Social Integration

An Assessment into the Role of Cultural Identity in Friendship Formation

Master Thesis in

Development and International Relations

By: Tanja Burke Jensen

Supervisor: Ane Bislev

Abstract

Following the European Refugee Crisis in 2015, host countries face two integration challenges: how can we create and maintain cohesion in a society characterised by a growing diversity (i.e. socio-cultural integration) -and how can we ensure a sustainable economy (i.e. economic integration)? To tackle the first (and second) challenge, the Danish government recently published a report "A Denmark without parallel societies - no ghettos in 2030" in which the propose 22 inittiatives that are to counteract multicultural tendencies. Among the initiatives, they propose economic penalties for parents whose children skip school, and double penalties to individuals living within specific areas if they commit a crime.

While the government propose to fight segregation by means of punishment, the primary objective of this thesis has been to study social integration by looking at friendship formation. According to the government's own definition, parallel societies are characterised by isolation from the surrounding society; creating social fissures between host nationals and refugees. Following this definition, then, refugees are more socially integrated in host countries when society is characterized by interethnic contacts, friendships, and marriages.

To study the prospect of friendship formation, this thesis analysed survey and interview data according to Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM), Trust Theory and Identity Management Theory (IMT). Due to time limitations, the study merely included data from Danish and Arabic respondents, ranging in age from 20 to 34.

In conclusion, this thesis argued that social segregation persist due to differences in the social fabric of individual agents, rather than a lack of motivation on behalf of refugees. Rather than combatting social fissures by means of punishment therefore, this thesis proposed two alternative strategies. Having established conceptual and structural differences in the way in which Danish and Arabic respondents perceive and enact friendship, it first suggested to implement social activities that transcend the productive sphere, into the national integration program e.g. sports clubs. And second, having observed how Danes' cultural inditity influence their motivation to intercat with Arab rfugeees, negatively, it suggested to examine more thouroughly how cultural identities influence our motivation for communication with outgroup strangers.

Keywords: friendship, social integration, motivation, trust

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Introduction

Unlike other Scandinavian and European countries, Denmark has yet to formulate extensive white papers detailing the principal goals of their immigrant integration policies (Jensen 2016, 67). Immigration and integration issues have, however, been high on the political agenda in Denmark since the mid-1990s, and it has been one the defining issues in several parliamentary elections since then, including the most recent election in 2015 (Jensen 2016; Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup 2008). Due to the lack of explicit ends, the public and political debate has predominantly been dictated by the right-wing bloc, with a discourse concentrated on a strong notion of deservingness, dismissal of multiculturalism, and a narrow definition of being "Danish" (danskhed) (Jensen et al. 2017, 609). Once known as the worlds' most liberal country with regards to immigration policies (1983) Denmark has, since the 1990s, developed one of the most restrictive integration regimes within Western Europe, regardless of which index we consult (MIPEX, CIVIX, MCP or ICPI[1]) (Jensen 2016, 11).

Since its first integration law, Denmark has almost exclusively moved towards harsher policies. A notable tendency has been the increased use of formalised integration requirements. These requirements condition entry, permanent residence, citizenship, and family reunification on the ability to speak Danish, having knowledge about liberal values, Danish history, culture and institutions, and being economically self-sufficient (Jensen 2016, 10).

Going back to the 1970s, when integration of immigrants was first debated in Denmark, the Liberal Party and the Conservatives were already skeptical of the prospect of multiculturalism. Though only few had imagined that immigrants would one day end up as permanent residents in Denmark, then Minister of Interior, Britta Schall Holberg, argued that all immigrants must submit to Danish norms (Jensen et al. 2017, 609; Simonsen 2017a, 312). While the argument was refuted in 1970s (Jensen et al. 2017, 609), Denmark has arguably attempted to accommodate this requirement ever since. Despite its strict policies, however, the current Liberal-Conservative government in Denmark is yet again raising similar concerns. On March 1, 2018, they published a report which suggested 22 initiatives to ensure "A Denmark without parallel societies - No ghettos in 2030" (in Danish: *Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund - Ingen ghettoer i 2030*)(Regeringen 2018, March 1). While the very definition of parallel societies has been contested by Danish scholars (e.g. Jacobsen 2018), the Government note that "15 percent of all families with a non-western background show multiple traits, suggesting that they live in relative isolation from the rest of society" (Regeringen 2018, 5). Assuming that isolation in and of itself poses a threat to national cohesion, the report furthermore argues that immigrants are becoming an economic burden on

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1 MIPEX measures how demanding it is to reach naturalization after entry, looking at both civic integration requirements, years of residence and dual citizenship. CIVIX also measures how demanding it is to reach naturalization after entry, though only focusing on formalized integration requirements. ICRI looks at school policies, cultural and religious rights, and affirmative action policies, including naturalization, expulsion and family reunification. MCP looks at school policies, cultural and religious rights, and affirmative action policies, though not including naturalization, expulsion and family reunification.

society. More precisely, the report states that Danish tax payers could have saved 17 bn Danish Kroner if non-western immigrants were employed at the same rate as Danish born citizens (Regeringen 2018, 5). Despite restrictive policies, integration has failed. By deviating from Danish social norms and values, the report contends that parallel societies have "fractured the map of Denmark" (Danish: Der er slået huller i Danmarkskortet) and immigrants constitute an ever increasing financial burden for Danish society (Regeringen 2018, 5). From the above, we can deduce that the government face two main challenges: how can we create and maintain cohesion in a society characterised by a growing diversity (i.e. socio-cultural integration) -and how can we ensure a sustainable economy (i.e. economic integration)?

In their recent report, the Danish government has sought to solve the first challenge by proposing 22 initiatives to eradicate rising parallel societies. Among the initiatives, they propose economic penalties for parents whose children skip school, and double penalties to individuals living within specific areas if they commit a crime. While I do not intend to formulate a full critique of their report (see e.g. Barkholt 2018), it is reasonable to question whether those initiatives are able to solve the problem - at least if we look at the government's own definitions. According to this definition, parallel societies are characterised by isolation from the surrounding society. In other words, parallel societies are characterised by significant social fissures between host nationals and immigrants and refugees. Assuming the government's' own definition, and the need to eradicate such fissures, this thesis aims to examine social bridges as an alternative. Immigrants are said to be more socio-culturally integrated in host countries when society is characterized by interethnic contacts, friendships, and marriages. While social bridges may take many forms, this thesis takes 'friendship formation' as its main objective.

According to Gudykunst (2005), all communication involves a level of uncertainty, caused by our inability to predict the "others" behaviour. Uncertainty in this context is a cognitive phenomenon, affecting the way in which we think about the "other". If the other is similar to oneself in some important way (e.g. culturally) uncertainty tends to be low, the opposite is true if the other is dissimilar. With uncertainty comes an experienced level of anxiety, thus reducing the motivation for communication. If anxiety levels are low we are motivated to communicate, though if they are high, we tend to "hunker down". To manage anxiety, individuals need to build trust by inference i.e. through interaction. Only by observing the "other" are individuals able to gather enough information to overcome social divides.

This poses a seemingly interesting problem for friendship formation across cultures. Lacking a shared meaning system from the get go, cross-cultural friendships rely on an individual's ability to overcome anxiety by inference. When that happens, though, friendship is argued to bridge cultural gaps by introducing a "third culture" (e.g. Lee 2006; Gareis, 2012). To examine how this may happen, this thesis attempts to answer the following research question: *How does cultural identity affect (i) our conception of friendships, (ii) ability to develop*

friendships, and (iii) our motivation to initiate friendships? To answer this question adequately, I decided to formulate three sub-questions that together encapsulate the content of the former. The three sub-questions that will be answered are the following: SQ1: *How is friendship characterised and structured within Arabic and Danish culture?* SQ2: *How does friendship develop within Arabic and Danish culture?* and SQ3: *How do cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers?* Each sub-question requires a separate analysis and scale. SQ1 spans the macro-level by determining structural and conceptual similarities and differences. SQ2 addresses the meso-level, looking at culturally defined strategies and conceptual understandings. SQ3 focuses in on the micro-level, by examining the experiences of individuals when confronted with specific-outgroup strangers.

1. Methodology

This chapter has five main objectives. First (1.1), it presents the problem area and research question. Second (1.2), it introduces the research model and explains the research design. Third (1.3), it provides the reader with a literature review, discussing methods used previously in research related to the integration and friendship formation. Fourth (1.4), it explains the method used in the current thesis. Fifth and finally (1.5), it discusses some of the most pressing threats to the validity of this research.

1.1 Problem Area and Research Question

The Danish government is currently arguing that there is a rise in parallel societies in Denmark, comprising primarily refugees with a non-Western background. To counteract societal divisions and solve this problem, the government suggests 22 initiatives. While these initiatives are essentially a list of punishments for non-compliant behaviour, this thesis will examine the possibility of socio-cultural integration via a better understanding of how friendships may be formed between Arab and Danish cultures.

The primary research question attempted to answer is,
RQ: *How do cultural identity affect (i) our conception of, (ii) ability to develop and (iii) our motivation to initiate friendships?*

In considering this question, I have asked the following sub-questions:

SQ1:   *How is friendship characterised and structured within Arabic and Danish culture?*
SQ2:   *How does friendship develop within Arab and Danish culture?*
SQ3:   *How do cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers?*

1.2 Research Design and Scope

Reseach Question

"How do cultural identity affect (i) our conception of, (ii) ability to develop and (iii) our motivation to initiate friendships?"

Methodology
- Method and Limitations
- Data Collection
- Clarification and disclaimers
- Literature review

Theoretical Framework
1. Cultural Identity
2. Anxiety/Uncertainty Managementment Theory (AUM)
3. Trust Theory
4. Identity Management Theory (IMT)

Analytical Framework
- Trust Development
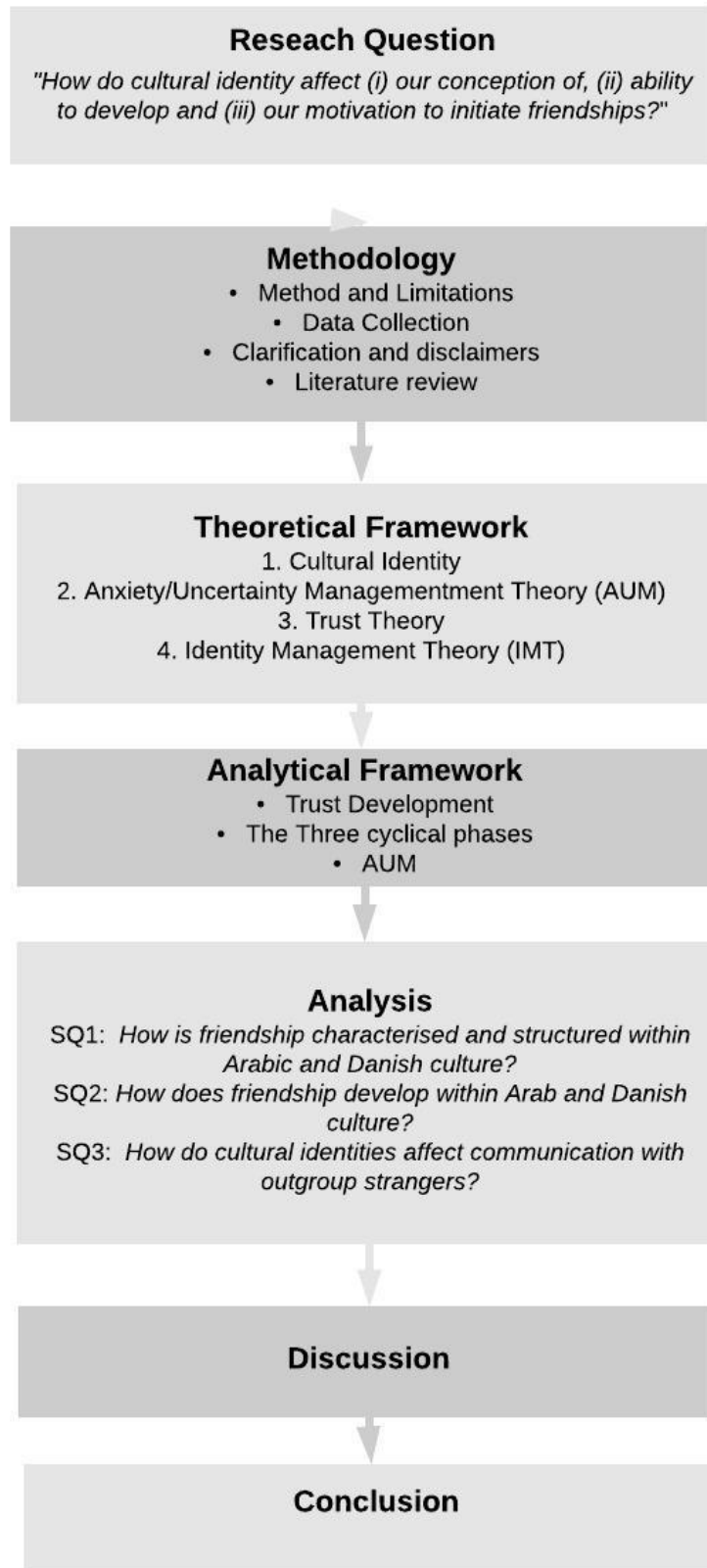- The Three cyclical phases
- AUM

Analysis

SQ1: *How is friendship characterised and structured within Arabic and Danish culture?*

SQ2: *How does friendship develop within Arab and Danish culture?*

SQ3: *How do cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers?*

Discussion

Conclusion

In order to best answer the research question, this research will be conducted in the following steps. The remainder of Chapter 1 presents the reader with a literature review and the method used to conduct this research. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework used in this research in four main steps. First (2.1), it will establish the definition of cultural identity used throughout the rest of this thesis. Second (2.2), to understand how cultural identities may clash, it provides an overview on anxiety / uncertainty management theory (AUM). Third (2.3), to gain a deeper understanding on how cultural identities may successfully come together, it develops the theory on trust, explaining the three modes of trust used in the research: *Calculation-based trust* (CBT), *Knowledge-based trust* (KBT), and *Identification-based trust* (IBT). Fourth and finally (2.4), to gain an overarching understanding of friendships and how they might form, Identity Management Theory is used to explain how friendship develops as the result of three distinct cyclical phases: *Trial, Enmeshment,* and *Renegotiation* (Relational Identity). Following this theoretical background, Chapter 3 integrates these distinct theories and presents the analytical framework used in the analysis in three main steps: First, this section provides the reader with a model to illustrate how and when trust develops by further expanding on Trust Theory. Second, by linking Identity Management Theory to the three modes of trust, a hypothesis will be provided detailing how the two theories may work together. Third and finally, the use of AUM theory to structure the analysis of how cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers will be explained. Chapter 4 performs the analysis according to the framework presented in Chapter 3 and is structured in line with the three sub-questions. Next, Chapter 5 provides the reader with a discussion of the findings of the thesis and how they relate back to the integration problem, suggesting how this research could be developed further. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the most urgent observations emerging from this work and suggests how to interpret the results in light of the current integration debate in Denmark.

1.3 Method and Limitations

This section first defines the limits of this research (Dimension, Groups, and Levels). Second it presents this research method, explaining data collection, participant groups and limitations.

Dimension: this research is confined to examine social integration, defined as the extent to which immigrants interact socially with Danish born citizens (Tubergen 2006, 7).

Groups: concerned with the influence of cultural identities on friendship formation between host nationals and refugees, this research defines groups according to culture. Being unable to gather enough data from a narrowly defined group of refugees, the two groups under scrutiny will be Danes and Arabs. The group of Danes comprises only individuals born and raised in Denmark, while the group of Arabs comprises individuals born and raised in numerous Arab countries (Palestine, Syria, and Morroco). When dealing with friendship dyads, I will refer to them as BOdk (intracultural Danish friendships), BOarab (Intracultural Arab friendships) and BR (intercultural friendships between Danes and Arabs). The terms are borrowed from Richard

Putnam's social capital theory, though in this thesis they carry no theoretical implications i.e. they are merely adopted as descriptive terms.

Levels: This research is carried out on three levels. The macro and meso levels (SQ1 and SQ2) comprise structures, norms and meaning systems, while the micro level (SQ3) is confined to personal experiences, feelings, and expectations.

1.4 Empirical Data

This thesis is based on qualitative data only, including two surveys and nine semi-structured interviews.

Survey: The first survey sought to gather information about the macro and median level. It consisted of five parts, each with its own "headline". First, respondents were asked questions about the importance of personal characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, language, religion, political views, and humour). Second, they were asked to evaluate behaviour (family visits, communication, help, showing care, giving advice, disclosure, and frequency). Third, they were asked to define how often they would engage in a list of activities with their friends (unannounced visits, visiting family, sharing a meal, networking, watching movies, going for a beer or two, going for walks, shopping, going to cafes, staying at home, working out). Fourth, they were asked to define a friend in their own words. And finally they were asked to pass on advice on how to gain friends to the opposite culture group. The survey was completed by nineteen Danes and ten Arabs, ranging in age from 20 to 34.

A pattern emerged during the first few interviews, therefore a second survey followed up with the same individuals sought to gather information on the importance of some core values, and information regarding their willingness to discuss certain sensitive themes. The first part of the survey examined the importance of core values by asking participants whether or not they would be friends with people: "of another ethnicity", "who declares him/herself a racist", "who dates before marriage", "who is a homosexual", "who does not accept homosexuals". Second, participants were asked if it was important that their friends "respect your religion", "respect your choices", "share the same values". Third, they were asked to list the topics they most often discuss with their friends. And finally, they were asked to consider whether or not they would feel comfortable broaching certain topics (dating, sex, alcohol, religion, and politics) with people of the opposite cultural group. This survey was only completed by nine Danes and six Arabs, ranging in age from 22 to 31.

Interviews: I conducted semi-structured interviews with nine respondents, including five Danes (two males and three females) and four Arabs (two males and two females) ranging in age from 20 to 28. The interviews were conducted in English, either face-to-face or by skype. Each participant was briefed about the content of the interview beforehand, though not introduced to the aim of the research. Each interview started with the same question: "how would you define a friend apart from a mere acquaintance?". Respondents were chosen based on their cultural

identity, language, age and gender. Among the group of Danish respondents were: one male, and one female, without any close contact to refugees or Arabs in general; one female who had previously engaged with Arabs while travelling in the Middle East; one male without close contact with Arabs, though having previous cross-cultural experiences from a five month stay in Kenya; and one female living in Amman, Jordan, with an extended network of Arabs. Among the group of Arab respondents were: one male with asylum status in Denmark and without any close connection with Danes; one male refugee in Denmark with close Danish friends; one female who is a descendant of refugees; and one female who has Danish friends, though she still resides in her country of origin.

1.5. Conceptual Clarification

Ingroup refers to members of "my" cultural-specific collective group (e.g. the group of Danes)
Outgroup refers to individuals who are not members of "my" cultural-specific collective group (e.g. the group of non-Danes)
Immigrant refers to all individuals living outside their country of origin
Refugee refers to all individuals with refugee status in a host country
Asylum seeker refers to all individuals who have still not obtained refugee status in host countries

1.6 Disclaimers

I acknowledge a number of potential threats to the representative validity of the collected data: First, the group of Arabs comprise culturally diverse members, and the label in itself reveals little about its scope. If this study were to be repeated, this group should contain only respondents from the same country of origin, e.g. all Syrians, all Palestinians, etc. Second, since all participants are all members of my extended social network, all Arab respondents are in contact with at least one Danish peer. To examine (SQ3) expectations in the first phase of integration, however, it is necessary to include Arabs who are not involved in BR friendships. Third, as Arabs represent a harshly criticised minority, respondents were often hesitant when conversation turned to discuss the meeting with Danes and Danish culture. Fourth, as respondents were familiar with me, answers may reflect normative hegemonic ideas regarding friendships. Fifth, while questions had been translated into Arabic, most Arabs chose to respond in English, though poorly formulated. As such, I have had to decode meanings according to my best belief. Similarly, some questions were hard to convey to Arab interviewees, as they did not fully understand specific words. Sixth, as this research was conducted under strict time limitations, the theory had not been developed properly prior to data collection. Consequently, data was sometimes scarce. And seventh, related to the previous issue, this study did not suffice to gather adequate amounts of data, and conclusions should therefore be considered speculative.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Integration Theory

Integration has become a buzzword, though it is rarely defined explicitly as a concept. To quote Wilkinson (2013, 4-5), "there are as many unique definitions of integration as there are research papers". To ensure a stringent line of argumentation therefore, it is necessary first to develop a common understanding. This chapter thus presents the reader with a brief review of the historical development within immigration and integration theory, in order to develop the use of the concept in this thesis.

Research within the field of integration has predominantly been developed by American scholars (in particular the Chicago School) up until the 1980s, when immigration studies first caught on in Europe. The displacement of interest is often explained with reference to national narratives. Immigration has always been placed at the centre stage of the American national narrative (i.e. the American Dream), while Europe is still denying the mere existence of diversity within European nation states (Simonsen 2017). While Americans generally consider immigration to be an inherent part of their history, Europeans still conceive of immigration as an infringement on the natural state.

This influences theoretical development. Because different ethnic groups have always immigrated to the US, research has seen the development of integration theory as a natural extension of already existing social theories. Research was first dominated by Robert Park's race-relation theory (1928) followed by Gordon's assimilation theory (1964). Both theories contributed, in their own way, to an understanding of borders between ethnic social groups, and how those borders are effaced before complete fusion. Park defined assimilation as a process of "interpretation and fusion" where individuals/groups come to acquire the memory and sentiments of other individuals/groups, and thus are incorporated into a common cultural life by virtue of sharing experiences (Park and Burges in Tubergen 2006, 8). According to Park, National differences dissolve as a result of intersubjective relations, whereby newcomers naturally come to adopt the sentiments of host nationals. While recognizing the significance of individual motivation, Park postulated assimilation as a progressive and irreversible process whereby non-American identities transfused and became Americans through-and-through. This theory was then expanded by Gordon (1964) who was the first to codify the entire process, while identifying seven distinct dimensions (i.e., cultural, social-structural, marital, identificational, attitudinal, behavior receptional, and civic) within which integration had to be realised (Lindo 2005, 8; Tubergen 2006, 9).

While assimilation theory fit the American narrative, Glazer and Moynihan (1963; 1970) produced a crushing counterexample, observing that immigrants in the US, while having adopted many of the traits of Americans, still stood out from the old American "stock" (Lindo 2005, 9). This observation effected a change in paradigm.

Based on Glazer's and Moynihan's observation, recent theorists have challenged the very idea of full assimilation. They note that integration is affected by different characteristics pertaining to different levels of the social world, an insight known as "segmented assimilation". By expanding the theory to look at micro, median and macro effects, theorists have come to analyse integration as a complex of dimensions and causes.

Barth (1994) distinguishes between identity formation and interpersonal interaction (micro causes); processes that generate communal collectives e.g. leadership, stereotyping, structural contexts, and constraints (median causes); and finally, state policies and global discourses (macro causes) (Lindo 2005, 12). Alba and Nee (2003), on the other hand, suggest two categories of mechanisms that influence the process of assimilation: proximate (micro/median causes) and distal (macro causes). As proximate causes, they point to the limited and context-bound rationality of the individual (purpose action), social networks and differentially distributed forms of social capital (Lindo, 12). As distal causes, on the other hand, Alba and Lee place institutional mechanisms, such as social norms, values and ideals, and jurisdiction (Lindo 2005, 12).

Adding to this analysis, Tubergen (2006) argues that a full analysis of integration necessitates looking systematically at three contextual characteristics: *origin effects* (micro causes), *community effects* (median causes) and *destination effects* (macro causes) - each along two distinct dimensions. Starting from Gordon's theory on multidimensional integration, Tubergen argues that we need to examine the three contextual characteristics with respect to both economic integration and socio-cultural integration (i.e. inter-ethnic contacts, language proficiency and mutual stereotypical attitudes) (Gijsberts & Dagevos 2007).

In Europe, on the other hand, research first developed within the academic field of ethnography and political economy, where immigration is analysed as part of the free market. European research was thus highly influenced by the political notion of "guest-workers" as a temporal abnormality. In fact, research remained limited until 1980s and 1990s when the number of immigrants increased significantly (Simonsen 2017).

When observing European immigration research it is most clearly influenced by political interests. For example, labour market integration is by far the area of immigration studies most often dealt with (e.g. Ager and Strang 2008). However, research has examined the relational link between various dimensions of integration. Despite having tried to produce all-encompassing models to deal with integration (e.g. Ager and Strang 2008), the most common approach in Europe is to limit the scope of integration to a specific dimension, looking at clearly defined causes (levels)(see e.g. Larsen 2008, Nannestad et al. 2008). Adopting this approach, this thesis deals specifically with the often under-represented social-integration/socio-cultural dimension of

integration. In the following, therefore, the reader will be presented with a review of Danish scholarly literature dealing with this dimension specifically.

1.3.2 Socio-Cultural Integration

In Danish research on social and socio-cultural integration, I have observed two tendencies. First the question of socio-cultural integration is targeted and answered by using social networks as resources. Using social-capital theory, ingroup networks are assumed to hinder social integration, while outgroup networks are assumed to help social integration. This field of research is generally interested in the correlation between ingroup and outgroup networks, trying to deduce whether ingroup networks hinder or enhance outgroup connections.

Nannestad et. al. (2008) studied the relationship between bonding social capital (ingroup networks) and bridging social capital (outgroup networks), by comparing the level of trust expressed by refugees with respect to their own ingroup and the wider Danish society. While the study was unable to prove a positive relationship between ingroup and outgroup networks, it did conclude that "there are no signs that bonding social capital [...] crowds out bridging social capital – or vice versa" (Nannestad et. al. 2008, 623). Romme Larsen (2011) however, established a much stronger claim. In her study, she concluded that ingroup networks play the role of a mediator between two cultures, where refugees are enabled to integrate much more effectively. Interestingly though, Romme Larsen's study also revealed that ingroup networks are not reduced to cultural kin. In some cases, Danes may play the role of an ingroup member by assuming a much closer connection than hitherto assumed.

A second strand of Danish research focuses on identification and its link to political ideology and discourse. Jensen et. al. studied how political ideologies and specific jurisdiction affect successful integration understood as naturalisation (de jura identification). While Jensen does not focus explicitly on social-cultural integration, he does establish an effect on social integration effort, by observing the effect of jurisdiction on practical behaviour (e.g. obligatory Danish courses). Kristina Bakkær Simonsen (2017) on the other hand, examines the degree to which immigrants themselves feel "Danish". In her study, Simonsen observes how political and public discourse prove to have an influence on the experienced identification of young individuals. In particular, in their interaction with other Danes (Simonsen 2017a). While not focusing on those social ties in and of themselves, Simonsen clearly establishes a link between intercultural communication and public discourse.

1.1.3 Intercultural Friendship Theory

Though arguably important in an increasingly multicultural world, research on intercultural friendships is still scarce and fragmented. Yet there seems to be consensus on a few basic claims: First, both intracultural friendships and intercultural friendships are characterized by the development of a shared meaning system. Without a shared frame of reference, communication is

ineffective and behaviour unpredictable. To establish trust, therefore, individuals need to negotiate a set of rules and norms on how to behave and interpret each other's messages. Second, it is easier to develop shared meaning systems when individuals are similar in some important way (e.g. when agents A and B are both females in their 20s from Denmark) than when they are unlike each other in some important way (e.g. agent A is Danish, while agent B is Arabic). When individuals are unlike each other, they are separated by a social distance. Contrary to intracultural friendships, therefore, intercultural friendship face the challenge of negotiating across social distances that are wider than between cultural kins.

Within scholarly literature, research has focused on different aspects of "bridging the gap" between cultures. Gudykunst (1985) examined differences between cultural groups by using culture as one variable among many to predict behavioural differences such as self-disclosure. Collier (1996) meanwhile examined the link between ethnic background and cultural competences, and found that different competences are valued differently, which in turn inform our understanding of friendship. And based on Collier's findings, Collier and Bornman (1999) conducted a comparative study, examining core values, norms and symbols of friendship in five ethnic groups in South Africa.

While these three studies have focused on cultural differences in our conception of friendship, others have focused on development. Gareis (2012) and Sias et. al (2008) have both examined how relational development is influenced by contextual and personal factors: cultural similarity, intercultural communication competence, and personality and identity. Meanwhile, Pei-Wen Lee (2006) studied the development and maintenance of intercultural friendships (or rational identities), leading him to suggest seven core strategies for creating and maintaining friendship: positivity, providing assistance; rituals, activities, rules and roles; self-disclosure; networking; exploring cultures and language; emphasizing similarities and exploring differences; conflict management.

Common to all studies that I have observed is their lack of attention to the situation of refugees. Therefore, a few preliminary considerations needs to be made explicit. First, this thesis posits a *prima facie* similarity in friendship formation across the board. There is nothing to suggest that the process, in and of itself, differs significantly with regards to intracultural and intercultural friendships. I do not refute, however, that cultural differences present friendship formation with a qualitatively different challenge, based on the lack of common meaning systems. Second, in examining intercultural friendships, scholars have almost exclusively studied friendship formation between students. The social structure that surrounds students, however, is undeniably different from the one surrounding refugees. While exchange students do not share cultural commonalities with their classmates, they do however, by default, share an academic interest with them. Contrary to refugees, then, they are enabled to bridge the cultural gap by virtue of their academic

situation, whereas refugees are left to their own devices. And finally, exchange students have come to live in a country of their choice; a privilege only few refugees enjoy.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Cultural Identity

According to Ting-Toomey, all individuals are socialized within a larger cultural membership group. As such, everyone born in Denmark has some sense of being "Danish", while everyone born in Syria, has some sense of being "Syrian". We acquire our cultural group membership through the guidance of our primary caretakers, peer associations, the media, public discourse etc. In addition, our cultural group membership is affected by our physical appearance (e.g. skin colour, other perception, language usage, and self-appraisal) as our group membership is conditioned by others acceptance. As an example, an individual born in Denmark with darker skin-color will presumably have to explain her belonging to the group of Danes, much more often than one who is born with white skin (Ting-Toomey 2015, 214). As such, cultural identity is defined in the literature as "identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has shared systems of symbols and meaning as well as norms/rules of conduct" (Cupach & Imahori 2005, 196). Assuming this definition though, does not allow us to clearly distinguish between cultural identity and other identities. In some cases, research even suggests to treat cultural identity as a broader category containing both national identity, gender identity, ethnicity etc. (e.g. Collier and Thomas 1988; Bornman and Collier 1999). In this thesis, however, cultural identity is more specifically defined. While assuming the above, cultural identity will be used to define a "way of being in the world", inspired by Simone deBeauvoir's feminist theory.

With her most infamous statement, "one is not born, but, rather, *becomes* a woman" de Beauvoir (1949) argues that gender is in no way a stable identity, but rather an identity "instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts"* (Butler 1988, 519)*.* With this formulation, deBeauvoir separates the conception of gender from a substantial model of identity i.e. to be female is a facticity without social meaning, while to be *woman i*s to compel the body of females to conform to an historical idea of what a woman *is* i.e. "to induce the body to become a cultural sign" or to "materialize oneself in obedience to an historically delimited possibility" (Butler 1988, 522). In the same way, this thesis argues that being a Danish citizen is without social meaning, while being **Danish** is to materialize oneself in obedience with historically delimited possibilities, most clearly defined by social praxis. Being born in Denmark or having Danish citizenship, does not entail specific patterns of behaviour or individual acts. There is neither an *essence* that being *Danish* expresses nor an universal ideal which "being Danish" pursues. On the contrary, it is a historical construct emerging from a dialectic between the internal and the external, so as to foster and maintain a sense of national cohesion through identification (Anderson 1991; Simonsen 2017a).

Like gender identities, cultural identities are persistent in nature and worked into the very fabric of socialization processes. From the day we are born, we are socialized into specific meaning systems, structures and norms and we are taught to evaluate social relationships according to those values. In other words, our cultural identity influences our expectations for and interpretations of social interactions, as well as motivating our social behaviour (Cupach & Imahori 2005, 197-8). Though not static by nature, cultural identity will thus be used to designate: what influences our frame of reference (SQ1), our ability to interact according to specific structures and norms (SQ2) and our self-conception and other-perception (SQ3).

2.2 Friendship and Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory

Friendship arguably takes on different structures and characteristics, depending on its historical and cultural context. In scholarly literature (particularly western philosophy) however, friendship is sought and defined according to universal traits (See Helm 2017 for review). Most prominently, friendship is said to endow individuals with a mirror, through which they come to understand and negotiate their own sense of self. That is, while friends may often come to look alike, friends do not have similarities antecedent to their friendship as a necessary condition. Rather, friends are said to shape and influence each other's outlook, behaviour, and value system, so that the sharing of certain characteristics (e.g. values) is the result of the dialectic of friendship (Helm 2017).

While friendship may not have similarities as a necessary condition, research on relationship formation has determined that homophily (i.e. being attracted to others that are similar) influences our capacity to build and maintain friendships. In particular, Gudykunst argues, individuals experience increased levels of anxiety when they encounter unfamiliar strangers. Dealing with the formation and maintenance of friendship, Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM) thus suggests that friendship is the result of overcoming this uncertainty and anxiety.

According to Gudykunst (2005), the processes of communication between strangers are similar across and between cultural groups. Regardless of cultural identities, strangers are characterised as individuals we do not know, containing both an element of being far and near at the same time. They are physically near to us, though far from our own frame of reference (we cannot predict their behaviour). As such, communication with strangers is always accompanied by uncertainty and anxiety (Gudykunst 2005, 285).

Uncertainty in this context is a cognitive phenomenon, which affects the way we come to think about strangers. It involves our inability to predict the behaviour of strangers, their attitudes, values, beliefs, and feelings (Gudykunst 2005, 286). While uncertainty is felt towards all strangers, we tend to feel more uncertainty when we communicate with strangers who are members of an outgroup (e.g. members of different cultural groups) than when we communicate with strangers who are members of our ingroup (e.g. member of our cultural group). Furthermore, Gudykunst argues that all cultures have different thresholds for dealing with uncertainty and that

communication is only effective if the level of uncertainty falls within our cultural threshold. Individuals need to feel sufficiently confident that they can interpret messages, while not becoming overconfident, as this makes them incapable of recognizing misinterpretations (Gudykunst 2005, 287).

Anxiety is the emotional side to uncertainty. Like uncertainty, anxiety is present in all communication, reflecting our anticipation of what may, or may not, happen. "The less we expect to receive the reaction from others that we want, the greater our anxiety" (Gudykunst 2005, 287). While anxiety is present in all communication, it is potentially paralyzing in communication with strangers from outgroups, because individuals fear being perceived as either prejudiced or as incompetent communicators (Gudykunst 2005, 287). If anxiety exceeds our threshold, we avoid communication all together. Anxiety is felt as we fear four negative outcomes: first, we fear negative consequences with regard to our self-concept, second, we fear negative behavioural consequences, third, we fear negative evaluation by strangers, and fourth, we fear negative evaluation by ingroup members (Gudykunst 2005, 288). Corresponding to these four fears, individuals are only motivated to communicate, he argues, when four basic needs are met: first, our need for predictability, second, our need for inclusion, third, our need to avoid or diffuse anxiety, and fourth, our need to sustain our self-conception.

When we encounter strangers, we first compare them to a set of social categories, which in turn, activates our stereotypes (beliefs). Following this, we experience strangers' behaviour as predictable if they conform to our stereotypes. If, however, they do not conform to our stereotypes, we experience increasing uncertainty and anxiety. When the behaviour of strangers conforms to our ideas, it furthermore helps us feel included and confirmed in our own self-conception; priming our motivation to communicate. According to Gudykunst, managing anxiety over time is closely associated with the development of trust (Gudykunst 2005, 295). If, therefore, we perceive that we share superordinate common ingroup characteristics, our anxiety level will drop automatically to a level similar to when we communicate with unknown ingroup members (Gudykunst 2005, 299). As such, Gudykunst argues, attraction motivates communication and the development of social ties (Gudykunst 2005, 301). If, however, strangers diverge from ingroups, their behaviour will appear as unpredictable to us - motivating avoidance rather than communication. While individuals manage anxiety differently, Gudykunst argues that for all individuals and groups, managing anxiety over time, is closely associated with the development of trust (Gudykunst 2005, 288).

2.3 Trust - the Glue of Social Life

'Trust' in this thesis, refers to the attitude that we have towards people whom we hope will be trustworthy (belief), whereas trustworthiness refers to a personal property (facticity). Trust and trustworthiness are therefore used as distinct terms, although, ideally, the person we trust will also be trustworthy.

Trust inherently involves risk management. A is said to trust that B will do Z, in situations where B might choose differently. If B's actions were predetermined, there would be no need for trust. Therefore, trust is considered as a reaction to a problem of risk, where A has to decide on the likelihood of B's future actions. As B's actions are not predetermined however, trust is necessarily founded on insufficient knowledge, whereby A's decision to trust B always rests on mere beliefs. Following this understanding of trust, social sciences have characterised trust according to three contextual causes, resembling what we might call intimacy levels: *calculus-based trust, knowledge-based* trust and *identification-based trust* (Kramer & Tyler 1996; Bunker & Roy 1994; Shapiro et. al. 1992).

Calculus-based trust is based on consistency of behaviour i.e. B will do as B says she will do (Bunker & Roy 1994; Shapiro et. al. 1992). Behavioural consistency is maintained by the threat of punishment if consistency is not maintained. As such calculus-based trust is maintained only in so far as punishment is clear, possible and likely to occur if trust if violated. Similar to market-oriented economic calculations, calculus-based trust applies a cost-benefit analysis of the short-term gains from untrustworthy acts against the long-term benefits of a trustworthy reputation. In the literature, calculus-based trust is said to continue if three conditions are met. 1) If A and B have repeated interactions in which each single transaction has contained some element of benefit. As trust increases, A and B's interdependence becomes multifaceted, meaning that they gain "ways of hurting each other" if trust is broken i.e. the relationship is maintained out of fear of the repercussions. 2) If an increasing number of interdependencies between A and B (shared interests, values, legal binding) effects decreasing interdependencies outside the relationship, whereby trust erosion can influence one's ability to have needs met externally. 3) If either party relies on her reputation as being trustworthy (Bunker & Roy 1994, 148).

While calculus-based trust depends on the consistency of behaviour, knowledge-based trust rests on the *predictability* of behaviour. Knowledge-based trust occurs only when A has sufficient information about B to understand and accurately predict B's behaviour. At this point, A has come to understand the actions, thoughts, and intentions of B well enough to know what she will do e.g. A trusts B to arrive on time, because B is punctual (Bunker & Roy 1994 Shapiro et. al. 1992). According to Bunker & Roy, there are several dimensions to this kind of trust. First, information contributes to predictability. Second, predictability enhances trust, even when A predicts B's consistent violation of agreements. Third, accurate prediction require continuous interaction in multidimensional relationships i.e. A "interviews" and observes B in situations unrelated to A. While never being able to transcend the realm of stereotyping, empathy, and gut feeling, information serves as means to maintain more reliable relations (Kramer & Tyler 1996).

At the third level, Identification-based trust is based on A's full internalization of B's desire and intentions (Bunker & Roy 1994). At this level, both parties effectively understands and appreciates what the other want and can act on behalf of the other e.g. A defends B against criticism. As A identifies with the interests of B, A can be confident that B will act in accordance with her desires without monitoring her behaviour (Bunker & Roy 1994; Kramer & Tyler 1996). A corollary to this acting "for each other" is what has been described as second-order learning. As A comes to know what really matters to B, A simultaneously comes to place the same importance on those values. That is, identification-based trust transcends mere knowledge of who I am and that I find certain things valuable, in that my friend comes to understand "the value of these things that are so meaningful to me" (White's notion in Helm 2017). Among the types of activities that serve to build and maintain identification-based trust is first, commonalty in name - when married partners takes on each other's last name. Second, collocation - constantly bringing parties into contact with each other whereby they are enabled to affirm their shared identity. Third, shared values - a set of collectively developed and negotiated values, interests, and beliefs (Bunker & Roy 1994).

While each stage/cause is characterised by its own set of rules, they converge with regards to the significance of familiarity.

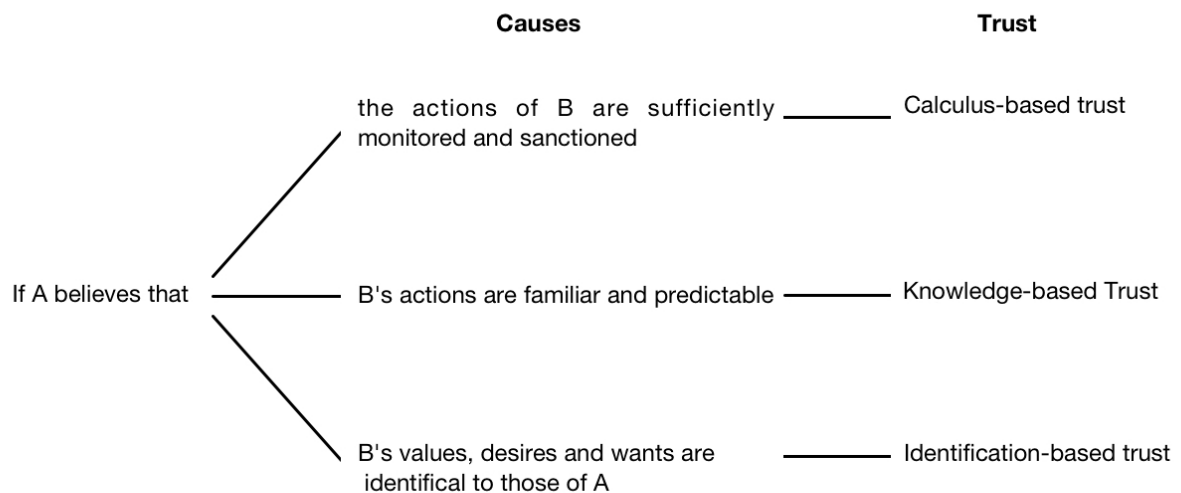|	Causes	Trust
	the actions of B are sufficiently monitored and sanctioned	Calculus-based trust
If A believes that	B's actions are familiar and predictable	Knowledge-based Trust
	B's values, desires and wants are identical to those of A	Identification-based trust

Figure 1: How to determine A's trust in B

2.4 Identity Management Theory - the Development of Friendship

Similar to the dimensions of trust, friendship development also depends on our ability to form shared meaning systems and negotiate identities. According to Imahori & Cupach (2005) people manage their identities differently at different junctures of their social relationship. Whether we talk about cultural identities or gender identities, friendship is said to develop through three cyclical phases: *trial, enmeshment,* and *renegotiation*. In the early stages (i.e. the trial phase) of friendships, differences are often seen as barriers to communication e.g. because of language differences, communication styles, and/or cultural norms. Being unable to decipher the others communicative messages adequately, individuals may decide that costs are too great for them to maintain the relationships - or that they need to focus on commonalities. If the latter is the case, a phase of trial-and-error begins, whereby each party tries to gain access to the other by virtue of stereotypes. The second phase, enmeshment, is characterized by increased co-actions around commonalities, which then results in a convergence of symbols, rules, and further enmeshment (Imahori & Cupach, 2005). According to Baxter (1987), individuals at this point develop five types of symbolic systems that they share: verbal and non verbal actions (e.g. nicknames), prior events, physical objects (e.g. music records), special places (e.g. a coffee shop), and cultural artefacts (e.g. pictures, movies, music) that have special meaning for both parties. The increased convergence of symbols, and the development of behavioural rules leads to the development of a shared relational identity. However, it is not before the third stage that this identity is fully developed. Contrary to enmeshment, the final stage of renegotiation is characterised by a salient relational identity. Cultural differences are, at this point, interpreted as an asset, rather than a barrier (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, 205)

3. Analytical Framework

Based on the previous chapter, this chapter develops on the analytical framework used in this research. First, it expands upon trust theory, in order to develop a model that visualizes the three modes of trust. Second, it discusses how Trust theory can be used in relation to Identity Management Theory (IMT), suggesting a table of three different forms of friendships. And third, it explains the use of AUM in analysing SQ3: *How do cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers?*

Beginning with calculus-based trust (CBT) and knowledge-based trust (KBT), it became evident that CBT is essentially an effort to curtail individual difference by way of control, whereas the sufficiency of knowledge in KBT allows for such differences to persist. As a developmental process, Bunker & Roy (1994) describes the growth of CBT as a tactical climbing, whereby A and B attempt to coordinate their actions as they move along, while trusting consistency, calculating costs, end exercising deterrence as necessary (Bunker & Roy 1994, 154). At this stage, trust is fragile and fragmented. He then goes on to describe the growth of KBT with reference to

agriculture. KBT, he argues, is like gardening "knowledge comes by experimenting with a series of different crops over the years and building on expectations" (Bunker & Roy 1994, 154). A and B gain their KBT in each other, by gathering data from observation, communication, and experience. At this level, trust is not necessarily broken as effect of inconsistent behaviour. If B is late for an appointment, A is able to forgive the inconsistency if A is able to come up with a plausible explanation for the inconsistency e.g. B must be stuck in traffic. In short, the greater the variety of shared experience, the greater the KBT. Identification-based Trust (IBT) meanwhile, requires a sharing of needs, choices and preferences. Identification allows us to feel, think, and respond like the other. Bunker & Roy 1994 thus describes the growth of IBT in terms of musical harmony. At this point, A and B know each other well enough that they begin to conceive of themselves as one collective identity.

From this comparison, Bunker & Roy develops a trust development model, which this thesis will appropriate. First, it should be noted that while trust evolves and change over time, not all trust develops into IBT. Second, while the development of trust progresses in stages, the stages overlap. Third, for any progress to happen, each stage needs sufficient time, energy, and personal motivation. Fourth, A's identification with the needs, preferences and desires of B, does not necessitate B's identification with A. Fifth, knowledge does not necessarily entail predictability.

Bunker & Roy suggests that all social networks begin with the development of CBT. If then, the behaviour of the other is consistent and conforms the validity of trust, A and B will begin to develop a knowledge base capable of transforming CBT to KBT. If however, the behaviour of the other is inconsistent, networks are unable to move past CBT. From KBT, trust may then develop into IBT if and only if, A begins to internalize B's needs, preferences and priorities, indicating a transformative leap (Burke 1995, 159)[2]. To illustrate how this thesis treats the development of trust within friendships, table 3 links the three trust modes to Identity Management theory.

Table 1: IMT and Trust

	CBT	KBT	IDT
Trial	"Strangers": either new encounters, or people with whom we have not yet been able to form trusting relations with	-	-

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[2] See appendix cc for visualization of Burke's model.

Table 1: IMT and Trust

	CBT	KBT	IDT
Enmeshment		Acquaintances or new friendship: If friendship is still in the enmeshment phase, shared meaning systems and values are still being negotiated. KBT indicates, that the dyad has been able to establish some trust, though primarily characterised by predictability.	
Renegotiation (Relational Identity)		Friendship: At this stage, friendship has developed a seemingly stable relational identity. Individual differences are now subordinate to shared systems of meaning and value. KBT indicates that the dyad has been able to establish some trust, though primarily characterised by predictability.	Close friendship: At this stage, friendship has developed a seemingly stable relational identity. Individual differences are now subordinate to shared systems of meaning and value. Being characterised by IDT, close friends have internalized individual interests, desires and intentions, whereby A trust B qua identification.

According to this thesis presumed understanding of friendship, table 3 illustrates how friendship may develop according to IMT and trust theory. As noted in the table, friendship may take on different forms, resulting in different intimate levels. While some friendships are characterised by relational identities based on full identification, others may never develop past KBT. It should furthermore be noted, that while A might experience A and B's friendship as a close friendship, B may not share that experience.

While trust and IMT will be invoked to analyse friendship conceptions, structures, and norms (SQ1 and SQ2) AUM will be used to analyse how cultural identities react to out-group strangers (SQ3). As such, the four fears listed in section 2.2 will guide the analysis in section 4.3. As none of the respondents expressed fear of negative evaluation by ingroup members, this part will not be commented on.

4. Analysis

The following section includes the analysis, organised according to the three sub-questions: SQ1: *How is friendship characterised and structured within Arabic and Danish culture?* SQ2: *How does friendship develop within Arab and Danish culture?* SQ3: *How do cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers?* Each section will include the related research question. As discourses may be interpreted in a number of ways, I have included many quotations in the analysis, allowing the reader to appreciate the tone of voice.

4.1 Friendship Characteristics and Structures

SQ1: How is friendship characterised and structured within Arabic and Danish culture?

Cultural identity influences our conception of friendship together with friendship structures and norms. While some conduct might be perceived as acceptable within one social group, it can come across as incompetent in another. And while friendships may share numerous structural traits, cultural differences influence how those traits manifest e.g. the importance of self-disclosure (Gareis 2012, 310). Thus, when we examine friendships, we need to pay careful attention to discourse, rather than mere words. To achieve this, this section first observes the core symbols used in interviews and survey answers. Second, it examines friendship characteristics and friendship structures and norms within the two cultures, using both survey and interview data. And finally, it seeks to discern in more detail how participants use and understand various concepts and traits.

Core Symbols: When asked to write the words that best describe a 'friend' (see appendix) Danes unanimously wrote "trustworthy" and "reliable". The rules for friends emphasised by Danes, included being "non-judgemental", "open-minded" and "tolerant/easy". When asked to pass on advice to Arabs who sought to develop friendship with Danes, almost all respondents stressed the same need for patience, open-mindedness and nonjudgement. In particular, Danes were overly concerned on not making claims to each others time.

Arabs, on the other hand, described a 'friend' by using the words "fun" and "trustworthy" (see appendix) emphasized joking, "giving advice" and being "respectful" when defining friendship rules and norms. In particular, Arabs were concerned about the content of conversation. If actions or thoughts are regarded as unacceptable by the culture, it is not discussed within the dyad of the friendship. When asked to pass on advice to Danes seeking Arab friends, most Arabs stressed the importance of being "non-judgemental" and "respectful". In particular, men defined attention given to female family members, as being disrespectful.

Friendship Characteristics Being concerned with the similarities and differences in friendship within Danish and Arabic culture, this section deals with the characteristics of friends, e.g., habits/norms and structures. Table 1 summarises answers reported in both survey and interviews.

Table 1: Characteristics of friends and friendships		
	Danes	Arabs
Trust	x	x
Honest	x	x
Respect		x
Same gender		(x)
Same age		
Same ethnicity		
Common language	x	
Giving advice	x	x
Fun	x	x
Shared Religious views		
Shared Political views	x	
Shared values	x	
Similar occupation		
Loving	x	x
Helpful	x	x
Open-minded	x	
Curious		x
Non-judgemental	x	x
Available		x

- (x) While not expressed as a problem of choice, female respondents repeatedly express problems with having male friends.
- See appendix 1 and 2 for survey percentage

As shown in table 1, the characteristics of friendship in Danish and Arabic culture, are seemingly similar. In particular, both Arabs and Danes emphasized "honesty", "trust", and "being non-judgemental", though often expressing a different understanding of these terms and different

degrees of importance. When browsing through the data collected from Arab interviewees, trust, honesty and being non-judgemental seems to be subordinate to respect for cultural norms and religious beliefs. When asked to think about her closest friends, and disclosing secrets, a female respondent immediately stresses the need for respect, saying that, "if we are very close friends, maybe we talk about things that are harām (arabisk: حـرام)3. But otherwise, no. Because it is not accepted in the culture and we need to be respectful with our friends". While secret sharing undoubtable exists within BOarab friendships, it is subordinate to cultural codes and a normative evaluation. Similarly, when asked to talk about the element of being nonjudgemental, a male Arab respondent explains this by reference to respect and religion, "it is important that they are respecting my beliefs and ideas, because if they don't, it means that they don't respect me". While trust is used to define friendship in its essence, other elements seem to play a much bigger role. In particular, respect and culture, though also utility. When describing his relationship with his best friend, one male Arab respondent said, "he has his ideas about life and I have my ideas about life, so we don't talk much about it […] But we are still best friends, because, when anyone of us needs help, the other will be there". Being reliable, is here seen as an act of trust, understood as positive predictability.

 Contrary to Arabs, Danes repeatedly stress the importance of trust and disclosure as two mutually dependent variables that condition the degree of friendship. During interviews, Danes consistently demarcate between 'friends' and 'close friends' by reference to the content of disclosure.

> *"well, with my closest friends, content is rather personal. But it depends on how close we are. I have friends who I meet with, with whom I wouldn't tell…everything. Somethings are just too personal […] for me, the most personal is related to my family situation and other people".*

Similarly, Danes also repeat the fear of being judged by others, which is no longer present, when interacting with close friends,

> *"What happens is, that I often come to feel misunderstood, which is the worst. Its, ehm… to be patronized, or misunderstood. And that's when I would rather keep my emotions to myself… to avoid misunderstandings"*

Similarly, other respondents use phrases like, "maybe they will think certain things about me, that really isn't true", "In friendships, you don't have to perform". The prevalence of trust in BOdk

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3 In Arabic, harām means "forbidding" and is used to refer to everything that is forbidden or disregarded by religious and cultural norms.

friendships is further explained as a need for acknowledgement, where after members of the friendship, are able to relax more (see below: comparing from the inside)

Apart from the above, Danes mentioned the importance of sharing core values, political views, a common language, and being open-minded. Arabs on the other hand mentioned: hanging out frequently, being curious, and being respectful. Respectful is largely defined by respondents as being respectful to customs. One Arab respondent stresses, "okay, this is important. You do not go to someone's house, without bringing something. Even just a little visit. You *have to* bring chocolate, or fruit or something to drink".

Structure: Like our conception of friendship, friendship structures and norms are also influenced by our cultural identity. To discern the similarities and differences in structures and norms, participants were asked to describe what they would normally do with their friends, and what they normally expect from their friends. Table 2 list activities and expectations with regards to behaviour. The table is based on information extracted directly from the survey and information revealed in interviews.

Table 2: Important structures and norms guiding friendship

Activities and Expectations	Danes	Arabs
Going for a Beer	x	
Going for a walk	x	x
Going to a cafe	x	x
Sharing/preparing a meal	x	x
Shopping		x
Watching a movie	x	x
Working out	x	x
Disclosing secrets	x	
Discussing other people and other friendships	x	x
Discussing romantic/sexual relationships	x	
Discussing family	x	x
Discussing work/education	x	x
Visiting family members		x
Checking in over the phone	x	x
Communication via Facebook		
Regular meetings		x

Table 2: Important structures and norms guiding friendship

Activities and Expectations	Danes	Arabs
Giving advice	x	x
Helping	x	x
Visiting friends unannounced		x
Joking/doing nothing	x	x

Both groups mention similar activities when they are asked to describe how they spend time with their friends. In particular, respondents from both groups repeatedly mention sitting at home, or at a cafe, discussing work/education, friends, and family matters or simply just "hanging out". Unlike Arabs, Danes often describe sitting at a bar, or at home, drinking alcohol and talking about romantic, or sexual, relationships. When asked about these specific activities, most Arabs answered that they would never drink alcohol, nor discuss such private matters with their Arab friends (Section 4.2). Similarly, Arabs often described visiting their friends without having made plans first, "just dropping in", while Danes often stressed time constraints and the importance of respect for each other's privacy. And finally, Arabs seem to engage in more playful activities than Danes, playing games like 'Truth or Dare' or making practical jokes.

Comparing From the Inside: Among the respondents were individuals who define themselves as Arabs (coming from an Arabic country) while living in Denmark, and one participant defining herself as Danish (being born in Denmark) though living in Jordan. When asked the above mentioned questions, these respondents automatically started comparing their different friendships i.e. their BO friendships and their BR friendships. When having just declared that she would often visit her friends without making plans first, one Arab female respondent quickly added that "I will never do this with my Danish friends. We have to call maybe one week ahead to make plans". Similarly, an Arab male respondent laughingly defined the biggest difference in his BO and BR friendships, by saying "my Arabic friends they have more time, so we spend more time together". Following this distinction, he furthermore added that Danes are much less social and much more content with discussing content heavy topics, while Arabs just like to have fun.

Another difference that is mentioned by individuals in BR friendships, is the norms guiding cross-gendered friendships. The Danish female involved in BR friendships explains how she quickly realised a difference in locations. While she would often invite her male friends into her house in Denmark, she would never do that in Jordan, because "it's not part of the culture". Instead, she would often go to cafes with her friends (both females and males) which in turn makes friendships more costly in terms of money and logistics. This is also mentioned by the

Arabs in BR friendships. One female explains how people in her neighbourhood (Brabrand) do not know that she has male friends, because she is afraid of the reputational consequences. She will therefore never bring male friends with her back to her apartment, though she does not mind visiting them at their home - if they are Danish. She also reveals how there is a difference in food intake and "waste time". When she is with her BO friends, she explains, "we will probably stay at home, making a lot of games together and eat chips and candy and pizzas, you know [laughs]". The game she is referring to here, is Truth or Dare, which is commonly mentioned by Arab female respondents as a way of disclosing secrets. When she is with her Danish friends, however, things are more "classy" in her words, "you eat like, vegan stuff [laughs] you know? Street food and all that".

The most revealing difference however, is the content of disclosure and nonjudgement. One Arab female explains how Arab women don't disclose on "shameful stuff" with each other, because "when you are Arabic and you tell to another Arabic girl that you [had sex], you will think that… the person you tell it to, she will tell it to everyone! So your reputation will be damaged […] but if she tells it to a Danish person, she knows that, that person will not, ehm, she is not going to tell anyone". This 'trust by default' in Danes and their ability to cope with topics that are deemed shameful in Arabic culture, is consistently mentioned by all Arab respondents in BR friendships - and some who are not. While fearing a damaged reputation, another woman explain that some behaviour is unacceptable in Arabic culture, wherefore she would fear losing her friend, if she disclosed of having done something harām, "All my Danish friends they know I go to parties and all of these things, but my Arabic friends, no!" As a consequence, she furthermore reveals that her Arabic friends have no idea that she once had a Danish boyfriend, though she told all of her Danish friends. Another Arab respondent explains that Danes are less judgemental, "I can say my opinion whatever it is. Maybe they do not agree, but they will accept that. They will not judge it". This expectation about Danes and their open-minded approach to intimate topics, is also experienced by the Danish respondent living in Jordan, for whom "it is evident that they (Arabs) need to respect some boundaries when they are together with other Arabs, whether it is friend or family members", though they act differently around her. While there might be structural differences inherent in the culture, she experienced an equal amount of joy among Arabs in talking about "silly stuff, that we aren't too sure if we should be saying out loud. Whether it's about handsome men, crushes, or something else". Revealing a significant difference in how BOarab and BOdk friendships, this will be analysed further in the following section (see: disclosure)

4.2 Friendship Development

SQ2: How does friendship develop within Arab and Danish culture?

While IMT infers that all friendships develop through three cyclical phases (trial, enmeshment and renegotiation) they furthermore argue that development is not necessarily linear nor proceeding at the same pace. To examine the development of friendship therefore, I asked interview participants

to describe how their friendships normally develop, and how they demarcate between 'acquaintance friendships, 'friendships', and 'close friendships'.

Affirming IMT, all respondents report on a trial phase, an enmeshment phase, and a renegotiation phase. Additionally, both Danes and Arabs explain how they have met most of their friends at work, at school/university, or through mutual friends. Some Arab respondents report, however, that some of their friends, they have just met randomly on the street, "I swear, I have a taxi driver as a friend just because I was in the taxi one day and we were talking so he gave me his number". As this definition reveals, each phase is experienced and tackled differently within the two cultures, together with the expectations guiding our sense of trust.

Anxiety Management (Trial): According to AUM, we deal with unfamiliar people as "strangers" by categorizing them according to various social categories (gender, age, culture) from where we come to expect certain behaviour. Among Arab respondents, the predominant category influencing the perception of ingroup strangers is gender identities. Cross-gender friendships are less common in Arabic cultures, compared to Danish culture, whereby expectations and strategies in an Arab context is much more likely to be influenced predominantly by gender norms. As one Arab female explains, *"if I have a new male friend, I cannot tell him, come to my house, because my family does not accept that. And if I walk with him in the street, there is a lot of people looking at us, and maybe, ehm… they will speak bad about us"*. When meeting strangers, therefore, this female respondent acts differently according to the gender of the other. If it is a female, she explains, "maybe I will invite her to my house" or meet with her in a cafe. If it's a male, however, she will have to be more careful about where they meet. As a result, her male friends are exclusively friends from work, because her workplace is perceived as a "safe space". These concerns are echoed by the other Arab female respondent, though she has spent most of her life in Europe. When interviewing Arab male respondents, however, they seem less concerned about the issue, suggesting some room for interpretation.

While there are some structural constraints in Arabic culture with regards to gender, Arab respondents generally convey much more trust in strangers, almost skipping the trial phase completely. One Arab respondent even refutes the very definition of an acquaintance, saying,

> *"okay, I like you so you are my friend or, I don't like you so you are not my friend. We don't have this in the middle. So if I see a Middle Eastern person and he is talking with me for an hour, and then he is asking to add me on facebook or asking to have my number, then I directly know, okay, he is my friend now. finish. Because if he decides to give me his facebook, then I know he likes me, so he is my friend, that's all"*

Similarly, another Arab male respondent defines his friend Mohammad (alias) as his best friend, though they have only known each other for little over a month. According to the respondent, time

plays no role in friendships; it's all about having fun together and sharing an understanding of each other's life situation. Being a asylum seeker in Denmark (as my respondent) Mohammed offers a mirror, wherein the respondent can reflect on his own situation and seek advice on how to deal with future and past events. Without knowing much else about Mohammad, the respondent insist that he has no reason not to trust his new friend. The two Arab female respondents also seem to define individuals either as friends, or someone they don't like.

Danes, however, are much more careful in this first phase, consistently referring to individuals within this phase as either "strangers", "acquaintance", "co-worker" or "fellow student"[4]. The difference between Danish and Arab conceptions of friendship and friendship development, is confirmed by Arab respondents involved in BR friendships. Most revealing, a male respondent explained how he had struggled to deduce the social codes related to friendships in Denmark, when he first arrived. In particular, he said, Danes are much more hesitant,

"…in the beginning I didn't understand when is this level, or, are we friends or are we not friends. […] like with Hanne [alias], even though we were meeting up many times, I didn't know if we are friends or if it is because I am a refugee. But even if I was not a refugee, I will still have this kind of problem. Because we act so different when we have someone in front of us and want to be friend. For example in the middle east, he will be like "hey" and get to know you today and invite you to his house and suddenly he will be sharing with you everything. He will start directly to joke with you. Not like in Denmark, here it takes a long time to have all of this".

While Danes use the word 'friend' to describe a person, who they already trust (KBT) Arabs use the word to describe a person who they like, regardless of the level of trust. While Danes require "proof" that the other conforms to their expectations (in accordance with trust theory and AUM) Arabs only require that their expectations have not yet been breached. This leaves us with two different conceptions of when 'friendship' first occurs (see table 4).

Table 4: When friendship is held to occur

	CBT	KBT	IDT
Trial	BOarab	-	-
Enmeshment		BOarab and BOdk	
Relational Identity		BOarab and BOdk	BOarab and BOdk

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4 While asking all particpants about friendship development and how they demarcate between various levels of friendship, I did not manage to collect enough data on this topic. In particular, Danes were brief and keen to move further on in the conversation, and as this part of the thesis did no develop until later in the process, I was not persistent enough to make them explain this phase more thouroughly.

Apart from invoking the term 'friend' at different times, Danes and Arabs also have different strategies to gather information about their "new friend", in order to deal with anxiety and move beyond CBT.

Strategies: During interviews, I observed a significant difference in how cultural identities deal with uncertainty and anxiety. When asked to consider the temporal dimension to trust and friendship development, Arabs explicitly refused time considerations, while instead insisting on shared experiences, *"trust come from the things that you do, from the things that happen, not from time. That is why we need to do many things together in the beginning when we just become friends".* Danish respondents, however, spontaneously explained trust as a variable dependent on time, with one respondent explicitly using time to demarcate between stranger, acquaintances, and friends, "When I begin to define someone as a friend rather than an acquaintance, I guess, is related to the amount of time I have known them for". Another Danish respondent explains how time enabled "fair" and "just" communication, because members "are able to judge one, on more solid ground […] they have followed ones development".

First, this difference offers a plausible explanation on why Arabs value "hanging out frequently" much more than Danes. And second, it indicates that Arabs have a broader threshold for dealing with anxiety, allowing them to overcome uncertainty more easily; contrary to Danes, who are prone to gather abundant information before they are able to tame their anxiety. To support this further, members of the two groups resort to different strategies when they first encounter in-group strangers. When describing how they act around potential friends, Arabs consistently referred to some form of "networking", primarily including family members: "I always invite people over to meet my family [laughs] so all my friends know my mother". One respondent explained this further, by arguing that it is important to introduce new people to the family, because, "you will be part of the family if you are a good friend".

While networking is enforced as a natural element of friendship formation by Arab respondents, Danes refer to formal talks and content heavy discussions; drawing a distinction between 'acquaintance friendship' and 'friendship' based on an element of relief. A Danish respondent explains this by saying,

> *The difference between friends and acquaintance friends? "the degree of relief. Like, with really close friends, it becomes… its more natural to sit and do nothing, if you will […] while, with acquaintance friends, I prefer to talk about something with an actual content, or, if its someone I would like to get to know, or someone whom I just have a*

very neutral relationship with, it becomes, ehm... ya, exhausting, or whatever the word is, to keep conversation going"

Similarly, two other Danish respondents explain how conversation is content heavy and much more demanding, within acquaintance friendship compared to friendship,

"If it's someone I'm merely acquainted with, and I don't know if I can trust them yet, I won't talk about my relationship with my boyfriend, my family or my friends in general. Then it's more topics like, ehm, politics, or work [...] some things are too personal" (Christina)

"For instance, I would like to meet up with my close friends, over a cup of coffee and just talk about life. I really enjoy that. But I can do that with the people from study. It gets sort of weird. It's exhausting in a way, you know, that you have to drive conversational forward" (Mikkel)

When asked to compare his experiences within his BO friendships and his BR friendships, an Arab respondent echoes this difference, saying that,

"with a Danish friend, I always come out with something productive from that conversation and ya, in Middle east, sometimes... we people really, just think about having fun [laughs] it's just funny, you know, and that's all".

Based on this, we can now discern two different curves, illustrating how friendship first seems to develop within Arab and Danish culture.

Trust Development in BOarab Friendships
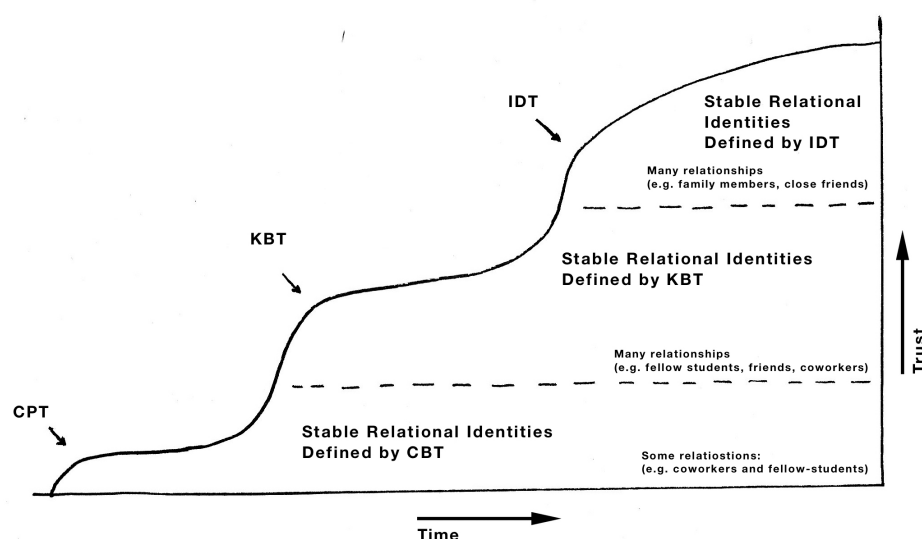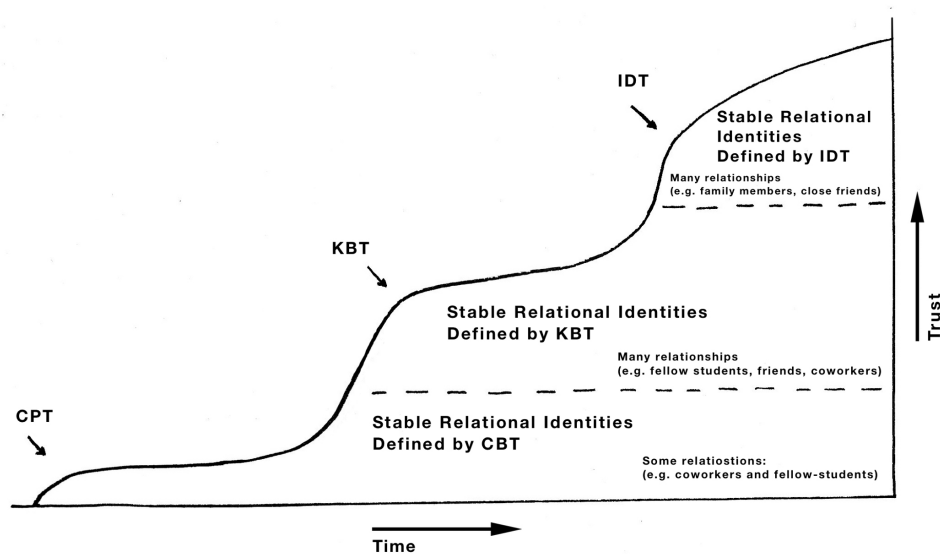
Trust development in BOdk Friendships

Stable Relational Identities and Disclosure: As noted in section 4.1, Arab respondents explained how the use, and content, of disclosure is different within Danish and Arabic culture. In particular, Danes were defined as "less judgemental" and "more trustworthy" with regards to topics that are perceived to be "shameful" or "harām". To analyse this, let's first recount previous observations. Section 2.3 established that IBT entails A's full internalization of B's interests, desire and intentions, allowing A to feel, think and respond like B. In addition, section 3 established that not all friendships (or other social ties) develop into IDT, and that A's identification with B's interests, desires and intentions does not entail B's identification with A's interests, desires and intentions. It is thus possible for two individuals to be friends for years, without ever reaching IDT, and it is possible that two friends define their intimacy level differently, with one experiencing IDT, while the other experiences KBT.

   If we return to section 4.1 and analyse it according to these premises, it is evident that female Arab respondents identify more fully with their BR friends (Danes), compared to their BOarab friends - at least, when it comes to "shameful" topics. However, when asked if they would feel free to talk about 'sex', 'romantic relationships' or 'alcohol' with Arab counterparts, Danes almost unanimously replied that they would not feel free to talk about sex and intimacy (appendix)[5]. It would seem, then, that similar to Arabs when confronted with other Arabs, Danes

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[5] The statement is based on survey data and interview data.

expect negative consequences from full disclosure within an Arabic cultural context. Yet, when they were later asked to define the topics they would most often talk about with their BOfriends, sex and romantic relationships was mentioned most often. Affirming the conclusion in section 4.1, we can thus infer that BOdk friendships are characterised by higher levels of trust, signified by full disclosure, compared to BOarab friendships. To support this observation further, Danish respondents defined 'true friendships' by reference to identification, ease, trust, and the act of full disclosure,

> *"we almost think alike. It makes it easy, you know, because it's easy to accommodate each other. He intuitively understands what I mean".*

> *"the difference in conversation is, that one requires energy, while the other offers energy, somehow […] You don't have to make an effort, if you will"*

> *"with my closest friends, it gets quite personal"*

> *""with my close friends, things get pretty personal, but it depends on how close we are […] if its someone I'm merely familiar with, I don't discus my romantic relationship or my family or my friends with them. And, obviously, I won't tell how much I've been around to someone who haven't been around as much as I have [laughs] before I know for sure, that ehm, before I can trust them and that they like me for me"*

> *"when you have know each other for as long as we have, well then, ehm, then they have seen some the things that you might otherwise be judged by and yet, they are still there, I mean, we kept being friends"*

While trust and disclosure is seen as an act of true friendship, it is also being used to signal to the other, that "I am genuinely interested to know how you are doing […] to try and understand the other as a human being".

    In conclusion then, BOarab friendships seem to develop much more consistently towards relational identities with KDT, while BOdk friendships developed towards IDT - at least so some degree. As data did not suffice to examine this further, however, we can only conclude speculatively, with regards to topics defined by Arabs as "harām".

4.3 Motivation and Out-group Strangers

SQ3: How do cultural identities affect our motivation and expectations regarding communication with outgroup strangers?

As established by Gudykunst and trust theory, our motivation for interacting with strangers is influenced by social categories, expectations, and our experienced level of anxiety. When we are confronted with individuals whose behaviour we cannot easily predict, our motivation for

interaction either terminates or diminishes significantly. As such, our motivation is highest when our four basic needs are met (see section 2.3). When interested in social integration, therefore, and the prospect for successful social integration, it is essential first to discern social categories that are invoked by different cultural identities when confronted with out-group strangers, and second, to observe how they influence motivation and behaviour. Due to lacking data, this section will be limited to an analysis of the social categories that are invoked by Danish respondents, and how that influences their immediate motivation for interacting with out-group strangers (Arabs).

Strangers: Though asked to consider their reactions and feelings towards out-group strangers (i.e Arabs) respondents automatically defined ingroup strangers and outgroup strangers as "the same". In fact, both Danes and Arabs are more prone to distinguish strangers based on gender identities and generational identities. When asked about his preconceived ideas regarding an out-group stranger characterised by being male, in his 20s and from Syria, one respondent replied,

> "Well, to begin with I always assume that young people still have some drive, so that you can joke with them, if that makes sense? I mean, I can make jokes you couldn't make if it was an older man. Ehm, and then, because he is male, I guess we have a shared interest in women [laughs] so, ya, stuff like that, you just know you have in common, regardless of culture".

This attitude towards individuals of the same gender and age, regardless of culture, is repeated by the remaining respondents, except one who almost summarises Gudykunst's theory in his response,

> "I want to be open-minded and curious with regards to people I meet, but I must admit that I probably don't live up to those standards. So when meeting strangers with other cultural backgrounds, it's probably going to be a hard constellation for me to deal with. Because I don't know the norms and codes to make this relation work. So, with regards to a Danish stranger, we at least, ehm, I know we share some norms some-how, that enables us to, ehm… have a successful communication, because we have. Going back ages, something in common; we are both Danish, we are both… we both live in Aarhus or something. So if it's all too unfamiliar, I think I will be… unable to act".

While culture is rarely mentioned as a way of demarcating strangers, religion is however mentioned when talking about Muslim females, with one respondent explaining that, "you know, with men, you can't see which religion they adhere to. But that's a visible symbol on women, because they wear one of those hijab or niqab or whatever. So it's evident".

Fear of Negative Consequences for Our Self-Conception: Our self-conception is our view of ourselves, either as individuals or as members of collective membership groups. Collective self-esteem is the degree to which we evaluate our collective membership groups positively. The self-esteem associated with our cultural identity (collective membership group) influences our communication with strangers. Similar to individual self-esteem, high ingroup-specific collective self-esteem (hence forward 'ingroup self-esteem') helps us manage anxiety and uncertainty, and it helps us obtain more objective knowledge about strangers (Gudykunst 2005, 294). Yet, when our ingroup self-esteem is low, or fragile, we tend to fear interaction with strangers more deeply. When assessing the motivation and capability of Danes to form friendships with Arabs therefore, it is crucial first, to examine the level of ingroup self-esteem. To do so, I asked participants how they would feel, if they were confronted with out-group strangers e.g. if they were invited to come visit an asylum centre. While most respondents initially found the offer interesting, they also revealed a fragile ingroup self-esteem:

> *"something I will probably also consider, especially if I visited an asylum centre or something, I would make sure to be accommodating, because I know that there is a general conception, or a narrative, saying that we, as a country, is not accommodating to refugees. So I think I will automatically be aware that I need to counteract that, in some way… It's not my fault as a person, but, but I think I would have to prove it wrong".*

In addition to a need of "proving them wrong", a female respondent revealed low ingroup self-esteem when asked how it would make her feel if she was invited to come and visit an asylum centre in Denmark:

> *"The question is, can I be the smiling happy female that meets a father, who have arrived in a country where his education is useless and where he is just left to rot in a centre? It's not shameful, but naive. Because we are raised in this country, where we don't need to deal with things like that"*

While the two previous examples illustrate rather explicitly, low self-esteem, another Danish respondent expressed a more moderate ingroup self-esteem, though still reflecting on its inbuilt fragility. In the example, he is describing a meeting with a fellow student from Turkey, who seemed to defend the president of Erdogan, on terms opposing European values,

> *"… and then you are suddenly confronted with a way of thinking, which runs opposite ours. That isn't as… or, at least or perception of our own thinking, as being both open and accommodating towards what's different. Where this […] when we have this crit-*

ical thinking regarding Erdogan, we aren't all that open and accommodating to other perspectives".

What this example reveals, is a self-conception dependent on the notion of 'open-mindedness', 'tolerance' and 'accommodating', interpreted as being synonymous with uncritical.

The Fear of Negative Behavioural Consequences: During interviews, respondents only rarely reported on a fear of negative behaviour, understood as aggression or violence. Only one respondent expressed such a fear, when talking about groups of young male strangers (regardless of their cultural identity or skin colour). Though not fearing aggression or violence, almost all Danish respondents expressed a fear of negative behaviour with regards to their own reaction. When asked how they would feel, if introduced to Arab refugees, all respondents immediately referred to "trauma", "a painful journey", "racism", "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder" and "rape" i.e. when confronted with refugees, Danes are predominantly informed by stereotypical images of ill-fated individuals. Though pushed to the extreme, this results in feelings of anxiety and incompetence, "they all arrive here with something that I can't cope with as a human being. And I'm afraid that they somehow carry with them something that I can't deal with"

The fear of negative evaluation by strangers: During interviews, I observed 'the fear of negative evaluation by strangers' expressed in three different ways: as a fear of exclusion, as a fear of coming of as racist, and as a fear of not being able to cope with people.

Fear of exclusion: Affirming Gudykunst's claim (section 2.2), participants report on a need for inclusion. This is most clearly expressed by participants when they explain their behaviour with respect to friends versus close friends. To avoid negative judgement, participants all modified their behaviour according to their expectations, with regards to the other. One participants explains this, quite precisely, when saying that he would always "have an idea about how the other person looks at someone like me". Talking about their first encounter with the Middle East, two female respondents describe how they tried to accommodate cultural norms, in order to be polite,

> *"When we were in Palestine, we were only to shake hands with people, if they offered their hand first […] and that can be really hard to navigate, because, for me, the polite thing to do, is to put out your paw and say hello"*

> *"Well, first, you need to discern which country you're in and I mean which culture, and surely you. Surely you set some boundaries for yourself. But the more you get to know it and get to know people, the more […] I really believe, that if you begin to talk about*

whatever you would normally talk with your friends about, they'll signal somehow, like, okay, that was maybe too much. Or they will join in"

In the latter example, the respondent clearly wants to establish sound relationships with the people around her. Affirming IMT, she thus describes how she uses a method of 'trial and error', to accommodate her own need for identification, with a cultural need for "decency". Similarly, other respondents refer to being polite, and showing "good manners"

Fear of coming of as a racist: When asked how they would react if they met a young, female refugee with Arab features, a Danish respondent said, "I think my biggest concern would be, ehm, how she is doing… because I know Denmark is marked by racism". Being overly aware of the political discourse in Denmark, Danish respondents consistently report on a genuine fear of being misinterpreted. To illustrate this, a Danish male respondent describes a situation, where he is at a meeting at a humanitarian organisation. During break time, he leaves the meeting room and sees a Syrian man standing alone. Being curious about which organisation he is from, he asks the man "where are you from?", "Syria" the man replies. Up until this point, the respondent has not yet realised that the man in front of him is a Syrian refugee. Being confronted with this fact, the respondent instantly felt "guilty" for having assumed that the man was not Danish, though that was in fact, not the case. A similar concern is expressed by another Danish respondent, who explains her uncertainties when meeting strangers belonging to Arab outgroups,

"I think it's really exciting to meet new people, and that goes for all new people pretty much. But I am aware how they (Arabs) feel, because… you know, this whole discussion in the media, about 'where are you from?'. Ya… That debate, where, you know, I would be curious to know that, to understand them, like, to know what their background is and what their traditions are, because I simply don't know them. but, those kind of things, you need to… you need to be careful when you articulate them, because they are easily misinterpreted as accusing them of not being Danish, you know".

The fear of misinterpretation also runs in the other direction, as a fear of misinterpreting their intentions and messages, "It might in fact be that I'm afraid to cause a misunderstanding, where they feel misunderstood".

5. Discussion
So far, I have built upon research founded in AUM, trust and IMT. However, there are some significant limitations to this current research, due to limited data, time constraints, constraints in the literature related to intercultural friendship, and a lack of structure from the outset. That does

not, however, hinder the analysis in shedding some important light on social integration and how research could progress from here. In the following, therefore, I will discuss what I found in my analysis, first with regard to its limitations, second with regard to the proposed research question and its link to the current integration debate, and finally, by proposing how this research could be optimized.

SQ1: How is friendship characterised and structured within Arabic and Danish culture?

The first section dealt with friendship characteristics, structures, and norms. First, it affirmed Gareis's claim, that while structures may seem similar, traits are sometimes evaluated differently within different cultures. Both groups presumably engage in similar activities with their friends, apart from a few minor differences (e.g. alcohol intake and shopping). Similarly, both groups characterise friendship by reference to trust, honesty, and being non-judgemental. However, interviews revealed a discrepancy between survey answers and social norms. Within Danish culture, 'trust', 'being open-minded' and 'being non-judgemental', is understood in terms of disclosure and acknowledgement. In Arabic culture, however, interviewees revealed both that trust (i.e. disclosure) is subordinate to respect, and that Arab females do not disclose to their BOarab friends. Interestingly, female Arab interviewees, also revealed that they would disclose their most personal secrets to their Danish friends, being convinced that Danes do not judge as harshly as do Arabs. While refuting the importance of gender, when asked to characterise a friend, Arab interviewees revealed challenges to cross-gender friendships, making them more costly, and sometimes, unobtainable.

While the data provided managed to observe some interesting difference (and similarities), data is too scarce to fully analyse these differences. First, how Arabs generally think about trust and how trust ranks among cultural and religious considerations should be examined more carefully. Second, it would be interesting to know if Danes use of full disclosure is somehow related to Danish culture, where 'freedom of speech', sexual liberation, feminism etc. are prominent buzzwords. And finally, it would be interesting to examine further those BR friendships where female Arabs feel free to disclose. In particular, it would be relevant to ask their Danish counterpart if they experience the same degree of IDT towards their arabic female friends, as do Arabs to them (see below).

SQ2: How does friendship develop within Arabic and Danish culture?

In this section, differences began to show more clearly. First, I observed a difference in the use of the term 'friend', signalling different conceptions of the defining characteristics of a friend. Primarily, Arab interviewees tended to accept social relationships as friendships, before they had gathered sufficient knowledge to form KBT. Danes, on the contrary, were reluctant to use the term 'friend' to define social ties, where knowledge about the other person was still scarce. So, where

Arabs use the term to define people they like, who have not yet acted in disagreement with their expectations; Danes first invoke the term, when individuals have proven sufficiently that they act in certain ways (i.e. KBT). Second, this section established that the difference in trust conception manifested itself in different "trial strategies". Arabs were much more prone to networking, whereas Danes would engage in content heavy conversations in order to decipher the opinions of the other person. In other words, Arabs tended to establish KBT by actual behavioural testing, whereas Danes tended to form KBT based on opinions.

As with the previous section, this part of the analysis suffered from insufficient data. As interviews were conducted before the theory had been fully structured, I failed to pay sufficient attention to questions regarding the different phases of friendship. If this research were to be repeated, therefore, it would be necessary to include specific questions on the different phases, asking interviewees to explain their answer in more depth. In particular, research needs to study BR friendships with stable relational identities. If we look at the data collected in the current thesis, this is the phase when cultural identities seem to affect the largest differences. In particular, it would be interesting to investigate identification and disclosure in order to establish the link between cultural identity and trust. Do Danes disclose as much to Arabs as the other way around? or are Danes more cautious in BR friendships? Given that IDT depends on an identification with interests, desires and intentions, whereby we come to think, feel, and react like our friend; one might hypothesise that it is harder for Danes to identify with Arabs. This hypothesis is founded on the following observations: It is presumably more common among Danes to engage in activities that include alcohol, drugs, dating and pre-marital sex (see section 4.1 and section 4.2). Second, while the stereotypical Dane is thought to be open-minded, non-judgemental and busy with life, the stereotypical Arab is defined by more conservative qualities. Third, Danes are seemingly more hesitant in considering someone a friend, wherefore the mere clash of structures and norms, might prohibit IDT. Among these listed considerations, the first needs further elaboration. Based primarily on data gathered in this thesis regarding stereotypical Danes, Danes engage more often in activities that is deemed harām by Arabic culture. Therefore, while Arabs may know that Danes understand and identify with even their wildest behaviour, it is less likely that Arabs have gone through the same cycle of similar behaviour. To illustrate how this may affect disclosure, a Danish female respondent reported on her considerations before disclosing on similar topics,

> *"I have some friends, who have never been with anyone other than their current boy-friends, and I never discuss hook ups with them, because this simply cannot appreci-ate it. Their ideas about it, and my ideas about it, is different […] and maybe they will think certain things about me, that really isn't true"*

The fear of negative evaluation by the other has proven salient in this research (see section 4.2. and section 4.3) In other words, Danes are presumably able to mirror the behaviours of Arabs, while the opposite, seems dubious, whereby IDT becomes unobtainable. For the current moment, however, these speculations will have to remain as untested theories.

SQ3: How do cultural identities affect communication with outgroup strangers?

While the previous two sections made important observations regarding on how friendships are conceived and enacted differently within the two cultures assessed, the third section offered food for thought. First, it established that Danes are influenced by a low, and sometimes fragile, ingroup self-esteem. Being openly aware of racism at a state level and meta-narratives about Danes as being tolerant and open-minded, Danes feel threatened/challenged in meeting out-group strangers (i.e. Arab refugees). Second, it suggested that strangers are more often viewed in terms of gender identities and generational identities, though female Muslims pose a category of their own. And third, it showed how Danes are inhibited in their interaction with out-group strangers (Arab refugees) due to a fear of being excluded (not being acknowledged), a fear of being perceived as a racist, and a fear of being unable to deal with the trauma of refugees.

While this part of the analysis only looked at the question from a Danish perspective, it managed to show some rather revealing tendencies worth further examination. Where does this fear stem from? Do expectations differ with regards to Arab descendants, Arabs with refugee status (still on integration benefits), and Arab asylum seekers? Similarly, how do Danes in BR friendships experience these fears? Did they have the same expectations prior to being involved in BR friendships? or, were they influenced by different social categories? These sub-questions will be proposed for further research at the end of this chapter, and therefore will not be assessed in more detail here.

In the above, I have discussed the most significant observations made throughout this thesis, and how this research could be improved. In the next part of the discussion, I will proceed by outlining the relevance of these observations with regards to the current integration debate in Denmark.

To begin with, let's recall the challenge that the Danish government propose to tackle in their most recent report: how do we create, or maintain, cohesion in societies characterised by increasing diversity? According to the Danish government, Denmark is experiencing a rise in parallel societies, posing a threat to the cohesion of Denmark, and its economic sustainability. To overcome this threat, the Danish government propose 22 initiatives that are aimed towards counteracting such tendencies and eradicating so-called ghettos. According to the government's report, the aim of the initiatives is to create "a coherent Denmark. A Denmark that is founded on democratic values, such as freedom and the rule of law. Equality and broadmindedness. Tolerance and Equality of the sexes. A Denmark, where everyone takes an active

part" (regeringen.dk). According to the government, the negative development in Denmark is due to three main problems: first, two few refugees have made use of the immense possibilities that Denmark has to offer (e.g. language proficiency, education, job). Second, Denmark have been too reluctant to set up requirements regarding self-sufficiency and job integration. And third, Denmark has allowed too many refugees to enter the country. The 22 initiatives, therefore, seek to eradicate parallel societies by 1) setting up systems to ensure that refugees make use of the services that they are offered, 2) enact specific requirements (e.g. children have to attend school) and 3) limiting the influx of refugees (enacting external and internal borders).

Let's also recall the government's own definition of parallel societies, which they define as individuals living in isolation from the remaining society i.e. large social distances between host nationals, refugees, and immigrants. Furthermore, they note that, as a result of social isolation, refugees and immigrants are becoming an increasing economic burden on society. That is, the lack of social integration entails a lack of economic integration. However, the solution put forward by the government, seems first and foremost, to deal with economic integration. And while economic integration may be the a way forward - I do not suggest to refute their claim all together - I want to argue that social distances might persist due to cultural differences. More precisely, I want to argue that social distances may persist due to differences in the social fabric of individual agents. To support this argument, this thesis examined friendship within Danish and Arabic culture (broadly defined), to see if there is more to the problem than a mere lack of motivation on behalf of refugees.

During the analysis of the collected data (see above) this thesis was able to establish two things. First, that there seems to be inherent structural and conceptual differences in how we perceive social relationships. And while those difference may be possible to bridge (it is not proven impossible to negotiate relational identities, so that we may communicate as effectively as we do with our cultural peers) it does suggest that the negotiation of shared meanings systems requires much more work. In particular, this thesis indicates a challenge with regards to our almost conflicting strategies to build trust. For integration purposes, therefore, this is something that should be examined further. Second, I found that the motivation on behalf of Danes pose as an interesting challenge. Danish interviewees were all informed by a weak and fragile ingroup self-esteem based on their collective self-conceptions. Interviews all seem to ascribe to a collective self-conception, based on tolerance and open-mindedness. And while these are seemingly positive description words, Danes are challenged by the need to uphold that image. In particular, interviewees seemed to interpret their self-conception, as being necessarily uncritical. As being accepting of others' views, regardless of its content. Assuming this position, the motivation to interact with strangers is therefore limited. In addition, this thesis also observed, that Danes are inhibited by a fear of reproducing racist discourse (verbally or in action). According to the data provided by interviews, it seems safer to avoid interaction with refugees whereby their

self-conception as being non-racist is upheld naturally, than interacting with refugees, whereby their self-conception is put to the test.

I also found that Danes are influenced by a fear of what refugees' might confront them with, in terms of disclosure. This observation leads back to the collective self-conception. When asked to expand upon this fear, interviewees all seem to assume that they are expected to handle information and that confrontation is inevitable i.e. that refugee will disclose their stories to them. This latter point seems to reflect Danes' own conception of friendship, as developing towards identification and full disclosure. And finally, I observed that Danes are constantly trying to accommodate others (including out-group strangers), making them cautious about what they say and do. This in turn makes the mere prospect of interacting with out-group strangers strenuous.

These observations, then, seem to indicate alternative ways of dealing with the problem of parallel societies. First, we need to consider the opportunities for meaningful interaction across cultural and ethnic lines. While the workplace may be one such place, there are countless other possibilities, such as sport clubs, reading clubs, political movements etc. What seems necessary, however, is the need for probing social interaction more thoroughly. As such, the government could fruitfully add to their integration program some social activities that transcend the productive sphere. Another way of dealing with this, which I find the most interesting, is to study further the motivation on behalf of Danes. By doing so, we may be able to counteract the fears experienced by the interviewees in this thesis, and we might be able to motivate Danes to take part in the integration process.

Based on the above, I would therefore like to suggest the third sub-question as a way forward. Having observed that social divides are largely predetermined by a collective anxiety regarding out-group strangers, it arguably touches upon one of the most promising fields within research on social integration. Rounding off this discussion, I want to quote an answer given by one of my Arab interviewees, when he was asked what would make it easier for him to achieve social integration:

"to not feel scared from each other, to not feel scared about saying our thoughts and out ideas, like, what do Danish people do and what do I do. For example, always Danish people will be like, should I tell him that I drink? should I tell him that I am having sex with my girlfriend? should I tell him that this is my girlfriend? or I should tell him that we are married? tsk… don't think about it. If they feel comfortable with us more, then we will feel comfortable with you more, as more as, friendship is more lovely, because they are really feeling comfortable with each other, you know […] The way how they look at the middle eatsern people, like they have not been educated or like they are really not open minded. So that… If they dont look at the media, okay… if he treat me like a danish person, it would have been easier for me. That's all".

6. Conclusion

Based on the current integration debate in Denmark, this thesis endeavoured to examine the possibility of social integration by answering the following research question:*How do cultural identity affect (i) our conception of, (ii) ability to develop and (iii) our motivation to initiate friendships?*

 To answer this question most adequately, I answered the question in part, by adding three additional sub-questions. SQ1 dealt with the macro level, by determining structural and conceptual similarities and differences. SQ2 dealt with the meso level, which was confined to processes and conceptual usage, while SQ3 dealt with the micro level, examining how cultural identities experience and react to out-group strangers.

The first chapter dealt with methodological considerations, including the limitations of the research and a literature review. Having introduced the structure of this thesis, the second chapter presented the reader with the theoretical framework used to analyse the collected data. To answer SQ1 and SQ2, this thesis made use of trust theory and the three cyclical phases proposed by IMT. These theories were collectively used to categories data and to suggest a way of demarcating between different forms of friendship (i.e. 'acquaintance friendship', 'new friendship' 'friendship' and 'close friendship'). To answer SQ3, this thesis made use of the four fears, suggested by Gudykunst's AUM theory. While the fear of negative evaluation by ingroup members, did not show in the data, Gudykunst's theory helped identify certain behavioural patterns and anxieties.

The third chapter presented the theories collectively, suggesting an analytical framework to proceed from. This led to the fourth chapter, which developed the analysis in detail. Each sub question was dealt with separately, though with some overlap. During the analysis, this thesis managed to establish a number of critical observations. First, it observed conceptual and structural differences and similarities in how Danish and Arabic respondents define friendship. Second, it observed a difference in how concepts are used, and how the two cultural groups proceed in the development of friendships. Third, it observed three of the fears (defined in Gudykunst's theory) during interviews with Danish participants. Most notably, it established a significant motivational problem related to interaction with out-group strangers (i.e. Arab refugees).

Having presented the analysis, chapter 6 developed a detailed discussion about the previous observations and how those observations relate back to the main problem i.e. social integration. It first discussed the observations stepwise, suggesting how this research could be improved, and second, it discussed the implications for future integration efforts. During the final part of the discussion, this thesis argued for two alternative strategies to overcome segregation and parallel societies. First, it argued for an examination on how to ensure opportunities for meaningful interaction across cultural and ethnic lines. And second, it suggested to examine SQ3

further, in order to counteract the fears experienced by the Danish interviewees, so that Danes might become more motivated to take part in the integration process.

Appendix 1: Survey 1 - Answers by Arab Respondants

Table 1: Individual Characteristics

Characteristics	Not important	Important	Very important
Gender	80 %	10 %	20 %
Age	60 %	30 %	10 %
Ethnicity	100 %	0 %	0 %
Language	80 %	10 %	10 %
Religion	90 %	10 %	0 %
Political views	90 %	10 %	0 %
Humor	30 %	60 %	10 %

Table 2: Behavioral Evaluation

Behavior/Importance	Not important	Important	Very important
Networking with family	80 %	20 %	0 %
Frequent Communication	50 %	40 %	10 %
Helpful	20 %	30 %	50 %
Showing Care	50 %	30 %	20 %
Giving advice	0 %	50 %	50 %
Sharing Secrets	20 %	40 %	30 %
Frequent Meetings	20 %	80 %	0 %

Table 3: Structures

Activities	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Unnanounced visits	20 %	70 %	0 %	10 %
Network (with family)	15 %	45 %	35 %	5 %
Sharing a meal	10 %	80 %	0 %	10 %
Watching a movie	10 %	60 %	30 %	0 %
Going for A beer	60 %	30 %	0 %	10 %
Going for walks	0 %	50 %	40 %	10 %

Activities	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Shopping	10 %	50 %	30 %	10 %
Going to a café	0 %	30 %	20 %	50 %
Staying at home	0 %	50 %	30 %	20 %
Working out	40 %	30 %	10 %	20 %

Table 4: Define a good friend

Answer
Complete my plan, comfortable to talk, happiness
A person that wants to make me at better person, a happy and sweet person, helpful and easy
honest
To share both good and sad times and to find someone always there for you. To create a great memories and funny moments
loyal
Honesty and attention (الصراحة والاهتمام)
Some one you can trust and share borg your worries and good times with
Understand me share the moments of happiness and sorrow...enjoy our life
some form of trust, Common interests, some shared sense of humor. it's some that you have fun with and in most of the times will be there to help if you asked
To have people to trust and help each other when you need it and talking about your problems and giving each other advice and having fun together I mean the good friend is really healthy thing !

Table 4: Advice

Answer
To respect each other
Be open minded
it's not that hard to have a friend if you wanted to the hard part is to choose the right one , you can know if they are good only by trial and error
dvice him to be close to Palestinian don't judge them with out dealing with...try to learn Arabic language
Just be yourself and respect others
Be yourself

Answer
think just to respect each other's believes and culture and at same point treating each other very normaly like there's no any difference in the culture or believe , and to ask each other question instead of telling them about Denmark they have to ask them about their country first so everyone knows about thae other and so they don't feel like they're telling them about Denmark and how it has to be in Denmark like they have never lived before coming to Denmark 😅
I think that you have to find someone share a common language that you both can understand to avoid misunderstanding

Appendix 2: Survey 1 - Answers by Danish Respondants

Table 1: Individual Characteristics-1

Characteristics	Not important	Important	Very important
Gender	85 %	15 %	0 %
Age	74 %	26 %	0 %
Ethnicity	100 %	0 %	0 %
Language	37 %	53 %	10 %
Religion	95 %	0 %	5 %
Political views	31 %	53 %	16 %
Humor	10 %	48 %	42 %

Table 2: Behavioral Evaluation-1

Behavior/Importance	Not important	Important	Very important
Nwtworking with family	79 %	16 %	5 %
Frequent Communication	37 %	55 %	8 %
Being Helpful	10 %	37 %	53 %
Showing Care	42 %	42 %	16 %
Giving advice	10 %	48 %	42 %
Sharing Secrets	0 %	53 %	47 %
Frequent Meetings	58 %	37 %	5 %

Table 3: Structures-1

Activities	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Unnanounced visits	58 %	37 %	5 %	0 %

Activities	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Networking with family	42 %	54 %	4 %	0
Sharing a meal	5 %	57 %	42 %	5 %
Watching a movie	10 %	75 %	10 %	5 %
Going for A beer	0 %	31 %	38 %	31 %
Going for walks	0 %	58 %	32 %	10 %
Shopping	63 %	37 %	0 %	0 %
Going to a café	0 %	26 %	47 %	26 %
Staying at home	0 %	37 %	37 %	26 %
Working out	47 %	37 %	10 %	5 %

Table 4: Define a good friend-1

Answer
Someone I can count on. Someone who is supportive, but also isn't afraid to tell me what they really mean.
One I can trust. One I can share some or all of my interests with.
A good friend is kind and respectful, and wants you to feel well. A good friend has a genuine interest in your life and your loved ones.
Someone that you can count on, even if you do not speak to eath other very often. Someone that you can have fun with. Someone that you can talk with, about all sorts of things
A good friend is someone that you can trust. You have each others back. You may not have a lot of things in common, or share the same opinion, but somehow you understand things the same way. (in Danish: En god ven er en du kan stole på. I har hinandens ryg. Det er ikke sikkert man har en masse til fælles eller deler holdninger men man har på en måde den samme forståelse af ting)
A loving, reliable and trustworthy person, who is fun or interesting to be around
A good friend will know you very well and will want you to have a good time. For me this includes that they let me know when i cross a line, with them or with someone else - you have an obligation to be good and help your friends be good as well.
Somebody who understands me (and doesn't misunderstand or misinterpret me, e.g. if I accidentally "say the wrong thing" or make a bad joke). And somebody I can trust.
Someone who loves me, when I need It the most and lets me love him/her back in the same way. Someone who gives me the privilege of being a part og his/hers journey - maybe just for a while.
Someone you can count on
One you don't need to maintain and who sees the good in you. (in Danish: En du ikke behøver vedligeholde og som ser dine gode egenskaber)
Someone to count on when things are tight. And someone who supports your choices even when s/he disagree
Someone who shares your humor and vaues in life

Table 4: Advice-1

Answer
Be loyal and truthful and accept that building a friendship takes time
Be openminded and we don't have to agree on everything to be friends.
Be patient if at first the person seems to not have much time for you, and speak up about what kind of friendship you want.
Have patience. We are usually not that spontaneous, so we plan ahead with our existing friends, which often leaves little time for new friends.
Be yourself and use humor (in Danish: Vær afslappet og brug humor)
Be open and curious
Don't be afraid to reach out to people and to ask them out for e.g. an activity where you would like some company. Some Danes are not that socially proactive or outgoing, but that doesn't mean that they don't want to get to know you better and eventually be friends.
Be patient. If you feel rejected, it's probably nothing to do with you. Be patient, but persistent) (in Danish: at have tolvmodighed. Hvis du føler dig afvist, er det højst sandsynligt ikke dig.   Be patient but insistent).
Instead of focusing on our differences lets find our common.
You'll probably have to be able to either drink a beer, or not mind being in the company of people who do. Look for common interests to talk about and discuss. Ask people what they have done previously and what they want to work with.
Be open minded, and be open about what you think and why. And ask you friend the same things

Appendix 3: Survey 2 - Answers by Arab Respondants

	Yes	No	Don't know
Respect you religion?	67 %	17 %	17 %
Respect your choices?	100 %	0 %	0 %
Share your values?	17 %	67 %	17 %

List of Topics
1. Life,   2. what we did in our day,   3. talking about people,   4. food,university

List of Topics
1. Education 2. culture 3. political 4. sports and 5. social changes
1. Work methods, 2. money, 3. fun time, 4. cars, 5. getting married
1. Target in the life , 2. the work,
1. Political, 2. philosophy, 3. goals, 4. feelings, 5. anything funny !

Appendix 4: Survey 2 - Answers by Danish Respondants

	Yes	No	Don't know
Someone of another ethnicity	100 %	0 %	100 %
Someone who declares her/himself a racist?	44 %	34 %	22 %
Who dates before marriage?	100 %	0 %	0 %
Who is a homosexual	100 %	0 %	0 %
who does not accept homosexuals	33 %	33 %	33 %

	Yes	No	Don't know
Respect you religion?	67 %	33 %	0 %
Respect your choices?	100 %	0 %	0 %
Share your values?	44 %	56 %	0

List of Topics
1. Love, 2. work, 3. TV, 4. health, 5. friends

List of Topics
1. Work, 2. relationships, 3. travel, 4. politics and 5. music
1. Philosophy, 2. love, 3. literature, 4. food, 5. exercise
1. Education, 2. work, 3. planning social events, 4. well-being (stress, happiness, life goals, etc.) 5. games in different forms.
1. Philsophy, 2. politics, 3. love, 4. kids, 5. each others lifes
1. Feminism, 2. politics, 3. personal and existential struggles, 4. culture products, 5. relationships (friends, family and partners) and emotional complexity
1. relationships, 2. philosophy, 3. work, 4. culture (films, series, literature or music) and 5. sex
1. Politics, 2. art, 3. religion, 4. films/series, 5. science
1. movies, 2. computer, 3. girlfriends, 4. football 5. future

Question	Yes	No	Don't know
stories that involve a lot of alkohol?	44 %	11 %	44 %
stories that involve sex?	33 %	44 %	22 %
stories that involve religion?	56 %	11 %	33 %

Question	Yes	No	Don't know
Stories that involves a sexual relation you have had, or have, with someone else?	38 %	50 %	13 %

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