Problems in Cross Cultural Trust Building

Case Study of Danish Public Diplomacy in Pakistan 2011-2013

Paper presented to:

Fifth Seminar of the Nordic Research Network on

Trust within and between Organizations, Theme: Trust as a Multilevel and Contextualized Phenomenon

May 15-16, 2013, Skodsborg, Denmark

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May 2013

Abstract

Based on an explorative study of the Danish Public Diplomacy activities in Pakistan this paper brings to attention a number of issues related to cross cultural trust building. The empirical data includes information from the communication consultant at the Danish Embassy in Islamabad, and other public documents from the Danish Foreign Ministry. The conclusion is a list of research problems that needs to be investigated in the future, because there are still too many unknown factors that are of relevance for international trust building.

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Introduction

Following the Mohammed crisis in 2005-2006, Denmark scored low on trust in Pakistan. According to a 2011 Gallup Pakistan survey sponsored by the Danish Embassy in Islamabad, Denmark and the US were the least trusted countries. The question was:

> Please rank the following countries in terms of trust on a scale if '1' to '14', that is please tell which one you trust the most, which one second and so on till the one you trust the least.

The base was 1140 men and women. Saudi Arabia, China, Iran and Japan scored highest on trust. Sweden, Norway and United Kingdom were among the least trusted (Akhtar 2013). The Democratic countries at the bottom of the scale may find this unfair because they tend to think of themselves as honest and transparent. Danes may know in their hearths that they are trustworthy. However, trust is not about being trustworthy. It is about other people being willing to take the risk related to trusting (Möllering 2012). Trust is a subjective emotion and no objective facts can force a person to trust somebody they don't trust just like no objective facts can force somebody to love another person. And what the Pakistani people told the Danish Embassy was that they were much more willing to take the risk of trusting Saudis; Chinese and Iranian than to run the risk of trusting Danes and their democratic allies. The trustor decides who to trust.

Coincidently, in the years after 2005 the image of Denmark has seemingly changed in Pakistan and there are a number of objective facts that the Embassy interprets as being linked to lack of trust, including increased negative coverage of Denmark in Pakistani media following the publication of the cartoons in 2005 (Akhtar 2013), a decrease in export of Danish goods to Pakistan during the years 2006-2010 (Eksportrådet 2013) and serious security problems for Danes visiting Pakistan, to the extent that the Foreign Ministry in its travel advice writes:

> There is a serious risk of terrorist attacks, kidnappings and targeted killings throughout the country. As a result of militant extremist groups increased focus on Denmark, there is a risk that attacks can be directed against Danes (Udenrigsministeriet 2013).

It is not known how the Pakistanis ranked countries in trust before the Muhammad crisis or what their image of Denmark was then. After all Denmark is a very small country and it plays an insignificant role as trading partner for Pakistan, so we can't point to a logical connection between the publication of the cartoons and the lack of trust, even though the connection seems plausible from a Danish point of view. I any case, the Danish Embassy in Islamabad set out to win the trust of the Pakistanis. The challenge is truly multilevel and contextualized. As will be discussed in the literature review, a number of different surveys indicate that trusting plays a fundamentally different role in Pakistan than in the Nordic countries.

Seduction is a risky business not only in love life but also in trust-life. The norms for how to approach another person vary from culture to culture. As an example, the Nordic image of Pakistani people is that they generally

emphasis traditional norms, formality and honor (Wikipedia 3), while Danes love Hans Christian Andersen's fairytale about the suitor "Clumsy Hans" with all the individuality, self-irony and norm breaking that it mediates. Especially when operating in an un-known territory, a trust-seeking suitor will always run the risk of stepping besides the culturally accepted norms and being seen as a little crazy, which may not improve one's image as a trustworthy person. . We don't know, to what degree trust in one self has an influence on how one is perceived as trustworthy by other people, especially people in different cultures, and this paper will not be able to answer that question. From a Western point of view, it seems obvious that it requires some self-confidence to seek the trust of people who have distinctly different core values, but self-confidence may not be an advantage in cultures that emphasis a subordinate approach to for example religious dogma or family elders. In any case, trust building is a process and no matter what the suitor do, there is no guarantee that the result will be a yes to trusting.

This paper will describe some aspects of the Danish Public Diplomacy in Pakistan after 2010. The description is based on information provided by the communication consultant at the Danish Embassy in Islamabad. The purpose of the case study is to explore how the cultural context influences the possibility for trust building at multiple levels and by doing so be able to point-out questions of relevance for future research in trust building within the field of Public Diplomacy. In order to provide relevant insight, the campaign will be analyzed and discussed in the light of recent research in Public Diplomacy and trust.

The methodology is explorative and hermeneutic.

Literature Review

The following literature review is focused on two major concepts of relevance for this paper: Public Diplomacy and trust, plus research perspectives.

Public Diplomacy

Public Diplomacy has a long history in the US and some other countries while in Denmark the concept was only adopted by the Foreign Ministry in the late 2000s as part of the crisis management strategy related to the Muhammad cartoons and the nation-branding strategy that followed in its aftermath (Mordhorst 2010: 36). Figure 1 illustrates how the Danish ministry uses the concept. When the term Public Diplomacy is used it refers to activities through which the Danish government communicates directly with citizens in another country. Target groups for Public Diplomacy activities include media, NGO's, companies, individuals and other non-governmental institutions and persons (Holm 2009: 3). So far the Danish Public Diplomacy activities have primarily been within four themes that Denmark would like to be known for: 1) green tech, 2) the Danish welfare model, 3) global responsibility, and 4) creativity. According to Angell (2010), New Public Diplomacy is born out of the more traditional cultural diplomacy and in that light it is interesting, that the Danish themes stay clear of the more controversial democratic values like freedom of speech that could remind people in Pakistan and other countries about the Muhammad cartoons.
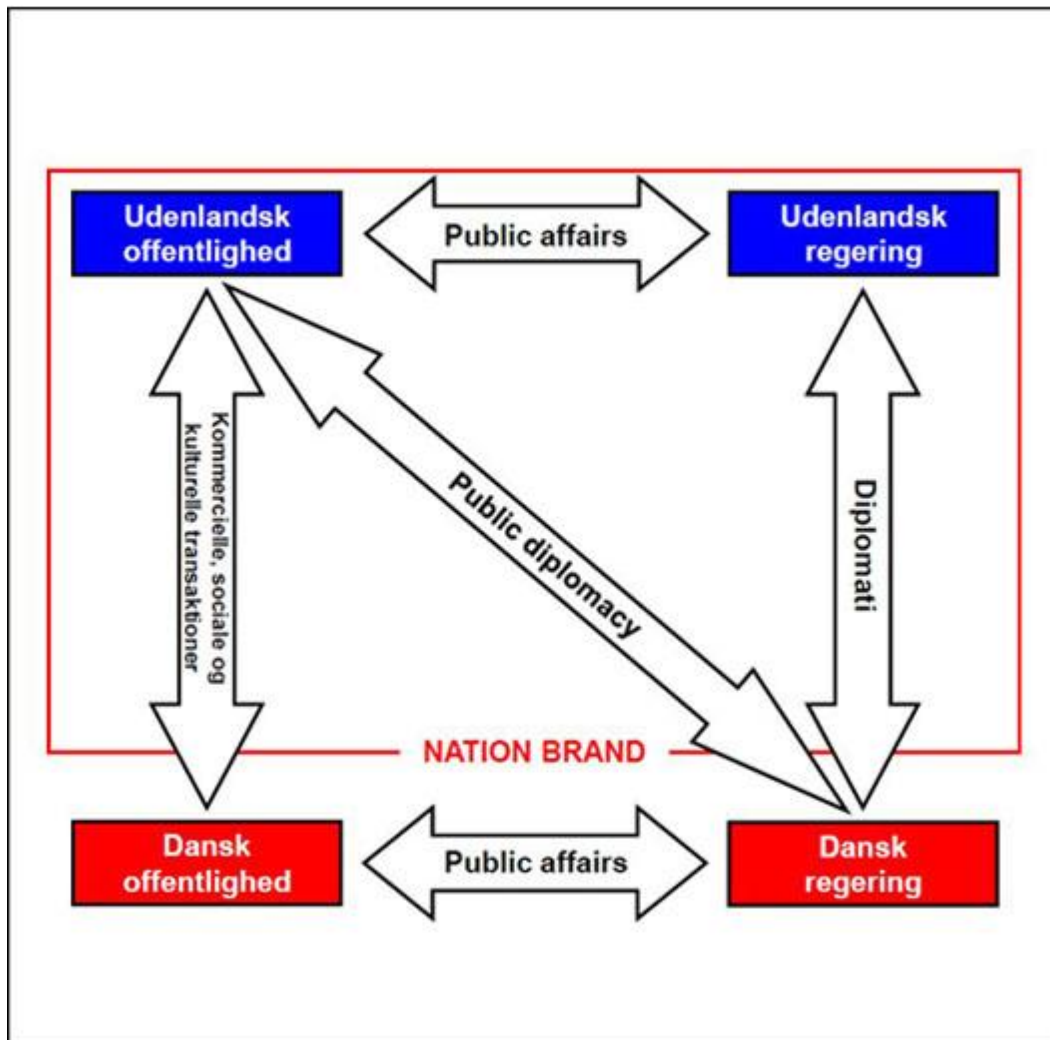
Figure 1: Public Diplomacy as illustrated by the Foreign Ministry (Johannesen 2009: 4)

The purpose of the nation-branding strategy is to change the image of Denmark from a farmland to a modern country (Mordhorst 2010: 30) because it makes sense in an economic logic:

> Nation-branding is an expression of the globalization of nationalism (...). The national project shifted from being focused on the formation of national identity within the nations to be used externally, and in the process it is adapted to the economic frameworks of understanding. Now it is not primarily about legitimizing the nation's political actions, but about using the national image to ensure economic prosperity (...).The shift from politics and culture to economy can be seen by the fact that the tools and methods come from the disciplines of marketing and branding which has been developed by business studies (Mordhorst & Østergård 2010: 10; translated from Danish by Google).

A number of different logics are involved in the modern diplomacy. Traditionally, diplomats draw on logic and

insights from the field of political science, while nation-branding draws on insight from marketing and modern Public Diplomacy draws on insight from Public Relations. Just as the perspectives on diplomacy now is cross disciplinary, the Danish nation-branding strategy is administered by a cross ministerial taskforce (Frelle-Petersen et al. 2012: 168).

Different logics are used to explain the origin of the Public Relations industry in the beginning of 20th century, including a functionalist logic, an institutional logic and a cultural logic (Vos 2011). From a functionalistic point of view, Public Relations developed as companies' response to a critical press – in the USA the critical journalists during this period are known as the Muckrakers. From an institutional logic it was the result of creating an institution – in the USA the Committee on Public Information – with people from different professions:

> Each profession brought with it established rules and routines. Within a new organizational context, those rules and routines mixed together to produce new means of communication and persuasion (Vos 2011: 127).

From a cultural logic Public Relations developed in response to cultural values, attitudes and ideas – in the USA the progressive movement:

> The progressive movement took aim at those decision-making processes that affected the public but proceeded out of the public view. Public policy should not be crafted by party bosses in smoke-filled rooms, nor should public life be dictated by business titans in corporate boardrooms (Vos 2011: 130).

It is tempting to compare the cultural logic to the 21st century Public Diplomacy and add: International cooperation should not be created by Ambassadors hidden behind doors in the embassies. However, the cross-disciplinary organization of the nation-branding campaign also allows for new means of communication to develop in accordance with the institutional logic, and the campaign itself is often justified with reference to the functional logic – as a response to the Muhammad crisis.

Compared to the total amount spend on nation-branding, the budget for Public Diplomacy is less than ten percent. In the scholarly literature Public Diplomacy is sometimes referred to as "soft power" - a supplement to traditional "hard power" (Angell 2010). According to Mordhorst and Østergård (2010: 13), the Danish Public Diplomacy section has in some cases functioned as a bridge between classic diplomacy and nation-branding.

Trust

Möllering in the *Handbook of Advances in Trust Research* (2013) summarizes key findings based on an extensive literature review. There seems to be a general agreement that trusting implies a willingness to be vulnerable and that it is necessary to constantly work on the relationship in order for the trustor to keep trusting. In other words, while trust may be a noun, trusting is an ongoing activity. One may have experienced a wonderful trusting relationship yesterday but something happened – or did not happen as expected – and the trusting stopped. Recently, scholars have been interested in how to get back into trusting mood when one of the parties for some reasons lost trust in the other, such as when some Pakistanis say that they lost trust in the

Danes in connection with the Muhammad crisis. Möllering writes:

> (re)building trust is contingent upon the circumstances and history of specific social relationships so that there are different ways of 'trusting' in the sense of developing positive expectations in the face of uncertainty (2013: 2).

In other words, it will be relevant to look at evidence of how the relationship between the two nations was before the crisis. This is in accordance with findings in parts of the crisis management literature, e.g. Brown & White concluded:

> People with a positive relationship with the organization were less likely to place blame for the crisis on the organization regardless of crisis response strategy. The study provides evidence that maintaining positive relationships with stakeholders may be more important than individual crisis strategies (2011: 75)

A throughout study of trust repair in connection with Public Diplomacy should therefore include an investigation into the relationship as it was before the crisis. An interesting question in that regard is to what extends trusting must be mutual? Or expressed differently: Can Clumsy Hans win the hearth of the princess through persuasion technics that does not require that he himself becomes vulnerable by trusting her?

We know from surveys that different cultures seems to trust I different ways and that there are huge differences between Danes and Pakistanis when it comes to who and what they say they trust. As examples we will look at surveys on interpersonal trust and trust in institutions:

Interpersonal trust

According to an article on Wikiprogress, the most commonly used cross-country survey to measure interpersonal trust is the World Values Survey. Participants in the survey are asked the following question developed by Rosenberg (1956):

> Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

What the researchers focus on is the percentage of people who reply "most people can be trusted." I a World Values Survey using data collected between 1994-2008 people in Norway, Sweden and Denmark report the highest levels of trust in other people. Among the Nordic respondents more than 60 pct. of interviewed answered that most of people can be trusted (Wikiprogress 2013).

Across the world people tend to trust their neighbors more than they trust strangers. According to a 2007 Gallup World Poll on who people trusted would return a lost wallet and the valuables contained in it: a neighbor, police or a stranger most people around the world trusted their neighbors more than police and stranger:

> Police and neighbours are trusted almost equally to return valuables in 21 countries, but in the

majority of countries, citizens are more trusting of their neighbours than they are of the police. Not surprisingly trust in strangers is lower, but it is relatively high in countries such as New Zealand, Switzerland and Norway. However, in nearly 80 nations around the world, less than one-quarter of respondents believe strangers would return a lost wallet to its rightful owner (Wikiprogress 2013).

The tendency to trust neighbors more than strangers indicates that personal knowledge of another person plays a major role for the level of trust and that may have to do with expectations. It is easier to judge the level of risk when one knows the other person. In theory, though, it could also be linked to reciprocity. I may expect my neighbor to return the valet because then I will own him a favor – the same logic we know from gift exchange. If the police is not corrupt, it will not have such incentives to return the wallet but will act out of another logic. The same can be said about the stranger.

What these surveys illustrate is that in most places in the world, strangers cannot expect to be trusted. Trusting seems to be linked to knowledge and to some kind of reciprocity on the practical level. In international relations, trade is an example of such reciprocity on the practical level. Based on experience, the parties learn what to expect regarding delivery and payment. However, does unilateral gift giving such as development aid also contribute to trust building? What would motivate the receiver to trust the giver and vice versa? This is a relevant question because much Public Diplomacy build on the expectation that different kinds of gifts will help create trust.

Trust in institutions

Worldwide lack of trust in national institutions and leadership is considered a major problem these years (JDS 2013; World Economic Forum 2012). Surveys regularly ask people I different countries which institutions they trust, and in general people in the Nordic countries express more trust in political and judiciary systems than people in most other countries. According to a Gallup World Pool from 2007 there seems to be a negative correlation between the Gallup National Institutions Index and the Corruption Index (Wikiprogress 2013). Corruption is a major problem in Pakistan (Wikipedia1: 2013), while the Nordic countries hardly have any problems with corruption (Wikiprogress 2013). Similarly, while the Nordic people express a general trust in democratic institutions (OSCD 2007: 112), the Pakistanis express skepticism about their political leadership (Gilani Research Foundation 2012) and instead the majority of Pakistani trusts religious leaders:

> According to a Gilani Research Foundation survey carried out by Gallup Pakistan, 45% of people say they trust the NGO sector whereas a considerable majority expressed their trust in Religious Leaders (74%), Educational Institutions (67%) and Media (66%) (Giliani 2013).

What these numbers reflect may be the de facto national leadership in Pakistan. When people primarily trust their religious leaders and are skeptical towards their democratic elected political leaders the de facto government is the theocracy even though there is an elected political leadership as part of a formal structure. This can be compared to a company where the de facto leader is not the CEO.

Pakistanis are trusting their religious leaders and – as mentioned earlier - countries with a leadership that

shares the values of their own religious leaders such as Saudi Arabia and Iran. This creates a huge problem for Public Diplomacy because it follows from the logic of theocratic philosophy that religious leaders representing *other* religious views are not divinely guided and not be followed. World history shows that even the most honest, generous, respectful and good hearted man or woman will be killed by theocrats if the person is considered to be a heretic. Fortunately, today religious leaders control the state power in a limited number of countries. However, the world is full of religious people, so we may ask more broadly: Is conversion to their religion the only way to gain the trust of religious people or is it enough if the trustee avoids signs of disrespect such as the Muhammad cartoons? What role does worldviews like religion play in trust building?

Democratic values like exchange of ideas and human rights may not be the answer to the lack of trust. Since the Pakistanis in general express little trust in their own political leaders and democratic institutions, it makes sense, if they don't trust political leaders and democratic institutions just because they belong to another country.

Trust theory emphasis share values as essential for trusting (Gillespie & Mann 2004). The challenge for the Danish Embassy in Islamabad was to ask the Pakistanis for a trusting relationship even though the shared value foundation was limited. So in order to gain the trust of Pakistani people in general, Danish diplomats had to persuade the Pakistani that they - if not shared – then at least respected their religious values.

Because shared values is thought to have positive impact on the willingness to run the risk of trusting, the Public Diplomacy field have experienced with branding images of shared values, but it is a risky affair. A major US campaign was the *Shared Values Initiative* that was launched soon after September 11, 2001, and "was intended to sell a "new" America to Muslims around the world by showing that American Muslims were living happily and freely in America without persecution" (Wikipedia 2:2013). The degree to which the campaigns succeed has been discussed; however the idea about shared values as a trust-building element in Public Diplomacy also plays a role in Danish Public Diplomacy as will be described later in this paper.

Perspectives in trust research

For research in the process of trusting, Möllering presents frameworks consisting of five different perspectives: 1) continuing, 2) processing, 3) learning, 4) becoming and 5) constituting (Möllering 2013: 5).

The Pakistani case study fits nicely in the category continuing because central in the study are surveys of trust level at different points in time during which the Danish Embassy has implemented some inventions in order to change the image of Danes among Pakistanis. The results of these surveys are not presented in this paper, but will be in a later article.

It is open for discussion whether our data allow us to say something about processing of data that are relevant for trust, since such process does not only take place inside the individual minds "but also in all kinds of social processes of communicating and sense-making" (Möllering 2013: 6). The fact that the processing can take place outside of individual peoples' minds makes it possible to observe.

Clearly some of the measures taken by the Embassy created an opportunity for Pakistani community leaders

and Danes to learn about each other which places us in category 3. Category 4 deals with how the process of trusting changes our identity and since it in Möllering's view can be "extended to organizations and institutions" (Möllering 2013: 9) one may argue that just the fact that Denmark makes an effort to communicate to the Pakistani people shows its "willingness to belong to a collective" (Möllering 2013: 8) and in that sense be willing to change. Finally, the strategy may also constitute social structures where trusting becomes practice. The various views presented by Möllering are therefore all relevant to the study of the campaign even though they are not used in this paper.

Case study

If it easier for people to trust others that are similar to themselves than to trust strangers, then a closer look at what constitute the two nations makes it obvious why the Danes and the Pakistanis do not trust each other. In this paper the focus is on Pakistanis lack of trust because Denmark went out in pursue of that trust, however the travel advise from the Foreign Ministry is just on expression of the fact that Danes don't trust the Pakistanis. The relationship between the two nations is one of *distrust*. So let us take a look at some differences:

Pakistan is the sixth largest country in the world in terms of population. It has approximately 180 million inhabitants which is +30 times the population of Denmark. Pakistan is a federal parliamentary republic consisting of four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan plus some territories. Within this state live people with very different cultures, languages and social economic level, while Denmark has a relatively homogeneous population. More than 90 pct. of the Pakistani population is Muslims whereas approximately 90 pct. of the Danish population is Christian. Pakistan has the seventh largest standing army in the world and is the only Muslim country with nuclear weapons. The Danish military is insignificant and Denmark does not have nuclear weapon. Pakistan has huge problems with illiteracy and corruption, while Denmark has hardly any problems regarding illiteracy and corruption. Pakistan's GDP per capita is approximately $ 3000 (Wikipedia 1: 2013) whereas Denmark's is approximately 20 times higher (Denmark.dk).

Denmark has a long tradition with privately owned news media and has enjoyed press freedom in approximately hundred years, while in Pakistan independent privately owned news media is a relatively new phenomenon. However, the media industry I Pakistan has developed since President Musharraf opened up for private and international investments in 2001. Today there are more than 90 television channels, hundred radio stations and 1400 print media titles. Media training is organized around the country and there is a well-organized network of press clubs (Agahi 2012). In Denmark journalists hardly have any security problems, while unfortunately a growing number of journalists are killed when covering politics, war, crime, corruption, and human rights issues in Pakistan (CPJ 2013). The security situation leads to self-censorship among Pakistani journalists and also in Denmark censorship is on the media agenda due to perceived terrorism treads. The Pakistani provinces are quite different in terms of living conditions and also in terms of media use (Gallup Pakistan Survey 2012, copied from Akhtar 2013), but television plays a major role in all provinces:
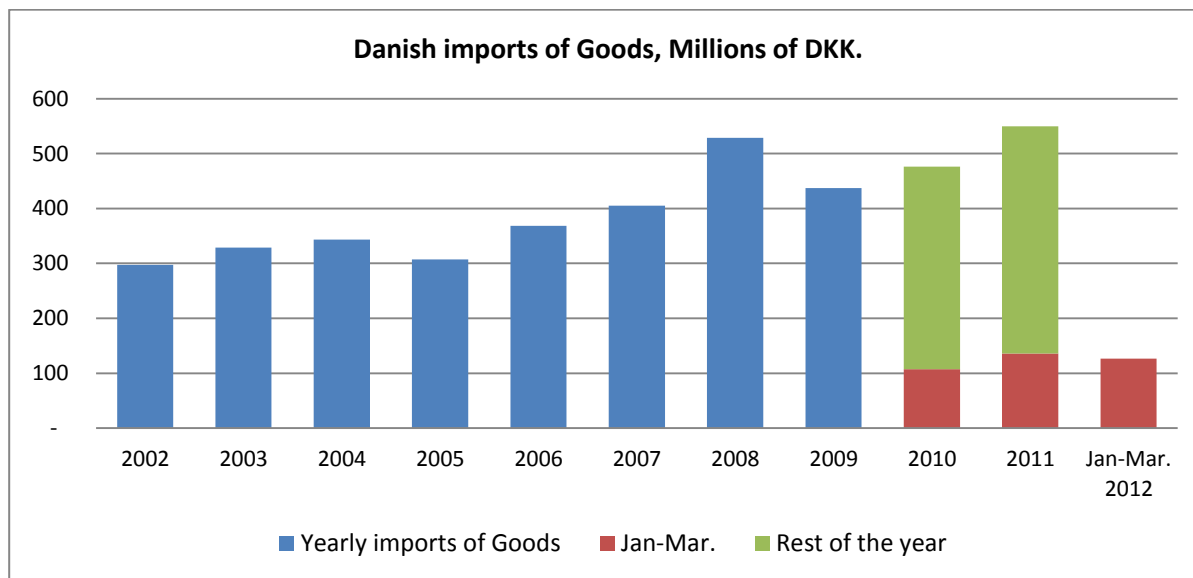
	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Balochistan
TV Market Penetration	75%	88%	99%	76%
Newspaper Market Penetration	24%	23%	26%	38%
Radio Market Penetration	20%	14%	37%	33%
Mobile Market Penetration	44%	36%	84%	44%
Internet Market Penetration	4%	4%	3%	3%

When it became known that the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten had published 12 editorial Mohammed cartoons on 30 September 2005 and that the Danish government would not punish the newspaper, Muslims around the world protested and this was also the case in Pakistan. Pictures of the anger expressed during demonstrations can be found on Google.

At the Embassy in Pakistan it is the impression that the outrage may also have had an effect on the trade between the countries as shown in this table from the Danish Foreign Ministry (Eksportrådet 2012). It shows that the Danish export of goods to Pakistan dropped from 2005 to 2006 and stayed at that lower level until a sudden rise in 20011. Coincidently the Danish Embassy in Islamabad made a conscious effort to improve the relationship with the Pakistanis through Public Diplomacy from 2010.
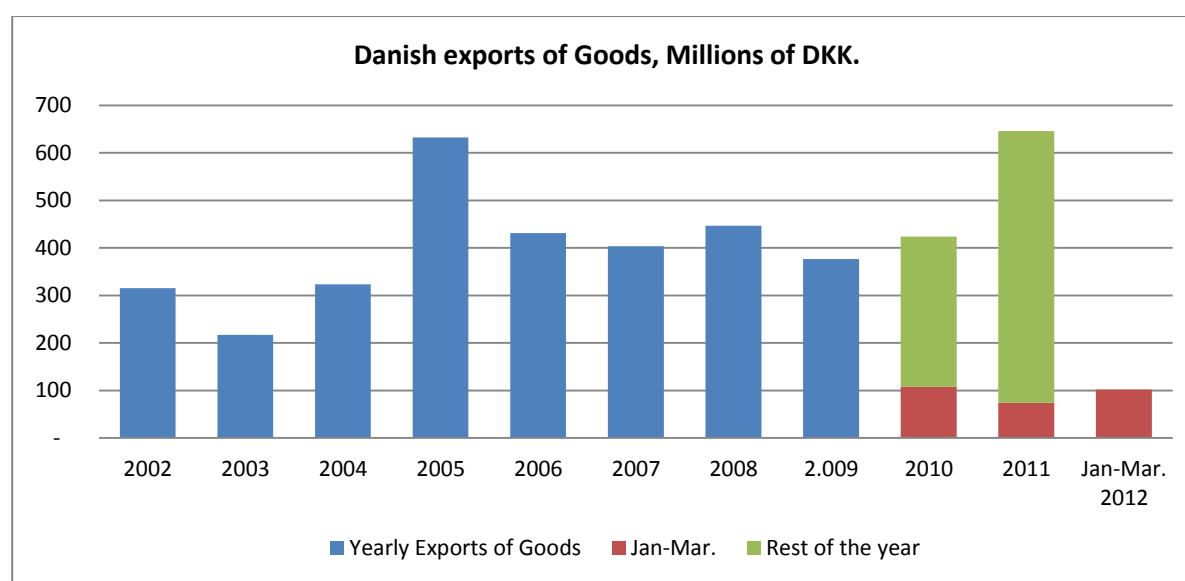
The Danish import of goods from Pakistan during the same years can be shown in this table from the Danish Ministry:

Danish imports of Goods, Millions of DKK.

Legend: ■ Yearly imports of Goods ■ Jan-Mar. ■ Rest of the year

X-axis: 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, Jan-Mar. 2012

The question is if the drop in Danish export to Pakistan 2006-2009 really has anything to do with Denmark's image in Pakistan or with trust as interpreted by the Danish Embassy? The trade between the two countries is insignificant. The export to Pakistan when it was highest was approximately one thousandth of the total Danish export (Eksportrådet 2012) and wise versa (Wikipedia 4). The second table shows that the Danish import from Pakistan was slightly increasing during the years. It seem like the Pakistani businessmen has been trusting that the Danes would pay for the goods. The reason for the fall in Danish export to Pakistan during the years may have an explanation that has nothing to do with a breakdown in trust such as changes in investments or in development aid. As an example, Denmark donated extra 40 mill to reconstruction after the flood in Pakistan in 2012 (Danida 2013). The Danish export to Pakistan consists mainly of Machinery and transport equipment plus chemicals, pharmaceutical and related products while the import consists primarily of food products, textiles and other manufactured goods (Eksportrådet 2012). Capitalism builds on the expectation that people will buy and sell where the price is best. The seller must trust that he gets his pay and the buyer must trust that the product works. However, is the trade also affected by kinds of trust that has nothing to do with payment and quality, such as trusting the seller on the basis of his religious or political values? The diplomatic community seems to think so.

The Danish Embassy in Islamabad wanted a better understanding of what seemed like mistrust so the Embassy asked Gallup Pakistan to conduct a more in-depth survey of the Pakistani image of Denmark. Gallup found that 53 pct. of the Pakistani men and women did not have any knowledge about Denmark at all. In other words, part of the reason for the lack of trust can be explained by lack of knowledge which makes it difficult to

estimate the risk of trusting.

Among 535 men and women who had some awareness, 66 pct. had a negative opinion about Denmark while 33 pct. evaluated it as "good" or "very good". Only one pct. did not make a clear judgment. Those who had a positive view of Denmark justified it with a reference to the level of development, wealth and education plus general moral and natural beauty. Those who had negative views of Denmark explained it with religious values like blasphemy, lack of respect for Muslims and foreign policy. It is interesting that the majority so easily could categorize the Danes as good or bad because it indicate a stereotyped view without nuances (Long & Wall 2012: 106-111) and it may be interpret as lack of knowledge, which again may lead to lack of trust. Following this rationale, information may improve the foundation for trust.

In order to improve the image the Danish Embassy designed a Public Diplomacy strategy targeted the 53 pct. that did not already have a clear opinion. The logic here is similar to that of election campaigns in the USA that also to a large extend have the undecided voters as target (personal observation 2012). And the messages in this branding campaign were three which all too some degree are linked to respect for religious values:

1. Equal rights for everyone despite gender, race and religion
2. Respect for other religions / cultures
3. Support for Global development (Akhtar 2013)

To get the messages across the Embassy first mapped relevant opinion makers and then based on that mapping created trust based networks with media people as well as other opinion actors. The network members received a stream of messages, tailor-made news content, and exchange programs e.g.

For every Public Diplomacy event, the embassy made a goal description, including what the key message was and how it related to the three central messages. A list of such initiatives shows that trust building played an important role in the strategic argumentation, e.g. the embassy wrote these stories:

> Denmark bought Pakistani dates that would be used for nutrition bars for Danish children. The key purpose of that story was to support the "trust-relationship" on the trade market.

> The Ambassador climbed a mountain together with a female mountain climber. One of two key messages in this case was that Denmark had "trust" in Pakistani youth.

One of the lessons that the Embassy has learned so far is the fundamental value of trust building through networks (Akhbar 2013).

The official website for the Danish Embassy in Islamabad is also used to communicate the three central messages. Besides the official information about Denmark and services provided by the embassy there is as an example a story called: "Muslims in Denmark". This story is illustrated with a portrait of a smiling young female dressed in hijab. Another headline reads: "Strategy for Denmark's Development Cooperation" (Embassy 2013). These and other items on the Embassy's website are clearly targeted the Pakistani population and not the

Danish expatriates in Pakistan. They are examples of Public Diplomacy. A more traditional diplomatic website that does not include Public Diplomacy is the website created by the Pakistani Embassy in Copenhagen the (Pakistani Embassy 2013). This website is designed for Pakistani expatriates and for Foreigners who will buy from, visit or study in Pakistan. The Pakistan Embassy does not try to seduce Danes with stories about the good life of Christians in Pakistan or how Pakistan contributes to Danish welfare. It may be that Denmark is more concerned about the nation's image among Pakistanis than Pakistan is about that country's image among Danes. An alternative interpretation is that Pakistan does not trust in the value of Public Diplomacy.

According to its communication consultant the Embassy has succeeded in improving the image of Denmark in Pakistani media (Akhtar 2013), however we don't know how the relationship is between media image and trust.

Discussion and conclusion

As previous stated, the purpose of this case study is to explore how the cultural context influences the possibility for trust building through Public Diplomacy at multiple levels.

Based on the study, it is not possible to make conclusions that can improve best-practices in Public Diplomacy. Rather, this explorative study has brought to attention several questions that will need further investigation.

One question that we may ask is what the logic is behind Public Diplomacy in the 21st century. From a purely academic perspective it is interesting that the Western countries have embraced Public Diplomacy during the last decade while other countries do not seem to find it important. As an example, the Pakistan Embassy in Copenhagen shows no signs of Public Diplomacy on their website. Obviously, there are people in Pakistan who are very well aware of the concept, so the reason for lack of Public Diplomacy is not ignorance. The question therefore is: Do some countries simply not trust the value of Public Diplomacy? It that is the case, the next question may be if it is possible to influence people if they don't believe in the value of this form of communication? It could be that they don't practice Public Diplomacy because they know from themselves that it has no value. To what extend do people have to trust means of communication in order to be affected.

A survey shows that Pakistanis places Denmark and its democratic allies very low compared to other countries when asked which countries they trust most. Coincidently, a survey shows that the majority of those Pakistanis who knows something about Denmark have a negative opinion about the Danes and that this has to do with the Muhammad cartoons and with a general feeling of disrespect for Muslim's values. However, is there a logical connection between the publication of the cartoons and the lack of trust? It sounds plausible, yes, but does general trusting require a perception of shared values? It would be interesting to know how the relationship between the two nations was before the crisis. How did Pakistanis rank Denmark on a trust scale before the Muhammad cartoons? If we look at who they rank at the top, it is not democracies. Have Denmark ever enjoyed the trusting of the general population or even benefitted from overall positive news coverage in Pakistan? What role does trustors perception of trustee's worldviews play in trusting?

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A number of different surveys indicate that trusting plays a fundamentally different role in Pakistan than in the Nordic countries. How is it possible to create a trusting atmosphere with people who on a basic level distrust institutions and other people – especially strangers? The tendency to trust neighbors more than strangers indicates that personal knowledge of another person plays a major role for the level of trust and that may have to do with expectations. It is easier to judge the level of risk when one knows the other person. In that case Public Diplomacy may help break stereotypes by creating situations where the parties come to know each other. In theory, though, trusting could also be linked to reciprocity. To what extends must trusting must be mutual? Is it, for example, possible that the Danish Embassy in Islamabad can persuade Pakistanis into trusting Denmark if the Danes are not trusting the Pakistanis?

An interesting research question is if the signs of trustworthiness differ from culture to culture. When creating a Public Diplomacy campaign, a country may emphasis signs that are considered trustworthy in own culture but is not considered trustworthy in the receiving culture. Especially when operating in an un-known territory, a trust-seeking suitor will always run the risk of being a fool.

We don't know to what degree trust in one self has influence on how a person is perceived as trustworthy by other people, especially people in different cultures.

Another interesting question is how trade is affected by kinds of trust that has nothing to do with payment and quality, such as trusting the seller on the basis of his religious or political values? The widespread interest in CSR these years indicate that there may be a connection, and the Danish nation-branding campaign also assumes that there is such a connection. If it is the case, how do we then create trust in the trade market without converting to another religion?

Denmark makes reference to development help and relief support in the hope that it will contribute to trust. The logic is that the Danes care about the Pakistanis. However from a research perspective it is relevant to ask, if unilateral gift giving? What would motivate the receiver to trust the giver and vice versa?

These are some of the questions that need to be answered in order to get a better understanding of cross cultural trust building.

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