can positively impact its trust.

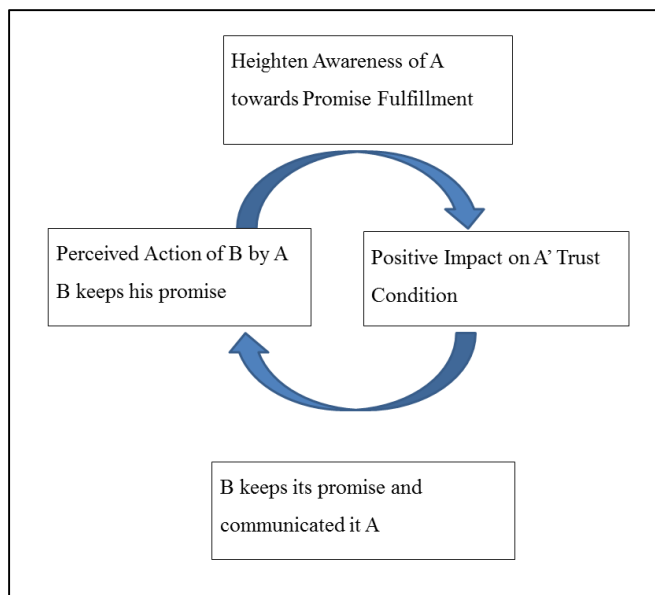


Figure 24. Trust building through a combination of self-disclosure and actions.

Hence, in order to build trust, not only are actions needed that consistently improve the 21 trust conditions, but there is also need for a line of communication that raises awareness for such trust-founding actions. The multidimensional nature of trust is a curse and blessing.

Having 21 trust conditions offers a variable set of possible entry points. On the other hand, it is also more difficult to identify conditions are most relevant to improving trust, and additionally, improving just one but ignoring others could prove to be insufficient. The latter notion leads to one of the proposed further research paths.

### 9.3.3. *Interplay of Trust Conditions - Where to go From Here?*

From a conceptual point of view, the main contribution of the study is the insight into 21 trust conditions fostering trust. These conditions were independently identified in two qualitative studies (expert interviews and the case study), and their importance reconfirmed through the Trust Map Questionnaire. The identification of these 21 conditions supports the understanding of trust as a multi-dimensional construct, which is impacted through the interplay of different conditions. The metaphor used is the “Wheel of Trust” (Figure 2) While trust lies in the hub of the wheel, it is supported (or weakened) by different spokes, represented by the trust conditions.

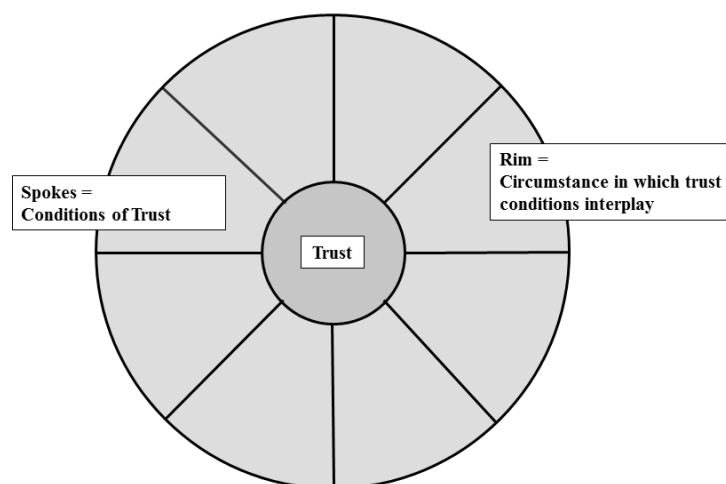


Figure 2. Wheel of Trust

The current study did not address how the conditions impact trust, or if one is more important than others. Based on the set of trust conditions, further research is now possible to assess how exactly these conditions interplay towards trust. The question also arises if there are specific relations between the conditions? Are there sets of conditions which tend to be more closely related than others, and if so, which ones? The data of this study suggests some existing relations, but further research is needed to confirm.



Closely related to the questions of how the trust conditions relate to each other are questions about whether different conditions matter to different incidences of trust-building. Various models on trust exist, differentiating between more superficial (swift) trust and deeper trust (Emergency Capacity Building Project, 2007), or between knowledge-based and identity-based trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). With the understanding of the conditions fostering trust, is it possible to link conditions to specific phases of trust? An enhanced understanding would help to focus on trust conditions needed to build initial trust between conflict parties and then, during the course of interventions, focus and foster the conditions that support the consolidation of trust.

#### **9.4. Final Notes**

The dissertation project took on the demanding task of studying trust in a large-group conflict setting, two highly complex and intractable research topics. This dissertation therefore was a first explorative attempt to tackle complex trust constructs in the challenging context of large-group conflicts. Its results provide the Conflict & Trust Map framework with accompanying assessments instruments and coding schemes. It also gave some insight of how trust is conceptualized. Further research has to complete and validate these first findings. In my closing note, I conclude that I envision this dissertation as a beginning of further work to address and deepen knowledge of how to assess and build trust between conflict parties.

## 10. References

- Abu Nimer, M. (2001). Conflict Resolution, Culture, and Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peacebuilding. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(6), 685 - 704.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2004). The necessity of observing real life situations: Palestinian-Israeli violence as a laboratory for learning about social behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 34(6), 677-701. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.224
- Bar-Tal, D. (2010). *Nature of Conflict and their Eruption*. Paper presented at the EASP Summer School, Aegina, Greece.
- Barrena, I. (Producer). (2002). Conflict Analysis. *Conflict-sensitive approaches to development, humanitarian assistance and peace building: tools for peace and conflict impact assessment*. Retrieved from [http://www.usip.org/files/file/chapter\\_2\\_266.pdf](http://www.usip.org/files/file/chapter_2_266.pdf)
- Barton, K. C., & McCully, A. W. (2005). History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: an empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 37(1), 85-116.
- Beyer, J. (2011). Participatory Conflict Analysis on Moldova/Transnistria. In Saferworld (Ed.), *People's Peacemaking Perspectives Project* (pp. 1-32).
- Bobkova, E. (2009). Social and economic well-being of the population on both banks of the Dniester/Nistru in the conditions of the frozen conflict. In D. Matveev, G. Selari, E. Bobkova & B. Cseke (Eds.), *Moldova-Transdnistria: Working Together for a Prosperous Future Social Aspects* (pp. 128-137). Chisinau: CU Drag Publishing House.
- Bogomolov, A., Semyvolos, I., & Pushkar, V. (2009). Transnistrian crisis: human dimension *Transnistria Assessment Mission Report*. Chisinau.
- Burgess, H. (2004). Intermediaries. In G. Burgess & H. Burgess (Eds.), *Beyond Intractability* <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/intermediary-roles>. Boulder: Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado.

- Butler, J. K. (1991). Toward understanding and measuring conditions of trust: Evolution of a conditions of trust inventory. *Journal of Management*, 17(3), 643-663.
- Butler, J. K. (2000). Of mice and managers: Shocks and cheese in the organization maze. *Organization Development Journal*, 18(3), 25-35.
- Butler, J. K., Jr. (1999). Trust expectations, information sharing, climate of trust, and negotiation effectiveness and efficacy. *Group & Organization Management*, 24(2), 217-238.
- Camplisson, J., & Hall, M. (1999). Conflict Resolution - the missing element in the Northern Ireland peace process. *Island Pamphlet*, 19.
- Cashmore, E. (1995). *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations* (3 ed.). London: Routledge.
- Chigas, D. (2003). Who are Track Two Intermediaries and Diplomates. In G. Burgess & H. Burgess (Eds.), *Beyond Intractability*. Boulder: Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado. Retrieved from [http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2\\_diplomacy/](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2_diplomacy/).
- Coleman, P. T. (2003). Characteristics of protracted, intractable conflict: Towards the development of a metaframework-I. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 9(1), 1-37.
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Crighton, E., & MacIver, M. A. (1990). The evolution of protracted ethnic conflict: Group dominance and political underdevelopment in Northern Ireland and Lebanon. *Comparative Politics*, 23, 127-142.
- Cristescu, R., & Matveev, D. (2011). Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention in the EU Neighbourhood: Moldova Case Study Report. In Civil Society Dialogue Network (Ed.).

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed. Vol. 2). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 8(2), 88–102. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.8.2.88
- Eidelson, R. J., & Eidelson, J. I. (2003). Dangerous ideas: Five beliefs that propel groups toward conflict. *American Psychologist* 58, 182-192.
- Election Observation Mission. (2009) Election - Interim Report. Moldau: OSCE.
- Emergency Capacity Building Project. (2007). Building Trust in diverse Teams - Scoping Study Report. In Castleton Partners & TCO International Diversity Management (Eds.).
- Erikson, E. (1963). *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton.
- Fomenko, V. (2009). The demographic situation in Transdnistria in conditions of unresolved conflict. In D. Matveev, G. Selari, E. Bobkova & B. Cseke (Eds.), *Moldova-Transdnistria: Working Together for a Prosperous Future Social Aspects* (Vol. Social Aspects, pp. 138 - 156). Chisinau: CU Drag Publishing House.
- Gambetta, D. (Ed.). (1988). *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Gheorghiu, M. A. (2007). Generalized Social Trust: Conceptualization, measurement and cross-cultural equivalence *Dissertation*: Sussex University.
- Gheorghiu, M. A., Vignoles, V. L., & Smith, P. B. (2009). Beyond the United States and Japan: Testing Yamagishi's Emancipation Theory of Trust across 31 Nations. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72(4), 365–383.
- Glaser, G. B., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategy for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

- Hammack, P. L. (2011). *Narratives and the policies of identity: the cultural psychology of Israeli and Palestinian youth*. Oxford: University Press
- Hardin, R. (2001). Conceptions and explanations of trust. In K. S. Cook (Ed.), *Trust in society* (pp. 3-39). New York, NY, US: Russell Sage Foundation; US.
- Hauge-Storholt, K. (2001). Lessons learned from the 1990–1997 peace process in the north of Mali. *International Negotiation*, 6, 331-356.
- Hayes, A. F., & Krippendorff, K. (2007). A brief report: Answering the Call for a Standard Reliability Measure for Coding Data. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 1(1), 77 -89.
- Hensel, S. (2006). Moldovan Strategic Conflict Assessment In UK Global Conflict Prevention Pool Russia (Ed.).
- Honeyman, C., Goh, B. C., & Kelly, L. (2004). Skill Is Not Enough: Seeking Connectedness and Authority in Mediation. *Negotiation Journal*, 20(4), 489-511.
- International Crisis Group. (2003). Moldova - No Quick Fix *ICG Europe Report* (Vol. 147). Chisinau/ Brussels.
- International Crisis Group. (2006). Moldova's Uncertain Future. In *European Report* (Ed.), (Vol. 175).
- Kachuyevski, A. (2008). *Seeking Solutions in Transdnistria: Looking Beyond Russia to the Challenges of "Undoing"*. Paper presented at the 2008 Regional Symposium Grants: Frozen Conflicts and Unrecognized States in Southeast Europe and Eurasia, Rose Haven, MD, USA.
- Kelman, H. (1999a). Experience from 30 years of action research on the Israel-Palestine conflict. In A. W. K.P. Spillmann (Ed.), *Zeitgeschichtlicher Hintergründe aktueller Konflikte VII: Züricher Beiträge zur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktforschung* (Vol. 54, pp. 173-197). Zürich.

- Kelman, H. (2002). Interactive Problem-Solving: Informal Mediation by the Scholar-Practitioner In J. Bercovitch (Ed.), *Studies in International Mediation Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Z. Rubin* Boston: Palgrave
- Kelman, H. (2005). Building trust among enemies: The central challenge for international conflict resolution. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(6), 639-650.
- Kelman, H. (2008). Evaluating the Contribution of Interactive Problem Solving Workshop to the Resolution of Ethnonational Conflicts. *Peace and Conflict* 14.
- Kelman, H. C. (1999b). The interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian national identities: The role of the other in existential conflicts. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 581–600. doi: 10.1111/0022-4537.00134
- Kelman, H. C. (2000). The Role of Scholar-Practitioner in International Conflict Resolution. *International Studies Perspective*, 1, 273-288.
- Kelman, H. C. (2006). Interests, relationships, identities: Three central issues for individuals and groups in negotiating their social environment. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57, 1-26.
- Kelman, H. C. (2007). Social-psychological dimensions of international conflict. In I. W. Zartman (Ed.), *Peacemaking in international conflict: Methods and techniques* (Revised ed., pp. pp.61-107). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Kelman, H. C. (2010). Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation: A Social-Psychological Perspective on Ending Violent Conflict Between Identity Groups. *International Conflict and Conflict Resolution, Landscapes of Violence: An Interdisciplinary Journal Devoted to the Study of Violence, Conflict, and Trauma*. (1), 10.
- King, L. A. (2004). Measures and Meanings: The Use of Qualitative Data in Social and Personality Psychology. In C. Sansone, C. C. Morf & A. T. Panter (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Methods in Social Psychology*. Thousand Oaks: California: Sage.

- Knox, C., & Quirk, P. (2000). *Peace building in Northern Ireland, Israel and South Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kramer, R. M., & Carnevale, P. J. (2001). Trust and intergroup negotiation. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Eds.), *Intergroup Relations* (Vol. Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol 4: , pp. 431-450). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Kressel, K., & Pruitt, D. G. ( 1998). *Mediation Research*. San Francisco: Jossey Bay.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lenz, M. (2008). Intercoderreliabilität fuer MaxQDA 2010, from <http://www.mlenz.de/home.htm>
- Lewicki, R. J. (2006). *Trust, trust development, and trust repair*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing.
- Lewicki, R. J., & Bunker, B. B. (1995). Trust in relationships: A model of development and decline. In B. B. Bunker & J. Z. Rubin (Eds.), *Conflict, cooperation, and justice: Essays inspired by the work of Morton Deutsch* (pp. 133-173 ). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lewicki, R. J., McAllister, D. J., & Bies, R. J. (1998). Trust and distrust: New relationships and realities. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), 438-458.
- Lewicki, R. J., Tomlinson, E. C., & Gillespie, N. (2006). Models of Interpersonal Trust Development: Theoretical Approaches, Empirical Evidence, and Future Directions. *Journal of Management*, 32(6), 991-1022.
- Lewicki, R. J., Weiss, S. E., & Lewin, D. (1992). Models of conflict, negotiation and third party intervention: A review and synthesis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13(3), 209-252.
- Lewicki, R. J., & Wiethoff, C. (2000). *Trust, trust development, and trust repair*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Lewicki, R. J., Wiethoff, C., & Tomlinson, E. C. (2005). *What Is the Role of Trust in Organizational Justice?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2005). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (Vol. 2). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Luhmann, N. (2000). *Vertrauen. Ein Mechanismus der Reduktion sozialer Komplexität* (4 ed.). Stuttgart: UTB.
- Mack, J. E. (1990). The Enemy System. In V. D. Volkan, J. V. Montville & D. A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships: Volume I: Concepts and Theories*. Lexington, MA Lexington Books.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1992). Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research. *Harvard educational review*, 62(3 ), 279-279.
- Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(3), 709-734.
- Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. 1(2), 10. Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089>
- Mayring, P. (2002). *Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Anleitung zu qualitativem Denken* (5 ed.). Weinheim: Beltz Verlag.
- McCauley, C. (2001). The psychology of group identification and the power of ethnical nationalism. In D. Chirrot & M. E. P. Seligman (Eds.), *Ethnopolitical warfare: Causes, consequences, and possible solutions* (pp. 343-362). Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Mey, G., & Mruck, K. (Eds.). (2010). *Handbuch qualitativer Forschung in der Psychologie* (1st ed.). Wiesbaden: Springer.



- Meyer, M. A. (2005). Thawing a Frozen Conflict: Legal Aspects of the Separatist Crisis in Moldova. In The Association of the Bar of the City of New York (Ed.), *The Special Committee on European Affairs; Mission to Moldova*. New York City.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Mitchell, C. (2002). How Much Do I Need to Know? In J. P. Lederach & J. M. Jenner (Eds.), *Into the Eye of the Storm: A handbook of international peacebuilding*, . San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mitchell, C. R. (1981). *The Structure of International Conflict* London, UK: Macmillan Press, Ltd.,.
- Nan, S. A. (2003). Track I Diplomacy. In G. Burgess & H. Burgess (Eds.), *Beyond Intractability*. Boulder: Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado. Retrieved from <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/track1-diplomacy>.
- NATO. (2012). NATO Relations with Ukraine, from [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_37750.htm?](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37750.htm?)
- Netherland Institute of Human Rights. (2004). *Ilascu and others v. Moldova and Russia*. Utrecht School of Law
- OSCE. (2011). *Moldova News Diggest 23.December 2011-5. January 2012*. Chisinau: OSCE Mission to Moldova
- OSCE. (2012a). Official 5+2 talks on Transdnistriean settlement Retrieved June 07th, 2012, from <http://www.osce.org/cio/88464>
- OSCE. (2012b). Parliamentary Assembly Retrieved June 07th, 2012, from <http://www.osce.org/pa/89052>
- Redlich, A. (2009). *Konfliktmoderation: Handlungsstrategien für alle die mit Gruppen arbeiten*. Hamburg: Windmühlen Verlag.

- Ross, M. H. (1998). The cultural dynamics of ethnic conflict. In D. Jacquin, A. Oros & M. Verweij (Eds.), *Culture in world politics* (pp. 156-186). Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Ross, W., & LaCroix, J. (1996). Multiple meanings of trust in negotiation theory and research: A literature review and integrative model. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 7(4), 314-360.
- Rothman, J. (1997). *Resolving Identity-Based Conflict: In Nations, Organizations, and Communities* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher.
- Rothman, J. (Ed.). (forthcoming). *From Identity-Based Conflict to Identity-Based Cooperation*. New York: Springer.
- Ruckstuhl, S. (2010). *Water Conflict: Global Issues and Cooperative Opportunities*. Paper presented at the 2010 Summer Teacher Institut, Chicago.
- Sandole, D. J. D. (1998). A Comprehensive Mapping of Conflict and Conflict Resolution: A Three Pillar Approach. *Peace and Conflict Studies Journal*, 5(2).
- Schulz von Thun, F. (1981). *Miteinander Reden 1 - Störungen und Klärungen* (48 ed.): Rowohlt Tb.
- Simpson, J. A. (2007). Foundations of Interpersonal Trust. In A. W. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (Vol. 2nd). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Susskind, L., McKernan, S., & Thomas-Larmer, J. (1999). *The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Reaching Agreement*. London: Sage Publication.
- Susskind, L., & Thomas-Larmer, J. (1999). Conducting a Conflict Assessment. In L. Susskind, S. McKernan & J. Thomas-Larmer (Eds.), *The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Reaching Agreement* (Vol. 1). London: Sage Publication.
- Swart, H., Turner, R., Hewstone, M., & Voci, A. (2011). Achieving forgiveness and trust in postconflict societies: The importance of self-disclosure and empathy. In L. R. Tropp & R.

- K. Mallett (Eds.), *Moving beyond prejudice reduction: Pathways to positive intergroup relations* (pp. 181-200). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Sztompka, P. (1999). *Trust: A Sociological Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tam, T., Hewstone, M., Kenworthy, J., & Cairns, E. (2009). Intergroup Trust in Northern Ireland. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35(1), 45-59.
- Thomas, A. (2005). Vertrauen im interkulturellen Kontext aus Sicht der Psychologie. In J. Maier (Ed.), *forost Arbeitspapiere Nr. 27, Die Rolle von Vertrauen in Unternehmensplanung und Regionalentwicklung – ein interdisziplinärer Diskurs* (pp. 19-48). München: forost.
- Thurston, C. Q. (2008). *Developing a Comprehensive Framework for Conflict Analysis: Sources, Situation, Attitudes, Group Maintenance, Escalation (SSAGE)*. Paper presented at the ISA San Francisco.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Troebst, S. (2003). "We are Transnistrians!" Post-Soviet Identity Management in the Dniester Valley. *Ab Imperio*, 437.
- Tropp, L. R. (2008). The Role of Trust in Intergroup Contact: Its Significance and Implications for Improving Relations between Groups. In U. Wagner, L. Tropp, G. Finchilescu & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving Intergroup Relations: Building on the Legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew*: Blackwell Publications.
- Tropp, L. R., Stout, A. M., Boatswain, C., Wright, S., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2006). Trust and Acceptance in Response to References to Group Membership: Minority and Majority Perspectives on Cross-Group Interactions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36(3), 769-794.
- Volkan, V. (2004). *Blind Trust: large group and their leaders in times of crisis and terror*. Charlottesville, Virginia: Pitchstone Publishing.

- Volkan, V. (2006a). *Killing in the Name of Identity: A Study of Bloody Conflicts*. Charlottesville, VA: Pitchstone Publishing.
- Volkan, V. (2006b). *The next Chapter: Consequences of Societal Trauma*. Paper presented at the Memory, narrative, and forgiveness: Reflecting on ten years of south africa's truth and reconciliation commission, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Volkan, V. (2009). *Large-group Identity: Sharing Pride and Vengeance*. Paper presented at the Summer School: Building Cultures of Peace Hamburg.
- Volkan, V. D. (2008). Massive Traumas at the Hand of "Others": Large-group Identity Issues, Transgenerational Transmissions, "Chosen Traumas" and Their Consequences. In L. G. Fioroni (Ed.), *Los Laberintos de la Violencia* (pp. 153-172). Buenos Aires: Lugar Editorial.
- Wall, J. A., Stark, J. B., & Standifer, R. L. (2001). Mediation: A current review and theory development. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(3), 370-391.
- Wehr, P. (1979). Comprehensive Assessment Guides Retrieved May 16th, 2012, from <http://spot.colorado.edu/~wehr/40GD1.HTM>
- Wehr, P. (1998). Conflic Mapping. *International Online Training Program on Intractable Conflicts*. Retrieved from <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/cmap.htm>
- Weiner, R. (2007). *The Diplomacy of Frozen Conflicts: The Case of Transnistria*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the British International Studies Association, Cambridge, UK
- Weiss, S. (2008). Frozen Conflicts - Kant reloaded. *Spotlight Europe*( 10), 1-8.
- Weitzman, E. A. (2009). Software and qualitative analysis. In J. B. McKinley & L. D. Marceau (Eds.), e-Source: Behavioral and Social Science Research Interactive Textbook. Office of Behavioral and Social Science Research. Retrieved from <http://www.esourceresearch.org>.
- Wilmot, W., & Hocker, J. (2011). *Interpersonal Conflict* (8th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

## Appendix A: Expert interview guidelines

### Expert Interview guidelines

#### **1. Introduction**

Thank your willingness to meet with me and talk with me about my dissertation. I really appreciate your time and support. Before we start I would like to give you some information about the interview today. The interview by itself **will take approximately 1 hour**. It is **half structured**; I'm mostly interested in the things you can tell me about the topic of trust. For my dissertation I focus on the special variable **how trust can be established between you as a conflict facilitator and the 2 parties**. So it's less about how the parties starts to trust each other, but **how they come to trust you as conflict facilitator** to guide and protect them during the process. Additionally I'm interested in your experiences when you dealt with intercultural parties. Meaning that the two parties are from different cultural backgrounds and are diverse in their values and beliefs. I am aware, that it is difficult to define culture but I hope it's ok for the interview to deal the broad term culture. Overall I'm mostly interested in identity-based conflicts or interethnic conflicts.

To the **structure** of the interview: It is **divided into 2 parts**, the **first part is the open question part**, where I ask you open question and where I'm interested to hear about your experiences and ideas regarding trust building. In the **second part I would like to hear your assessment, your opinion about some special aspect, which are considered to be relevant** by the literature or in lab group meeting I had before.

So you have any question so far?

Is it ok for you that I record the interview?

Block I		
Unit of free talk		
2. Ice breaking question for the interview		
Question	Remarks	
2.1As the very first question, could you remember a typical conflict facilitation, you would be happy to describe for me?		
3. Question regarding trust		
Question	Remarks	
3.1In your own words, what is your understanding of “trust” in a conflict facilitation?		
3.2Would you differentiate between trust and distrust?		
3.3If so, how?		
3.4Where do you see the relevance of trust in conflict facilitation in particular?		
4. Question of the critical incident		
Question	Follow-up question	Remarks
When you work with parties in intercultural conflict facilitation ...	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b>  Why did you decide to act this way?	
4.1How do you build trust to your parties?		
4.2Can you remember a special incident (particular moment) which an example for your way to build trust to the parties?		
4.3And did you ever experience the situation where the trust between you and the parties were harmed?	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b>  Why did you decide to act this way?	

**Lots of WHY Questions! Ask for the motives of an action!!!**

**How do you judge the influence of...?**

**If we start new topic make a summery and lead over to the next topic**

<b>5. Opinion of the interviewee Influence Cultural Background</b>	
<b>Question</b>	<b>Remark</b>
5.1 Do you think, that depending from the cultural background of the participants you need different conditions to build trust to them?	
5.2 What are those conditions?	

**Lots of WHY Questions! Ask for the motives of an action!!! How do you judge the influence of...?**

**If we start new topic make a summery and lead over to the next topic**

Before we move on to the 2 <sup>nd</sup> part of the interview, do you want to summarize, clarify or add anything?		
<b>Block II</b> <b>Specific questions regarding six aspects out of literature and brainstorming sessions</b>		
6. In the 2 <sup>nd</sup> part of the interview I would like to hear more about your experience as a conflict facilitator and how you handled different situations. I would like to focus on some issues that my research suggest has an importance on trust building between the facilitator and the parties.		
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Explanations to the variable</b>	
6.1 <b>Conflict competence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Knowledge, how to handle conflicts</li> <li>- Reaction to spontaneously arising difficult situations</li> <li>- Own training as a conflict facilitator</li> </ul>	
<b>Question</b>	<b>Follow-up question</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
The very first issue about which I would like to hear your opinion about is the issue of <b>“Conflict competence”</b> . 6.1.1 Would you say that <b>conflict competence</b> has an influence of building trust?	Why do you think it does? Why do you think it doesn't?	

6.1.2 <b>Concrete situation?</b>	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b> Why did you decide to act this way?	
Could you rate the influence of <b>conflict competence</b> on trust building on a scale from 1 to 10? 1 meaning it has no importance on trust building, 10 it is very important.		
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Explanations to the variable</b>	
6.2 <i>Role of the cultural competence</i>	- Background knowledge about cultural based differences - Culturally sensible dealings with the parties	
<b>Question</b>	<b>Follow-up question</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
The second issue about which I would like to hear your opinion about is the issue of “ <b>cultural competence</b> ”. 6.2.1 Would you say that <b>cultural competence</b> has an influence of building trust?	Why do you think it does? Why do you think it doesn't?	
6.2.2 <b>Concrete situation?</b>	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b> Why did you decide to act this way?	
Could you rate the influence of <b>cultural competence</b> on trust building on a scale from 1 to 10? 1 meaning it has no importance on trust building, 10 it is very important.		



Variable	Explanations to the variable	
<b>6.3 Own personal cultural heritage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Influence of your own cultural identity</li> <li>- Possible interference through your own cultural background</li> <li>- Possible confrontations with stereotypes (gender, religion, nationality)</li> </ul>	
Question	Follow-up question	Remarks
<p>What is about the influence of <b>your own cultural heritage</b>?</p> <p>6.3.1 Would you say that <b>your own cultural heritage</b> has an influence of building trust?</p>	<p>Why do you think it does?</p> <p>Why do you think it doesn't?</p>	
<p>6.3.2 <b>Concrete situation?</b></p>	<p><b>How did you deal with the event?</b></p> <p>Why did you decide to act this way?</p>	
<p><b>Could you rate the influence of your own cultural heritage on trust building on a scale from 1 to 10?</b></p> <p><b>1 meaning it has no importance on trust building, 10 it is very important.</b></p> <p><b>Do you think that it has an influence that built or harm trust?</b></p>		

Variable	Explanations to the variable	
<b>6.4 Power imbalance between the parties</b>	One party has <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More influence than the other</li> <li>- More resources</li> <li>- Is stronger</li> </ul>	
Question	Follow-up question	Remarks
The next variable regards the <b>power imbalance between the parties</b>  6.4.1 Did you ever work in a conflict facilitation where there was a <b>power imbalance between</b> the parties?  Did that have an influence of the trust building?	Why do you think it does?  Why do you think it doesn't?	
6.4.2 <b>Concrete situation?</b>	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b>  <i>Why did you decide to act this way?</i>	
Could you rate the influence of <b>power imbalance between the parties</b> on trust building on a scale from 1 to 10?  1 meaning it has no importance on trust building, 10 it is very important.		
<b>6.5 Role of the facilitator's impartiality [impartiality]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The conflict facilitator doesn't favors one outcome over the other</li> <li>- The facilitator is not biased</li> <li>- The facilitator can relate evenly the statements of all parties</li> </ul>	
Question	Follow-up question	Remarks
Another variable I'm interested in is the <b>role of conflict facilitator's impartiality</b> .  6.5.1 Would you say that the <b>facilitator's impartiality</b> has an influence of building trust?	Why do you think it does?  Why do you think it doesn't?	

6.5.2 <b>Concrete situation?</b>	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b> Why did you decide to act this way?	
<p>Could you rate the influence of <b>mediators impartiality</b> on trust building on a scale from 1 to 10?</p> <p>1 meaning it has no importance on trust building, 10 it is very important.</p> <p>Do you think that it has an influence that built or harm trust?</p>		
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Explanations to the variable</b>	
6.6 <i><b>Influence of the language</b></i>	- The conflict facilitator and the parties speak different languages; the communication takes place with the help of foreign language	
<p>Ok, and the last variable is the <b>Influence of the language</b>.</p> <p>6.6.1 Would you say that the <b>Influence of the language</b> has an influence of building trust?</p>	<p>Why do you think it does?</p> <p>Why do you think it doesn't?</p>	
6.6.2 <b>Concrete situation?</b>	<b>How did you deal with the event?</b> Why did you decide to act this way?	
<p>Could you rate the influence <b>of the language</b> on trust building on a scale from 1 to 10?</p> <p>1 meaning it has no importance on trust building, 10 it is very important.</p> <p>Do you think that it has an influence that built or harm trust?</p>		

**This was the last question touching the issue of trust. I still have some short question regarding you professional background.**

**But before we move on: Is there anything else from which you have the feeling we haven't touched yet but you consider as really important and you want to add or to summarize?**

**Last comments?**

<b>Block IV</b>	
<b>Professional background and demographic data</b>	
<b>7. Professional background</b>	
In order to finish up, I have some last question regarding your professional background and demographics.	
<b>Question</b>	<b>Remark</b>
7.1 For how many years have you been working as a conflict facilitator?	
7.2 What are your experiences in intercultural conflict facilitation?	
7.2.1 With which cultures have you worked?	
7.2.2 For how many years did you work in <b>intercultural</b> conflict facilitation?	
<b>8. Demographic Data</b>	
8.1 How would you describe your professional?	
8.2 Can I ask you to rate your age approximately? (e.g. under 30, under 40, over 50)	
8.3 How would you describe your cultural heritage?	

**Do you want to add anything else before we finish?**

**Then thank you very much for the interview!**

## Appendix B: Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI)

### Conflict & Trust Map Interview guidelines

#### **1. Introduction**

Thank you very much for your willingness

- to share with me your perception of the Transdniestria conflict.
- I really appreciate your time and support
- interview by itself **will take approximately 2 hours.**

#### **Purpose:**








- Part of a research project.
- We want to develop and test a new tool for conflict resolution that can support conflict resolution experts in their work.
- The focus in this interview is on the human side of the conflict, meaning it focused on the different interests, needs and concerns of the involved parties and also their relationship to each other, including the trust relationship.

#### **Structure** of the interview:

- **Divided into 3 parts,**
- **First part is the open question part,**
- Where I'm interested to hear about your perception of the conflict.
- **Second part = short questionnaire.**
- It will assess your **opinion about some special trust aspect, which are considered to be relevant** by a previous conducted study and literature research.
- Third part = follow up question and questions, regarding your demographic background

#### **Confidentiality:**

- **The information of this interview will be treated confidentially and only used in an anonymous form.**
- Do you have any question so far?
- Is it ok for you that I record the interview and take some notes?

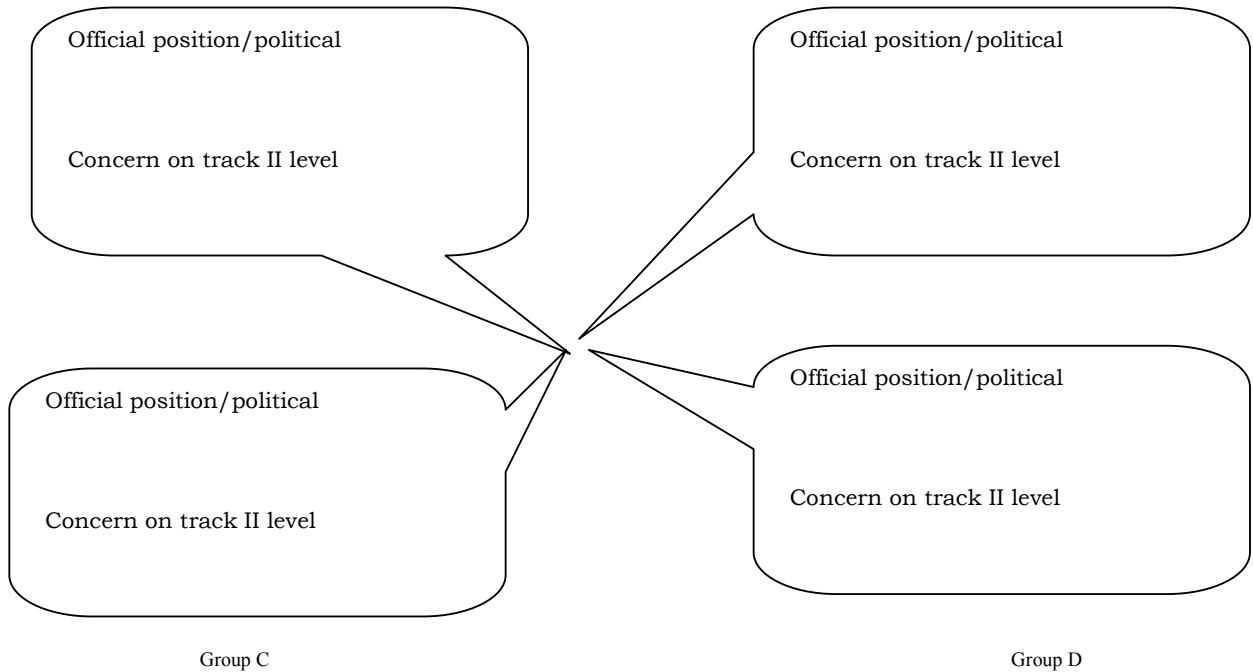
<p align="center"><b>Block I</b></p> <p align="center"><b><i>Conflict, Parties Involved and their Interests, Needs &amp; Concern</i></b></p>	
<p align="center"><b>2. Conflict Title and Content</b></p>	
<p>2.1 We are talking today about the Transdnjestria conflict. Is this term for ok of do you prefer another term?</p>	
<p align="center">Desired title for the den conflict:</p>	
<p>In the beginning I would like to learn more about your personal your role and your involvement in the conflict</p>	
<p>2.2 How would you describe the role you or your organization can/could take in solving the conflict?</p>	
<p>2.3 Since when are you involved in the conflict engagement of this conflict?</p>	
<p>2.4 How satisfied are you with the handling of the current conflict situation?</p> <div> <div> <p>Very satisfied</p> <div>  <input data-bbox="513 1146 537 1167" type="checkbox"/>  <input data-bbox="594 1146 618 1167" type="checkbox"/>  <input data-bbox="675 1146 699 1167" type="checkbox"/>  <input data-bbox="756 1146 781 1167" type="checkbox"/>  <input data-bbox="837 1146 862 1167" type="checkbox"/>  <input data-bbox="919 1146 943 1167" type="checkbox"/>  <input data-bbox="1000 1146 1024 1167" type="checkbox"/> </div> </div> </div> <div> <p>Not satisfied at all</p> </div>	
<p>2.5 In a nutshell and your own opinion, what is the conflict about?</p>	

### 3. Groups involved (and Representatives)

- Conflict engagement can be on the an official level and unofficial level
- Behind the scenes with civic player involved
- For the course of the interview, please picture that all parties involved in the Transdnistria conflict participate at an unofficial round table talk. (Dialogue groups)
- Who are the main player/groups?

Group A

Group B

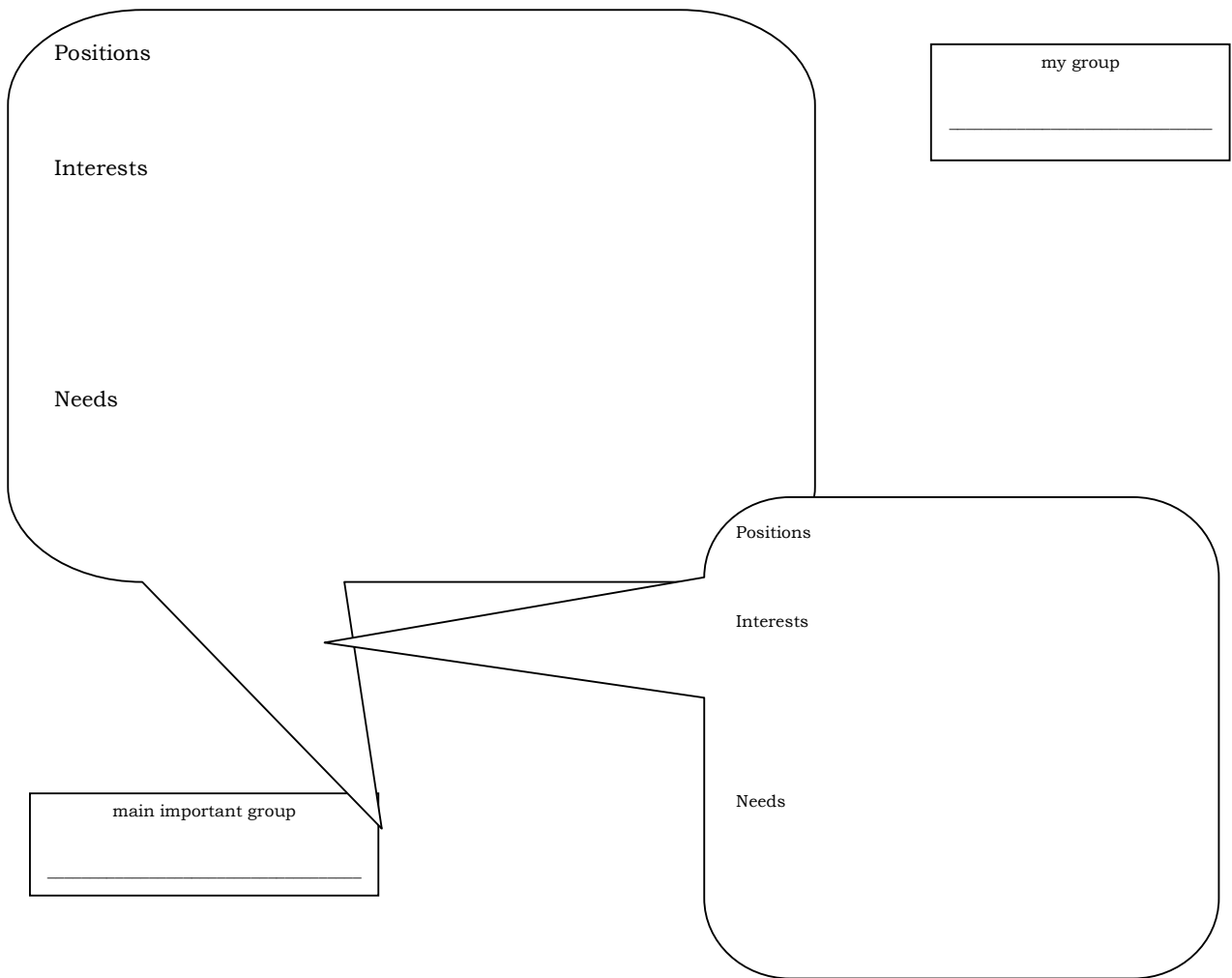


On the unofficial level – with the civil players involved:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If your organization would be part of this dialogue talk (round table talk) what could be the main concern of your organization? (Linked to the TD – Conflict)</li> </ul>	
From this perspective, of an unofficial table talk	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do the main player change?</li> <li>• Are those homogenous groups or should it be further divided in sup-groups?</li> </ul>	

#### 4. Positions, Interests, Needs & Concerns

In order to reach a movement in for this concern, who is the **most important group you have to engage with?**

- Position → What are the demands? What does the group stands for?
- Interest → What does the group want to gain? To protect?
- Needs → Why does it matter? What do they fear?



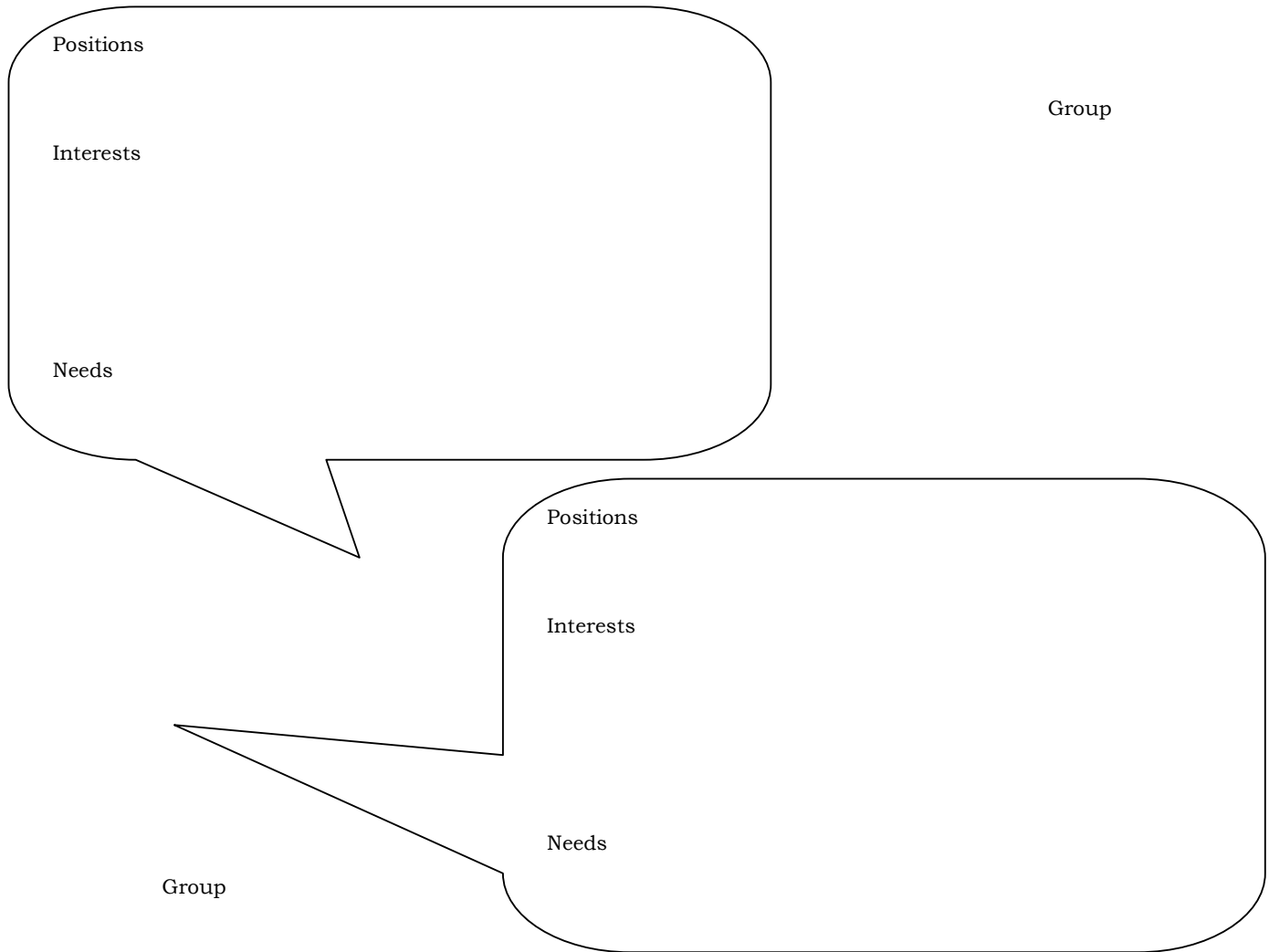
Keeping Interest in mind – in regard of the other group:

- What do you want to tell the other group?
- What do you blame them for? What upsets you about them?



## Other Groups

- Position      → What are the demands?    What does the group stands for?
- Interest      → What does the group want to gain?    To protect?
- Needs        → Why does it matter?                      What do they fear?



When you think about the interest and needs about the other group

- Do the threaten the needs from you group? (In Regard of the concern of the round table talk)
- Are you concern about your needs, you mentioned before?

**Last comments on the conflict analyses and parties involved?**

## Block II

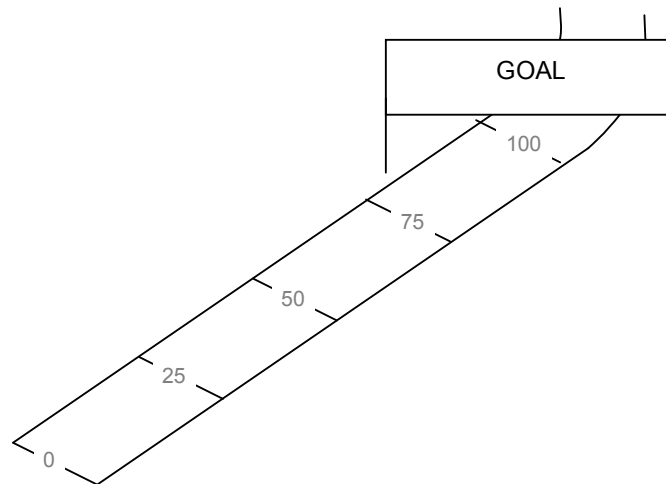
### Trust

- Trust between conflicting parties is a **core component** in order that the conflict parties are **actually able to work together** on steps towards conflict engagement.
- We start now looking at your perception of the trust relationship to the other side.
- When I talk about **Trust** I mean:
  - *Trust that the other side come in “good faith”,*
  - *Trust that the other side is sincerely involved in the process,*
  - Not that you have to trust them with your live or your deepest secret
- Picture you go to the round table on this Track II level (unofficial level) for a **joint process of conflict engagement.**
- Ok to stick with the 1<sup>st</sup> group – you identify before to the main important group to engage with?

Please look at this racetrack. Think about the other representatives, you would work with:

4.1 If 100 is the level of trust you can say you fully trust them, at what point does the trust has to be in order for you to work with them?  
To work with each other on a very deep understanding level

4.2 If 100 is the level of trust you can say you fully trust them, at which point are you currently?  
Why?



4.3 What factors help you to trust them?	
4.4 What factors diminish your trust into them? (nice phrase: What is lacking in the current relationship)	
4.5 Do you think they are typical representatives of their group?	

<b>Block III</b> <b>Questionnaire</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Part of the interview with the questionnaire</li> <li>• The questionnaire <b>focus on special conditions that research suggest impacts the trust relationships between parties.</b></li> <li>• It will take <b>5-10 minutes.</b></li> <li>• Would you mind to fill it out, <b>while I go through my notes</b> before we continue with the last part of the interview?</li> </ul>	

<b>5. Trust in the Group <u>as a whole</u></b>	
5.1 How trustworthily, now in a general sense, do you see the <i>group as a whole</i> ? Why?	
<b>6. The others groups involved</b>	
6.1 How trustworthily in a general sense do you see the other <i>group(s)</i> involved? Why?	
<p>So far we spoke mostly about your perception how trustworthy you think the other group is. Now I would like to focus how you think your own group is seen.</p>	
<b>7. Assumption about the perception of the other group</b>	
7.1 How trustworthy is your group judged by the other group [name of the group, focused on Block II] Why?	

### **8. Most important Characteristics of Trust**

8.1 In a nutshell – what are for you the most important characteristics to be able to trust the other representatives of the other groups?

8.2 What factors would lead to mistrust on your side?

### **9. Goals of the Conflict Facilitation**

9.1 Please think again about the round table. If we would bring representatives your group and the group together at a table and those representatives are able to find the perfect solution to the conflict, **that satisfied all groups**. How would that ideal situation look like?

9.2 Are in this scenario the interests and needs of your group considered and preserved?

### **10. Obstacles**

10.1 In your opinion, what are the most important obstacles that stand between the current situation and your ideal situation (which you just described)?

**Last comments?**

<b>Block IV</b>	
<b>Professional background and demographic data</b>	
<b>11. Professional and demographic background</b>	
In order to finish up, I have some last question regarding your professional background and demographics.	
11.1	What is your profession
11.2	How would you describe the role you can take in solving the conflict?
11.3	Since when are you involved in the conflict engagement of this conflict?
11.4	Can I ask you to rate you age approximately? (e.g. under 30, under 40, over 50)
11.5	Where were you born?
11.6	Where were do you live now?
11.7	Where did you live most of your life?
11.8	What is your mother tongue?

**Thank you very much for the interview!**

## **Appendix C: Master Version: Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ)**

### **Trust Map Questionnaire**

Please picture that all parties involved in the conflict participate at an unofficial round table talk. For this talk each group sends representatives. These representatives do not have to have an official position within their group, influence in their respective group.

1.) Please indicate first the group, you are a member of:

My group: \_\_\_\_\_

2.) What is the group, you think is your most important opponent in the conflict:

Group: \_\_\_\_\_

When you answer the following questions please think about representatives you had contact with in the past and for whom you can make an accurate assessment. The “us” in the sentences refer to you and your representatives of your group, the “they” refers to the representatives of the other group.

#### **How to proceed with the Items:**

Please read the two statements first. The two written items indicate the two poles of a 7 point scale.

#### **Example**

- (1) It's usually spend my summer vacation in the mountains.
- (7) It's usually spend my summer vacation at the sea.

Then indicate how much you agree with either one of them

- If you fully agree with the 1<sup>st</sup> statement (vacation in the mountains), check the (1), if you fully agree with the 2<sup>nd</sup> statement (vacation at the sea), check the (7)
- 2 mean you mostly agree the statement for this pole (here vacation in the mountains)
- 6 mean you mostly agree the statement for this side (here vacation in the mountains)
- 3 or 5 means you slightly agree the statement on this side of the pole
- 4 means neither of the two statements fits, you don't agree with neither.

**Please start with the questionnaire on the following page**

1)	(1) It's usually hard for us to get in touch with them. (2) (3) (4) condition: <b>Availability/ physical</b> (5) (6) (7) We can get easily in touch with them, when we need to.
	How important is this for your trust-relationship with them? Not at all (1) (2) neither/nor (3) (4) very important (5)
2)	(1) They handle things poorly we agreed upon. (2) (3) (4) condition: <b>Competence/ Ability</b> (5) (6) (7) They handle things in a capable manner we agreed upon.
	How important is this for your trust-relationship with them? Not at all (1) (2) neither/nor (3) (4) very important (5)
3)	(1) We <u>seldom</u> know what they will do next. (2) (3) (4) Condition: <b>Predictability</b> (5) (6) (7) We have a fairly good notion what they will do next.
	How important is this for your trust-relationship with them? Not at all (1) (2) neither/nor (3) (4) very important (5)
4)	(1) If we share confidential information with them, they would break this confidentiality. (2) (3) (4) condition: <b>Discreetness</b> (5) (6) (7) If we share confidential information with them, they would keep those information confidential.
	How important is this for your trust-relationship with them? Not at all (1) (2) neither/nor (3) (4) very important (5)
5)	(1) We are <u>not</u> treated fairly by them. (2) (3) (4) condition <b>Fairness</b> (5) (6) (7) They treat us fairly.
	How important is this for your trust-relationship with them? Not at all (1) (2) neither/nor (3) (4) very important (5)









	(7)	They show willingness to understand what is important for us.			
	How important is this for your trust-relationship with them?				
	Not at all		neither/nor		very important
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
22)	(1)	The representatives I deal with, <u>are not</u> typical members of their group.			
	(2)				
	(3)				
	(4)				
	(5)				
	(6)				
	(7)	The representatives I deal with, <u>are</u> typical members of their group.			

For the following items please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

23)	(1)	<b>The other group</b> cannot be trusted because they differ greatly from my group in their values and beliefs.						
		fully			neither/			fully
		disagree			nor			agree
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		(Attributing)						
24)	(1)	<b>The other group</b> always blames my group for things that go wrong.						
		fully			neither/			fully
		disagree			nor			agree
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		(Blaming)						
25)	(1)	<b>The other group</b> is hostile towards my group.						
		fully			neither/			fully
		disagree			nor			agree
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		(Projection)						

The following scales focus on your perception of the representatives of the other group.

#### Attitude Measure

- 26)** The circles on the left row captures your belief of how they should **act ideally** in the current conflict. The circles on the right row capture how you think they **actually act**.

The space between the circles stands for the discrepancy or conformance between the actually and ideally behavior (the way you perceive it).

Please check the column with the circle combination that reflects most accurate your perceived relation.

	How <i>should</i> they act ideally in the conflict	How they <i>actually</i> act in the conflict
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		
(6)		
(7)		

relation.

- 27)** The circles on the left row capture your belief of how **trustworthy** they should **be ideally** in the current conflict. The circles on the right row depict how trustworthy you think they **actually are**.

The space between the circles stands for the discrepancy or conformance between the actually and ideally trustworthiness .  
(the way you perceive it)

Please check the column with the circle combination that reflects most accurate your perceived

	How <b>trustworthy</b> they should be <b>ideally</b> in the	How <b>trustworthy</b> they <b>actually are</b> in the conflict
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		
(6)		
(7)		

## **Appendix D:      Conflict Map Booklet**

**Code Booklet**

**Conflict Map**

**Case Moldova – Transdnistria**

Analysis Guide

Decision Rules

Prime Example

By Mariska Kappmeier

Content:	
<b>Analysis Guide</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Decision Rules Conflict Map</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>I. 1st Pillar of the Conflict</b>	<b>6</b>
1 Parties/ stakeholders	6
2 Terminology regarding the conflict	6
3 Roots of conflict	7
3.1 Conflict btw external players	7
3.2 Conflict btw (MD-TD) leaders/ not btw people	7
3.3 Geopolitical conflict/ regional conflict	8
3.4 Economical/ financial conflict	8
3.5 Others	8
<b>II. 2nd area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties</b>	<b>8</b>
5 Moldova perception of Transdnistria (TD) & relationship to TD	9
5.1 MD-TD perception / relationship to the other side	
miscellaneous category	9
5.2 MD-TD: Similarities with the other side	9
5.3 MD-TD: good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship	9
5.4 MD-TD: feeling of superiority on the other side/ lack of equality	10
5.5 MD-TD: difficulties in communication/relationship	11
5.6 MD-TD: difficulties in contact incl. cooperation	11
5.7 MD-TD as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution	12
5.8 MD-TD as unpredictable partner	13
5.9 Perception of the other side's interests	13
5.10 Fears: What fears does TD have?	14
5.10.1 Fear of Romanification (TD specific)	14
Fear of Russification/ Transdnistrification (MD specific)	15
5.10.2 Fear of another violent conflict	15
5.10.3 Other fears of TD	15
6 Transdnistria's perception of Moldova ('MD) & relationship to Moldova (MD)	16
7 Perception of/ relation to Russia (RUS)	16
7.1 Perception/relation to RUS (miscellaneous category)	16
7.2 MD similarities /close relation to RUS	16
7.3 TD similarities /close relation to RUS	16

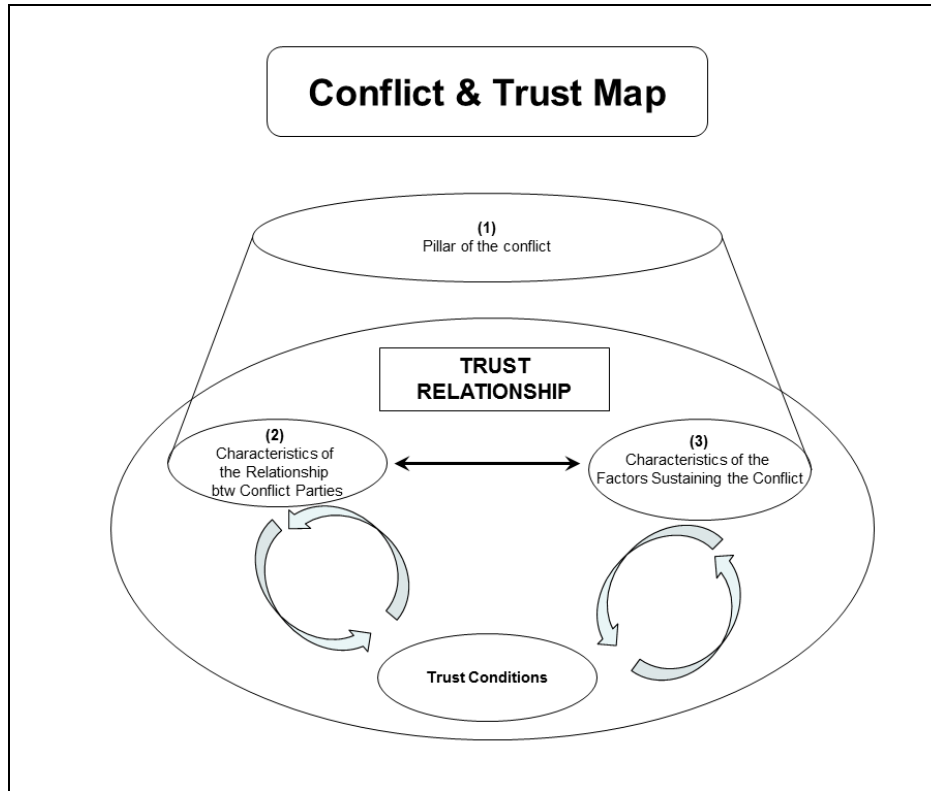
7.4	RUS as aggressor/ occupier/ negative attribution	17
7.5	RUS as supporter/ peacekeeper	17
7.6	RUS's interests	18
7.7	Perception of RUS's fears	18
8	Perception of / relation to Romania (ROM)	19
8.1	Perception/relation to ROM miscellaneous category	19
8.2	MD similarities /close relation to ROM	19
8.3	TD similarities/close relation to ROM	19
8.4	ROM as aggressor/ occupier/ negative attribution	20
8.5	ROM as supporter	20
8.6	ROM's interests	21
8.7	Perception of ROM's fears	21
9	Perception of/ relation to the EU/West	21
9.1	Perception of/ relation to the EU/West (miscellaneous category)	21
9.2	EU/West's interests	22
9.3	EU/West's lack of involvement	22
<b>III.</b>	<b>3rd area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict</b>	22
11	Sustaining factors	23
11.1	Corruption	23
11.2	Labor Migration	23
11.3	Education system/ higher education	23
11.4	Elites: criticism against the elites (political & others)	24
11.5	Indifference towards the conflict	24
11.6	Insisting on legal aspects	25
11.6.1	Legitimization for own position	25
11.6.2	Subverting legitimacy/ credibility of the other conflict partner	25
11.7	Media: lack of freedom of press (restrictions)	26
11.8	Propaganda	26
11.9	Safety: lack of safety	27
11.10	Separation of family & friends	27
11.11	Separation of land/ villages	28
11.12	Separation of young/new generation	28
11.13	Further separation	28
11.14	Travel issues	29

11.15	Language: differenced regarding the language	29
	<b>IV Conflict Categories not captured under the Conflict Map</b>	29
	4Regarding the status of TD	29
10	West-East orientation	30
10.1	MD oriented twds EU/West	30
10.2	TD oriented twds RUS	30
10.3	In general: different orientations between MD/TD	31
10.4	Heterogeneous orientations within MD/TD	31
12	Culture: everything pertaining to culture	31
13	Identity: everything pertaining to identity	31
14	Miscellaneous	31



## Analysis Guide

The Conflict and Trust Map is based on data structured through the conflict categories and trust conditions



The trust relationship is influenced by the prevalence of the trust conditions which are explained in the Trust Map Booklet.

The following booklet describes the conflict categories.

The conflict categories are composing the three area of the component Conflict Map:

1. Pillar of the Conflict
2. Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties
3. Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict

The code Booklet is structured based on the three area and has a final section with other conflict categories which can be of relevant

## Decision Rules Conflict Map

### I 1<sup>st</sup> area: Pillar of the Conflict

- Provides the reference points in which the conflict dynamics can play out
- Is not directly associated with trust, but provides some more descriptive background information
- Descriptive codes capturing what the respondent is saying without further interpretative attempts

#### 1. Parties/ stakeholders

- Descriptive category
- Category got developed to allow a quick quantitative assessment of the different stakeholders and the frequency of their recognition in the MD/TD-conflict
- No deeper content interpretation in this category
  - Content interpretation takes place in “2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties (5-9)” or in “3<sup>rd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict (11)”
- Parties and stakeholders are only listed, each party once per interview
  - Exception: Double coding likely if stakeholders are named as a listening
  - ➔ YES CODE: Only code parties and stakeholders in the context of the bigger conflict
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: Do not code groups which are named as possible interest group for the round table of a ‘round table workshop (18) (also there are overlaps)

7\_IPq (11) *First of all I consider this conflict to be between Republic of Moldova and Russia*

#### 2. Terminology regarding the conflict

- Descriptive category
- Answers on the standard interview question regarding the terminology of the conflict
- Category got developed to allow a quick quantitative assessment of the different terminologies of the conflict
  - Allows in a second step an interpretation of the perception of the conflict and which aspects are stressed
- Except: If an interviewee agrees with the international term (‘Transdnistrian conflict’), but also refines it with own explanations, code both notions

24\_QC (9): *“Yes, I say Transdnistrian conflict.”*

### 3. Roots of conflict

- Descriptive category
- Category got developed to allow a quick quantitative assessment for the nature of the conflict
  - Allows also to code the change of nature
- No content interpretation
  - Content interpretation takes place in the “2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties (5-9)” or in “3<sup>rd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict (11)”

#### 3.1. Conflict btw external players

- Conflict is due to the interest or (dysfunctional) relationship of the external players (RUS, ROM, UKR, EU, etc.) that determines the overarching conflict system
- Sometimes referred to as “political” conflict
  - Only code, if interviewee uses political in the sense, that the conflict is due to the political power plays/interests/behavior of the external parties
- Sometimes referred as “international conflict”

7\_IPq (11) *“This conflict is not between the population of the two borders of the Dniestru River or between the civil society but it appeared as a result of Russian aggression towards Moldova and Transdnistria.”*

#### 3.2. Conflict btw (MD-TD) leaders/ not btw people

- Conflict is due to the interest or (dysfunctional) relationship of the leaders of the two conflict parties (MD/TD)
- Statements that describe the conflict as political conflict (political btw MD & TD)
- Statement stresses, that is it not a conflict btw people/ population, but on the political level:
  - ➔ YES Only CODE when “political” refers to the political level within the MD & TD population – their political leaders/ elite
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE when political stands for international conflict – conflict due to the interest btw external player ➔ code under “conflict btw external players (3.1)”.

22\_PU (09): *“It is also a political problem (to whom belongs the state power) and in the fact that Transdnistria wants to be recognized as an independent country with its own borders.”*

### 3.3. Geopolitical conflict/ regional conflict

- Interviewee explicitly uses the term geopolitical or stresses, that it is a regional conflict
  - Regional referring to the separation of the left (TD) and right bank (MD)
  - Geopolitical refereeing to the geographical location of MD & TD and the political importance that derives from that
- Category overlaps with “Conflict btw external players (3.1)”, “Conflict btw (MD-TD) leaders (3.2)”, and “Economical/financial conflict (3.4)”
  - ➔ YES CODE: If statement EXPLICITLY says geopolitical or regional
  - ➔ YES CODE: If the focus of the statement lies more on the geographical reason for the conflict
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: If statement mentions interest of the external player as well, and does not explicitly mention “geopolitical” or “regional” → Code under “conflict btw external players (3.1)”

*32\_PM (119): Geopolitical: Right now Moldova is on the border with the European Union. It is too close to us; they still don't know would it be a neutral country or would be NATO.”*

### 3.4. Economical/ financial conflict

- Interviewee explicitly uses the term economical or financial, or stresses that it is an economical conflict
- Category overlaps with “conflict btw leaders (3.2)”
  - ➔ YES CODE: when statement EXPLICITLY says economical or financial conflict
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: If statement mentions interest of the leaders as well and do not explicitly mention economical → Code under “conflict btw leaders (3.2)”

*32\_PM (98): You see, they have good influence on the Moldovan side and now, the politicians and the democratically party of Moldova have this point also, the economical.”*

### 3.5. Others

- Interviewee lists other reasons or characteristics to describe the conflict

## II 2<sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties

- Includes all the main categories and its subcategories that captures the perception and relations between the conflict party
- Mainly narrative codes. The narrative codes are still closely based on the raw data but also include some degree of abstraction

## **5. Moldova perception of Transdniestria (TD) & relationship to TD**

### **5.1. MD-TD perception / relationship to the other side miscellaneous category**

- For statements about the relationship or perception of the other side, which cannot be coded under the other categories)
- Statement regarding the other side (relationship or perception)
- Is it clearly positive?
  - Probably code “similarities (x<sup>15</sup>.2)” or “good friendly contact (x.3)”
- Negative statements?
  - code “feeling of superiority (x.4)”,  
“suppressor/aggressor/ negative attitude (x.6)”,  
or “unpredictable partner (x.7)”?
- Mentioning of interest or cooperation?
  - code “interest (x.8)”  
or “lack of cooperation (x.6)”
- None of the above?
  - code “miscellaneous category ( x.1)”

### **5.2. MD-TD: Similarities with the other side**

- Statements regarding the other side (relationship or perception)
  - ➔ YES CODE: Positive statements stressing similarities
- ➔ YES CODE: Positive statement refereeing to having family/ friends on the other side

### **5.3. MD-TD: good friendly contact/ communication/ relationship**

- Statements regarding the positive contact, communication or relationship with the other side,
- Describes GENERAL positive contact or communication with the other side, that is happening
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statement describes positive contact with the other side, that can be generalized for both populations

---

<sup>15</sup> Each category is numbered for easier orientation; the X. indicated that it depends on the interaction partner (Moldovan, Transdniestrian Russian, etc.) to which the statement refers, each have their own section number

- ➔ YES CODE: if statement describes positive communication and applies for the whole population on the other side
- ➔ YES CODE: if statement describes positive relationship, and applies for the whole population on the other side
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement describes that there are family/ friends on both side. Even so that can includes good friendly contact and relation
  - ➔ code “Similarities with the other side” (x. 2)
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement describes the contact/ communication/ relationship neutrally = is neither positive nor negative
  - ➔ code “miscellaneous category (x.1)”

22\_PU (61): *“No, if we are speaking about the academic issue then the communication between both parts is done in a correct and fair way.”*

27\_CU (124) *“Well, as I have already mentioned most of the people have good relationships between them.”*

#### **5.4. MD-TD: feeling of superiority on the other side/ lack of equality**

- Statements that express, that the other side feels superior in their status or development of the country
- Interviewee is explains that his/ her side are not treated equal
- Regarding the “language” (not being equal to native language): only code when the statement refers to either the OTHER side or to the Soviet time
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statement refers to RUS speakers on the other side or during Soviet time
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement refers to INTRA-group dynamic, e.g. RUS speakers are more prestigious
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement refers to RUS speakers WITHIN the own group

15\_PF (17): *On the left side of the Dniestru River, Russian speaking people understood that the communist government was very powerful and they found a way to maintain their statute of a superior class.*

18\_XDc (30) *“Yes. This is due also to the policy that is [word not understood] over there because there we have the people who speak in Romanian are considered to be inferior to the others.”*

### 5.5. MD-TD: difficulties in communication/relationship

- On the relationship dimension problems manifest in the communication
- Category deals with described relationship, in which communication plays a role:
  - ➔ YES CODE: if problem with the other side is expressed
  - ➔ YES CODE: if problem regarding INTERACTION with communication aspect is expressed
  - ➔ YES CODE: if tainted relationship is *explicitly* mentioned
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if relationship is not explicitly mentioned
    - ➔ maybe Code “MD-TD as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attributions (x.7)”
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement is more attribution regarding attitudes or action
    - ➔ maybe code “difficulties in contact (x.6)”
    - or “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.7)”

19\_CN (70) “*We have very bad relations. I tried to see him and speak with him several times but he does not want to hear or see me.*”

25\_UU (73) “*This war is a tragically event in our history...people died in this war...and of course it also affected the relations between Transdnistria and Moldova. People still remember this war.*”

### 5.6. MD-TD: difficulties in contact incl. cooperation

- Category includes difficulties in contact btw both sides and lack of cooperation, both on the system level
- Cooperation in the sense of organizational cooperation, cooperation (or lack of cooperation) regarding a mutual project and exchange
  - ➔ YES CODE: if contact and cooperation is difficult due to the circumstance (situation), not due to attitudes (person)
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statement describes problem in contact e.g. crossing the border, and
    - problem dues to circumstances (maybe introduced by elite?)
  - ➔ YES CODE: if lack of cooperation due to circumstances (maybe EU does not give money?)
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if it is due to attitude
    - ➔ then code “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.6)”,
    - or “unpredictable partner (x.7)”
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if problem due because of the attitude or lack of willingness to travel?

- maybe code “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.6)”  
or “unpredictable partner (x.7)”
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if lack of cooperation due because the other is not willing
- maybe code “feeling of superiority/ lack of equality (x.4)”  
or “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.7)”

25\_UU (94). *“My colleagues from Chisinau come more seldom in Tiraspol then the colleagues from Tiraspol go to Chisinau”*

22\_PU (13) *But Transdnistriean schools and universities do not want to get this accreditation because they consider themselves to be in an independent country. These exchanges of experience exist only on an unofficial level.*

### **5.7. MD-TD as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution**

- Suppressor: Statements that refers that the other sides suppress their own group members
- Aggressor: Statements that express, that the other side acts aggressive towards one or one’s group or aggressive intention towards one group
- Include political act of aggression but also individual acts of aggression
- Negative attribution: statements, in which interviewees are critical towards the other side
- Statements are neither neutral nor supporting
- ➔ YES CODE: Statement contains critical content
  - negative, accusing statements:
  - Statement cannot be further distinguished to other categories such as “difficulties in communication/relationship (x.5)” (if clearly related to communication or relationship)  
“unpredictable partner (x.8)”,  
or “perception of the other side’s interest (x.9)”,
- Includes also statements, that attribute lack of willingness to cooperate  
lack of cooperation gets mentioned:
  - ➔ YES CODE: if this is due to lack of willingness on the other side
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if it is due to the circumstances
    - code “difficulties in contact (x.6)”
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: If statement indicates, that the actions of the other side cannot be predicted or they will break their promises



- code under “unpredictable partner (x.8)” even so it includes critical components

#### Suppressor

7\_IPq (115): *“It is a real problem for the Romanian speaking people from Transdnistria because they have no Romanian literature there, they are not allowed to talk in Romanian and they even want to close all the Romanian schools from there.”*

#### Aggressor

19\_CN (58) *“Tiraspol wants to put the border right next to Dniestru and to take all those villages under the jurisdiction of Transdnistria.”*

#### Negative attribution

15\_PF (9) *“They try to steal it from the people who were ruling Republic of Moldova at that moment.”*

### 5.8. MD-TD as unpredictable partner

- Category includes 2 dimensions:
  - Statements regarding unpredictable partner, because they do not honor agreements, break their words, break their promises etc. (experienced in the past)
  - Statements regarding unpredictable partner, because own never knows what they will do next (future)
- ➔ YES CODE: If statement indicates that the actions of the other side cannot be predicted or they will break their promises
- ➔ DO NOT CODE under “suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attribution (x.7)”, even so it includes critical components

25\_UU (21): *All these years when Voronin was the president of the country he changed his visions, partners, principles and orientations all the time...from east to west, from communism to European Union...Such people change their principles all the time and they cannot keep their word.*

### 5.9. Perception of the other side’s interests

- Interests are understood as resources such as
  - power, territory, laws, money and mobility [\$ / §]
- Interest is everything, that helps to manage the conditions/ surroundings within own group (are mainly managed through money and legislations)
- Issues that cannot be created through legislation or money, e.g. good relationships, trustworthiness etc. are rather needs
- Statements should express the interest of the majority of the other side

- ➔ YES CODE: if statements include the strive towards anything that can be created through money or legislation (including, people want something to eat)
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements include strive towards things that cannot be created through money or legislation
  - ➔ try to fit in the other categories
- ➔ YES CODE: if statements hold true for the majority of the group (e.g. want to travel)
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement holds only true for a minority of the group, e.g. some want to be xxx
  - code rather under “Miscellaneous (14)”

15\_PF (71) “The population of Transdnistria just wants to have a good and quiet life.”

7\_IPq (131) “Third, there is the economic interest. Moldova wants to manage all the economical sources that are in Transdnistria.”

## 5.10. Fears: What fears does TD have?

- Interviewee explicitly mentions a fear/ fears
- If not mentioned explicitly, it is very clear from the context that fears, which are relevant for the whole group, are threatening
  - Fears should be a threat to the group identity or other criteria that determines the group homogeneity or self-definition, or existence of the group
  - Group identity can also apply, if only shared by a part of the population – as long as this part identifies as MD or TD, and the fear is a threat to the self-understanding or existence of MD or TD.
- Be aware of false friends: just because use of the verb “afraid” does not mean automatically that fear, which threatens the group identity, is mentioned

### 5.10.1. Fear of Romanification (TD specific)

- Interviewee mentioned explicitly Romanification
- If not mentioned explicitly, it is very clear from the context that Romanification as a fear is described
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement refers to Romania as stakeholder
    - ➔ code under “relation to ROM (8.2/ 8.3)”
    - or ROM as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude (8.4)”

➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement refers to differences in language, without the implication of a forced assimilation into Romanian

➔ code under “differences in language (11.15)”

27\_CU (81) *“They are afraid that they would be forced to speak only Romanian language, that all their traditions and culture will be neglected and that those who will oppose this system could be repressed.”*

### **Fear of Russification/ Transdniestrification (MD specific)**

- Interviewee mentions explicitly Russification or Transdniestrification
- If not mentioned explicitly, it is very clear from the context, that Russification or Transdniestrification as a fear is described
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement refers to Romania as stakeholder
  - ➔ code under “relation to RUS (7.2/ 7.3)”
  - or RUS as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude (7.4)”
- DO NOT CODE: if statement refers to differences in language, without the implication of a forced assimilation into Russian
  - ➔ code under “differences in language (11.15)”

2\_RP (48): *They fear that after the reunification with Transnistria, the Republic of Moldova will be transnistrianized at the political level, and because there will be more, kind of a big population, numerous population of Russian speaking population from Tiraspol and from Dubasar and Ribnita, will come in Chisinau, in Moldova, and will not only russificate but also transdnistrify Moldova.”*

#### **5.10.2. Fear of another violent conflict**

- Interviewee mentioned explicitly the fear of another violent conflict
- If not mentioned explicitly, it is very clear from the context, that the fear of another violent conflict is described

18\_XDc (44) *“We are living with fear because as it was unpredictable back in 1992, it can happen now again”*

#### **5.10.3. Other fears of TD**

- Compare with general description of the fear category

### **6. Transnistria’s perception of Moldova (‘MD) & relationship to Moldova (MD)**

➔ reversed for TD, same categories as 5

## **7. Perception of/ relation to Russia (RUS)**

### **7.1. Perception/relation to RUS (miscellaneous category)**

- Statements about the perception of or relationship to RUS, but cannot be coded under the other categories
- Is it clearly positive?
  - Probably code under “similarities/ close relationship to RUS (7.2/7.3)”, or “RUS as peacekeeper/supporter (7.6)”
- Is it clearly negative?
  - probably code “RUS as aggressor/suppressor/negative attribution (7.4)”
- Does it mentioning interests ?
  - Code “interests (7.5) “
- None of the above?
  - code “miscellaneous category (7.1)”

### **7.2. MD similarities /close relation to RUS**

- Statements that describe similarities between the MD and RUS
- Statements that describe MD and RUS have a close relationship
- Close relationship is understood in the sense that RUS and MD share the same values, identity etc.,  
that they have the idea “they are the same”
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that RUS is closer to MD  
in the sense that RUS and MD are alike
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that RUS supports MD
    - code “RUS as supporter/ peacekeeper (7.5)”

13_XDw (28) “A lot of Russian people who came here to work remained here and established themselves here and they already had their families, generation from generation, and they are Russian people but who lived in Moldova.”
--

### **7.3. TD similarities /close relation to RUS**

- Statements that describe similarities between the TD and RUS
- Statements that describe TD and RUS have a close relationship
- Close relationship is understood in the sense that RUS and TD share the same values, identity etc.,  
that they have the idea “they are the same”

- ➔ YES CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that RUS is closer to TD  
in the sense that RUS and TD are alike
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that RUS supports TD  
➔ code “RUS as supporter/ peacekeeper (7.5)”

22\_PU (69) *“The most part of Transdnistriean population are citizens of Russia. Many of them work there and they want their children to study in Russia. The official language of Transdnistria is Russian and we also have the Russian culture”*

#### **7.4. RUS as aggressor/ occupier/ negative attribution**

##### Aggressor/ occupier:

- Category includes statements, that describe aggressive intention or acts aggressively towards the TD or MD (aggressor), or occupation done by RUS
- Statement contains critical content – negative, accusing statements
  - Statements are neither neutral nor supporting
  - Includes also statements, that attribute lack of willingness to cooperate

##### Negative attribution:

- Statements, in which the interviewee is critical twds RUS
- Statements, in which the interviewee indicates, that RUS contributes to the prolonging of the conflict/  
is a maintainer of the conflict

18\_XDc (30) *“She (Russia) would give up so easy [phrase not understood] it is something so very understandable, after so many years of conflict, they would not just get out of the country and that's it like doing nothing.”*

#### **7.5. RUS as supporter/ peacekeeper**

- Statements that refer to the fact, that RUS support either MD or TD
- Statements that refer to the fact, that RUS keeps the peace  
(in the sense of positive peace; not in the sense of maintaining the conflict)
  - ➔ YES CODE: Statements that refer to the fact that RUS keeps the peace btw MD & TD, and prevents new bloodshed
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: Statements that point to the fact, that RUS’s presence refers to the conflict  
➔ code under “aggressor/ occupier/ negative attribution (7.4)”

- ➔ Statements that mention support and closeness btw TD/MD & RUS in one sentence, or support as an example for closeness
- ➔ code under “MD/TD similarities/ close relation to RUS (7.2/7.3)”

24\_QC (16) *“And Russia gave to this territory a lot of things, especially factories, to make this region more economically improved*

## 7.6. RUS's interests

- Interests are understood as resources [\$ / §] such as
  - power, territory, laws, money and mobility
- Interest is everything, that helps to manage the conditions/ surroundings within own group (conditions/ surroundings are mainly managed through Money and legislations)
- Issues that cannot be created through legislation or money, e.g. good relationships, trustworthiness etc. are rather needs
- Statements should express the interest of the majority of the other side
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements include the strive towards anything that can be created through money or legislation (including strive to power)
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements include strive towards things that cannot be created through money or legislation
    - ➔ try to fit in the other categories
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements hold true for the majority of the group
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement holds only true for a minority of the group, e.g. some want to be xxx
    - ➔ code rather under “miscellaneous (14)

15\_PF (17) *I can realize that Russian interference was guided from Moscow. When there is a conflict there is also a material (economic) interest.*

15\_PF (19) *“I mean the huge interest that Russia has in this part (in Transdnistria)”.*

35\_OD (87) *“Through this region Russia has an open way to Balkans”*

## 7.7. Perception of RUS's fears

- Statements that mention any fears of RUS

## 8. Perception of / relation to Romania (ROM)

### 8.1. Perception/relation to ROM miscellaneous category

- Statements about the perception of or relationship to ROM, but cannot be coded under the other categories
- Is it clearly positive?
  - probably code under “similarities/ close relationship to ROM (8.2/8.3)”, or “ROM as peacekeeper/supporter (8.6)”
- Is it clearly negative?
  - probably code “ROM as aggressor/suppressor/negative attribution (8.4)”
- Does it mentioning interests?
  - Code “interests (8.5) “
- None of the above?
  - → code “miscellaneous category (8.1)”

## 8.2. MD similarities /close relation to ROM

- Statements that describe similarities between the MD and ROM
- Statements that describe MD and ROM have a close relationship
- Close relationship is understood in the sense that ROM and MD share the same values, identity etc., that they have the idea “they are the same”
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that ROM is closer to MD in the sense that ROM and MD are alike
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that ROM supports MD
    - code “ROM as supporter (8.5)”

8\_QU (21) “Back in 1991, when Moldova got its independence, the majority of the politicians governing then were Unionists and they wanted to unify with Romania, Moldova becoming part of Romania; and the Russians did not like that.”

## 8.3. TD similarities/close relation to ROM

- Statements that describe similarities between the TD and ROM
- Statements that describe TD and ROM have a close relationship
- Close relationship is understood in the sense that ROM and TD share the same values, identity etc., that they have the idea “they are the same”
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that ROM is closer to TD in the sense that ROM and TD are alike

➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements refer to the fact, that ROM supports TD

➔ code “ROM as supporter (8.5)”

7\_IPq (163) First of all in Transdnierstria there are Romanian citizens too and second, there are also Romanian speaking people on the territory of Moldova.

#### **8.4. ROM as aggressor/ occupier/ negative attribution**

##### Aggressor/ occupier:

- Category includes statements, that describe aggressive intention or act aggressive towards the TD or MD (aggressor),  
or occupation done by ROM
- Statement contains critical content – negative, accusing statements
  - Statements are neither neutral nor supporting
  - Includes also statements, that attribute lack of willingness to cooperate

##### Negative attribution:

- Statements, in which the interviewee is critical twd ROM
- Statements, in which the interviewee indicates, that RUS contributes to the prolonging of the conflict/ is a maintainer of the conflict

27\_CU (79) “Romania is considered to be an aggressive country towards other nationalities”

7\_IPq (63) “The 60 % of Russian and Ukrainian citizens, which speak basically Russian, are afraid that if Transdnierstria reunites with Moldova, the Romanian army will come to fight them.”

#### **8.5. ROM as supporter**

- Statements that refer to the fact that ROM support either MD or TD
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement mentions support and closeness btw TD/MD & ROM in one sentence,  
or support as an example for closeness
  - ➔ code “MD/TD similarities/ close relation to ROM (8.2/ 8.3)”

7\_IPq (223) “I just wanted to add that Romania offers to the students from Transdnierstria different scholarships, literature, trips and other sort of help.”

27\_CU (33) “Yes. Romania supports Moldova.”

#### **8.6. ROM's interests**

- Interests are understood as resources [\$/ §] such as



- power, territory, laws, money and mobility
- Interest is everything, that helps to manage the conditions/ surroundings within own group (conditions/ surroundings are mainly managed through money and legislations)
- Issues that cannot be created through legislation or money, e.g. good relationships, trustworthiness etc. are rather needs
- Statements should express the interest of the majority of the other side
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements include the strive towards anything that can be created through money or legislation (including strive to power)
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statements include strive towards things that cannot be created through money or legislation
    - ➔ try to fit in the other categories
  - ➔ YES CODE: if statements hold true for the majority of the group
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement holds only true for a minority of the group, e.g. some want to be xxx
    - ➔ code rather under “miscellaneous (14)”

27\_CU (19) *“Romania tries to control the right side of the Dniestru River (Moldova) and to settle its government on that territory, I am absolutely sure about it. “*

## 8.7. Perception of ROM’s fears

- Statements that mention any fears of ROM

## 9. Perception of/ relation to the EU/West

### 9.1. Perception of/ relation to the EU/West (miscellaneous category)

- ➔ Every statement, that refers to the relationship btw MD/TD with the EU/West
- ➔ Every statement, that expresses a perception of the EU/West
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: Statements that mention perceived interests of the EU/West
  - ➔ code “interest (9.2)”
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: Statements that ask for more involvement/ more visibility of the EU/West
  - ➔ code “lack of involvement (9.3)”

### 9.2. EU/West's interests

- Interests are understood as resources [\$ / §] such as
  - power, territory, laws, money and mobility

- Interest is everything, that helps to manage the conditions/ surroundings within own group (conditions/ surroundings are mainly managed through Money and legislations)
- Issues that cannot be created through legislation or money, e.g. good relationships, trustworthiness etc. are rather needs
- ➔ YES CODE: if statements include the strive towards anything that can be created through money or legislation (including strive to power) ➔ including stability of the region
- ➔ DO NOT CODE if statements include strive towards things that cannot be created through money or legislation e.g. good relationships
- ➔ try to fit in the other categories

7\_IPq (175) „*The European Union imports energy from Russia and they do not want to have a conflict with this country.*”

### 9.3. EU/West's lack of involvement

- Statements referring to the fact, that the EU/West is not involved enough in the peacemaking/ negotiation process (MD-TD)
- Statements that express wishes, that the EU/West should work on more concrete and binding agreements regarding the region
  - Includes agreements and enforcement of agreements with RUS/UKR/ROM, and other external players

4\_KQ (41)...*then it is the work of the embassies and functionaries, [phrase not understood], they don't get involved in this.*

## III 3<sup>rd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict

- Statements that express wishes, that the EU/West should work on more concrete and binding agreements regarding the region
- Mainly narrative codes. The narrative codes are still closely based on the raw data but also include some degree of abstraction

## 11.Sustaining factors

### 11.1. Corruption

- Explicit category
- Only statements, that clearly refer to corruption

- ➔ If not explicitly mentioned, check if statement suitable for
  - ➔ “criticism on the elite (11.4)”
  - or “interest of the other side (x.9)”

19\_CN (101): *For example the police may stop a car at the border and ask from the driver to pay them 100 Euro even if there is no document that stipulates that the driver has to pay 100 Euro at the border with Transdniestria. A real Corruption!*

## 11.2. Labor Migration

- All statements regarding migration
- Only statements that do not refer to any interest or corruption
- ➔ DO NOT CODE, if migration stated as a referral for interest – for the whole population of the stakeholder e.g. “interest of a better life”
  - ➔ code under the interest-category of the stakeholders
  - Code in the context – in which context was the statement made? Do the previous or following sentence refer to perceived interest of any stakeholder ➔ if so, code under interest of the stakeholder

32\_PM (55): *“It affects really really badly because now it is more than half of the population just moved from this territory.”*

## 11.3. Education system/ higher education

- Focus on higher education (formal education, like school, university, etc.; not socialization/upbringing)
- Statements that refer on how the education system suffers due to the conflict
- Statements that refer how the conflict manifest within the education system
- Be aware of false friends: just because the verb “more educated” is mentioned, that does not mean automatically “education (11.3)”
- Code in context:
  - ➔ YES CODE: if the main message of the statement is really “education”
  - ➔ YES CODE, if the main message concerns the higher education system
  - ➔ YES CODE, if statements refers, how the two systems differ/ are alike in the education system
  - ➔ DO NOT CODE, if education is used to refer to a different aspect,
    - ➔ maybe code “labor migration” (11.2)
    - ➔ maybe code “criticism on the elite” (11.4)

- maybe code “travel issues” (11.14)
- maybe code, interest of the stakeholder
- ➔ DO NOT CODE, if statement refers that the population is hold ignorant on purpose.
  - While statements of this kind relate to the education system, the main message is on the intention of the ruling class, propaganda, or maybe the aspect that the population cannot travel due their inferior education
    - check code “criticism on elite (11.4)”,
    - check code “propaganda (11.8)”
    - check code “others as aggressor/ suppressor/ negative attitude (x.4)”
- ➔ Exception: If teacher complains about this aspect and indicates, that it hurts the education system → YES CODE! 11.3

22\_PU (39) *If a person graduates a Transdnistrian school and then wants to apply at a Moldovan University he/she must go to the Ministry of Education of Moldova and have the Transdnistrian diploma replaced with a Moldavian one because their diplomas are not recognized by other states since they are issued by an unrecognized country.)*

#### **11.4. Elites: criticism against the elites (political & others)**

- Any statement that contains criticism against the elite group of either side (MD / TD).
- Expand to political leadership, economic influential groups or other influential groups which are associated with the top-level leadership
- The top-leadership refers to the most visible leaders of the group, which are in position to make decisions impacting the whole group and course of the conflict.

27\_CU (15): “[...]the last one is about the opposition of the elite people (VIP persons) from Moldova and Transdnistria.” *The main interest of these elite people is to have power and property”*

25\_UU (21): “So, the main characteristic of all these representatives of the government (in Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Transdnistria, Russia etc.) consists in the fact that they do not have principles.”

#### **11.5. Indifference towards the conflict**

- Indifference within the population regarding the conflict
- The meaning should be explicitly expressed, not just hinted/ indicated
- Indifference really means, not interested or oblivious towards the conflict
- It doesn’t mean avoiding the theme of conflict
- DOES NOT INCLUDE the lack of political will

➔ DO NOT CODE, if statement expresses, that the political actors do not get involved or active,

➔ maybe code under “criticism on the elites (11.4)”

13\_XDw (90): *“No, they are aware about that, but to be sincere, my perception, it's my own perception, people from the right bank, they are not really interested in what is happening on the left bank maybe because the conflict has already about 18 years.”*

## **11.6. Insisting on legal aspects**

- Statements that stress legitimacy for own side

- Statement that subvert the legitimacy of the other side

➔ YES CODE, if law violation of Human Rights get cited to subvert the other side (without the focus on lack of safety)

➔ code here (if in doubt, code as well under “lack of safety (11.10)”)

➔ DO NOT CODE, if law get cited to point out as an example that there is a lack of safety (e.g. no protection of human rights)

➔ code under “lack of safety (11.10)”

### **11.6.1. Legitimization for own position**

- Interviewee cites the law in any way (international law, Human Rights, etc.) to support the legitimacy of his/ her side’s position

- Law gets mentioned

- Statement supports the rightfulness of own position

7\_IPq (17) *“As you can see all the international acts and agreements are on our side and they must be respected.”*

### **11.6.2. Subverting legitimacy/ credibility of the other conflict partner**

- Interviewee cites the law in any way (international law, Human Rights etc.) to subvert the legitimacy/credibility of the other side

- Violation of any laws committed by the other sides get mentioned (e.g. TD, ROM, RUS)

➔ If statement contents both aspects (legitimization for own side & subverting other side)

➔ code under “legitimization for own side (11.6.1)” and

➔ code under “Subverting legitimacy/ subverting credibility of others (11.6.2.)”

4\_KQ (25): *Transdnistria is an illegal territory, he does not agree with it like a well-formed territory, a legal one.*

### 11.7. Media: lack of freedom of press (restrictions)

- Statements that refer to the fact that journalists cannot freely report, or that the access of the population to information is restricted
- Does not refer to the dissemination of propaganda or to the instrumentalization of the media for propaganda
- ➔ DO NOT CODE if statement to the intentional omission of information, in order to support the official discourse
  - ➔ code under “propaganda (11.8)”

24\_QC (46): *Even mass media could not publish articles, many articles about this; only we have here only few newspaper and they do that every time, put articles.”*

19\_CN (139): *“Because they do not want anybody to know what the real situation is in Transdnistria. They will not allow you to film them or record what they are talking”.*

### 11.8. Propaganda

- Statements in which propaganda is explicitly mentioned
- Statements which indicate that the official discourse or the opinion of the population got influenced.
  - Includes also linguistic or educational use
  - Intentional development of stereotypes
- Includes statements that indicates
  - Dissemination of polarizing/ propagandistic information
  - Dissemination of perverted / aggressive/ wrongful information

7\_IPq (63) *“This is told in mass media in Transdnistria in order to scare the Russian speaking people.”*

15\_PF (39): *“Because mass-media talks about it every day. When you hear every day that Moldova is an enemy you begin believing it.”*

### 11.9. Safety: lack of safety

- Interviewee stresses threat or danger of safety
- Code in context, category overlaps with:

- ➔ “legal aspects (11.6)”;  
YES CODE: If law gets cited to point out as an example that there is a lack of safety (e.g. no protection of human rights)
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: If law violation of Human Rights gets cited to subvert the other side (without the focus on lack of safety)
  - ➔ code under “legal aspects (11.6)” - if in doubt, double code
- Code in context, category overlaps with:
- ➔ “lack of freedom of press (11.7)”  
YES CODE: Any statement that refers to the danger that comes with political activities or the aspect that the authorities interfere with participation or expression of opinion (freedom of speech)
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: If the statement refers to lack of freedom of press?
  - ➔ code under “lack of freedom of press (11.7)”
- Code in context, category overlaps with:
- ➔ ”travel issues (11.14)”  
YES CODE: If the statement refers, that people cannot travel freely, because the authority threatens to punish the travel attempt? (not because they do not allow it)
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: If the statement refers to travel issues, means not being able to travel freely due to circumstances? Such as regulation or lack of authority approval (without indication of a threat)
  - ➔ code under “travel issues (11.14)”

24\_QC (32): “*You can't be really protected in Moldova, too, if you are involved in any political things*”

### **11.10. Separation of family & friends**

- All statements that refer to the fact that family, relatives and friends had been/are (physical) separated due to the conflict
- ➔ YES CODE: If statement reflects that relatives/ friends are separated by the border
  - ➔ also check, if maybe “difficulties in contact apply (5.6/6.6)”
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if statement reflects that relatives/ friends have problems speaking to each other, indicating that they have opposite position regarding the conflict history
  - ➔ code under “difficulties in communication (5.5/6.5)”
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: statements that refer to separation due to migration movement
  - ➔ code under “Labor Migration (11.2)”

- ➔ DO NOT CODE: statements that refer to separation due to migration movement
  - ➔ code under “Labor Migration (11.2)”

6\_CE (123): *“I am talking about families that are torn apart.”*

### 11.11. Separation of land/ villages

- All statements that refer to the fact that land (meaning the country, fields, villages or town) had been separated due to the conflict
- Focus lies on the physical separation in the geography, expressed via separation in country, fields etc.)

18\_XDc (51) *“My husband is a leader of an organization that is into agriculture and the village has fields over the border. Every time they had to go and work on those fields, there were a lot of problems. After two years the these fields were not worked, they were ruined.”*

### 11.12. Separation of young/new generation

- All statements that refer to the fact that the generation born after/shortly before the civil war in 1992, does not have:
  - the experience and memories of living together/ being one county
  - the experience to travel freely within MD and TD

27\_CU (115): *Now we have a new generation of people on the both banks which do not remember either USSR either united Moldova.”*

### 11.13. Further separation

- All statements that refer to further separation
- Statements that reflect the fact, that MD & TD are in one way or the other separated, and these statements CAN NOT be categorized in the former listed separation categories
- ➔ YES CODE: Statement that refers in general to different development in the two societies
- ➔ YES CODE: Statement that refers to different economic development (general statement, without a connection to interest
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: Statement that refers to separation in educational system
  - ➔ code under “Education system/ higher education (11.3)”



25\_UU (17) *“Moldova and Transnistria have different economic strategies and in all these years the economic development of these two regions was different. Nowadays the economy of Moldova is mostly based on the development of agriculture while Transnistria’s economy is more oriented towards the export of different goods...it is an industrial region.”*

#### 11.14. Travel issues

- All statements that reflect on freedom of travel (MD or TD people are easily traveling) as well as obstacles to travel (freedom of travel is impaired by the conflict)
- Also includes positive aspects, e.g. It is easier for MD people to travel, or easy in general to obtain RUS/ROM passport
- Keywords: passport, border, travel

15\_PF (51) *“so that is why they have the Moldavian passport that gives them more freedom of movement but the Moldovan passport cannot do as much as the Romanian passport.”*

15\_PF (51) *“So they get the Moldovan citizenship while others get the Russian or the Ukrainian passport in order to be able to travel to these countries.”*

#### 11.15. Language: differences regarding the language

- Code only when interviewee EXPLICITLY uses the term language or speaks about the use of the Russian/ Romanian/ Moldovan language.

27\_CU (101): *“The linguistic aspect is very important, just like in any other country”*

22\_PU (63): *“Unfortunately we do not know very good Romanian language in order to communicate and to give lectures. I learned in school Romanian language for 6 years but I know English better...It is a problem for Transnistrian region”.*

## IV Conflict Categories not captured under the Conflict Map

### 4. Regarding the status of TD

- Descriptive category
- Only statements that EXPLICITLY mention the status of TD
- Category got developed to allow a quick quantitative assessment, what options for the status of the TD get mentioned
- No content interpretation:

- Content interpretation takes place in the „perception & relation categories (5-9)”
- ➔ YES CODE: if the statement is in agreement with the category, e.g. independence of TD
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: if interviewee says, he would never agree with it
- ➔ DO NOT CODE: statement, that stresses why independence or unification is important
- ➔ code under “interest (x.9)”

25\_UU (53): *“Yes, since 2005 Transdnistria has clearly expressed its desire to become an independent state. Chisinau is talking about reunion and Transdnistria about independence.”*

## **10. West-East orientation**

- Descriptive category
- Category got developed to allow a quick quantitative assessment of the different orientations between and within MD/TD
- Only measures, if MD or TD is orientated more twds West or East
  - Does not measure deeper content interpretation
- ➔ Depending on the depth of the statement, the statement may be coded as well
  - ➔ under “relation to RUS (7.x)”
  - “relation to ROM (8.x)”
  - or “relation to the EU/West (9.1)”

### **10.1. MD oriented twds EU/West**

- Including ROM

25\_UU (17) *“Moldova has made another choice- to be oriented towards European Union”*

### **10.2. TD oriented twds RUS**

35\_OD (65) *“Under the influence of this economic factor people are oriented mostly towards the east”*

### **10.3. In general: different orientations between MD/TD**

- General statements that refer to the fact that MD and TD have different orientations, without specifying what kind of orientation
  - ➔ code maybe under “further separation (11.13)”

2\_RP (62): *“But if you make a little archeology of this pro-European discourse you will discover a very very conservative, nationalist feeling. [...] Because it's very political correct to speak about the European integration. But many of these Romanian speaking intellectuals are not pro-European in their deep feeling and convictions; neither democrats”*

#### **10.4. Heterogeneous orientations within MD/TD**

- Statements that stress the intra-group differences with MD/TD, means that within MD or TD exist different orientations

15\_PF (75): *“If you want my opinion than I consider that here there are also two groups of people- the ones that want European integration, these are the majority of young people from Moldova, and there is another group – the old, and poor part of the population that are used to a soviet regime.”*

#### **12.Culture: everything pertaining to culture**

- Code only when interviewee EXPLICITLY uses the term culture  
➔ DO NOT CODE when only the context refers to culture

25\_UU (21): *“All the representatives of the government, from Transdnistria as well as from Moldova, have a soviet political culture. They grew up in a soviet country.”*

#### **13.Identity: everything pertaining to identity**

- Code only when interviewee EXPLICITLY uses the term identity.  
➔ DO NOT CODE when only the context refers to identity

32\_PM (173): *Yes, but as for Transdnistrians, we really after 19 years, we have our own identity, Transdnistriian identity.”*

#### **14.Miscellaneous**

- Statements that are important and clear phrased but a fitting category is missing

## **Appendix E:      Trust Map Booklet**

### **Code Booklet Trust-Map Case Moldova – Transdnistria**

Analysis Guide

Decision Rules

Prime Example

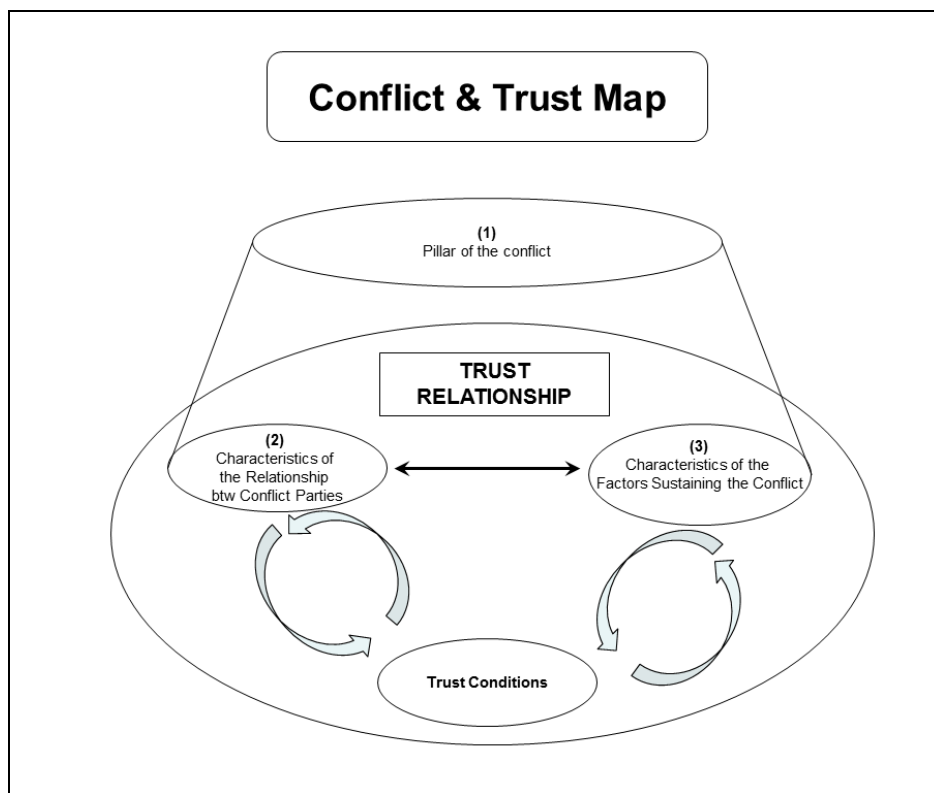
By Mariska Kappmeier

Content:	
Analysis Guide .....	3
“-“: trust condition is missing/ lack of ... ..	3
“+”: trust condition exists.....	4
“Neutral Statement”: .....	4
Prestructuring .....	4
Staircoding.....	4
Trust Conditions .....	6
1. Availability (physical) .....	6
2. Competence/ Ability.....	6
3. Predictability .....	7
4. Discreetness.....	7
5. Fairness.....	8
6. Honesty.....	8
7. Loyalty – Self-Interest (dimensional condition).....	9
8. Openess with Information .....	9
9. Overall Trust.....	10
10. Promise Fulfillment.....	10
11. Receptivity.....	11
12 Authenticity .....	12
13. Knowledge Accuracy .....	12
14. Competence for Delivery .....	13
15. Security.....	13
16. Compatibility.....	14
17. Integrity .....	14
18. Benevolence .....	15
19. Accessibility (emotional)).....	15
20. Reciprocity .....	16
21. Empathy.....	17

22. Others .....	17
A) Trust in the other side.....	18
B) Other's trust in own group .....	18

## Analysis Guide

The Conflict and Trust Map is based on data structured through the conflict categories and trust conditions



The conflict categories are composing the three area of the Conflict Map and are explained in the Conflict Map Booklet.

The following booklet describes the trust condition, which contribute to the trust relationship.

**Each trust condition can be differentiated according the following circumstances:**

**“-“: trust condition is missing/ lack of ...**

Interviewee mentions that the described trust condition

- exist in its negative form (e.g. dishonesty instead of honesty)
- or is concretely missing, does not exist in the current large-group trust relationship

**“+”: trust condition exists**

- Interviewee mentions that the described trust condition exists in the current large-group trust relationship

**“Neutral Statement”:**

- Interviewee mentions that the described trust condition **is important** for trust without any references, if the condition is existent or non-existent in the current large-group trust-relationship.

The statements will be coded in regards to the trust conditions the interviewee refers to, if the condition

- is missing in
- exists in
- or is important in general for the trust relationship.

The organization of the quotes in these three lenses allows practitioners and researchers to draw a differentiating trust profile for the current large-group trust relationship.

→ While coding, it is not always possible to differentiate the quotes between “individual trust relationship” and “large-group trust relationship”. The interviewees jump between dyadic



references and large-group references. For the trust coding, every statement that refers to trust is coded.

The large-group trust relationship is additionally coded in the three categories A and B (Trust in other group, and perceived trusts from the others in own group – see booklet p. 18)

## Pre-structuring

The 21 conditions can be pre-structuring under the following four factors: Ability, Benevolence, Integrity & Reciprocity.

Check first if the statement address

- ➔ Ability or competence of the other side
- ➔ Benevolence in the behavior towards one
- ➔ Integrity of the other side
- ➔ Regards the relationship between parties (Reciprocity)

Then identify the most fitting condition

Ability	Benevolence	Integrity	Reciprocity
2. Competence/ Ability	4. Discreetness	6. Honesty	1. Availability (Physical)
13. Knowledge Accuracy	5. Fairness	7. Loyalty – Self- Interest	3. Predictability
14. Competence for Delivery	18. Benevolence	10. Promise Fulfillment	8. Openness with Information
	21. Empathy	17. Integrity	9. Overall Trust (in others)
			11. Receptivity
			12. Authenticity
			15. Security
			16. Compatibility
			19. Accessibility (emotional)
			20. Reciprocity

## Staircoding

The theoretical assumption exists that between the four trust conditions:

- (1) Availability (physical), Being able to get in touch with the others
- (20) Receptivity, Willingness of Others to take in ones ideas
- (11) Reciprocity, Others are trusting and cooperative towards one
- (19) Accessibility, One can relate to others on a personal and emotional level.

More specific it is conceptualized that these four conditions related to each in form of a trust stairs – with Availability in the beginning, the easiest step to create leading over Receptivity to Reciprocity down to the deepest level of trust Accessibility. Figure 1 illustrates the assumed relation.

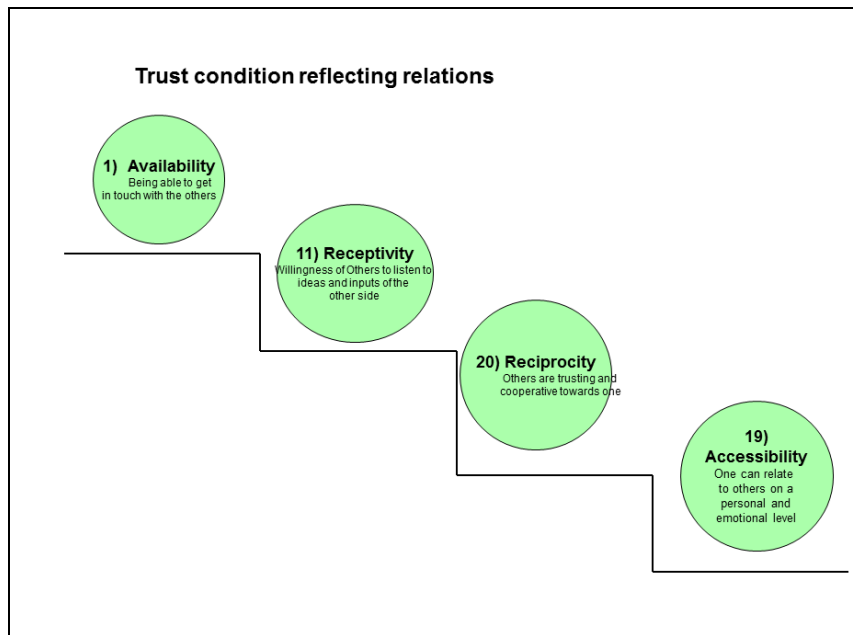


Figure 1. Trust Step.

It was furthermore conceptualized that the trust stairs would be close associated with interaction referring for interpersonal relation.

This manifest in the coding that a quotation is only coded for one of these four conditions, depending which step the interpersonal relation can be located. Double Coding within the four condition should be minimized.

## Trust Conditions

### 1. Availability (physical)

- Being (physical) able to get in touch with the others
- The other side is physically available.
- The other side is easy to be found and easy to get in touch with
- The other side is in close proximity.
  
- Physical availability: e.g. “Red phone” btw USA and Russia“; “Open Office Door Policy”; meetings happens; representative of both sides are available, sitting together at a table.

### Stair Coding

1<sup>st</sup> step of the interpersonal relation

the lowest level describes physical availability

Does not describe the relations yet

*24\_QC (153) So, just because they would be willing to come to Transdnistria, you trust them.*

*[24\_QC]: Yes.*

*36\_CD (14): I think so because now we communicate with people from other side, we have friends there, we have relatives there and people from right bank come to us, and we come there, so we understand each other*

*27\_CU (136) Distrust exists among those people that do not interact with people from the other bank of the River.*

### 2. Competence/ Ability

- Others handle things competently
- *How* something is *done* (in a competently manner)
- Trust that the other side has the skill to perform the task
- Action-orientated, the technical and interpersonal skills required for one's job; knowledge and skills related to a specific task;

**To be differentiated from:**

↔ (10) Promise Fulfillment (different origin/source for trust)

When other COULD handle things competently, but don't want to act on it.

↔ (14) Competence for Delivery

If mentioned, that the other side has no authority to handling something or is not able to do independent decision, code as (14) Competence for Delivery

24\_QC (18): *Politics of Moldova, Moldovan government, and not all of them, but some persons who was really not [word not understood] in general they wasn't tolerant, these people. People is resource and you can manage it, they could not do it.*

**3. Predictability**

- Others' behavior is predictable or stable
- One can predict what the other side will do
- Trust is based on the observation that the behavior of the others is consistent over time and in different contexts
- The other side handles issues consistently each time.
- Predictability: the action does not have to be integer, but consistent, e.g. disappoint on a consistent manner.
- For coding:

In this case should be marked with a comment for later, deeper analysis, since this affects the trust relationship in a negative manner.

25\_UU (21) *All these years when Voronin was the president of the country he changed his visions, partners, principles and orientations all the time...from east to west, from communism to European Union...Such people change their principles all the time and they cannot keep their word.*

**4. Discreetness**

- Others will treat confident information in a sensitive manner
- The other side will keep secrets.
- The other side will treat confident information in a sensitive manner.

To be differentiated from:

↔ (7) Loyalty - Self-Interest

Interesting is the breach of Discreetness and breach of (7) Loyalty - Self- Interest :

Breach of Discreetness happens *WITHOUT* intentions, but maybe due to inconsideration, naivety

Breach of Loyalty (in favor of Self-Interest) happens *WITH* intention – the intention to take advantage of the knowledge

To be differentiated from:

### ↔ 15. Security

Breach of Security can also happen without intention, when the shared information endangers the one. Security is only coded, when it very apparent from the context that security is threaten.

24\_QC (56) *I like to participate in discussions on these questions, but I don't say any speeches or something that because only if I am the speaker. I don't speak because I am quite sure in the group is a person who writes what I say and after that somebody will come and ask me: Why did you say that? Why did you say that?*

### 5. Fairness

- Others treat one equally, fairly, with dignity
- Perception that other are not treated better than one
- Perception that other give one a fair deal
- Perception that other treats one on equal
- Anti-pole: not being taken seriously, being (unjustified) blamed for things

24\_QC (108) *I don't like to work with Moldovan NGOs, because they think we are not specialists in our [field] and they don't understand the situation is, that our context is really difficult and when we say, we must be careful, we must do that, that and that, they smile and they start to joke: Ah, of course, you have your own government! - It's like a joke, a joke on our back.*

25\_UU (84) *They do not want to have dialogues on equal positions*

### 6. Honesty

- Others are honest when dealing with one
- The other side would not lie to me/us.
- The other side tells me/us the truth.

- The other side is honest when dealing with me/us.
- Anti-poles: Lying/ dishonest

25\_UU (84) *Moldova gives us something with one hand and takes something with the other hand.*

25\_UU (90) *We cannot live without such a document because one part will always cheat.*

### 7. Loyalty – Self-Interest (dimensional condition)

- Others use mistakes against one, is act in own interest
- Capture dimension between Loyalty & Self-Interest
- The other side would not take advantages of one.
- The other side would not use critical information one shared with them, against one.
- The other side would not do anything to make one look bad.
- Loyalty in the sense of ‘not using weaknesses against us’.  
having motives for protecting and making the other side look good.
- Selfishness in the sense that intentionally the other sides seeks its own advantage or if the information /situation present itself in this way it will be used for the own advantage

To be differentiated from:

#### ↔ (4) Discreetness

Breach of Discreetness happens *WITHOUT* intentions, but maybe due to inconsideration, naivety

Breach of Loyalty (in favor of Self-Interest) happens *WITH* intention – the intention to take advantage of the knowledge

To be differentiated from:

#### ↔ 15. Security

Acting in one’s Self-Interest can also endanger others. Security is only coded, when it very apparent from the context that security is threatened.

19\_CN (8) *That is why they take advantage of the situation and they just do not let go of Transdnistria.*

#### **8. Openness with Information**

- Others share essential information
- The other side keeps critical information from one.
- Transparency regarding information
- Share the essential or enough information for the exchange/interaction

24\_QC (106) *Very practical. Even if we will not find the solution of the conflict, but ideas exchange, it is important.*

#### **9. Overall Trust**

- Others are trustworthy
- One cannot trust the other side.
- One trust the other side.
- Trust in the overall sense, without implicated specific conditions
- Captures the one-dimensional understanding of trust
- Trustworthiness as a general disposition of the other side.

25\_UU (81/82) [?]: *So at this moment you do not trust them at all? SSI: Yes, of course.*

25\_UU (92): *On a society level there is a normal communication between people and good relations of trust On a society level there is a normal communication between people and good relations of trust*

25\_UU (82): *Every positive thing that will happen in our relations will make our trust grow but it can also happen the vice versa...there is also the possibility that we can go down to – 25 (minus 25) for example.*

#### **10. Promise Fulfillment**

- Others follow through on promises made
- The other side follows through on promises made to one.
- If the other side promises one something, they will stick to it.
- Keeping a promise is a problem for the other side.

To be differentiated from:

↔ (14) Competence for Delivery

If mentioned, that the other side has *no authority/ no competency* handling something or is not able to do independent decision

Others could have intend to follow through but have not the competence.

25\_UU (53): *Each of them wants to have a total control upon Moldova and Transdniestria. They make an agreement about one thing and act in a total different way. In such conditions it is impossible to solve this problem.*

25\_UU (85): *Moldova gives us something with one hand and takes something with the other hand. The former president of Moldova signed a document in which he was inviting the president of Russia to take part at a dialogue and then he throws away that document. How can we trust this person?*

25\_UU (90): *There are 18 documents that have been signed between Moldova and Transdniestria and none of them has been realized till now.*

7\_IPq (207): *I have less trust in the Transdniestrian authorities because they did not respect the agreements between the left and the right part of the Dniestr.*

7\_IPq (213): *First of all I trust them because I talked with many people from Transdniestria, they are able to keep their promises and that is why I know that I can trust them*

## 11. Receptivity

- Willingness to listen to the ideas and input of the other side
- Mental availability of the other side
- The other side fails to listen what one has to say
- Other side makes an to understand what one have to say
- Includes receptivity regarding language aspects

To be differentiated from

↔ (21) Empathy



Receptivity is possible without (21) empathy. Receptivity does not have to have an explicit mentioning of empathy or emotions

To be differentiated from

↔ (20) Reciprocity

Focus on attitude within interaction

(11) Receptivity: Focus on communication

### Stair Coding

2<sup>nd</sup> step of the interpersonal relation

Describes only the willingness to listen to the ideas, does not include exchange yet

Includes also lower level (1) Availability

Statements will be coded only under (11) Receptivity as higher step of the stair

25\_UU (84) *They do not want to have dialogues on equal positions. They do not see Transdniestria as the other part of the dialogue. They want to impose us their decisions.*

→ 1<sup>st</sup> part of the statement: Would be also coded under (5) Fairness

### 12. Authenticity

- Others are authentic in their self-expressions towards one.
- When interacting with one, others are fake.
- When interacting with one, others are authentic.
- One has a clear/ authentic feeling of the others.
- The other side does not act fake in interaction with us.

To be differentiated from

↔ (19) (Emotional) Accessibility

*Emotional Accessibility* is created through sharing true feelings

In both conditions is the other side open about their true feeling but in *Authenticity* showing true feelings does not automatically mean to build a relationship to the other side.

E.g.: In the antagonistic phase of a conflict moderation, the parties can be authentic about their negative feelings towards each other, but that does not necessary mean that they can relate therefore on a (deeper) emotional level

22\_PU (115) *I am suspicious about their personal interest that they are not speaking about.*

27\_CU (142) *I am always trying to express my opinion in such a way so that I would not hurt the other person but sometimes I can tell that the other part says one thing but believes another thing.*

15\_PF (108) *I trusted him because he really believed in what he was saying. He has no fault in being a victim of the regime, this was the way he was taught to think.*

### 13. Knowledge Accuracy

- Others state and know facts correctly
- Others states facts correctly.
- Others perverts the fact.
- Others distorts the truth.  
e.g. Propaganda could be a distortion of the truth.

13\_XDw (17) *But we have to take into consideration that on the left bank there is great propaganda over there and people over there are taught from childhood that the Romanian language is bad, that everything that is related to the right bank is bad.*

15\_PF (39) *Because mass-media talks about it every day. When you hear every day that Moldova is an enemy you begin believing it and when people keep leaving with that mentality it is very hard to change it.*

36\_CD (44) *And when I talk with some people from Moldova, I hear only one name: at first is Smirnov, and they don't know what happened in our republic*

### 14. Competence for Delivery

- Others are able to deliver upon agreements
- Others hold the competence, possibility or means (e.g. material) to put agreements into action/ reality.
- Others do not have no authority, s no competency or means (e.g. material) handling something or is not able to do independent decision

To be differentiated from:

↔ (10) Promise Fulfillment

With Promise Fulfillment the *intent* to deliver is missing, not the competence

Competence for Delivery can include the *intent* but is lacking the *authority or competency* to deliver

To be differentiated from:

↔ (2) Competence/ Ability

Focus on process, how things are handled  
versus results, if one can act upon agreements

13\_XDw (21) *Yes, six hours, that this four Transdnistria is a part of Moldova, they don't really recognise the feelings and really understand, they just have Transdnistrian persons cannot come. So, they agreed, they got a visa, but four hours before the plane they said: I am sorry, but our officials, our authorities don't give us the permission.*

19\_CN (121) *Yes, they are not competent...this is the problem. They must ask permission from Russia for everything they do.*

## 15. Security

- Others will not hurt one's group
- One has nothing to fear from the other side.
- Trust arising from the feeling that one has nothing to fear from the other members of the group
- Includes physical and psychological security

To be differentiated from:

↔ (4) Discreetness

Breach of Discreetness happens *WITHOUT* intentions, but maybe due to inconsideration, naivety

Breach Security – the intention to take harm the other by using the shared information

To be differentiated from:

↔ (15) Self-Interest

Acting in one's Self-Interest can also endanger others. Security is only coded, when it is very apparent from the context that the Self-Interest threatens security (Double coding).

24\_QC (50) *Yes, but in Moldova you can do it, but if you participate that, you are under observation, under control; governmental structures, especially security, they try to ask more than enough, a lot of questions, you need to answer them, even you do not want to do.*

### 16. Compatibility

- Others share background, values, beliefs or interests
- Trust based on background, values, belief, approaches, interests and objectives held in common
- Trust based on the perception: “We are the same”

27\_CU (115) *Now we have a new generation of people on the both banks which do not remember either USSR either united Moldova.*

22\_PU (9) *There exists a big difference between the mentality of the young people from Transdnistria and young people from Moldova, the language is different, the level of education etc.*

### 17. Integrity

- Others act in accordance with a moral code
- Other do not have principles

To be differentiated from:

#### ↔ (6) Honesty

To lie is a breach of moral code per se. but if mention explicitly, statement will be coded under (6) Dishonesty - Honesty

#### ↔ (7) Loyalty – Self-Interest

To act intentionally for the own advantage is a breach of moral code per se. but if mention explicitly, statement will be coded under (7) Loyalty – Self-Interest

The other side will not act to their own advantage in spite of us. – is more in accordance with loyalty

25\_UU (21) *So, the main characteristic of all these representatives of the government (in Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Transdnistria, Russia etc.) consists in the fact that they don't have principles. They had only one principle and only one desire – to get as much power as possible, using different methods. So it is an absolutely immoral political culture.*

### 18. Benevolence

- Others are concerned about one's overall welfare
- Trust based on the belief that other side is concerned about one's overall welfare
- The other side does not see one's concern and needs.

To be differentiated from:

#### ↔ (21) Empathy

Empathy is actively putting oneself into the other's shoes, involves stronger perspective change

(18) Benevolence expresses the concern for the other's welfare, without the active putting oneself in the shoes of the others

21\_GU (16) So, it was in this way that the pressure of the economic agents was formed by the events. The Moldovan authorities are not interested in developing the economy of Pridnestrovie..

### 19. Accessibility (emotional))

- One can relate to others on a personal and emotional level
- Others share their true feelings and one can relate to them at a personal level
- The other side does not remain estranged from us

To be differentiated from:

#### ↔ (16) Compatibility

Closeness through sharing the same things, (Background, values even I-phone, culture, gender)

(19) Accessibility: Closeness through storytelling and narratives

Stair Coding

4<sup>th</sup> and highest step of the interpersonal relation

Includes also lower level 1) Availability, (11) Receptivity, and (20) Reciprocity

Statements will be coded only under (19) Accessibility as highest step of the stairs

19\_CN (70) We have very bad relations.

32\_PM (11) *[We meet] members of the European parliament, OSCE mission, and so during this projects, we have good relations between each other and now we have become almost friends*

27\_CU (122) Well, as I have already mentioned most of the people have good relationships between them.

## 20. Reciprocity

- Others are trusting and cooperative towards one's group
- Others are not hostile towards one.
- Includes also lack of cooperation or existing cooperation

To be differentiated from:

↔ (11) Receptivity

Focus on communication

(20) Reciprocity: focus on attitude within interaction

## Stair Coding

3rd step of the interpersonal relation

Includes also lower level (1) Availability and (11) Receptivity

Statements will be coded only under (20) Reciprocity as higher step of the stair

*Example of cooperation*

25\_UU (88) *Cooperation would help a lot.*

25\_UU (88) *There are some projects in economy, in transport area...we need to work together...we need to talk less and to work more...*

*Example for trusting and cooperative attitude*

27\_CU (144) *I would even accept if the other part would speak with me about some issues that I would not like but at least to do it in an honest and sincere way.*

*Example for non- trusting attitudes*

36\_CD (14) *But sometimes of course we have some situation when we don't understand or maybe not want to understand each other.*

25\_UU (88). *We have to learn how to make dialogues and we must learn to hear the opinions and desires of the other part.*

## 21. Empathy

- Others are willing to understand what is important for one's group
- Others show willingness to understand what is important for one
- Others are willing to “walk in one’s shoes”
- Others take on one’s concern

To be differentiated from:

### ↔ (11) Receptivity

Receptivity does not have to have an explicit mentioning of empathy or emotions, one can take on ideas based on persuasive arguments, without empathizing, why the idea is important for the other group

To be differentiated from:

### ↔ (18) Benevolence

Benevolence expresses the concern for the other’s welfare, without the active putting oneself in the shoes of the others

32\_PM (53) *Transdnistria is a part of Moldova, they don't really recognize the feelings and really understand, they just have Transdnistria is a part of Moldova, they don't really recognize the feelings and really understand, they just have Transdnistria is a part of Moldova, they don't really recognize the feelings and really understand, they just have some kind of relations, sometimes, they mostly have a bigger position than Transdnistria is a part of Moldova, they don't really recognize the feelings and really understand, they just have Transdnistria.*

## 22. Others

- All statements that are related to trust, but do not fit to any of the other categories.

**A) Trust in the other side**

- How much one's group trusts the other group in general

Concrete question in the CTMI guidelines (Conflict and Trust Map Interview)

**B) Other's trust in own group**

- How much one thinks the other group trust one's own group

Concrete question in the CTMI guidelines (Conflict and Trust Map Interview)



## Appendix F: Results TMQ Hamburg Student Population

Table 50.

*Descriptive statistic values of the TMQ. Hamburg student sample, ordered according to their ranked importance*

rank		Trust condition	n	$\bar{x}$	sd	min	max
1	5	Fairness	37	4.68	0.85	1	6
2	9	Overall Trust	35	4.68	0.63	3	6
3	2	Competence/ Ability	35	4.57	0.7	3	5
4	11	Receptivity	37	4.57	0.73	2	5
5	14	Competence for Delivery	31	4.55	0.67	2	5
6	18	Benevolence	36	4.53	0.74	3	7
7	21	Empathy	36	4.53	0.97	1	7
8	10	Promise Fulfillment	36	4.47	0.74	2	5
9	12	Authenticity	36	4.5	0.77	3	6
10	13	Knowledge Accuracy	37	4.46	0.87	2	7
11	6	Honesty	37	4.43	0.84	2	7
12	7	Loyalty – Self-Interest	36	4.42	0.84	3	5
13	4	Discreetness	34	4.35	1.01	2	5
14	20	Reciprocity	36	4.3	0.62	3	5
15	3	Predictability	37	4.27	1.04	1	5
16	17	Integrity	36	4.22	0.99	2	5
17	15	Security	36	4.2	1.09	2	6
18	8	Openness with information	37	4.16	0.83	2	6
19	1	Availability	33	4.15	1.15	1	5
20	19	Accessibility	33	3.97	1.23	2	5
21	16	Compatibility	37	3.86	1.23	1	7

Note: Trust condition are described in Trust Map Booklet, Appendix E

## List of Tables

Table 1. Comparisons of Conflict Context & Relationship and Trust Assessment.....	30
Table 2. The Conditions of the Condition of Trust Inventory (Butler, 1991).....	45
Table 3. The Conditions of the Trust Index (ECPB, 2007).....	46
Table 4. Comparison of the CTI and Trust Index.....	47
Table 5. Nine conditions identified in the experts interviews, also found in the CTI or Trust Index.....	50
Table 6. Conditions newly identified through the experts' interviews.....	51
Table 7. The 21 Trust conditions of the Trust Map Questionnaire.....	53
Table 8. Professional background of the interview sample. Differentiating for large-group and gender.....	73
Table 9. Large-group membership & language.....	74
Table 10. Urban and rural setting of the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews.....	74
Table 11. Language, in which interviews were conducted differentiating for large-group membership.....	78
Table 12. Comparison between Mitchell's Images of the Others and the Conflict Map.....	106
Table 13. 1st Area: Pillar of the Conflict of the Conflict Map. Comparison of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.....	109
Table 14. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties. Comparison of the prevalence of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.....	110
Table 15. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict. Comparison of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.....	112
Table 16. Culture and Identity as conflict categories. Comparison of the categories over the three large-group conflicts.....	117
Table 17. Newly found conflict categories in the two additional interviews.....	118
Table 18. The 21 Trust Conditions aggregated under four main factors.....	124
Table 19. Trust conditions appearing in all three conflicts.....	131
Table 20. Trust conditions appearing in one additional conflict to the Transdnistrian conflict.....	132
Table 21. Trust conditions only appearing in the Transdnistrian conflict.....	133
Table 22. Trust conditions appearing in none of the conflict.....	133
Table 23. Frequencies contribution of the trust conditions among all three conflicts, differentiated for explicit and implicit codings.....	134

Table 24. Descriptive statistics for importance of the trust conditions in the TMQ.....	140
Table 25. Trust Conditions explicitly mentioned by Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees .....	143
Table 26. Trust condition explicitly differentiating Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees. Elaborated in text.....	146
Table 27. Other trust conditions explicitly mentioned by Moldovan-Transdnistrian interviewees.....	148
Table 28. Other trust conditions explicitly and implicitly mentioned by Moldovan- Transdnistrian interviewees.....	149
Table 29. Frequency of Trust Conditions in Moldovan and Transdnistrian Interviews. Elaborated in text.....	152
Table 30. Trust condition mentioned as strain in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews .....	156
Table 31. Trust condition mentioned as resource in the Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviews .....	158
Table 32. Descriptive statistic values of the TMQ.....	162
Table 33. Trust Profile for Moldovan and Transdnistrian interviewees.....	164
Table 34. Descriptive statistic values of the shared conditions in the TMQ .....	166
Table 35. Descriptive statistic values of the significant different conditions in the TMQ.....	167
Table 36. Comparison Conflict & Trust Map Interview (CTMI) and Trust Map Questionnaire (TMQ) for deficit and resource orientation.....	170
Table 37. Conflict category frequency and code-relation frequency in the 2nd Conflict Map area for the Moldovan & Transdnistrian interviewees. Elaborated in text.....	176
Table 38. Conflict category frequency and code-relation frequency in the 3rd conflict map area for the Moldovans and Transdnistrian interviewees. Elaborated in text.....	179
Table 39. Frequency of trust condition associated with the conflict category Others as an suppressor/ aggressor/negative attribution.....	182
Table 40. Frequency of trust condition associated with the conflict category Propaganda ...	186
Table 41. Frequency of trust condition associated with the conflict category language.....	188
Table 42. Frequency per interview with which party stakeholders are referenced. (MD = 20, TD = 17).....	193
Table 43. Frequency per interview with which party stakeholders are elaborated. (N of interviewees = 20 MD, 17 TD). .....	194

Table 44. Frequencies per quotations and interview on Moldovan and Transdnestrian perceptions on Russia and Romania (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD). .....	197
Table 45. Frequency per interview for preferred term to name the conflict. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD).....	200
Table 46. Frequency per interview for the root of the conflict. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD).....	201
Table 47. Frequency conflict categories in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> area “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” differentiating Moldovan and Transdnestrian interviewees. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD) .....	204
Table 48. Moldovan and Transdnestrian interests match within the context of the conflict narrative .....	208
Table 49. Frequency conflict categories in the 3 <sup>rd</sup> conflict map area Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict differentiating Moldovans and Transdnestrians. (N of interviewees = 16 MD, 16 TD) .....	229
Table 50. Descriptive statistic values of the TMQ. Hamburg student sample, ordered according to their ranked importance .....	353

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Research findings on trust in the three different stages from conflict to conflict resolution.....	18
Figure 2. Wheel of Trust.....	24
Figure 3. Actors and approaches to peace building adapted from Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliations in Divided Societies. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press., p. 39 .....	32
Figure 4. Conducted studies of this dissertation and their contribution to answer the reseach objectives. ....	40
Figure 5. A Map of the Moldova-Transdnistrian Region and its surrounding neighbors, Romania in the West and Ukraine in North, East and South. ....	59
Figure 6. Bench in the outskirts of bender. This bench was one interview location.....	76
Figure 7. Visualization of the trust coding scheme.....	81
Figure 8. Research assistants discuss the definition of the codes. ....	81
Figure 9. Conflict & Trust Map. ....	93
Figure 10. Conflict Map. The coding scheme for the Conflict Map with its conflict categories. ....	95
Figure 11. Conflict Map. ....	96
Figure 12. 2 <sup>nd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties. The coding scheme for the 2 <sup>nd</sup> area with its conflict categories.....	98
Figure 13. 3 <sup>rd</sup> area: Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict. The coding scheme for the 3 <sup>rd</sup> area.....	100
Figure 14. 21 Trust Conditions. The coding scheme for the Trust Map. ....	123
Figure 15. Assumed relation between Competence/Ability; Competence for Delivery; and Promise Fulfillment .....	127
Figure 16. Conflict constellation from the interviewees perception. Elaborated in text. ....	199
Figure 17. Moldovan Conflict- Trust –Helix for Others as suppressor/ aggressor/negative attitude .....	217
Figure 18. Transdnistrian Conflict- Trust –Helix for Others as suppressor/ aggressor/ negative attitude .....	217
Figure 19. Moldovan interviewees Conflict- Trust –Helix for the 2nd area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” .....	228

Figure 20. Transdniestrian interviewees Conflict- Trust –Helix for the 2nd area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Relationship Between Conflict Parties” .....	228
Figure 21. Moldovan interviewees Conflict- Trust –Helix for the 3 <sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” .....	251
Figure 22. Transdniestrian interviewees Conflict- Trust –Helix for the 3 <sup>rd</sup> area of the Conflict Map “Characteristics of the Factors Sustaining the Conflict” .....	251
Figure 23. Strain on the trust through harmful action. ....	263
Figure 24. Trust building through a combination of self-disclosure and actions. ....	263

## **Eidesstaatliche Erklärung**

Eidesstattliche Erklärung nach § 9 Abs. 1, Nr. d der Promotionsordnung zur Doktorin/ zum Doktor der Philosophie oder der Naturwissenschaften des Fachbereichs Psychologie der Universität Hamburg vom 03. Februar 2004

Hiermit erkläre ich an Eides statt, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig und ohne fremde Hilfe verfasst habe. Andere als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel habe ich nicht benutzt und die wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommenen Stellen als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Hamburg, den \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Unterschrift