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Danes' Cultural Characteristics and Attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad Cartoons

by

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TOWSON UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kirstine Trettin entitled "Danes' Cultural Characteristics and Attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad Cartoons" has been approved by the thesis committee as satisfactorily completing the thesis requirements for the degree Master of Science.

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Abstract

Danes Cultural Characteristics and their Attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad Cartoons.

Kirstine Trettin

The study explored how young Danes' cultural characteristics affect their attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. Approximately 226 respondents between the ages 18 and 29 filled out a survey that included three different instruments measuring 1) cultural characteristics, 2) attitudes towards Muslims, and 3) attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. A factor analysis was run on all three instruments and three "cultural characteristics" factors were generated while only one "attitudes towards Muslims" and one "attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons" factor were generated. The analysis indicated that young Danes have negative attitudes towards Muslims. Regressions were then run to see if the three cultural characteristics factors influenced Danes attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. The results demonstrated that the factors "self definition" and "low need for security" influenced Danes attitudes towards Muslims while "self definition" and "equality" influenced Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons.

Keywords: cultural characteristics, Muslims, Muhammad cartoons

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Introduction

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role cultural differences play in the conflict that exists between Muslims and Danes in Denmark today and how the differences in culture affect the perception Danes have of Muslims. Furthermore, this study will also attempt to investigate Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the 12 cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad, which were published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* on September 30th, 2005.

Denmark and Muslims

At the end of 2010, there were 5,557,709 people in Denmark (http://www.dst.dk/). Eight percent, or approximately 444,616, were Muslims (Hyltoft, 2009) and the number is expected to rise in the future because Muslim women are birthing more children than Danish women (Hyltoft, 2009).

According to Gundelach (2010), Denmark was an ethnic homogenous country until around 1960. In 1967, the first immigrants from, among others, former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Pakistan began to arrive in Denmark as guest workers. Being a guest worker means that the individuals who came to Denmark were there for temporary employment, however, many of the guest workers had a desire to stay in Denmark because of the high wages, in comparison to their home country's wages, and the social benefits Denmark had to offer (Enoch, 1994).

However, it was made clear from the beginning, by the Danish unions, that the foreign workers were in Denmark solely to perform jobs which no Danish person could perform and it was also made clear that if the economy worsened, the guest workers would have to be laid off before any Danes were laid off and that if

unemployment began to rise in the country, then immigration would have to be stopped (Kühle, 2001).

In 1973, the oil crisis caused the Danish government to initiate a law which made it impossible for immigrants to obtain a work permit or residence permit in Denmark in an attempt to limit further labor immigration (Simonsen, 2004). It was also assumed that the guest workers would go back to their home countries after being done working; however, those who had already arrived were permitted to stay in Denmark and to bring their families to Denmark as well. The reason for this permission was that there were relatively few guest workers in Denmark at the time and they were not considered to be a threat to Danish society or values, because they were contributing to Danish society and making it on their own (Kühle, 2001). Also, the Danish government had the attitude that they could not throw people out of the country if they wanted to stay, particularly not since they had put in hard work into the Danish labor market. Moreover, Denmark was also reacting in accordance to its Scandinavian and German neighbors' practices which were allowing the foreign workers to stay in those countries (Kühle, 2001).

While there were relatively few problems with the first guest workers who arrived in Denmark, problems began when they brought in their families who then brought in their families and began having children in Denmark, which sparked the first protests among the Danes in the 1980s (Kühle, 2001).

Then, in 1985, Denmark accepted more immigrants and refugees, who were seeking political asylum in Demark, from Somalia, Vietnam, Iran, and Iraq (Gundelach, 2010). According to Kühle (2001), the attitude was that Denmark had to be a leader in defending human rights and giving aid to those who needed it. The government opened the borders for the immigrants and refugees. Moreover, Denmark

also had to live up to the development aid expectations of the United Nations (Kühle, 2001).

Many of the refugees who arrived in Denmark had been forced to leave their home countries because of war and other unfortunate circumstances, while others came voluntarily (Kühle, 2001). Kühle (2001) has argued that it is important to remember that it was extremely painful and difficult for refugees to arrive and integrate into Danish society, whether they came voluntary or were forced to leave their home countries.

In Denmark, and in Europe in general, the rhetoric that says immigration, particularly by Muslims, is a direct threat to democracy and the Western countries' stability, has dominated in the media and in politics since 9/11 (Carlsen, 2007). Moreover, Petersen, Petersen, and Petersen (2007) have argued that until the mid-1980s there were only a few people in Denmark who were concerned with the consequences of the increasing number of immigrants arriving to Denmark. Thereafter, an intense sense of nationalism occurred and an uproar about respect and up-keeping of traditional Danish values, the so-called, "Danishness," began, and this rhetoric has continued in the public debate ever since (Petersen, Petersen, Petersen, 2007). The rhetoric of "Danishsness" has risen because many Danes felt, and still feel, that immigrants who arrive in Denmark are solely there to take advantage of a welfare system, which assures individuals financial security (Petersen, Petersen, and Petersen, 2007).

Denmark is known to have one of the strongest and most well functioning democracies in the world (Carlsen, 2007) where liberal values such as freedom, equality, humor, and independence dominate in society (Gundelach & Riis, 1992) and where both men and women are allowed, and encouraged, to live their lives as they

desire. While the Qur'an is contradictory in regards to hierarchy between men and women, there are still many Muslims who do not believe in gender equality but instead believe that the man is in charge of the women in his life (Kühle, 2001), bringing to question whether freedom for women is considered a value in Islam.

Moreover, another major difference between Danes and Muslims is that while the Evangelical Lutheran church is the national religion and is supported by the state (http://www.folkekirken.dk), Denmark is still a highly secular society, whereas Muslims have a strong, intimate relationship with Islam and live in accordance to what is written in the Qur'an and neither group appears to understand the other party's feelings about religion (Carlsen, 2007).

While there has been much research conducted on the Muhammad cartoons and how the value "freedom of speech" has impacted the rhetoric of the Danish and international media and government, no research has been conducted on how the Danish people feel about Muslims in general, what their attitudes to the Muhammad cartoons are, and how their cultural characteristics influence these attitudes.

Therefore, this study will explore how young Danish people's cultural characteristics differ from Islamic culture and whether the average Dane considers Muslims to be as major a threat as some people in the media and government portray them.

This study will use Geert Hofstede's four dimensions of culture: power distance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, and uncertainty avoidance, to examine some of the Danes' cultural characteristics to then determine if there are any correlation between Danes' cultural characteristics and their attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons.

Background: Muhammad Cartoons

On September 30th 2005, the conservative Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published 12 cartoons with the heading "The Face of Muhammad," which depicted the Islamic Prophet Muhammad. Prior to the publication of the cartoons, the Danish newspaper *Politiken* ran an article about how a Danish author was looking for a caricaturist who would illustrate the Prophet Muhammad in his children's book "The Qur'an and the life of the Prophet Muhammad." The three Danish artists who were approached by the author and asked to do the drawings for the book declined because they were afraid to offend the Muslim world (Shearmur, 2006). The refusal to illustrate the prophet was seen as evidence of self-censorship, which sparked a debate in Denmark and led Jyllands-Posten to invite about 40 caricaturists to draw their personal interpretation of the prophet Muhammad for publication in the newspaper. Of the 40 caricaturists asked, 12 were willing to submit their interpretations of the prophet. The purpose of the publishing of the cartoons was to demonstrate to the Danish Muslim minority that ridicule and mockery is a part of Danish culture (Rostbøll, 2009) and Flemming Rose, the editor who commissioned the 12 cartoons, explained why he had decided to publish the cartoons with the following statement:

We have a tradition of satire [in Denmark]... The cartoonists treated Islam the same way they treat Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and other religions. And by treating Muslims in Denmark as equals they made a point: We are integrating you into the Danish tradition of satire because you are part of our society, not strangers. The cartoons are including, rather than excluding, Muslims. (Rostbøll, 2009, p. 631)

Immediately after the publication of the cartoons *Jyllands-Posten* received only a few letters of protest (Shehata, 2007). Shortly after, several Danish Muslim

organizations met to discuss the cartoons and on October 12th, 2005, 11 Muslim ambassadors wrote a letter to Denmark's then Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who served as chairman for the right-wing Liberal Partyy, in which they requested a meeting to discuss the cartoons and what they called the media's ongoing negative depiction of Islam and Muslims in Denmark.

Rasmussen refused to meet with the ambassadors and gave the following statement to the press:" This is a matter of principle. I won't meet with them because it is so crystal clear what principles Danish democracy is built upon that there is no reason to do so" (Rostbøll, 2009, p. 626). This incident led to an escalation of the conflict (Rostbøll, 2009) and on October 22, 2005, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which is an organization that focuses on intolerance and Islamophobia, also sent a letter to Rasmussen stating that the cartoons and other past incidents in Denmark did not help to decrease the discrimination and Islamophobia in Denmark or Europe (Shehata, 2007).

Rasmussen continued to support *Jyllands-Posten* and responded that:" the freedom of expression is the very foundation of the Danish society. The freedom of expression has a wide scope and the Danish government has no means of influencing the press" (Shehata, 2007, p.139). Thereafter, the issue became internationally known and with a Norwegian newspaper republishing the cartoons on January 10th, 2006, new protests occured (Shehata, 2007). Muslim leaders encouraged a boycott of Danish goods and later Danish flags and embassies were also torched in Muslim countries (Lindekilde, Mouritsen & Zapata-Barrero, 2009).

Throughout the ordeal, *Jyllands-Posten*'s editors maintained that they were within their right to publish the cartoons because of freedom of speech. The only other Danish newspapers which supported *Jyllands-Posten*'s argument were the two

tabloid papers *BT* and *Ekstra Bladet* (Meer & Mouritsen, 2009). *Jyllands-Posten*'s main opponent, *Politiken*, was against the publishing of the cartoons and did not find the "freedom of speech" argument relevant or strong and Per Knudsen, the foreign editor of *Politiken*, stated:

Jyllands-Posten's editor-in-chief Carsten Juste carefully considered which Muhammad cartoons to print. 'Had there been rude ones in between, they would have been taken out. For instance, we would never print a picture of Muhammad peeing on the Koran,' the editor in chief said. Why then bring a drawing, which depicts the prophet as a terrorist, one might ask, but this is not my point here. My point is that even Jyllands-Posten will occasionally limit freedom of speech. Even so, many seek to present the unhappy affair of the Muhammad cartoons as a simplified contest for or against an absolute and extensive freedom of speech although the case is about the limits of freedom of speech in a democratic and tolerant society. (Meer & Mouritsen, 2009, p. 341)

Because the number of Muslims in Denmark is expected to increase in the future it is becoming increasingly important and necessary for both Muslims and Danes to start gaining a better understanding of the fundamental cultural differences between each other in order to foster a mutual understanding in order to create a society where differences can exist without prejudice and where each party no longer feels the need to change the other party's beliefs and values.

Literature Review

Danish Values and Culture

According to Gundelach and Riis (1992), the term "value" is one of the most difficult concepts to define and after reviewing 4000 different publications they found 1800 different definitions. Gundelach and Riis (1992) define values in the following way:

Values are about what is good and bad, what you value as positive or negative.

Values are connected to moral and norms as an indication to behavior.

Therefore, values are not determined by what one *wants* to do. Instead, values are determined by what one believes one's self and others *ought* to do. (p. 13)

Furthermore, Varming (1999) has said that values contribute to how people think and behave and that the analysis of a population's values is vital because it furthers the understanding of each other. Moreover, Petersen, Petersen, and Petersen (2007) have argued that values are the glue which ties a society together and that a society's values are the compass, by which individuals live.

Since the mid-nineties much of the rhetoric in the public debate and in the political arena in Denmark has focused on foreigners, particularly Muslims, invading Denmark and posing a threat to Danish values and to the Danish welfare system primarily because of Muslims' different values and religious beliefs (Petersen, Petersen & Petersen, 2007). While there are many values which are important to the Danish people, some of the most frequently mentioned are democracy, freedom and equality, independence, happiness, love, humor, self-respect, and being responsible for one's actions. However, there has been no study, which has identified the prioritization of Danish values (Varming, 1999).

Democracy.

Democracy is, according to Carlsen (2007), not a well-defined concept.

However, there is a consensus that equal and secret elections are a determining factor in whether or not a society is democratic or not and that equality and freedom are determining characteristics of democracy (Carlsen, 2007). Democratic values are essential in the Western world and the majority of European countries' constitutions emphasize human rights and democratic values

Since the Second World War, the voting rate in Denmark has been between 80-90 percent of eligible voters and the number continues to increase (Carlsen, 2007). The high voter turnout in Denmark has been explained by an integrated view that voting is a civic duty (Christiansen & Togeby, 2006). Moreover, a survey done by Eurobarometer has demonstrated that 93 percent of Danes are satisfied with the way the Way the Danish democracy works, whereas the average European country's satisfaction is 56 percent (Carlsen, 2007).

Freedom.

Education.

The Danish school system is extremely democratic in terms of both content and structure. In 1975, a law was established in Denmark, which stated that all Danes had to be taught the fundamental democratic principles from their first day of school, which means that Danes are socialized into a society where both the culture and institutions are democratic (Gundelach, 2010).

Moreover, those individuals who wish to receive an education in Denmark are able to do so because of a welfare system, which assures students a free education. Furthermore, those individuals who attend college receive a stipend from the government every month in an attempt to be as democratic as possible while

providing every individual the same educational opportunities. While attendance in elementary school in Denmark is mandatory for both boys and girls, higher education in Denmark is optional for both men and women (Harvey & Reppien, 1961).

Sex, dating, marriage, and divorce.

According to traditional Danish customs there are no arranged or forced marriages. Instead, women are free to date and marry whomever they want.

Moreover, if they meet someone else while they are married and have an affair then there are no laws which prohibits them from being unfaithful and there are also no physical punishments for infidelity (Hyltoft, 2009). Finally, women who are unfaithful towards their spouses are also not censured or scorned by society or their family.

Dating in Denmark is also very casual and it is common for both men and women to find a lover and live separately from one another or with one another without having to be married (Hyltoft, 2009). Moreover, if a woman, or a man, wants to get divorced in Denmark, then she/he can obtain one quite easily without any judgment or disapproval from society (Harvet & Reppien, 1961).

Speech.

Freedom of speech is an important part of the Danish constitution and culture, and is one of the pillars in a well-functioning democracy (Herrington, 2011). Freedom of speech means that every individual may express his/her thoughts through words, writing, and numbers with no or few limitations (http://www.ft.dk). Moreover, censorship and major limitations to freedom of speech can never become a part of the Danish constitution (http://ft.dk).

Binderup (2007) has argued that freedom of speech is morally important in a democratic society, from a liberalistic viewpoint, because of three distinct reasons.

First, freedom of speech promotes overall welfare in a society since members are allowed to express themselves in any way they desire. Binderup adds that even though freedom of speech creates much noise and untruthful statements in a society, it is a powerful tool to raise unpopular, but important, topics to create public debate (Binderup, 2007). Second, free speech is necessary for "ensuring the equal opportunity for all citizens to lead autonomous – self-governed – lives" (p. 412). What Binderup (2007) means by this is that social background does not prevent individuals the lives they want. Finally, freedom of speech is important, because of equality in a society. Binderup (2007) argues that for a society to be equal there must be more than one side of a story:

... the only way to treat citizens equally and fairly in the face of pluralism about conceptions of the good life is by giving citizens equal access to expressing their views in public, of voicing their controversial opinions in the public sphere. In particular, if one side in a debate is allowed to express itself then, other things being equal, so should the other side in the debate. (pp. 313-314)

Equality.

The argumentation for equality is that when all social inequalities are eliminated, the society will be stronger, and the closer social classes are to one another, the stronger solidarity in a society will be (Petersen, Petersen, and Petersen, 2007). When referring to equality in a society it is usually in regards to equality within social class and between genders.

Danes are egalitarians (Greve, 2004) and do not want to live in a society where rich people's children have greater access to an education or where people who come from a lower social class than others are punished for something they have no

control over (Petersen, Petersen, and Peterson, 2007). Instead, the Danish welfare system is built so that that every citizen must be protected and have the same rights (Gundelach & Riis, 1992).

Denmark's welfare system.

The word "welfare" means many different things to different people.

According to Allardt (1976) a welfare state can be defined as "a society with a high amount of public expenditure in the fields of social security, education and health" (p. 159). Einhorn and Logue (2010) have argued that the Scandinavian model, which includes Denmark, is concerned with supporting the elderly, unemployed, families with many children, disabled, and people with low income. Moreover, Scharpf (2000) has argued that Denmark can be characterized as a welfare society because it has a high level of total employment, high female participation in the work force, generous social benefits, high levels of taxations, low degree of wage differentiation, and low degree of income inequality.

Denmark's welfare system is well-functioning and one where citizens pay approximately 50 percent taxes in order to receive free child care, health care, education, and unemployment benefits. Moreover, students who are enrolled in a high school and a higher education, such as college, receive a stipend every month from the government so that every individual, regardless of their social background, is provided with the chance to receive an education and equal chances in life.

Even though Denmark is a highly individualistic society, the welfare system is that of a collectivist society and the Danes have a "law" or expression for this system called "Janteloven." Janteloven is a set of "laws" or "rules, which state that no individual is better than the other and that everyone is equal.

The welfare system in Denmark, and Scandinavia in general, has been under a lot of pressure in recent decades and Einhorn and Logue (2010) mention six factors, which have put a strain on the welfare system: 1) immigration, 2) change in gender and family roles, 3) generational culture change, 4) tax system design, 5) structural economic change, and 6) an aging population.

According to Einhorn and Logue (2010) there are two ways in which immigration has affected the Scandinavian welfare model. Because the immigrants who arrived in Denmark years ago often had larger families, fewer working women, and much lower salaries, the need for more public benefits and thus public expenditures increased (Einhorn & Logue, 2010). The second reason for why immigration has changed the welfare model in Denmark is because of the fundamental differences in culture, religion, and language between Danes and immigrants (Einhorn & Logue, 2010).

How immigration has changed the Danish welfare system

Many of the refugees and immigrants who arrived in Denmark in the 1980s came from poor countries where the way of life was very different from that of the Danes'. Moreover, Kühle (2001) emphasizes that the unfamiliar environment led the immigrants and refugees to seek out others with the same background and same cultural orientation and thus alienated them from Danish society, which among other things has led to both language and cultural barriers which, in turn, have decreased immigrants' and refugees' opportunities in the Danish labor market.

Moreover, many immigrants and refugees were, and still are, having difficulties in adjusting to Danish culture, values, and norms and seek comfort in socializing with those who are similar to themselves. Because of this, they are less likely to learn the Danish language, which can result in them being unable to get an

education and job, which means that they then will then continue to receive social benefits from the Danish state. Moreover, according to Gundelach (2010), immigrants who reside in Denmark not only having more difficulties finding employment or getting an education, the salary rate of this group is also significantly lower than that of native Danes.

The Danes struggle with the immigrants' inability or unwillingness to socialize and become familiarized with Danish culture, values, and customs because they consider themselves as hard working and open-minded towards immigrants and refugees as long as the immigrants and refugees attempt to become integrated and care for themselves. Moreover, the above-mentioned changes have led to a very strict tightening of the immigration law in Denmark (Einhorn & Logue, 2010)

Gender equality.

In the 1960s, women in Denmark began to enter the workforce, signaling the beginning of financial independence for women (Carlsen, 2007). In the late 1980s, it had become normal for women, as for men, to have a full-time job. Moreover, as part of establishing gender equality it was argued that men ought to spend as much time in the home and with the children as the women (Larsen, 2005). Therefore, gender equality became a collective task in Danish society.

According to Larsen (2005), the issue of women's rights became a top priority in public debate in Denmark from 1970 because of the new feminist movement present in the country. The movement created a notion about women's rights, which captured both Denmark's and the rest of the Western world's attention through its public events (Larsen, 2005).

Moreover, the new movements cooperated with the established organizations, which had been fighting for women's rights prior to the arrival of the new

movements. The work delegation between the two was that the older organizations handled the political aspects of the equality battle, while the new movements did the field work and placed women's rights on the public agenda (Larsen, 2005).

Today, the Danish equality law states that men and women are equal, that they both have the same rights and opportunities and that it is illegal for employers to favor one over the other (http://www.borger.dk). What this means is that women have the same right to education, employment opportunities, right to vote, and right to financial independence as men do.

Denmark – a secular society.

About 80.9 percent of the Danish population belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which is state-supported (Shearmur, 2006). Even though Denmark is bound by a religion, it is still considered to be a secular society because the church has become a symbol of Danish culture instead of a being a value by which one must live by. The church's influence and symbolism to the Danish people has thus decreased drastically (Gundelach & Riis, 1992).

Until the 1800s, the Danish state attempted to control the religion of the Danes, particularly through the educational system, where the state has had complete control of the elementary school system since the 18th century (Reeh, 2009). However, in 1814, the Danish state began to run its armies on a conscription principle, which had been a great success when Denmark was under military pressure from Prussia. According to Reeh (2009) the transformation of defense policy had significant consequences on the organization of the Danish state, including "the transformation from absolutism to democracy" (p. 183). This transformation led schools to incorporate other subjects besides religion into the school curriculum and from the late 1800s the teaching of religion became even less important to the Danish

state and there was more support for putting emphasis on nationalism, democracy, and patriotism (Reeh, 2009).

Today, the political and financial institutions operate using values, over which the church has absolutely no influence (Gundelach & Riis, 1992). Therefore, the change of values in institutions and the decrease of a strong state religion and consequently wide-spread cultural support for religion can be traced back to the military and the educational systems in Denmark (Gundelach & Riis, 1992).

Islam has become the second largest religion in Denmark

(https://www.religion.dk) and has left many Danes confused about the change in the secular society, to which they have been accustomed. What this means is that many Danes do not have a sense of what religion actually means to a religious people, including Muslims (Meier, 2007). A study that examined Europeans' values demonstrated that Danes do not consider religion as a value in their everyday life, unlike most other EU countries. Moreover, Danes have been characterized as being the most secularized people in the world (Gundelach & Riis, 1992).

One of the major arguments the editors of *Jyllands-Posten* used to defend their actions after running the cartoons was based on the rights of freedom of speech in a democratic secular society. Shortly after the cartoons were published *Jyllands-Posten* issued the following statement:

The modern secular society is dismissed by some Muslims. They demand special treatment when they insist on special consideration of their religious feelings. This is incompatible with secular democracy and freedom of speech, where one should be ready to stand scorn, mockery and ridicule. This is certainly not always very sympathetic or nice to look at, but this is irrelevant in the context. (Jyllandsposten, 2005)

Muslim Values and Culture

There are approximately 1.9 billion Christians in the world, which makes it the world's largest religion. However, with 1.2 billion followers, Islam has become the second largest religion in the world (Callaway, 2010).

According to Pelikán (2008), Islam can be compared to a totalitarian system in which there is only one source to all values and this source is Allah. In Islam, Allah is the only God, the only one who can judge, the one who is the ultimate creator of the world and everything living, and the sole purpose of humans is to serve him (Pelikán, 2008). This view is also called Sharia or the "the law of Islam" (Pelikán, 2008). The law of Islam counsels, prohibits, and commands individuals into the right direction (Pelikán, 2008).

According to Islam, when God wanted to communicate with humans he used prophets, which were always men, and the last prophet who is mentioned in Islam was Muhammad ibn Abdullah whose words are considered to be absolute (Pelikán, 2008). Moreover, the Qur'an is considered as the source of "God's will" and is also considered as absolute, meaning that all Muslims must, without any exception, accept what the Qur'an states throughout their entire lives (Pelikán, 2008). Furthermore, while one of the most important values in the Western world is democracy, most of the Muslim society values the maintenance of higher principles and justice as written in the Qur'an (Pelikán, 2008).

When Muhammad was alive, it was never assumed that Muslims would live outside a Muslim state permanently, but that they would only go abroad to attempt to convert people in other countries to Islam, to conquer, or to visit other countries as merchants and ambassadors (Pelikán, 2008). This particular situation promotes some issues because the existing law of Islam does not have a "code of conduct" as to how

Muslims ought to live when they are in a country where they are a minority (Pelikán, 2008).

The five values/pillars of Islam.

The Qur'an states that when a child is born he/she is innocent and free from any faults (Callaway, 2010). In order to continue this state of being, there are five fundamental values, or pillars, in Islam, which parents are supposed to teach their children. The five pillars are: 1) testimony of faith, 2) praying five times a day, 3) helping the poor, 4) pilgrimage to Mecca, and 5) fasting during the month of Ramadan (Callaway, 2010). In Islam it is also considered important for parents to be a part of their children's life and to be a positive influence (Callaway, 2010).

Moreover, in Islam a child is said to go through three stages of development (Callaway, 2010). During the first seven years a child is supposed to be a child and play and explore the world with the encouragement of his/her parents and without being required to follow the five pillars of Islam. In the following seven years the child learns about the five pillars while also learning to make ethical decisions. During this stage the parents are responsible for disciplining the child. During the final seven years of the process the child becomes an equal member of society and becomes a friend to his/her parents while the parents and extending family are responsible for the continuous growth of the young adult (Callaway, 2010).

Education.

According to Callaway (2010), the Prophet Muhammad encouraged his followers to read and to become educated even though he himself could not read. Moreover, those Muslims who reside in the Middle East value education and Callaway (2010) notes that the educational values of Muslims seem to be based on their religious beliefs, while those Muslims who reside in for example the U.S.,

recognize the importance of getting educated in order for their children to get integrated into society and are therefore eager for their children to learn (Callaway, 2010).

Equality.

According to Feldman (2003), there is a principle in Islam, which states that everyone are equal under God. In the Qur'an, it says:" O mankind! We created you from male and female, and placed you [into] nations and tribes so that you would know one another." (Feldman, 2003, p. 62). Feldman (2003) notes that in the verse there is no mention of one gender being more important than the other but that both men and women were created equal by God. Moreover, in regards to political participation there is no mention that anyone regardless of their gender, if they are Muslim or non-Muslim, or any other characteristics that they should not have a vote in collective decisions (Feldman, 2008).

Gender equality.

In terms of voting, women have the same right as men do (Feldman, 2003). However, there are many fewer women than men who occupy positions in parliaments and government (Feldman, 2003). In the Qur'an there are sections which emphasize the equality between men and women. However, in other sections of the Qur'an, where divorce, polygamy, and inheritance are discussed, demonstrate that a strict hierarchical order between genders favoring polygamy and the man's control over the woman (http://www.denstoredanske.dk).

While women in Islam are only allowed to have one spouse, men are allowed to have four wives given that he can take care of all of them (Fay, 2010). Therefore, the issue of gender equality can be considered as contradictory in Islam.

Moreover, in some Muslim countries some specific example of inequalities between men and women can be found in the issue of the sharing of inheritance where women usually get less than men (Feldman, 2003). According to the Qur'an a woman generally has the right to inherit one-half of what the man inherits and the justification for this is that men's absolute responsibility is to support the family and that they have to use their personal income to do so (Fay, 2010). Moreover, the Qur'an also states that if a women fails to obey the man he has the permission to first warn her, then deny her access to the shared bed, and finally the Qur'an states that he may beat her lightly (Fay, 2010).

Also, under Islam law, getting a divorce is much harder for a woman than for a man and while initiating the divorce is difficult without a prenuptial agreement, the woman might lose the right to alimony, should she be successful in getting the divorce without a prenuptial agreement (Feldman, 2003). The Qur'an only gives men the opportunity to get a divorce easily (Fay, 2010).

Moreover, the Qur'an states that women must be modest and "lower their gaze," which indicates that women must wear a headscarf and long clothing such as a Burka, which covers up their entire body (Feldman, 2003). The reason for why women must be covered up in public is, according to the public debate in the Middle East, because women's sexuality will distract men and therefore create chaos in the public space (http://www.denstoredanske.dk). However, Fay (2010) has argued that the Qur'an also states that men must be modest and "lower their gaze" as well and points out that the Qur'an is describing the ideal Muslim society where both men and women need to work together to avoid any sexual contact outside of marriage.

Therefore, it is noteworthy that only women obey the Qur'an in this aspect and it is a

clear indication that women are considered to be lower in the social hierarchy than men.

The custom of women having to conceal themselves in public has been a challenge and difficult for the Danish government, people, and media, to understand and accept.

The Danish Government's Attitudes towards Muslims

Rokeach (1968) defines attitude in the following way:" An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" (p. 112). Furthermore, Rokeach (1968) also emphazises that a person's attitude is a predisposition for something and mentions that different theorists have different views of what type of predisposition attitude is while mentioning the following ones:" predisposition to respond, predisposition to evaluate, predisposition toward an evaluative response, predisposition to experience, to be motivated, and to act" (pp. 119-120). The "predisposition to respond" is the one Rokeach (1968) prefers because an individual's response to a certain object or situation may either be expressed verbally or through non-verbal behavior. Finally, Rokeach (1968) argues that attitudes are: " acquired behavioral dispositions differing from other behavioral dispositions, like habit, motive, trace, and cell assembly, in also representing a person's knowledge or view of the world" (p. 120).

Until the mid-1980s, few politicians had voiced their concerns and opinions about the immigrants who had arrived in Denmark and the problems of the merging of the two cultures in to one society. However, in 1995, Pia Kjærsgaard and four other people established the Danish People's Party. The party particularly focused on immigrants and created a public debate about "Danishness" and the necessity of

halting further immigration in order to maintain Danish values (Simonsen, 2004). Moreover, the debate was fueled after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. After the attack, several Danish parties, including the Social Democratic government, where Paul Nyrup Rasmussen served as the Prime Minister at the time, made several appeals to the Danish people to recognize the differences between the Islamic community in Denmark and terrorists (Justesen, 2003). The only political party that did not do this was the Danish People's Party, which is part of the right-wing on the political continuum in Denmark, who criticized and attacked Islam in an attempt to establish a connection between Islam and terror.

Moreover, prior to the general election in Denmark on November 20th, 2001, the right-wing made it clear that the rhetoric of their campaign would focus on foreigners and immigrants and throughout the campaign foreigners and immigrants were depicted as being a problem in society (Justesen, 2003). The different parties of the right wing heavily debated asylum procedures and family reunifications and according to Justesen (2003), it became a kind of competition between the political parties based on who could come up with the strictest rules and regulations of the rights of immigrants and refugees in an attempt to protect the "real and pure Danish culture" (p.34).

In 2001, the left-wing Social Democratic Party stepped down while a new right-wing government took power consisting of the Conservative People's Party and the Liberal Party. Moreover, the new government also had the support of The Danish People's Party (Justesen, 2003). The new conservative government was a major change for Denmark and according to Justesen (2003), approximately two months after the election the new government had proposed major budget cuts for 103 institutions, which were involved with immigrants, refugees, culture, and education,

while the Prime Minister at the time, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, expressed that "religion must consume less in public space" (Carlsen, 2007).

After the publishing of the cartoons, the term Islamophobia was used to describe the government, which was said to also nourish the population's Islamophobia and Carlsen (2007) has argued that the reason for this is because of an alliance in the Danish society between the modern antireligious at one end and the Christian with an anti-Muslim attitude at the other end. Both of these views continuously portray a false joint depiction of Islam, which is that Islam is anti-modern and negative (Carlsen, 2007).

Moreover, according to Justesen (2003) politicians in Denmark have adapted an attitude of Danish pride, particularly the Danish People's Party, which is the notion of that Denmark knows what is best for Denmark. One example of this notion is that Denmark did not find it necessary to incorporate the race convention into Danish law because they believed it to be unnecessary for a set of laws to determine what is best for Denmark.

Justesen (2003) has noted that the "Denmark knows best" attitude is a new occurrence in Denmark and that the country used to nurture its international relationships while caring about its reputation (Justesen, 2003). Moreover, Denmark used to be perceived by outsiders, and Danes themselves, as being an open-minded, international, and tolerant country (Enoch, 1994).

Danes' Attitudes towards Muslims

According to Carlsen (2007), the Danish people's fear of immigration and existing residing immigrants in Denmark has increased since the 1990s and is rooted in the idea that the Danish culture, democracy, and values such as individuality, secularism, equality, and freedom will subside if immigration continues (Jensen,

2008). However, Andersen (2002) has argued that Danes attitudes towards Muslims are ambivalent because Danes on one side are open and tolerant towards Muslims, but that they also fear and resist them.

Furthermore, Justesen (2003) has argued that Danes have become more focused and determined to maintain and enforce "pure" Danish values and that national pride is on the rise. However, the Danes, in general, are both open and tolerant towards existing immigrants and refugees who are already in Denmark, although the majority of Danes consider it as important to limit the immigration in order to maintain the Danish society's values and foundation (Carlsen, 2007). Moreover, Kühle (2001) has also said that many Danes with no education and a low income particularly feel threatened by Muslims because they are a drain on Danish public funding, which they also receive.

Linde-Laursen (2007) has argued, that the public discourse in Danish society is that Muslims who reside in Denmark are not "real" Danes, but instead they are portrayed and perceived as "the others" regardless if the individual has resided in Denmark all of his/her life. However, the discourse about other immigrants from other Western countries, particularly North America and other European countries, is not one where the immigrants are portrayed or perceived as an "immigrant" or as "the others" because they are believed to integrate into the Danish society with greater ease (Linde-Laursen, 2007).

Finally, Enoch (1994) conducted a survey with 1500 Danes where he examined their attitudes towards foreign workers, where the majority of these are Muslims, and found that 30% of the respondents expressed prejudice towards foreign workers. Enoch (1994) also found that only a minority had actually engaged in a conversation with a foreign worker but that the negative attitudes instead were

generated by the appearance of foreign workers and because of the media's, particularly the tabloids, negative depiction of immigrants. Enoch (1994) also emphasized that because the foreign workers express a highly visible differentiation from the majority population in Denmark, they become a "legitimate" target of discrimination and negative attitudes.

The Danish Media Reporting on Muslims and the Muhammad Cartoons

In 2007, Reporters Without Borders concluded that Denmark was the first-ranked country in the world in their Freedom of the Press Index while the latest Freedom of Press Index from 2010 positioned Denmark on number 11 in the ranking (http://www.en.rsf.org).

The Danish press reporting on minorities in Denmark

According to a report developed by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance in 2000 (ECRI), the Danish media play a vital role in the negative depiction of Muslims in Denmark. In the report it is stated that the "ECRI is concerned at widespread reports that some of the Danish media are promoting zenophobic and sometimes racist ideas about individuals of non-Danish origin, contributing to a climate that is hostile to these individuals" (p. 15).

Justesen (2003) has argued that the Danish media refers to Muslims as "the others" and that some of the mass media solely report negative stories about Muslims in Denmark such as crime and prosecution, thus presenting Muslims as both a threat to the society and the Danish culture as a whole. Moreover, there is little debate about the media's racial discrimination towards Muslims being partially responsible for the failure of integration among Muslims in Denmark (Justesen, 2003).

Satire as part of Danish culture

Satire is a major part of Danish culture and humor is considered as an important value in Danish society. When *Jyllands-Posten* asked the several caricaturists to give their interpretations of the prophet Muhammad, some of the cartoons, which were published, were a perfect example of typical Western-style cartoons (Müller & Özcan, 2007). For example, one of the cartoons depicted the prophet Muhammad with a bomb in his turban while another cartoon depicted four confused suicide bombers in heaven who are being told by the prophet Muhammad that heaven is out of virgins.

One of the arguments which was given by Flemming Rose for publishing the cartoons was that the they were an attempt to include Muslims in Danish culture, considering that satire, not taking yourself too serious, and humor, are all major parts of Danish culture. However, in Islam, it is against the law to depict the prophet Muhammad and Muslims perceived the cartoons as blasphemy (Harkness, Magid, Roberts and Richardson, 2007). While the inclusion of Muslims into Danish culture was mentioned as one reason for the publishing of the cartoons by Flemming Rose, another reason was on the newspaper's agenda, and that was to spark a debate about self-censorship in Denmark.

As mentioned in the introduction of this study, *Jyllands-Posten*'s main opponent, *Politiken*, objected to the publishing of the cartoons and rejected the "freedom of speech" argument presented by Flemming Rose. Moreover, *Informationen, Berlingske Tidende*, and *Kristeligt Fagblad*, which are all minor newspapers with smaller circulations than *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*, were also critical of the cartoons (Meer & Mouritzen, 2009). The only other Danish newspapers,

which supported *Jyllands-Posten*'s and their "freedom of speech" argument were the two tabloid papers *BT* and *Ekstra Bladet* (Meer & Mouritsen, 2009).

Geert Hofstede's Four Dimensions of Culture

The literature has demonstrated that Danish culture is significantly different from Islamic culture in more than one way and since the number of Muslims in Denmark is expected to increase in the future, it is worth examining if, and how, some major cultural characteristics influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons.

In his book, "Software of the Mind," Hofstede (1991) argues that culture is learned through a person's social environment and that there is a clear distinction between human nature, which are the characteristics every human being has such as feeling anger, sadness, joy, and love, and an individual's personality, which are those characteristics not shared by any other individual and are partly inherited and partly learned (Hofstede, 1991). Furthermore, scholars and philosophers have often connected cultural traits to an individual's heredity, because it was believed to be the only logical reason for why existing cultures among different groups were so stable (Hofstede, 1991). However, Hofstede (1991) emphasizes that scholars and philosophers have underestimated the learning capabilities of human beings and that heritance has little, if not anything, to do with the programming of a person's cultural thinking, feeling, and acting (Hofstede, 1991).

According to Hofstede (1991), every individual has a specific pattern of thinking, feeling, and acting and these patters have been acquired and established since childhood and throughout a person's life. In order for at person to learn new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting, Hofstede (1991) argues, that the person must

unlearn their traditional way of thinking, feeling, and acting and become re-educated, which is much harder than learning for the first time (Hofstede, 1991).

Social anthropologists have discovered that there are several ways in which both modern and traditional societies face the same problems but where approaches differ: relationship to authority, conception of self, and the handling of conflict and conflict resolution (Hofstede, 1991).

Based on the three basic human problems, Hofstede (1991), with the cooperation with IBM, administrated a survey about cultural values in 50 different countries. The results confirmed the existence of the common dimensions but the approach to the problems varied greatly from country to country in the following areas: Social inequality (power distance), the relationship between the group and the individual (individualism vs. collectivism), masculinity vs. femininity, and uncertainty avoidance.

Power distance.

Hofstede (1991) defines power distance as being "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (p. 28). When children are born in countries where the power distance is large it is expected that the children are obedient towards their parents. Moreover, the child is not supposed to be independent or experiment (Hofstede, 1991). Instead, the child is looked after by its parents and expected to demonstrate respect towards parents and older members of the family throughout life (Hofstede, 1991).

However, when children are born in a country where power distance is low, children are treated more as equals. The child is allowed and encouraged to

experiment and take control of his/her own life as soon as the child feels ready to do so. Moreover, the child is also permitted to argue with its parents and formal respect is rarely demonstrated. In this type of society there is an ideal of being independent. Often people that believe in larger power distance will view this behavior as cold and distant (Hofstede, 1991).

Individualism vs. collectivism.

Hofstede (1991) defines the individualism/collective dimension in the following way: Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism, as its opposite, pertains to societies in which people, from birth onwards, are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (p. 51)

A society which is collective is one where the interest of the group is considered more important than the interest of the individual. Moreover, in a collective society families often live with extended family members such as aunts and uncles and when children of these families grow up they will have learned to think about the "we" (Hofstede, 1991). The "we" is considered as the only protection people have against life's various battles and people who grow up in a collective society are expected to be loyal to their groups for the rest of their lives (Hofstede, 1991).

A society which is individualistic is the contrast of a collective society. In this type of society, the majority of children are born and raised in families which consist of parents and, perhaps, some siblings. Children who grow up in an individualistic society are raised to think about themselves as "I." Therefore, their identity is not

determined by any other members of society but only by their personal characteristics (Hofstede, 1991).

Masculinity vs. femininity.

In masculine countries, both males and females learn ambitious and competitive behavior, however, the teaching of females may be planned in order to later serve the males of the family. Hofstede (1991) defines masculinity in the following way:

masculinity pertains to societies in which social gender roles are clearly distinct (i.e., men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (p. 82)

In feminine countries males and females learn to be non-ambitious and modest, and the assertiveness, which is present in masculine cultures, is often ridiculed in feminine cultures (Hofstede, 1991). Hofstede (1991) defines femininity in the following way:" femininity pertains to societies in which social gender roles overlap (i.e., both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life)" (p. 83).

Hofstede (1991) has argued that even though women who normally reside in a masculine culture, will automatically adapt more feminine values when they are together with other women while men who normally reside in a feminine culture will automatically adapt more masculine values when they are in the company of men. Moreover, when a man or woman enters the other party's culture, depending on where they come from, they may experience culture shock.

Uncertainty avoidance.

Hofstede (1991) defines uncertainty avoidance as:" The extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by unknown or uncertain situations" (p. 113). An individual who has a low tolerance for uncertainty might have the need for written and unwritten rules while also feeling the need for predictability. Uncertainty avoidance refers to the way people handle uncertainty. While all people are faced with uncertain situations throughout their entire lives, some uncertain situations are worse than others and have the capability to create extreme anxiety (Hofstede, 1991). Furthermore, according to Hofstede (1991):" the essence of uncertainty is that it is a subjective experience, a feeling." Feelings of uncertainty are not only personal but also collective and exist in societies where the values of that society are being taught to in the educational system, family, and the state (Hofstede, 1991).

Nationalism

Nationalism and patriotism are two terms, which are closely related to one another and are often used to describe the same phenomenon (Engelhardt, 2007). However, according to Li and Brewer (2004), there is a clear distinction between the two terms. Patriotism refers to the love, pride, and loyalty, individuals have for their country, and a high level of patriotism in a society is considered to be healthy (Li & Brewer, 2004). Nationalism, on the other hand, has been connected to warmongering and intolerance towards minority groups and a high level of nationalism is considered to be unhealthy in a society because it contributes to the feeling of superiority in a country and the perception that the country knows best (Li & Brewer 2004). One example of what could be termed as both patriotic and nationalistic is the case of Denmark's involvement in the European Union (EU) and its relationship to its currency. Furthermore, according to Berdichevsky (2004), Denmark initially rejected being part of the EU and only barely approved it at the end. Moreover, for years,

Denmark has refused to become a part of the Euro currency and has, instead, kept it national currency the "Krone," which is still its currency today.

Moreover, according to Justesen (2003), the discussion of whether to include the Race Convention into Danish law was completely dismissed and dropped when the new government took over in 2001 and the argument for this has been that Denmark knows what is best for Denmark. Moreover, in an incident where Belgium's people party contacted the then Prime Minister of Denmark, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, in order to express their concerns with the rising xenophobic tendencies of the new government, Rasmussen brushed off the concerns of the Belgians and said that:" I don't think that I can say that it bothers me too much. It doesn't keep me up at night" (http://www.politiken.dk) and he also said that they just did not understand Denmark or Denmark's situation. According to Justesen (2003):

The phenomenon of "knowing best" is new to Denmark. As a small country it is dependent on its good relations with other countries and with the international community. For years, Denmark has cared about its international reputation... It has been seen, and has seen itself as a tolerant and humane, international and outward-looking country. This no longer holds true. Instead, many ethnic Danes are looking inward with a desire to protect what they consider to be the "pure" Danish culture" (p. 39).

In her study, Justesen (2003) mentions that a group of Danish researchers conducted a large study in 1999 on Danes and their values and demonstrated an increase in nationalistic pride and in being Danish. The increase in nationalism was particularly increasing among younger people between the ages of 18 and 29 (Justesen, 2003). Moreover, the situation in Denmark can be seen as a "mob at the

gate" situation in where Danish politicians and the media are seen as the gatekeepers who try to keep the mob (Muslims) away from the gate into Denmark.

The reviewed research has demonstrated that the cultural characteristics of Danes and Muslims are very different from one another and that it is important to explore how these differences affect Danes' attitudes towards Muslims. Therefore, I will use Geert Hofstede's four dimensions of culture in an attempt to fill the gap in existing research on how Danes' cultural characteristics affect their attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. The following research questions were posed:

RQ1: How does power distance affect Danish attitudes towards Muslims?

RQ2: How does power distance affect Danish attitudes towards the

Muhammad cartoons?

RQ3: How does individuality/collectivism affect Danish attitudes towards

Muslims?

RQ4: How does individuality/collectivism affect Danish attitudes towards the

Muhammad cartoons?

RQ5: How does femininity/masculinity affect Danish attitudes towards

Muslims?

RQ6: How does femininity/masculinity affect Danish attitudes towards the

Muhammad cartoons?

RQ7: How does uncertainty avoidance affect Danish attitudes towards

Muslims?

RQ8: How does uncertainty avoidance affect Danish attitudes towards the

Muhammad cartoons?

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the four cultural dimensions: 1) Power Distance, 2) Individuality/Collectivism, 3) Femininity/Masculinity, and 4) Uncertainty Avoidance, affect Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. The literature review has revealed that the Danish government and the Danish media hold negative attitudes toward Muslims, while they hold various opinions about the Muhammad cartoons. Furthermore, considering that only scarce research has been conducted on Danes' attitudes towards Muslims, it is becoming increasingly important to determine what these opinions are and whether or not the cultural dimensions affect these attitudes. This chapter gives a detailed description of the research design, research instrument, participants, and the data collection method and analysis.

Gert Hofstede's Four Dimensions of Culture

As mentioned above, this study used Geert Hofstede's four dimensions of culture to investigate how these dimensions affect attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. Hofstede (1991) defines the four dimensions in the following way, 1) power distance: "power distance is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (p. 28), 2) Individualism: Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism, as its opposite, pertains to societies in which people, from birth onwards, are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (p. 51), 3) Masculinity vs. femininity:

Masculinity pertains to societies in which social gender roles are clearly distinct (i.e., men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life (p. 82).

And finally, 4) Uncertainty avoidance:" Uncertainty avoidance can be defined as the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by unknown or uncertain situations" (p. 113).

Research Design

The eight research questions were developed to investigate the effect

Hofstede's four cultural dimensions may have on Danes' attitudes towards Muslims

and the Muhammad cartoons and to explore if there is a correlation between cultural

characteristics and attitudes.

The research method used for this study was a survey considering that this method has been recognized as being effective when examining public opinion and when individuals are the unit of analysis (Babbie, 2007). Moreover, Babbie (2007) has argued that:

Survey research is probably the best method available to the social researcher who is interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly. Careful probability sampling provides a group of respondents whose characteristics may be taken to reflect those of the larger population..." (p. 254)

More specifically, this study used non-probability sampling in form of a purposive sample because of the limited scope and time frame of the study. The respondents of this survey were between the ages of 18-29 and consisted of both

Danish males and females who come from different social and professional backgrounds.

The researcher of this study collected data from students from various educational institutions which were: Tietgen Business College located in Odense, Denmark, Southern University of Denmark in Odense, and Haderslev Katedralskole, which is a high school. The researcher was granted access to perform the research in several different classrooms in all three schools. After data was collected in the classrooms, the researcher was given permission to approach people in the hallways in order to get more responses. Finally, the researcher e-mailed several people in the desired age group and asked them to fill out the survey via e-mail.

Survey Development

After the decision of using a survey had been made, it turned out to be difficult to find existing research instruments, which used Hofstede's four dimensions of culture to measure interpersonal cultural differences and where existing survey questions were not easily available to the public. Instead, much of the existing research had used the four dimensions when examining cultural differences in organizations. Moreover, the surveys which were used in those studies is still not in the public domain.

One particular study, 'Hofstede's Dimensions of Culture as Measurements of Student Ethnocentrism: A Quasi-experimental Study,' developed by Stull and Till (1995) was discovered, and found relevant, in examining interpersonal cultural differences. Stull and Till (1995) developed a 40-item survey that used a 5-point Likert scale in order to examine how Hofstede's four dimensions of culture could be indicators of college students' level of ethnocentrism while also comparing the responses to the participants' birthplace, languages spoken, culture identified with,

languages spoken, academic study of cultures, and amount of travel (Stull & Till, 1995).

While the entire survey Stull and Till (1995) developed was not appropriate to use for this study because many of their questions were in regards to team settings, some of the questions in their study was relevant to the investigation of how cultural characteristics affect Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons and were included in this study. The remaining of the survey questions were developed by the researcher of this study, in order to effectively answer the posed research questions.

After the development of the survey questions, which focused on Hofstede's four dimensions of culture, two separate surveys measuring Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and their attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons were developed, which means that this study will used three separate research instruments.

Survey Creation and Dimensions

All the questions, which were developed for this study are Likert-type questions. Babbie (2007) has said that the Likert scale is often used in contemporary survey design and that "the particular value of this format is the unambiguous ordinality of response categories" (p. 179).

Power distance.

In order to measure to what extent participants preferred a low or high power distance in a society, five statements were posed. The first statement: 1) "The eldest male should be the head of the household" was adapted by Tull and Till's (1995) survey while the other four questions were developed by the author of this study. The four other statements posed asked participants if they disagree/agree that: 2) "social inequality is unacceptable," 3) "It is important for the government to make all of the

decisions," 4) "Being more powerful than others is important to me," 5) Being wealthier than others is important to me."

Individualism/collectivism.

Five statements were posed in an attempt to reveal whether the individual was an individualist or collectivist. The first three statements were developed by the author of this study and asked participants if they disagree/agree with the three following statements: 1) "People are responsible for their own individual happiness," 2) "When family members grow old, it is expected that they move in with their children or other extended family," and 3) The interest of the group is more important than the interest of the individual. The final two statements were adapted by Tull and Till's study (1995) and asked participants to indicate to what degree they disagree/agree with the following statements: 1) "It is important that people have adequate free time to pursue their own interests" and 2) "when children become 21 years old they should be encouraged to move away from home."

Femininity vs. masculinity.

Five statements measured whether the participant held feminine or masculine values. The author developed four out of the five questions. The four questions asked participants to what extent they disagree/agree with the statements: 1) "modesty is not necessarily the best policy," 2) "I enjoy telling people about my achievements," 3) "I am no better than other people," and 4) " quality of life is more important than money. The fifth question was adapted from Tull and Till's (1995) study and ask participants to what extent they disagree/agree that 5) "people are responsible to make their own ways in this world."

Uncertainty avoidance.

Five statements were developed in order to determine to what degree participants avoid uncertainty. The author developed four out of the five questions. The four statements asked participants to indicate the degree to which they disagree/agree with the statements 1) "I find the unknown to be very exciting," 2) A country's rules, must be upheld by everyone in the society," 3) People who move to Denmark from other countries make Denmark a more interesting country," and 4) Rules and regulations are necessary in a society." The fifth statement was adapted from Tull and Till's (1995) survey and asked participants to if they disagree/agree that "It is important to me to plan for the future very carefully."

Attitudes towards Muslims.

The researcher developed the 12 questions, which measured Danes' attitudes towards Muslims. The questions ask participants to what extent they disagree/agree with statements about Muslims presence in Denmark and their influence on: economic well-being in Denmark, social order, religious freedom, national security, free speech, and personal freedom. Moreover, the rest of the statements ask participants to indicate to what degree they disagree/agree that immigration into Denmark should be stopped, if they believe there to be too many Muslims in Denmark, if Muslims are taking advantage of the Danish welfare system, if they believe Muslims are responsible for the majority of criminal activity in Denmark, and if they feel that Muslims are stealing jobs from Danes.

Attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons.

Seven statements were developed to see to what degree the participants disagree/agree with statements about the Muhammad cartoons. Three of the statements ask participants to what degree they find the cartoons to be funny,

offensive, and a good example of Danish humor. Three other statements ask participants if they believe freedom of speech to be absolute, if *Jyllands-Posten* did the right thing by publishing the cartoons, or if Muslim religious sensitivities ought to be respected. The last questions asks participants to what degree the disagree/agree that the Muslim community overreacted after the publishing of the cartoons.

Participants and Site Selection

This study investigated how Danes' cultural characteristics affect their attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons and the description of the survey questions above were developed for this purpose.

The participants who were selected for this study were young adults ages 18-29. The participants were recruited from Tietgen Business College and University of Southern Denmark, both located in Odense, Denmark, and Haderselv Katedralskole which is a high school, located in Haderslev, Denmark. The two universities are located in one of the three biggest urban cities in Denmark whereas the high school is located in a small rural town in Southern Jutland. The two locations were chosen on purpose because of the realization that responses would differ considering the possibility that people from larger cities have different attitudes towards Muslims and the cartoons, than people who come from smaller towns. Before the data collection began, the author of the study had been in e-mail contact with a professor at Tietgen Business College who agreed to let the author to distribute the surveys in the classes he taught. Upon arrival in Denmark, the author contacted the two other educational institutions in order to get access to additional young adults. No particular class or major was targeted. Instead, respondents were randomly selected.

Data Collection Method

Prior to taking the survey, participants were informed that participation was optional and that they were allowed to discontinue participation at any given time without any consequences. Moreover, participants were also informed that their identity would be anonymous and that their responses would be kept confidential.

Before the survey was developed, it was decided that the researcher would go to Denmark and collect a majority of the data in person because it proved to be difficult, if not impossible, for the researcher to retrieve e-mail addresses of young adults considering that the author was no longer affiliated with a Danish university.

Data Analysis

Higher level statistical tests were used to analyze the data. Factor analyses were run on the items measuring 1) cultural characteristics; 2) Danish attitudes towards Muslims, and 3) attitudes about the Muhammad cartoons. Using the cultural characteristics as the independent variable two regressions were run, one examining the relationship between the 1) cultural characteristics and Danish attitudes towards Muslim; and 2) cultural characteristics and Danish attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons.

Chapter 4

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Out of the 226 respondents, 67.7% were female (n=144), 36.3% were male (n=82). While the youngest participants were 18 years old and the oldest were 29 years old, the average age of the respondents was 22.51 years (SD=3.49). Moreover, 63.3% of the respondents said that they were Christian (n=143), 4.9% were Catholic (n=11), 30% indicated that they did not have a religious orientation (n=68). Only 0.4% indicated a different religious orientation aside from the ones listed (n=1) while 1.3% of the respondents did not wish to disclose their religious orientation (n=3). When asked whether or not the respondent had been born and raised in Denmark, 95.1% of answered that they were raised in Denmark (n=215). Finally, when asked if the respondents' parents had been born and raised in Denmark 90.7% answered that their parents had been born and raised in Denmark (n=205).

Table 1

Descriptives: Nationality

Item name	N	M	Median	SD
Were your parents raised in Denmark	226	1.0929	1.0000	.29097
Were you raised in Denmark	226	1.0487	1.0000	.21566

Descriptive Statistics – Attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons

Twelve Likert-type questions (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) were asked in order to measure Danes' attitudes towards Muslims. Question one asked

respondents (n= 226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims are a threat to the Danish welfare (M= 2.82, SD= 1.59). Question two asked respondents (n= 226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims are a threat to the social order in Denmark (M= 3.04, SD= 1.73). Question three asked respondents (n= 226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims are a threat to religious freedom in Denmark (M= 2.79, SD= 1.70). Question four asked respondents (n= 225) to what extent the disagreed/agreed that Muslims are a threat to national security in Denmark (M=2.90, SD= 1.64). Question five asked respondents (n=224) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims are a threat to freedom of speech in Denmark (M=3.38, SD=1.91). Questions six asked respondents (n=225) asked respondents to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims are a threat to the personal freedom in Denmark (M=2.79, SD= 1.66). Question seven asked respondents (n=226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims try to become integrated in the Danish way of life (M= 4.30, SD= 1.36). Question eight asked respondents (n= 226) to what extent they believe that Muslim immigration to Denmark should be stopped (M= 2.77, SD=1.52). Question nine asked participants to what extent they agreed/disagreed that Muslims are responsible for the majority of criminal activity in Denmark (M= 3.27, SD= 1.63). Question ten asked respondents (n=225) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims are occupying jobs which ought to be occupied by Danes (M=2.42, SD=1.34). Question 11 asked respondents (n=226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslims take unfair advantage of the Danish welfare system (M= 3.63, SD= 1.73). Finally, questions 12 asked respondents (n= 226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that there are too many Muslims in Denmark (M= 3.22, SD= 1.64). (See table 2)

Seven Likert-type questions (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) were asked in order to investigate Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons (Cronbach's Alpha= .811). The first question asked respondents (n= 226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that they found the cartoons funny (M= 3.84, SD= 1.86). Question two asked respondents (n= 225) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that they found the cartoons offensive (M= 3.74, SD= 1.78). Question three asked respondents (n=226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that the cartoons were a good example of Danish humor (M= 4.72, SD= 1.80). Question four asked respondents (n= 223) to what extent they agreed that freedom of speech is absolute (M=5.52, SD=1.43). Question five asked respondents (n=226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that religious sensitivities of Muslims ought to be respected (M= 4.61, SD= 1.81). Question six asked respondents (n=223) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Jyllands-Posten did the right thing by publishing the cartoons (M=4.12, SD=1.81). Finally, question seven asked respondents (n=226) to what extent they disagreed/agreed that Muslim communities overreacted after the publishing of the cartoons (M= 5.48, SD= 1.39). (See table 2)

Table 2

Descriptives: Attitudes Towards Muslims and the Muhammad Cartoons

Item Name	N	M	Median	SD
Muslims are a threat to social order in DK	226	2.0442	3.0000	1.73277
Muslims are a threat to the welfare in DK	226	2.8230	3.0000	1.58454
Muslims are a threat to personal freedom	225	2.7822	2.0000	1.65876
There are too many Muslims in Denmark	226	3.2212	3.0000	1.64241
Muslims are a threat to national security	225	2.9067	2.0000	1.64078
Muslims are a threat to Danish freedom of speech	224	3.3750	3.0000	1.91114
Muslims take unfair advantage of the Danish welfare	226	3.6372	4.0000	1.73365
system				
Muslims are a threat to Danish religious freedom	226	2.7876	2.0000	1.69942
Muslims are responsible for the majority of criminal	226	3.2699	3.0000	1.63644
activity in DK				
Muslim immigration to Denmark should be stopped	226	2.7611	2.0000	1.52767
Muslims are occupying jobs which Danish citizens	225	2.4267	2.0000	1.34470
should have				
Muslims try to become integrated in the Danish way of	226	4.3053	5.0000	1.35963
life				
Attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons items:				
The Muhammad cartoons are funny	226	3.8407	4.0000	1.85744
The Muhammad cartoons are offensive	225	3.7467	4.0000	1.77854
The cartoons are a good example of Danish humor	226	4.7257	5.0000	1.79257
Freedom of speech is absolute	223	5.5247	6.0000	1.43259
Religious sensitivities of Muslims ought to be respected	226	4.6195	5.0000	1.58503
Jyllands-Posten did the right thing publishing the	223	4.1256	4.0000	1.81397
cartoons				
Muslim communities overreacted	226	5.4735	6.0000	1.38939

Results of Factor Analysis

Cultural Characteristics

To identify factors of the 21 survey questions which investigated the four cultural characteristics (power distance, individualism/collectivism, femininity/masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance) a principal component factor analysis utilizing Varimax, an orthogonal rotation, was run (see table 3). Only items which loaded higher than .40 and did not load higher than .30 on other factors were included in the final factors. All relevant items were examined and named.

The factor analysis found five factors but after having run an inter-item reliability test, only three factors had a Cronbach Alpha score of .4 and higher. The other two factors were dropped because of low inter-item reliability scores which were .2095 for factor three and .384 for factor seven.

The three viable factors used for further analysis, which were factors: one, two, and four, were named: "Self Definition," "Equality," and "Low high need for security."

Table 3

Factor Loadings for Prinicipal Component Factor Analysis With Varimax Rotation of Cultural Characteristics

Cultural Characteristics Scale	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8
CCS								
Being more powerful	.817	101	.026	.033	.055	.047	.132	.070
Being more wealthy	.740	.091	.224	.121	050	108	.184	.023
I am no better than others	.734	.106	003	117	136	058	073	.065
I find the unknown exciting	019	.724	006	044	055	159	.033	.036
People should have free time	006	.556	114	056	.036	.030	120	148
Quality of life	.385	.508	.171	020	138	.024	099	.284
Men and women	.218	.451	.120	232	.093	.276	328	.264
People responsible happiness	083	.136	811	100	.098	.058	030	.058
People responsible own ways	.085	.178	.792	.060	.032	.017	.131	173
When children become 21	235	.371	419	106	061	076	.127	305
Rules and regulations	.052	.022	.021	.769	.044	.028	033	.072
Planning not important	003	238	.179	.707	039	138	022	066
A country's rules must not	033	.005	.022	.683	123	.386	.080	022
When family members get old	261	.101	.004	090	.762	088	.074	.036
Immigrants who move to DK	009	.354	.242	.063	534	.013	.087	229
The eldest male (HOH)	.397	.000	.119	.100	.499	.209	.001	252
Government make decisions	014	007	.040	.084	.059	.832	.060	.039
Social inequality unacceptable	.137	.447	.233	022	.211	547	012	067
I do not like tell achievements	.171	060	.038	.049	.266	.014	.763	113
Modesty is the best policy	.052	088	.119	034	256	.105	.704	.261
Well-being of group vs. individual	026	035	.189	.018	.047	.058	.087	.826

Note. Factor loadings > .40 and double loadings > .30 are in boldface. CCS = Cultural Characteristics Survey

Table five shows the three viable factors "Self definition," "Equality," and "Low Need for Security," which were generated through the factor analysis.

Table 4

Viablee Factor Loadings for Prinicipal Component Factor Analysis With Varimax
Rotation of Cultural Characteristics

Scale	Self	Need for Security	Equality
	Definition	Ţ	
CCS			
Being more powerful is not important to	.817	101	033
me			
Being wealthier is not important to me	.740	.090	121
I am no better than others	.734	.106	.117
I find the unknown exciting	019	.724	044
People should have free time to pursue	006	.556	.056
interests			
Men and women should have the same	.218	.451	.232
rights			
Social inequality is unacceptable	.137	.447	.022
Rules and regulations are necessary	052	022	.769
Planning for my future is important to me	.003	.238	.707
A country's rules must be upheld by all	.033	005	.683
<u>Eigenvalue</u>	<u>2.30</u>	<u>1.92</u>	<u>1.70</u>
% of variance	<u>10.96</u>	<u>9.14</u>	<u>8.11</u>
Total variance explained = 28.21%			

Note. Viable Factor loadings Factor loadings > .40 and double loadings > .30 are in boldface. CCS = Cultural Characteristics Survey.

The factor "Self Definition" consisted of the three items: 1) Being more powerful than other people is not important to me, 2) being more wealthy than other people is not important to me, and 3) I am no better than other people (Cronbach's Alpha= .701). The two items 1) Being more powerful than other people is not important to me and 2) Being wealthier that other people is not important to me, were recoded.

The first factor was named "Self Definition" because the three statements refer to how a person defines him/herself. The first two items, 1) being more powerful than other people is not important to me and 2) Being more wealthy than other people is not important to me, are both elements of Hofstede's "power distance" dimension. The third item "I am not better than other people" is part of Hofstede's "femininity/masculinity" dimension.

The items in the factor are consistent with a code of morality in Scandinavia, which was previously mentioned in this study, called, "The Law of Jante." According to Thomsen, Sidanius and Fiske (2007), most Scandinavian people are familiar with the Law of Jante and "believe that it accurately characterizes Scandinavian norms and practices" (p. 450).

The Law of Jante was created by author, Aksel Sandemose in 1933 and tells people to remember that:

- 1) You shall not think that you are special
- 2) You shall not think that you are of the same standing as us
- 3) You shall not think that you are wiser than us
- 4) Don't fancy yourself as being better than us
- 5) You shall not think that you know more than us
- 6) You shall not think that you are more (important) than us

- 7) You shall not think that you are good at anything
- 8) You shall not laugh at us
- 9) You shall not think that anyone cares about you
- 10) You shall no think that you can teach us anything

This code of conduct tells people "you are no better than anyone else" and is intended to keep people grounded and modest. Ember and Ember (2001) have described the Law of Jante in Denmark in the following way:

A person should not display superiority materially or otherwise. Wealth and high social position are downplayed in public in regard to dress, jewelry, and housing. The point is to be discreet about individual distinction and avoid public boasting while allowing one's wealth to be recognized by persons in a similar economic position (p. 621).

This factor indicates that young Danes may not be preoccupied with being wealthier than other people and since money often equals power, they are not concerned with being more powerful than others either. Instead, they see themselves as being no better than other people. This attitude towards money, power, and perception of self could be caused by the fact that young Danes have grown up in a very homogeneous country, where most people are neither rich nor poor, where there is an emphasis on welfare and where every citizen is taken care of regardless of where they come from. The yearly median income in Denmark is about \$57.000 and while there is no official poverty line in Denmark, there is still a focus on the poverty which exist in Denmark. According to Palludan (2011), there are two types of poverty; relative and absolute. Relative poverty is measured by comparing individuals' income of a country to other individuals' income of that same country (Palludan, 2011).

median income and 18% of families and elderly are currently considered relatively poor in Denmark (Palludan, 2011).

Moreover, this sense of humility, which exists among Danes, could be described as an integrated cultural tendency which appears to be passed on from generation to generation and those who stand out from the crowd and believe they are better than everyone else are considered as outcasts (Thomsen, Sidanius & Fiske, 2007).

The second factor "Low need for security" consisted of the following three items: 1) Rules and regulations are not necessary in a society; 2) A country's rules must not be upheld by everyone; and 3) Planning for my future is not important to me. The three items that were included in the factor were recoded.

This factor was named "Low need for security" because it consisted of items which are related to individuals' need to reduce uncertainty (Cronbach's Alpha=.597). All three items are related to Hofstede's "uncertainty avoidance" dimension. According to Hofstede, Danes' desire to avoid uncertainty is relatively low, particularly in comparison to the Arab world. This study found the same results in the Danish population (http://www.geert-hofstede.com).

According to this study, young Danes do not believe that strict rules and regulations are necessary in a society and they do not feel that it is necessary to have a set plan for life. Instead, they do not mind that their lives are uncertain and based on the results of the factor analysis, there is an indication that they believe that no matter what will happen, everything will work its way out again.

As mentioned previously, Denmark's very well established welfare system makes sure that every citizen is taken care of. Young Danes have grown up in this welfare system and it is likely that they have felt safe throughout their lives because

they have been taken care of emotionally and financially by their parents and financially by the state when they start college, and the understanding that they will be taken care of financially by the state if they are unable to find employment.

Moreover, would could think that this welfare system is helping to reduce crime considering that people get what they need and therefore do not have to take upon desperate measures to acquire food and material goods, which in turn makes young people feel safe.

Finally, the third factor, "Equality," consisted of the following four items: 1) I find the unknown exciting, 2) Social inequality is unacceptable, 3) Men and women should have the same human rights, and 4) It is important that people have adequate free time to pursue their personal interests. This factor was named "Equality" because it consisted of items which are related to equality and independence in a society (Cronbach's Alpha= .496). The first two statements both pertain to Hofstede's "power distance" dimension. The third item "It is important that people have adequate time to pursue their personal interests" is related to Hofstede's "individuality/collectivism" dimension while the fourth item "I find the unknown exciting" is related to Hofstede's "uncertainty avoidance" dimension.

Approximately 97.8% of the respondents agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that men and women should have the same human rights and this finding is not surprising considering that (gender) equality has always been an important value in Danish culture.

Furthermore, 91.5% of this study's respondents agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that it is important for people to have adequate free time to pursue their personal interests which is also not surprising considering that a sense of leisure is also considered an important value in Denmark.

However, it is noteworthy that the new government, The Social Democratic Party" proposed a plan wherein Danes would have to work 12 minutes more per day in order to save the Danish welfare system.

When asked if social inequality is unacceptable 55.8% of the respondents of this study agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree). This number is not surprising either if one looks at the results from the 2011 parliamentary election won by the Social Democrats that are on the left wing of the political continuum. According to past statistics, people between the ages of 18 and 29 have a tendency to vote for parties that vote on this particular bent (Arbo-Bähr, Christensen & Knap, 2010) and they often vote for the same party as their parents do (Christensen, 2011). There are many different political parties in Denmark and the parties, that are on the left side of the political continuum have generally been recognized as being socialistic, believing that equality should be maintained by helping each other. What this means is that those who are wealthier will have to pay more taxes and thereby help those who are less successful/wealthy. The parties positioned on the right side of the continuum are generally recognized as being more liberalistic and believe that people should have equal chances in the beginning of life, but that people are responsible for their individual successes, or lack of, throughout their lives. However, one of the issues that the parties on the left and right wing agree on is maintaining and further develop the welfare system in Denmark (http://liberalalliance.dk).

Finally, 80.5% of the respondents of this study agreed (criteria of agree: Likert-scale score of 5, 6, and 7) to some extent that they find the unknown exciting. In his research, Hofstede found that uncertainty does not scare Danes, and again, a reason for this could be because of how the welfare system works in Denmark. People realize that they are safe and taken care of.

Attitudes Towards Muslims

To identify factors of Danes' attitudes towards Muslims, a principal component factor analysis was done using Varimax rotation. Only items which loaded higher than .40 and did not load higher than .30 on other factors were included in the final factors. All relevant items were examined and named (See table 5).

One factor was generated and was named "attitudes towards Muslims" and all 12 items loaded on the factor (Cronbach's Alpha= .935)

Table 5

Viable Factor Loadings for Explanatory Factor Analysis With Varimax Rotation of Attitudes towards Muslims

Item name	Factor 1
ATMS	
Muslims are a threat to social order in DK	.866
Muslims are a threat to the welfare in DK	.863
Muslims are a threat to personal freedom	.856
There are too many Muslims in Denmark	.853
Muslims are a threat to national security	.842
Muslims are a threat to Danish freedom of speech	.828
Muslims take unfair advantage of the Danish welfare system	.767
Muslims are a threat to Danish religious freedom	.760
Muslims are responsible for the majority of criminal activity in DK	.738
Muslim immigration to Denmark should be stopped	.714
Muslims are occupying jobs which Danish citizens should have	.659
Muslims try to become integrated in the Danish way of life	.402
Eigenvalue	<u>7.16</u>
Total variance explained = 59.70%	<u>59.70%</u>

Note. Viable Factor loadings > .40 are in boldface. ATMS = Attitudes Towards Muslims Survey.

Out of the 226 respondents, approximately, 30% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are a threat to the social order in Denmark, 23.9% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are a threat to the welfare system in Denmark, 20.9% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are a threat to personal freedom in Denmark. Moreover, 22.6% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that there are too many Muslims in Denmark, 24% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are a threat to National security in Denmark, 39.9% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are a threat to freedom of speech in Denmark, and 42.1% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims take unfair advantage of the Danish welfare system. Finally, 25.3% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are a threat to religious freedom in Denmark, while 28.7% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are responsible for the majority of criminal activity in Denmark, 15.9% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims immigration to Denmark should be stopped, 7.1% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims are occupying jobs which Danes should have and 30.9% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslims do not try to become integrated in the Danish way of life.

Andersen (2002) has argued that Danes' attitudes towards Muslims are ambivalent because they on one hand are tolerant and sympathetic towards immigrants, but that they also are afraid and resistant. Carlsen (2007) has argued that Danes, in general, are both open and tolerant towards existing immigrants and refugees who are already in Denmark, but that the majority of Danes consider it as important to limit the immigration in order to maintain the Danish society's values and foundation. Braemer (2007) quotes Peter Nannestad, who is an integration expert and professor at Århus University in Denmark, who argues against previous research that says that there is an anti-Muslim feeling in Denmark:

You're headed in the wrong direction if you think that integration is only about national values. If only immigrants behave in accordance to the societal norm and can support him/her self, things are good. There is no Islamofobia or cultural dissociation behind the discrimination. Instead, it's a question about status in the welfare system, which also surfaces in our relationships to other outsider groups such as alcoholics and drug addicts. (Braemer, 2007)

Statistical data from 2007 support this statement. When Danes were asked whether or not they felt that there is too much public spending on eight various public expenditures (health care, home care, state pension, education, social security, development aid, and immigrants) people generally felt that public spending on immigrants, social security, and development aid (Arbo-Hähr, Christensen, & Knap, 2010) is too high which indicates that Danes may have the perception that immigrants and people who are on social security are not contributing to Danish society. During the past couple of decades, negative portrayel of immigration has dominated both the media and on political agendas (Andersen, 2002), which many researchers have found

to have significant impact on people's attitudes, particularly on those who lack an education (Andersen, 2002).

Attitudes Towards the Muhammad Cartoons

A principal component factor analysis was run, using Varimax rotation, to investigate Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons (see table 7). Only items which loaded higher than .40 and did not load higher than .30 on other factors were included in the final factors. All relevant items were examined and named.

The factor analysis found two factors wherein only factor one was viable.

Factor two was dropped because it consisted of one item.

Factor one was named "Attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons" and consisted of the three following items: 1) The cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad are not offensive, 2) Religious sensitivities of Muslims should not be respected, and 3) Muslim communities overreacted after the publishing of the cartoons (Cronbach's Alpha= .701). The items "the cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad are not offensive" and "religious sensitivities of Muslims should not be respected" were recoded.

Table 6 Factor Loadings for Explanatory Factor Analysis With Varimax Rotation of Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons

Scale	Factor 1	Factor 2
ATMCS		
The cartoons are not offensive	.783	.259
Religious sensitivities should not be respected	.733	.039
Muslim communities overreacted by the	.727	.163
publishing	158	.800
Freedom of speech is absolute	.518	.680
The cartoons are funny	.501	.660
Jyllands-Posten did the right thing	.384	.656
The cartoons are a good example of Danish	<u>3.39</u>	<u>1.05</u>
humor	48.37%	<u>14.96%</u>
<u>Eigenvalue</u>		
% of variance		

Total variance explained=63.33%

Note. Factor loadings > .40 and double loadings > .30 are in boldface. ATMCS = Attitudes Towards Muhammad Cartoons Survey.

Below (table 7) is the table which shows the one viable factor "attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons" which was generated through the factor analysis.

Table 7

Viable Factor Loadings for Explanatory Factor Analysis With Varimax Rotation of Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons

Scale ATMCS	Attitudes towards Muslims
The cartoons are not offensive	.783
Religious sensitivities should not be respected	.733
Muslim communities overreacted by the publishing	.727
<u>Eigenvalue</u>	3.39
% of variance	<u>48.37%</u>
Total variance explained = 48.37%	

Note. Viable factor loadings > .40 and double loadings > .30 are in boldface. ATMCS = Attitudes Towards Muhammad Cartoons Survey.

Out of the 226 respondents, 81.1% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that Muslim communities overreacted after the publishing of the cartoons, 26.6% agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that religious sensitivities of Muslims should not be respected while 45.3% of respondents agreed to some extent (5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree) that they did not find the cartoons offensive ((5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree).

In an article written by Michael Braemer (2007), he argues that discrimination of Muslims in Denmark decreased after the publishing of the cartoons and that the reason for this is that Danes have a bad conscience about the way Muslims had been treated in Denmark in the past. Moreover, Mehmet Necef, who is a sociologist of Turkish background, at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense, has argued

that the publishing of the Muhammad cartoons has been an eye opener for Danes because they have realized that there are many different types of Muslims and that only a minority of Muslims are violent (Braemer, 2007). He also states that the debate between Muslims and Danes was broadened because so many different voices besides from extremists, were expressed, and that this was good for the relationship between Muslims and Danes. However, Denmark is a secular society and Danes are known to have a sense of humor in where mocking of religions is not frowned upon (Rostbøll, 2009), and the results of the factor analysis supports this notion.

Justification for the Development of New Research Questions

After having run the factor analysis it became clear that the instrument which measured Danes' cultural characteristics and "Danishness," wherein the questions used were adapted from Hofstede's four dimensions of culture and Tull and Till's (1995) survey did not replicate Hofstede's original research. Some of the reasons why this could be is because Hofstede executed his research on cultural dimensions from 1967 to 1973. The world has changed so much since then.

One of the major changes which have occurred since the 1960s and 1970s is the development of the Internet and technology in general. The Internet has changed the way people communicate in so many different ways. In the 1960s and 1970s people were using face-to-face communication and phone lines, whereas today, people have e-mail and social networking sites, giving them the "advantage" of not having to communicate personally anymore. This change in communication has especially affected younger generations that have grown up with the Internet. This change in communication style is a concern because the younger generations may not be developing proper social skills for when they have to enter the workforce and communicate face-to-face instead from behind a computer. Also, it is possible that the

Internet has an influence on how the younger generations perceive the world, and other people, from a cultural standpoint. Also, the Internet is a venue where there is information overload and rumours and where these can be widely distributed and blown out of proportion within seconds.

Moreover, another major change that may influence these results compared to those Hofstede found, could be because the target group of this study are younger than the target group Hofstede's was interested in when he conducted his research in the 1960s and 1970s.

The target groups of Hofstede's study and this study have grown up under different circumstances and the different generations have witnessed different world situations, which may have influenced their cultural orientation and attitudes.

According to a recent study, Danes are spending less money on consumer goods and while a fear of spending due to the recession has been indicated as a reason for this, experts have been debating whether or not this "fear of spending" could be due to newly developed values in Danish society, which have been recognized as knowledge, responsibility, solidarity, and moderation (http://www.dst.dk). These new values all pertain to a society that has adjusted to major technological changes and exhaustive consumption in the past and now realize that other issues, such as concern for the environment, are more important. What this indicates is that values and cultural characteristics change over time all depending on what the country and world are going through at that moment.

Even though the cultural characteristics instrument was not successful in replicating what Hofstede found, many of Hofstede's cultural components were still helpful and relevant considering the three new dimensions of cultural characteristics

of "Danishness," that were revealed. Six new research questions were developed for this study:

- RQ1) Does "Self Definition" influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims?
- RQ2) Does "Low Need for Security" influence Danes' attitudes towards
- RQ3) Does "Equality" influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims?

Muslims?

- RQ4) Does "Self Definition" influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?
- RQ5) Does "Low Need for Security" influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?
- RQ6) Does "Equality" influence' Danes attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

Results of Regressions: Cultural Characteristics/Attitudes Towards Muslims

RQ1: Does "Self Definition" influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims?

The items which were included in the first cultural factor are: 1) Being more powerful than other people is not important to me, 2) being more wealthy than other people is not important to me, and 3) I am no better than other people and the factor "attitudes towards Muslim" consists of all the 12 questions which investigated attitudes towards Muslims (see table 8).

Table 8

Linear Regression 1: Self Definition and Attitudes towards Muslims

IV (Independent	Self Definition
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes Towards Muslims
Variable)	
F =	9.406
Sig. =	0.02
R =	.203
R Square =	0.41
B =	49.655 / 1.812
Beta =	203

RQ2: Does "Low Need for Security" influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims?

The cultural factor consisted of the three items: 1) Planning for my own future is not important to me, 2) Rules and regulations are not necessary in a society, and 3) A society's rules must not be upheld by everyone (see table 9).

Table 9

Linear Regression 2: Low Need for Security and Attitudes towards Muslims

IV (Independent	Low Need for Security
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes Towards Muslims
Variable)	
F =	13.814
Sig. =	.000
R =	.244
R Square =	0.60
B =	-1.425 / 1.989
Beta =	.244

RQ3: Does "Equality" influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims?

This factor consisted of the three items: 1) I fin the unknown exciting, 2)

People need adequate time to pursue their personal interests, 3) Men and women

should have the same human rights, and 4) Social inequality is unacceptable (see table 10).

Table 10

Linear Regression 3: Equality and Attitudes towards Muslims

IV (Independent	Equality
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards Muslims
Variable)	
F =	.947
Sig. =	.332
R =	.066
R Square =	.004
B =	29.596 / .312
Beta =	.066

Results of Regressions: Cultural Characteristics/Attitudes Towards the Muhammad Cartoons

RQ4: Does "Self Definition" influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

The items which were included in the factor, "attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons," are: 1) I do not find the Muhammad cartoons offensive, 2) Muslim communities overreacted after the publishing of the cartoons, and 3) Muslim communities overreacted after the publishing of the Muhammad cartoons (see table 11).

Table 11

Linear Regression 4: Self Definition and Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons

IV (Independent	Self Definition
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards Cartoons
Variable)	
F =	12.505
Sig. =	.000
R =	.231
R Square =	0.053
B =	16.847 /234
Beta =	231

RQ5: Does "Need for Security" influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

Table 12

Linear Regression 5: Low Need for Security and Attitudes towards the Muhammad

Cartoons

IV (Independent	Low Need for Security
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards Cartoons
Variable)	
F =	.320
Sig. =	.572
R =	.040
R Square =	.002
B =	11.511 / .084
Beta =	.040

RQ6: Does "Equality" influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

Table 13

Linear Regression 6: Equality and Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons

IV (Independent	Equality
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards Cartoons
Variable)	
F=	4.291
Sig. =	.039
R =	.138
R Square =	.019
B =	16.837 /166
Beta =	138

Post-Hoc Tests

Five post-hoc tests, one regression and four independent T-tests, were run in order to further explore how "Danishness" and how nationality affect Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons and Muslims.

Post-Hoc Test 1: Does "Danishness" influence attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

In the first post-hoc test, the independent variable was "Danishness" consisting of all three factors, 1) Self definition, 2) Low need for security, and 3) Equality. The dependent variable was attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. The regression for the first post-hoc test was significant (see table 15).

Table 14

Linear Regression 7: "Danishness" and Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons

IV (Independent	Danishness
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards Cartoons
Variable)	
F =	6.008
Sig. =	.001
R =	.276
R Square =	.076
B =	12.819
Beta =	097 /242 / .055

Post-Hoc Test 2: Does being born and raised in Denmark influence attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

The independent sample T-test indicates that being born in Denmark does not influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons.

Table 15

Independent Sample T-test 1: "Born in Denmark" and Attitudes towards the

Muhammad Cartoons

IV (Independent Variable)	Born in Denmark
DV (Dependent Variable)	Attitudes towards Cartoons
t =	930
Sig. =	.353
Mean (Born in DK) =	13.0651
Mean (Not born in DK) =	4.2000
SD (Born in DK) =	3.8097
SD (Not born in DK) =	2.74064

Post-Hoc Test 3: Does my parents' being born and raised in Denmark influence attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

The independent sample T-test indicates that Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons are not influenced by their parents being born and raised in Denmark.

Table 16

Independent Sample T-test 2: "Parents Born in Denmark" and Attitudes towards the

Muhammad Cartoons

IV (Independent Variable)	Parents Born in Denmark
DV (Dependent Variable)	Attitudes towards Cartoons
t =	.998
Sig. =	.319
Mean (Born in DK) =	13.1961
Mean (Not born in DK) =	12.3333
SD (Born in DK) =	3.7669
SD (Not born in DK) =	3.81226

Post-Hoc Test 4: Does being born and raised in Denmark influence attitudes towards Muslims?

The independent sample T-test indicates that being born in Denmark does influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims.

Table 17

Independent Sample T-test 3: "Born in Denmark" and Attitudes towards Muslims

IV (Independent Variable)	Born in Denmark
DV (Dependent Variable)	Attitudes towards Muslims
t =	2017
Sig. =	.045
Mean (Born in DK) =	36.1714
Mean (Not born in DK) =	45.4545
SD (Born in DK) =	14.76220
SD (Not born in DK) =	17.18350

Post-Hoc Test 5: Does my parents' being born and raised in Denmark influence attitudes towards Muslims?

The independent sample T-test indicates that parents being born and raised in Denmark does not influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims.

Table 18

Independent Sample T-test 4: "Parents Born in Denmark" and Attitudes towards

Muslims

IV (Independent Variable)	Parents Born in Denmark
DV (Dependent Variable)	Attitudes towards Muslims
t =	-1.894
Sig. =	0.60
Mean (Born in DK) =	36.0348
Mean (Not born in DK) =	42.6500
SD (Born in DK) =	14.89476
SD (Not born in DK) =	14.92534

Post-Hoc Test 6: Does a sense of self-effacing influence attitudes towards

Muslims?

The regression for the sixth post-hoc test was significant (see table 19).

Table 19

Linear Regression 8: Self-effacing and Attitudes towards Muslims

IV (Independent	Self-effacing
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards Muslims
Variable)	
F =	4.773
Sig. =	.030
R =	.146
R Square =	.021
B =	43.491 / - 1.095
Beta =	146

Post-Hoc Test 7: Does a sense of self-effacing influence attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons?

The regression for the seventh post-hoc test was significant (see table 20).

Table 20
Linear Regression 9: Self-Effacing and Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons

IV (Independent	Self-effacing
Variable)	
DV (Dependent	Attitudes towards the Muhammad Cartoons
Variable)	
F =	12.776
Sig. =	.000
R =	.233
R Square =	.054
B =	15.911 /438
Beta =	233

Discussion

As previously mentioned, the purpose of this study was to identify which characteristics of "Danishness" influence attitudes towards Muslims in Denmark and the Muhammad cartoons

After collecting 226 surveys, a factor analysis was conducted wherein three viable factors were generated and a fourth was used for post-hoc testing. The factor analysis indicated that Danes attitudes towards Muslims are negative and that they feel threatened by Muslims. After the factor analysis was run, six regressions were also run in order to determine if the new cultural factors influenced Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons.

Three research questions were posed in order to explore how cultural characteristics influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. The first research question attempted to discover if Danes "self definition" influenced their attitudes towards Muslims and was supported. The second research question attempted to discover if a "low need for security" influenced Danes attitudes towards Muslims and was also supported. Finally, the third research question attempted to discover if a sense of "equality" influenced Danes attitudes towards Muslims and was not supported.

Three research questions were posed in order to explore how cultural characteristics influences Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. The first research question attempted to discover if the factor "self definition" influenced Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons and this research question was supported. The second research question attempted to discover if Danes' "low need for security" influenced their attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. This

research question was not supported. Finally, the third research question attempted to discover if a sense of "equality" influenced Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons and this research question was also supported.

Finally, seven post-hoc tests were conducted and they indicated that there is an overall "Danishness" in Denmark, consisting of the three viable factors "self definition," "low need for security," and "equality" and that this sense of "Danishness" influences Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons.

Moreover, one of the post-hoc tests also indicated that being born and raised in Denmark influenced the respondents' attitudes towards Muslims. Finally, the two last post-hoc tests explored if the non-viable factor "self-effacing" influenced Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. Both post-hoc tests were supported.

Implications

The first regression was significant which means that Danes' attitudes towards Muslims is influenced on the way young Danes define themselves. This finding is not surprising considering that the cultural differences between Danes and Muslims are so extensive. For example, Danes define themselves as modest and live their life, to a certain extent, by the "Law of Jante" in where they perceive all members of society as equals. Feldman (2003) has mentioned that the Qur'an states that every human being is equal under God. However, in other parts of the Qur'an, the man's rights exceed that of the woman's (https://www.denstoredanske.dk). Moreover, Andersen (2002) has argued that Danes are particularly resistant towards Islam because it is 1) a religion, and because it is, 2) restrictive. As mentioned previously, about 80.9 percent of the Danish population belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which is state-supported (Shearmur, 2006) and even though Denmark is bound by a religion, it is

still considered to be a secular society wherein the church is only considered to be a symbol of Danish culture instead of a being a value by which one must live by (Gundelach & Riis, 1992). This is contrary to Islam which has been compared to being a totalitarian system (Pelikán, 2008). In Islam, there is only one source to all values and this source is Allah (Pelikán 2008). In this study, 63.3% of participants indicated that they were Christian (and many commented next to their response that they belonged to the church but did not necessarily believe in God), while 30% indicated that they did not have a religious orientation. The differences in attitudes towards religion is one of the major issues Danes and Muslims have with one another (Gundelach & Riis, 1992). The results of the first regression indicates that Danes are aware that Muslims' self definition is very different from their own. This could influence Danes to hold negative attitudes towards Muslims.

Moreover, the Social Democratic Party, which won the 2011 election in Denmark for the first time in ten years, is known to be skeptical but more open towards immigration than many of the right-wing political parties. One would think that the result of the election could be an indication that something has changed in the minds of the Danish people's attitudes towards Muslims. However, the explanation for the election outcome could include other reasons. The Danish election in 2001 was in November, two months after 9/11, and while many of the right-wing parties began campaigns, which portrayed immigrants in a very negative way, the Danish People's Party, which is also a right-wing party, tried to build a direct connection between Muslims and terrorists in their campaigning (Justesen, 2003).

Since 1973, the political continuum in Denmark has become more fluid and parties that used to be on the right wing are now on the left wing on certain issues, such as immigration, and vice versa. This trend became particularly more significant

during, and since, the 2001 election. Also, it is possible that the Danish people have lost confidence in the previous government, particularly because of the on-going global recession, which has fuelled Danes' insecurities on welfare, immigration, and the political system in Denmark

Previous research has indicated that the government and political parties in Denmark have had much influence on the discourse on immigration and Muslims in Denmark in the past by focusing on the major cultural differences that exist between Danes and Muslims in Denmark, often portraying Muslims negatively (Andersen, 2002). The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2000) has also argued that the Danish media play a significant role in the negative depiction of Muslims in Denmark.

As mentioned previously, Andersen (2002) has argued that most people in Denmark have ambivalent attitudes towards Muslims wherein he mentions that Danes are torn between "concerns, prejudice, suspicion, and specific hostility-images on one side and solidarity, hospitality, and accommodating on the other" (p.5). He also mentions that most Danes do not have actual encounters with immigrants, but their attitudes are instead generally created through the media's depictions of them.

Therefore, when the global media and the Danish political parties focus on the negative sides of immigration, particularly Muslims, people's fear of Muslims is likely to grow and Muslims could continue to be perceived as, as Linde-Laursen (2007) mentioned, "the others."

The second regression was also significant which indicates that Danes' attitudes towards Muslims is influenced by their low need for security. The factor analysis indicates that young Danes do not favor uncertainty, but that they believe they can handle whatever may come their way.

Kühle (2001) has argued that when immigrants' or refugees' culture is very different from the country's culture they are immigrating to, they tend to form ethnic onclaves. Danes struggle with the immigrants' inability or unwillingness to become familiarized with Danish culture (Einhorn & Logue, 2010), and struggle with trying to understand why Muslims cannot adapt to a society wherein not everything is absolute. Muslims on the other hand are accustomed to living in a culture as exampled by the tenets of the religion.

According to Islam, the sole purpose of humans is to serve Allah and the words of the last prophet, who was Muhammad, are considered to be absolute. This leaves little room for tolerance of uncertainty. The words of the Muhammad represent the true and only way. The everyday lives of Muslims are much structured with the center of activities pivoting around the requirements of their religion. It is easy to understand how this can foster a discomfort with uncertainty in other parts of their lives. Danes on the other hand, are a secular people and do not follow strict rules on how to live their lives or who they need to obey. It can be assumed that it is hard for Danes to understand why Muslims have this need to avoid uncertainty, and vice versa. Danes, who share a strong homogeneity, may "expect" Muslims to understand and adapt the same approach to uncertainty as they have.

The third regression was not supported which means that a sense of equality does not influence on Danes' attitudes towards Muslims. A reason for this could be because this value is so integrated in the minds and hearts of Danes that they do not fear that this value could ever be changed by anybody. Moreover, they may feel that Muslims are equal to them as a human being and under the law while still recognizing that their values are different.

The fourth regression was significant which means that Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons is influenced on the way they define themselves. Danes enjoy humor, which includes satire and the mocking of others (Rostbøll, 2009), and because they, to a certain extent, live by "The Law of Jante, "they do not take themselves too seriously and are also able to laugh at themselves. Also, because Danes are a secular people, they have no problems making fun of religions and freedom of speech is considered to be one of the most important values in Danish culture (Herrington, 2011). In Islam on the other hand, it is not permitted to depict, and particularly not to ridicule, the prophet Muhammad because it s considered as blasphemy (Harkness, Magid, Roberts Richardsons, 2007). This difference in humor and "The Law of Jante" could indicate that young Danes believe that Muslim communities took the cartoons, and themselves, too seriously. After the cartoons were published, Muslims could have felt that it was yet another attack on them and their presence in Denmark. The cultural difference between Danes and Muslims is major when it comes to humor and it appears that the two differ tremendously in terms of how they define themselves when it comes to that aspect.

The fifth regression was not significant which means that Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons is not significantly influenced by a low need for security. This finding makes sense, because to Danes, the cartoons do not address security issues, that Danes do not find the cartoons to be threatening to their ability to deal with uncertainty. It can be assumed that this is because Danes do not have a religious counterpoint and no threat of consequences whereas Muslims do not tolerate uncertainty well and follow strict rules and regulation, including avoiding depicting the prophet Muhammad, as stated in the Qur'an.

The sixth regression was significant which means that Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons is influenced by a sense of equality. This finding is not surprising considering that Danes did not find the Muhammad cartoons offensive, did not believe that religious sensitivities of Muslims ought to be respected, and believed that Muslim communities overreacted after the publishing of the cartoons. This finding could indicate that Danes feel that Muslims should live by Danish values, which was also one of *Jyllands-Posten*'s arguments for publishing the cartoons when they stated that the publishing of the cartoons was an attempt to treat Muslims residing in Denmark as equals and integrate them in Danish culture (Rostbøll, 2009).

Post-Hoc Tests

The first post-hoc test indicates that there is a an overall "Danishness" and this overall "Danishness" does influence Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons even though that the factor "low need for security" was not considered to be an influence on attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons (table 13). However, when combined with the other two factors, a clearer overall picture appeared. The more Danish "I" am in terms of how "I" define myself, how low my need for security is in a safe welfare state, and how important equality is to me, will influence my attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons.

The result of the second post-hoc test indicates that being born in Denmark does not influence attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. What this could indicate is that young Danes do not let their nationality influence their opinions.

Instead, their opinions towards the Muhammad cartoons are self-created, based on their experiences. It is logical to believe that these self-created opinions are partially

shaped through the media and political parties in Denmark and, of course, through exposure to the Danish culture in general.

The third post-hoc test indicates that attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons were not influenced by the respondents' parents being born and raised in Denmark. This could indicate that young Danes ages 18 and 29 did not discuss the Muhammad cartoons with their parents and did not form their opinions based on their parents' opinions. Instead, it is possible that young Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons have been molded by the Danish media, current events in Denmark, and around the world, peer discussions, and Danish culture in general which encourages a certain type of humor, including the mocking of religions.

Post-hoc test four indicates that being born in Denmark does influence attitudes towards Muslims. This finding makes sense, considering that those surveyed were born in the 1980s and as mentioned previously, after the mid-1980s an uproar about maintaining Danish values and "Danishness" began fostering an intense sense of nationalism (Petersen, Petersen, and Petersen, 2007). Again, what this could indicate is that young Danes have been listening to the media, politicians, and the general rhetoric depicting immigrants as a burden to society in Denmark. Having being born in Denmark, they have become assimilated into the Danish culture.

The fifth post-hoc test indicates that respondents' parents being born in Denmark does not influence attitudes towards Muslims. This could be because the parents of the respondents grew up in a different time where the focus on immigrants was less intense and negative. Andersen (2002) has argued that elderly people's (60+) tolerance towards immigrants is less tolerant, which makes sense considering that the parents of the respondents can be assumed to be around 60 years old, which could mean that their attitudes towards Muslims is less negative. It also highlights the

possibility that parents have less influence on their children at this age than does the media.

The sixth post-hoc test indicates that a sense of self-effacing influences Danes' attitudes towards Muslims. The "self-effacing" factor is similar to the first factor "self definition" because it is related to "The Law of Jante" as well. According to "The Law of Jante," individuals are not supposed to think that they, among others, are better than other people. It is part of being a "good Dane" not be a braggard or yearn to be the center of attention.

Finally, the seventh post-hoc test indicates that a sense of self-effacing influences Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. It can be assumed that Danes feel this way because they are used to comparing themselves to other Danes who are similar to them in terms of practicing "The Law of Jante" and a particular sense of humor. This in turn could be why Danes do not understand why Muslims took the publishing of the cartoons so seriously. It is possible that Danes feel that the "spectacle" which was initiated in Muslim communities after the publishing of the cartoons was unnecessary "drama." Danes are so accustomed of freedom of speech and "The Law of Jante," that they are unable, or unwilling, to view the situation from an Islamic perspective and thus feel that the Muslims overreacted in an inappropriate way.

Application

This study attempted to explore what the cultural characteristics of being a

Dane and how those cultural characteristics influence their attitudes towards Muslims
and the Muhammad cartoons. This study found no immediate solution as to how

Muslims and Danes can get along with one another and it is possible that the two will
never be able to form close bonds because the cultural differences are so great.

However, the results of this study may be able to help Danes and Muslims in understanding why tension and disagreements occur between them, which could help bring about a mutual acceptance and respect for one another.

Seen from a public relations perspective, the results of this study have indicated that the Danes struggle with immigration in Denmark. The situation may be improved through better communication between Muslims and Danes about each of their cultural differences.

Danes, the government, and the media have all been accused of Islamofobic behavior. In recent years, focus in Denmark has been placed on an increase in nationalism. In order to change this perception of Denmark, the government and the media, both of which have been accused of being two of the biggest influencers on attitudes towards Muslims, ought to alter their behavior and messages. It would be a good idea for the government to change its rhetoric and messages about Muslims when communicating with both internal and external stakeholders, toning down the rhetoric and working to present a realistic picture of the situation that includes both positive and negative aspects. It is possible that this change in rhetoric would have a positive influence on Danes attitudes current negative attitudes towards Muslims.

While there are fundamental cultural differences between Muslims and Danes, such as religious orientation and values, it is important to realize and accept these differences and not become stuck in a mindset only focusing on the differences and negatives between the two. It would be beneficial to put together a support system which will help Muslims succeed in Denmark.

One way to put together a support system in order to influence Danes' attitudes towards Muslims could be by establishing more effective immigrations assimilation programs wherein Muslims would be taught the Danish language and be

educated in Danish culture so that they also would learn to understand which values motivate Danes. Also, perhaps it would be beneficial for the government to establish a separate welfare system which sets certain demands for immigrants to assimilate since there is an indication that Danes feel that Muslims are taking advantage of the welfare system without contributing to Danish society.

These changes would then have to be communicated to the media considering that the media appears to have an influence on forming people's attitudes on immigration in Denmark. Stories in the media that focus on, and educate, Danes about the similarities which Danes and Muslims share instead of always pinpointing out the differences and negative aspects. The government should, along with the media, put their focus on in-depth stories about the fact that Muslims seek the same things Danes, and any other human being, seeks which are love, a feeling of safety, which Muslims express through religion, and a full and fair life. As mentioned previously, Muslims and Danes may never be able seem eye-to-eye, but if both parties become educated to understand and respect each other's cultural differences through the help of both the media and the government, then some of the negative attitudes could be mitigated.

Finally, this study also found that Hofstede's four dimension of culture may no longer apply in Denmark today as he originally designed them. Instead, three new dimensions of "Danishness" were developed which can help researchers in the future when they are investigating Danish cultural characteristics. Also, the three new dimensions of "Danishness" could help organizations in determining how they most effectively communicate with the new generation once they enter the workforce to increase motivation and in turn increase the organization's competitiveness and profits.

Literature Comparisons

The research conducted for this study was similar to the findings of other researchers who have explored Danish cultural characteristics and attitudes towards Muslims.

When Hofstede conducted his research in the 1960s and 1970s, he found

Denmark to be a society wherein the level of power distance and uncertainty

avoidance to be low and where the level of individuality and femininity to be high.

The results of this study found very similar results.

There have been mixed findings as far as Danish attitudes on immigration is concerned and this study's findings were consistent with much of what other studies have found. Much of the existing research argued that Danes' are nationalistic and that they fear that Muslims will influence "Danishness" and the values of which "Danishness" consists. Moreover, Justesen (2003) mentioned that a group of researchers had found that nationalism is on the rise in Denmark, particularly among those ages 18 to 29 years, but that Danes in general also are open and tolerant towards immigrants and refugees who already reside in Denmark, where Carlsen (2007) reported that the Danish people's fear of immigration has increased since the 1990s.

This study found similar results demonstrated by the three factors "self definition," "low need for security," and equality. Research indicates that young Danes have come to believe that Muslim values are fundamentally different from their own. This could generate a fear that the values which define "Danishness," and themselves, will be affected. This, in turn, is likely to increase their negative attitudes towards Muslims. Research shows that Danes consider the Muslims who are already in Denmark as equals and part of Danish society (Justesen, 2003), but there is an

indication that they do not find Muslim values to be equal to their own because they realize, and fear, the fundamental differences in them.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is that it used a self-reporting instrument. It can be assumed that some people may have responded in accordance to what they consider socially acceptable instead of indicating their honest response. Also, the sample selection included 67.7% females and only 32.6% males, which raises the possibility that the results would have been different if the majority of respondents had been males or if the sample had consisted of 50% males and 50% females.

Moreover, because the respondents of this study were young people ages 18 and 29, the results of this study cannot be applied to the general population.

Future Research

It would be interesting to conduct a similar cultural survey on Muslims to determine what their cultural characteristics are and then compare them to the results of Danes' cultural characteristics. This would give a better overall picture of how the two differ which could help each party in better understanding each others differences. Moreover, because the majority of the respondents were females, it would be interesting to how the results would differ if the sample selection consisted of men only and vice versa. Also, conducting qualitative research in form of interviews could generate a better in-depth examination of Danes' attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons. It would also be interesting to perform the same research on a different generation to see how the cultural characteristics and attitudes towards Muslims and the Muhammad cartoons differ from Danes ages 18 – 29 years. Furthermore, it would be useful to conduct more extensive research on Danes' attitudes towards the Muhammad cartoons. Also, in order to improve the

cultural characteristics factors, it would be interesting to add more survey questions which would help solidify the existing factors and perhaps generate more factors of "Danishness." It would also be interesting to see if the findings of this study are consistent with other Scandinavian countries. Finally, it would be interesting to further explore factor three and seven, which were both eliminated from the CCS factor analysis (table 4) because of a low Cronbach's Alpha, by developing additional relevant survey questions.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Dear Ms. Trettin,

I have reviewed your IrB application and will be submitting an approval to the Office of Unversity Research Services. Please be sure to include the statement below at the bottom of your consent form.

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AT TOWSON UNIVERSITY (410-704-2236)

Best, sm

Stephen G. Mogge, Ph.D.

Associate Professor, Co-Director Graduate Reading Education Program

Towson University, 8000 York Rd. Towson, MD 21252

smogge@towson.edu / (410-704-5771)

Appendix B

March, 2011

Dear Participant,

My name is Kirstine Trettin and I am a graduate student at Towson University majoring in Communication Management. As part of the research for my master's thesis, I will be conducting a survey to investigate how cultural traits affect attitudes. Participation in this study is voluntary and to participate in this survey, you must be at least 18 years or older. If you chose to participate in my project, you will be asked to complete a survey. It is not necessary to answer every question, and you may discontinue your participation in the project at any time. Your decision whether to participate in the project or to withdraw from the project at any time will in no way affect your student status. Your teacher has given me permission to conduct my study in your classroom; he will not know whether or not you have participated, or, if you did, how you responded.

If you do choose to participate in this survey, your participation will be completely anonymous. Neither anyone reading the results of the survey nor I will be able to identify you. Please do not put your name or any other identifying marks on the survey form.

If you have any questions about the project, you may contact me at (443) 977-2227, my faculty advisor, Dr. Margaret Algren at (410) 704-5641, or the Chairperson of Towson University's Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Participants, Dr. Debi Gartland, at (410) 704-2236. A copy of the results of the survey, reported in the aggregate form, will be available to you upon completion of my research. If you would like to see it, please call (+45 51740298) or email me at ktrett1@students.towson.edu.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Kirstine Trettin Graduate Student

Appendix C

Question	<u>1:</u>					
•	ur parents	raised in De	nmark?			
Yes o						
No o						
If no, wh	ere were the	ey raised?				
Question Were yo	2: u raised in	Denmark?				
Yes o No o If no, wh	ere were yo	ur raised?				
*** To		egree do g	you agree	/disagree	with th	ne following
Question	3:					
3.A) Mu	slims are a	threat to Da	nish econom	ic well - beir	ıg:	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
3.B) Mus	slims are a	threat to Da	nish social o	rder:		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
3.C) Mu	slims are a	threat to Da	nish religiou	s freedom:		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
3.D) Mu	slims are a	threat to Da	nish nationa	l security:		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

1	_2	_3	4	_5	_6	7		
3.E) Muslims are a threat to free speech:								
Strongly disagree	0	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree		
1	_2	_3	4	5	_6	7		
3.F) Muslims are a threat to personal freedom:								
Strongly disagree	Disagree		Don't know	Somewhat agree	_	Strongly agree		
1	_2	_3	4	_5	_6	7		
Question 4 Muslims t	_	ne integrate	ed in the Dan	ish way of li	fe			
Strongly disagree	_	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	_	Strongly agree		
1	_2	_3	4	_5	_6	7		
Question 5 Muslim in		in Denmar	k should be s	stopped				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree			
1	_2	_3	4	_5	_6	7		
Question 6	<u>5:</u>							
6.A) Musl	ims are res	ponsible fo	r the crimina	l activity in	Denmark			
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree		
			4					
6.B) Musl	ims are occ	upying job	s, which Dar	nish citizens	should be	occupying		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	_	Strongly agree		
1	_2	_3	4	_5	_6	7		
6.C) Muslims take unfair advantage of the Danish welfare system								
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly a gree		
1	_2	_3	4	_5	_6	7		

There ar		Muslims in	Denmark			
Strongly disagree	Disagree		Don't know	Somewhat agree		
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question The cart		ing the prop	ohet Muham	mad are funi	ıy	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	_	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
	e cartoons Disagree	as offensive Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree		Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree		Somewhat agree 5	J	agree
Question			- -		_0	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question Religious		es of Muslin	ns ought to b	e respected		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question Jyllands		the right th	ing by publis	shing the car	toons	
Strongly	Disagree	Somewhat	Don't know	Somewhat	Agree	Strongly

Question 7:

disagree		disagree		agree		agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question The Mus		ınity overre	acted after tl	ne publishing	g of the ca	artoons
Strongly disagree			Don't know			
1	22	3	4	5	_6	7
CULTUI	RE: POWE	ER DISTAN	CE:			
Question The elder		uld be the h	ead of the ho	ousehold		
Strongly disagree			Don't know			
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
	equality is	unacceptabl				
Strongly disagree		Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree		Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question It is impo		he governm	ent to make	all of the dec	isions	
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question Being me		ul than othe	rs is importa	nt to me		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7
Question Being we		n others is i	mportant to	me		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7

Question 20: Men and women shouldn't have the same human rights								
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree		
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7		
QUESTI	QUESTIONS: INDIVIDUALISM/COLLECTIVISM							
Question It is impo		people have	adequate fro	ee time to pu	rsue thei	r own interests		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree		
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7		
home	ildren beco					d to move away fron		
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewnat disagree	Don't know	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree		
1	2	3	4	5	_6	7		
Question	23:		4 own individ			7		
Question	23:		own individ		s			
Question People an	23: re responsi	ble for their Somewhat disagree	own individ	Somewhat agree	S Agree	Strongly agree		
Question People and Strongly disagree 1 Question When fair other ext	23: re responsi Disagree 2 24: mily membreeded family	Somewhat disagree3ers grow old	Don't know 4 d, it is right to	Somewhat agree 5 hat they move	Agree 6 7e in with	Strongly agree7 their children or		
Question People at Strongly disagree 1 Question When fat	23: re responsi Disagree 2 24: mily memb	ble for their Somewhat disagree 3 ers grow old	own individe Don't know 4	Somewhat agree 5 hat they move	Agree 6 7e in with	Strongly agree7 their children or		
Question People and Strongly disagree 1 Question When fair other ext	23: re responsi Disagree 2 24: mily memb tended fami Disagree	Somewhat disagree 3 ers grow old ily Somewhat disagree	Don't know 4 d, it is right to	Somewhat agree Somewhat agree Somewhat agree	Agree 6 re in with Agree	Strongly agree7 their children or Strongly agree		
Question People and Strongly disagree 1 Question When fair other ext Strongly disagree 1 Question	23: re responsi Disagree 2 24: mily membrended fami Disagree 2 25:	Somewhat disagree 3 ers grow old lly Somewhat disagree3	Don't know 4 Don't know A Don't know	Somewhat agree Somewhat they move agree Somewhat agree	Agree Agree Agree Agree	Strongly agree7 their children or Strongly agree		
Question People and Strongly disagree 1 Question When fair other ext Strongly disagree 1 Question	23: re responsi Disagree 2 24: mily membrended fami Disagree 2 25:	Somewhat disagree 3 ers grow old lly Somewhat disagree3	Don't know 4 Don't know A Don't know	Somewhat agree Somewhat they move agree Somewhat agree	Agree 6 re in with Agree 6 vell-being	Strongly agree7 their children or Strongly agree7		

QUESTIONS: UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE Question 26: Planning for the future is important to me Strongly Disagree Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 3 5 7 Question 27: I find the unknown to be exciting Strongly Disagree Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 3 5 6 **Question 28:** A country's rules must be upheld by everyone in the society Strongly Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Strongly Disagree Agree disagree disagree agree agree 5 2 6 Question 29: People who move to Denmark from other countries make Denmark a better country Strongly Disagree Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 5 6 Question 30: Rules and regulations are necessary in a society Somewhat Strongly Disagree Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 2 3 4 5 6 7 **QUESTIONS: FEMININITY/MASCULINITY** Question 31: Modesty is not necessarily the best policy Strongly Disagree Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 2 5 6

3

I enjoy telling people about my achievements Somewhat Strongly Disagree Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 2 3 4 5 6 Question 33: People are responsible to make their own ways in this world Strongly Disagree Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 3 4 5 6 7 Question 34: I am no better than other people Strongly Disagree Somewhat Don't know Somewhat Agree Strongly disagree disagree agree agree 3 5 6 Question 35: Quality of life is more important than money Strongly Somewhat Don't know Strongly Disagree Somewhat Agree disagree disagree agree agree 3 4 5____ 6___ Question 36: What is your age? Question 37: What is your religious background? o Christianity o Catholic o Islam o Hinduism o Judaism o Buddhism o None o Other_

Question 32:

Question 38:
Please indicate your gender:

Male o Female o

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