5. The role of religiosity in students' perceptions of student-teacher relations, school belonging and valuing of education

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Introduction

Education systems are awarded a crucial role in the socialisation and cognitive, emotional and behavioural development of children and youngsters. Formal compulsory education is one of the most important socializing institutions in society; especially considering the large amount of time pupils spend in school. In particular, teachers often have a lot of proximate face-to-face contact with youngsters in a classroom setting, while also school staff in general monitor the cognitive, socio-emotional, behavioural development of their students. However, often this monitoring is not limited to education-related issues, as schools are expected to socialise youngsters into "citizens". It is therefore no surprise that in the aftermath of recent terrorist attacks, policy makers readily turn to educators and schools for the prevention of "radicalisation"[1] and the detection of potential "pre-radicalisation" signs. Overall one can argue that school staff are increasingly receiving new tasks in preparing students for citizenship and adult life that often exceed more traditional ideas on teaching, competency building and knowledge transfer.

In Flanders, as elsewhere in the European Union, schools and educators are now imagined as being crucial actors to transmit democratic values and attitudes to their students (Flemish Government, 2015). Even more so after the recent terrorist attacks in Western Europe, when in January 2015 EU Education Ministers adopted the Paris Declaration. The Paris Declaration gave

a clear political signal that the European Ministers wanted to boost EU-level cooperation on educational priorities in combatting religious radicalisation (EU Council, 2015). National and Regional policy makers around Europe are also designing strategies and toolkits for educational practitioners to be able to be part of this broader policy on tackling radicalisation (e.g., as part of national and regional strategies, such as PREVENT in the UK, PART in France, the Flemish Action Plan Radicalisation in Flanders).

The prominent role of schools in these recent policy plans to tackle radicalisation, however, raises a few potential pitfalls with regard to student-teacher relations that we want to address in this chapter. First and foremost, school staff need to be perceived by their students as trustees in order to build and maintain close interpersonal relationships. Students' school engagement, sense of belonging and well-being is shown to be strongly influenced by their perception of teacher support (Fall & Roberts, 2012; Juvonen, 2006). If teachers receive a new role of detecting and policing "radical discourses and/or practices", this might be detrimental to student-teacher relationships. As schools are often not a neutral site of learning (Anyon, 1980; 2006; Giroux, 1980), a second potential pitfall that needs to be addressed is the level of legitimacy schools and educators have among students, particularly among socially vulnerable students. When students experience stigmatisation by their teachers, it is to be expected that they are no longer experienced as trustees and might lose their legitimacy as "democratic educators". In Flanders there is a strong body of academic evidence of (perceived) stigmatisation of Moroccan- and Turkish-origin students with a predominantly Muslim background by teachers. Turkish- and Moroccan-origin students generally report more negative student-teacher relationships, which is found to lead some to emotionally, cognitively and behaviourally disengage from education (Agirdag et al., 2012; Nouwen & Clycq, 2016; Baysu & Phalet, 2012; D'hondt et al., 2017; Van Praag et al., 2016). However, at the same time research shows that Turkish- and Moroccan-origin students often value education highly (Nouwen & Clycq, 2016). This shows the student-teacher relation is not a straightforward one. Teachers remain one of the most important others in the lives of students, even in a highly segregated and socially stratified system such as Flemish education. This encourages us to study this relationship further and explore its positive and/or negative impact on students' school belonging and valuing of education.

The potential pitfalls in recent European policy responses to the perceived threat of religious radicalisation discussed above serve as background for the

focus of this chapter. It addresses the role of student-teacher relations in students' sense of school belonging and their valuing of education with a particular interest in the role of students' religiosity. The issues raised above will be studied based on existing literature and analyses of data recently collected among adolescents in Flemish urban educational contexts with a relatively large proportion of Muslim students. In doing so, we will address the following research questions:

- **Research question 1:** Does students' religiosity correlate with students' perceptions of student-teacher relations, their sense of school belonging and/ or their valuing of education?
- **Research question 2:** What is the impact of students' perceptions of teacher support and feeling discriminated against by teachers on their sense of school belonging and valuing of education?
- **Research question 3:** Is the relation between students' religiosity on the one hand and students' school belonging/ valuing education on the other hand mediated by student-teacher relations?

We will use theoretical insights from sociology, criminology and social psychology to support our claim for the relevance of our findings in relation to tackling potential breeding grounds for (religious) radicalisation in schools. Before addressing the research sample, methods and findings, we start by arguing why education can be part of this breeding ground by elaborating on Merton's Anomie Theory. Next we discuss the role of student-teacher relations in students' sense of school belonging and their valuing of education and, finally, we link Merton's Anomie Theory and its potential risks for student-teacher relationships, school belonging and valuing of education to the position of ethnic and religious minorities and the role of students' religiosity in education. In the next section, we hypothesise and discuss, based on the theoretical framework of Anomie, that the structural and institutional position of Muslim students in Flemish education could serve as a breeding ground for adolescents to drift away from mainstream institutions for achieving status goals, and potentially take a radical turn towards goal-setting in an alternative subculture like jihadi extremist groups.

Education as part of the breeding ground for religious radicalisation? Insights from Anomie Theory

Academic research on radicalisation – whether they dismiss the concept or elaborate on it – start with a focus on a "breeding ground", often a broader socio-

political and institutional context leading to individual and social frustration, alienation and polarisation (Kruglanski et al., 2014; Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). Individuals may feel deprived of opportunities for success in culturally and economically valued social institutions like education and the labour market. Such feelings of deprivation and marginalisation are often perceived as a breeding ground or a fertile environment for developing "anti-social" behaviour or attitudes. Since the beginning of sociology as a discipline scholars such as Durkheim have focused on the role of institutions in fostering and sustaining social cohesion (Durkheim, [1893] 2014). In functionalist theories, social institutions in modernizing societies are assumed to be developed to homogenise to a large extent the discourses and practices of citizens by, e.g., guiding them through a more or less unified and clearly segmented educational system. The latter is particularly relevant for Flanders because of the high level of educational tracking. From a functionalist viewpoint, the aim of these institutions is to order social life in such a way that society-internal conflict is minimised. These institutions are represented as democratic and meritocratic, enabling all citizens to become successful when playing by the rules of society. However, as mentioned before, research shows that social institutions like education not seldom reproduce existing inequalities rather than eradicate them. One can therefore expect that not everyone in a particular society will feel that these "democratic" institutions are legitimate. It is here that Anomie Theory can be insightful.

Anomie Theory – originating from Durkheim and further developed by Robert Merton (1938) – is often used to explain deviant behaviour and claims that anomie or strain is caused by discrepancies between dominant cultural goals in society on the one hand and on the other hand the legitimate means individuals have access to in achieving those goals. For this chapter, the focus on the educational system is important, as it is the main social institution concerned with the socialisation of youngsters and their transformation from children to adult citizens that can navigate and succeed in the labour market and in society in general. Education is thus viewed as one of the most important institutions offering opportunities for upward social mobility (Merton, 1938). However, when educational systems fail to live up to this role, this can lead to a strained relationship between culturally dominant goals and the legitimate means to attain them. In reaction to this sense of strain or anomie, individuals can adapt both their goal-setting and/or the means to attain them in different ways. Merton (1938) suggested a specific typology of five different adaptation strategies individuals can take on

to react to the strain condition: (1) conformism, (2) innovation, (3) ritualism, (4) retreatism, and (5) rebellion. When operationalizing this theoretical typology to the means of education and the goals of upward social mobility, young people that experience strain but keep believing and being invested in education as the institutionalised and legitimate means to achieve upward social mobility are considered *conformists*. *Innovators*, on the other hand, also value the dominant cultural goal of upward social mobility, but reject the legitimate means of education to try to achieve it and start looking for alternative means; one of these alternatives could be making a living based on crime (Messner et al., 2008). Thus, innovators and conformists are both invested in achieving upward social mobility, but the means they use to try to achieve this, differ. Young people experiencing strain, however, might also reject or stop believing in culturally dominant goals. This is the case for *ritualists*, *retreatists* and *rebells. Ritualists* are those people that become indifferent to culturally dominant goals, but continue to be invested in the legitimate means – for instance, they continue going to school but no longer believe it will personally bring them upward social mobility. Finally, the last two groups described by Merton (1938) can be of particular interest for studying the breeding ground for (religious) radicalisation. That is, the groups that respond to a condition of strain by rejecting both the culturally dominant goals and the legitimate means to achieve them. Some do this just by *retreating* from the legitimate and institutionalised means – for instance, by leaving school – and some by *rebelling* against the dominant cultural goals and replacing them by alternative goal-setting and alternative means to achieve them. This last group might be the most relevant response to strain for theorising why youngsters might be attracted to religious extremist groups. Here too the active destructive strategy might be seen as the one leading youngsters to turn to (violent) extremism when addressing their frustrations (Hirschman, 1970). However, both in the case of retreatism and rebellion one needs to stress that the feelings of relative deprivation discussed are frustrations from those who feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled (Gurr, 1970; Merton, 1938). This might also explain why certain supposedly affluent, higher SES and higher educated individuals turn to extremism.

Drawing on these theoretical insights put forward by Merton's Anomie Theory we argue that growing polarisation and fragmentation in society and inequalities between different population groups – for instance the position of ethnic and religious minority groups in Western European societies – and the failure of social institutions like education to address these problems, could lead to feelings

of anomie or strain among ethnic and religious minority youngsters. Institutions reproducing existing inequalities consequently can lose their legitimacy among individuals of these groups in society. Members of marginalised groups in society can turn away from culturally dominant goals and renounce the institutionalised means of education. When dominant cultural goals and institutionalised means lose legitimacy, subcultural goals and means can gain importance, for instance in terms of religious radicalisation (Al-Azmeh, 2006; Kruglanski et al., 2014; Veldhuis & Staun, 2009).

As discussed before, educational systems are one of these important social institutions and success in education is often seen as fundamental for future success in broader society (Clycq et al., 2014). Thus, if certain social groups experience much more educational difficulties than others this might lead to a higher degree of school disengagement and/or feelings of anomie, which could cause these youngsters to look for alternative ways of success.

The role of student-teacher relations for students' sense of relatedness

Engagement in education or "school engagement" is a prominent concept in theories explaining educational outcomes such as educational achievement and early school leaving. The school engagement concept has its origin in Hirschi's Social Control Theory (1969). Hirschi placed individual feelings of attachment and belonging to institutions central in explaining disengagement from these social institutions and therefore in explaining deviant behaviour among adolescents. In on-going interactions individuals have with actors in educational institutions, individual and family background characteristics contribute to their commitment toward education. Through this commitment also their goal-setting and engagement behaviour develops accordingly (Archambault et al., 2009). Finn's (1989) participation-identification model of school withdrawal presented a similar process approach to the theory of school engagement, in which engagement is defined by identification and participation processes at school, and where identification refers to a sense of belonging and the perceived valuing of school education (Wang et al., 2011).

In a recent literature review on the school engagement concept, Appleton, Christenson and Furlong (2008) posit that the multidimensional conceptualisation of school engagement – including a central role of the

emotional dimension of school engagement – is consistent with theories on motivational development building and the fundamental human needs of perceived control, competence and *relatedness* (e.g., Connell & Wellborn, 1991). Theories on motivational development processes propose that school engagement and educational outcomes can be linked to students' interactions with their social context, which in turn determines to what extent they perceive their environment to meet these fundamental human needs (Connell & Wellborn, 1991). This model for motivational development presupposes that an individual's context determines its self-system and subsequently influences one's engagement behaviour and therefore educational outcomes (Caraway et al., 2003; Fall & Roberts, 2012; Skinner et al., 2009). In the model for motivational development contextual facilitators refer to support individuals experience from their family, peers and teachers. An important self-system or internalised variable is the perceived level of relatedness. This leads to the construction of the Self-system Model of Motivational Development, which integrates external (i.e. with students' context) and internal (i.e. with students' attitudes and beliefs) relations with students' school engagement (Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Skinner et al., 1990; Skinner & Wellborn, 1997).

Baumeister and Leary (1995) also posit a similar "belongingness hypothesis" stating that people have an intrinsic desire to develop and maintain positive, significant and lasting interpersonal relationships. People who experience negative interpersonal relationships or who are socially isolated or alienated, and are thus deprived of a feeling of belonging, tend to suffer more from a range of emotional and behavioural problems (see also Osterman, 2000; Juvonen, 2006). Context is found to be highly important in the construction of a sense of belonging. In the lives of children and youngsters, schools generally embody a key context in which interaction and the building of interpersonal relationships take place (Van Petegem et al., 2008). Rather than merely being places where youngsters receive an education, schools also function as arenas of socialisation that not only impact upon students' academic development but also on their psychological and social well-being (Juvonen, 2006; Cemalcilar, 2009; Berti et al., 2009). One of the most salient aspects of school belonging are student-teacher relationships (Osterman, 2000; Juvonen, 2006; Faircloth, 2009). Several studies suggest that the extent to which students experience positive relationships with their teachers – relationships characterised by fairness and respect – is fundamental in the construction of a sense of school belonging or alienation (Berti et al., 2010; Chiu et al., 2015). If students perceive their relationships with teachers to be negative,

e.g., when they feel unwelcome, not valued or rejected, their sense of school belonging decreases (D'Hondt et al., 2015; Osterman, 2000; Juvonen, 2006).

The wellbeing of students is acquiring a more prominent role in an emancipatory view on school effectiveness research and has proven its distinct value next to more cognitive indicators (Van Petegem et al., 2008). In this article we will focus on these affective outputs of schooling and more specifically on the theorised relationship between student-teacher relations and students' sense of relatedness, operationalised by both their sense of belonging to their specific school, as well as their valuing of education as a social institution. The literature described above backs our hypothesis that links a lack of teacher support and/or fairness students experience from their teachers to a lower sense of relatedness of students with teachers, their school and/or education in general.

Ethnic and religious minority students in Flemish education

Educational research in Western societies has repeatedly shown that structural and institutional contexts remain important factors for explaining the educational achievement gap between social and ethnic groups (Crul et al., 2012; Danhier et al. 2014). Many scholars have shown that broader structural power inequalities between social groups in society are often also reflected in educational inequalities (Bernstein, 1971; Giroux, 1980). Whereas in the 1960's and 1970's research deconstructed the implicit power relations in the educational system impeding working class pupils to be successful in education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), recent research focuses more on the educational position of ethnic minority pupils (Gibson et al., 2013; Valencia & Black, 2002). While empirical findings in explaining the ethnic achievement gap often show a strong overlap between the socio-demographic background variables ethnicity and socio-economic status, culturalised discourses explaining the achievement gap often ignore the importance of the vulnerable educational position of some ethnic minorities (Roosens, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). In these discourses ethnic minority students and parents are often perceived as deficient for holding on too much to their mother tongue and for being unwilling to participate and integrate into social institutions such as education (Valencia & Black, 2002; Clycq et al., 2014).

More specifically with respect to social reproduction in Flemish secondary education, structural features such as early tracking, socio-ethnic segregation

and the (implicit) status hierarchy between educational tracks are crucial systemic features to grasp the educational position of ethnic and religious minority students. The hierarchical tracking structure almost exclusively allows for "downward mobility" between tracks, which is often referred to as "streaming down the waterfall" from the academic to the lower status vocational tracks (Baysu et al., 2011). Additionally, studies have shown that school staff's orientation of pupils in the hierarchically perceived educational tracking system in Flemish secondary education is biased and students with an ethnic minority background are more often oriented to lower status tracks, even when controlled for their academic performances (Boone et al., 2009). Students with an ethnic minority origin – and more particularly students with a Turkish or Moroccan ethnic background – are therefore overrepresented in the vocational track and special needs education (Nouwen & Clycq, 2016; Baysu et al., 2011; De Meyer & Warlop, 2010). Ethnic background is thus a strong predictor for students' educational track position and can therefore lead to feelings of deprivation and anomie among ethnic minority students. Moreover, due to the fierce ethnic segregation processes between secondary schools in Flemish urban areas –often along the lines of schools' educational track provision – negative stereotyping of (schools providing) the lower status vocational tracks intersects with negative stereotyping of (schools with a high proportion) ethnic minorities in urban areas (Nouwen & Clycq, 2016; Kelly, 2009; Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010).

These structural and institutional characteristics of education in Flanders are found to be related to stigmatisation and negative interpersonal relations in schools (D'Hondt et al., 2015). In explaining the ethnic achievement gap, school staff's discourses – and political discourses too for that matter – often ascribe disproportionate high importance to the role of parents, for having language deficiencies and lacking school oriented dispositions, often without taking a reflexive stance towards their own teaching practices and potential structural inequalities (Clycq et al., 2014). Self-reports on experiences of discrimination in the educational context indicate that ethnic minority students are often aware of these negative stigmatisation processes of their ethnic identity in education (Baysu et al., 2011; D'hondt et al., 2015; Phalet et al., 2007; Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010; Van Praag et al., 2016). Moreover, a recent Flemish study of ethnic minority pupils' educational trajectories in secondary schools in the same Flemish urban areas as the current study has shown that particularly students with a Turkish or Moroccan background – who predominantly identify themselves as Muslim – feel less respected and accepted by their teachers. The study showed

that these negatively perceived student-teacher relationships strongly correlate with diminished valuing of educational goal-setting (Nouwen & Clycq, 2016). D'Hondt et al. (2015) showed a similar negative relation between ethnic discrimination by teachers and students' sense of school belonging in Flemish education.

Many of these studies on the position of minority students in Flemish education have primarily focussed on students' ethnic background and its relation to student-teacher relations and students' sense of relatedness. We, however, argue that – due to the recent polarising discourses on Muslims in Western societies (Kumar et al., 2013) – discrimination of students with a Muslim religious background is at least as salient for students' perception of student-teacher relations and sense of relatedness as their ethnic background. We will therefore also explore specific literature about the role of religiosity in education.

The role of students' religiosity in education

Many studies in the post-9/11 era have proposed a hypothesis about a correlation between structurally blocked opportunity structures – for instance, in education or in the labour market – and a potential increase in Muslims' religiosity (e.g., Connor, 2010; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2011). This hypothesis could, however, not be confirmed in a recent publication using data from 15 European countries (Torrekens & Jacobs, 2016). Another issue that has become more salient due to the recent religiously inspired terrorist attacks – and perhaps more relevant for our analyses – is the relation between students' (Muslim) religious identity and religiosity and their perceived student-teacher relations. Kumar et al. (2013) indicated that for ethnic minority adolescents, (culturally diverse) schools function as social spaces that shape their daily lives as they highlight tensions in perspectives between home cultures and mainstream school culture. As schools are part of a national educational system and thus also part of related nation-building processes, which seems certainly the case in Flanders, minority identities are often perceived as problematic for broader social cohesion (Clycq, 2016). These potential tensions in cultural values become even more salient when stigmatisation processes seem to be directed primarily toward minority communities. The latter is often seen as a consequence of social, historical, and political events such as the religiously inspired terrorist attacks. The US study by Kumar et al. (2013) for example showed that Muslim adolescents were

particularly sensitive to discussing stereotypes about their Muslim identity in the post-9/11 era.

Although empirical evidence on the effects of students' (Islamic) religiosity on student-teacher relationships in Western European countries is rather scarce, we argue that recent terrorist attacks in Europe by individuals self-identifying as Muslims has spurred similar polarisation towards Muslims in public discourses and could therefore also have negative effects on Muslims' self-perceived student-teacher relationships. We argue that the recent events led to an increased salience of stigmatisation processes towards Muslim students' religious identity in Flemish education, particularly in urban schools where there often is a strong representation of Muslim students. Agirdag et al. (2012) found specific evidence for more negative attitudes towards Muslims among teaching staff in Flemish education and showed that staff teaching a student population with more Muslim students tended to hold more negative attitudes about Muslim students. Moreover, another study on the role of religiosity in Flemish schools showed that Muslim – and other religious – students in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority students are more religious (Van der Bracht, 2015). In a recent Flemish qualitative study, Van Praag et al. (2016) found that some Muslim students, when explicitly asked about the role of their religiosity in their school careers, reported that feeling discriminated in school based on their religiosity hampered their educational success, particularly referring to the ban on headscarves in the majority of Flemish schools. Furthermore, Van Praag et al. (2016) also indicated that non-Muslim students' ideas about what they perceived as a negative role of Islamic religiosity in their Muslim peers' school careers were often compounded with issues of an ethnic and migration nature.

Apart from these harmful effects of negative attitudes towards Muslims in Western societies, students' religiosity has generally not been linked to decreased educational commitment or achievement, on the contrary. In a study on African American adolescents in a US urban setting, Sanders (1996) showed that church involvement predicted more positive dispositions and behaviour towards schooling and therefore also higher academic achievement. A series of studies by Jeynes (1999; 2002; 2003a; 2003b) showed that students' religious commitment as well as their participation in religious activities rather predicts more positive educational outcomes among minority students. Muller and Ellison (2001) found similar positive effects of adolescent students' religious involvement on educational outcomes and they could – at least partially – explain these effects by bringing the increased social capital of more religious students into this equation.

These studies were, however, all based in a US context and predominantly involved Christian minority students.

As for the recent polarisation in attitudes towards Muslims and its effects on student-teacher relations, there is significantly less European evidence available with regard to the role of (Muslim) students' religiosity in students' educational dispositions and achievement. Moreover, the limited evidence that is available is somewhat ambiguous. In a study based on internationally comparative student data (PISA, 2006), Dronkers (2010) reported that students with an immigration background from countries with a predominantly Muslim population significantly scored lower on the tests. This led him to conclude that a Muslim background contributed to the achievement gap between native and non-native students. Agirdag, Hermans and Van Houtte (2011), however, criticised this study and mainly argued that having an immigration background from a (predominantly) Muslim country is not an indicator for students' religiosity. In their own study, Agirdag et al. (2011) used data from Flemish primary education that includes data on pupils' religiosity and concluded that – when controlling for students' immigration background – there is no effect of their religious identity. Students' commitment to their religion, however, showed an effect on their achievement but this effect was rather curvilinear and showed that those with the lowest and the highest religiosity scored better than those with a medium level of religiosity. In the following section we discuss how we operationalised different dimensions of religiosity, student-teacher relations and students' sense of relatedness and we discuss our sample of adolescents in Flemish urban schools.

Data and methods

Sample

The quantitative analyses are based on survey data that were collected in schools during the spring of 2014 as part of a large-scale European comparative research project on reducing early school leaving.[2] The Flemish sample from this first wave of the survey consists of responses from 1976 adolescents in the fourth and sixth year of secondary education across 32 schools in the two largest Flemish cities, Antwerp and Ghent. These students studied in the academically, technically or vocationally oriented study tracks. In our sample, we deliberately overrepresented students from vocational education as these students are more at risk of leaving

education before graduating from secondary education. Furthermore, urban vocational schools mostly have an overrepresentation of students from an ethnic minority and a lower SES background in their student body when compared to the rest of Flanders. In almost 70% of the schools participating in our survey the majority of the students had an ethnic minority background and more than half of the schools had a Muslim majority student population.

We operationalised students' family SES based on a joined score of their parents' occupational groups based on open questions that were manually recoded in line with the Internationally Standardised Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08). With regard to students' religious background, we only included students that identified as Christians (n=860) or Muslims (n=1232) or identified as being non-religious (n=591), and omitted those from diverse other religious groups because of the small numbers of respondents in these groups. Students' ethnic background was operationalised based on the country of birth of their mother's mother. Moreover, we only distinguish between students with a native (n=1078), Turkish (n=365) and Moroccan (n=533) ethnic background. Similar to the religious groups, the numbers of students with diverse other ethnic backgrounds were too restrictive for the purpose of our analyses. Table 1 shows that only a small portion of native students identified as being Muslim, and that Turkish and Moroccan students are predominantly Muslim. Due to the large overlap between ethnic and religious groups – especially for Turkish- and Moroccan-origin students identifying as Muslim – we will model the relations between religiosity, student-teacher relationships and students' sense of relatedness for the whole sample while including students' religious identity and later on model the relations specifically for Muslim students while taking into account their ethnic background.

Table 1 Students' ethnic background based on their mother's mother country of birth by students'

	Non-religious	Christian	Muslim	Total
Native	502	535	41	1078
Turkish	0	13	352	365
Moroccan	1	0	532	533
Total	503	548	925	1976

Students' religiosity

To operationalise students' religiosity we had access to two different 5-point Lickert scale items. The first indicator for students' religiosity is related to their *commitment* to their faith. Students needed to score "to what extent their religion was important for their way of life" from "completely not important" to "very important". The second indicator relates to students' *involvement* in activities organised by religious groups. The activities by religious groups were not further specified and therefore do not allow to distinguish between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of religious activities. Students could answer "never", "less than once a week", "once a week", "twice a week" or "three times a week".

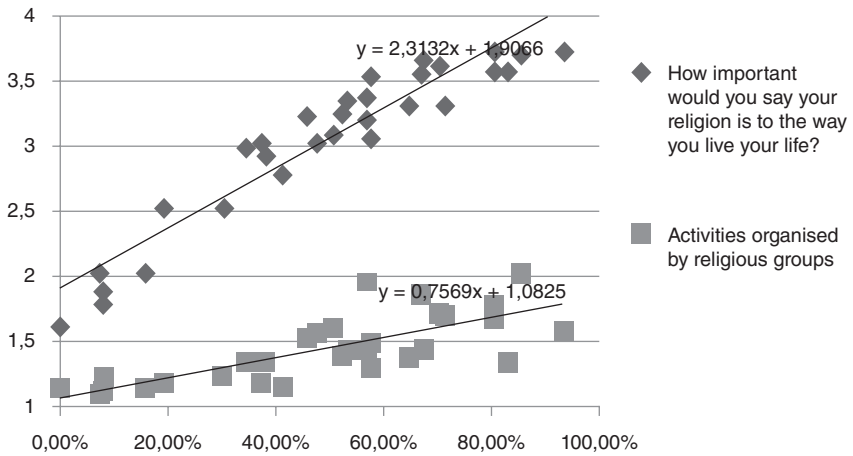

Figure 1: The Proportion of Muslim Students in the School Sample (x-axis) and the Student' Mean Religious Commitment and Involvement in Activities Organised by Religious Groups (Y-axis)

Figure 1 shows that there is a large dispersion of the proportion of Muslim students across the 32 participating schools going from zero Muslim students to 93% of Muslim students in the sample at the school level. Furthermore, the proportion of Muslim students significantly and positively correlates with the mean religious commitment and religious involvement of a school's student body. This relates to two research findings discussed in the literature section. Agirdag et al. (2012) showed that teachers in schools with a higher proportion of Muslims had more negative views on Islam and Van der Bracht, D'hondt, Van Houtte, Van de Putte and Stevens (2016) showed that the proportion of Muslim students at the school level increased the level of religiosity at the individual level among both Muslim and non-Muslim students.

Student-teacher relationships as perceived by students

Students' perceptions of their relationships with teachers were operationalised in twofold. One measurement model was based on Eggert and colleagues' (1991) measurement of teacher support. Based on confirmatory factor analyses we decided to only include three of the original items: (1) "Most of the teachers at this school are good teachers"; (2) "My teachers try to help me do well in school"; and (3) "My teachers respect me as a person". All statements needed to be scored on a 5-point Likert scale. The scale reliability test for the teacher support measurement rendered in a .78 Cronbach alpha value.

Our second operationalisation of student-teacher relations measures the level to which students experience to be discriminated against by their teachers based on ethno-cultural group membership characteristics. First, we asked students to indicate to what extent they felt discriminated against by teachers in their school using the following five response categories: "not at all"; "a little"; "moderately"; "quite a bit" and "very much". Those students that indicated to feel at least "a little" discriminated against by teachers where asked to indicate on what grounds they felt this discrimination was based. Only the experience of teacher discrimination of students marking one of the following ethno-cultural group memberships were taken into consideration: "Colour or race"; "Nationality"; "Religion"; "Home Language"; and "Ethnic group". Those students that felt discriminated against on other grounds were recoded to the "not at all" response category. This operationalisation thus also allowed native students of the dominant group to indicate if they were being discriminated against by teachers based on their ethno-cultural or religious background. In total 403 respondents or 15% of our respondents felt at least a little discriminated against on ethno-cultural grounds. Among the Muslim students, however, almost one in four respondents felt discriminated against by their teachers based on ethno-cultural characteristics. When comparing students' experiences of discrimination along ethnic lines, we found that only 4% of the natives felt discriminated against while almost one in four Moroccan and Turkish students felt discriminated by their teachers. The most frequently indicated group characteristics that students reported as the grounds of the teacher discrimination were nationality and religion. The latter was especially salient for Muslim students.

Students' sense of relatedness

For the latent variables measuring students' relatedness to school and education this study adapted Wang et al.'s (2011) school belonging and valuing of school

education measurements. Wang and colleagues used these measurements as the first order factors in the operationalisation of the second order emotional engagement factor of their multi-dimensional school engagement concept. As our literature overview showed, the emotional engagement dimension strongly overlaps with the sense of relatedness concept in motivational development studies in the educational domain. The school belonging latent concept is measured using the following 5-point Likert items: "I think this is a good school."; "I feel like a real part of this school."; and "I would recommend to other kids that they go to my school" ($\alpha = .87$). The school belonging latent concept is – maybe even more than the measurement for valuing education – a measurement that relates to Hirschi's Social Control or Social Bonding Theory (1969) and a higher value on the school belonging measurement would theoretically predict more engagement and less anti-social behaviour in the context of the school.

For measuring valuing of education we decided to only use the three items that are most suitable for testing our hypothesis based on Merton's Anomie Theory: "Trying hard at school will help me to get a good job"; "Trying hard at school will help me to go to college/university"; and "Getting a good education is the best way to get ahead in life." ($\alpha = .76$). All of these items measure to what extent the students support the meritocratic idea of using institutionalised means of education for achieving the culturally valued goal of social mobility. In terms of testing Merton's Anomie Theory hypotheses, students that are confronted by the strain of perceived blocked opportunity in education and still show high level of support for these meritocratic values on education should be labelled as "*conformist*" while those showing low levels of valuing education could theoretically be more prone to take on a "*rebellious*" or "*retreatist*" stance as a coping mechanism (Merton, 1938).

Results

In the results section, we present our findings in relation to each of the three research questions underlying this paper. All findings are based on three different Structural Equation Models, of which the detailed output can be found in the Appendices of this chapter. In the first model (Appendix A; full model), we estimate the measurement and structural models for all respondents. Appendix B shows the standardised parameter estimates for Muslim students only, distinguishing between students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration

background. Finally, Appendix C presents the standardised parameter estimates of the model including only the native students. In the latter we included a dummy variable for identifying as Christian to distinguish between Christian and non-religious students. All models show good model fit indices and adequate regression weights for the measurement models.[3] Although we do not report on the effects of gender and SES we highlight that in all structural models we included students' gender and family SES as control variables.

- **Research question 1:** Does students' religiosity correlate with students' perceptions of student-teacher relations, their sense of school belonging and/or their valuing of education?

The structural relations of the model including all students show that Christian and Muslim students (obviously) reported higher levels of religious commitment and involvement than non-religious students. The level of religious commitment and participation of Muslim students, however, tends to be significantly higher than for Christian students. In the full model, students' religious identity does not show any significant direct regressions parameters with student-teacher relationships, school belonging or valuing of education. Students' religious commitment and involvement, however, does show strong significant correlations with teacher discrimination. Students that report higher levels of religious commitment and involvement also report higher levels of teacher discrimination. We can thus conclude that not the self-identification as being Christian or Muslim relates to student-teacher relations but rather students' religious commitment and involvement – which are higher among Muslim students – that relate to more perceived teacher discrimination. Furthermore, students' religious commitment shows a significant positive relation with valuing of education, while students' that report more frequent participation in religious activities indicate lower levels of valuing education.

When comparing the direct and total effects of students simply identifying as being member of a religious group on student-teacher relationships, our findings show that especially the direct and total effects of identifying as Muslim strongly differ. When taking the indirect effect that runs through students' religiosity into consideration, the direct effect of identifying as Muslim on students' perceived teacher discrimination multiplies by at least four times. This difference between direct and total effect is much less outspoken for identifying as Christian. We can therefore conclude that – due to higher levels of (Islamic) religiosity and the

relation between religiosity and teacher discrimination – Muslim students feel more discriminated by their teachers than Christian adolescents.

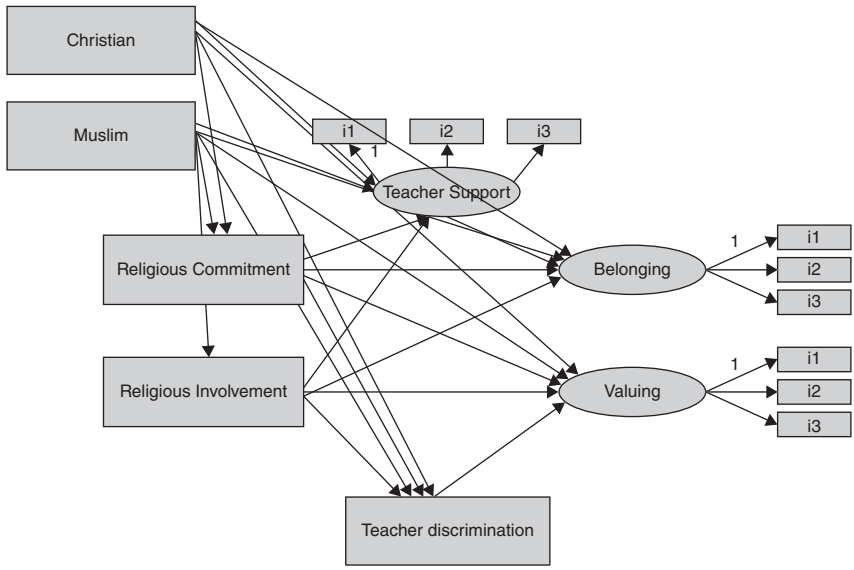

Figure 2: Conceptual model for the full sample SEM.[4]

When taking a closer look at the model for Muslim students separately, we can report that students with a Moroccan background report higher levels of religious commitment and lower levels of teacher support and school belonging than Turkish students. Furthermore, in the model for Muslim students there is only a significant positive correlation between religious involvement and teacher discrimination and thus not for religious commitment. Muslim students that are more committed to their religion report higher levels of valuing education, while more involvement in religious activities correlates with lower valuing of education.

In the model for native students only, our results show that – different than for Muslim students – more Christian religious commitment renders in higher levels of teacher support. As for other students, native students, however, also report higher levels of teacher discrimination when reporting to be more committed to their religion.

- **Research question 2:** What is the impact of students' perceptions of teacher support and feeling discriminated against by teachers on their sense of school belonging and valuing of education?

All models show strong significant and positive relations between the support students feel from their teachers on both their sense of school belonging and their valuing of education. These relations are, however, strongest in the model for only Muslim students. Muslim students thus tend to be more influenced by feeling supported by their teachers than non-Muslim students.

The relations between feeling discriminated by teachers and students' sense of school belonging and their valuing of education, however, show a more complex reality when comparing the three different models. In the model including all students, there are no significant relations between perceived teacher discrimination and students' sense of school belonging, nor their valuing of education. For native students, a higher level of perceived teacher discrimination significantly predicts lower levels of school belonging. For Muslim students, the model shows that students reporting higher levels of teacher discrimination, value education more. This finding contradicts the hypothesis based on the motivational development theory that posits that less supportive contexts renders lower levels of relatedness. The strength of the effects of teacher discrimination on school belonging and valuing of education are, however, much weaker than for the effects of teacher support in all three models.

- **Research question 3:** Is the relation between students' religiosity on the one hand and students' school belonging/ valuing education on the other hand mediated by student-teacher relations?

As the direct effects of students' religiosity on their sense of school belonging were not significant in any of the structural equation models, we do not discuss these relations in more detail. Students' religiosity is thus not significantly related to students' sense of school belonging. Further research could, however, take into account the religious student composition in the relation between students' religiosity and sense of school belonging. Multi-level analysis can shed more light on these relationships and test for effects of (religious) segregation between schools.

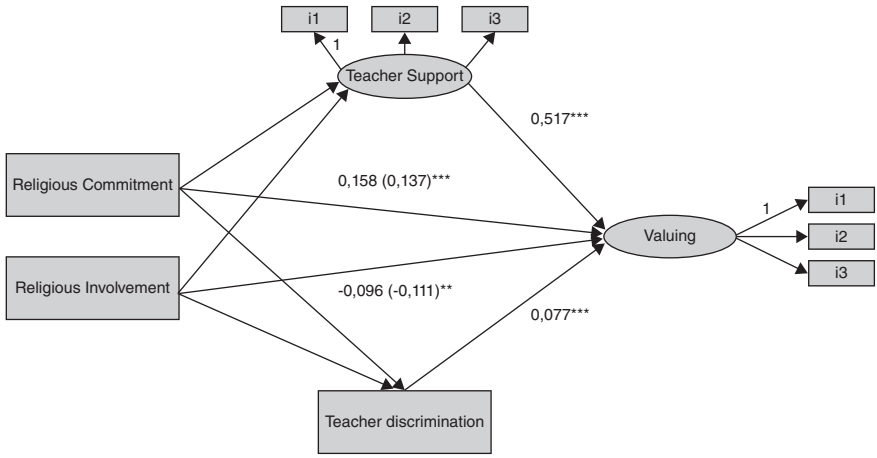

Figure 3: Direct and total effects of students' religiosity on valuing education mediated by their perceived student-teacher relationships for Turkish and Moroccan background Muslim students[5]

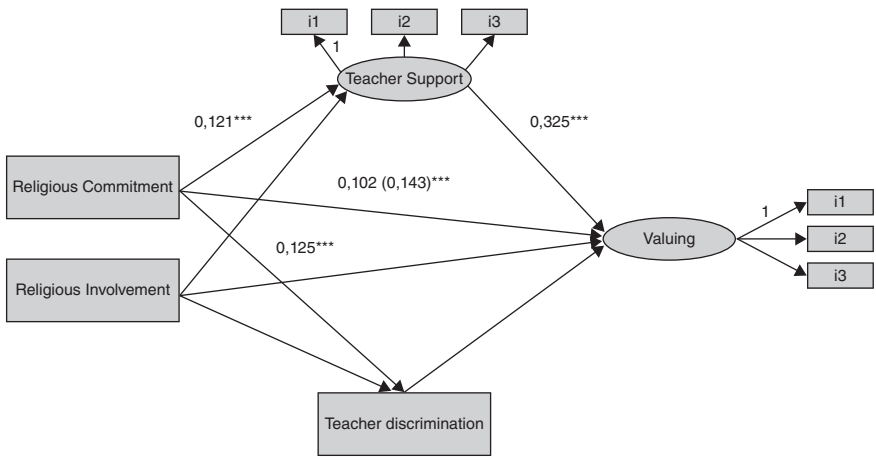

Figure 4: Direct and total effects of students' religiosity on valuing education mediated by their perceived student-teacher relationships for native non-Muslim students[6]

To answer the third research question with regard to the relation between students' religiosity and their valuing of education as a means for social mobility, we compare direct and total effects of students' religiosity on their valuing of education. By comparing the direct and total effects, we can account for the indirect effects that run through students' perceived teacher support and teacher discrimination. When comparing direct and total effects of students' religiosity across the three models, our results show that while the total effects of religious

commitment and involvement on valuing education is higher than the direct effects in the model including all students, the indirect effects that run across perceived student-teacher relations differ between religious and ethnic groups.

Figure 3 and 4 present the direct and total effects of students' religiosity on valuing education mediated by their perceived student-teacher relationships for Muslim and non-Muslim students respectively. The figures show that, while student-teacher relationships inflate the direct positive effect of religious commitment on valuing education for native non-Muslim students, the opposite is true for Turkish and Moroccan background Muslim students. For Muslim students the total effects of their religious commitment and involvement on their valuing of education decreases when taking the indirect effects that run through the perceived student-teacher relationships into consideration. The positive effect of religious commitment on supporting meritocratic values becomes less positive and the effect of religious involvement even more negative.

These findings imply that, when taking the significantly higher levels of religiosity among Muslim students and the more negative student-teacher relationships related to their Islamic religiosity into consideration, student-teacher relationships temper the positive direct effect of students' religious commitment on their valuing of education and worsen the negative direct effect of participation in religious activities on their valuing of education. Conversely, in the model for non-Muslim native students, our findings show that the perceived student-teacher relationships strengthen the positive effect of religious commitment on students' valuing of education. Our results therefore show that only for Muslim students their higher levels of Islamic religiosity, which relate to more negative student-teacher feedback, are a risk factor for their overall strong conformist and meritocratic ideas about the role of education as an important means for attaining the dominant goal of upward social mobility.

Discussion

In discussing our findings, we first summarise the most important findings and relate them to hypotheses we deduced primarily from the theoretical frameworks of Merton's Anomy Theory and motivational development theory. We discuss the role of students' religiosity in relation to these theorised underlying processes. Next, we discuss the potential implications this could have for preventive measures that focus on teacher-student relations in diverse schools, and for

potential pre-radicalisation policies, and discuss the limitations of this study that could inform future research.

With regard to the hypotheses based on the motivational development theory, we can confirm that support from teachers is a major contextual facilitator for students' sense of relatedness, both with regard to their sense of belonging to their school as, more generally, valuing of education as a means for social mobility. Moreover, the strength of these relationships is even stronger for Muslim students, showing that feeling supported by teachers is particularly important for the sense of relatedness of these (religious) minority students.

Our findings with regard to the effects of feeling discriminated by teachers based on their ethno-cultural background are more complex: for non-Muslim native students, on the one hand, more teacher discrimination significantly predicts lower levels of school belonging but does not significantly predict their level of valuing of education. For Muslim students, on the other hand, the model shows that students that report higher levels of teacher discrimination, do not significantly report lower levels of school belonging and value education more. Further research could help to shed more light on this finding. This contra-hypothetical correlation with teacher discrimination could be related to the tendency of stigmatised groups in society to be more vulnerable for feeling threatened by existing stereotypes and discrimination in the educational domain, in particular when they place high value on this domain. If they were stigmatised in a domain they do not find important or want to be successful in, then the impact of stigmatisation has been shown to be lower (Nouwen & Clycq, 2016; Osborne & Walker, 2006). The analyses are based on cross-sectional data and can therefore not give any conclusive findings on the direction of the relations. Furthermore, compared to the effect of teacher support, the effect sizes for teacher discrimination were much smaller.

Literature on Merton's Anomie Theory in combination with findings on the position of ethnic and religious minorities in Flemish (and other Western European) education systems, informed our hypothesis that – because of strain experienced as a result of structural inequality and institutionalised discrimination – minority students, and in particular Turkish and Moroccan Muslim students, could be more prone to renouncing the institutionalised educational means to achieve the culturally valued goal of upward social mobility. Our findings, however, show that simply identifying as Muslim or Christian does not significantly predict students' conformism with meritocratic values when being controlled for students' gender and family SES. Valuing education

as an institution through which social mobility can be achieved is therefore not renounced more by Turkish and Moroccan background Muslim students, on the contrary, the overall mean levels of conformism to the dominant cultural goals of valuing education as a means for social mobility are higher among Muslim than among non-Muslim students. The overall hypothesis that ethnic and religious minorities are in general more prone to rebellious or retreatist ideas (and behaviour) that denounces education as a means to social mobility could not be confirmed.

Another important finding, however, shows that when taking into account the indirect effects between Muslim students' higher religiosity and the more negative perceived student-teacher relationships, Muslim students' higher religious commitment and involvement can pose risk factors for their valuing of education. Although in general a higher commitment to religion is related to valuing education for Christian and Muslim adolescents alike, because of the mediation in terms of more experienced negative feedback on their religiosity, the positive relationship is threatened for religiously committed Muslim students. This stresses even more the importance of positive student-teacher relationships for Muslim students, who are overall much more religiously committed and involved than non-Muslim students in Western European societies. Negative feedback on their Islamic religiosity from teachers (e.g., on wearing headscarves or celebrating Islamic holidays) can be a risk factor for Muslim students who – despite the structural inequality and discrimination in the educational domain – in general are not more prone to renounce education as a means for social mobility.

Our findings show that the relation between (religious) minority and majority students and their feelings of school belonging and valuing of education is quite a complex one. Nonetheless, an important (and recurrent) finding is that minority students – be they ethnic and/or religious minorities – in general value education highly. This strongly nuances dominant discourses found among many educators that there is a lack of interest and valuing of education among low performing groups (Clycq et al., 2014). However, what is also shown in our research is that schools experience difficulties in tapping into these positive feelings of especially Muslim minority students. It are these students that indicate to experience the most negative teacher-students relations, despite their strong commitment and valuing of education as an important institution in society.

Our findings show that these youngsters to a large extent believe in the dominant ideals of education as a social elevator lifting youngsters out of

socially vulnerable circumstances and climbing the social hierarchy. However, in reality many of these youngsters are faced with difficulties and obstacles, and unfortunately teachers seem to be experienced by these youngsters as one of these difficulties. Therefore, we argue that our results show that even further jeopardizing teacher-student relations by making teachers the first surveyors of early signs of radicalisation might have detrimental impact on this already tenuous relationship. A much more positive approach towards the role of teachers needs to be adopted and their potential to become crucial significant others to support these youngsters in fulfilling their potential and aspirations needs to be acknowledged. In various research (minority) students indicate how important teachers are to them and how heavily they rely on their support to excel. As students in Flanders are enrolled in education for at least 12 years and at a ratio of around 25 hours per week, it is pivotal to acknowledge that schools and educators have a lot of time to work, interact and bond with students. Perceiving and acknowledging the various opportunities that are present (in particular the high value attached to education) needs to be built upon much more profoundly than is done up until now. These strategies might be much more important in tackling early signs of disengagement and disidentification, and even radicalisation, than making teachers a sort of "police officer in a classroom".

Appendices

Appendix A Standardised Regression Weights in Full Sample

			β direct (β total)	SE	p-values
Control Variables					
Religious Commitment	<---	Male	-0,006	0,025	0,526
Religious Involvement	<---	Male	0,074	0,038	***
Teacher Support	<---	Male	-0,086	0,036	0,001
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Male	0,038	0,026	0,093
Belonging	<---	Male	-0,007	0,038	0,748
Valuing	<---	Male	-0,078	0,032	0,002
Religious Commitment	<---	Family SES	-0,065	0,019	***
Religious Involvement	<---	Family SES	0,04	0,028	0,154
Teacher Support	<---	Family SES	-0,058	0,027	0,093
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Family SES	-0,032	0,02	0,289
Belonging	<---	Family SES	0,004	0,029	0,88
Valuing	<---	Family SES	0,01	0,024	0,762
Structural Model					
Religious Commitment	<---	Christian	0,25	0,034	***
Religious Commitment	<---	Muslim	0,995	0,035	***
Religious Involvement	<---	Christian	0,059	0,052	0,024
Religious Involvement	<---	Muslim	0,465	0,054	***
Teacher Support	<---	Christian	0,026 (0,035)	0,055	0,475
Teacher Support	<---	Muslim	0,003 (0,027)	0,102	0,968

			β direct (β total)	SE	p-values
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Christian	-0,017 (0,027)	0,041	0,588
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Muslim	0,062 (0,253)	0,075	0,334
Belonging	<---	Christian	0,022 (0,022)	0,058	0,47
Belonging	<---	Muslim	0,042 (-0,021)	0,108	0,509
Valuing	<---	Christian	0,011 (0,088)	0,049	0,753
Valuing	<---	Muslim	-0,037 (0,214)	0,09	0,602
Teacher Support	<---	Religious Commitment	0,046	0,033	0,471
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Religious Commitment	0,157	0,024	0,004
Teacher Support	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,046	0,023	0,117
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Religious Involvement	0,076	0,017	0,003
Belonging	<---	Religious Commitment	-0,078 (-0.055)	0,035	0,15
Valuing	<---	Religious Commitment	0,266 (0,292)	0,03	***
Belonging	<---	Religious Involvement	0,008 (-0,019)	0,024	0,753
Valuing	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,079 (-0,055)	0,02	0,005
Belonging	<---	Teacher Support	0,56	0,037	***
Valuing	<---	Teacher Support	0,404	0,029	***
Belonging	<---	Teacher Discrimination	-0,016	0,034	0,483
Valuing	<---	Teacher Discrimination	0,048	0,028	0,064

			β direct (β total)	SE	p-values
Measurement Model					
Tchsup1	<---	Teacher Support	0,739		
Tchsup3	<---	Teacher Support	0,707	0,036	***
Tchsup4	<---	Teacher Support	0,755	0,035	***
Schblng1	<---	Belonging	0,848		
Schblng2	<---	Belonging	0,781	0,027	***
Schblng3	<---	Belonging	0,88	0,029	***
Acmot2	<---	Valuing	0,718		
Acmot5	<---	Valuing	0,693	0,041	***
Acmot7	<---	Valuing	0,696	0,035	***

*Notes: *** = (p < 0.001); Model Fit Indices: CFI = 0,97; RMSEA = 0,051*

Appendix B Standardised Regression Weights for Muslim Sample

			β direct (β total)	S.E.	P-Value
Control Variables					
Religious Commitment	<---	Male	0,01	0,034	0,758
Religious Involvement	<---	Male	0,129	0,078	***
Teacher Support	<---	Male	-0,132	0,059	***
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Male	0,023	0,053	0,519
Belonging	<---	Male	-0,009	0,06	0,77
Valuing	<---	Male	-0,032	0,048	0,398
Religious Commitment	<---	Family SES	-0,082	0,032	0,033
Religious Involvement	<---	Family SES	0,087	0,072	0,026
Teacher Support	<---	Family SES	-0,117	0,054	0,008
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Family SES	0,023	0,049	0,577
Belonging	<---	Family SES	-0,044	0,055	0,24
Valuing	<---	Family SES	-0,021	0,044	0,62

			β direct (β total)	S.E.	P-Value
Structural Model					
Religious Commitment	<---	Moroccan	0,091	0,035	0,007
Religious Involvement	<---	Moroccan	-0,001	0,08	0,986
Teacher Support	<---	Moroccan	-0,127 (-0,132)	0,06	0,001
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Moroccan	-0,011 (-0,008)	0,054	0,752
Belonging	<---	Moroccan	-0,071 (0,152)	0,061	0,03
Valuing	<---	Moroccan	0,023 (-0,031)	0,049	0,542
Teacher Support	<---	Religious Commitment	-0,048	0,057	0,218
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Religious Commitment	0,041	0,052	0,249
Teacher Support	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,041	0,027	0,307
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Religious Involvement	0,084	0,024	0,02
Belonging	<---	Religious Commitment	-0,041 (-0,068)	0,058	0,213
Valuing	<---	Religious Commitment	0,158 (0,137)	0,047	***
Belonging	<---	Religious Involvement	0,009 (-0,013)	0,027	0,782
Valuing	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,096 (-0,111)	0,022	0,013
Belonging	<---	Teacher Support	0,584	0,051	***
Valuing	<---	Teacher Support	0,517	0,041	***
Belonging	<---	Teacher Discrimination	0,012	0,039	0,714
Valuing	<---	Teacher Discrimination	0,077	0,031	0,04

			β direct (β total)	S.E.	P-Value
Measurement Model					
Tchsup1	<---	Teacher Support	0,757		
Tchsup3	<---	Teacher Support	0,725	0,049	***
Tchsup4	<---	Teacher Support	0,77	0,046	***
Schblng1	<---	Belonging	0,861		
Schblng2	<---	Belonging	0,796	0,037	***
Schblng3	<---	Belonging	0,877	0,04	***
Acmot2	<---	Valuing	0,694		
Acmot5	<---	Valuing	0,68	0,06	***
Acmot7		Valuing	0,697	0,055	***

*Notes: *** = (p < 0.001); Model Fit Indices: CFI = 0,94; RMSEA = 0,066*

Appendix C Standardised Regression Weights for Native Sample

			β direct (β total)	S.E.	P-Value
Control Variables					
Religious Commitment	<---	Male	-0,06	0,043	0,039
Religious Involvement	<---	Male	-0,039	0,022	0,214
Teacher Support	<---	Male	-0,029	0,045	0,416
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Male	0,046	0,021	0,14
Belonging	<---	Male	-0,004	0,05	0,894
Valuing	<---	Male	-0,118	0,044	***
Religious Commitment	<---	Family SES	-0,143	0,029	***
Religious Involvement	<---	Family SES	0,012	0,015	0,719
Teacher Support	<---	Family SES	-0,034	0,03	0,354
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Family SES	-0,042	0,014	0,189
Belonging	<---	Family SES	0,037	0,033	0,237
Valuing	<---	Family SES	0,032	0,029	0,365

			β direct (β total)	S.E.	P-Value
Structural Model					
Religious Commitment	<---	Christian	0,341	0,044	***
Religious Involvement	<---	Christian	0,061	0,023	0,054
Teacher Support	<---	Christian	0,011 (0,05)	0,048	0,764
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Christian	-0,057 (-0,011)	0,022	0,084
Belonging	<---	Christian	0,021 (0,036)	0,053	0,522
Valuing	<---	Christian	0,037 (0,086)	0,047	0,312
Teacher Support	<---	Religious Commitment	0,121	0,032	0,001
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Religious Commitment	0,125	0,015	***
Teacher Support	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,048	0,064	0,179
Teacher Discrimination	<---	Religious Involvement	0,06	0,03	0,059
Belonging	<---	Religious Commitment	-0,031 (0,019)	0,036	0,346
Valuing	<---	Religious Commitment	0,102 (0,143)	0,031	0,006
Belonging	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,016 (-0,047)	0,071	0,596
Valuing	<---	Religious Involvement	-0,04 (-0,055)	0,062	0,25
Belonging	<---	Teacher Support	0,516	0,052	***
Valuing	<---	Teacher Support	0,325	0,042	***
Belonging	<---	Teacher Discrimination	-0,099	0,074	0,001
Valuing	<---	Teacher Discrimination	0,014	0,065	0,692

			β direct (β total)	S.E.	P-Value
Measurement Model					
Tchsup1	<---	Teacher Support	0,732	0,05	
Tchsup3	<---	Teacher Support	0,688	0,049	***
Tchsup4	<---	Teacher Support	0,748		***
Schblng1	<---	Belonging	0,845	0,037	
Schblng2	<---	Belonging	0,776	0,039	***
Schblng3	<---	Belonging	0,877		***
Acmot2	<---	Valuing	0,741	0,054	
Acmot5	<---	Valuing	0,675		***
Acmot7	<---	Valuing	0,699	0,047	***

*Notes: *** = (p < 0.001); Model Fit Indices: CFI = 0,93; RMSEA = 0,06*

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1 In this paper we will not address the problematic nature of the concept of radicalisation as this is discussed more in-depth in various other chapters in this book.

2 Reducing Early School Leaving in Europe (www.resl-eu.org)

3 The lowest standardised regression weight for the different items measuring the latent concepts teacher support, school belonging and valuing of education is 0,675.

4 The control variables (i.e., gender and SES) and error terms are omitted to strengthen visual clarity.

5 Figure 3 only shows standardised direct and total parameter estimates for significant direct effects. Total effects are represented within parentheses.

6 Figure 4 only shows standardised direct and total parameter estimates for significant direct effects. Total effects are represented within parentheses.

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