Signals of Islamic radicalization at primary schools in the Netherlands

Do signals of Islamic radicalization from secondary education appear in primary education?

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Abstract

This research focused to what extent primary teachers observe known signals of Islamic radicalization from secondary education in Islamic children aged 10 till 12 in primary education, and how they respond to these signals. Investigating this subject provides insight into whether signals of Islamic radicalization can already appear at a younger age than 13 years and whether primary teachers find it necessary to take action. The occurrence of and response to these signals were examined among primary teachers ($N = 20$) through a questionnaire in which they indicated whether they have observed known signals of Islamic radicalization and if they perceive these signals to be radical or not. They also indicated the perceived importance of prevention of Islamic radicalization in primary schools and their general view of Islamic radicalization in primary education. The questionnaire was constructed with both multiple choice and open-ended questions through which descriptive statistics and inductive content analysis were performed that enabled answers to the research questions to be obtained. To create more context for this study the School and Safety Foundation in the Netherlands was requested to answer five questions through e-mail to share its experience regarding signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education, and to indicate whether a prevention- and learning program for primary education is perceived by the Foundation as necessary as well. This research revealed that some behaviours that are considered as signs of Islamic radicalization in secondary education are observed by primary school teachers, but they do not perceive these behaviours as signs of Islamic radicalization themselves. In addition, signals that they do observe and perceive as radical have not been addressed. Teachers seem to find it thus hard to estimate the value of the signals. The results also indicated that teachers do not have a prevention- and learning program. Every primary school creates its own strategy to control deviant behaviour. Once signals of Islamic radicalization are suspected teachers take several steps to address the pupil's behaviour. Finally, the Foundation seems to agree both with teachers who find a prevention plan not necessary, and teachers who rather have a few guidelines or a plan in reserve they can apply. As most teachers were not aware of the Foundation's existence and no teacher has ever used its services, could be relating to multiple primary teachers. The Foundation is therefore advised to introduce itself more at primary schools and show teachers where they can obtain information about signals of Islamic radicalization and how to deal with this. Nevertheless, given the small sample it is recommended to conduct a follow-up investigation to draw firmer conclusions.

Keywords: terrorism, Islamic radicalization, signals, prevention, primary schools

Signals of Islamic radicalization at primary schools in the Netherlands

Research has proven that radicalized individuals are not uneducated, but have often completed secondary or tertiary education, and that some extremist groups consider the school environment as an attractive recruitment place due to the increased presence of many young individuals in educational systems (Sas et al., 2020). These findings led to a new approach where the education sector is considered as a prominent partner in preventing and combating the radicalization of young individuals (Sas et al., 2020). Schools are not only the places where students, teachers and parents from different backgrounds and opinions meet, get to know and understand each other, but students also develop their identity there and are given the opportunity to grow up to become responsible citizens. Hence, school provides a socially safe place for optimal learning (Spee & Reitsma, 2020; Sas et al., 2020). Sas et al. (2020) therefore do insist that not only secondary but also primary and tertiary education should be involved in policy strategies regarding Islamic radicalization.

The Dutch Youth Institute (2018) claims that until the age of 10, most children still have little awareness of political problems or conflicts at a global level. From the age of 10, children generally become more interested in what is happening in the world around them; nowadays they increasingly gather their information through social media platforms rather than traditional media (Dutch Youth Institute, 2018). Although radical Islam stems partly from schools, a prevention and learning program to detect and avert Islamic radicalization early exists in the Netherlands only for secondary education (Website of Terra Toolkit, 2021). To what extent radicalizing signals occur in primary education and how this is being addressed has unfortunately not been extensively investigated to date. Primary education has only the possibility to approach the School and Safety Foundation for information and advice concerning the prevention of Islamic radicalization in their sector (Website of Central government, 2021). Prevention of Islamic radicalization is best to start as early as possible in order to prevent premature awareness of the possibility of Islamic radicalization in primary school children (Sas et al., 2020).

This research will therefore address the issue of Islamic radicalization in 10 till 12 year olds in Dutch primary schools with a regular education system, by examining the extent to which teachers observe and whether they classify behaviours that are known signals of Islamic radicalisation in secondary education as such signals themselves. Investigating whether signals of Islamic radicalization are already expressed in the Netherlands at a younger age than 13 years

is of great importance; it may enable the Dutch government to deploy interventions in primary education timely to stop a radicalization process before it escalates in adolescence or adulthood.

Islamic radicalization

Islam has certain movements that, despite their non-violent nature, can be called radical due to the way parts of this belief are imposed on others (General Intelligence and Security Service, 2015; Wiktorowicz, 2006). One of these movements is Salafism and is a collective term for fundamentalist movements within Sunni Islam that strives for a return to 'pure Islam' (General Intelligence and Security Service, 2015), and legitimises hate, coercion and violence, and promotes the repression of women and those who think differently (Bakker, 2005; Roex, 2014). The sub movement that differentiates itself by approving the use of force is Jihadi Salafism (General Intelligence and Security Service, 2015; Wiktorowicz, 2006).

Radicalization is described as a change in attitudes, feelings and behaviours in a direction that increasingly justifies the violence between groups – it demands an increasing effort in defence of the own group to achieve behavioural change and political goals (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008; Doosje et al., 2016). Since the assassination of Theo van Gogh in 2004, Dutch authorities believe that most violent forms of radical Islam in the Netherlands are supported and performed by an isolated minority of Dutch Muslims who are disconnected with society through the influence of political Salafists (Bakker, 2005; Vidino, 2008). Political Salafists encourage Dutch Muslims to reject most Western values and any idea of integration aimed to increase a perception of injustice and discrimination (Bakker, 2005; Vidino, 2008). Research into risks to state security by the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), revealed in 2004 that radical Islam in the Netherlands is made up of a plethora of schools, movements and groupings covering the whole spectrum from 'jihad' (in the sense of armed struggle) against the West to 'dawa' (reforming to radical Islamic ideology) (General Intelligence and Security Service, 2004; Bakker, 2005). Islamic radicalization is therefore perceived by Dutch authorities as a threat for both the national security and the democratic legal order as social unrest and an increasing degree of polarization can emerge (Bakker, 2005; Vidino, 2008).

Radicalization does not occur instantaneously, but arises through a multifactorial interaction of risk factors, access routes and triggering events that originate from individual, group and society levels (Doosje et al., 2016; McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). Influencing factors

are age, gender and ethnicity, social factors, such as family and friends, the social status within a group or community, personality traits and psychological problems. Additionally, a poor social network, a personal crisis, poor school performance and/or employment opportunities can also contribute to radicalization (School and Safety Foundation, 2020a and b). Hence, there is no objective demographic picture of "the" minor who radicalizes (van den Bos et al., 2009).

Doosje et al. (2013) do indicate that social psychological factors such as personal uncertainty, perceived injustice and perceived group threat are key driving forces of Islamic radicalization in Muslim youth aged 12 till 21. Personal uncertainty is defined as a subjective sense of doubt or instability in self-views, world-views, or the interrelation between the two (Doosje et al, 2013). This subsequently constitutes an uncomfortable feeling. Once people experience personal uncertainty regarding their identity, what they are doing in this world, what the future might bring for them, and to which group they belong to, they are more susceptible for extreme ideas and extreme groups. As a consequence, extreme ideas and groups can eventually reduce their uncertainty by providing them a clear Black-and-White-ideology where norms and values, and strict codes of behaviour are included. Muslim youth who experience strong personal uncertainty may thus obtain clear and straightforward answers and solutions to their questions and concerns from extreme ideas and groups (Doosje et al, 2013; School and Safety Foundation, 2020a). Regarding perceived injustice, the research of Doosje et al. (2013) showed that Muslim youth can perceive the Dutch authorities as illegitimate and they may indicate having a sense of disconnection in society. A person that endorses an extreme view of Islam revealed in the study of Doosje et al. (2013) that they do not feel understood by the authorities while they try so hard to be part of the society. Discrimination occurs on a daily basis both at work and school, and a lot of Muslims feel being discriminated against when seeking employment. Finally, Doosje et al. (2013) argue that people are taught by radical ideologies that threat to their group is present through which people are more likely to endorse violence and engage in violent actions themselves in order to restore threatened significance (Doosje et al., 2013), such as committing a terrorist attack. In this case disconnection from society is stimulated as the in-group is then perceived as superior relative to society. In order to resolve a feeling of treated badly or reduce some of the perceived injustice a perception of fairness, at which people feel being treated fairly, seems to be an important factor (Moghaddam, 2005).

Prevention of Islamic radicalization

Several Western countries, including the Netherlands, have developed programs to counteract Islamic radicalization, because they have noticed that segments of their Muslim populations embrace extremist views (Vidino, 2008; Vidino & Brandon, 2012). To target Islamic radicalization in all its aspects in the Netherlands, general guidelines, training and partial funding are provided to local authorities; Dutch municipalities have the freedom to design their own unique program as problems, sophistication and philosophical approaches can differ quite significantly from city to city. Preventive measures have been established in collaboration with an intricate web of ministries, governmental agencies, local authorities, social services, educational facilities, think-tanks, religious institutions and freelance consultants, that emphasize mutual tolerance and acceptance that increase resilience to radical messages. Resilience refers to the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats, or significant sources of stress, such as family and relationship problems, serious health problems, or workplace and financial stressors (Palmiter et al., 2020). Openness, information sharing and constant inputs from all potential sources, such as the aforementioned ones, seem to be the guiding principles (Vidino, 2008; Vidino & Brandon, 2012). One of the aims of these counter-radicalization programs is to (re)connect citizens that are vulnerable or open to Islamic radicalization with society. This may thus also relate to Muslim youth who are experiencing strong personal uncertainty as described above and who are developing their identity to search their place in the world (Vidino, 2008).

Impact, the knowledge center for psychosocial care after shocking events, partner with Arq Psychotrauma Expert Group of the Netherlands, and the Association for Help to Victims of 11 March (AV11M) in Madrid, have established the TERRA-toolkit. TERRA is an European Network based prevention and learning program that is aimed at early detection of Islamic radicalization for professionals in different disciplines, such as teachers, youth workers, religious leaders or police officers. On the basis of (international) scientific literature, the opinions of experts in the field of radicalization and practitioners, and on knowledge and experience of victims of terrorism and former radical persons, the toolkit has been created. The TERRA-toolkit for teachers is focused on early detection of Islamic radicalization in secondary education to change behaviour at an individual level (Terra Toolkit, 2014). In the context of this toolkit, signals of Islamic radicalization at Muslim youth in secondary education have been determined and cover the areas stated in Table 1 (Spee & Reitsma, 2020; Terra Toolkit, 2015). The current study will investigate to what extent these signals are observed in Islamic children

aged 10 till 12 in regular primary education, and what the responses of teachers to these signals are. If these signals are observed to some extent, this might be considered as an important reason to set up and introduce interventions to deal with these radicalization process at those ages before it may escalate later. Importantly however, some signals determined among Muslim youth in secondary education may not fully apply to Islamic primary school children aged 10 till 12. For example, getting symbolic tattoos or secondary sex characteristics, such as having a beard, mostly do not occur at the age of 10 till 12 years. With respect to the remaining signals no such assumptions can be made as these are then based on speculations. Answers on whether the remaining signals are observed among Islamic children aged 10 till 12 will therefore be obtained through this research.

Table 1

Signals of Islamic radicalization at Muslim youth in secondary education

Signal	Description
Negative attitude towards Dutch authorities	Muslim youth are not anymore convinced of Dutch authorities' effectiveness in the way of paying attention and dealing with their grievance. This leads to a low institutional trust and a perception that authorities are not legitimate. Besides, people that support a radical Islamic belief system are required to obey the laws and rules of Allah only, which implies they do not have to respect the laws of Dutch authorities (Doosje, et al. 2016; Doosje, Loseman & van den Bos, 2013).
Change in identity and name	Muslim youth want to associate themselves with a particular radical group, such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda or the Taliban.
The sense of belonging	An increasing sense of belonging to a particular radical group.
Friends group	Muslim youth ignore their old social circle and become more and more involved in the activities of the radical group. Old friendships are broken in favour of new friends that are idolatrous of an extremist movement.
Clothing and appearance	Beard growth, shaving off all hair, showing flags or stickers, getting symbolic tattoos that indicate the bond with a certain radical group.
Word usage	Specifically about ethnic, religious or political groups. Clear, noisy expression of own group to distinguish from other groups. Intimidating behaviour towards other groups.

School performance	The person's attention is no longer at school, but focused on active group membership of the radical group.
School absenteeism	Once a minor is only judged on disappointing school performance, s/he is less and less happy at school and less likely to go to school. The radical group can then offer an attractive alternative.
Leisure activity	Not focused anymore on own leisure activities, but focused on the activities of the radical group.

Research questions

To obtain a clearer picture of whether signals of Islamic radicalization manifest in primary schools this research is conducted in a structured sequence as follows. First it will be examined to what extent signals of Islamic radicalization from secondary education are observed by teachers in Islamic children aged 10 till 12 in primary education. In addition, it will be examined how primary teachers interpret known signals of Islamic radicalization when they observe these in practice. Afterwards they are requested to indicate to what extent and what kind of prevention and learning programs exist in their primary schools to combat Islamic radicalization. Subsequent to this, it will be investigated how primary teachers address suspected radicalized behaviour if they do not possess a prevention and learning program to combat Islamic radicalization. Finally, primary teachers are requested to give answer to whether they do perceive a prevention and learning program to combat Islamic radicalization in primary education as necessary or not. Regarding this latter research question, Vidino (2008) discovered that some primary schools are reluctant to combat Islamic radicalization due to refusing to acknowledge that radical ideas can or might be embraced by their pupils. Overall, conducting explorative research regarding signs of Islamic radicalization in primary schools shall give more insight into whether such signs are observed and interpreted as such, and whether a program for preventing Islamic radicalization in primary education is perceived as required.

Method

Participants

Sample goal

For this research the aim was to create a sample that includes participants that teach in primary schools and hold different religions in order to obtain a clear picture of the extent to which signals of Islamic radicalization manifest in various primary schools. Teachers were only allowed to participate when they met the following inclusion criteria: 18 years or older, having a good command of the Dutch language, and having experience with teaching Islamic children aged 10 till 12.

Strategy to attain sample

Through quota sampling 893 directors of several primary schools in the Netherlands with a regular education system were approached via e-mail and requested to forward the link of the survey to their colleagues that teach Islamic children aged 10 till 12. Directly approaching these directors of primary schools to recruit participants to facilitate greatly data collection was considered. Before approaching the selected primary schools a number of actions had to be taken, because contact details of primary schools were listed on the website of their schoolboards. A complete contact details list of schoolboards of April 2021 was displayed on the website of the Education Implementation Service from the Ministry of Justice and has been used for the selection procedure to eventually reach out to the primary schools.

According to the Association of Dutch Municipalities all municipalities in the Netherlands, regardless of their size, are confronted with Islamic radicalization (Gielen, 2015). Hence it was decided to first select schoolboards in a systematic way as schoolboards were ranked in the list by their competent authority number. In doing so, it was attempted to generate a sample that consisted of a considerable dispersion of primary schools in the Netherlands. To this end, the list was first checked on schoolboards that do not have authority over primary schools that provide a regular education system and/or do not host a website with e-mail addresses of their primary schools. The list consisted of 930 schoolboards from which 191 schoolboards were excluded from the selection procedure for lacking aforementioned criteria. Eventually 739

schoolboards remained in the list. Subsequently, selecting schoolboards (and the associated primary schools) occurred in two rounds, as in the first round it was noticed that the progress of data collection was running slow. In the first round, it was decided to approach primary schools of 50 schoolboards. Hence, for the first pool each eighteenth schoolboard was selected through which a list of 40 schoolboards were chosen (739 / 40 = 18) and replenished with 10 schoolboards of choice to obtain a decent dispersion of primary schools with different religions. During the first round of data collection the second pool was created by selecting additionally the twelfth schoolboard in the list in which prior elected schoolboards were left out of selection. In this case it was decided to approach primary schools of 60 schoolboards aimed to reach out to more primary schools.

Sample achieved

Eventually after all efforts undertaken, twenty Dutch primary teachers participated in this study. Non-Dutch participants, such as Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and other ethnic backgrounds have not taken part in this research. Twenty-six Islamic primary schools were invited from which none of them participated. It is unclear why they did not participate. Other religions, such as Jewish, Hindu and Evangelical did also not contribute to this research. An explanation as to why they refused to participate has not been given or requested by them as well.

The final sample included 13 women and 7 men with an age range of 23 till 62 years (Mage = 42.40 and SDage = 10.89) and a teaching experience range of 1 till 32 years (Mexperience = 12.95 and SDexperience = 9.54). Data was obtained from respondents that originate from 8 of the 12 provinces in the Netherlands (Noord-Holland (15%), Zuid-Holland (30%), Overijssel (10%), Gelderland (15%), Utrecht (10%), Noord-Brabant (5%), Limburg (5%) and Zeeland (10%)) and being distributed over 5 religions (No religion (45%), Protestant Christian (10%), general special (10%), Roman Catholic (30%) and interdenominational (5%)). Responses came from the following places: Alkmaar, Hilversum and Amsterdam (Noord-Holland), the Hague (5x) and Krimpen aan de Lek (Zuid-Holland), Dalfsen and Deventer (Overijssel), Culemborg (2x) and Ede (Gelderland), Utrecht and Houten (Utrecht), Helmond (Noord-Brabant), Venlo (Limburg), and Breskens and Oostburg (Zeeland). From Drenthe, Flevoland, Friesland and Groningen no respondents contributed in this study. Twenty-one Dutch respondents were excluded from further analysis due to sending an incomplete survey questionnaire

(n = 12), not giving their informed consent (n = 5) and/or not meeting the inclusion criteria (n = 4).

The School and Safety Foundation was contacted through e-mail and requested to provide additional information for this study; they agreed to this request. The School & Safety Foundation supports schools in promoting a socially safe climate. The organization does this by providing up-to-date information and expert advice via the website, training courses, conferences and the helpdesk. One employee contributed to this research.

Materials

For answering the research questions stated in the introduction data was gathered through an online survey. An online survey suited most for this research as it was easy to distribute and primary school teachers could decide for themselves when to fill in the survey and whether or not to do this in several steps. In addition to create more context for this research, the School and Safety Foundation was approached via e-mail to provide information regarding their findings about Islamic radicalization in primary schools, and to indicate whether a prevention- and learning program for primary education is perceived by the Foundation as necessary as well. It is assumed that the Foundation may provide context as they in principle can be approached by any primary school in the Netherlands and thus constitute an additional source that may shed light on what signals emerge from primary schools in the Netherlands if these are present. Five questions were set up and this organization was requested to answer them. The implementation of both collection methods are elaborated below.

Online survey for primary teachers

An online survey (Appendix A) was established through Qualtrics for collecting data from teachers at primary schools in the Netherlands. Qualtrics is the survey tool that is available for staff and students in the BMS faculty of the University of Twente. The survey was only in Dutch as information was obtained by Dutch participants or non-Dutch participants who do have a good command of the Dutch language. Moreover, the survey was divided into four sections with questions: demographic questions, questions regarding the occurrence of known signals of Islamic radicalization, questions regarding the prevention of Islamic radicalization in

primary education, and questions regarding the general view of Islamic radicalization in primary education.

In the demographic section background characteristics were collected aimed to describe the sample. Beside standard demographic questions such as asking participants about their gender, age and ethnic background, primary teachers were also asked to answer to whether they teach Islamic children aged 10 till 12, what their teaching experience is, what the religion of their primary school is, and in which province and place their primary school is situated.

Subsequently, the survey switches to the section about questions regarding known signals of Islamic radicalization in secondary education that are displayed in Table 1. Before starting with these questions teachers were first requested to indicate what they think Islamic radicalized behaviour looks like in Islamic primary school children aged 10 till 12. Their opinion could be entered in a text box. Afterwards primary teachers were requested to answer whether they had observed known signs of Islamic radicalization and how they would react on such signs when they encounter them in practice. Example questions that teachers came across were 'How often do Islamic pupils in your group declare that they obey only the laws and rules of Allah?', 'How often does it occur that Islamic pupils in your group indicate that they feel strongly connected to a certain radical group?', 'How often do Islamic pupils in your group break old friendships in favour of new friends who support a radical ideology?', 'How often do Islamic pupils in your group use specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups?', and 'How often do Islamic pupils in your group show intimidating behaviour towards other groups?'. Respondents could choose from the following response categories: never, rarely, sometimes, often and very often. After each question about a signal teachers had to elaborate in maximum three sentences in a text box to what extent they perceive this signal as a sign of Islamic radicalization. The following question was displayed for this purpose: 'To what extent do you see this as a signal of Islamic radicalization among Islamic pupils? Explain your opinion in no more than 3 sentences. There are no right or wrong answers here. I am interested in your opinion.' A maximum of three sentences was set to obtain short but straight forward answers.

The survey then proceeds with a number of questions about the prevention of Islamic radicalization in regular primary education. Example questions for this section are 'Do you have a prevention and learning program at your primary school to combat Islamic radicalization?', 'Have you ever contacted the School and Safety Foundation for advice and support to combat

Islamic radicalized behaviour in Islamic pupils in your primary school?' and 'Do you perceive a prevention and learning program at your primary school as necessary to combat Islamic radicalization in primary education?'. In this section respondents were able to answer some of these questions with both multiple choice and a text entry box. In the text entry box, teachers could provide an explanation of their chosen multiple choice answer.

Finally, the survey ends with the question to what extent teachers think that Islamic radicalization in a general sense occurs in primary education among pupils. It took teachers approximately 30 minutes to complete the survey. Besides, they could stop in the meantime and continue with the questionnaire later by clicking the link again through which pressure on teachers became minimized. In appendix A the hyperlink and the content of the survey are displayed.

School and Safety Foundation

The Foundation was approached via its e-mail address that was displayed on the Foundation's website through which contact was achieved with the employee who contributed to this research. A brief explanation of this research and the reason for contacting the Foundation was provided. Thereafter the employee was requested to give answer to the questions stated below.

Questions for the School and Safety Foundation:
1. How often is the Foundation approached annually by regular primary education for advice and support to address radicalization at their primary school?
2. Have the number of contact moments with regular primary education been changed over years? If so, in what way?
3. From which age groups in regular primary education do signals emerge?
4. What different types of reports does the Foundation receive from regular primary education about suspected radicalized behaviour?
5. To what extent do you think that a prevention and learning program should also be developed for regular primary education to combat radicalization? Please explain your opinion.

Procedure

The hyperlink to the questionnaire has been distributed to directors of several primary schools via e-mail. In a time span of two weeks participants had the choice to decide if and when they wanted to fill in the questionnaire. Reminders were sent to stimulate data collection. Data collection took in total six weeks and occurred coincidentally during Ramadan and May holiday. Once participants open the hyperlink, information regarding this research and asking their consent for participation was shown first. Subsequently, the content of the survey switches to the demographic questions after which participants were pointed to the questions regarding known signs of Islamic radicalization, the prevention of Islamic radicalization in regular primary education, and their general view of Islamic radicalization in primary education. Participants have been notified that their anonymity is guaranteed, that the data will be handled confidentially, and these will be deleted once the investigation has been completed. Finally, the respondents were thanked for their participation.

Data analysis

The program 'Statistical Package for Social Sciences' (SPSS) and Atlas.ti were used to analyse the data. Since the questionnaire is constructed with both multiple choice and open-ended questions it was decided to use SPSS for analysing the multiple choice questions and Atlas.ti for analysing the open-ended questions.

In SPSS, descriptive statistics, such as measures of frequency, measures of central tendency (mean), and measures of dispersion and variation (range, variation and standard deviation) have been conducted to provide a summary of the sample and the observations that have been made regarding the appearance of known signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education.

Qualitative data were analysed using an inductive approach to content analysis. Inductive coding was applied on analysing the answers on the open-ended questions since there is no knowledge about these questions in primary education established yet. The concerned questions are about how primary teachers interpret known signals of Islamic radicalization when they observe these in practice, to what extent and what kind of prevention and learning programs exist in their primary schools to combat Islamic radicalization, how primary teachers

address suspected radicalized behaviour if they do not possess a prevention and learning program to combat Islamic radicalization, and whether primary teachers do perceive a prevention and learning program to combat Islamic radicalization in primary education as necessary or not. Inductive content analysis utilises the process of abstraction to reduce and group data to make it for researchers able to answer the study questions using concepts, categories or themes (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Thus, specific observations are used to construct categories through which general conclusions or theories can be developed (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

Fragments in the answers of respondents, which are the units of analysis, that describe type of reasons teachers perceive known signals as radical in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 were analysed. It can be the whole sentence but also be a part of a sentence or a combination of sentences. Answers, with respect to the questions about the prevention of Islamic radicalization and the general view of Islamic radicalization in primary education by teachers, were also analysed on given reasons. Because participants named several reasons that determine how they perceive, for example, known signals as radical in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12, these fragments differ from each other resulting in variations. Repetition within the answer of a participant is marked as one variation, because it is the same variation. Subsequently, fragments were divided into subcategories and placed in an overarching theme, which is the code. A code is a label explaining the commonality of a number of variations.

Three requirements have been taken into account for the drafting of the coding scheme. The coding scheme must be clear, exhaustive and mutually exclusive (Sun, 2017). Each code is defined clearly. Furthermore, all relevant variations are covered by a code and all irrelevant variations, like unclear answers, for example 'it would be striking if pupils do this' are coded as 'irrelevant', because these kinds of answers do not provide a reason. Overall, the codes are mutually exclusive which means that codes do not overlap and each unit of analysis fits one code only.

In addition to the content analysis, the coding scheme with final codes was shared with another researcher and requested to perform content analysis on the open-ended questions with these final codes. Afterwards in Atlas.ti an intercoder agreement analysis with Krippendorff's alpha was conducted to estimate the level of agreement among the coders.

Krippendorff's alpha can be used regardless of the number of observers, levels of measurement, sample sizes, and presence or absence of missing data (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). Hayes & Krippendorff (2007) propose it therefore as the standard reliability statistic for content analysis and similar data making efforts. An alpha value of 0.80 is perceived as the norm for a good reliability test with a minimum of 0.67. Values between 0.67 and 0.80 allow tentative conclusions to be drawn, but do require a substantiation with specific information why alpha turned out low (Zhao et al., 2020).

Finally, answers on the open-ended questions about known signals were interpreted in relation to their coupled multiple choice question. Hereby the focus was on what meaning teachers attach to the signals and to what extent they may find it alarming and a reason to take action as soon as they are observed in practice. In addition, answers from the School and Safety Foundation about its experience with signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education were compared with teachers' answers about their experience with signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education, aimed to clarify whether the Foundation's judgement corresponds to that of the teachers.

Results

Research question: To what extent are signals of Islamic radicalization from secondary education observed by teachers in Islamic children aged 10 till 12 in primary education?

From the 13 signals that were investigated primary teachers declared that they have observed 10 known signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education. Table 2 shows that from these 10 signals, the signals 'Islamic pupils declaring that they only obey the laws and rules of Allah', 'Islamic pupils indicating that they do not trust the Dutch authorities', 'Islamic pupils using expressions to distinguish their own group from other groups' and 'Islamic pupils exhibiting intimidating behaviour towards other groups' were often observed by eight teachers. The signals 'Islamic pupils indicating that they feel strongly connected to a certain radical group' and 'Islamic pupils using specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups' have been observed sometimes by eight teachers from which the latter signal has a higher response rate relative to the other signal. In addition, 'Islamic pupils changing their identity because they want to associate themselves with a radical group', Islamic pupils breaking old friendships in favour of new friends who support a radical ideology', Islamic pupils changing their clothing

and appearance' and 'Islamic pupils joining a radical group as soon as they are often judged for poor school performance' are observed rarely by five teachers. Finally, no teachers had observed the signals 'Islamic pupils want to be addressed by a different name', 'Islamic pupils are no longer focused on school, but on active radical group membership' and 'Islamic pupils are no longer focused on their own leisure activities, but on activities of a group engaged in radical ideas' in practice.

Table 2

To what extent do signals of Islamic radicalization from secondary education occur in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 in primary education according to primary school teachers?

Signal 1: How often do Islamic pupils in your group declare that they only obey the laws and rules of Allah?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
9	4	4	3	0	2.05	1.15

Signal 2: How often do Islamic pupils in your group indicate that they do not trust the Dutch authorities?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
10	5	4	1	0	1.80	0.95

Signal 3: How often do Islamic pupils in your group change their identity because they want to associate themselves with a radical group?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
19	1	0	0	0	1.05	0.22

Signal 4: How often do Islamic pupils in your group want to be addressed by a different name?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
20	0	0	0	0	1.00	0.00

Signal 5: How often do Islamic pupils in your group indicate that they feel strongly connected to a certain radical group?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
16	3	1	0	0	1.25	0.55

Signal 6: How often do Islamic pupils in your group break old friendships in favour of new friends who support a radical ideology?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
19	1	0	0	0	1.05	0.22

Signal 7: How often do Islamic pupils in your group change their clothing and appearance?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
18	2	0	0	0	1.10	0.31

Signal 8: How often do Islamic pupils in your group use specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
9	4	7	0	0	1.90	0.91

Signal 9: How often do Islamic pupils in your group use expressions to distinguish their own group from other groups?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
9	6	3	2	0	1.90	1.02

Signal 10: How often do Islamic pupils in your group exhibit intimidating behaviour towards other groups?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
7	7	4	2	0	2.05	1.00

Signal 11: How often does it occur that Islamic pupils in your group are no longer focused on school, but on active radical group membership?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
20	0	0	0	0	1.00	0.00

Signal 12: How often do Islamic pupils in your group join a radical group as soon as they are often judged for poor school performance?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
19	1	0	0	0	1.05	0.22

Signal 13: How often does it occur that Islamic pupils in your group are no longer focused on their own leisure activities, but on activities of a group engaged in radical ideas?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Mean	SD
20	0	0	0	0	1.00	0.00

Content analysis on open-ended questions

Data from the open-ended questions are subjected to content analysis by two coders to determine the intercoder agreement reliability. From the analysis a Krippendorff's alpha value of 0.814 is established. According to Krippendorff, this value refers to a high agreement among the coders from which a high reliability can be inferred. With every question, several codes are created where each has its own subcategories which are displayed in Table 3 up until 6. An explanation of all the encodings will follow now.

Exploratory analysis: What does Islamic radicalized behaviour according to teachers among Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 look like?

Teachers had different opinions about what Islamic radicalized behaviour looks like in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12. From the content analysis six codes derived: judgement, supporting and justifying behaviour, strict adherence to faith, lack of experience, disobey authority and rules, and replenishing knowledge. In Table 3 each code is divided into its subcategories.

Table 3

What does Islamic radicalized behaviour according to primary teachers among Islamic pupils aged 10-12 look like?

Code	Subcategories	Occurrence 1st coder	Occurrence 2nd coder
Judgement	News items Behaviour of others Opinions of others Girls, LGBTQ-community and dissenters	13	15
Supporting and justifying behaviour	Justify violence between groups Provoking and bullying Using faith as an excuse	7	6
Strict adherence to Islamic faith	Taking Quran literally Glorification of Islam and Allah Distancing from celebrations	7	8
Lack of experience	No clue	4	4
Disobey authority and rules	Placing Islamic law above Dutch law	3	5
Replenishing knowledge	Searching information	2	2

Judgement. The code 'Judgement' is defined as the degree to which teachers think what some Islamic pupils judge most as offending their Islamic faith. According to teachers they think that some Islamic youth judge most on news items, behaviour and opinions of others, and girls, people belonging to the LGBTQ-community and dissenters. This results in pronouncing extreme points of view and addressing others behaviour and opinions that are not in accordance to the Islamic law. Teachers have noticed that some Islamic pupils then mark these as 'haram' (bad) through which they therefore do not want to associate themselves with certain people, such as girls, people belonging to the LGBTQ-community and dissenters. With respect to girls, it is unclear what is meant with why some Islamic pupils would not want to be seen with certain girls. It is in this research believed that it is not about girls in general, but more about these girls appearances in daily life, such as dressing too naked or not wearing a headscarf.

Supporting and justifying behaviour. The code 'Supporting and justifying behaviour' is defined as the degree to which teachers think how some Islamic pupils support and justify their malicious behaviour. One teacher believes that some Islamic pupils justify violence between groups by expressing their support and understanding for radical groups, actions and ideas, but rarely or never express their opinion in this regard because they are aware of the charge of this subject in a public school. To a more extreme degree three teachers believe that some Islamic pupils eventually start to provoke and bully others to propagate ideas of the Islamic faith and threaten to harm others if a Prophet is offended. To justify their behaviour, one teacher believes some Islamic pupils tend to use their faith as an excuse.

Strict adherence to Islamic faith. The code 'Strict adherence to Islamic faith' is defined as the degree to which teachers think to what extent some Islamic pupils take their faith seriously. Teachers state that some Islamic pupils comply to their religion very seriously. Islam and Allah are hereby glorified through which the Quran is followed literally. As described in the Quran, some therefore distance themselves from celebrations from other cultures. In addition, a teacher denounces that even though some Islamic pupils identify themselves as Muslims it is the question whether they even have any idea what the rules are for and whether they serve the faith; 'Arabic verses and rules are automatically stamped into their heads just like they should know the calculus tables by heart, but there is no conversation about the content and meaning'.

Lack of experience. The code 'Lack of experience' is defined as the degree to which teachers did not have experienced signals of Islamic radicalization in some Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12. With respect to this code, four teachers stated to have no clue what Islamic radicalized behaviour in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 would look like.

Disobey authority and rules. The code 'Disobey authority and rules' is defined as the degree to which teachers think that some Islamic pupils who do not conform to Dutch authority and law is a signal of Islamic radicalization. Three teachers argued they believe some Islamic pupils place the Islamic law above the Dutch law. According to them this is manifested as disrespectful and maladjusted behaviour towards Dutch norms and values.

Replenishing knowledge. The code 'Replenishing knowledge' is defined as the degree to which teachers think that some Islamic pupils replenish their knowledge regarding Islamic radicalization. Two teachers argue that when Islamic pupils delve into Islamic radicalization by searching information and watching video's to educate themselves, this is perceived by them as Islamic radicalized behaviour in this age group.

Research question: To what extent do teachers perceive the known signals as signals of Islamic radicalization in Islamic primary school children aged 10 till 12?

In the coding scheme (Table 4) the following codes may come across per signal: perceived as radical, not perceived as radical, unknown and irrelevant. The code 'Perceived as radical' is defined as the reasons teachers offer for agreeing to perceive known signals from secondary education as a sign of Islamic radicalization in Islamic primary school children. The code 'Not perceived as radical' is defined as the reasons teachers offer for not agreeing to perceive known signals from secondary education as a sign of Islamic radicalization in Islamic primary school children. The code 'Unsure' is defined as the degree teachers were unsure to attribute the signal as radical or not radical. Finally, the code 'Irrelevant' is defined as the degree teachers provide unclear answers regarding their opinion about the signal. In the following paragraphs first it will be explained which signals are by all teachers perceived as radical. Thereafter, an explanation will be provided as to why the remaining signals, which are both perceived as radical and not radical, are marked by some teachers as radical. Subsequently, it will be clarified which signals are by all teachers perceived as not radical after which also an explanation will follow as to why the remaining signals, which are both perceived as radical and not radical, are marked

by some teachers as not radical. With regard to the code 'Unsure' an explanation of the reasons why teachers were unsure to attribute the signal as radical or not radical will be provided as well. The perspectives of the teachers are interpreted and summarized, and displayed the below.

Table 4

To what extent do primary teachers perceive the known signals as signals of Islamic radicalization in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12?

Signal	Code	Subcategories	Occurrence 1st coder	Occurrence 2nd coder
Only obeying Allah	Perceived as radical	Firmly obeying Allah Influenced by others Obvious	10	12
	Not perceived as radical	Just complying to Islamic faith Obeying school and Islamic rules Searching identity Undesirable behaviour	7	8
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	5	5
Not trusting Dutch authorities	Perceived as radical	Obvious Deprivation Lack of trust	5	5
	Not perceived as radical	Situation dependent Isolated community Street culture Upbringing	5	5
	Unsure	Unclear boundary	1	1
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	9	10
Changing identity to associate	Perceived as radical	Interest in radical organizations No explanation	8	5

with radical group				
	Not perceived as radical	Lack of knowledge Searching identity	2	2
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	8	10
Want to be addressed by a different name	Perceived as radical	Identifying with terrorists No explanation	4	4
	Not perceived as radical	Searching identity	2	2
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	12	12
Sense of belonging to a radical group	Perceived as radical	Interest in violent organizations Looking up to killers Solidarity feeling No explanation	9	9
	Not perceived as radical	Just complying to Islamic faith	1	1
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	7	7
Breaking with old friendships in favour of new friends	Perceived as radical	Friends support radical ideology Distancing oneself No explanation	6	6
	Not perceived as radical	Situation dependent Personality dependent	3	3
	Unsure	Hard to track down	1	1
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	8	7

Changing clothing and appearance	Perceived as radical	Identifying with radical groups Interested in radical groups No explanation	6	3
	Not perceived as radical	Situation dependent Too young	5	5
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	5	6
Using specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups	Perceived as radical	Focused on what is 'haram' (forbidden) No explanation	4	1
	Not perceived as radical	Boasting behaviour Ignorance Searching identity	4	5
	Unsure	Intention dependent	2	2
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	8	6
Using expressions to distinguish own group from others	Not perceived as radical	Searching identity Social common issue Occurs rarely Differentiation happens by nature No interest in outgroups	9	8
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	6	6
Exhibiting intimidating behaviour towards other groups	Not perceived as radical	Social common issue Upbringing Ignorance Reaction to unsafety	11	12

	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	5	4
No longer focused on school	Perceived as radical	Focus on norms/values outside school Countering compulsory education law No explanation	7	7
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	7	6
Being judged on poor school performance	Perceived as radical	Focus on norms/values outside school Radical group offers future Easy influenceable Deprivation	7	5
	Not perceived as radical	Personality dependent Searching self-confidence	2	2
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	6	7
No longer focused on their own leisure activities	Perceived as radical	Focus on norms/values outside school Difference in behaviour	7	5
	Not perceived as radical	Situation dependent	1	2
	Unsure	Having no sight	1	0
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	4	7

Perceived as radical. Seven teachers, who provided a reason, perceive the signal 'Islamic pupils are no longer focused on school, but on active radical group membership' as a signal of Islamic radicalization. One teacher emphasizes that Islamic pupils are then focussed on norms and values outside the classroom through which it is believed that radical groups offer more future instead of being motivated to go to school. In addition, once Islamic pupils are

often judged for poor academic performance, it is also by teachers believed that it might trigger some Islamic pupils to delve into the conditions radical groups have to offer. In this research it is assumed that these teachers seem to indicate that radical groups may resolve the perceived uncertainty and perceived injustice in some Islamic pupils. Another teacher states that Islamic pupils know what the laws are regarding compulsory education. When they decide to join an active radical group to stop going to school is according to this teacher certainly a signal.

Regarding the other signals, which are both perceived as radical and not radical, teachers who assigned these signals as radical, indicate that these signals refer mainly to firmly obeying Allah, deprivation that leads to Islamic radicalization, and having interest in radical groups.

Firmly obeying Allah. Teachers indicate that some Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 firmly obey Allah. A teacher indicated to experience in practice that more often Islamic pupils refuse to participate in regular prayer and day opening. They withdraw with other pupils of the same ethnic background and do not want to solve conflicts, because the Quran states that Muslims may remain angry. Another teacher noticed that during gym class where people bow for each other as a sign of respect Islamic pupils refuse to participate because they are only allowed to bow to Allah. Based on these findings it is in this research assumed that some Islamic pupils reject rules that are not part of their religion. However, this does not have to imply that these rejections are related to Islamic radicalization; probably they just comply to their Islamic faith. Especially during Ramadan the rules of their Islamic faith are followed more strictly. Teachers stated that Islamic pupils are in this period now more focused on what is 'haram' (forbidden). Moreover, a teacher declared that during a lesson about norms and values in which pupils watched a tv program where children could ask naked adults questions caused a stir among Islamic pupils. Probably Islamic pupils had a problem with this because of the inappropriateness of showing your body to others. Nevertheless, non-Islamic pupils might have caused a stir as well at that moment through which the reactions of these Islamic pupils do not have to be perceived as a sign of Islamic radicalization, but just as a compliance to their Islamic faith or innocent behaviour. Unfortunately, this teacher did not provide clarity whether Islamic pupils were the only group to be offended.

Deprivation leading to Islamic radicalization. Two teachers believe that when Islamic pupils indicate that they do not trust the Dutch authorities it stems from a feeling of deprivation. A sense of deprivation and therefore a sense of removal from society seem to be according to

these teachers underlying factors that cause Islamic pupils to think that the Dutch authorities cannot be trusted. Apparently this reasoning led these teachers to perceive it as a signal of Islamic radicalization.

Interest in radical groups. Once some Islamic pupils opt to change their identity, want to be addressed by a different name, have a sense of belonging to a radical group, and want to change their clothing and appearance, teachers believe they have then an excessive interest in radical groups and look up to those who want to kill for their ideas. One teacher states 'as soon pupils have thoughts about this they probably have obtained the information somewhere'. From this statement it might be argued that this teacher believes that some Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 have easy access to the information, such as through friends and family, or the Internet whereby they are able to delve into Islamic radicalization more easily. Hence, it makes it probably easier for them to educate themselves in order to meet the standard of a radical group. The signal 'Islamic pupils breaking with old friendships in favour of new friends who support a radical ideology' is therefore also perceived by teachers as a signal of Islamic radicalization since friends that support a radical ideology can have great influence on each another. One teacher declares that it is then more likely that pupils eventually distance oneself from other opinions and beliefs. Based on these reasonings, it is assumed that sensitivity for Islamic radicalization most likely maintains.

Not perceived as radical. Approximately half of the group of teachers, who provided a reason, perceived the signals 'Islamic youth using expressions to distinguish their own group from other groups' and 'Islamic youth exhibiting intimidating behaviour towards other groups' as not a signal of Islamic radicalization. Teachers who assigned these signals as not radical, indicate that these signals refer mainly to a social common issue and a search for identity. Teachers believe that using expressions to distinguish itself and exhibiting intimidating behaviour occurs in several layers of society and that this happens by nature. Islamic pupils who thus use specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups is just perceived as boasting behaviour and ignorance, and a way for Islamic pupils to search their identity. It is therefore not abnormal pertaining to other children and has, according to one teacher, nothing to do with being Islamic, because Islamic pupils come also to know to which group/culture they belong to through which automatically an us-them view emerges. A comment from a teacher supports this reasoning: 'our population is 99.9% Muslim and a large part of them experience themselves as clearly part of this group/community, there is little interest, empathy, curiosity towards other

'groups''. Hence, these Islamic children seem to have found their identity and are most likely able to distinguish themselves well from other groups.

In addition to intimidating behaviour exhibited by Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12, different opinions were given by the teachers as to why they do not perceive this as a sign of Islamic radicalization. One teacher declares that groups who have it more difficult in society are more likely to show intimidating behaviour than people who have it "easier". Supplement to this, one teacher states that it depends on how the other group behaves and indicates that some Islamic pupils probably exhibit intimidating behaviour as a reaction to unsafety. In contrast, two other teachers belief it is about the upbringing of the pupils. One of these teachers argues: 'According to their environment you solve conflicts in this way', whereas the other teacher believes it is just ignorance. It is assumed that the latter teacher is probably referring to a lack of knowledge about conflict management in their upbringing. Based on aforementioned statements, it appears that teachers believe that some Islamic pupils probably feel unsafe and do not know how to deal with conflicts and how to resolve them. Exhibiting intimidating or even displaying aggressive behaviour by some Islamic pupils is probably by teachers perceived as their last option to control the social conflict in order to assert themselves.

Regarding the other signals, who are both perceived as radical and not radical, a lot of overlap in reasons is also present about why the signals are perceived as not radical. Teachers who assigned the following signals to be not radical, indicate that the signals are mainly a compliance to the Islamic faith and situation dependent.

Compliance to Islamic faith. The signal 'Only obeying Allah' is by some teachers perceived as just a compliance to the Islamic faith. Especially during Ramadan in which data collection took place, teachers noticed that Islamic pupils followed the religious rules of Allah more strictly. Moreover, one teacher argued that once Islamic pupils obey the rules of Allah and also observe the school rules and rules of conduct, they will not be perceived as a problem through which the signal 'Only obeying Allah' will not be perceived as a signal of Islamic radicalization as well. One teacher stated this signal to be as a search for their identity; who am I and to which group do I belong to?. Unfortunately, no substantiation has been given for this reasoning to create more depth for this research. Finally, one teacher believes 'Only obeying Allah' is just undesirable behaviour. The teacher argues 'In a primary school group, the rules

of society are a guideline, so that they can maintain themselves well later. By excluding themselves, they alienate themselves from others'. Hence, it seems that this teacher indicates that when some Islamic pupils only obey the rules of Allah in a non-Islamic primary school they cause social conflicts for themselves. In order to prevent social conflicts, it seems that this teacher suggests that these Islamic pupils have to give in to a certain extent to make it bearable for them in a non-Islamic primary school. In closing, one teacher indicates that when some Islamic pupils feel strongly connected to a certain radical group it is a compliance to the Islamic faith, because it is the partly segregated world (strict to very strict Islamic) in which they live and grow up. Thus, according to this teacher when some Islamic pupils have a sense of belonging to a radical group seems to be normal behaviour.

Situation dependent. Five signals are by teachers perceived as not radical because these signals are according to them situation dependent. It concerns the signals whether Islamic pupils do not trust the Dutch authorities, break with old friendships in favour of new friends who support a radical ideology, change their clothing and appearance to indicate a bond with a certain radical group, join a radical group as soon as they are often judged for poor school performance, and are no longer focused on their own leisure activities, but on activities of a group engaged in radical ideas. Some Islamic pupils who not trust the Dutch authorities is perceived as situation dependent. One teacher believes that 'when some Islamic pupils come out of a conflict it is different than when they say it ''spontaneously'''. Another teacher states that not trusting the Dutch authorities happens to more children than just Islamic children. From here it seems that children in general are more likely inclined not to trust the Dutch authorities after a conflict. In contrast, one teacher claims that Islamic pupils largely live in an isolated community through which their behaviour for not trusting the Dutch authorities is perceived as normal and not as a signal for Islamic radicalization. In addition, two teachers indicate that not trusting the Dutch authorities just lies with the childrens upbringing. One teacher refers to streetculture and believes that some Islamic children automatically adopt the attitude that the police cannot be trusted. Pertaining to the other teacher it is unclear what this teacher meant regarding 'upbringing'. It is assumed that this teacher refers to parental upbringing.

Breaking with old friends in favour of new friends that support a radical ideology is by three teachers not perceived as a signal of Islamic radiclization, because they believe it does not have to originate from a certain belief. Teachers argue that 'just as other children, Islamic pupils are discovering themselves as well and as soon they find certain behaviour of some friends no

longer desirable they quit with these friendships'. Similarly to breaking old friendships, according to four teachers, the changing of clothes and appearance by some Islamic pupils does not have to come from a particular faith as well. One of these teachers argues 'Is it because he/she wants to express a certain opinion or is it experimenting like more children do during puberty?'. Likewise, Islamic pupils who are no longer focused on their own leisure activities, but on activities of a group engaged in radical ideas does also not have to stem from a belief. According to one teacher it is the question whether it is about the ideology or whether a lack of fulfilment of basic needs is present that the other group does not provide. Hence, aforementioned statements from these teachers seem to indicate that the real thoughts of an Islamic child are hard to find out based on these behaviours. In fact, it remains to be seen whether the Islamic child will provide an honest answer when asked why it changed its group of friends, clothing and appearance, and its leisure activity. In addition to the changing of clothes and appearance, one teacher does not believe that this occurs in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12, because they are too young. Apparently this teacher refers to the parental authority that influences how the child will show itself at school, or that changing their clothing and appearance to indicate a bond with a certain radical group will not come to their mind at that age.

Unsure. At the signals 'Islamic youth indicating that they do not trust the Dutch authorities', 'Islamic youth breaking old friendships in favour of new friends who support a radical ideology', 'Islamic youth using specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups' and 'Islamic youth who are no longer focused on their own leisure activities, but on activities of a group engaged in radical ideas', at least one teacher was unsure to attribute the signal as radical or not radical. First, one teacher does not know where the boundary lies between Islamic radicalization or creed when some Islamic pupils indicate that they do not trust the Dutch authorities, since this faith takes such a stern form. Second, according to one teacher, it is hard to track down when Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 break with old friendships in favour of new friends that support radical ideology, because the teacher believes Islamic pupils will keep themselves silent about it. Third, one teacher was unsure to label the signal 'Islamic pupils using specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups' as radical or not radical due to the fact it is wondering whether it is boasting behaviour or their real opinion. Hence, one could never find out whether they actually mean something by it or whether it is innocent behaviour. In closing, one teacher declared that teachers do not have any sight on Islamic pupils who are

no longer focused on their own leisure activities, but on activities of a group engaged in radical ideas. According to this teacher this usually happens outside school hours.

Research question: To what extent and what kind of prevention and learning programs do primary teachers have to combat Islamic radicalization in primary education?

Of twenty teachers, nineteen filled in the multiple choice questions with regard to the prevention of Islamic radicalization in primary education. All of them indicated that they do not have a prevention- and learning program at their primary school to combat Islamic radicalization. From these nineteen respondents, fourteen teachers declared that they have never heard about the School and Safety Foundation whereas five teachers did hear about it. Finally, none of the teachers had ever reached out to the Foundation for advice and support to suppress Islamic radicalization at their primary school. Results with regard to the open ended questions teachers answered about the prevention of Islamic radicalization are displayed in Table 5. Primary teachers give various reasons of which they think why a prevention program at their primary school is not present. These reasons are divided over the following three subcategories: no interest in a prevention plan, primary education is focused on such programs already, and concerns about public perceptions.

Table 5

How is the prevention of Islamic radicalization in primary education arranged?

Question	Code	Subcategories	Occurrence 1st coder	Occurrence 2nd coder
Do you have a prevention and learning program at your primary school to combat radicalization? What is the reason?	No	No interest Focused on such programs Concerns about public perceptions No clue	21	23
	Irrelevant	Unclear answer	1	2
If you do not have a prevention and learning program to	Internal consultation	Colleagues Management Internal supervisor	13	14

combat radicalization in your primary school, what do you (or would you do) when you observe signs of radicalization among Islamic pupils in your group?		Student affairs coordinator		
	Conversation with pupils	Private In class	9	12
	Parental authority	Conversation with parents	6	6
	Engaging external parties	GGD Police Neighbourhood team Participation council	7	4
	Improving schools safety	Updating knowledge Tighten policy	2	2
	Irrelevant	Unclear answers	4	6
Do you think a prevention and learning program at your primary school is necessary to combat radicalization in primary education? What is the reason?	Yes	If necessary Keep in reserve Perceived more signals than before Few guidelines suffices	10	10
	No	No signals present Current program suffices Stirs up problems Little to no Islamic pupils	10	11

	Only from secondary education		
No opinion	Lack of experience	1	1

No interest in a prevention plan. The majority of teachers (13) declared that in practice little to no signals of Islamic radicalization are identified. This is contrary to the frequency measurements that showed that out of 13 signals, 10 signals were observed. In all likelihood, these teachers seem to be not aware of which behaviours fall under signals of Islamic radicalization. In addition, two other teachers mentioned that little to no Islamic pupils at their primary schools are registered. Finally, one teacher argued being convinced of little threat of Islamic radicalization in its primary school. A prevention plan is therefore perceived as unnecessary through which there is no interest.

Primary education already focused on such programs. Two teachers confirmed they already focussing on such programs, like citizenship and social emotional development. Citizenship refers to the way in which people participate in society and help shape it. Citizenship education equips young people with the knowledge, skills and attitude they need to be able to participate actively in society now and in the future. At school, young people are introduced to concepts such as democracy, fundamental and human rights, sustainable development, conflict management, social responsibility, equality and dealing with social diversity (Johnson & Morris, 2010). The social emotional development theme focuses on the dynamic process by which children and young people acquire the fundamental life skills that help them develop a personal identity, build relationships with others and manage expectations from their environment. This theme deals with issues such as awareness and development of the self and a positive self-image, entering into relationships, learning to relate to and interact with others, reflecting on one's own behaviour, conflict management, making one's own choices, increasing self-confidence and personal resilience within a group (Ashdown & Bernard, 2012). Apparently these teachers indicate that these programs already address issues that are relevant to deradicalization, but in a much more general way.

Concerns about public perceptions. Two teachers mentioned to avoid conversations about Islamic radicalization in primary school. One teacher argues that Islamic radicalization

is a sensitive subject that cannot be discussed at school because of the potential fuss it might cause. Nevertheless, the teacher experiences commotion at its primary school and states 'There are complaints among teachers and we run into problems, for example the authority of a female teacher that is undermined from home, parties who are not 'allowed' and which are then not attended by Islamic pupils or that are spoken about badly. Schoolwide in a meeting, it is not discussed. It stays under the radar'. In contrast, one teacher finds that what you give most attention to will grow through which talking about Islamic radicalization in primary school should be therefore kept under the radar to avoid, for instance, some Islamic pupils to run off with this theme so it develops and eventually will lead its life in primary education. Thus, in order to properly maintain the atmosphere in primary school, these teachers rather choose to remain silent than denouncing the prevention of Islamic radicalization due to concerns of public perceptions. An underlying rationale might be that they do not want to damage the primary schools reputation.

Research question: How do primary teachers address suspected radicalized behaviour if they do not possess a prevention and learning program to combat Islamic radicalization?

Results in Table 5 indicate that teachers are inclined to take several steps to manage the deviant behaviour in Islamic pupils. However, these are not followed in the same order through which it is assumed that teachers act from their own feelings what seems to be right.

From the content analysis five codes derived: internal consultation, conversation with pupils, parental authority, engaging external parties, and improving schools safety. The code 'Internal consultation' describes employees that work at a primary school and attend internal consultations, and refers to colleagues, management, internal supervisor and the student affairs coordinator. Eight teachers opt to have an internal consultation aimed to figure out a solution how to combat Islamic radicalization in Islamic pupils. The code 'Conversation with pupils' entails teachers having conversations with pupils in order to set the standard on how to deal with each other. This occurs both privately with the pupil involved as with the whole class. Nine teachers indicated to have a private conversation with the concerned pupil and with the whole class. The code 'Parental authority' refers to the person(s) who has(ve) authority over the concerned child. Six teachers mentioned that once signals of Islamic radicalization are observed by them they want to have a conversation with the parents/caregivers to notify them about their child's behaviour. The code 'Engaging external parties' encompasses organizations

outside primary education who can be approached for support, such as the GGD (Municipal Health Services of the Netherlands), police, neighbourhood team and the participation council. Six teachers stated to contact at least one of these parties when a suspicion for Islamic radicalization in Islamic pupils is observed. In addition, once primary teachers reach out to external parties it is believed that they mainly want to obtain advise about how to interpret and act on the behaviour of the Islamic pupil in question. The code 'Improving schools safety' refers to the remaining actions that teachers undertake to prevent Islamic radicalization in primary education. One teacher indicated to search information about Islamic radicalization by itself in order to use the knowledge gained to prevent Islamic radicalization in its primary school. Finally, one teacher decided to tighten the policy.

Research question: Do primary teachers perceive a prevention and learning program to combat Islamic radicalization in primary education as necessary or not?

Teachers had several opinions about the relevance of implementing a prevention and learning program for primary education. Remarkable, 50% of the sample indicates it is not necessary to implement a prevention and learning program for primary education whereas the other half of the group is receptive to it. Opinions are divided under the codes 'yes' and 'no' and display the following in Table 5:

Yes. In particular, one teacher definitely wants to have a prevention and learning program for primary education since the teacher saw last year more signals than before. That said, four teachers find a prevention and learning program only useful when signals emerge at school or the school itself finds it necessary. They are then willing to apply the proposed program. From this it is assumed that one could estimate that these teachers have not observed signals of Islamic radicalization in their primary school. Otherwise they most likely would also have insisted to have a prevention and learning program. Moreover, four other teachers are willing to apply a prevention and learning program only when it is not obligated; they want to assess by themselves whether deploying the prevention plan is necessary. A program holding in reserve will be therefore more useful for them. Indeed, one of these teachers argues that signals of Islamic radicalization do not occur in all primary school. In closing, one teacher believes that a few guidelines seem to be enough to prevent Islamic radicalization in primary education.

No. 50% of the group in this dataset indicates it is not necessary to implement a prevention and learning program for primary education. Five teachers argue that signals of Islamic radicalization are not perceived in their primary school, and one teacher declares that its primary school does have little to no Islamic pupils. Additionally, two teachers emphasize that their current program already suffices because it focusses on aspects that stimulate deradicalization through which developing a prevention and learning program is by them perceived as redundant. In fact, one teacher indicates that having a prevention and learning program stirs up problems; Islamic radicalization in primary school gets more attention than needed through which the problem will grow. Finally, one teacher stated to believe that Islamic radicalization only arises from secondary education.

Exploratory analysis: To what extent do teachers think that Islamic radicalization in general occurs in primary education among pupils?

Teachers gave several answers as to what extent they believe Islamic radicalization in general occurs in primary education. From the content analysis five codes derived: region, ethnic school composition, age group, expression and no opinion. Each code is divided into its subcategories and displayed in Table 6.

Table 6

To what extent do teachers think that Islamic radicalization occurs in general in primary education among pupils?

Code	Subcategories	Occurrence 1st coder	Occurrence 2nd coder
Region	The West Big cities	4	4
Ethnic school composition	Black schools	2	2
Age group	Secondary education	4	4
Expression	Invisible Ambiguity	5	5

| No opinion | Insufficient experience | 5 | 5 |
| Irrelevant | Unclear answers | 2 | 2 |

Region. The code 'Region' relates to the degree to which teachers think where Islamic radicalization occurs mainly on national level. Three teachers indicated that Islamic radicalization exists more in big cities than in small cities or villages. One of these teachers argues that the Muslim population in big cities is larger through which the chance increases that pupils become more sensitive to Islamic radicalization. In rural areas this will be more often loners which will make the occurrence less likely and therefore have less major consequences. Finally, one teacher indicates that Islamic radicalization occurs most in the West than in the East of the Netherlands. Apparently, this teacher believes that Muslims mainly live in the West of the Netherlands through which this region is considered to be more multicultural where Islamic radicalization occurs faster.

Ethnic school composition. The code 'Ethnic school composition' refers to the ethnical diversity between primary schools. Two teachers suspect that Islamic radicalization occurs more in black schools instead of white schools. Noteworthy, teachers referred to these terms by themselves. Unfortunately they did not provide any explanation for what they exactly meant by this. In this research it is assumed that Islamic radicalization occurs faster in white, or multicultural primary schools because of the conflicts that might arise among several religions. A substantiation of these teachers' answers was of great importance to understand their point of view more through which new insights could be acquired.

Age group. The code 'Age group' describes the degree to which teachers think from what age Islamic radicalization might emerge. Four teachers indicate that Islamic radicalization occurs more in secondary education. Indeed, one teacher claims that primary school children are still quite young.

Expression. The code 'Expression' is defined as the degree to which teachers think how radicalization manifests itself in practice. Four teachers argue that it probably manifests invisible and thus behind their backs without even realizing it. One teacher states that it creeps in slowly. In addition, another teacher claims that the role of parents and what is preached in

Koranic schools is underestimated, and that there is not enough attention in society to this problem. However, two teachers believe that Islamic radicalization expresses ambiguously. One teacher adds to this 'Is it radicalizing or conforming to the standards of their own (strictly) religious family?'. The other teacher declares that children and some parents never speak out loud what they really think. People grow up in a culture/belief in which it is not encouraged to ask critical questions. One cannot estimate therefore the value of these signals.

No opinion. The code 'no opinion' is defined as the degree to which teachers could not answer to what extent they think that Islamic radicalization in general occurs in primary education among pupils. Four teachers could not provide their opinion due to a lack of experience with signals of Islamic radicalization in practice.

Teachers' answers compared with information from the School and Safety Foundation

The School and Safety Foundation was approached to provide additional information about their experience with signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education in order to perform a comparison with teachers' answers. The goal was to establish to what extent teachers' opinions matches with those of the Foundation. A complete overview of the answers to the questions are displayed in Dutch in Appendix B. Information that is not included in the appendix but shown in the results section is obtained through a phone call with the Foundation. Questions and answers from the Foundation are elaborated in English and provide the following information below:

1. *How often is the Foundation approached annually by regular primary education for advice and support to address Islamic radicalization at their primary school?*

The Foundation argues that since 2016 they are less approached by regular primary education concerning Islamic radicalization. Probably this is caused by several reasons, such as that the Foundation is unknown to primary schools, the Foundation will be not approached when it comes to Islamic radicalization, primary schools do not recognize signals of Islamic radicalization and therefore do not take action, primary schools know what to do and thus do not need support, and Islamic radicalization is not an issue among primary school pupils. Based on the contact person's knowledge and experience in the field of Islamic radicalization, she claims that in the age group of primary education there is little or no individual Islamic radicalization

process among these young pupils as they are not that far yet in their cognitive development and therefore do not really have the motivation to want to radicalize. However, being motivated to radicalize would have been possible in the time that IS played a major role; in particular by the fact that this age group were influenced by their older brother or sister or relatives who travelled to the former IS. Nevertheless, there is online recruitment by groups that focus on vulnerable, searching and influenceable young people. Whether they focus on this young target group and whether these young people are already searching the Internet in that way is unknown. The Foundation assumes that pupils in the fifth and sixth grade are not appealing enough for radical groups. Radical groups are more focused on youth who are detached from their parents and easy to influence. They are therefore free and independent to make decisions for themselves whether they want to become part of the criminal circuit. With regard to the Internet use of Islamic children aged 10 till 12, the Foundation claims that they are not mentally engaged yet in wanting to delve into Islamic radicalization due to a lack of interest.

The majority of primary teachers (14) indicated that the Foundation is unknown to them since they report they have never heard from the Foundation. Pertaining to the other five teachers who are aware of the Foundations existence, it is hard to estimate what reason was behind for not approaching the Foundation. Remaining reasons the Foundation mentioned are therefore all possible. Overall, teachers' answers declare most likely the cause as to why the Foundation has been less approached since 2016. One could thus assume that a lack of publicity of the Foundation is present within primary schools. Additionally, some teachers indicated that they had not seen any signs of Islamic radicalization in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12, and find these pupils being quite young for expressing it whereas some teachers did observe several signals. The Foundation seems to be in alignment with those teachers who indicated that Islamic radicalization in Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12 does not appear. With regard to the teachers who indicated to have perceived signals of Islamic radicalization in some Islamic pupils aged 10 till 12, it is the question whether they observed radicalizing or innocent behaviour. If the concerned Islamic pupils exhibited innocent behaviour it may indicate that these teachers cannot distinguish radicalized and innocent behaviour properly.

2. *Have the number of contact moments with regular primary education been changed over years? If so, in what way?*

The contact person states that around 2016-2017 there were some more questions than the years after. Since 2016, more attention has been paid to the theme 'Islamic Radicalisation' through

which the Foundation has decided to provide teachers and other education professionals train-ing to make them aware of this phenomenon and tell them what they can and should do. Hereby she refers to the following link that teachers and other education professionals can address: https://www.schoolenveiligheid.nl/thema/radicalisering-vo/?type=incompany-training.

Since most teachers have not heard from the Foundation and none of the teachers in this sample has ever reached out to the Foundation, it seems that not all primary teachers have been made aware of the information and training that the Foundation has to offer. Moreover, probably the Foundation has not contacted these primary schools on its own initiative either to make them aware about Islamic radicalization and how to deal with this in primary education. It would therefore be useful for the Foundation to draw the attention of primary schools to the theme of 'Islamic radicalization' once again by approaching the primary schools themselves.

3. *From which classes in regular primary education do signals emerge?*

The contact person declares that if there are any signs at all that this takes place in the fifth and sixth grade, but that the chance that a primary school pupil will be involved in a radicalization process is small. She indicates that a teacher will notice that there may be something wrong with the pupil, because (s)he is behaving differently than usual. It is therefore assumed that the teacher will have a conversation with the pupil and its parents to get a better picture of what could be going on.

The last sentence of the Foundation's information contradicts with what happens in practice according to one teacher. This teacher stated to have perceived last year more signals than be-fore, but also declares that Islamic radicalization is a sensitive subject that cannot be discussed at its school because of the potential fuss it might cause. Schoolwide in a meeting it is not discussed and it stays therefore under the radar. Nevertheless, this teacher would very much like to act and have a conversation both with the pupil and the parents to get a better idea of what might be going on. Unfortunately, fear for public perceptions holds this back.

4. *What different types of reports does the Foundation receive from regular primary edu-cation about suspected radicalized behaviour?*

In the past, the Foundation had questions about a toddler primary school pupil that was playing "IS-je" (playing to be a member of IS), a fifth/sixth grader that does not want to shake hands anymore with the teacher, and a toddler that accused a teacher of something that is perceived as 'haram', also known as 'forbidden'. These signals were expressions of concern about these

pupils. However, she states that these signals do not have to clarify whether a pupil is radicalizing as these signals can also stem from parental upbringing or innocent behaviour. What the contact person mainly suspects is that teachers stereotype, eventually think that the child is possibly in a radicalization process and decide from there to approach the Foundation immediately for advice and information.

Since data collection took place during Ramadan, some teachers from this sample probably have stereotyped as well. As some Islamic pupils were very preoccupied with what is 'haram', some teachers have probably interpret this behaviour as a strict obedience to Allah. As a result, the signal 'Only obeying Allah' might have been therefore perceived by some teachers as a signal of Islamic radicalization.

5. *To what extent do you think that a prevention and learning program should also be developed for regular primary education to combat Islamic radicalization? Please explain your opinion.*

At first, the contact person states that schools are primarily there to teach. In addition, she argues that schools are at the middle of society through which everything that happens "outside" also enters the classroom; pupils talk about events they have experienced or heard. She believes that as a teacher, and therefore as a school, you will have to be aware and be interested in this subject. Hereby she refers to the following link in which teachers can obtain information on how to create a safe school climate: https://www.schoolenveiligheid.nl/thema/radicalisering-vo/#in-de-school. Moreover, the contact person claims that schools should, if necessary, become proficient in how to deal with difficult issues, such as Islamic radicalization. Becoming proficient can be done by reading and searching information yourself, or through training, displayed in question 2. Finally, schools can also provide pupils knowledge about Islamic radicalization by giving a lesson about this subject whereby pupils learn to think about this matter and know how to deal with sources to also counter conspiracy thinking. Additionally, she refers to 'TerInfo' which is a website for teachers in primary and secondary education that offers them information packages about terrorism and terrorism-related events. The teaching material is aimed at providing pupils and students with leads by placing incidents and phenomena in a broader, historical context and thus making the historical significance for their own lives discussable. Through this form of social knowledge transfer, TerInfo wants to contribute to in-

creasing the resilience of children against extremism, terrorism and undesirable forms of radicalization. TerInfo is accessible via the following link: https://ter-info.nl/over-ons. Overall, a prevention and learning program for primary education is not necessary; the tools and information the Foundation has at its disposal to combat Islamic radicalization in this age group are said to be sufficient.

The Foundation agrees with the teachers who find a prevention plan for primary education not necessary. Although, as the Foundation offers tools and information that serve as guidelines it seems that the Foundation also agrees with most teachers who opt for a few guidelines or a prevention plan that is kept in reserve. In this sense, the needs of all teachers are generally met, because they can access the information on their own initiative when needed.

Discussion

The main goal of this research was to find out whether behaviours that fall under known signals of Islamic radicalization appear in primary education. According to the measures of frequency, known signals have been generally observed in a low frequency by primary teachers. Responses on these signals range from never to often, but the averaged occurrence of all signals lies from 'never' to 'rarely'.

That said, results of the inductive content analysis with regard to the interpretation of known signals of Islamic radicalization by primary teachers, revealed that teachers differ in their risk perception and thus attach different meanings to the signals; a signal labelled as radical by one teacher is perceived as not radical by others or one finds it difficult to assign the signal as radical or not radical. As a result, primary teachers therefore respond and act differently upon the signals. The comparison between the content analysis and the measures of frequency showed that primary teachers find it not alarming enough to take action once signals are observed in practice. This is especially noticeable concerning the signals 'Islamic pupils using expressions to distinguish their own group from other groups' and 'Islamic pupils exhibiting intimidating behaviour towards other groups' in which, for example, two teachers argued they often see these signals while the content analysis shows that no teacher experiences these signals as radical. Teachers who observed these signals rarely to often have probably adjusted their attitudes to support their decision for not addressing these signals in the concerned Islamic pupil(s). This rationalization is thought to be motivated by the drive to reduce 'cognitive

dissonance' which is an aversive psychological state aroused when there is a discrepancy between actions and attitudes (Jarcho et al., 2011). In situations when decisions cannot be reversed, or when doing so requires great effort, such as about making decisions regarding addressing Islamic radicalized behaviour in Islam children, this discrepancy is often reduced by adjusting attitudes to be in line with decisions (Jarcho et al., 2011). In contrast, the signals 'Islamic pupils declaring that they only obey the laws and rules of Allah', 'Islamic pupils indicating that they do not trust the Dutch authorities', 'Islamic pupils indicating that they feel strongly connected to a certain radical group' and 'Islamic pupils using specific words to support ethnic, religious or political groups' are perceived as radical and noticed sometimes till often in practice, but all teachers stated to have never taken action by reaching out to the School and Safety Foundation for advice and support to tackle these behaviours. Not contacting the School and Safety Foundation can be clarified given the fact that most primary teachers are not aware of the Foundation's existence. With regard to the five teachers who did mentioned to know the Foundation, they are probably not sufficiently informed of the services the Foundation provides, or do not see the importance of its help.

According to primary teachers there is no single prevention and learning program that every primary school can deploy to combat Islamic radicalization. Given teachers' reasons, every primary school devises for itself a strategy to prevent or tackle undesirable behaviour if necessary. Due to the absence of a prevention and learning program or guidelines, teachers are inclined to involve multiple people once they suspect to observe Islamic radicalized behaviour in some Islamic pupils. A lack of a program or guidelines explains therefore teachers' unstructured approach to address Islamic radicalization at their primary schools.

Regarding the usefulness of a prevention and learning program for primary education, School and Safety Foundation seems to agree both with teachers who find a prevention plan not necessary, and teachers who rather have a few guidelines or a plan in reserve they can fall back on. The tools and information that the Foundation provides are developed as education material and therefore as a guideline. Speaking about an elaborated prevention plan is thus in this case out of the question and is perceived by the Foundation as sufficient. Indeed, the Foundation experiences that little to no signals of Islamic radicalization appear in primary education and indicate that Islamic pupils are too young and not appealing enough for radical groups, because they are not detached. Some teachers support the Foundation's finding while other teachers do not and thus indicated to have observed signals of Islamic radicalization.

The dataset in this research is rather small to draw firm conclusions about primary teachers' experience regarding known signals of Islamic radicalization. Nevertheless, a low frequency of known signals of Islamic radicalization observed in primary education is not the same as no occurrence. It seems therefore useful to monitor the manifestation of these signals in primary education by implementing policy strategies in order to prevent premature awareness of the possibility of Islamic radicalization in primary school children like Sas et al. (2020) recommend. However, as the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) argues that radical Islam stems partly from schools it is the question whether this actually applies to primary schools and if a policy strategy, such as a prevention and learning program, would suite in this sector. Due to many discrepancies in primary teachers' risk perception where different meanings to the known signals are attached, it is hard to estimate the value and therefore the severity of these signals in a primary school setting. From this, it is not surprising that 50% of the teachers who participated in this study are open to a program/guideline and the other 50% are not due to different experiences with signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education. Hence, the tools and information that the Foundation offers as guidelines are according to this research assumed to be sufficient to meet the needs of all teachers in this sample, and probably for other teachers as well, as primary school teachers can then decide for themselves when to access the material.

Attaching different meanings to the known signals by primary teachers may stem from misinterpretations due to a lack of knowledge. Besides, it became clear that most teachers were not aware of the Foundation's existence which probably means this could relate to multiple primary teachers. School and Safety Foundation is therefore advised to introduce itself more at primary schools and draw teachers attention to where they can find information on how to interpret and deal with signals of Islamic radicalization in primary education.

For drawing firmer conclusions whether signals of Islamic radicalization appear in primary education it is advised to conduct a follow-up investigation. In the current study only Dutch participants contributed. This result has possibly led to a self-selection bias; causing a biased sample with nonprobability sampling because participants were allowed to decide entirely for themselves whether they want to contribute to this research (Greenacre, 2016). Ethnic backgrounds other than Dutch are needed in the follow-up investigation to make a comparison between Islamic and non-Islamic primary teachers, because they may differ in their interpretation regarding known signals of Islamic radicalization at Islamic children aged 10 till 12. In

addition, it is also important to ensure that the dataset includes diversity between religions of primary schools in order to get a clear overview at what types of primary schools known signals of Islamic radicalization occur, and to find out whether there is a difference between the occurrence of signals of Islamic radicalization at Islamic and non-Islamic primary schools. Religions such as Hindu, Jewish and Evangelical did not contribute to this research because they probably did not see the relevance of their participation given the fact that they do not practice Islamic beliefs and therefore do not have any Islamic pupils enrolled in their primary schools. Despite this, their contribution is important in order to be able to exclude that signals of Islamic radicalization at their primary schools occur. Once drawing up the questionnaire it is therefore recommended to provide an explanation of why both Islamic and non-Islamic primary schools are requested to participate in the study. Primary school teachers will then better understand the relevance of their participation and may be more prompt to want to participate. With regard to the Islamic primary schools that did not participate in this research, it was suspected that the subject was too sensitive. In the follow-up investigation, it is recommended to devise a strategy to motivate these primary schools in order that they are willing to contribute.

The last recommendation for the follow-up investigation is to simplify the data analysis. In this research, primary teachers were asked to explain whether they perceive the known signals as radical or not in a text entry box. Instead of doing this, it is advised to draft this question as a multiple choice question with a text entry box added in which teachers can substantiate their chosen multiple choice answer. Performing the content analysis will then also become easier.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Qualtrics survey used in this research (in Dutch)

Hyperlink to Qualtrics survey:

https://utwentebs.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_2bMm7eEr7o9ueF0

Enquête: Signalen van radicalisering op basisscholen

Start van blok: Toestemmingsverlening voor deelname aan onderzoek

Beste basisschool docent(e),

Langs deze weg wil ik u vragen of u deel wilt nemen aan mijn afstudeeronderzoek naar signalen van radicalisering bij basisschoolleerlingen met een islamitische achtergrond uit groep 7 en 8. Mijn naam is Priscilla de Boer en ik volg een master Psychologie, specialisatie Conflict, Risico en Veiligheid (PCRS), aan de Universiteit Twente. Ik voer dit onderzoek onder begeleiding van dr. S. Zebel van PCRS uit. Het

doel van mijn onderzoek is om inzicht te krijgen in hoe vroeg radicaliserend gedrag al tot uiting kan komen bij Nederlandse moslimjongeren en of docenten van mening zijn dat er interventies ontwikkeld moeten worden voor basisschoolleerlingen om tijdig op radicaliserend gedrag in te kunnen grijpen. Ik ben mij ervan bewust dat leerlingen zonder islamitische achtergrond ook kunnen radicaliseren. Echter, deze leerlingen vallen buiten de focus van dit onderzoek.

Momenteel richt de overheid zich voornamelijk op het aanpakken van radicalisering in het voortgezet onderwijs (vanaf 12 jaar). Het Nederlands Jeugd Instituut stelt echter dat leerlingen vanaf 10 jaar bewuster worden van politieke problemen en conflicten op mondiaal niveau. Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat radicalisering zich ook voordoet onder leerlingen in de leeftijd van 10-12 jaar. Om deze reden wil ik gaan onderzoeken of de signalen van radicalisering die in het voortgezet onderwijs zijn vastgesteld ook voorkomen bij basisschoolleerlingen in deze leeftijdscategorie. Om hier inzicht in te kunnen krijgen heb ik uw bijdrage nodig.

Graag geef ik u een omschrijving van de inhoud van de vragenlijst. De vragenlijst start met een aantal demografische vragen waarna u gevraagd wordt aan te geven of u bepaalde signalen in de praktijk bent tegengekomen en of u deze als radicaliserende signalen opvat. Tot slot treft u nog een aantal vragen aan die betrekking hebben op de preventie van radicalisering en uw algemene kijk op radicalisering in het basisonderwijs. Het duurt ongeveer 30 minuten om de vragenlijst in te vullen, maar u kunt tussentijds stoppen om op een later moment met de vragenlijst verder te gaan door weer op de link te klikken.

Middels deze toelichting hoop ik uw interesse gewekt te hebben om te willen deelnemen aan dit onderzoek. Deelname is anoniem. U bent middels de gegevens die u mij verstrekt niet te herleiden. Ook kunt u zich op elk moment terugtrekken uit het onderzoek zonder uitleg of rechtvaardiging. Ik begrijp dat dit onderzoek een gevoelig onderwerp voor u kan zijn. Ondanks deze gevoeligheid hoop ik dat u wilt deelnemen aan dit belangrijke onderzoek. Voor vragen kunt u contact met mij opnemen via onderstaand e-mailadres.

Met vriendelijke groet,
Priscilla de Boer
Studente Universiteit Twente
Contactgegevens: p.n.deboer@student.utwente.nl

○ Ja, ik verleen geïnformeerde toestemming om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek (1)

○ Nee, ik verleen geen geïnformeerde toestemming om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek (2)

Allereerst zou ik u graag willen vragen of u aan islamitische leerlingen in groep 7 en/of 8 lesgeeft. Onder 'Islamitische leerlingen' wordt in dit onderzoek het volgende verstaan: **leerlingen uit een islamitisch gezin die een islamitisch geloof hanteren.**

○ Ja (1)

○ Nee (2)

In welke provincie is uw basisschool gesitueerd?

○ Noord-Holland (1)

○ Zuid-Holland (2)

○ Flevoland (3)

○ Friesland (4)

○ Groningen (5)

○ Drenthe (6)

○ Overijssel (7)

○ Gelderland (8)

○ Utrecht (9)

○ Noord-Brabant (10)

○ Limburg (11)

○ Zeeland (12)

In welke plaats is uw basisschool gesitueerd?

_____

Wat is de denominatie van uw basisschool?

○ Openbaar (1)

○ Protestants-Christelijk (2)

○ Reformatorisch (3)

○ Algemeen bijzonder (4)

○ Rooms-Katholiek (5)

○ Joods (6)

○ Interconfessioneel (7)

○ Antroposofisch (8)

○ Islamitisch (9)

○ Hindoeïstisch (10)

○ Evangelisch (11)

○ Overige (12)

○ Gereformeerd vrijgemaakt (13)

○ Anders, namelijk: (14) _____

Hoeveel jaar geeft u les in het basisonderwijs?*

*Jaren in getal aangeven a.u.b.

_____

Wat is uw geslacht?

○ Man (1)

○ Vrouw (2)

○ Anders, namelijk: (3) _____

Wat is uw leeftijd?*

*Leeftijd in getal aangeven a.u.b.

_____

Wat is uw etnische achtergrond?

○ Nederlands (1)

○ Turks (2)

○ Marokkaans (3)

○ Surinaams (4)

○ Anders, namelijk: (5) _____

Einde blok: Demografische vragen

Start van blok: Signalen van radicalisering

De volgende vragen zullen gaan over bekende signalen van radicalisering die in het voortgezet onderwijs zijn vastgesteld. Deze zijn tot stand gekomen op basis van (internationale) wetenschappelijke literatuur, de mening van experts op het gebied van radicalisering en praktijkmensen, en op basis van kennis en ervaring van slachtoffers van terrorisme en gederadicaliseerde personen.

Onder het begrip 'Radicalisering' wordt in dit onderzoek het volgende verstaan: **een verandering in attitudes, gevoelens en gedragingen in een richting die het geweld tussen groepen steeds meer rechtvaardigt ter verdediging van de eigen groep, om politieke doelen te bereiken.**

Ik zou graag willen weten of u signalen van radicalisering ooit in uw groep(pen) heeft waargenomen, en als u ze in de praktijk niet bent tegengekomen, of u deze als radicaliserende signalen zou opvatten als u ze zou observeren.

Hoe ziet (eventueel) geradicaliseerd gedrag volgens u bij islamitische basisschoolleerlingen van 10-12 jaar eruit? Licht uw mening toe.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep verklaren dat ze alleen de wetten en regels van Allah gehoorzamen?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep aangeven dat ze de Nederlandse autoriteiten niet vertrouwen?

◯ Nooit (1)

◯ Zelden (2)

◯ Soms (3)

◯ Vaak (4)

◯ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep hun identiteit veranderen, omdat ze zich willen associëren met een radicale groep? Bijvoorbeeld ISIS, Al-Qaeda of de Taliban.

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep aangesproken willen worden met een andere naam?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep aangeven dat ze zich sterk verbonden voelen met een bepaalde radicale groep? Bijvoorbeeld ISIS, Al-Qaeda of de Taliban.

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep met oude vriendschappen breken ten gunste van nieuwe vrienden die een radicale ideologie steunen?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep hun kleding en uiterlijk/verschijning veranderen? Bijvoorbeeld al het haar afscheren of vlaggen of stickers van een bepaalde radicale groep laten zien.

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep specifieke woorden gebruiken om etnische, religieuze of politieke groepen te steunen?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep uitdrukkingen gebruiken om hun eigen groep te onderscheiden van andere groepen?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep intimiderend gedrag tegenover andere groepen vertonen?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat de aandacht van islamitische leerlingen in uw groep niet meer bij school is, maar gericht op actief radicaal groepslidmaatschap?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep zich bij een radicale groep voegen zodra zij vaak worden beoordeeld op slechte schoolprestaties?

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Hoe vaak komt het voor dat islamitische leerlingen in uw groep zich niet meer op eigen vrijetijdsactiviteiten richten, maar op activiteiten van een groep die zich bezighoudt met radicaal gedachtengoed? Bij-

voorbeeld dat de leerlingen tijdens de pauze op het schoolplein niet meer deelnemen aan een groepsactiviteit zoals voetbal of trefbal, maar gaan hangen bij een groep die bezig is met radicale ideologie. Dat u bij de leerlingen een verandering in vrijetijdsactiviteiten opmerkt.

○ Nooit (1)

○ Zelden (2)

○ Soms (3)

○ Vaak (4)

○ Zeer vaak (5)

In hoeverre ziet u dit zelf als een signaal van radicalisering bij islamitische leerlingen? Licht uw mening in maximaal 3 zinnen toe. Er zijn hierbij geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening.

_____

Einde blok: Signalen van radicalisering

Start van blok: Preventie van radicalisering

De vragen over radicaliserende signalen zijn nu afgerond. Er volgen nu een aantal vragen die betrekking hebben op de preventie van radicalisering in het basisonderwijs.

Heeft u op uw basisschool een preventie- en leerprogramma om radicalisering tegen te gaan?

○ Indien ja, kunt u kort omschrijven wat dit programma inhoudt? (1)

_____

○ Indien nee, wat is volgens u de reden dat een dergelijk programma er niet is? (2)

_____

○ Indien in ontwikkeling, wat is de achterliggende motivatie om nu een preventieplan te ontwikkelen? (3) _____

○ Indien deze aanwezig was maar nu is afgeschaft, wat is volgens u de reden dat deze is afgeschaft? (4) _____

Als u op uw basisschool geen preventie- en leerprogramma heeft om radicalisering tegen te gaan, wat doet u (of zou u doen) wanneer u signalen van radicalisering waarneemt onder islamitische leerlingen in uw groep?

_____

Heeft u ooit gehoord van de Stichting School en Veiligheid?

○ Ja (1)

○ Nee (2)

Heeft u ooit contact gezocht met de Stichting School en Veiligheid voor advies en ondersteuning om geradicaliseerd gedrag bij islamitische leerlingen op uw basisschool te bestrijden?

○ Indien ja, om welk (soort) probleem vroeg u advies? (1)

_____

○ Nee (2)

Vindt u een preventie- en leerprogramma op uw basisschool noodzakelijk om radicalisering in het basisonderwijs tegen te gaan? Licht uw mening toe.

_____

Einde blok: Preventie van radicalisering

Start van blok: Algemene kijk op radicalisering in het regulier basisonderwijs

De vragen omtrent de preventie van radicalisering zijn afgerond. U bent bijna bij het einde van de vragenlijst. Er volgt nog één vraag die betrekking heeft op uw algemene kijk over radicalisering in het basisonderwijs.

In hoeverre denkt u dat radicalisering in algemene zin voorkomt in het basisonderwijs onder leerlingen? Licht uw mening toe.

_____

Einde blok: Algemene kijk op radicalisering in het regulier basisonderwijs

Start van blok: Sluiting enquête

U bent klaar met het invullen van de enquête. Ik wil u hartelijk bedanken voor uw tijd om deze vragenlijst in te vullen. Ik wil u er nogmaals op wijzen dat middels de verkregen gegevens u niet te herleiden

bent. Uw anonimiteit is gewaarborgd. Na de afronding van dit onderzoek worden de gegevens definitief verwijderd. Indien u vragen heeft kunt u mij benaderen op het volgende e-mailadres: p.n.deboer@student.utwente.nl.

Appendix B: Answers on questions from the School and Safety Foundation regarding signals of radicalization in primary education (in Dutch)

Zou u zo uitgebreid mogelijk antwoord willen geven op de vragen? Alvast bedankt.

1. *Hoe vaak wordt de Stichting op jaarbasis door het regulier basisonderwijs benaderd voor advies en ondersteuning bij het aanpakken van radicalisering op de basisschool?*

SSV wordt de laatste paar jaar (rekenend vanaf 2016) minimaal benaderd door het PO mbt radicalisering. Dit kan een aantal dingen betekenen:
- SSV is niet bekend bij de basisscholen
- SSV wordt niet benaderd als het gaat om dit probleem
- Basisscholen herkennen radicalisering niet, dus handelen ook niet
- Basisscholen weten wat ze moeten doen en hebben geen ondersteuning nodig
- Radicalisering is geen issue onder leerlingen in het PO

Mijn kennis en ervaring op het gebied van radicalisering, is behoorlijk en ik durf te beweren, dat in de leeftijdscategorie van het basisonderwijs niet/nauwelijks sprake is van een individueel radicaliseringsproces bij deze jonge leerlingen.

In de tijd van "IS" speelde dit mogelijk wel een grotere rol; met name door het feit dat deze leeftijdsgroep (dus basisschoolleerlingen) werden beïnvloed door hun grotere broer of zus of familieleden, die uitreisden naar het voormalige IS.

Er vindt 'online werving/rekrutering' plaats door groeperingen die zich richten op kwetsbare, zoekende en beïnvloedbare (jonge) mensen. Deze groeperingen spelen hierop in. Of ze zich op deze jonge doelgroep richten, en of deze jonge mensen ook al op die manier op internet zoeken, is twijfelachtig.

2. *Zijn het aantal contactmomenten met het regulier basisonderwijs door de jaren heen veranderd? Zo ja, op welke wijze?*

Rond 2016 -2017 waren wat meer vragen dan de jaren erna. De vragen kwamen via onze help-desk binnen. Vanaf 2016 geeft School en Veiligheid trainingen aan docenten en overige onder-wijsprofessionals, om hen bewust te maken van dit fenomeen, en om te weten wat je kan en moet doen.

3. Uit welke groepen in het regulier basisonderwijs komen signalen voor?

Als er al signalen zijn, dan speelt zich dat af in groep 7 of 8. Maar nogmaals, de kans dat een leerling op de basisschool in een radicaliseringsproces zit, is klein. Een leraar zal wel opmerken dat er mogelijk is aan de hand is met de leerling, omdat hij/zij zich anders dan normaal gedraagt. Als het goed is, zal de leraar in gesprek gaan met de leerling en ouders om meer en beter beeld te krijgen van wat er aan de hand zou kunnen zijn.

4. Welke verschillende typen meldingen ontvangt de Stichting vanuit het regulier basisonder-wijs over vermoedelijk geradicaliseerd gedrag?

Er zijn wel eens vragen geweest over een basisschoolleerling die ' IS-je' aan het spelen was, of de juf of meester geen hand meer willen geven, of de juf beschuldigen van iets wat ' haram' is. Deze ' signalen' waren uitingen van zorgen over een leerling en die op zich zelf niks zeggen of een leerling aan het radicaliseren is.

5. In hoeverre vindt u dat er ook voor het regulier basisonderwijs een preventie- en leerpro-gramma ontwikkeld moet worden om radicalisering tegen te gaan? Licht uw mening toe.

- Scholen zijn er primair om les te geven. Daarnaast staan scholen midden in de maat-schappij, dus alles wat ' buiten ' gebeurt, komt ook de klas binnen. Daar praten leer-lingen over. Daar zal je als docent, als school bewust van moeten zijn; geïnteresseerd in zijn. Lees hier verder.

- Scholen moeten zich, indien nodig, bekwamen in hoe om te gaan met lastige kwesties (zoals deze). Dat kan dmv zelf informatie hierover lezen en zoeken. Dat kan ook via trainingen (waar ik in antwoord 2 naar verwijs).

- Scholen kunnen ook de leerlingen kennis geven over radicalisering. Dus een les geven over dit onderwerp, maakt dat leerlingen leren nadenken over deze materie, en met bron-nen weten om te gaan, om ook complot denken tegen te gaan. TerInfo is een website voor docenten in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs waarop informatiepakketten over terrorisme en aan terrorisme-gerelateerde gebeurtenissen worden aangeboden. Het les-materiaal is erop gericht om leerlingen en studenten aanknopingspunten te bieden door incidenten en fenomenen in een bredere, historische context te plaatsen en zo de histo-rische significantie voor hun eigen leven hiervan bespreekbaar te maken. Via deze vorm van sociale kennisoverdracht wil TerInfo bijdragen aan de verhoging van weerbaarheid van kinderen tegen extremisme, terrorisme en ongewenste vormen van radicalisering.