Secular Tolerance? Anti-Muslim sentiment in Western Europe

Egbert Ribberink[1], Peter Achterberg and Dick Houtman

Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion accepted version, 6 July 2016

Abstract

The literature about secularization proposes two distinct explanations of anti-Muslim sentiment in secularized societies. The first theory understands it in terms of religious competition between Muslims and the remaining minority of orthodox Protestants; the second understands it as resulting from value conflicts between Muslims and the non-religious majority. The two theories are tested by means of a multilevel analysis of the European Values Study 2008. Our findings indicate that, although more secularized countries are on average more tolerant towards Muslims and Islam, strongest anti-Muslim attitudes are nonetheless found among the non-religious in these countries.

[1] Egbert Ribberink is PhD-student at the Centre for Sociological Research, KU Leuven, Belgium. His primary research interests include atheism, anti-religion and the secularization of Western Europe. Peter Achterberg is Professor of Sociology at Tilburg University, the Netherlands. He is a cultural sociologist with a general interest in studying cultural, political, and religious change in the West. For more information, please visit www.peterachterberg.com. Dick Houtman is Professor of Sociology of Culture and Religion at the KU Leuven, Belgium. His latest book is *Things: Religion and the Question of Materiality* (Fordham University Press, 2012, edited with Birgit Meyer).

Please direct correspondence to: Egbert Ribberink, Centre for Sociological Research, KU Leuven, Parkstraat 45, box 3601, 3000 Leuven, Belgium. E-mail: Egbert.ribberink@kuleuven.be

The data used in this article comes from the European Values Study, 4th wave 2008 dataset (EVS 2008; ZA4800), which can be found on the Gesis.org website. Egbert Ribberink is holder of a Special PhD Fellowship of the Research Foundation – Flanders, Belgium.

Introduction

Long before the PEGIDA demonstrations at the beginning of 2015, anti-Muslim expressions were front-page news in many European countries. Geert Wilders' Fitna movie in the Netherlands, protests against the construction of mosques in Switzerland, the head-scarf controversy in France, and protests against the integration of Turkey into the EU in countries like Austria, France and Germany suggest that anti-Muslim sentiment in Western Europe is common (Betz and Meret 2009, Gerhards and Silke 2011). Particularly striking is its marked presence in some of the most secularized Western European countries, such as the Netherlands (Theo van Gogh and Geert Wilders), Germany (PEGIDA), Norway (Anders Breivik), France (Charlie Hebdo) and Denmark (Mohammed-cartoon riot). This anti-Muslim attitude after all contradicts the common notion that these countries constitute secular bulwarks of tolerance, inclusiveness, and broadmindedness (Bruce 2002:43, Emerson and Hartman 2006:130, Inglehart 1997, Norris and Inglehart 2012, Penninx 2006).

This paper therefore studies anti-Muslim sentiment in these alleged tolerant and inclusive secularized Western European countries, focusing on who constitute its principal carrier groups, and why exactly. There have been various studies on anti-Muslim sentiment in Europe recently, to be sure (e.g. Cesari 2011, Fetzer and Soper 2003, Strabac and Listhaug 2008), but none of these draws a direct link with the literature about secularization. A growing body of literature does however link processes of secularization to newly emerging tensions between groups (Achterberg 2006, Bornschier 2010, McLeod 1997), including non-religious ones and Muslims (Mudde 2010, Sniderman and Hagedoorn 2007, Van Bohemen et al. 2011). We intend to contribute to this literature, both empirically and theoretically, by comparing, analyzing and explaining anti-Muslim sentiment in Western European countries.

In the literature on secularization, two distinct theories propose quite different answers to the question among which groups in secularized countries strongest anti-Muslim sentiment can be expected and why. The first theory understands it as an outcome of religious competition between Muslims and the remaining minority of orthodox Protestants. The second theory relates it to the growth of a secular culture and ensuing value conflict between Muslims and the non-religious. We elaborate the two theories below and test the relevant hypotheses by means of a multilevel analysis of the data of the European Value Studies 2008. After the presentation of our findings, we conclude with a brief summary of our findings and a discussion of their implication for the relationship between secularization and hostility towards Muslims in Western Europe.

Theory and hypotheses

Secularization and anti-Muslim sentiment

When Muslim immigrants from North and East Africa, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey and the Middle East initially arrived in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, they were warmly welcomed (Nielsen 2004). They were willing to do jobs that Europeans did not want to do against wages that Europeans did not accept for themselves. However, those immigrants did not leave Europe when jobs became scarce in the 1980s. Instead, they started to bring their families from their home countries or started new families with partners from their ethnic groups. They were there to stay (Peach and Glebe 1995). Ever since they arrived, but with increasing ferocity since the 1990s, hostility towards Muslims has surfaced throughout Europe, for many different reasons (Casanova 2012, Laurence 2012). In light of the received notion that the secularized countries distinguish themselves by religious indifference, tolerance and broadmindedness (Bruce 2002:43, Emerson and Hartman 2006:130, Inglehart

1997, Norris and Inglehart 2012, Penninx 2006), it is particularly striking to observe the strained relationships with Muslims and Islam in these countries (Mason and Poynting 2006).

In the past, problems with religion in secular societies could be attributed to governments imposing a privatization of religion, as was the case in secularist[i] countries like Albania, Russia, and East Germany. In contemporary Western Europe, however, anti-Muslim sentiment appears not simply to be imposed from above by the political system, but to emerge to a large extent from the general public itself (Froese 2004). For example, in the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, rightist-populist politicians like Geert Wilders, apparently aware of the popularity of secular liberal discourse, use the latter to critique Muslims and Islam as intolerant and basically incompatible with secular modernity (Akkerman 2005, De Koster et al. 2014). So who are those who lend support to this anti-Muslim rhetoric in secularized societies? Are these indeed the non-religious, who feel the secular foundations of liberal secular democracy to be under threat by increasing Muslim public presence? That may the case (Mudde 2010), but a competing theory suggests rather that anti-Muslim sentiment stems from feelings of religious threat and competition among remaining faithful Protestants, who find themselves under pressure of secularization, too (Casanova 1994). We elaborate both theories below, starting with the latter.

Religious competition

A first possible explanation for hostility towards Muslims in secularized countries is offered by the religious competition theory, which addresses the consequences of secularization for the remaining faithful (e.g. Stark and Bainbridge 1987, Stark and Finke 2000, see also Einstein 2008, Scheepers et al. 2002). In Western Europe, Protestantism has lost more of its former dominance than Catholicism (Berger 1967, Bruce 2011), because the values embedded in Protestantism have played a major role in stimulating the process of secularization (Bruce 2002, Martin 1978, 2005). The Protestant Reformers had a strong

aversion against the central authority of the Roman Catholic Church and its decisive role in man's salvation, which stimulated a primacy of the individual believer and the local church over central church authorities. This not only sparked rationalization of faith in Western Europe but also religious pluralism, i.e., an enormous variety of Protestant denominations (Berger 1967, Bruce 2002), which over time led to cultural and religious relativization (Bruce 2011). As a result, many Protestants lost their faith and stopped attending church, and if they continued to believe, they did so in increasingly non-dogmatic ways. Nonetheless, this trend of secularization has not led to a complete demise of Protestantism. Although many of the Western European countries can today best be characterized as 'post-Protestant' or 'secular', there are still sizable numbers of Protestants around. There are even indications that they are becoming not less, but more strict and orthodox, precisely in response to the secularizing forces they are facing up to (Achterberg et al. 2009, Roeland et al. 2010).

According to the religious competition theory, the process of secularization increases competition among the remaining religious groups (e.g. Einstein 2008, Scheepers et al. 2002, Stark and Finke 2000). Indeed, Starke and Finke propose that in the absence of a regulated religious market, i.e., in the absence of a state-sponsored religious monopoly, the smaller religious communities will reinvigorate:

> This theoretical emphasis on competition (…) suggests that individual religious groups will be more energetic and generate higher levels of commitment to the degree that they have a marginal market position—lack market share. That is, other things being equal, small religious minorities will be more vigorous than will firms with a large local following. (Finke and Stark 2004:103)

In the secularized, post-Protestant countries of Western Europe, where religiosity is less and less the norm, religious reinvigoration, fundamentalism and dogmatism are hence predictable behavioral patterns among the remaining Protestants (Berger and Zijderveld 2009, Betz and

Meret 2009, Roeland et al. 2010). Casanova (1994) refers to this as 'religious deprivatization' and suggests that religious groups pressured into a privatized role tend to become more assertive and activist. The religious competition theory thus predicts that in secularized countries anti-Muslim sentiment will be strongest among the remaining Protestants (Hypothesis 1a).

Religious competition theory also explains *why* Protestants will be the ones who are most strongly opposed to Muslims in their vicinity. As explained above, Protestant churches have decline much more than Catholic and Orthodox churches in Western Europe. The remaining Protestant groups now find themselves in a setting of increased competition with religious others. In the case of Muslims, these religious others compete with Protestants in two ways. First, they compete for 'switchers', people who are looking for a religious alternative, although switching from Christianity to Islam can entail an 'expensive loss of religious capital' (Stark and Finke 2000:119). This is a larger threat in secularizing societies, because there people experience 'greater freedom to switch affiliations' (Stark and Bainbridge 1987, 302). Secondly, they compete with rival truth claims, which are a serious threat to Protestants who believe their salvation solely depends on their personal faith (Berger 1967). This increased competition with religious others, then, will make believers 'move back up the tension dimension' (Stark and Finke 2000:216). 'Tension refers to the degree of distinctiveness, separation and antagonism between a religious group and the "outside" world. At the high end of the tension axis, serious antagonism exists, sometimes erupting into bloody conflict' (ibid:143). Historically, orthodoxy with respect to the tiniest of issues (considered far from tiny by those concerned, to be sure) have sparked many a conflict and schism in Protestantism, sometimes more or less peacefully, other times very violently. Moving up the tension dimension also implies that Protestants will become more strict and orthodox (ibid:216), which in turn generates more vigorous religious action (ibid:258). Consequently,

opposition against Muslims can be expected to be strongest among those Protestants who hold on to strict, orthodox beliefs (see Fetzer and Soper 2003, Immerzeel, Jaspers and Lubbers 2013, Johnson 2006). This leads to the extended hypothesis that strongest anti-Muslim sentiment in secularized countries can be found among Protestants with the most orthodox beliefs (Hypothesis 1b).

Non-religious people and anti-Muslim sentiment

An alternative explanation for anti-Muslim sentiment in secularized societies does not focus on religious competition and orthodox Protestants, but on the non-religious (Casanova 2004, Modood 2009, Mudde 2010, Van Bohemen 2011). Although many people may still be church members, and even though there are many religious manifestations such as church buildings and references to God in public speech and public institutions (such as the monarchy or the oaths that public officials take), these manifestations have lost their former specific religious function, such as worship, salvation or blessing (see Bruce 2011, 2013). For Norwegians, for example, it is still common to call themselves Lutheran. However, this is an aspect of national identity rather than of religiosity (Campbell 2007, Martin 2005). Similarly, the expression 'Oh my God' was initially used as a prayer for forgiveness and an act of worship, but is nowadays commonly used as an expression of surprise or excitement. Its meaning has secularized. Indeed, the non-religious expect the religious to normatively accept the quintessentially modern understanding of religion as privatized and in effect without public significance beyond the boundaries of churches and congregations.

Muslims in Western Europe have however not just retained their religious beliefs, but their religious identities have even strengthened through their encounter with the secularized cultures in which they have come to find themselves: the latter are 'Made in Europe' (Phalet

et al. 2013, Voas and Fleischmann 2012). Muslims begin to challenge the secularist accommodation of religion that has evolved in Western societies over the last hundred years, claiming right to confessional education, protection of their faith from criticism and ridicule, and remedying of inequalities in laws and policies on the freedom of religious expression (Glendinning and Bruce 2011:504, Modood 2009). Whereas outside remaining pockets of orthodoxy the typical Christian has transformed his or her religiosity into a strictly personal affair, Muslims are seen as insisting on public recognition and state support for their faith (Cesari 2011), thus challenging the secular truce, i.e., the social contract that guarantees religious freedom yet relegates religion from the public sphere to the private realm (Achterberg et al. 2009, Casanova 1994, Luckmann 1967). This sparks new controversies over the place of religion in Western European countries, as observed by Cesari with respect to Islam in France: "Through the decades, major religious groups – Christian and Jewish – have made uneasy peace with *laïcité* by relegating religious expression to private domains. Muslim settlement in France has disrupted that peace. It has introduced new confusion over boundaries between public and private space and led to renewed controversy over religious freedom and political tolerance" (2002:36). Because Muslims hence challenge the secularized Western European countries, the non-religious are expected to be the principal carriers of anti-Muslim sentiment. This leads us to formulate the hypothesis that in secularized countries, anti-Muslim sentiment will be strongest among the non-religious (Hypothesis 2a).

Besides religious freedom, gender equality and gay rights are central values that foreground the freedom of individuals to shape their own life and their own identity in secular liberal democracies (Mudde 2010). The secular celebration of individual freedom after all entails a rejection of traditional religiously informed morality, i.e., traditional gender roles, marriage and sexual norms (Akkerman 2005, Berger 1967, 2004:140, Campbell 2007:351,

Houtman et al. 2011, Modood 2003, Norris and Inglehart 2012:247, Van Bohemen et al. 2011). Observers suggest that the more people identify with secular values like these, the more they will oppose those who do not share them (Beaman and Tomlins 2015, Betz 2003, Smith 2013, Taylor 2006:14), so that secular identity[ii] becomes a primary motivation for anti-Muslim sentiment (e.g. Bruce 2002:33). The underlying argument is here basically that secular liberal democracies cannot tolerate Islam, because the latter is not compatible with these secular values and hence "intolerant" (i.e., Asad 2008, Casanova 2012). '[W]hile conservative religious people are expected to tolerate behavior they may consider morally abhorrent, such as homosexuality, liberal secular Europeans are openly stating that European societies ought not to tolerate religious behavior or cultural customs that are morally abhorrent in so far as they are contrary to modern liberal secular European norms' (Casanova 2004:10, see also Modood 2003:110). In secularized countries, anti-Muslim sentiment can thus be expected to be strongest among the non-religious, because it is they who are the principal carriers of secular values, which leads to the hypothesis that in secularized countries, anti-Muslim sentiment will be strongest among the non-religious who identify most with secular values (Hypothesis 2b).

Data and methods

In order to be able to test these hypotheses, we used the most recent European Values Study data set: EVS 2008. These data deal with economic, political and religious values and attitudes in Western Europe. We are interested in attitudes towards Muslims in Western European countries with a varying degree of secularity, and therefore we included all Western European countries available in this data set. The Western European countries studied are: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus[iii], Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Great Britain,

Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Northern Ireland with an N of 26,138 in 21 countries**.**

Anti-Muslim sentiment is our dependent variable. There is only one question in the dataset that inquires about respondents' attitude towards Muslims, and it does so only indirectly. It is a so-called "social distance" question about which groups of people respondents find undesirable as neighbors. The question is as follows: "On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbors?" The list consists of fourteen groups, among which "Jews", "Homosexuals", "Drug addicts", "Large families" and "Muslims". Response to the last item, concerning Muslim neighbors, was coded into a dummy variable, with score 1 if the respondent mentioned Muslim neighbors as undesirable and 0 if this group was not mentioned. Since this is a somewhat crude measure to use singularly, we also used several items that asked for anti-immigrant attitudes. There are two reasons to do so. Firstly, almost all larger immigrant minorities in Western Europe have a Muslim background (with the exception of Indian people in Great Britain). When people are asked to think of immigrants, they tend to think about Muslims most of the time[iv] (Spruyt and Elchardus 2012, see also Strabac and Listhaug 2008). And several studies have shown that anti-Muslim sentiment is closely related to other types of prejudice, like ethnocentrism (Van Bohemen et al. 2011) cultural and economic xenophobia (Elchardus and Spruyt 2014) and other general measures of prejudice and authoritarianism (De Koster et al. 2010). Secondly, using the dichotomous 'Muslim as neighbor' item, we conducted a linear probability multilevel analysis to check whether the results from the extended scale are comparable with the responses to the dichotomous variable. We found the results to be similar in such a way that we can be confident that our more robust, combined scale measures anti-Muslim sentiment as effectively as the dichotomous social distance variable does[v]. The items used (8) inquire about the respondents' attitude towards immigrants

getting jobs, undermining cultural life, place in welfare system, influence on crime, and about the number of immigrants. All items were coded in such a way that high scores indicated negative attitudes towards immigrants and Muslims. The items were standardized and linearly combined to create a scale for anti-Muslim sentiment.

Table 1: Factor and reliability analysis for the anti-Islamic attitudes scale

Item	Factor Loading
Immigrants will become a threat to our society	0.85
There are too many immigrants	0.80
Immigrants undermine our cultural life	0.79
Immigrants are a strain on our welfare system	0.79
Immigrants take jobs away from our people	0.78
Immigrants increase crime problems	0.74
Immigrants make me feel a stranger	0.67
When jobs are scarce, give priority to native inhabitants	0.63
I do not like having a Muslim as a neighbor	0.39
Eigen value	4.75
*R*2	0.53
Cronbach's α	0.87
N	24,662

Source: EVS 2008.

Our measure of non-religiosity is based on two indices of religiosity. First, we included respondents indicating no religious affiliation (coded as 1, religious affiliation is coded as 0). Second, we included those people who indicated to be a member of a religious denomination, but hardly ever or never go to church (attendance measure, coded monthly attendance or more as religious, others non-religious)[vi].

Our measure for country's level of secularity was based on this same calculation, aggregated at the country level.

Individual Protestants were coded as such when they indicated to be a member of a Protestant denomination (all Protestant churches, including the Free Church) and attended church at least on a monthly basis.

We created a Muslim presence variable, which simply indicates the percentage of Muslims per country, as provided by the Pew Templeton Religious Futures Project[vii] (see Table 2). Based on Strabac and Listhaug (2008), we did not have particular expectations for this indicator, but we use it as a control variable.

The overview of the unstandardized[viii] percentages of Muslims per country, and the country's level of secularity measure can be found in Table 2.

Table 2: Overview of country-level religiosity measures

Country	Level of Secularity	Muslim Presence	Protestant Culture	Catholic/Orthodox Culture
Sweden	.93	.05	.05	.01
Denmark	.91	.04	.08	.00
Finland	.90	.01	.09	.00
Norway	.89	.04	.09	.01
France	.88	.08	.01	.09
Iceland	.88	.01	.11	.00
Germany	.84	.06	.06	.08
Belgium	.83	.06	.01	.14
Great Britain	.81	.05	.10	.04
Luxembourg	.81	.02	.01	.16
Switzerland	.80	.05	.06	.11
Netherlands	.75	.06	.14	.09
Spain	.75	.02	.00	.19
Austria	.72	.05	.01	.25
Greece	.56	.05	.00	.43*
Portugal	.53	.01	.01	.44
Italy	.52	.04	.00	.47
Northern Ireland	.47	.05	.24	.26
Cyprus	.45	.25**	.00	.54*
Ireland	.42	.01	.02	.54
Malta	.16	.01	.01	.83

Source: EVS 2008. Pew Research Forum 2010 (*Orthodox affiliation, **Includes Northern Cyprus)

In table 2, we also included the aggregated levels of regular attending Protestants and Catholics/Orthodox per country for comparison reasons, but these are no country-level variables in the multilevel analysis.

As stated above, secular values center on the freedom of an individual to decide one's fate, unhindered by religious authorities. We used the variables that express support for sexual permissiveness (homo-sexuality, cohabitation, abortion), a non-traditional view of marriage (women can also work, men can take care of children, people do not have a duty to society to have children) and a non-traditional view of gender-patterns (having a job can be as fulfilling for women as raising children, preschool children suffer when their mother is working, etc.). We grouped sixteen items around these three themes and created three scales that indicate agreement with that theme[ix]. The Cronbach's α for these three scales range between .62 and .65. We calculated a combined score for these three scales to create the secular values variable. The factor analysis of this combined scale is given in Table 3.

Table 3: Factor and reliability analysis for the secular values scale

Item:	Factor Loading
Non-traditional gender values	0.85
Non-traditional marriage values	0.84
Sexual permissiveness values	0.80
Eigen value	2.05
R2	0.68
N	24,468

Source: EVS 2008.

In order to measure orthodox beliefs, we used several indicators of religious convictions. We constructed a combined scale of five items that asks for respondents' belief in God, life after death, heaven, hell and sin (with answers "yes" coded as 2, "no" coded as 0, and "don't know" as an intermediate position, coded as 1). The average score for these five

items was calculated and standardized to create the variable for orthodox beliefs[x]. The reliability and factor analysis of this measure are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Factor and reliability analysis for the orthodox beliefs scale

Item	Factor Loading
Belief in heaven	0.87
Belief in hell	0.81
Belief in sin	0.79
Belief in afterlife	0.75
Belief in God	0.73
Eigen value	3.14
*R*2	0.63
Cronbach's α	0.85
N	27,714

Source: EVS 2008.

As individual control variables we used gender, age (16-108 years), level of education (as coded in EVS in six stages) and income (recoded in five categories: €0-1500/month, €1500-2500/month, €2500-5000/month, €5000 or more/month and a non-reporting category[xi]). In order to gain insight into the variables that were thus created, the descriptive statistics for each of the variables are presented below in Table 5.

Before moving to the analysis and results section, two preliminary observations can be made that give a general overview of the religious situation in Western Europe. Firstly, in the discussion of the theory leading up to the hypothesis on religious competition, it was argued that Protestants would be most prone to oppose Muslims as they have undergone the effect of secularization more than other religious groups. Table 2 indeed shows very low percentages for the number of Protestants in Western European countries. Most Protestants can be found in Northern Ireland (24 percent of population), followed by Iceland (14%), Netherlands (11%) and Great Britain (10%). To compare, based on the same calculation for the number of Catholics and Orthodox people, the scores are vastly different, with Malta showing 83% of the population being Catholic and attending church monthly or more often, followed by

Ireland (54%) and Italy (47%). For the Orthodox countries, Cyprus (54%) and Greece (43%) show similar numbers. These numbers indicate that Protestant countries have indeed secularized much more than the Catholic and Orthodox countries.

Table 5: Descriptive statistics for all variables used

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean/ Percentage	Std. Deviation
Anti-Islamic attitudes scale	27,053	-1.76	1.51	0.006	.71380
Country-level Secularity	21	.16	.93	.7137	.19969
Muslim presence	21	.01	.25	.0461	.04473
Non-religious (ind.)	28,075	.00	1.00	.7133	.45224
Protestant denomination (ind.)	28,075	.00	1.00	.0441	.20539
Secular values	28,155	-4.56	4.25	-.0035	1.56286
Orthodox beliefs	27,714	.00	2.00	1.0307	.72513
Age	28,306	16	108	48.86	17.961
Sex respondent	28,391	1	2	1.55	.498
Education level (recoded)	28,062	0	6	2.99	1.46
Income <1500 (dummy)	28,403	0	1	25.6	
Income 1500-2500 (dummy)	28,403	0	1	28.6	
Income 2500-5000 (dummy)	28,403	0	1	14.6	
Income >5000 (dummy)	28,403	0	1	8.2	
Income non-report (dummy)	28,403	0	1	23.1	
Valid N (list wise)	26,138				

Source: EVS 2008

Secondly, in Figure 1 an overview of the average levels of anti-Muslim sentiment for all countries in our model is given. It shows that the countries with most negative scores on anti-Muslim sentiment, are also among the most secularized countries and vice versa. In statistical terms, the country-level indicator of secularity is negatively correlated with anti-Muslim sentiment (Pearson's *r* is -0.741).

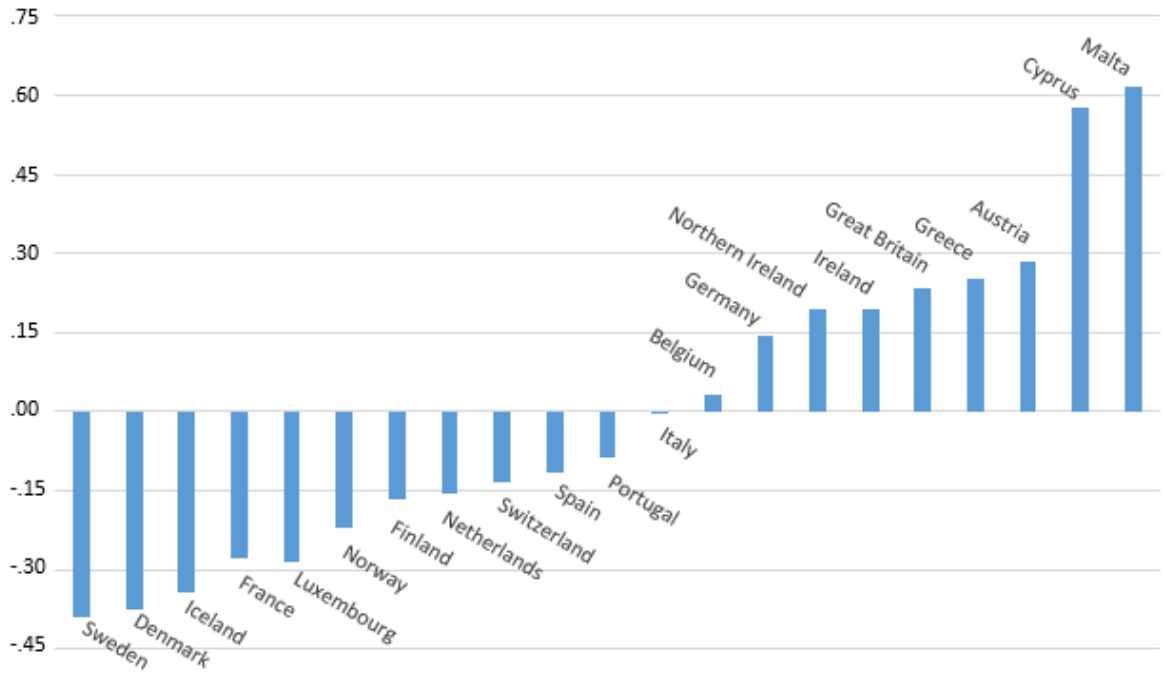

Figure 1. Country level anti-Muslim sentiment in 22 Western European countries. Source: EVS 2008.

Against this background, we will now present the analysis of two sets of hypotheses that each proposed quite distinct answers to the question which groups would be the carriers of this anti-Muslim sentiment in these countries and why.

Results

With the analysis of our dataset on political/economic and religious values, we intend to test the two hypotheses concerning anti-Muslim sentiment in secularized Western Europe. Firstly, we developed the hypothesis that relates anti-Muslim sentiment to the reinvigoration of Protestantism in secularized countries, with a sub-hypothesis expecting the strongest opposition among the most orthodox believers. Secondly, we developed a hypothesis that relates anti-Muslim sentiment to the non-religious in secularized countries, with the sub-hypothesis that the strongest aversion against Muslims would be explained by the identification with secular values.

We used ordinary least squares linear multilevel analysis with maximum likelihood estimation to test these hypotheses for two reasons. First and foremost, multilevel analysis makes it possible to simultaneously estimate effects of individual-level variables and of country-level variables. As our data are structured in such a way that there are two levels, 26,138 individuals with certain characteristics (e.g. age, education, beliefs, attitudes, etc.) are nested in 21 countries with certain characteristics (percentage of Muslims per country, country-level secularity), multilevel analysis is the most suitable option. Secondly, as our hypotheses aim at investigating how individuals respond differently to differences in country-level religiosity, multilevel analysis is very suitable as it allows for testing cross-level interactions. We estimated different models with a different number of effects. These are effects of the variables at either the individual or at the national level, and we estimated the interactions between these variables. Each of the models also contains so-called random effects. These effects, noted as variances, are estimations of the variability of the mean level of anti-Muslim sentiment in a country, and of the variability of the level of anti-Muslim sentiment at the individual level. Each model that shows lower levels of these two types of variability explains anti-Muslim sentiment a bit better. The results of our analysis are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Explaining anti-Islamic attitudes (OLS multilevel analysis, Maximum Likelihood, N=26138 in 21 countries.)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Constant	0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.03	0.00	0.02
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Country-level Secularity	--	-0.16***	-0.17***	-0.14***	-0.16***	-0.14***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Muslim presence	--	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.10***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Gender = male (ref.)	--	0	0	0	0	0
Gender = female	--	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age	--	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Education	--	-0.13***	-0.13***	-0.13***	-0.13***	-0.13***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income >€5000 (ref.)	--	0	0	0	0	0
Income €2500-5000	--	0.02*	0.02**	0.02*	0.02*	0.02**
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income €1500-2500	--	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income <€1500	--	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income non-reported	--	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Non-religious	--	0.08***	0.08***	0.09***	0.07***	0.07***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Protestant denomination	--	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Secular values	--	-0.22***	-0.22***	-0.22***	-0.23***	-0.23***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Orthodox beliefs	--	0.01	0.03	0.04	-0.00	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Country-level Secularity X	--	--	--	-0.00	--	--
Protestant denomination				(0.01)		
Country-level Secularity X	--	--	--	-0.06***	--	--
Orthodox beliefs				(0.01)		
Country-level Secularity X	--	--	--	--	--	0.08***
Non-religious						(0.01)
Country-level Secularity X	--	--	--	--	--	-0.03***

Secular values						(0.01)
-2loglikelihood	72956.83	67856.26	67659.96	67588.41	67536.23	67407.49
Variance individual level	0.97	0.79	0.79	0.78	0.78	0.78
Variance country level	0.044	0.022	0.024	0.024	0.027	0.026
Variance Protestant denom.	--	--	0.000	0.000	--	--
Variance orthodox beliefs	--	--	0.013	0.013	--	--
Variance non-religious	--	--	--	--	0.001	0.001
Variance secular values	--	--	--	--	0.017	0.016

~p<0.10, *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed test for significance). Source: EVS 2008

The individual control variables in our models, i.e. gender, age, income and education, result in stable individual effects on anti-Muslim sentiment. The direction of these effects is in accordance with the literature on these variables. Females are slightly less anti-Muslim in their attitude than males, older people tend to score slightly higher on anti-Muslim sentiment, lower income people too (Savelkoul et al. 2011) and education leads to significantly less anti-Muslim attitudes (Hello, Scheepers, and Gijsberts 2002). Also, at the country level, the presence of Muslims gives a stable positive effect in all models. This is different from what we expected, based on the results obtained in earlier studies. However, it is not surprising, because in countries where there are hardly any Muslims, we would not expect to find strong anti-Muslim sentiment. Although these control variables show consistent effects, the other variables relevant to our hypotheses show strong significant effects as well and these are not diminished by the control variables. We will discuss the outcomes relevant to our hypotheses next.

As discussed in the operationalization section, there is a negative correlation between anti-Muslim sentiment and country-level secularity. This is also visible in this multilevel model (model 2 in Table 6). Thus, secularized countries on average score less high on anti-Muslim sentiment than religious countries. The question is who in this climate of relative tolerance, is most prone to oppose to the presence of Muslims. Our first hypothesis stated that

in secularized countries, levels of anti-Muslim sentiment will be higher among Protestants (H1a), and that this can be explained by their level of religious orthodoxy (H1b). To begin with the first, our analysis shows no individual effect for Protestantism[xii]. Inclusion of the random slopes effect for Protestant denomination (Model 3) or the interaction effect for Protestants in secularized countries (not significant, see Model 4) does not alter this picture. In other words, people with Protestant affiliation do not specifically score high on anti-Muslim sentiment, nor is this altered when living in secularized countries. Hypothesis 1A must therefore be rejected.

Looking at the most orthodox among this group, there is no significant relationship at the individual level. Only in secularized countries there is an interaction effect, showing them to be even more tolerant towards Muslims than less orthodox believers. See Figure 2 for a visual representation[xiii] of this effect on anti-Muslim sentiment in secularized countries. We thus find that instead of competing with, orthodox believers identify and associate with Muslims, as they probably experience the same pressure from their secular environment. Therefore, hypothesis 1B must also be rejected. The religious competition theory fails to explain opposition against Muslims in secularized countries.

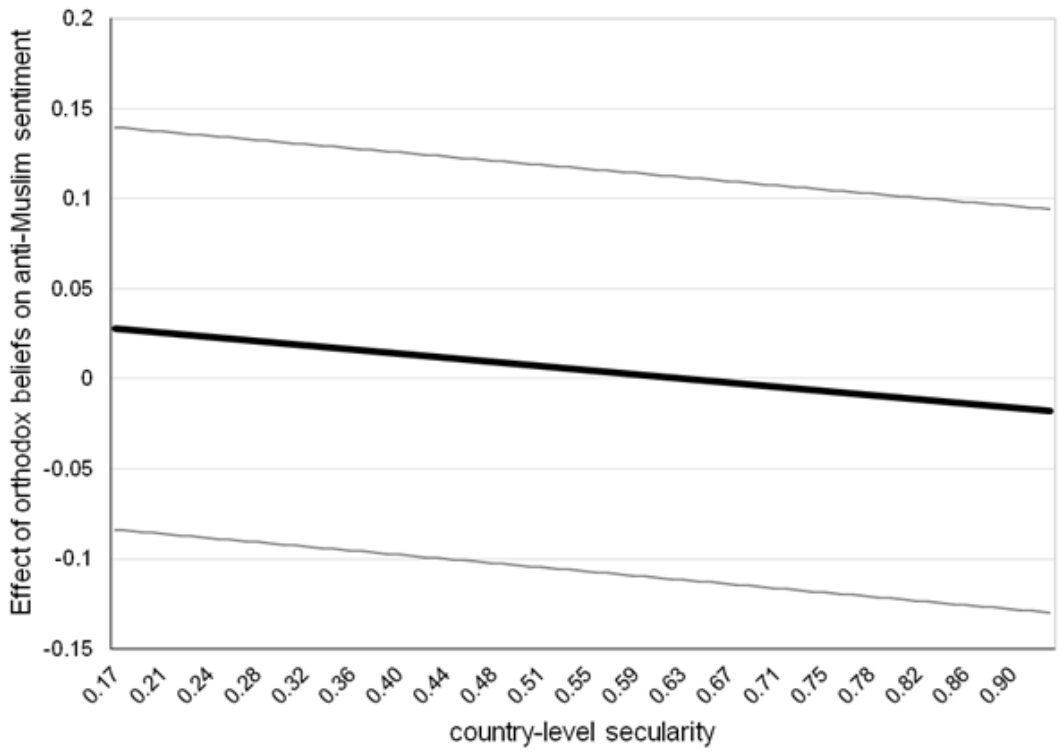

Figure 2. Predicted effect of orthodox beliefs on anti-Muslim sentiment in different secularized countries. Source: EVS 2008

Our second hypothesis stated that anti-Muslim sentiment could be expected to be stronger among the non-religious in secularized countries (Hypothesis 2a) and that this sentiment could be attributed to those who identified with secular values most (Hypothesis 2b). Indeed, non-religious respondents score higher on anti-Muslim sentiment than religious people (Models 2-6 in Table 6). The inclusion of the interaction effect (Model 6) shows how the non-religious are even more intolerant in more secular contexts. Figure 3 (based on Model 6), illustrates the effect of non-religiosity on anti-Muslim sentiment in secularized countries. The descending slope shows that the gap between the non-religious and the religious groups grows wider the more secular a country is. This growing divide between religious and non-religious in their tolerance towards Muslims is striking. However, it cannot be answered conclusively whether this finding must be attributed to the tolerance of the religious, who are a minority in secularized contexts or to the intolerance of the non-religious, who are a majority in those contexts. Still, within the (more tolerant) secularized countries, the non-religious are more

intolerant towards Muslims than the religious, which confirms our expectation as laid out in hypothesis 2a.

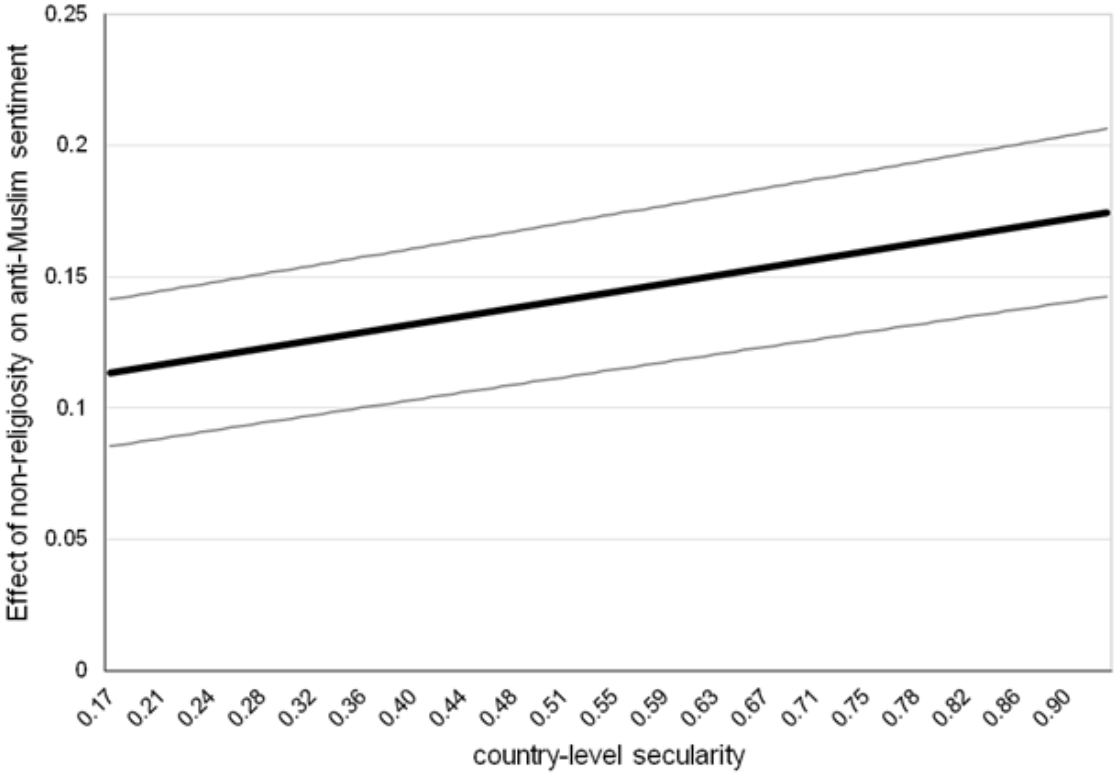

Figure 3. Predicted effect of non-religiosity on anti-Muslim sentiment in different secularized countries. Source: EVS 2008

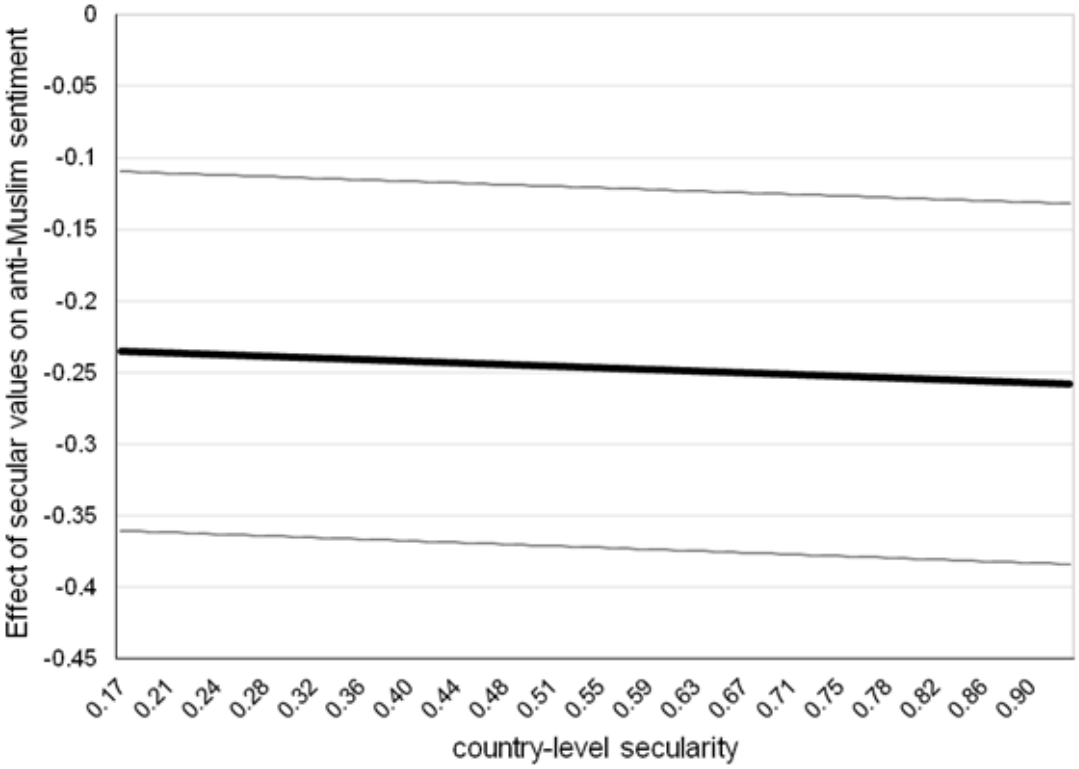

Figure 4. Predicted effect of secular values on anti-Muslim sentiment in different secularized countries. Source: EVS 2008

The question is, whether this intolerance by the non-religious can be explained by their identification with secular values, as hypothesis 2b argues. The answer is no. Models 2-6 all show how people that identify with secular values score lower on anti-Muslim sentiment, than those who do not identify as much with secular values. Including the interaction effect does not change this picture at all. If anything, it even strengthens this trend somewhat (Model 6). See Figure 4 for a representation of these effects. This implies that people with secular values are on average very tolerant towards Muslims, and that a country's level of secularity influences this attitude slightly positively, too. For these reasons, we find no support for hypothesis 2b, which stated that in secularized countries, the more people identify with secular values, the more intolerant they will become towards people with opposing values. This hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

A country's level of secularity does influence people's attitude towards Muslims, but not exactly in the way we expected. The opposition towards Muslims neither comes from competition with the orthodox Protestants, nor from people who identify with secular values most, but it does show to divide the religious from the non-religious groups in secularized societies. We thus find evidence for polarized situation among these groups around the accommodation of Muslims, which explains the controversies and debate that are so prominent in the more secularized countries.

Conclusions

In secularized Western European countries anti-Muslim sentiment is widespread. This article was aimed at finding out who constitute its principal carrier groups and why. Following the religious competition thesis, we expected the Protestants to be most intolerant,

especially when they are more orthodox. However, we could not find confirmation for this thesis. Instead, our results point out that Protestants who take their faith most seriously are most tolerant towards Muslims. There seems to be some sort of solidarity between these religious groups that struggle to hold on to their religion and their values in a secular context (Fetzer and Soper 2003). An example of this interpretation of our finding might be that many religious believers are frequently found to be particularly welcoming towards refugees from Syria and Iraq in Western Europe.

Based on a discussion of secularization and conflicts around secular values, we also derived a hypothesis that expected the strongest opposition towards Muslims among the non-religious and that argued that this could be explained by their identification with secular values. The first part of this hypothesis was endorsed, the second part was not. There is a consistent relationship between non-religiosity and anti-Muslim sentiment. This association is even stronger in secular contexts. In these contexts, there is more polarization between the religious and the non-religious than in religious contexts (i.e. Ribberink, Achterberg, and Houtman 2013). These two categories are divided on the issue of Muslim integration in secular contexts more than in religious contexts. Consequently, this explains the controversies and debate that seem to be primarily prominent in relatively 'tolerant' secular countries. The expectation that identification with secular values would trigger anti-Muslim sentiment among the non-religious could not be endorsed, however. Although secular liberal values have repeatedly been argued to be the major reason for the rejection of Islam in Europe, we find this not to be the case (Casanova 2004, Modood 2003, Mudde 2010). This issue requires further investigation.

An extended longitudinal analysis of Western European countries could perhaps establish whether this polarization is a final spasm of public religious conflict in a trend towards a broadly embraced religious indifference (2002:43), or another example of the

continuing religious contestation of the 'secular truce' (Achterberg et al. 2009, Davie 2007:197). A longitudinal analysis could also assess the extent as to which the growth of secularity in a country creates less or more conflicts over the values that are seen as foundational to liberal secular democracy. One of the cultural conflicts that is at hand in Western Europe, is the popularity of right-wing populists and its relation with issues of (Muslim-) immigrant integration, enlargement of the European Union and loss of the sacred canopy (Achterberg 2006). Our findings suggest that the relationship between non-religiosity and extreme voting behavior is stronger, when a context has secularized more (compare Arzheimer and Carter 2009, Ribberink, Achterberg, and Houtman 2015).

---

[i] The term 'Secularism is 'mostly used in connection with the nationalist agenda of political secularists in countries like Eastern Germany (at the time), Estonia and France (Martin 2005). It is also used to describe the ideology of militant atheists, primarily in the United States context (Cimono and Smith 2007). In this way it is distinct from 'the secular' or 'secularity' that are mostly used to describe non-religiosity.

[ii]Although secular people usually do not identify themselves as such and relate more to a humanist or atheist identity, the consistent identification with secular values might create this shared identity (see Lee 2015). In this study, secular identity is used as an analytical concept, not as an empirical concept.

[iii] We excluded Northern Cyprus since it is part of Turkey

[iv] Of course this is a generalization or even a bias. Even within the Muslim-category there are many differences in attitudes, convictions and beliefs (Modood 2003). However, what we use here is the way in which people have a similar attitude towards Muslims as to immigrants in general in Western Europe.

[v] For example, country-level secularity scored between .04*** and .07*** on the 'no-Muslim-neighbor-item', secular values .11*** and .12*** and orthodox beliefs .03 and .04***. Non-religiosity did not score as strongly as in our normal model (between .00 and .03***). The interaction-items did score similarly, albeit less strongly (orthodox beliefs*country level secularity scored -.04*** and non-religiosity* country level secularity scored .05***). Also, this extra model has much higher levels of explained variance as a result with a maximum of 3% explained variance at the individual level, whereas the models in Table 6 have a maximum of 22% variance.

[vi] Especially for the Scandinavian countries, this combined measure gives a better indication of non-religiosity For example, in Denmark around 12% of the people indicate no denomination, but around 91 % is included in the combined measure of no denomination and members of a denomination that indicate less than monthly attendance. We think the latter percentage more actually indicates Danes' level of religiosity, since for them, church membership is more related to citizenship than to religious convictions or practices (Campbell 2007, Martin 2005).

[vii] www.globalreligiousfutures.org (retrieved on 23rd of February 2016)

[viii] In the multilevel analysis we worked with the standardized score in order to be able to better compare the effects.

[ix] The 16 items are: Children need both parents to grow up happily; Women need children to be happy; Women should not be single when parenting; Men need children to be happy; To have children is a duty towards society; It's child's duty to take care of ill parent (Non-traditional gender scale – 6 items - Reliability: Cronbach's α is .65). Pre-school kids suffer from a working mother; Women want to be at home and have children; Long-term relationship is necessary in order to be happy; Working mother cannot establish warm and secure relationship with child; Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay; What is important for a happy marriage: to have children (Non-traditional marriage scale – 6 items - Reliability: Cronbach's α is .62), Do you approve of abortion when: women in not married; Do you approve of abortion when: married couple does not want more children; How do you feel about: it is all right for a couple to live together without getting married; How do you feel about: a homosexual couple to adopt children (Sexual permissiveness scale – 4 items - Reliability: Cronbach's α is .62).

[x] The orthodox beliefs measure and the secular values measure are negatively correlated (.45***), but not in such a way that they cannot be put in the model together.

[xi] The EVS-dataset has 23.1% missings on this income-measure. Following Savelkoul et al. (2011) we added the category of non-reported-income, to our list of dummy variables, in order to include all respondents. This category gives similar results as the lower income groups.

[xii] Apart from a small effect of Protestant denomination in the sixth model, but this was designed to measure the effects of non-religiosity and secular values. Models 2, 3 and 4 were designed to measure the effect of Protestant denomination and there it appears that this variable does not influences people's anti-Muslim attitudes.

[xiii] This representation is based on a calculation developed by Golder (2003) and one of the co-authors of this paper.

Bibliography

Achterberg, Peter. 2006. *Considering cultural conflict: Class politics and cultural politics in Western societies*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishers.

Achterberg, Peter, Stef Aupers, Peter Mascini, Dick Houtman, Willem de Koster en Jeroen van der Waal. 2009. "A Christian cancellation of the secularist truce?: Waning Christian religiosity and waxing religious deprivatization in the West." *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion* 48 (4): 687-701.

Akkerman, Tjitske. 2005. “Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10(3): 337-54.

Arzheimer, Kai and Elisabeth Carter. 2009. “Christian religiosity and voting for West European radical right parties.” *Western European Politics* 32(5): 985-1011.

Asad, Talal. 2008. “Reflections on blasphemy and secular criticism.” In *Religion: Beyond a concept*, Hent de Vries (Editor), pp. 580-609. Fordham University Press.

Beaman, Lori G. and Steven Tomlins (Editors). 2015. *Atheist identities. Spaces and social contexts*. Springer.

Berger, Peter L. 1967. *The sacred canopy: Elements of a sociological theory of religion*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Berger, Peter L. (ed.) 1999. *The desecularization of the world: Resurgent religion and world politics*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Berger, Peter L. 2004. *Questions of faith: A skeptical affirmation of Christianity.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Berger, Peter L. and Anton Zijderveld. 2009. *In praise of doubt: How to have convictions without becoming a fanatic.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers

Betz, Hans-George. 2003. “Xenophobia, identity politics and exclusionary populism in Western Europe.” *Socialist Register* 39: 194-210.

Betz, Hans-George and Susi Meret. 2009. “Revisiting Lepanto: The political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe.” Patterns of Prejudice 43(3-4): 313-34.

Bornschier, Simon. 2010. *Cleavage politics and the populist right. The new cultural conflict in Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bruce, Steve. 2002. *God is dead: Secularization in the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bruce, Steve. 2011. *Secularization: In defence of an unfashionable theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bruce, Steve. 2013. "Post-secularity and religion in Britain: An empirical assessment". *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 28(3): 369-84.

Campbell, Colin. 2007. *Easternization of the West: a thematic account of cultural change in the modern era.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Casanova, Jose. 1994. *Public religions in the modern world*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Casanova, Jose. 2004. "Religion, European secular identities, and European integration." *Transit* 27 (2). http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-07-29-casanova-en.html (retrieved on 10 September 2013).

Casanova, Jose. 2012. "The politics of nativism: Islam in Europe, Catholicism in the United States." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 38(4-5): 485–95.

Cesari Botman, Jocelyne. 2002. "Islam in France: The shaping of a religious minority," in *Muslims in the West, from sojourners to citizens*, edited by Yvonne Haddad-Yazbek, pp. 36-51. Oxford University Press.

Cesari Botman, Jocelyne. 2011. "Muslims in Europe and in the US: A shared but overrated risk of radicalism." In *Jihadi terrorism and the radicalization challenge, European and American experiences*, edited by Rik Coolsaet, pp. 101-16. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Davie, Grace. 2007. Sociology of Religion. London: Sage Publications.

De Koster, Willem, Peter Achterberg, Dick Houtman and Jeroen van der Waal. 2010. Van God los: Post-Christelijk cultureel conflict in Nederland [One nation without God: Post-Christian cultural conflict in the Netherlands.] *Sociologie*, 6(3):27-49.

De Koster, Willem, Peter Achterberg, Jeroen Van der Waal, Samira Van Bohemen and Roy Kemmers. 2014. "Progressiveness and the new right: The electoral relevance of culturally progressive values in the Netherlands." *West European Politics* 37(3):584-604.

Elchardus, Mark and Bram Spruyt. 2014. "Universalism and anti-Muslim sentiment." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 38:75-85.

Einstein, Mara. 2008. *Brands of faith; Marketing religion in a commercial age.* Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Emerson, Michael O. and David Hartman. 2006. "The rise of religious fundamentalism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 32:127–44.

Fetzer, Joel and Christopher Soper. 2003. "The roots of public attitudes toward state accommodation of European Muslims: Religious practices before and after September 11." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42(2): 247-58.

Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. 2004. "The dynamics of religious economies." In *Handbook of the sociology of religion*, edited by Michele Dillon, pp. 96-109. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Froese, Paul. 2004. "Forced secularization in Soviet Russia: Why an atheistic monopoly failed." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43(1): 35-50.

Gerhards, Jürgen and Silke Hans. 2011. “Why not Turkey?: attitudes towards Turkish membership in the EU among citizens in 27 European countries,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(4): 741-66.

Glendinning, Tony and Steve Bruce. 2011. “Privatization or deprivatization: British attitudes about the public presence of religion.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50(3):503–16.

Golder, Matt. 2003. “Explaining variation in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 36(4):432-65.

Hello, Evelyn, Peer Scheepers and Mérove Gijsberts. 2002. “Education and ethnic prejudice in Europe: explanations for cross-national variances in the educational effect on ethnic prejudice.” *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 46(1): 5-24.

Halman, Loek and Veerle Draulans. 2006. “How secular is Europe?” *The British Journal of Sociology* 57(2):263-88.

Houtman, Dick, Stef Aupers and Willem de Koster. 2011. *Paradoxes of individualization: Social control and social conflict in contemporary modernity*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Immerzeel, Tim, Eva Jaspers and Marcel Lubbers. 2013. “Religion as catalyst or restraint of radical right voting?” *West European Politics* 36 (5): 946–968.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic and political change in 43 countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Johnson, Stephen. 2006. “Religion and anti-Islamic attitudes.” *Review of Religious Research* 48 (1): 5-16

Laurence, Jonathan. 2012. *Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The state's role in minority integration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lee, Lois. 2015. “Ambivalent atheist identities.” *Social Analysis* 59(2):20-39.

Luckmann, Thomas. 1967. *The invisible religion: The problem of religion in modern society.* New York: Macmillan.

McLeod, Hugh. 1997. *Religion and the people of Western Europe 1789–1989*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martin, David. 1978. *A general theory of secularization*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Martin, David. 2005. *On secularization. Towards a revised general theory*. Aldershot: Ashgate

Mason, Victoria and Scott Poynting. 2006. “"Tolerance, freedom, justice and peace?": Britain, Australia and anti-Muslim racism since 11 September 2001”. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 27 (4): 365-91.

Modood, Tariq. 2003. “Muslims and the politics of difference.” *The Political Quarterly*, 74: 100–115.

Modood, Tariq. 2009. “Muslims, religious equality and secularism.” in *Secularism, religion and multicultural citizenship* edited by Geoffrey Brahm Levey and Tariq Modood, pp. 164-85. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mudde, Cas. 2010. “The intolerance of the tolerant.” http://www.opendemocracy.net/cas-mudde/intolerance-of-tolerant (retrieved on 10 September 2013)

Nielsen, Jørgen S. 2004. *Muslims in Western Europe.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald F. Inglehart. 2012. “Muslim integration into Western cultures: between origins and destinations.” *Political Studies* 60: 228–251.

Peach, Ceri and Günther Glebe. 1995. “Muslim minorities in Western Europe.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18(1):26-45.

Penninx, Rinus. 2006. “Dutch immigrant integration policies before and after the Van Gogh murder.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 7(2): 241-54.

Phalet, Karen, Mieke Maliepaard, Fenella Fleischmann & Derya Güngör. 2013. “The making and unmaking of religious boundaries; Comparing Turkish and Moroccan Muslim minorities in European cities.” *Journal of Contemporary Migration Studies, 1(1):123-45.*

Ribberink, Egbert, Peter Achterberg and Dick Houtman. 2013. “Deprivatization of disbelief: Non-religiosity and anti-religiosity in 14 Western European countries.” *Politics and Religion* 6(1): 101-20.

Ribberink, Egbert, Peter Achterberg and Dick Houtman. 2015. “Are all socialists anti-religious? Anti-religiosity and the socialist left in 21 Western European countries (1990-2008).” *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 30:435-52.

Roeland, Johan, Stef Aupers, Dick Houtman, Martijn de Koning, and Ineke Noomen. 2010. “The quest for religious purity in New Age, Evangelicalism and Islam: Religious renditions of Dutch youth and the Luckmann legacy”. *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion* 1: 289-306.

Savelkoul, Michael, Peer Scheepers, Jochem Tolsma and Louk Hagendoorn. 2011. “Anti-Muslim attitudes in the Netherlands: Tests of contradictory hypotheses derived from

ethnic competition theory and intergroup contact theory". *European Sociological Review* 27(6):741–75.

Scheepers, Peer, Mèrove Gijsberts and Evelyn Hello. 2002. "Religiosity and prejudice against ethnic minorities in Europe: Cross-national tests on a controversial relationship." *Review of Religious Research* 43(3): 242-65.

Smith, Jesse. 2013. "Creating a Godless community: The collective identity work of contemporary American atheists." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 52: 80–99.

Sniderman, Paul M. and Louk Hagendoorn. 2007. *When ways of life collide: Multiculturalism and its discontents in the Netherlands.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Spruyt, Bram and Mark Elchardus. 2012. "Are anti-Muslim feelings more widespread than anti-foreigner feelings? Evidence from two split-sample experiments." *Ethnicities* 12: 800-20.

Stark, Rodney and William S. Bainbridge. 1987. *A Theory of Religion*. New York: Lang & Toronto Studies in Religion.

Stark, Rodney and Roger Finke. 2000. *Acts of faith: Explaining the human side of religion.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Strabac, Zan and Ola Listhaug. 2008. "Anti-Muslim prejudice in Europe: A multilevel analysis of survey data from 30 countries." *Social Science Research* 37: 268–86

Taylor, Charles. 2006. "Religion and European integration." In *Religion in the new Europe,* edited by Krzysztof Michalski, pp. 1-22. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Van Bohemen, Samira, Roy Kemmers, Dick Houtman, Stef Aupers, & Willem de Koster. 2011." Secular intolerance in a post-Christian society: The case of Islam in the Netherlands." In *Paradoxes of Individualization: Social Control and Social Conflict in Contemporary Modernity,* edited by Dick Houtman, Stef Aupers & Willem de Koster, 123-40. Farnham: Ashgate:

Voas, David and Fenella Fleischmann. 2012. "Islam moves west: Religious change in the first and second generations." *Annual Review of Sociology,* 38: 525-45.

Appendix A. Explaining Muslim neighbor attitudes (Linear probability multilevel model, Maximum Likelihood, N=26,497 in 21 countries).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Constant	0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Country-level Secularity	--	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.04***	-0.07***	-0.04***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Muslim presence	--	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.05***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Gender = male (ref.)	--	0	0	0	0	0
Gender = female	--	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age	--	0.03***	0.04***	0.03***	0.04***	0.03***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Education	--	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income >€5000 (ref.)	--	0	0	0	0	0
Income €2500-5000	--	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income €1500-2500	--	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income <€1500	--	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income non-reported	--	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Non-religious	--	0.01	0.01	0.02*	0.01	0.03*
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Protestant denomination	--	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02*
		(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Secular values	--	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12**	-0.12**
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Orthodox beliefs	--	-0.04***	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04***	-0.04***
		(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Country-level Secularity X Protestant denomination	--	--	--	-0.01	--	--
				(0.01)		
Country-level Secularity X Orthodox beliefs	--	--	--	-0.04***	--	--
				(0.01)		
Country-level Secularity X Non-religious	--	--	--	--	--	0.05***
						(0.01)
Country-level Secularity X Secular values	--	--	--	--	--	0.01
						(0.01)
-2loglikelihood	74728.65	74021.60	74001.93	73977.24	74009.04	73968.85
Variance individual level	0.99	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97
Variance country level	0.005	0.002	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003
Variance Protestant denom.	--	--	0.001	0.001	--	--
Variance orthodox beliefs	--	--	0.002	0.002	--	--
Variance non-religious	--	--	--	--	0.000	0.000
Variance secular values	--	--	--	--	0.001	0.001

~p<0.10, *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tailed test for significance). Source: EVS 2008