

This item is the archived preprint of:

The role of teacher-pupil relations in stereotype threat effects in Flemish secondary education

Reference:

Nouwen Ward, Clycq Noël.- The role of teacher-pupil relations in stereotype threat effects in Flemish secondary education
Urban education - ISSN 0042-0859 - (2016), p. 1-30
Full text (Publishers DOI): <http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1177/0042085916646627>

The Role of Feeling Respected and Accepted by Teachers in Pupils' Psychological
Disengagement and Disidentification in Flemish Secondary Education

Draft Version – Do not Quote

Nouwen Ward & Clycq Noel

University of Antwerp

To appear in *Urban Education*

Individual members of socially disadvantaged ethnic minority groups are often stigmatised through the ascription of low levels of academic motivation and performance as characteristic for their ethnic group (Gibson, Carrasco, Pàmies, Ponferrada, & Rios, 2013; Valencia & Black, 2002; Valencia, 2010). Moreover, in non-comprehensive secondary education systems characterized by high socio-economic and ethnic stratification between educational tracks, pupils with a socially disadvantaged ethnic minority background can suffer a double stigmatizing because ethnic minority pupils are often overrepresented in lower status educational tracks (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011). In many school systems characterised by early tracking in secondary education this often also generates stigmatisation processes related to the (implicit) status hierarchy and the different societal appreciation of the various educational tracks (Kelly, 2009; Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010; Van Houtte, Demanet, & Stevens, 2012). What we aim to do in this paper is to relate these processes of double stigmatization to their (presumed negative) effect on teacher-pupil relations.

The underlying theoretical assumptions for formulating our hypotheses are based on the stereotype threat theory that argues that in response to these negative stereotypes, members of stigmatised groups can develop response strategies to protect their self-image from the threat

these stereotypes pose. In the context of education, pupils can psychologically disengage their academic self-concept from their actual performances, which means that pupils' self-perception about their academic competences does not (longer) reflect their actual performance levels. Other response strategies found in stereotype threat literature are pupils that discount negative feedback from teachers for being biased and/or pupils from stigmatised groups that disidentify from education (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). What is crucial for these stereotype threat effects to occur is that a negative stereotype is present in a specific domain for a specific group and that the members of this group are conscious about these negative stereotypes (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Fundamental to our analysis to study the impact of pupils feeling respected by their teachers on these threat effects, is that we can argue that Flemish secondary education constitutes such a 'stigmatized' domain for particular groups of pupils, *i.e.* pupils with a Turkish or Moroccan immigration background and/or those in the lower status vocational track. We will therefore first present existing empirical evidence for the stigmatisation of these groups in Flemish education before explaining more about the response strategies described in stereotype threat theory.

In general this article aims to complement previous findings on the effects of stratification processes due to educational tracking by focusing primarily on the consequences of negative stereotyping within these educational structures, taking into account the ethnic background of pupils and focussing on urban educational contexts. The theory of stereotype threat effects is applied to disentangle if and how pupils in stigmatised groups respond to negative stereotypes in education and to study to what extent stereotypes about ethnic minority pupils and pupils in the lower status vocational track are mediated by the teacher respect pupils (do not) feel reflected in the teacher-pupil relations of Flemish urban secondary schools. More concretely, we rely on survey data collected from a large sample of native and ethnic minority pupils in Flemish urban secondary schools to try to answer the following research questions: (i) do

youngsters in negatively stereotyped groups in Flemish education – *i.e.* youngsters with a Moroccan/ Turkish immigration background and/or in the lower status vocational tracks – feel less respected by their teachers than other youngsters?; (ii) do youngsters in these stigmatised groups respond to negative stereotypes by: (a) psychologically disengaging their academic self-concept more often from their actual educational performances?; (b) discounting negative feedback from teachers more easily as being unfair?; (c) disidentifying themselves more often from educational goals?; and (iii) does (not) experiencing teacher respect influence these stereotype threat effects?

We thus aim to contribute to educational research in urban contexts by relating the structural and institutional educational context to concrete teacher-pupil relations in urban schools characterized by a segregation of vulnerable ethnic minority groups in vocational schools, and study if and how stigmatization processes in these urban educational contexts can lead pupils in stigmatised groups to develop response strategies in reaction to stereotype threat.

Structural and Institutional Features of Flemish Urban Secondary Schools as an Educational Context for Studying Stereotype Threat Effects

Educational research has repeatedly shown that structural and institutional contexts remain important factors when explaining the social position of (groups of) individuals in education (Crul, Schneider & Lelie, 2012). Many scholars have shown that broader societal inequalities between social groups are also reflected in educational inequalities (Bernstein, 1971; Giroux, 1980). As also Anyon have argued, educational systems are to a large extent set up to maintain some sort of social order by channelling most of a society's children through a more or less homogenised educational system. Reproduction with the aim to uphold social cohesion is thus central to educational systems which are then also by definition biased for being developed by a dominant group. As Anyon (1980; 2006) argues, a hidden curriculum underlies these educational systems and leads to reproduction of class and other inequalities in society.

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

Whereas in the 1960's and 1970's research deconstructed the implicit power relations in the educational system impeding working class pupils to be successful in education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), recent research focusses more on the educational position of ethnic minority pupils (Crul et al., 2012; Gibson et al., 2013). Various scholars have pointed out that the weak position of minority pupils is often explained in terms of a problematic home environment, while structural features within the educational system itself are seldom problematized or discussed (Gibson et al., 2013; Valencia, 2010; Weis, McCarthy, & Dimitriadis, 2006). While these findings often show a strong overlap between the explanatory power of 'ethnic minority origin' and that of 'low SES background', culturalization processes often ignore the importance of a socially disadvantaged background in the disadvantaged educational position of some ethnic minorities (Roosens, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). They are often accused of holding on too much to their mother tongue and of being unwilling to participate in society and its institutions such as education (Valencia & Black, 2002).

More specifically with respect to social reproduction in Flemish secondary education, structural features such as early tracking, socio-ethnic segregation and the (implicit) status hierarchy between educational tracks are crucial systemic features to discuss. In theory, tracking only starts from the third year of secondary education.¹ Yet, in reality also the supposedly comprehensive first two years of secondary education already initiate an early form of tracking by sorting pupils in academically or vocationally oriented schools. Furthermore, in the first year pupils are already tracked into an A-stream that leaves all track options open and a B-stream that *de facto* almost exclusively prepares pupils for vocational education. Starting from the third year a full-fledged tracking system is installed. The general or academic track steers pupils towards higher education while the technical track prepares pupils for either higher education or directly for skilled technical professions. The vocational track directs pupils to lower skilled professions after secondary education.^{2 3} This hierarchical tracking

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

structure almost exclusively allows for ‘downward mobility’ between tracks, which is often referred to as streaming down the ‘waterfall’ from the general to the technical, to the vocational track (Baysu, et al., 2011). Studies have shown that school staff’s orientation of pupils into different educational tracks in Flemish secondary education is sometimes biased and pupils with a lower socio-economic status and an ethnic minority background are more often oriented to lower status tracks, even when controlled for their academic performances (Boone & Van Houtte, 2012; Spruyt, Laurijssen & Van Dorsselaer, 2009).

Educational systems characterized by (early) tracking are also shown to be vulnerable for processes of stigmatisation, as these systems generally contain some form of explicit or implicit status hierarchy between tracks (Kelly, 2009; Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010; Trautwein, Lüdtke, Marsh, Köller, & Baumert, 2006). As a consequence, the vocational track and its pupil population suffers the negative stereotype of being a reservoir of pupils with all kinds of learning disabilities (Author, 2014; Van Houtte, et al., 2012). Vocational tracks are often perceived as the ‘waste basket’ of hierarchical educational system comprised of pupils who are not capable or insufficiently motivated for more academically oriented tracks (Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010). Pupils in lower status tracks can therefore be considered to belong to a specific stigmatised social category (Van Houtte, et al., 2012) and this tracking has shown to affect future aspirations, performances and opportunities (Chun, 1988; Giroux, 1980).

Moreover, research on the educational context of urban education in Flanders clearly shows that particularly Turkish and Moroccan pupils are overrepresented in the vocational track of urban schools (Baysu, et al., 2011). Turkish and Moroccan pupils and parents are often perceived by teaching staff as having a deficient proficiency in Dutch and lacking the competences and attitudes to support a successful school career. Self-reports on experiences of discrimination in the educational context indicate that Turkish and Moroccan pupils and parents are often aware of these stigma’s (Baysu, et al., 2011; Phalet, Deboosere, &

Bastiaenssen, 2007). A recent study of educational trajectories of minority pupils in secondary schools in the same Flemish urban areas has shown the problematization of ethnic minority habitus as not being compatible with education and the culturalization of ‘educational failure’ by teachers (Author, 2014).

As one can expect that these structural and institutional features affect relationships in these urban schools, we will now explore some relevant findings regarding the role of stigmatisation in teacher-pupil relations.

The Importance of Stigmatisation in Teacher-Pupil Relationships

As Klem and Connell (2004) argue, in a school context, the teacher-pupil relationship is assumed to be the most important as it can strongly influence pupils’ school engagement and performance. Teachers are often key actors regarding pupils’ social integration and experiences in school, and feeling supported by teachers is shown to be crucial in pupils’ educational trajectories (Goodenow, 1993b; Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2010). Given the importance of this teacher-pupil relations, it is necessary to study how these relationships unfold in specific educational contexts. Flemish urban education is particularly relevant to study stratification effects due to tracking on teacher-pupil relationships as also teachers’ expectations and motivation are found to be influenced by the tracks and composition of the schools teachers are assigned to (Finley, 1984; Van Houtte, 2004).

A first important finding from previous research in Flanders is that teachers often hold negative stereotypes of ethnic minority pupils and pupils in the lower status vocational track (Author, 2014). Furthermore, teacher perceptions of the teachability and capabilities of their pupils proved to be an important intervening variable in explaining educational outcomes (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012a; Van Houtte, 2004; 2006). As shown above, pupils’ social and ethnic background are strong predictors of pupil’s orientation into a specific track (Boone & Van Houtte, 2012). Therefore, mainly pupils with a lower than average SES

and ethnic minority background are overrepresented in urban vocational schools (De Meyer and Warlop, 2010). As a consequence negative stereotyping of the lower status vocational track intersects with negative stereotyping of social groups such as the socially disadvantaged and ethnic minorities, which make socially disadvantaged and ethnic minority pupils in vocational education particularly vulnerable for stigmatisation in education (Author, 2014; Kelly, 2009; Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010).

The literature review outlined above clearly showed that negative stereotypes about ethnic minorities and lower status tracks are present in Flemish secondary education and that these negative stereotypes can influence teacher-pupil relationships. Urban secondary schools in Flanders can therefore be considered a relevant context to study stereotype threat effects.

Pupils Responding to Stigmatisation in Education

In this section we build on the theoretical framework of stereotype threat to discuss how pupils in stigmatised groups can respond to the negative stereotypes in education that threaten their (academic) self-concept. A prerequisite for feeling threatened by a certain stereotype is that the stigma is related to a relevant group identity that exists in a domain that is valued by the individual (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, & Brown.,1999; Steele, et al., 2002). Nonetheless, it is not necessary that an individual is convinced that the stereotype will impede success in this domain, it is sufficient that the individual is conscious of the stereotype and values the domain enough to invest in negating the stereotype's hampering effects (Aronson et al., 1999). The valuing of the educational domain seems clear, as it is universally held in high regard in society and success in education is seen as being crucial for future live opportunities (Author, 2014; Steele, et al., 2002).

When pupils highly value education and are conscious of specific stigmas related to their group's performance in this domain, a stereotyped pupil is likely to reduce the negative effects of this stereotype threat on their personal well-being (Aronson et al., 1999; Steele and Aronson,

1995; Steele, et al., 2002). Disidentification from the educational domain is a possible and more chronic response strategy, while various acute reactions can also be displayed, possibly leading up to the more chronic disidentification response strategy. A basic response to stereotype threat is the psychological disengagement of one's academic self-concept and broader self-esteem from one's educational performance. Psychological disengagement is therefore defined as a disconnection between one's academic self-esteem from their actual performance levels in education (Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998; Régner & Loose, 2006; Steele, et al., 2002). This strategy serves the protection of a pupils' academic self-concept in case the pupil feels threatened to confirm negative stereotypes about one's social group in education, for instance performing poorly as an ethnic minority pupil (Régner & Loose 2006; Steele, et al., 2002). This basic principle of stereotype threat effects leads us to our first hypothesis: "Ethnic minority pupils and pupils in lower status tracks are more likely to disengage their academic self-concept from their actual achievements in education."

Pupils' protection of their academic self-concept from stereotype threat is also found to act as a mediator in the relationship between lower educational performance levels and both discounting of negative feedback and disidentification from education (Régner & Loose, 2006). Pupils' psychological disengagement is therefore often accompanied by discounting the validity of negative feedback on their performances (Régner & Loose, 2006; Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). Moreover, the discounting of teachers' fairness in evaluations strengthens the disengagement response strategy because pupils' academic self-concept is not threatened when the focus is shifted towards external factors: the test and the tester, but not the testee (Régner & Loose, 2006; Stephan, Caudroit, Boiché, & Sarrazin, 2011). Furthermore, the pupil's academic self-concept can remain 'intact' and therefore discounting can go hand in hand with a high valuing of the educational domain, making it a less radical response strategy than a general disidentification from education (Nussbaum & Steele 2007). This leads us to

our second hypothesis: “Pupils belonging to stigmatised groups in education will discount the validity of teachers’ assessments more often when receiving ‘bad grades’ on their academic performances.”

While discounting negative feedback on academic performances is a rather acute reaction to stereotype threat in education, a more chronic reaction is to personally disidentify from the domain of education (Aronson, 2000; Steele, et al., 2002; Stephan et al., 2011). Here, one can still value the role of education for society but to protect one’s own academic self-concept, the individual devalues the goals set in the educational domain in relation to their own personal goals (Major et al., 1998; Nussbaum & Steele 2007). Disidentification from education is likely to have detrimental effects on a pupils’ motivation to perform well in the educational domain and therefore in a higher risk of dropping out before reaching graduation (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow 2001; Steele, 1997). The stereotype threat effect of disidentification from education leads us to our third hypothesis: “Pupils belonging to stigmatised groups in education are more likely to personally disidentify from the goals set in the educational domain.”

Since negative stereotypes about ethnic minority pupils and pupils in the vocational track are found to influence teachers’ perceptions of pupils in these stigmatised groups, we expect that these pupils also feel least respected by their teachers. A final overall hypotheses for this study is that we can find a reinforcing effect on stereotype threat effects for pupils in stigmatised groups in Flemish urban education who experience stigmatisation from teachers, measured through the respect pupils experience from their teachers. In other words, our final hypothesis states that “the occurrence of responses to protect one’s academic self-concept from negative stereotypes are influenced by the respect pupils – and particularly pupils in stigmatised groups – experience from their teachers”. The role of feeling accepted and respected by teachers – measured by a subsample of items from Goodenow’s measurement of school belonging (1993a) – is studied as a proxy for the teacher-pupil relationships within the analyses

each of the three hypotheses described above. We can therefore study how teacher-pupil relations influence stereotype threat effects.

Method

To test the hypotheses presented above we rely on a database that contains data collected in 2010 from 6244 pupils in the third or fourth year of Flemish secondary education in the cities Antwerp, Genk and Ghent.⁴ The initial database comprises 11,015 unique records, representing almost 50% of the total pupil population in the aforementioned year cohorts. A few methodological considerations forced us to limit the scope of the data to 6244 records. First, we chose not to take into account special education, part-time vocational or arts education due to the particular character of these tracks and therefore relatively small proportions in the sample. Secondly, we restricted our analyses to pupils without an immigration background and to those with an immigration background that is exclusively linked with Turkey or Morocco.⁵ This restriction is based on two different reflections: (1) there is extensive empirical evidence for the stigmatisation of these ethnic groups in Flemish education, which is not available for the wide variation of pupils with other ethnic backgrounds in our initial sample; (2) the hyper-diversity of other ethnic backgrounds in the sample which resulted in insufficient group sizes for the purposes of our analyses.

By taking together the variables educational track and ethnic background we were able to define six groups. Figure 1 shows the relative group sizes of pupils in different educational tracks by ethnic background, which visualizes the strong overrepresentation of the native group in general education and pupils with Moroccan or Turkish backgrounds in vocational education.

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

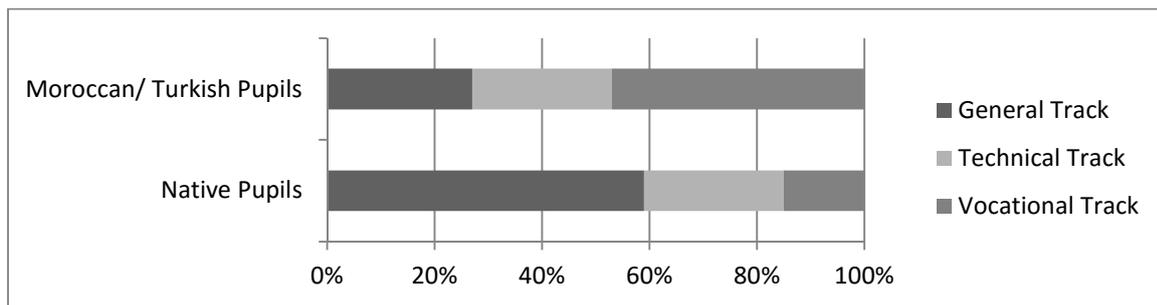


Figure 1. The distribution of the Native and Moroccan/ Turkish Pupils in our Sample over the Different Educational Tracks (in percentages)

Background Variables

A first background variable used in most of the analyses presented in this article is the gender of the pupil. Although there exists a large body of literature concerning gender induced stereotype threat in education, the pupil's gender is only used as a control variable to test stereotype threat related to the pupil's educational track and ethnic background. Gender is entered as a dummy variable wherein male pupils serve as reference category.

Socio-economic status (SES) is also considered a control variable in our analyses. Notwithstanding the strong correlations of SES with both the pupil's educational track as well as their ethnic background, multicollinearity did not cause problems in our analyses.⁶ The SES variable was constructed by running a factor analysis on a series of variables connected to the pupils SES. The final factor was determined by the labour market situation of both parents, their educational attainment, as well as the availability of a quiet room to study, a computer and internet at home.

To determine the pupil's ethnic background we made use of the available data on the pupil's ethnic background, *i.e.* the pupil's place of birth, as well as the country of birth of

their father, mother and both of the pupil's grandmothers. As we addressed in the description of our sample, the ethnic background is applied as a dichotomous variable distinguishing pupils with no immigration background and those with non-mixed Turkish or Moroccan immigration backgrounds. For pupils in the latter category at least both grandmothers are born in Turkey or Morocco. It is important to emphasize that we do not argue that there are no ethnic group related differences within the latter category. However, as argued above, in terms of their position and stereotypes within Flemish education these ethnic groups find themselves in a similar position.

A final background variable is the pupils' educational track. We therefore distinguish pupils in general, technical and vocational education. For some analyses we chose to analyse relations by splitting the dataset in groups that combine ethnic background and educational track. In other tests we used dummy variables for vocational and technical education, wherein pupils in general education served as reference category. We will further elaborate on this in the results section.

Academic Performance Indicators

Another main variable in our analyses is the pupil's academic performance level, measured through their grade point average (GPA) at the end of the second grade of secondary education. This GPA value is based on a self-reported scale and categorizes the pupil's GPA as follows: less than 50%, 50-60%, 60-70%, 70-80% and more than 80%. Yet, the five point scale in the survey data did not limit us to working with a categorical variable. Normality testing encouraged us to use the self-reported GPA as a proxy for a continuous variable in the analyses.

School-related Beliefs and Attitudes

Since stereotype threat effects literature mainly concerns effects on pupil's beliefs and attitudes towards education, the measurement of these psychological traits plays a central role

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

in our methodology. We now discuss our measurement of respect experienced from teachers, the academic self-concept, discounting of teacher's assessments and disidentification from educational goals.

To address the respect pupils experience from teachers, we made use of a subscale extracted from Goodenow's Sense of Belonging in School measurement (1993a). This subsampling through the use of factor analysis subdivided the initial latent construct in one factor addressing a broader concept 'school belonging' and another factor that can be best described as feeling respected and accepted by teachers. The latent construct is made up by six items and have a strong internal consistency, reflected in a Cronbach's α value of .75. Some of sample items are "Teachers in this school are not interested in people like me."; "I am treated with as much respect as other pupils"; "Teachers at my school respect me.". For the purpose of our analyses the measurement scale was constructed so that a higher value means feeling less respected by teachers.

In order to measure pupil's academic self-concept we made use of Shavelson and Marsh's (1986) measurement of a general academic self-concept. Since previous research has shown that academic achievement is more correlated with academic self-concept than with general self-esteem (Marsh, 1987; Van Houtte, et al., 2012), we argue to test the psychological disengagement hypotheses using this scale rather than a global self-esteem scale (Régner & Loose, 2006). Our measurement of academic self-concept is based on nine items that show an internal consistency of cronbach's α .77. Some of the sample items are "I think I'm good at learning"; "My classmates can learn better than me"; "When I make a test, I mostly feel that I can do good.". The academic self-concept measurement scale was constructed so that a higher value shows a higher academic self-concept.

To test if and how psychological disengagement manifests itself through discounting and/ or disidentification, we use proxies available in our survey data. Discounting could only

be operationalized by a single item where pupils could attribute ‘bad results’ to unfair scoring by teachers. Although we only had access to a single item, this item captures the idea of discounting very well as ascribing low scores to the biased evaluation by teachers protects a pupil’s academic self-concept (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). Last but not least, disidentification from education was measured through the mirrored goal valuation scale from the revised School Attitude Assessment Survey (McCoach, 2002), containing six items such as ‘I want to do good in school’ and ‘it’s important that I’m doing good in school’. The strong internal consistency of these items is shown in the cronbach’s α value of .90.

In table 1 we present mean scores and standard deviations for a lack of respect experienced from teachers, academic self-concept and disidentification of educational goals per subgroup delimited by both educational track and ethnic background. The table also shows absolute frequencies and percentages of pupils per subgroup that discount their teacher’s scoring as being unfairly biased in case of ‘bad results’ in italics.

[Table 1]

Results

As described in the literature section above, a precondition for stereotype threat effects to manifest itself is that the members of a stereotyped group in a certain domain are aware of the stereotypes about their group. Table 1 shows that pupils in stigmatised groups – *i.e.* pupils in lower status tracks and pupils with an ethnic minority background – feel the least respected by teachers.⁷ This finding further strengthens previous findings on the fact that pupils in stigmatised groups are conscious about stigmas surrounding their social group in education.

In this section we test the first three hypotheses concerning stereotype threat effects drawn from theory and previous empirical research one by one. The testing of the final overall hypothesis will be discussed throughout the sections that present the testing of the other hypotheses. Each of the analyses are adapted to the data available in our research

project on educational trajectories in Flemish urban schools. The methodological choices made in the process are explicated throughout the results section.

Hypothesis 1: Pupils in Stigmatised Groups are more likely to Disengage their Academic Self-concept from their Actual Achievements in the Educational Domain

Since the existing literature clearly shows that pupils in vocational education and those with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds can be considered to belong to a stigmatised group in education, one could expect that these negative stereotypes lead stigmatised pupils to show response strategies for protecting their self-concept.

A underlying theoretical assumption of stereotype threat literature is that pupils in stigmatised groups respond to the threat of negative stereotypes in education by the disengagement or disconnection of their academic self-concept from their achievements in education. As we hypothesized that a double stigmatisation occurs for those pupils with a minority background in vocational education, we tested the effect of pupils' GPA on their academic self-concept separately per subgroup, defined by both their educational track and ethnic background.

Per subgroup we engaged in a two-step regression analyses, controlling the effect of a pupils' prior achievements on their current academic self-concept for the effects of gender and SES in a first step and added the effect of the reversed measurement scale for respect experienced from teachers – as a proxy for teacher-pupil relations – on the academic self-concept in the second step. By inserting the teacher-pupil relations measurement in the second step, we can test our overall hypotheses by studying how respect from teachers influences the initial effect of pupils' GPA on their academic self-concept by comparing the regression correlations and the total of variance explained (adjusted R^2) in each model. It is important to acknowledge that no causal relations can be tested since the direction of the relations between pupils' GPA and academic self-concept is not clear. Nonetheless, the

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

regression analyses allow us to control for the pupils' background variables and the additional influence of respect from teachers in the relation between pupils' GPA and academic self-concept.⁸

[Table 2]

We start by reporting the influence of the control variables gender and SES on pupils' academic self-concept for the different subgroups in both steps of the analyses. Since the control variables gender and SES can be defined as exogenous variables the direction of the effects are clear. The pupil's SES only shows significant effects on the academic self-concept of native pupils in technical education in step one ($\beta=0.06363$; $p<.05$). This effect however disappears when also taking into account the effect of respect from teachers in step two. In step two minority pupils in vocational education show a higher positive effect of their SES on their academic self-concept ($\beta=0.09579$; $p<.05$). Gender mainly affects pupils' academic self-concept for native pupils, for the pupils with a minority background the results only show a (although rather strong) negative effect in general education. For all significant effects of gender we can report that female pupils report a lower academic self-concept than male pupils, again controlled for the other variables in the first step.

Next we report on the effect of pupils' GPA on their academic self-concept in step one, *i.e.* without taking into account effects of teacher-pupils relationships. When exploring the results from the first step we can confirm our psychological disengagement hypothesis: pupils in the least stigmatised group – *i.e.* native pupils in general education – show a stronger effect of their GPA on their academic self-concept than minority pupils in general education (native: $\beta=0.44057$, $p<.05$; minority: $\beta=0.27641$, $p<.05$). This strong positive effect of pupils' GPA is significantly lower when considering the parameters for pupils in technical and vocational education. The lowest correlations are found for pupils in the most stigmatised group, *i.e.* pupils with an immigrant background in technical and vocational education.

When we include our measurement of teacher-pupil relationships in step two, the results show an overall strong negative effect of not feeling respected by teachers on pupils' academic self-concept. The strength of these regression parameters is rather similar for the different subgroups and ranges from $\beta=-0.26095$ for minority pupils in general education to $\beta=-0.34298$ for native pupils in vocational education. More importantly, we can report that all initial regression parameters of pupils' GPA on their academic self-concept decrease and even lose statistical significance for pupils in the most stigmatised groups, *i.e.* pupils with a Turkish or Moroccan origin in vocational education. Another finding that supports our overall hypothesis is the growing explained variance in step two in comparison to step one for all subgroups but more particularly for pupils in vocationally oriented education. The explained variance in pupils' academic self-concept is very low for the analyses in step one and increases up to five times the initial amount for minority pupils in vocational education when inserting the teacher-pupil relations are inserted in the second step of the analyses.

We can therefore conclude that the strong positive relation between the GPA and the academic self-concept of pupils in the least negatively stereotyped groups disengages for pupils in the most stigmatised groups. Furthermore, teacher-pupil relationships do in fact also play a stronger role in relation to pupils' academic self-concept for pupils in the most stigmatised groups, *i.e.* pupils in vocationally oriented education, especially those with an immigrant background.

Hypotheses 2: Pupils in Stigmatised Groups will Discount the Validity of Teachers' Assessments more often in case of Negative Feedback on their Academic Performances

Our next hypothesis concerns an acute response to stereotype threat. In the short run, pupils who suffer stigmatisation in education can discount teachers' negative feedback on their educational performances in order to protect their academic self-concept. By discounting negative feedback from teachers for being unfairly biased, a pupil – who feels

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

threatened by stereotypes about their social group not performing well in education – to protect his/her academic self-concept. We therefore expect pupils in the most stigmatised groups to discount negative feedback on their academic performances more often.

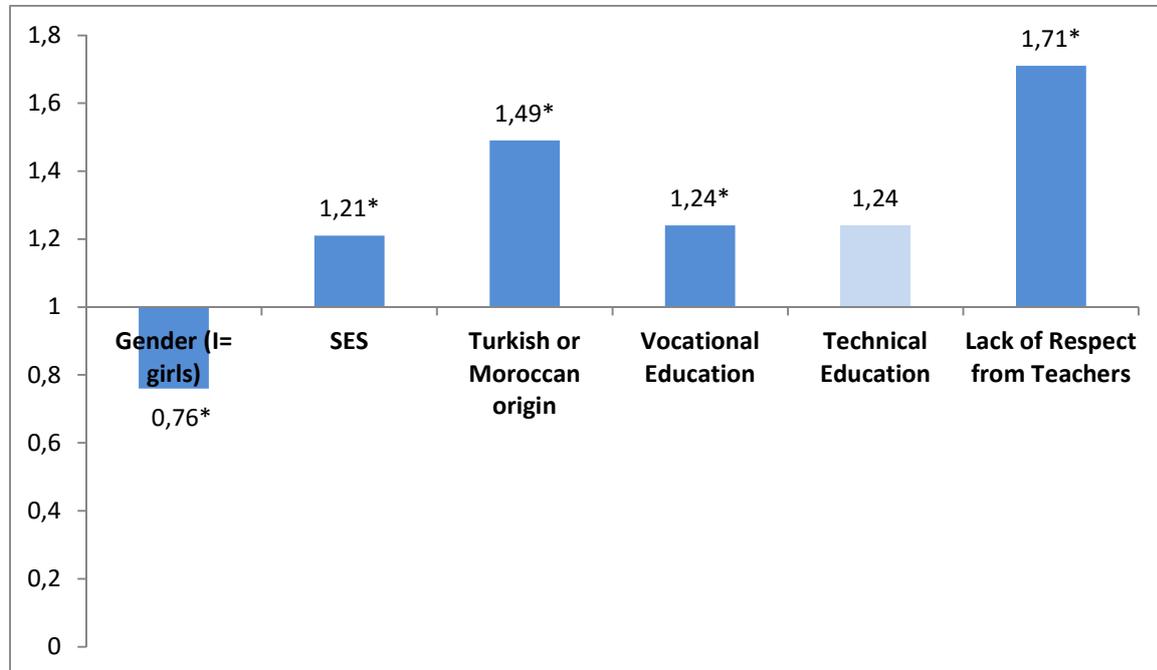


Figure 2. Odds ratio point estimates for discounting teachers' negative feedback (*= $p < .05$)

A logistic regression estimating probabilities to discount teachers' negative feedback on academic performances shows significant effects for gender, SES, ethnic background, pupils' educational track and respect from teachers ($\text{Chi}^2=265.12$; $p < .001$). Female pupils discount their teachers' scoring in case of 'bad results' significantly less than male pupils. The pupils' SES has an additional positive significant effect on discounting.⁹ Pupils in vocational, but not pupils in technical education, differ significantly from pupils in general education in discounting negative feedback. Our second hypotheses is therefore confirmed as pupils in vocational education discount teachers' scoring when receiving 'bad results' 24% more often

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

than in general education. Furthermore, pupils with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds have 49% more probability to discount negative feedback than native pupils.

The strongest predictor for discounting negative feedback from teachers for being unfairly biased however is experiencing negative teacher-student relations, a one unit increase of in the measurement for a lack of respect from teachers predicts a 71% increase in the probability to discount negative feedback. This further strengthens our overall hypothesis stating that experiencing low levels of respect from teachers – as a proxy for negative teacher-pupil relations – strongly increases the occurrence of stereotype threat effects.

Hypothesis 3: Pupils in Stigmatised Groups in Education are more likely to Personally Disidentify from the Goals Set in the Educational Domain

Our third hypothesis concerns psychological disengagement by disidentifying from the goals set in education. Similar to the stereotype threat effect of discounting, we estimated pupils' gender, SES, ethnic background, educational track and the amount of respect experienced from teachers – as a proxy for teacher-pupil relations – as predictors for disidentification.

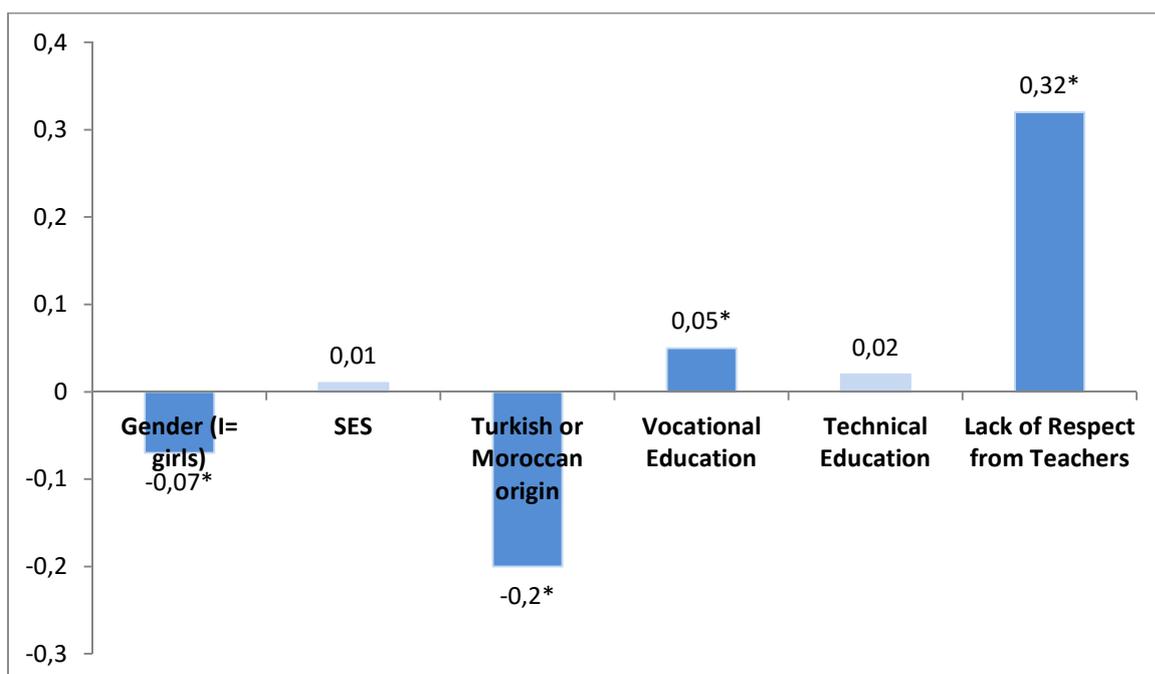


Figure 3. Standardized Regression Parameter Estimates for Predicting Disidentification from Education (*= $p < .05$)

Female pupils again reported less stereotype threat effects than males ($\beta = -.07$; $p < .05$). Pupil's SES does not have a significant predictive value towards disidentification.¹⁰ Pupils in vocational education have significantly more chance to disidentify from education than pupils in general education ($\beta = .05$; $p < .05$), while those in technical education do not differ significantly from pupils in the general track. The predictive value of pupils' gender and educational track however, is rather small compared to the pupils' ethnic background and the respect experienced from teachers. Remarkably, pupils with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds value the domain of education more than native pupils ($\beta = -.2$; $p < .05$). Nonetheless, feeling less respected does predict more disidentification from education ($\beta = .32$; $p < .05$). Even though a Turkish or Moroccan background protects pupils from disidentification from education – which does not concur with the stereotype threat effects inspired hypothesis – the predictive value of not experiencing positive teacher-pupil relationships is more pronounced. Keeping in mind that pupils in the most stigmatised groups feel least respected by teachers (see table 1), one can expect more disidentification for pupils in vocational education and pupils with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds in case these stigmatised pupils feel less respected by teachers.

In accordance with Régner and Loose (2006) we tested the mediational role of stereotype threat on pupils' academic self-concept that is implicated by the discounting and disidentification hypotheses. The hypotheses imply that poor grades threaten to confirm negative stereotypes and could thereby negatively affect the academic self-concept. To protect their academic self-concept, stigmatised pupils will discount the validity of negative

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

feedback or disidentify from educational goals more often. The four steps procedures to test the mediational role of the threat on pupils academic self-concept towards predicting discounting and disidentification by pupils are shown below.

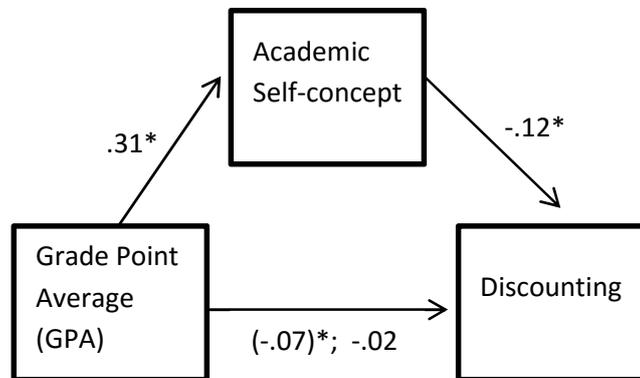


Figure 4. Mediation Analysis for Discounting Teachers' Negative Feedback (*= $p < .05$)

The first step consists of showing that lower grades predict discounting. In the second step, the GPA needs to predict academic self-concept. Also, academic self-concept needs to predict discounting, while controlling for grades. Additionally, the direct effect of grades on discounting needs to be significantly reduced when academic self-concept is included in the analysis. Figure 4 shows that all four conditions for the mediation hypothesis for discounting are met. The initial significant negative relation between GPA and discounting ($\beta = -.07$; $p < .05$) shows that lower grades do heighten the chance to discount teachers' scoring for being unfairly biased. The pupils' GPA does overall have a strong relation with pupils' academic self-concept ($\beta = .31$; $p < .05$) and a higher academic self-concept negatively relates to the probability to discount negative feedback when controlled for pupils' GPA ($\beta = -.12$; $p < .05$). Last but not least, the initial significant relation between GPA and discounting diminishes in strength and loses its statistical significance. It's important to notice that the analyses for all four conditions also included the pupils' gender, SES, ethnic background and educational track as control variables.¹¹

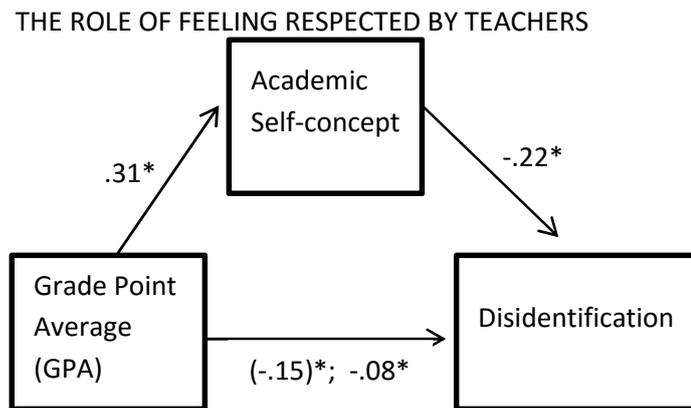


Figure 5. Mediation Analysis for Disidentification from Education (*= $p < .05$)

As we did for the discounting hypothesis testing, we now present a test for the mediational role of the protecting one's academic self-concept in the relation between pupils' GPA and disidentification from education. Figure 5 demonstrates that all four conditions for a mediation effect are indeed fulfilled. The negative relation between pupils' GPA and disidentification ($\beta = -.15$; $p < .05$), that is before controlling for academic self-concept, confirms the direct effect of GPA. Moreover, after controlling for academic self-concept, the standardized parameter for GPA towards disidentification almost halves ($\beta = -.08$; $p < .05$). Taking into account that the pupils' GPA does positively relate to academic self-concept ($\beta = .31$; $p < .05$) and academic self-concept tempers the relation between the GPA and disidentification ($\beta = -.22$; $p < .05$), we can conclude that the mediation hypothesis for devaluation is confirmed. Similar to the testing of the mediation effect for discounting, we controlled for the pupils' gender, SES, ethnic background and educational track.¹²

Discussion

This paper started from a general finding, as shown in the literature review, that the systemic and institutional context of Flemish urban education is a relevant context to study pupils' responses to stereotype threat (Baysu, et al., 2011; Van Houtte, et al., 2012). Flemish urban secondary schools are highly stratified and segregated, both on the socio-economic and

the ethnic dimension (De Meyer & Warlop, 2010; Danhier, Jacobs, Devleeshouwer, Martin, & Alarcon, 2014). The literature review also showed that clear stigmatization processes are present in this educational context (Stevens & Vermeersch, 2010). These stigmatization and stratification processes influence the way pupils engage in and identify with education. As argued, in particular the strong overrepresentation of minority pupils in lower status tracks make stereotype threat effects related to both ethnic background and educational track particularly relevant for Flemish secondary education in urban areas. Our contribution to urban education research is to study how teacher-pupil relations can be affected by these systemic characteristics and how this also impacts pupils response strategies towards negative stereotypes related to their educational track and/or ethnic minority status.

More in particular this paper tried to disentangle if and how pupils who are negatively stereotyped try to prevent this stereotype threat from harming their (academic) self-concept by (1) disengaging their academic self-concept from their actual performances in education, (2) discounting teachers' negative feedback and (3) disidentifying from the goals set in education. Our results to a large extent support and illustrate the workings of these stereotype threat effects in education as theorized and empirically supported by previous studies (e.g. Aronson et al., 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, et al., 2002). As argued, an important contribution of our study is that we focused on the impact of teacher-pupil relations on stereotype threat effects. This is relevant as the degree to which pupils feel respected and accepted by their teachers is often discussed as one of the most influential relationships effecting educational processes and outcomes (Goodenow 1993b; Klem & Connell 2004; Van Maele and Van Houtte, 2010).

Limitations of the Study

Before discussing our main findings in relation to the specific research questions and hypotheses, we elaborate on two important limitations of our study. A first caveat concerns

the causal direction of the relationships we focused on. Since the study was not longitudinal in design, the direction of relationships implicated in testing hypotheses related to stereotype threat effects should be taken with some caution. Our study only captures the theorized relationships implied by the psychological disengagement, discounting and disidentification hypotheses at a particular moment in time. Well-designed longitudinal studies can bring more clarity to study long-term stereotype threat effects, while experimental settings can further strengthen explanatory analyses on situational reactions of pupils to stereotype threat impulses through the use of manipulations.

A second important limitation concerns the fact that all measurements are self-reported by pupils, which make them vulnerable for a social desirability bias. Nonetheless, self-reports do have the strength to address the perceptions of the pupils and therefore measure what is real to them, not what is understood through indirect assessment of teachers or other professionals. Nonetheless, qualitative and school ethnographic research can address how the hypothesised protection of one's academic self-image against negative stereotypes looks like in every everyday class practices and can provide a deeper understanding of the meaning both pupils and teachers attach to the social imaginaries about stigmatised groups of pupils in the stratified and segregated context of Flemish urban education.

Main Research Findings

Despite these limitations we do have found some interesting results that complement current insights on the processes of stereotype threat effects, and more directly on the impact of teacher-pupil relations on these processes. Furthermore, where most studies on stereotype threat effects focus on ethnic and gender stereotypes in the educational domain, this study added the observable stereotype threat effects related studying in lower status educational tracks.

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

We first discuss the testing of our three singular hypotheses before engaging with a more in-depth discussion of our overarching hypothesis regarding the influence of negative teacher-pupil relationships on the occurrence of stereotype threat effects.

With regard to our first hypothesis on pupils reacting to stereotype threat by disconnecting their academic self-concept from their performances in education, we can confirm that minority pupils in all educational tracks relate their academic self-concept less with their GPA than their native counterparts (Aronson et al., 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, et al., 2002). Furthermore, our results show that pupils in general education hold the strongest connection between their achievements in education and their academic self-concept, suggesting that stigmatisation based on pupils' educational track also affects psychological disengagement.

In the analyses for testing the discounting hypothesis the results show that pupils with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds and pupils in vocational education show the highest occurrence of discounting negative feedback by teachers (Aronson, 2000; Steele, et al., 2002; Stephan et al., 2011). With regard to the disidentification hypotheses, our findings show that being in vocational education is a risk factor for disidentification from education. Given our findings concerning hypothesis one and two and the assumption that stigmatised pupils in general - be it based on track enrolment and/or ethnicity - we could expect that Turkish and Moroccan pupils disidentify more strongly from education. Yet, it are precisely these pupils that in fact value educational goals more than their native counterparts. This finding matches with previous research that showed that ethnic minority pupils who initially show a higher valuing of education are most likely to withdraw from school due to the stigmatisation, while the disidentification process did not significantly affect dropout rates among native pupils (Osborne and Walker 2006). This further strengthens the idea that teachers' perceptions and expectations play an important role in the engagement and identification of pupils,

particularly those with a stigmatised group identity in education. To understand this better it is necessary to take a closer look at the impact of teacher-pupil relations on these processes.

With respect to our overarching hypothesis regarding the influence of negative teacher-pupil relationships on the occurrence of stereotype threat effects, we found that the teacher-pupil relations play an important role in the occurrence of psychological disengagement, discounting of negative feedback and disidentification from education. In the testing of the psychological disengagement hypothesis by the two-step regression analyses predicting pupils' academic self-concept, the introduction of the level to which pupils experience respect from teachers significantly increased the explained variance. The strengthening explanatory power of the regression models was especially striking for pupils in stigmatised groups, where the GPA and control variables only mounted to a very weak explanation of the variance in pupils' academic self-concept. Furthermore, the lack of respect pupils experience from their teachers was also the strongest predictor for both discounting negative feedback from teachers and disidentification from education.

This study therefore further disentangles the high levels of academic self-esteem of Turkish and Moroccan pupils in vocational education – stigmatised for having low overall achievement levels – by introducing the role of negative teacher-pupil relationships in stereotype threat effects. These findings thus support the hypothesis that stigmatised pupils protect their academic self-concept from confirming negative stereotypes and adds the role of the respect and acceptance experienced from teachers in the understanding of this process.

Implications of this Study

Although our research mainly focused on the micro level of pupils' experiences with respect to education and their relationship with their teachers, we embedded these interactions within a broader educational structure that was argued to be particularly harmful for socio-economically vulnerable and ethnic minority pupils. When addressing the findings

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

and proposing solutions to alter these processes, one needs to focus on the macro level of broader society and inequalities present, on the meso level of the schools and the specific reproduction of inequality in this context and on the micro level of the personal interactions between individuals. Only aiming to change barriers on one level ignores the importance of the other levels. For example, pupil-teacher relations are crucial for successful educational trajectories, however, these relations are influenced by processes and inequalities surpassing the local context in a school or classroom.

With our study we tried to take into consideration the effects of stereotype threat and uncover underlying mechanisms explaining pupils' identification with education. We believe these insights can also inspire the development of strategies to tackle issues such as academic disengagement and early school leaving.

On a macro and as well meso level, we discussed the negative impact of the current educational structures in Flanders reproducing rather than transforming existing inequalities. In particular the early selection of pupils into a hierarchical tracking structure with little room for 'upward' social mobility is detrimental to the educational opportunities of the most vulnerable pupils. It is hopeful that since 2009 a public and political discussion was triggered to restructure Flemish education, however these ideas were met with a lot of criticism and up until now little change has occurred. However, even though this grand restructuring plan moves very slowly, other structural reforms are being designed and will be implemented in the near future. Of particular importance is the reappraisal of the formal teacher training course that requires a broader and more intensive training of future teachers. This is a hopeful transformation as research over and over shows how important - both in the positive as well as in the negative sense - teachers can be for their pupils.

What our study shows is that the teacher-pupil relationships, and in particular the respect pupils experience from their teachers is a crucial aspect of 'school life'. As a consequence

different researchers designed concrete actions and point, for example, to a better matching of teacher profiles, curriculum and didactics (Inzlicht, Aronson, & Mendoza-Denton, 2009). All strategies in some way aim at creating the school as an 'identity safe' school. Merely the recruiting of teachers with a minority background has already proven to reduce the effects of negative stereotypes (Marx & Goff, 2005). This is of particular interest for the Flemish educational system where only very few minority teachers are present. Furthermore, teacher training should also focus more on teaching in diverse classrooms and in being sensitive to issues related to the diverse backgrounds of pupils (Baysu, et al., 2011). Research also showed that cooperative learning methods between pupils with and without stigmatised identities also reduces negative stereotype threat effects by encouraging the creation of stereotype-inconsistent information due to pupil's interdependence (Stephan & Stephan, 2004).

These findings illustrate that stereotype threat effects are certainly malleable. Even small everyday didactical adjustments can generate positive outcomes and teachers often play a key role in these processes. Supportive teacher-pupil relations in current urban educational contexts can provide a substantial emotional support, trust and respect necessary in diversifying educational contexts. Therefore, teaching as merely 'knowledge transfer' has to be complemented with 'new' teacher competencies to deal with (dis)identification and stigmatization processes in the classroom. Nonetheless, as was shown specific structural and institutional features of educational systems can facilitate or hamper stratification and stigmatization processes. Therefore, also structural adjustments in the Flemish educational system are crucial to tackle the strong social and ethnic stratification between educational tracks, which is fundamental for countering the double stigmatisation of ethnic minority pupils in lower status tracks.

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

¹ Secondary education in Flanders is compulsory until the age of 18 and comprises 6 years (age 12-18 in case of no grade retention).

² Making abstraction of special, arts and part-time vocational education. For a comprehensive oversight of educational tracking in Flemish secondary education see Van Houtte, 2004

³ Lower skilled professions are predominantly jobs up to ISCO 08 skill level 2 (International Standard Classification of Occupations, published by the International Labour Organisation in 2012)

⁴ Age of 14 to 16 in case of no grade retention

⁵ Also excluding any kinds of mixed backgrounds

⁶ To test for multicollinearity we report the variance inflation factor (VIF).

⁷ ANOVA testing on the respect experienced from teachers confirmed the significance of the differences between the group means.

⁸ The highest variation inflation factor is only 1.09.

⁹ max. value=1.55 in VIF test with OLS regression

¹⁰ Maximum VIF value=1.56

¹¹ none of them leading to problems of multicollinearity; highest VIF with OLS = 1.57)

¹² none of these variables did render into problems of multicollinearity (highest VIF = 1.57).

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of School-related Beliefs and Attitudes per Subgroup

Subgroups	N	Label	n <i>f</i>	M (centred) <i>percentage</i>	SD
Native Pupils General Education	2888	Lack of respect from teachers	2695	-0.233	0.841
		Academic Self-Concept	2802	0.022	0.880
		<i>Discounting</i>	<i>510</i>	<i>17.95%</i>	
		Disidentification	2820	0.023	0.938
Native Pupils Vocational Education	699	Lack of respect from teachers	628	0.180	0.866
		Academic Self-Concept	652	0.011	0.902
		<i>Discounting</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>22.39%</i>	
		Disidentification	672	0.244	1.027
Native Pupils Technical Education	1340	Lack of respect from teachers	1234	0.139	0.844
		Academic Self-Concept	1278	-0.146	0.889
		<i>Discounting</i>	<i>238</i>	<i>18.02%</i>	
		Disidentification	1313	0.201	0.961
Minority Pupils General Education	353	Lack of respect from teachers	320	-0.006	0.940
		Academic Self-Concept	333	0.091	0.859
		<i>Discounting</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21.26%</i>	
		Disidentification	344	-0.477	0.852
Minority Pupils Vocational Education	611	Lack of respect from teachers	502	0.264	1.053
		Academic Self-Concept	532	0.225	0.924
		<i>Discounting</i>	<i>171</i>	<i>30.11%</i>	
		Disidentification	563	-0.166	1.119
Minority Pupils Technical Education	353	Lack of respect from teachers	306	0.182	0.901
		Academic Self-Concept	325	0.161	0.866
		<i>Discounting</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>23.92%</i>	
		Disidentification	338	-0.298	1.026

Note. For discounting we presented the number and percentage of pupils that reported to discount their teachers' assessment when receiving negative feedback in italics.

THE ROLE OF FEELING RESPECTED BY TEACHERS

Table 2

Standardized Regression Parameter Estimates (β) and Standard Errors (in parentheses) for a Two-step Regression Analyses Predicting Academic Self-concept per Subgroup

	Native Pupils in General education		Native Pupils in Technical education		Native Pupils in Vocational education	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender (I= girls)	-0.171* (0.030)	-0.200* (0.029)	-0.078* (0.049)	-0.084* (0.049)	-0.079* (0.071)	-0.093 * (0.070)
SES	0.028 (0.032)	0.013 (0.031)	0.064* (0.049)	0.016 (0.049)	-0.003 (0.068)	-0.009 (0.067)
GPA	0.441* (0.019)	0.377* (0.019)	0.236* (0.029)	0.191* (0.029)	0.205* (0.033)	0.152* (0.033)
Respect	---	-0.296* (0.018)	---	-0.327* (0.029)	---	-0.343* (0.040)
<i>Adj. R²</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.30</i>	<i>0.07</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.04</i>	<i>0.15</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>2778</i>	<i>2606</i>	<i>1260</i>	<i>1168</i>	<i>643</i>	<i>590</i>

Note. * $p < .05$

Table 2

(Continuing)

	Minority Pupils in General education		Minority Pupils in Technical education		Minority Pupils in Vocational education	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender (I= girls)	-0.280* (0.090)	-0.275* (0.090)	-0.104 (0.097)	-0.083 (0.099)	-0.054 (0.081)	-0.076 (0.082)
SES	-0.059 (0.070)	-0.099 (0.087)	0.016 (0.093)	0.020 (0.095)	0.067 (0.074)	0.096* (0.074)
GPA	0.276* (0.055)	0.241* (0.057)	0.146* (0.054)	0.126* (0.055)	0.151* (0.038)	0.074 (0.039)
Respect	---	-0.261* (0.048)	---	-0.282* (0.054)	---	-0.299* (0.039)
<i>Adj. R²</i>	<i>0.14</i>	<i>0.20</i>	<i>0.02</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>0.02</i>	<i>0.11</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>328</i>	<i>301</i>	<i>314</i>	<i>279</i>	<i>519</i>	<i>447</i>

Note. * $p < .05$

References

- Agirdag, O., Van Houtte, M., & Van Avermaet, P. (2012a). "Why does the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of schools influence math achievement? The role of sense of futility and futility culture." *European Sociological Review* 28(3): 366–378. DOI:10.1093/esr/jcq070
- Agirdag, O., Van Houtte, M., & Van Avermaet, P. (2012b). Ethnic school segregation and self-esteem: The role of teacher-pupil relationships. *Urban Education*. 47(6): 1133–1157. DOI:10.1177/0042085912452154
- Anyon, J. (1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *Journal of Education*, 162(1), 7–92.
- Anyon, J. (2006). Social Class, School Knowledge, and the Hidden Curriculum Revisited. In Weis, L. and Dimidiates, G. (Eds.), *Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Knowledge*. NY: Routledge, 37-46.
- Aronson, J., Lustina, M. J., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C. M. and Brown, J.. (1999). When white men can't do math: Necessary and sufficient factors in stereotype threat. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 35: 29-46. DOI:10.1006/jesp.1998.1371
- Author. (2014).
- Baysu, G., Phalet, K., and Brown R. (2011). Dual Identity as a Two-Edged Sword: Identity Threat and Minority School Performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 74(2): 121–143. DOI:10.1177/0190272511407619.
- Bernstein, Basil. (1971). *Class, Codes, and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Boone, S. and Van Houtte, M. (2012). Social inequalities in educational choice at the transition from primary to secondary education. Further evidence for a rational choice?, *Culture and Education*, Vol. 91, No. 5, p. 189-214

- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Chun, E.W. (1988). Sorting Black Pupils for Success and Failure: The Inequality of Ability Grouping and Tracking.” *Urban League Review*. 11, 93–106.
- Crul, M.R.J., Schneider, J. & Lelie, F. (Eds.). (2012). *The European Second Generation Compared. Does the Integration Context Matter?* (IMISCOE Research). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Danhier, J., Jacobs, D., Devleeshouwer, P., Martin, E. and Alarcon, A. (2014). *Naar kwaliteitsscholen voor iedereen? Analyse van de resultaten van het PISA 2012 onderzoek in Vlaanderen en in de Federatie Wallonië-Brussel*, Brussel: Koning Boudewijnstichting, 70p.
- De Meyer, I. and Warlop, N. (2010). *PISA. Leesvaardigheid van 15-jarigen in Vlaanderen. De eerste resultaten van PISA 2009*. UGent: Vakgroep Onderwijskunde.
- Finley, M. K. (1984). “Teachers and tracking in a comprehensive high school.” *Sociology of Education* 57(4): 233–243.
- Gibson, M., Carrasco, S., Pàmies, J., Ponferrada, M., Rios, A. (2013). Different Systems, similar results. Youth of Immigrant Origin at School in California and Catalonia, in Alba & Holdaway, eds., *The Children of Immigrants at School, a comparative look at integration in the United States and Western Europe*, New York: New York University Press. pp 84-119.
- Giroux, H.A. (1980). Beyond the correspondence theory: notes on the dynamics of educational reproduction and transformation. *Curriculum Inquiry* 10(3): 225–247.
- Goodenow C. (1993a). The psychological sense of school membership among adolescents: scale development and educational correlates. *Psychology in the Schools* 30(1): 79–90. DOI:10.1002/1520-6807(199301)30:1.

- Goodenow, C. (1993b). Classroom belonging among early adolescent pupils: Relationships to motivation and achievement. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 13, 21–43.
- Groenez, S., Nicaise, I. and De Rick, K. (2009). De ongelijke weg door het onderwijs, in Vanderleyden, L., Callen, M. en Noppe, Jo (eds.). *De Sociale Staat van Vlaanderen 2009*. Studiedienst van de Vlaamse Regering: Drukkerij Room. pp. 33-67.
- Inzlicht, M., Aronson, J., and Mendoza-Denton, R. (2009). On being the target of prejudice: Educational implications. in Butera, F. and Levine, J. (Eds.) *Coping with Minority Status: Responses to Exclusion and Inclusion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 13-36.
- Kelly, S. (2009). “Social identity theories and educational engagement.” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 30(4): 449–462. DOI:10.1080/01425690902954620
- Marsh H.W. (1987). “The big-fish-little-pond effect on academic self-concept.” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 79(3): 280–295. DOI:10.1037//0022-0663.79.3.280
- Marx, D. M., and Goff, P.A. (2005). Clearing the air: The effect of experimenter race on targets’ test performance and subjective experience. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44: 645-657. DOI:10.1348/014466604X17948
- Major, B., Spencer, S.J., Schmader, T., Wolfe, C.T. and Crocker, J. (1998). Coping with negative stereotypes about intellectual performance: The role of psychological disengagement. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 24: 34–50. DOI:10.1177/0146167298241003
- McCoach, D. B. (2002). A validity study of the School Attitude Assessment Survey (SAAS). *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development* 35: 66–77. DOI:10.1177/0013164403063003005

- Nussbaum, A.D. and Steele, C.M. (2007). Situational disengagement and persistence in the face of adversity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 43: 127–134. DOI:10.1016/j.jesp.2005.12.007
- Osborne, J.W. and Walker, C. (2006). Stereotype threat, identification with academics, and withdrawal from school. *Educational Psychology* 26: 563–577. DOI:10.1080/01443410500342518
- Phalet, K., Deboosere, P. and Bastiaenssen, V. (2007). Old and New Inequalities in Educational Attainment: Ethnic Minorities in the Belgian Census 1991–2001. *Ethnicities* 7: 390–415. DOI:10.1177/1468796807080235
- Régner, I. and Loose, F. (2006). Relationship of sociocultural factors and academic self-esteem to school grades and school disengagement in North African French adolescents.” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 45: 777–797. DOI:10.1348/014466605X83610
- Roosens, E. (1995). *Rethinking culture, 'multicultural society' and the school*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Schmader, T., Major, B. and Gramzow, R. H. (2001). Coping With Ethnic Stereotypes in the Academic Domain. *Journal of Social Issues* 57: 93–111. DOI:10.1111/0022–4537.00203
- Shavelson, R. J. and Marsh, H.W. (1986). On the structure of self-concept, In Schwarzer, R. (Ed.), *Anxiety and cognitions*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Spruyt, B., Laurijssen, I., Van Dorsselaer, Y. (2009): Kiezen en verliezen. Een analyse van de keuze na het krijgen van een B-attest in het Vlaams secundair onderwijs als een replicatie van Kloosterman en De Graaf (2009). *Mens & Maatschappij*, 84, 3: 279-299.
- Steele, C.M. and Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69: 797–811. DOI:10.1037/0022–3514.69.5.797

- Steele, C.M., Spencer, S.J. and Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: the psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In Zanna, M.P. (Ed.): *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. (379–440). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Stephan, Y., Caudroit, J., Boiché, J., and Sarrazin, P. (2011). Predictors of situational disengagement in the academic setting. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 81: 441–455. DOI:10.1348/000709910X522285
- Stephan, W.G. and Stephan, C.W.. (2004). Intergroup Relations in Multicultural Education Programs, in Banks J.A. and Banks, C.A.M. (Eds.) *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education Second Edition*. San Francisco: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Stevens, P.A.J. and Vermeersch, H. (2010). Streaming in Flemish secondary schools: exploring teachers' perceptions of and adaptations to pupils in different streams. *Oxford Review of Education* 36(3): 267–284. DOI:10.1080/03054981003629862
- Trautwein, U., Lüdtke, O., Marsh, H.W., Köller, O. and Baumert, J. (2006). Tracking, grading, and pupil motivation: Using group composition and status to predict self-concept and interest in ninth-grade mathematics. *Journal of Educational Psychology* 98(4): 788–806. DOI:10.1037/0022-0663.98.4.788
- Valencia, R.R. (2010). *Dismantling Contemporary Deficit Thinking: Educational Thought and Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Valencia, R., and Black, M. (2002). “Mexican Americans don’t value education!” On the basis of myth, mythmaking and debunking, *Journal of Latinos and Education* 1(2): 81–103. DOI:10.1207/S1532771XJLE0102_2
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive Schooling: U.S. Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Van Houtte, M. (2004). Tracking effects on school achievement: A quantitative explanation in terms of the academic culture of school staff. *American Journal of Education* 110: 354–388. DOI:10.1086/422790
- Van Houtte, M. (2006). School type and academic culture: Quantitative evidence for the differentiation–polarisation theory. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 38(3): 273–292. DOI:10.1080/00220270500363661
- Van Houtte, M. and Stevens, P.A.J. (2009). Study involvement of academic and vocational pupils: Does between-school tracking sharpen the difference?. *American Educational Research Journal*. 46(4): 943–973. DOI:10.3102/0002831209348789
- Van Houtte, M., Demanet, Y., and Stevens, P.A.J. (2012). Self-esteem of academic and vocational pupils: Does within-school tracking sharpen the difference?. *Acta Sociologica* 55(1): 73–89. DOI:10.1177/0001699311431595
- Weis, L., McCarthy, C., and Dimitriadis, G. (2006). *Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Education. Revisiting the Work of Michael Apple*. New York, NY: Routledge.