

Summary

The religious experience of Muslims in the Netherlands

A focus on diversity and change

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Summary and conclusions

Muslims in the spotlight

Attention in this report is focused on how different Muslim groups in the Netherlands experience and practise their religion, and what developments have taken place over time. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) has published two earlier reports on Muslims in the Netherlands, in 2004 and 2012 (Maliapaard & Gijsberts 2012; Phalet & Ter Wal 2004). Those studies showed that Islam, even in the Dutch context, occupies an important place in the lives of many Dutch citizens with a Turkish and Moroccan background. The question addressed in this report is how this has developed in the more recent period. Muslims in the Netherlands live in a predominantly secular society in which anti-Islamic voices have become increasingly prominent since the start of the century. Generalising statements about Muslims are regularly expressed in the public debate, with being Muslim seen as determining every aspect of a person's individual actions and difference between Muslims receiving barely a mention (Wagemakers & De Koning 2015).

In this study we use a typology to explore diversity among Muslims: can Muslims be divided into categories based on their behaviour, views and identification? We are also interested in the extent to which the typology relates to the positions occupied by Muslims in Dutch society, for example with regard to social contacts, opinions, well-being and volunteering.

We use survey data to investigate developments over the period 2006-2015. The available data, which are based on various editions of the Survey of Integration of Migrants (SIM), are the most comparable over this period, and enable us to provide an overview of (developments in) the religious experience and participation of different Muslim groups in the Netherlands. This overview is primarily descriptive: we are not able to look in depth at the background to the religious changes described. There is lots of information about the two biggest Muslim groups in the Netherlands in particular, namely those with a Turkish and Moroccan background. We also briefly devote attention to the religious experience of a number of smaller Muslim groups in the Netherlands (Afghan, Iranian, Iraqi, Somali and Surinamese Muslims). Together, these groups make up a large majority of the Muslim population in the Netherlands.

Due to a lack of suitable recent data, we devote virtually no attention to the position of native Dutch Muslims or Muslims from other migrant groups. We also do not investigate radicalism, extremism or behaviours and norms that are characteristic of certain extreme orthodox movements – not least because the data (and methodology) are not suitable for doing so.

This publication is the first in a series of studies of religion and spirituality carried out by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). The second report in the series will summarise more recent developments in the Christian faith in the Netherlands, including among Christian migrants. The third part will focus mainly on the spread and impact of

non-church forms of spirituality and on the ideologies of non-churchgoers and non-believers.

Very high proportion of Dutch Moroccans and Turks regard themselves as Muslims

It is estimated that around 6% of the adult population of the Netherlands are Muslims. The vast majority of them have a non-Western background, and roughly two-thirds are of Turkish or Moroccan origin. The share who regard themselves as Muslim is higher among those of Moroccan origin (94%) than those with a Turkish background (86%) (see table S.1). A bigger proportion of the Turkish group (10%) are non-religious than in the Moroccan group (5%).

Table S.1

Religious behaviour and religious attitudes among Muslims, 15 years and older, by origin, 2015 (in percentages)

	Turkish	Moroccan	Somali	Surinamese ^a
regards self as Muslim ^b	86	94	95	9
non-religious ^b	10	5	5	34
visits mosque at least weekly	40	37	38	16
prays five times a day	33	78	80	21
fasted every day during Ramadan	55	87	70	34
eats halal everyday	80	93	94	69
wears the headscarf (women)	49	78	90	19
my faith is an important part of who I am ^c	89	96	93	80
I wouldn't like it if my daughter married someone from another faith ^c	60	63	50	22
Muslims should be able to live in accordance with the rules of Islam ^c	61	66	74	41

a To be able to present a reliable picture of their religiosity, Surinamese Muslims from 2011 and 2015 (9% and 8%, respectively, of the total number of Dutch citizens of Surinamese origin) were taken together.

b This is the share of the total population group; the other indicators in the table relate purely to Muslims.

c The share who disagree/disagree completely with the statement.

Source: SCP/CBS (SIM'11-'15); weighted data

Declining share of Muslims in Turkish group, not in Moroccan group

The share of Muslims in the Turkish-background group fell from 93% to 86% between 2006 and 2015. This decline featured in both generations: in 2015, 82% of second-generation Turkish migrants regarded themselves as Muslim, compared with 90% in the first generation. The share of those identifying as Muslim in the group of Moroccan origin is also smaller in the second generation (91%) than in the first generation (96%), though both in the whole group and in the two separate generations there was no decline in the share regarding themselves as religious.

Increased mosque attendance by Turkish Muslims, not by Moroccan Muslims

Mosque attendance has increased over the last ten years in both generations of Turkish Muslims. No clear trend can be discerned among Moroccan Muslims. The share of Turkish and Moroccan Muslims attending the mosque at least weekly was roughly equal in 2015 (40% and 37%, respectively). A fifth of Turkish Muslims never go to a mosque, and the same applies for a quarter of Moroccan Muslims; this holds across both generations, though first-generation Moroccan Muslims visit the mosque weekly more often than the second generation (42% versus 28%). Men visit the mosque weekly more often than women, reflecting the fact that Friday afternoon mosque attendance is not a religious obligation for women.

Praying increasing among Muslims

Praying is increasing in both generations of both Turkish and Moroccan Muslims. Moroccan Muslims pray considerably more often than Turkish Muslims: more than three-quarters (78%) pray five times a day, compared with a third of Turkish Muslims (33%). The majority of Turkish Muslims pray at least weekly; the share of both Turkish and Moroccan Muslims who do not pray at all is low (15% and 6%, respectively). Women pray more often than men. Those who pray five times a day are more often older (45 years or over) and members of the first generation. Nonetheless, more than two-thirds of young Moroccan Muslims or Moroccan Muslims from the second generation still pray five times a day. This figure is much lower (18%) among young or second-generation Turkish Muslims.

Almost all Moroccan Muslims eat halal all or most days and fast during Ramadan

A very high proportion of Muslims (almost) always eat halal: 93% of Moroccan and 80% of Turkish Muslims. The share of Turkish Muslims eating halal has remained constant since 2006, and has increased slightly among Moroccan Muslims (from 89% to 93% in 2015). The vast majority of Moroccan Muslims (87%) fast every day during Ramadan, while just over half of Turkish Muslims do this (55%). While the share of both Turkish and Moroccan Muslims who fast every day during Ramadan has declined, the reduction is slight, especially in the Moroccan group, and the majority still fast every day.

Sharp increase in wearing headscarf among Moroccan Muslim women

There has been a sharp increase in the wearing of the headscarf by Moroccan Muslim women over the last decade, from just under two-thirds (64%) in 2006 to more than three-quarters (78%) in 2015. This trend has also occurred in the second generation, as well as among young and highly educated women. There was virtually no change in the percentage of Turkish Muslim women wearing the headscarf between 2006 and 2015: just under half (49%) of them wore a headscarf in 2015. There is a wide difference between age categories here, especially in the Turkish group; a quarter of young Turkish Muslim women (aged 15-24) wear the headscarf, compared with almost three-quarters of Turkish Muslim women aged 45 or older. Members of the second generation wear the headscarf less often than the first generation.

Religious identity was and is important for Muslims

Religious identification remained more or less unchanged between 2006 and 2015. Respondents were asked among other things how important their faith is to them (see table S.1). In 2006, Turkish and Moroccan Muslims placed importance on being Muslim. In 2015 this hadn't changed. A very high proportion say that their faith is a very important part of who they are, especially Moroccan Muslims (96%); the religious identification of Turkish Muslims is slightly less pronounced, at 89%. In both groups, women in the first generation exhibit the strongest religious identification. No uniform trends can be identified in religious views over time, for example regarding the role of religion in politics, mixed marriages or living according to the rules of Islam. The differences between Turkish and Moroccan Muslims are small on this point.

Religiosity in other Muslim groups

Islam plays a central role for virtually all Dutch Somalis (see table S.1); in many areas, their religiosity has actually increased slightly from its already fairly high level in 2009. They pray frequently, more than two-thirds fast every day during Ramadan, almost everyone always eats halal and nearly all Somali women wear the headscarf. They also attach great value to their faith.

Religion plays a less prominent role in the daily lives of Surinamese Muslims: they pray less frequently, go to the mosque less often and fewer than a fifth (19%) wear the headscarf. A minority of Surinamese Muslims (22%) would find it problematic if their daughter were to marry a non-Muslim, and those who believe that Muslims must live by the rules of Islam are also in the minority (41%).

No recent data are available on Muslims from refugee groups, but research from 2009 showed that a relatively high proportion of Dutch Iranians are not religious and that some (20%) are Christian. Religious participation is the lowest on all fronts among Iranian Muslims, and their views on the role of religion also show the least religious effort. Afghan and Iraqi Muslims are situated between the Iranian and Somali groups in many of their religious behaviours and views. Their religious participation is markedly lower than that of Somali, Turkish and Moroccan Muslims in the Netherlands, but their religious identification is relatively strong.

Profile of Muslims in the Netherlands

A latent class analysis of different aspects of religion was used to construct a typology with five categories of Muslims (see table S.2). Placing people in groups or categories flattens out individual differences, but makes it possible to observe group differences and therefore to gain some understanding of common differences and processes. The typology used is based on fairly usual forms of religious expression and attitudes. Extreme orthodox groups cannot be identified on the basis of these data, but based on self-identification we do know that 0.3% of Turkish Muslims and 0.5% of Moroccan Muslims in the Netherlands regard themselves as Salafists. This is probably an underestimate, since a proportion of

Salafists see themselves as representatives of pure Islam rather than followers of a particular school.

Table S.2

Muslim typology by underlying indicators, population aged 15 years and older, 2015 (in percentages)

	secular	cultural	selective	pious, private	strict, practising	average
goes to mosque at least weekly (%)	0	5	45	0	84	38
prays five times a day (%)	0	0	0	85	90	61
eats halal everyday (%)	57	96	96	99	100	97
fasted during Ramadan (%)	24	69	83	90	96	86
faith is important (% agree/ agree completely)	6	93	92	97	98	92
it hurts if someone says something derogatory about my faith (% agree/ agree completely)	42	76	77	79	87	80
live by rules of Islam (% agree/ agree completely)	1	42	57	66	82	65

Source: SCP (SIM'15); weighted data

For secular Muslims, religion has little significance and is barely practised at all. For cultural Muslims, religion is important but does not manifest itself in practising the rituals such as praying or visiting the mosque. Selective Muslims occupy an intermediate position; they take part in the social and ritual practices regularly but not very frequently. Religion occupies a very important place in the lives of the pious, private Muslims, who pray often and adhere to the dietary prescriptions, for example. On the other hand, they practise their religion largely in private, rarely visiting a mosque, for example. Islam plays the biggest role in the daily lives of the strict, practising Muslims. They participate very actively in the rituals (prayers, mosque attendance) and social practices (eating halal, Ramadan), and believe (strongly) that other Muslims must also abide by the rules of Islam.

High proportion of Moroccan Muslims are pious or strict; Turkish Muslims more diverse

The vast majority of Moroccan Muslims fall into the strict practising (41%) or pious (43%) category (see table S.3). Taken together, therefore, 84% fall into the two most religious categories. Secular or selective Muslims are very rare in the Moroccan group (2% and 5%, respectively). There is more diversity among the Turkish Muslims, and the two strictest groups (pious and strict practising) are much smaller. These latter two groups are also roughly the same size (27% and 30%). In addition, taken together over a quarter are cultural (21%) or secular (7%) Muslims. In addition to Dutch Moroccan and Turkish Muslims

who regard themselves as non-religious, therefore, there is also a small group who regard themselves as Muslim but for whom religion appears to have little significance.

The Somali group closely resemble the Moroccan group in terms of religious typology. Together, those in the strict practising and pious categories are much the biggest groups (both 43%). There are virtually no secular or cultural Muslims in the Somali group. The secular category is relatively large among Surinamese Muslims (14%) and the strict practising group small (22%) compared with the three other origin groups. At the same time, around half the Surinamese Muslims fall into one of the two stricter categories (pious or strict practising).

Table S.3

Muslim typology by origin, population aged 15 years and older, 2015 (in percentages)

	secular	cultural	selective	pious, private	strict, practising
Turkish	7	21	27	15	30
Moroccan	2	8	5	43	41
Somali	2	6	5	43	43
Surinamese ^a	14	19	17	29	22

a The typology for Surinamese Muslims was determined by taking the 2011 and 2015 data together in order to obtain sufficient respondents.

Source: SCP (SIM'06-'15); weighted data

Typology by background

Secular Muslims are rare among men and women, young and old, low and high-educated and first and second generation. There is a relatively high proportion of cultural and selective Muslims among young people and in the second generation, while the pious and strict practising Muslims tend to be older on average and belong to the first generation. Many of the low-educated Muslims are pious (38%) or strict practising (44%). Men are more often strict practising (46%), women more often pious (50%). This is mainly due to the fact that women are less often visit the mosque. If we look at the total of pious and strict practising groups, we find that more than three-quarters of women (78%) and almost two-thirds of men (63%) fall into these two most religious categories.

There is a strong relationship between experiences and socialisation practices in childhood and the degree of religiosity in later life. A minority of secular Muslims attended Koran lessons as a child, and those whose father attended a religious gathering on a weekly basis are also in the minority. This is not the case for the other groups of Muslims; for example, almost all fathers (92%) of the strict practising Muslims visited the mosque at least weekly and nearly three-quarters of them attended Koran lessons as a child.

Growth in the two most religious Muslim categories

The two categories which are the most religious in terms of behaviour and opinions (the pious and strict practising Muslims) have grown since 2006 in both the Turkish (from 37%

to 45%) and Moroccan groups (from 77% to 84%). The category of cultural Muslims has declined steadily since 2006 in both the Turkish and Moroccan groups, while the (small) share of secular Muslims has not changed in either group.

The role of Islam in wider society

The way in which the different categories of Muslims take their place in Dutch society shows a number of clear patterns. The study controlled for differences in age, gender, generation, origin and education level. The secular Muslims are the most progressive in their opinions, are most often in paid employment, feel an affinity with the Netherlands, have relatively frequent social contacts outside their own origin group, have a positive attitude towards the Netherlands and the Dutch and exhibit a relatively high degree of social and institutional trust. They are clearly oriented towards the Netherlands, see and experience many opportunities and their sociocultural distance is limited. The socio-emotional ties with the origin group are weaker than in the other Muslim categories. Secular Muslims also less often engage in volunteering and providing informal care relatively – possibly because they are relatively often in paid work.

In many respects, the strict practising and, to a slightly lesser extent, pious Muslims are at the opposite end of the spectrum from the secular Muslims: their sociocultural distance to Dutch natives is considerable: they endorse traditional values and do not have strong emotional ties with the Netherlands. They are also the least accepting of mixed friendships or relationships. As with the cultural, selective and pious Muslims, they are much more deeply embedded in the origin group, identify strongly with it and have many social contacts within it, through their religion or otherwise.

However, that is not the whole story. In line with earlier research among Christians, for example, we find positive effects of a stronger religious observance on well-being and pro-social behaviour. The strict practising Muslims experience better mental health, are happier, are more often members of a religious or other organisation and engage in more volunteering and informal care than the other Muslim groups. Their informal participation does not go hand in hand with formal participation; a relatively small proportion are in paid employment.

It is not the case that more strictly religious Muslims are more accepting of violence. There is little understanding in any of the Muslim groups for those who employ violence in the name of their religion, nor support for the idea that violence is sometimes the only way of achieving an ideal. There is also little difference between the Muslim groups in the appreciation of cultural diversity; almost all the strict Muslims also take the view that it is a good thing if society is made up of different cultures.

Perception of Dutch society by Muslim groups not very positive

Trust in the government and police is relatively low in all Muslim groups. They also share the perception of a social climate that is less than positive and sometimes hostile. In some cases this perception manifests itself in feelings of exclusion, lack of perceived acceptance

and experiences of discrimination. These feelings are all less pronounced in the secular group, apart from the experience of discrimination. The perceived acceptance is lowest among the selective and strict practising Muslims, and the feeling that the Dutch are too negative about Islam is also most widespread in these groups. The selective Muslims have little social trust and enjoy relatively less good well-being. It may be that, compared with the more dogmatic groups such as the strict practising and pious Muslims, they have more doubts about the exact role of religion in their lives. They also have the most negative views about the Netherlands and the Dutch. For example, they are the least satisfied with the Netherlands, feel the least at home there and would most often like to return to their country of origin. They are not the most religious group, but they are closer to Dutch society, which means they may be confronted with negative experiences and challenges more often than the stricter Muslims. The strict practising Muslims move more in their own circles and may therefore be relatively less affected by the negativity of the host society (in line with the notion of the integration paradox).

There is thus a clear relationship between the religiosity of Muslims and the non-religious aspects of their lives. The danger of exposing relationships between religiosity and spheres of life is that the Islamic identity is seen as guiding all the behaviour and views of Muslims. Although their Islamic identity is very important for many of them, it does of course not determine everything; in addition to this identity, Muslims also have many other social identities.

Concluding discussion

Diversity but with a common thread: religion as important as ever

For many Muslims, religion is as important as ever. A very high proportion of Turkish and Moroccan Dutch citizens regard themselves as Muslims. Religion plays an important role in the lives of virtually all Muslims, with the exception of the small group of secular Muslims. Nonetheless, this commonality masks a degree of diversity. Among other things, this plurality runs along ethnic dividing lines; Moroccan and Somali Muslims, for example, are more religious than Turkish and Surinamese Muslims in many respects, especially as regards practising their religion. The Muslim typology also reveals religious diversity among Muslims in the Netherlands.⁶ Certain behaviours and views are more heavily concentrated within certain groups of Muslims, and those groups differ from each other in their attitudes and their positions in Dutch society. This pluralism is more marked among Turkish than Moroccan Muslims. A very high proportion of Moroccan Muslims fall into the two most religious categories, the pious and the strict practising Muslims. The degree of orthodoxy of the strict or pious Muslims cannot be accurately determined based on the current data, but what our survey does show is that the majority of the strict and pious Muslims are open to cultural diversity and reject the use of violence. A high proportion of them also say they intend to vote. The majority of them therefore do not reject the constitutional democracy and associated institutions, as is the case for certain orthodox Salafist

movements. A very small proportion of Turkish and Moroccan Muslims in our study regard themselves as Salafists. However, it is likely that not every Salafist will explicitly identify themselves as such: they see the way they practise their religion as the only true form of Islam, not as one of the schools within it (De Koning 2014).

Roex et al. (2010) estimated that approximately 8% of Dutch Muslims are strictly orthodox. This is based for example on norms relating to listening to non-religious music, avoiding locations where alcohol is drunk and norms concerning interaction between men and women, such as visiting locations where men and women are present together. The estimated percentage of strictly orthodox Muslims in the study by Roex et al. (2010) is thus notably smaller than our estimates of the pious or strict Muslims in the period 2006-2015. Although the two studies are not mutually comparable due to differences in research design and timing, there are nonetheless strong indications that these are substantively different groups. The Muslim groups identified in our study as the most religious (strict and pious categories) can therefore not be regarded as strictly orthodox.

Individualisation, mild secularisation and religious revitalisation

The way in which Muslims in the Netherlands experience their religion is changing, but the direction of travel is not uniform. There is a mild secularisation trend among Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands; the percentage who regard themselves as non-religious is small but has grown. This is not the case for the Moroccan Muslims. Religiosity is increasing among both Turkish and Moroccan Muslims. Among Turkish Muslims, for example, mosque attendance and praying have increased in both generations. For Moroccan Muslims this applies for praying, eating halal and wearing the headscarf. Wearing of the headscarf has increased relatively strongly among the young, highly educated Moroccan Muslim women.

These two (opposing) trends – secularisation and increased religious observance – are in line with the idea that faith in the Western, secular and pluralistic society is becoming more individualised. Islam is increasingly interpreted individually (De Koning 2008; Noor 2018; Wagemakers & De Koning 2015). According to the individualisation thesis, young people go in search of their own meaning and interpretation of their faith and do not unquestioningly follow what the imam or their parents instruct them. Individualisation then refers to the path that someone follows in their religious expression and the way in which they give form to their faith. For a small proportion this leads to secularisation, but for most of them it means that religion actually becomes more important. It is therefore by no means the case that an individualistic approach to religion necessarily leads to ‘modern’ views or the abandoning of traditional practices – quite the reverse (De Koning 2008). The individualisation of religion also does not mean practising religion in private; the way in which young Muslims observe their faith is often highly social in nature, tied in with social relationships and with online and other social networks (Beekers 2015).

Almost no increase in secularisation due to rising education level and generational succession

A longer time spent living in the Netherlands, generational succession and rising education levels have to date had virtually no secularising effect, especially among Moroccan Dutch citizens. Although those with the lowest education level, consisting mainly of the older members of the first generation, are the strictest adherents to their religion, beyond this there are few differences across the different education levels among Moroccan Muslims in the Netherlands. There are clear signs that highly educated Dutch Turks are the most often non-religious, attend the mosque less often and identify the least with their religion. Members of the second generation are slightly less religious than the first generation in many respects. A slightly higher proportion are non-religious, pray less often, less often wear the headscarf and, in the Moroccan second generation, attend the mosque less often. Other research has also shown that young people aged 15 are less religious than their parents (De Hoon & Van Tubergen 2014). On the other hand, adolescents with a Muslim background are substantially more religious than their Dutch native peers or adolescents with a different background (Güngör et al. 2011; De Hoon & Van Tubergen 2014; Van Tubergen & Sindradottir 2011). Muslims are much more successful in passing on their religion to their children than Christians (De Hoon & Van Tubergen 2014). Religion is also very important for a substantial proportion of the second generation (see also Huijnk et al. 2015), and that importance is increasing.

Exposure to whose ideas?

The idea behind the secularisation theory is that a long time spent living in a secular context, with increasing engagement with and exposure to that context, will lead to a reduction in the religiosity of migrants. In order to stick, opinions and beliefs must be confirmed and supported by the social setting. As a consequence, views come under pressure when the (social) setting changes, with exposure to different ideas (Berger 1967). It is possible to question how secular the immediate social setting of many young Muslims is and how often they experience positive contact with different ideas. In practice, their (positive) exposure to different ideas is likely to be limited.

The negative opinions about Islam and Muslims emanating from the Dutch social setting stimulate the strengthening of ties within the Muslim groups and the underscoring of their Muslim identity. Social networks are largely separate from each other, as are the social and other media consumed (Huijnk et al. 2015). Discussing themes such as religion or secularisation is often difficult or impossible in classrooms and schools where the tensions, polarisations and dividing lines that characterise broader society are also seen and felt (Kleijwegt 2016).

The mutual perceptions of Muslims and non-Muslims are generally not positive, and this impedes contact and the willingness to learn about each other's ideas. Negative attitudes from Dutch society make religion, the Muslim identity and belonging to a community more attractive (Ketner 2008). The negative perceptions can also encourage people to learn

more about Islam. This may apply most for the Moroccan group, perceptions of whom are the most negative: they are the most stigmatised migrant group in the Netherlands.

Increasing religiosity as a reaction against pluralism

Life in a Western society, with opinions and behaviours that are out of line with what their religion prescribes, appears to strengthen the determination of some young Muslims to stay close to their religion (Huijnk et al. 2015). It is not just the confrontation with secular ideas which stimulates the quest for a deeper truth or processes of heightened religiosity in young people (Roeland et al. 2010), but also the religious or cultural diversity within the community. As stated, a proportion of these young people question the way in which their parents interpret the Islamic faith (Roy 2004); the Islam of their parents and family is seen as being based on tradition, custom and culture rather than on the true Islam (De Koning 2008). More generally, the confrontation with the different interpretations of their faith based on country of origin and/or between religious schools can result in a quest for the 'true' Islam which is independent of local, culturally-driven interpretations. A more personal, individualistic quest for the true Islam can actually cause young people to become stricter adherents to their faith than their parents or those around them have ever been. This can be a process in which they set themselves not just against their parents, who in their eyes do not practise the religion in a pure way, but also against a secular context which essentially rejects Islam. This purification is accompanied by discussions and conflicts about who is interpreting Islam correctly, both among young people themselves and also explicitly between young people on the one hand and their parents and older generations of Muslims on the other (De Koning 2008; Roeland et al. 2010). For those looking to become more deeply engaged with their religion or searching for 'truth', the Internet offers an almost limitless source of information and social contacts. Virtual contacts cut across the barriers of people's front doors, school doors, municipalities or countries. Faith and feeling part of the Islamic *ummah* can impart a feeling of security and a strong sense of community.

Trends in a broader context: religious revitalisation among young believers in the Netherlands

The increase in the religiosity of Muslims in the Netherlands is not happening in a vacuum; a (renewed) revival of religious values, identification and participation has been ongoing within a large (geographical) diversity of Muslim countries since the 1970s (Carvalho 2009). There is also a general trend among religious young people in Dutch society to adhere more strongly to their faith and forms of orthodoxy (De Hart 2014). The quest by young Muslims for ways of giving form to their faith in a pluralistic and largely secular society shows correspondences with that of other young religious groups in Dutch society, such as orthodox Protestants (e.g. evangelicals) or Catholics. A stronger religious observance can in part be a reaction to life in a secular and liberal society where believers are in the minority and a religious lifestyle is far from the norm. This forces those who are religious to actively maintain their faith themselves, in order to prevent it weakening (Beekers 2015). The need

for a safe, familiar setting in which people can be themselves is no different for Muslims than for orthodox Protestant communities or Christian migrants. Christians and Muslims occupy a comparable position on this point, and also struggle in similar ways. The heightened quest for the authentic heart of the religion, which goes beyond the existing traditions and institutions, can also lead to a greater susceptibility to an orthodox interpretation of a religion. For example, Salafism appears to hold particular appeal for young (Moroccan) Muslims, though precise figures are not available.

People can give form to their faith in networks of like-minded people, who offer them support, confirm their faith and encourage them to strive for the true faith. Both Christians and Muslims use online communities to share information, form religious identities and participate in collective online rituals (Roeland et al. 2010). Reference is also made when discussing religious developments in the Christian community to a 'hardcore' effect (De Hart 2014), whereby the exodus of more liberal youngsters means that those who remain are the most fervently religious young people. This could play a limited role among Dutch Turks, where the percentage of non-religious people has increased slightly, but appears to apply less to Dutch Moroccans, where there has been no increase in those abandoning their religion.

It is not unambiguously clear what the increasing religiosity means for the position of Muslims in Dutch society. Growing religiosity could have a positive impact on aspects such as mental health, prosocial behaviour or the ties with other members of the origin group, but at the same time appears to increase the sociocultural distance between Muslims and non-Muslims in Dutch society. The perception of (growing) cultural differences between Muslims and non-Muslims is reflected in their mutual perceptions, potentially reinforcing dividing lines and group boundaries (Huijnk et al. 2015). Muslims are seen by a section of the non-Muslim community as 'the ultimate other' (De Koning 2016). And although a Dutch identity and a Muslim identity need by no means be mutually exclusive, for many Muslims their religion appears to be the most important social identity (Huijnk et al. 2015). An increase in religiosity and the associated increased sociocultural distance appear to be leading to an ever greater segregation between the worlds inhabited by Muslims and non-Muslims.