

# **Cultural Clash in the Netherlands? Exploring Dutch College Students' Attitudes Toward Muslim Immigrants**

Kirsten Ray  
*Humboldt State University*

## **Abstract**

This paper investigates native Dutch college students' perceptions of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. There is discussion in both scholarly and popular realms alluding to Muslims in the Netherlands as a threat to Dutch identity and culture. To determine the students' perceptions of Muslim immigrants, I surveyed 163 students at a number of universities across the Netherlands and conducted 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews. Items such as economic threat, safety threat, cultural threat, and endorsement of multiculturalism were measured in the survey, as well as specific attitudes toward Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. Results from my field research indicate that, although discussion of immigration in Western Europe and the Netherlands is prominent in the political arena, Dutch college students do not feel that Muslim immigrants pose a threat to Dutch identity and culture. Dutch college students support the idea of multiculturalism in the Netherlands but want immigrants to integrate as soon as possible.

## **Introduction**

IN THE 1960S AND 1970s, Western Europe experienced an increase in immigrants from Eastern Europe and North Africa. The Netherlands was no exception to this influx of immigrants. In a response to a labor shortage after World War II, the Dutch government sought labor from Eastern European and North African countries, primarily from Morocco and Turkey (Sniderman 2007). Since then, there has been discussion in both scholarly and popular realms alluding to Muslims in the Netherlands as a threat to Dutch identity and culture. Recent newspaper headlines have exclaimed "Islam is now considered a threat to national identity by almost half of French and Germans, according to new poll" (Allen 2011) and "Islamists raise fears of violent 'clash of cultures' in Europe" (Johnston 2010). Scholars have said, "Islam and Muslims are typically presented and

perceived as threatening national identity and culture” (Scroggins 2005) and “Many Dutch are concerned that the Muslim religion... will undermine Dutch values” (Staub 2007). Muslim immigrants have also been in the center of political discourse.

Politicians have regarded Islam as a religion that threatens Dutch society, national identity, and culture (Poppe, Van Der Noll, and Verkuyten 2010). Some analysts call this an ongoing “Dutch-Muslim” cultural war (Scroggins 2005). A study conducted by Pew Global Research (2005) found that fifty-one percent of Dutch citizens have negative opinions about Muslims. Within a decade, Muslims will outnumber native Dutch people in the three largest cities in the Netherlands (Sniderman 2007). There has been a response to the growing amount of Muslims immigrants in the Netherlands. The Netherlands has the most ambitious policy of multiculturalism, which is defined as the respect for pluralism of cultures (Sniderman 2007).

Previous literature contends that perceived threats to Dutch culture and identity are responsible for negative attitudes about immigrants. College students are expected to feel that differences in values between Muslims and Dutch culture lead to negative attitudes about Muslims. The purpose of this study is to use Integrated Threat Theory to explore college students’ perceptions of the presence of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. College students are being measured because out of a total population they are more tolerant toward political views and diversity in the realms of race and religion (Cheng 2009). In this research, surveys measure a target population that is expected to have the most liberal attitude toward multiculturalism in the Netherlands. There has been much research on relations between native Dutch and Muslim immigrants. Previous research about Muslim immigration in the Netherlands has focused on how children and adolescents perceive Muslim immigrants (Poppe, Van Der Noll, and Verkuyten 2010; Verkuyten 2007). College students in the Netherlands have received minimal attention regarding their perceptions of Muslim immigrants.

## **Muslim Migration to the Netherlands and Landscape Change**

In an attempt to obtain a greater understanding of people’s attitudes toward outsider groups, Stephan (1998) developed a method of assessing prejudice called Integrated Threat Theory (ITT). Stephan

tested this theory in several studies to measure perceptions between groups. Some of these studies included attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S., attitudes toward immigrants in Spain and Israel, and women's attitudes toward men (Stephan 2000).

ITT researchers acknowledge conflict between intergroup relations. The purpose of ITT is to discover the source of prejudice between groups in an attempt to improve intergroup relationships (Stephan 2000). ITT is frequently used to measure perceptions of immigrants. The current ITT model includes four types of threat: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup relations, and negative stereotypes. Realistic threat refers to the perceived threats of safety and economy. Symbolic threat measures threat as it relates to culture, values, identity, and society. Previous research concluded that people are quite concerned with symbolic threat. Scroggins states, "Islam and Muslims are typically presented and perceived as threatening national identity and culture" (2005). This current research questions these conclusions.

The Netherlands is renowned for its tolerance (Sniderman 2007). A tolerant individual is defined as one who "must be ready to accept others, to think well of them, and to be well disposed toward them (minorities)" (Sniderman 2007). During the Golden Age in the 1600s, the Netherlands began to shape into the tolerant country it is today. The Netherlands was one of the most tolerant, wealthy, and powerful countries in the world during the Golden Age (Wiarida 2007). During this time, people came to the Netherlands to experience freedom from religious and political persecution. In the seventeenth century, Amsterdam was one of the most popular cities in Europe because of its tolerant and liberal environment. As a result, the Netherlands was a popular destination for political and religious refugees, who could practice their beliefs freely there. This included political refugees from England who would later be some of the first Europeans in the United States. Today, the Netherlands is still seen as a tolerant country because of its liberal attitudes toward drugs, prostitution, gay marriage, and euthanasia, to name a few (Sniderman 2007). However, the Netherlands is not so tolerant in the realm of immigration.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Dutch government recruited labor from North Africa and Eastern Europe in response to a demand for labor after World War II. Refugees from Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, and other African countries arrived in the Netherlands

the following decade. The Turkish and Moroccan populations were the largest and continued to grow. These two groups compose the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Eighty-seven percent of Turks and ninety-two percent of Moroccans in the Netherlands practice Islam (FORUM 2010). Because these two prevalent immigrant groups are largely Muslim, Turks and Moroccans are the focus of this research.

Dutch people are proud of their culture (Wiarda 2007). The well-known phrase in the Netherlands, "God created the world but the Dutch created the Netherlands," reflects the attitude the Dutch have about their country. A cultural clash is said to exist between the lifestyles of the Dutch, the Turks, and the Moroccans. Muslim immigrants from Turkey and Morocco bring with them culture that is not easily left behind. These immigrants in the Netherlands come primarily from the rural areas of Anatolia in Turkey and the Rif Mountains in Morocco (Sniderman 2007). Rural areas are typically associated with traditional practices, so these immigrants are bringing conservative Muslim practices into one of the most liberal countries in the world. A "Dutch-Muslim" cultural war has been problematic and is at the forefront of political discussion (Scroggins 2005).

Until the 1960s the Dutch government was divided by Protestants, Catholics, and non-confessionals. This divided everything from schools and political parties to sports clubs (Sniderman 2007). In the 1960s secularism replaced this system of pillarization, making the Netherlands a secular country. In 1994 two opposing parties, the Social Democrats and the Conservatives, joined together to form the Purple Coalition. This group promoted the most determined system of multiculturalism in Western Europe. The government funded Muslim schools, where children were taught in their own language. They funded the importation of imams, who knew much about the Koran but little about Dutch culture (Sniderman 2007). Many services were offered to Muslim immigrants at the expense of Dutch taxpayers. A politician named Pim Fortuyn was a public critic of multiculturalism. He argued that imams should respect the culture of the Dutch and called Islam a backward religion. People supported his stance against multiculturalism and he was elected prime minister. He was shot a week before he was to take office (Sniderman 2007). Since then, multiculturalism has been a subject of heated political debate in the Netherlands.

Statistics Netherlands (2012) distinguishes between people with Western and non-Western backgrounds. In 2009 Turks were the largest non-Western group in the Netherlands, with a population of 378,000, followed by 342,000 Moroccans. Unlike most other immigrant groups, the majority of Turks and Moroccans practice Islam. About 6 percent of the population in the Netherlands is Muslim. For comparison, Germany is 3.5 percent Muslim and France is 8 to 9.6 percent Muslim (BBC 2005). Muslim immigrants live in the three largest cities in the Netherlands, which include Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam. Sniderman (2007) projects that Muslim immigrants will outnumber Dutch citizens in these three cities within the next decade.

In response to the increasing number of Muslims, there are several examples of landscape change that are occurring in the Netherlands. In Amsterdam, there are neighborhoods that are eighty percent Moroccan. One specific neighborhood is called the Diamantbuurt. Before the increase of immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s, this neighborhood was one that was famous for housing young Dutch writers and artists. There is evidence of gentrification in the Diamantbuurt, as numerous "For Sale" signs are suddenly visible. The Moroccans in this neighborhood are moving out as rent is increasing and native Dutch people are moving in. A strong indicator of minority neighborhoods is the presence of television satellite dishes. There is one satellite dish per household, as Moroccans attempt to reach television stations from Morocco. The ubiquitousness of satellite dishes is such a strong indication of the presence of immigrants that once a year the municipality of Amsterdam comes and takes down the dishes, in an attempt to preserve the "Dutch" aspects of the neighborhood. The Moroccans have responded by placing these satellites in the windows, so they can easily be taken inside.

The cultural landscape of the presence of immigrants is evident not only in the form of satellite dishes but also in the form of mosques. Many mosques are unnoticed because mosques are located in old bathhouses, homes, and empty buildings. There are more than four hundred mosques in the Netherlands. There may be several mosques in close proximity, but typically Moroccans go only to Moroccan mosques and Turks go to Turkish mosques, which leads to frequent mosque construction. The Essalam mosque is the largest in the Netherlands and is one of the largest in Western Europe (see Figure 1). After eleven years of controversy, the Essalam mosque was finally opened in 2010. The construction was delayed for such

a long time because the fifty-meter minarets competed with the skyline of a popular soccer stadium. The mosque completion controversy serves as a physical representation of the clash of cultures.

The coexistence of different cultures is also evident in places such as markets. The Haagse market is one that is especially known for its multiculturalism. Dutch is not spoken at the market, and food is not displayed in a Dutch manner. The Haagse market is a proud icon of multiculturalism in The Hague as it is the center of activity for many different immigrant groups.



Figure 1.—Essalam Mosque, Rotterdam. (Photo by author, 2012.)

## Research Design and Survey Results

An online survey designed to assess perceptions of Muslim immigrants was made available to college students in the Netherlands. The survey was composed of nineteen questions. The purpose of the survey was to measure (1) varying types of threat by Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands, (2) national/cultural identity, (3) specific attitudes toward Moroccans and Turks, and (4) endorsement of multiculturalism. All questions were measured on a four-point Likert scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” These questions were modeled after studies by Verkuyten (2005), Stephan (1998), and Sniderman (2007).

Individual threat of safety and economy is measured on the questionnaire with two questions. These are “I am concerned about increasing violence and vandalism in my neighborhood by ethnic minorities” and “I am concerned that my economic prospects will

get worse because of ethnic minorities.” Collective threat of safety and economy includes three questions. These are “The economic prospects of Dutch society will get worse because of ethnic minorities,” “I am concerned about the increasing violence and vandalism in Dutch society by ethnic minorities,” and “Because of the presence of Muslim immigrants, Dutch people have more difficulties finding jobs.”

There are four questions that measure threat to Dutch culture. These are “The increasing number of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is threatening the future of Dutch culture,” “There are few differences between the values of Dutch citizens and Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands,” “My Dutch identity is being threatened by the presence of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands,” and “Dutch norms and values are being threatened by the presence of Muslims.”

The endorsement of multiculturalism is measured by four questions. These include “The presence of diverse cultures in the Netherlands benefits the country as a whole,” “Immigrants living in the Netherlands should integrate as soon as possible,” “Immigrants should be supported in their attempts to preserve their own cultural heritage in the Netherlands,” and “Muslims contribute to Dutch culture.”

Dutch identity is measured with two questions. These are “My Dutch heritage is an important part of my identity” and “I am proud to be Dutch.”

Finally, specific attitudes about the Moroccans and Turks are measured, including Dutch language skills, education, law-abidingness, and contentment with Dutch society. Perceptions of Moroccans and Turks as two different Muslim immigrants groups will become evident.

Surveys were distributed in person to one hundred native Dutch college students at Utrecht University, Leiden University, and University of Amsterdam. Sixty-three of the surveys were issued to college students online using Survey Monkey. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty native Dutch college students at Utrecht University, Leiden University, and University of Amsterdam to provide a greater understanding of perceptions of immigrants. Results indicate the differences between perceived threats to culture, economy, and safety.

In the issues concerning safety, twenty-one percent agree or strongly agree with the statement, "I am concerned about increasing violence and vandalism in my neighborhood by ethnic minorities." Thirty-nine percent agree or strongly agree that "I am concerned with increasing violence and vandalism in Dutch society by ethnic minorities." These results reflect attitudes about threats to the individual compared to threats to Dutch culture.

Generally, Dutch college students are not concerned about economic threats related to the presence of immigrants. Ninety-one percent disagree or strongly disagree with the statement, "I am concerned that my economic prospects will get worse because of ethnic minorities." Similarly, ninety-two percent strongly disagree or disagree with the statement, "The economic prospects of Dutch society will get worse because of ethnic minorities." Ninety-two percent of Dutch college strongly disagree or disagree with the statement, "Because of the presence of Muslim immigrants, Dutch people have more difficulties finding jobs."

Questions on the survey relating to immigrants and threat to culture were the most relevant to the research question. Seventy-three percent of the students disagree or strongly disagree that "The increasing number of ethnic minorities is threatening the future of Dutch culture." Fifty-four percent strongly disagree or disagree that "There are very few differences between the values of Dutch citizens and Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands." Eighty-two percent of college students strongly disagree or disagree that "Dutch norms and values are being threatened by the presence of Muslims." Ninety-four percent strongly disagree or disagree that "My Dutch identity is being threatened by the presence of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands."

Some contradictions arise in questions relating to support of multiculturalism and integration. Seventy percent believe that immigrants should be supported in their attempts to preserve their own cultural heritage in the Netherlands. Eighty-six percent think that the presence of diverse cultures in the Netherlands benefits the country as a whole; however, ninety-one percent ask that immigrants living in the Netherlands integrate as soon as possible.

Other results suggest that college students consider their Dutch heritage an important part of their culture. Seventy-two percent agree or strongly agree that their Dutch heritage is an important part of

their identity. Eighty-eight percent of the respondents stated that they are proud to be Dutch.

Finally, students were asked to assess their perceptions of Moroccans and Turks in the categories of Dutch language skills, education, law abidingness, and content with Dutch society. Results suggest that college students think less of Moroccans than they do of Turks.

## **Discussion**

Muslims in the Netherlands are commonly depicted as a threat to Dutch national identity and culture. Verkuyten states that “the ways of life between Muslims and Westerners are supposed to collide” (2008). Prominent Dutch researchers, such as Verkuyten (2008), conclude that native Dutch adolescents have “clear and strong anti-Muslim feelings.” Contrary to previous research that contends that Dutch are concerned about immigrants’ threat to Dutch culture, these survey results indicate that native Dutch college students appear unconcerned about threats to Dutch culture.

Support of multiculturalism is another factor that researchers are concerned with. Several studies have been conducted that make a correlation between support for multiculturalism and prejudice toward Muslims. The result of this research indicates that college students largely support the presence of different cultures in the Netherlands. The results of the survey do not reflect certain patterns as outlined in the Integrated Threat Theory model. Previous ITT research concluded that there are higher correlations between endorsement of multiculturalism and positive attitudes toward immigrants. College students overwhelmingly approve of having different cultures in the Netherlands; therefore college students display similar support toward immigrants. Previous ITT research also stated that people are concerned with the symbolic threat to Dutch values and norms. Most of the students surveyed either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement “Dutch norms and values are being threatened by the presence of Muslims” (Figure 2). When asked whether Dutch identity is being threatened by the presence of Muslims, almost all the students answered “disagree” or “strongly disagree” (Figure 3).

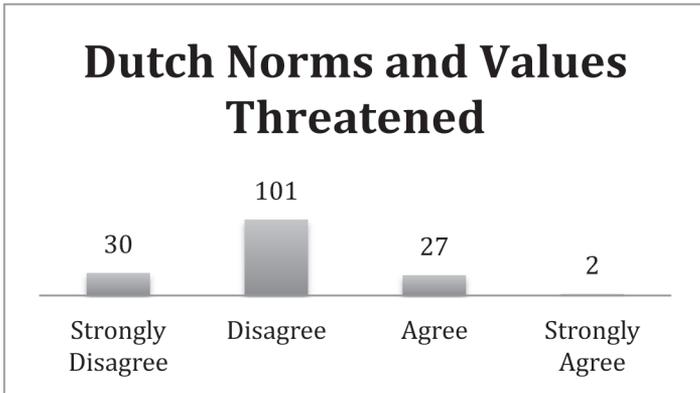


Figure 2.—Do Muslim immigrants threaten Dutch culture?

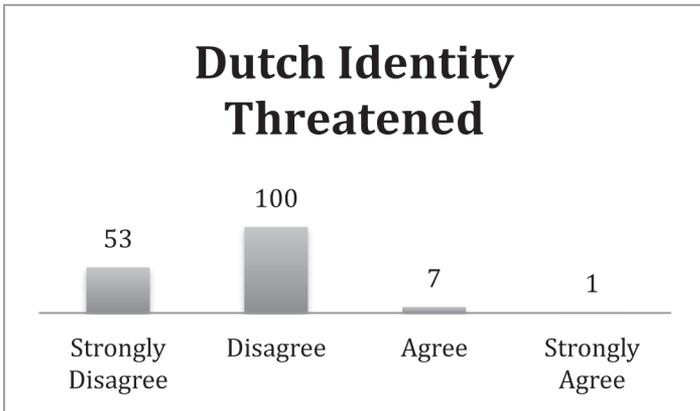


Figure 3.—Is my Dutch identity being threatened by the presence of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands?

Throughout Western Europe and the Netherlands, there exists an attitude that Muslim immigrants pose a threat to European culture. Newspaper headlines such as “Islam is regarded as the biggest threat to Europe for many Europeans” (Cook 2012), “Islam is now considered ‘a threat’ to national identity by almost half of French and Germans, according to new poll” (Allen 2011) and “Islamists raise fears of violent ‘clash of cultures’ in Europe” (Johnston 2010) are commonly seen. This anti-Islam sentiment is supported by scholarly research. The founder of ITI, Stephan, states, “One of the greatest sources of difficulties in intercultural relations is the belief that other cultures pose a threat to one’s own culture” (2000). Scroggins often refers to the “Dutch-Muslim” cultural war (2005). A Dutch scholar

articulates, “Many Dutch are concerned that the Muslim religion... will undermine Dutch values” (Staub 2007). Contrary to news and the scholarly realm, Dutch college students do not think Muslims pose a threat to Dutch identity and culture.

The fact that college students largely support multiculturalism and are not concerned about perceived threats to Dutch culture and national identity disputes what is widely discussed in the Netherlands in the popular and scholarly realm. These viewpoints are contradicted by other questions regarding integration. This research reveals that the majority of Dutch college students agree that immigrants in the Netherlands should be supported in their attempts to support their own cultural heritage in the Netherlands (Figure 4), but even more agree that immigrants living in the Netherlands should integrate as soon as possible (Figure 5). This is a contradiction that needs to be further explored. However, it should be mentioned that the “popular” way of thought among Dutch students interviewed involves supporting the presence of different cultures.

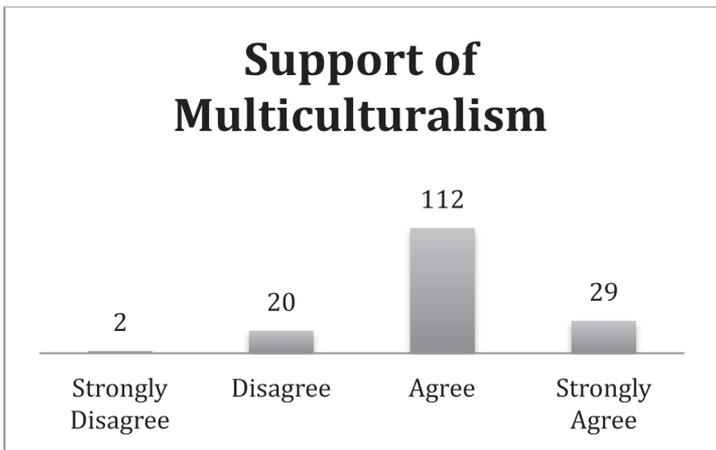
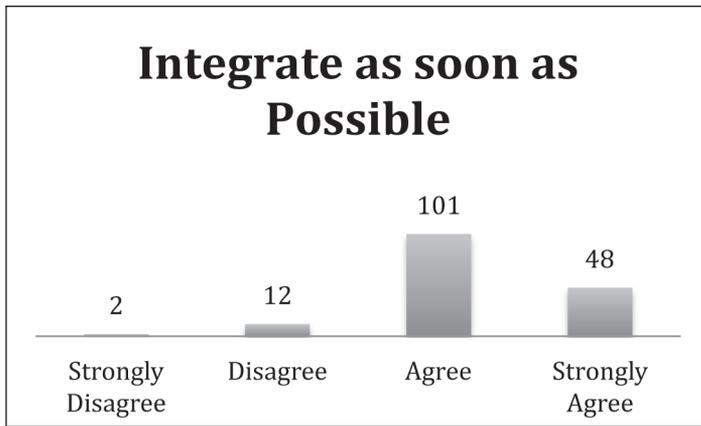


Figure 4.—Do the presence of diverse cultures in the Netherlands benefit the country as a whole?

The contraction between support for multiculturalism and desire for integration is evident in the comments in the survey. One student expressed, “The government is trying to interfere with religion. They shouldn’t, it’s too personal. But they need to learn Dutch.” About fifty percent of Dutch college students believe that there are differences between the values of Dutch citizens and Muslim im-



*Figure 5.—Do you think Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands should integrate as soon as possible?*

migrants in the Netherlands. Many of the students had a difficult time answering this question regarding differences in values and stated that some of the cultural practices of Muslim immigrants were inferior to Dutch culture. One student shared, “It depends on the values of the immigrants. If they want to kill a goat with a dull knife, then yes, I think that they should integrate as soon as possible. If they want to mistreat their wives, I think they need to integrate as soon as possible. It depends on their culture.” Quotes such as these highlight the complexity of the perceptions of integration of Muslim immigrants.

Another key finding was the difference in perceptions toward Moroccans and Turks. Table 1 illustrates results of the survey that indicate college students’ perceptions of Moroccans and Turks in the areas of Dutch language skills, education, law abidingness, and contentment with Dutch society. The overwhelming majority of the participants had more negative attitudes toward Moroccans than they had toward Turks. One student remarked, “We are Christian and atheist and Islam is so different. The way women dress is so different.” Her friend replied, “Yes, but I saw some Turkish women in Amsterdam yesterday, and they looked so modern, like us.” She continued, “We don’t like them, and they don’t like us, but we don’t talk about it.” Perceptions of Moroccans and Turks are discussed in the following sections.

Table 1: Difference in perceptions toward Moroccans and Turks.

	Moroccans	Turks
Dutch language skills	6.7*	7.2
Educated	5.7	6.6
Law-abiding	6.3	6.7
Content with Dutch society	5.5	6.5

*\*The survey read: “Based on your current knowledge, please estimate the percentage of Moroccans/Turks who possess each trait.” The numbers above represent averages from 0 to 10.*

Unlike Moroccan immigrants, Turkish immigrants are not viewed negatively. The Turks are more Western than Moroccans, allowing for a more obvious distinction in physical appearance. The way the hijab is worn also illustrates the difference between Moroccan and Turkish women. Turkish women wear more loose-fitting and colorful hijabs than Moroccan women do. Generally, Turks are more modern and young Turkish people dress like young Dutch people. Another reason that Turks are better received among the Dutch is that Turkey is a popular vacation destination for Dutch people.

Many college students have more negative attitudes toward Moroccans than they do toward Turks—a common viewpoint among Dutch people. For example, Wilders stated, “We have Moroccan youth really behaving like barbarians: killing people, attacking people, doing the most horrible things” (CNN 2008). While this is an extremist perception of Moroccans, there does seem to be a problem with Moroccans in the Netherlands. Forty percent of Moroccan immigrants between twelve and twenty-four have been charged with a crime or have been arrested. This number rises to fifty percent in Moroccan neighborhoods. Forty percent of Moroccan youth are unemployed; sixty percent of Moroccan men between forty and sixty-four are on social welfare; and sixty percent of Moroccan youth drop out of school by age twenty-three (Gatestone Institute 2011). These facts allow Moroccans to be scapegoats and force them into the center of political discussion.

The conducted interviews reveal several explanations for this anti-Moroccan sentiment. Moroccans who immigrated to the Netherlands come primarily from the Rif Mountains in northern Morocco. This is a conservative region in Morocco, and the immigrants bring their traditions with them to the Netherlands—which, unlike the

mountainous regions of Morocco, is not a conservative environment. Moroccans in the Rif Mountains have different parenting techniques than they do in the Netherlands. In Morocco, young boys are often sent outside by their mothers to play because they cause too much trouble in the home. The grandfathers sit on the front porches and correct the boys when they misbehave. In the Rif Mountains, the grandfathers do all the parenting. In the Netherlands there are no grandfathers sitting on porches. The mothers tell the boys to go outside and play, and they find themselves in trouble. In the same interview it was revealed that Moroccans are “at the bottom of the totem pole of Muslim countries” (Mustafa 2012). A Turkish person in the Netherlands would not marry a Moroccan, because according to the interviewee, Moroccans are the least respected group in the Muslim world. Historically, Moroccans were the last people to receive news because geographically, they are far from Saudi Arabia (Mustafa 2012). With the Dutch and Turkish both expressing these attitudes about Moroccans, it is clear that they are the least popular immigrant group in the Netherlands. According to another interviewee, “There always has to be a problem group in the Netherlands. Moroccans will find their place in Dutch society.” Perhaps this is true. Attention is moving away from Moroccans and is moving toward immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands have been a topic of discussion in the Netherlands for several years. However, the focus is moving away from Moroccans and Turks as Eastern Europeans are becoming scrutinized. It has been stated that the Muslims are blamed for the economic turmoil that is occurring in the Netherlands. However, it can be argued that the presence of Muslim immigrants is considered threatening not because they are Muslim, but because they are not Dutch. Recently, Wilders launched a new website that allows Dutch people to submit formal complaints about Eastern Europeans in the Netherlands. He accuses Romanian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, and especially Polish people of stealing jobs, creating pollution, and causing problems and nuisance (Saunders 2012). He attempts to portray Eastern Europeans as criminals, similarly to how he portrayed Moroccans. He is transitioning from blaming Muslims for Holland’s problems to blaming Poles. This suggests that the discussion of “Islam in The Netherlands” is actually more about differences in culture than it is about Islam. In times of economic crisis, the vocal minority has created an illusion that the Netherlands is strongly anti-immigrant.

## Conclusion

Immigration in Western Europe is at the forefront of political discussion. The dialogue surrounding immigration in the Netherlands is reminiscent of similar debate in the rest of Western Europe. The results of this research indicate that the so-called “cultural war” is overexaggerated. The majority of native Dutch college students surveyed indicate that they support the presence of different cultures in the Netherlands, although they want immigrants to integrate as soon as possible. This is a contradiction that needs to be further explored. There was a clear difference in perceptions toward Moroccans and Turks, the two largest immigrant groups. Survey results revealed that Dutch college students think less favorably of Moroccans than they do of Turks. Immigration in the Netherlands and in Western Europe will continue to be subject to debate in the coming years, but the reasons for anti-immigrant sentiment must be further scrutinized. The fact that college students perceive minimal threat from immigrants is a positive indication of the future of Dutch society. Contrary to newspaper headlines and scholarly research alluding to a “Muslim-Dutch” cultural war, native Dutch college students overwhelmingly disagree that Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands pose a threat to Dutch culture and identity.

## References

- Allen, Peter. 2011. Mail Online. <http://dailymail.co.uk> (accessed 10 February 2012)
- BBC. 2005. Muslims in Europe: Country guide. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm> (accessed 8 February 2012)
- Cheng, Jon. 2009. Studies link college education to tolerance. [Tuftsdaily.com](http://Tuftsdaily.com) (accessed 1 March 2012)
- CNN. 2008. Geert Wilders. [http://topics.cnn.com/topics/geert\\_wilders](http://topics.cnn.com/topics/geert_wilders) (accessed 1 March 2012)
- Cook, Theresa. 2012. “Islam is regarded as the biggest threat to Europe for many Europeans.” [www.msnbc.msn.com](http://www.msnbc.msn.com) (accessed 1 March 2012)
- FORUM: Institute for Multicultural Affairs. 2010. The position of Muslims in the NL.
- Gatestone Institute. 2011. Europe’s Islamic future has arrived. <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/2969/europe-islamic-future> (accessed 15 February 2012)
- Johnston, Ian. 2007. “Islamists raise fears of violent clash of cultures in Europe.” [www.msnbc.msn.com](http://www.msnbc.msn.com) (accessed 1 March 2012)

- Mustafa, Rasha. 2012. Personal communication. 16 March 2012
- Scroggins, Deborah. 2005. The "Dutch-Muslim" cultural war. *The Nation*.
- Pew Global Research. 2005. Islamic Extremism: Common concern for Muslim and Western publics. [Pewglobal.org](http://pewglobal.org)
- Saunders, Doug. 2012. Europe's tulip wars: Geert Wilders adds a second group to his hate list. <http://dougsaunders.net/2012/02/geert-wilders-polish-immigrant> (accessed 1 April 2012)
- Sniderman, Paul, and Louk Hagendoorn. 2007. *When Ways of Life Collide*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Statistics Netherlands. 2012. People with a foreign background. [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl) (accessed 4 April 2012)
- Staub, Ervin. 2007. Preventing Violence and Terrorism and Promoting Positive Relations Between Dutch and Muslim Communities in Amsterdam. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 13:1–28.
- Stephan, Walter. 2000. Integrated threat theory and Intercultural Attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:240–249.
- . 1998. Prejudice Toward Immigrants to Spain and Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 29:559–576.
- Van Der Noll, Jolanda, Edwin Poppe, and Maykel Verkuyten. 2010. Political tolerance and prejudice: Differential reactions toward Muslims in the Netherlands. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 32:46–56.
- Verkuyten, Maykel. 2008. Prejudice toward Muslims in the Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 47:667–685.
- . 2007. Social Psychology and Multiculturalism. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 1:280–297.
- . 2005. Ethnic group identification, and group evaluations among minority and majority groups: Testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88:121–138.
- Ward, Colleen, and Anne-Marie Masgoret. 2006. An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 30:671–682.
- Wiarda, Howard. 2007. *The Dutch Diaspora*. Plymouth: Lexington Books.