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Several major theories of crime causation have been applied to the study of violence towards persons and towards property (vandalism). Less frequently, these middle-range theoretical frameworks are applied to explain individual differences in political violence. Against a background of growing concern about right-wing political violence among adolescents, the present study examines the role of a number of independent variables derived from different theoretical frameworks in a sample of 2,879 Flemish adolescents. Using blockwise regression models, the independent effects of key independent variables from social control theory, procedural justice theory, general strain theory, social learning theory, and self-control theory are assessed. The results support an integrative approach towards the explanation of political violence. The implications of our findings for future studies on violent extremism are discussed.

Contemporary political struggles like the Arab spring, the Syrian uprising, and the Euromaidan in Ukraine show that violence remains a widespread means of contesting socio-political and economic issues. These struggles for power and domination take place within an interactional context with conflicts between two different groups supervised by a third party: observers and institutions (Heitmeyer 2003). In a globalized world, society and (national) institutions are increasingly confronted with a great diversity of people with different (religious) beliefs, cultures, and identities. This ensures that standing up for one's own identity and freedom of speech becomes increasingly important. Processes of globalization that started in the late seventies had a tremendous impact on political polarization in Belgium and created new political parties on the extreme left and right.[1] This polarization created a breeding ground for diverse political and social conflicts within society leading to a rise of extreme-right sympathies in many European countries (Betz 1994; Hainsworth 1992). Although religiously or politically motivated violence (referred to in the following as "political violence") and violent extremism are important issues within society, there is still limited empirical research on the individual-level correlates of violent extremism. Many scholars have demonstrated aggregate correlations between levels of right-wing extremism, extremist-related crimes, and unemployment levels (for example Falk, Kuhn, and Zweimüller 2011), while studies on individual-level pathways remain scarce (Horgan 2008). The present study contributes to the literature by empirically testing an integrated theoretical model of violent extremism, specifically interpersonal political violence and political violence towards property (political vandalism) on a large-scale sample of Flemish adolescents and young adults.

Since the September 11 attacks in 2001, a multitude of studies have been conducted on religiously and politically

1 With the establishment of Agalev and Ecolo, the Flemish and Walloon green parties, in the early eighties. The same thing happened on the right with the establishment of the Flemish extreme-right Vlaams Blok in 1978 and the Walloon Front National in 1985

motivated violence, especially on the field of Islamist terrorism (Baker 2003; Vermeulen and Bovenkerk 2012; Wiktorowicz 2005). Less research focuses on adolescent involvement in political violence when controlling for moral attitudes which support right-wing extremist ideas (Bjørgo 1997; Heitmeyer 2003; extensive literature review in De Waele 2013). One of the first authors to describe right-wing extremist attitudes among adolescents was Wilhelm Heitmeyer (1988). In the *International Handbook of Violence*, Heitmeyer indicates the variety in right-wing extremist violent activity and advocates a multi-disciplinary approach to discover causal processes of right-wing violence.[2] Therefore, he argues, studies of violent extremism should move beyond the risk factor approach which maps an endless list of relevant correlates of political violence and instead focus on theory to clearly differentiate between potential causes and mere symptoms.[3] Later, Bouhana and Wikström (2008) warned against an empiricist approach that may wrongly suggest that either "nothing" or "everything" matters in the explanation of violent extremism. Making a distinction between correlates and potential causes is a difficult task and requires theory. The present study proposes an integrated theoretical framework that explains individual differences in political violence and vandalism.

1. Towards an Integrated Perspective on Adolescent Participation in Religiously or Politically Motivated Violence

The present study adopts an integrated theoretical approach to the study of support for violent right-wing extremism. Criminology provides a multitude of explanations from different (sometimes competing) theories ranging from strain theory to control theory and social learning theory. Since the 1990s important attempts have been made towards developing integrated theories of offending. Regarding traditional theories of offending, Elliott, Ageton and Canter (1979) argued more than three decades ago that theoretical reliance on a single type of variable to explain criminal behaviour has resulted in theories that are capable of explaining only a small percentage of the variance in crime or criminal behaviour. Bernard and Snipes (1996) have indicated that the existence of different explications of criminal behaviour does not by definition mean that these views contradict each other. The usefulness of Hirschi's proposal of competitive testing of two or more theories to increase knowledge about criminal behaviour has been questioned largely on the basis that this has led to a wide array of tests that yield inconclusive results (Bernard and Snipes 1996; Liska, Krohn, and Messner 1989). Instead, we argue that many theories may be viewed as complementary because crime is a multilevel multi-factorial social fact that requires an in-depth explanation from a multi-disciplinary perspective (Bernard and Snipes 1996, 340).

The present study therefore starts from a conceptually integrated approach to violence. The integrated framework proposed for studying individual differences in violence is built on the principle of end-to-end or sequential integration. End-to-end integration entails the integration of concepts in such a way that the dependent variables of contributing theories become the independent variables of the integrated theory (Pauwels, Ponsaers, and Svensson 2010). More specifically, end-to-end integration implies that causes of crime can be ordered on a continuum of proximate to more distal (Liska, Krohn, and Messner 1989). Wikström (2010), for instance, refers to the latter as the distinction between "causes" and "causes of the causes." Causal factors affect offending through a series of intervening mechanisms that bring about the effect. While the study of mechanisms has a long and outstanding tradition in sociology ranging back to Merton, the mechanism-based approach to offending is more recent (Hedström 2005; Hedström, and Bearman 2009). Drawing on Jon Elster's proposal to explain social action in terms of individuals' desires, beliefs, and opportunities/constraints, we argue that an analytical sociological framework may offer an

2 Heitmeyer identifies seven different types of right-wing extremist violence: opportunity-led; subcultural; organized, party-political; religiously-based; Ku Klux Klan; far-right terrorist; right-wing extremist pogroms. For further information see Heitmeyer (2003).

3 Wikström (2010) indicates that most identified predictors tend to correlate with offending, but are only markers (factors correlated with causes), symptoms (factors correlated with outcome), or attributes, like sex and race (Bouhanna and Wikström 2008). These correlations do not possess any causal power regarding criminal activity.

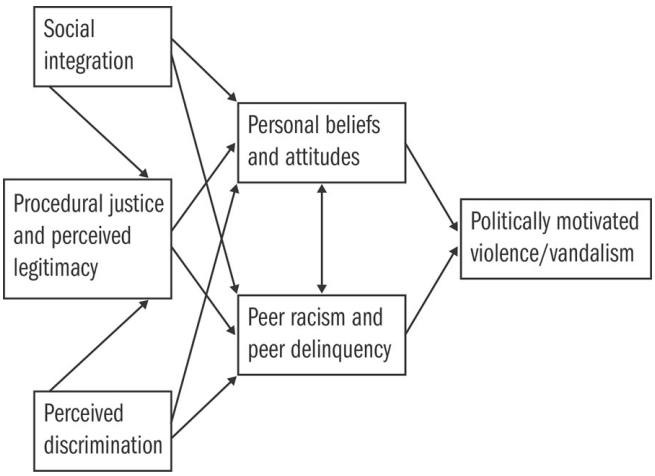
organizing paradigm for the study of political violence. Pauwels, Ponsaers, and Svensson (2010) and Wikström (2012) have argued for an analytical criminology, which shows very clear links to the analytical approach in sociology in order to provide more in-depth causal explanations of crime as social action. Essentially, we propose an integrated perspective on political violence that is organized around key concepts from the strain, procedural justice, social control, and social learning theories. Our integrative explanatory model of political violence is based on the assumption that perceived strains and weak social integration may affect personal beliefs about the justification of the use of violence by right-wing extremist groups and associations with criminal and racist peers. Put differently, we assume that social integration, perceived procedural justice, and perceived discrimination may positively affect moral support for right-wing violent extremism and peer exposure and therefore be of importance in the explanation of individual differences in religiously and politically motivated violence and vandalism.

Theoretical integration has not always been embraced by criminology. Many influential scholars are not in favour of integration as it could lead to new theories that are logically inconsistent (as theories have different views about human nature, crime in general, and violence in particular). It seems that many theoretical perspectives have adopted too strict assumptions about human nature and society that are not supported by empirical facts (Agnew 2011).[4] One important obstacle to theoretical integration is the objection against building inconsistent theories by combining theoretical constructs from rival theories that adopt different views on human nature. The latter critique, however, seems to be futile in the light of Agnew's conclusion that all of the classic theories stressed from one-sided visions on human nature and social order, that are only partially correct. Agnew (2011) has carefully demonstrated that none of these assumptions of the core theories is congruent with empirical findings. Empirical research shows that individuals differ in terms of social controls and motivations and that individuals are not merely selfish but also altruistic. Structural characteristics have an indirect effect on violent behaviour, through intervening mechanisms of controls and strains (Lilly, Cullen, and Ball, 2011). We believe that integration has merit as long as it is built around an internal causal logic, in other words distinguishes between proximate and distant factors and provides consistent explications. This standpoint is taken from the analytical tradition in criminology, which provides a solid basis for the refinement of integrative theories: an analytical approach is concerned with understanding why people engage in acts of violence, which can be accomplished by identifying the key social, developmental, and situational processes (mechanisms) involved in crime causation. The key message of an analytical approach to political violence is to take causation, human agency, and the person-environment interaction more seriously to advance our knowledge about (political) violence, its causes, and its prevention. This has implications for the study of political violence: it is important to gain not only insights into what are referred to as the "causes" of political violence but also to what can be referred to as "the causes of the causes of political violence" (Bouhana and Wikström 2008). Political violence is defined in this contribution as any form of verbal or physical violence for political or religious reasons. In Figure 1 we present the conceptually integrated model of moral support for violent right-wing extremism, and then offer an explanation of the concepts used to test it. Our integrated approach emphasizes social integration and perceived injustice as factors that contribute to youth involvement in political violence in several ways (as can be seen in Figure 1).[5]

4 One of the main differences between the core etiological perspectives on the causes of offending is their different views on human nature. Control theory argued that variation in (violent) crime is caused by variation in control and not in motivation, as motivation (stress factors that lead people into violent crime) is ubiquitous. Control theory also started from the idea that criminal socialization is "a myth" because it is human nature to be motivated and to seek gratification. It states that individuals, as rather egocentric beings, have agency and are capable of considering costs and benefits. Strain theory has taken a different stance: mankind is essentially good, but some people are more motivated to commit violent crime as they are pressured by extreme conditions. Strain theories are typical of positivism: strains limit individual agency. Social learning theories originally built their explanatory models of (violent) crime around the blank slate principle and stressed that both conformity and non-conformity are learned.

5 This contribution tests the conceptualised path model by analysing the impact of the mediators and will highlight the diverse independent effects of all the concepts.

Figure 1: Conceptual model of politically motivated violence



1.1. The Role of Social Integration

Control theory has traditionally pointed to the importance of social bonds between individuals and society. Hirschi (1969) distinguished between attachment to parents, commitment to school, involvement, and conventional beliefs as important elements that restrain an individual from committing acts of (violent) crime. Since its publication in 1969 Hirschi's social control theory (SCT) has been one of the most tested theories in the field of criminology. Although empirical tests have sometimes used weak measures, the meta-analysis conducted by Kempf (1993) shows that there is a large body of evidence that the elements of the social bond are inversely related to offending. Laub and Sampson (2003) redefined Hirschi's social bonds in terms of social capital. They argue that integration in coherent social networks, built around social institutions such as family, school, or work provides individuals a means to live with critical situations. Boehnke, Hagan, and Merkens (1998) have been shown that social bonds are negatively related to right-wing extremist violence. Heitmeyer and Anhut (2009) argue, from a conflict theory perspective, that loss of societal recognition or what they call "social disintegration" has an impact on the probability and intensity of violent behaviour.[6] Family disintegration is thereby also seen as an element that could have a harmful effect on the socialization of children and lead to frustration, insecurity, and higher potential for conflict (Heitmeyer and Anhut 2009). In this contribution social integration is seen as an overall construct that consists of social bonds with parents, parental control, school bonds, social integration at school, school performance, family structure, and absence of family disadvantage. An accumulation of integration along these dimensions may decrease the likelihood of being involved in violence and vandalism. Laub and Sampson (2003) argued that it is not the social bonds themselves, but the social control resulting from these bonds that prevent adolescents from committing (violent) crimes. We argue that accumulation of social integration is a key condition that fosters law-abiding behaviour through several mechanisms: not only through the support of conventional beliefs, but also by shaping the individual's trust in the police as a legitimate element of law enforcement.

1.2. Perceived Personal and Group Discrimination as Strains

Perceived discrimination has long been absent from empirical studies of determinants of offending. One possible explanation is the early finding of Hirschi (1969) that perceived discrimination did not lead to offending among minority youths. However, this statement seems to have been mistaken, as demonstrated by a reanalysis of the data by Unnever et al. (2009). Borrowing from Agnew's General Strain Theory (GST), perceived injustice can be viewed as stressor that can lead to offending as a coping mechanism. General Strain Theory, as one of the leading contemporary theories on crime and delinquency, essentially argues that strain or negative treatment by others leads to negative emotions, particularly anger and frustration, which necessitate coping strategies. Agnew (2006) argues that one possible response to the pressure created by these negative

6 Heitmeyer and Anhut (2009) highlight three different kinds of integration. First, socio-structural participation in society's material and cultural goods leading to the experience of positional recognition (certain jobs, responsibilities, roles, etc.). Second, an institutional dimension of moral recognition (right to vote, participation in political discourse, etc.). Finally, the socio-emotional dimension refers to emotional and expressive interpersonal relations generating self-realization and emotional recognition.

emotions is extreme attitudes.[7] As well as triggering negative emotions as a response, a situation of personal and group discrimination may also affect personal belief systems that are relevant for the explanation of violent extremism (such as moral support of right-wing extremism, authoritarianism, political powerlessness, and subjective alienation). Personal discrimination differs from structural or group discrimination in that the latter refers to the negative treatment of members of one's group (Bourguignon et al. 2006). Perceived personal discrimination increases negative emotions and has negative consequences for an array of outcomes, including depression, anxiety disorders, high blood pressure, and other mental and physical health problems (Schnittker and McLeod 2005; Williams, Neighbors, and Jackson 2003). Caldwell et al. (2004) reported that for both females and males, involvement in violence significantly increases with perceived discrimination. Previous research has also documented a positive association between perceived discrimination and offending (Gibbons et al. 2004; Martin 2005; Simons et al. 2003; Stewart and Simons 2006). Bjørgo (1997) and Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) have also pointed to the role of frustrations among right-wing extremist youths who experience their own situation as discriminated and unjust. There is now a small but growing body of research showing that perceived racial discrimination leads to offending among minority groups, and it is therefore likely that other kinds of discrimination and injustice affect offending and antisocial conduct in general, not only in minority groups. Taken together, these findings suggest that perceived discrimination will increase negative emotions that contribute to political violence.

1.3. The Role of Legitimacy on Politically Motivated Crime

According to the *procedural justice model,* trust and compliance largely depend on perceptions of fairness (Tyler 2006). *Perceived procedural justice* refers to perceived integrity and fairness of the justice system (Hough, Jackson, and Bradford 2013). It constitutes a firm and durable set of attitudes toward the legitimacy of the institution (Reisig, Bratton, and Gertz 2007). Trust in police procedural justice and legitimacy has previously been identified as important factors that contribute to compliant behaviour, independent of personal moral beliefs (Hough, Jackson, and Bradford 2013). Procedural Justice Theory stresses the importance of institutions treating people fairly in contributing to the acceptance of norms. Therefore we consider trust and legitimacy to be potential mechanisms in the explanation of political violence. Several scholars have found an association between perceptions of police legitimacy on the one hand and different forms of public support for the police (such as willingness to cooperate and abiding by the law) on the other (Tyler 2006; Reisig, Bratton, and Gertz2007; Hough, Jackson, and Bradford 2013; Murphy 2009). According to Tyler, police strategies have to centre on building public trust to be perceived as legitimate and thus achieve voluntary compliance (Hough et al. 2010). Analogous to Social Control Theory, Procedural Justice Theory examines why people obey the law, instead of asking why people are motivated to break the law. Yet, unlike Hirschi's theory of the social bond, procedural justice theory accepts that controls are weakened by structural constraints situated at the institutional level: if the police and the criminal justice system treat people unfairly, this may have consequences for the committing of (violent) crimes. The fact that procedural justice theory recognizes the importance of strains, especially strains caused by institutions of law enforcement, makes it an important candidate for theoretical integration of social bond theory and strain theory. Consequently, political violence can be seen here as a way to restore justice (Heitmeyer and Anhut 2009).

1.4. Individual Beliefs and Personal Characteristics in the Explanation of Politically Motivated Crime

Individual beliefs and attitudes are considered to be important mechanisms that intervene in the relationship between social bonds, perceived legitimacy, and perceived discrimination on the one hand and violence on the other

7 GST identifies three main sources of strain: 1) situations that block positively valued goals (for example, money, status, autonomy); 2) situations that remove positively valued stimuli (for example, loss of spouse, theft of valued possessions); and 3) situations that produce negative stimuli (for example, discrimination). In response to strain, some individuals feel negative emotions (for example, anger) and act out their aggression on people, while others engage in other types of rule-breaking (Agnew 2004).

hand. The present study highlights several belief systems and attitudes as intervening mechanisms: religious authoritarianism, low self-control, religious authoritarianism, anomia, and moral support for right-wing extremism.

In *The Authoritarian Personality*, Adorno and colleagues (1950) originally conceptualized authoritarianism as a relatively stable intrapersonal trait resulting from enduring intrapersonal conflicts rooted in childhood experience of harsh education. Adorno argued that people with an authoritarian personality perceive others (especially young people, homosexuals, and women) as weak or immoral (Adorno et al. 1950; Whitley and Ægisdóttir 2000). As the concept of authoritarianism and its operationalization were subject to many criticisms, Altemeyer (1988) tried to provide a more concise and clear definition of the concept: He conceptualized authoritarianism as a value syndrome that compromises three distinct elements: (1) conventionalism, as strong compliance with social norms; (2) an emphasis on hierarchy and submission to authority; and (3) a "law and order" mentality which legitimizes anger and aggression against those who deviate from social norms. Altemeyer rejects the idea of authoritarianism as an intrapersonal characteristic, instead, regarding authoritarianism as a set of coherent attitudes learned from peer groups and similar socializing agents (Altemeyer 1981, 1988).

Another individual-level characteristic that is related to violent behaviour in general and thus may also apply in the context of political violence is *low self-control*. Self-control is an inhibitory factor that has previously been described as the ability to resist the drive for immediate gratification. Hirschi and Gottfredson (1990) conceptualised the concept of self-control as a multidimensional trait that consists of six elements: immediate gratification, preference for simple tasks, risk-taking behaviour, volatile temper, impulsiveness, and self-centeredness. Hirshi (2004, 543) redefined the concept as the "tendency to consider the full range of potential costs of a particular act". Pratt and Cullen's meta-analysis has demonstrated that low self-control is consistently related to self-reported offending, including violent offending (Pratt and Cullen 2000). The present study therefore takes self-control into account. Previous qualitative studies of right-wing extremist violence have also pointed to the importance of thrill-seeking behaviour as a key component in explaining violence committed by right-wing extremists (Bjørgo 2002; Watts 2001).

Srole (1956) described the concept of "anomia" as a state of mind expressed by individuals (micro) and as a subjective feeling responding to societal dysfunctions. According to Srole this concept of anomia contains five strongly interrelated sub-dimensions (political powerlessness, social powerlessness, generalized socio-economic retrogression, normlessness and meaninglessness of institutionalized norms and values, and social isolation). Previous studies have indicated that authoritarianism and political powerlessness are strong predictors of distrust (Van de Velde, and Pauwels 2010; Scheepers, Felling, and Peters 1989) and vigilantism (Van Damme and Pauwels 2011). De Witte (1999) has also shown in his study about subtle racism that political powerlessness had a strong effect on both authoritarianism and negative attitudes towards foreigners. Hagan, Merkens, and Boenke (1995) studied risk factors related to right-wing delinquency and Boehnke, Hagan, and Merkens (1998) were among the first scholars to empirically test the relationship between social bonds, anomia, and right-wing extremist acts such as vandalism. *Subjective alienation* or *anomia* owes its definition to the original concept of "anomie" as described by Merton and is an individual-level counterpart of the macro-level condition of anomie. These scholars referred to a state of society (macro) involving "the breakdown of those moral norms that limit desires and aspirations," as anomie (Deflem 1989, 629).

Moral support for right-wing extremist violence refers to the individual's positive attitude towards the use of violence by right-wing extremist groups. This concept constitutes a personal moral belief that favours the use of violence by right-wing extremist groups. A multitude of studies have found that measures of antisocial moral beliefs are significantly related to offending (Bottoms 2002; Hirschi 1969; Stams et al. 2006; Svensson, Pauwels, and Weerman 2010; Antonaccio and Tittle 2008). Cohn and Modecki (2007) found that authoritarianism was related to adolescent offending through its impact on a measure of negative attitudes towards the criminal justice system.

1.5. The Role of Exposure to Peer Racism and Delinquency as Situational Components

The role of peers in the aetiology of adolescent offending and violence is especially prominent in social learning theories (Akers 1998; Bruinsma 1992; Warr 2002) but highly contested in control theories (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1990; Kornhauser 1978; Hirschi 1969). Differential associations with delinquent peers remains one of the strongest predictors of offending, and therefore we expect that this also applies to the study of political violence. Differential association with racist peers and delinquent peers provides two specific contexts of exposure to settings in which the use of violence is supported either in general or for political reasons. Differential associations are not only important in social learning theory, but also in routine activities/lifestyle theory (Laub and Sampson 2003; Pauwels and Svensson 2013). From a routine activities/lifestyle perspective peers are important as they may be responsible for the situational instigation to commit an act of (political) violence. In the present study we take into account peer delinquency and peer racism as important indicators of exposure to criminogenic moral settings (Ceccato and Wikström 2012; Pauwels and Svensson 2013). Racist peers are assumed to influence violence by providing definitions and attitudes which are tolerant of political violence, and by reinforcing delinquent behaviour through group processes. Peers can provide rewards to stimulate law-violating behaviour in group processes (such as loyalty and prestige in extremist groups). *Peer racism* refers to racist ideology in the peer group. It is thought that racist attitudes of peers may affect a person's own attitudes in a similar way to peer delinquency.

2. Hypotheses

The aim of this exploratory study is to get an insight into the direct effects of the aforementioned theoretical concepts on politically motivated violence. The strength of these effects will be tested by adding new variables to the multiple blockwise regression. The order of introducing the variables into the equation is defined by the theoretical model. Specifically we set out to test the following hypotheses:

H1: *Social integration is negatively related to political violence/vandalism.*

H2: *Perceived personal discrimination and group discrimination are both positively related to political violence.*

H3: *Police procedural justice and police legitimacy are negatively related to political violence, independent of perceived personal and group discrimination and social integration.*

H4: *Personal beliefs/attitudes (moral support for violent extremism, religious authoritarianism, impulsiveness, thrill-seeking, and political powerlessness) are positively related to political violence/vandalism, even when controlling for social integration, perceived injustice, and personal beliefs/attitudes.*

H5: *Exposure to racist attitudes of peers and peer delinquency are positively related to political violence/vandalism, even when controlling for social bonds, perceived injustice, and personal beliefs/attitudes.*

3. Data

The present study is the largest self-report study of political violence conducted in Belgium. The questionnaire consists of multiple scales derived from different theories and is especially designed to test theories of violence. The study aims to produce insights into the relationship between attitudes towards violent extremism and self-reported violence among Belgian youths and young adults. Data were collected (1) through a large-scale web survey of adolescents and young adults and (2) a paper and pencil survey among youths in the third cycle of the secondary education in Antwerp and Liege. The present study is limited to analysis of the Flemish adolescents. The web survey was a self-administered questionnaire conducted online. Access was gained through a link to the survey's Facebook page. This survey mode requires almost no organization, does not cause disruption to work time, and leaves the decision to participate entirely to the students. To increase the response to the web survey, an e-mail invitation was sent to the central faculties and administration services for students with a request to circulate the link to the questionnaire Facebook page. This method proved to be very effective. Additionally youth organizations such as youth clubs were contacted with a request to distribute the survey to their members. In the largest cities in Flanders

(Antwerp and Ghent), posters and flyers were distributed in popular student pubs. Many local youth clubs, sports clubs, etc. were asked to put up posters, distribute flyers and/or distribute the survey to their members. Although web surveys seem to be increasingly popular in social science research and are considered as an important alternative to the traditional survey modes, some questions remain with regard to the systematic bias that might results from exclusive use of the internet as a sample frame. Placing the questionnaire page on Facebook meant that a large number of respondents could be reached in a very short time. The web survey was online between September and December 2012 and the response was huge, with more than 2,800 respondents in Flanders. Respondents were considered as Flemish if they lived in Flanders, held Belgian nationality, and had parents with Belgian nationality. An additional paper and pencil survey was conducted in Antwerp to reach adolescents in compulsory secondary education. A total of thirty-four schools in Antwerp were contacted. A paper-and-pencil survey was conducted in six of these; the others allowed us to distribute flyers for the online survey. The impossibility of monitoring response selection, self-selection, and under-coverage (internet availability) are important drawbacks. It should however be mentioned that these issues (preparedness to answer survey questions, willingness to report) are central to the more traditional survey modes as well. It is probably fair to state that the web survey may contribute more to explanatory research (studies of the causes and correlates) than to prevalence studies (studies that try to gain insight into the prevalence of attitudes and behaviour). We do need to bear in mind that this approach only works if enough participants are willing to admit violent behaviour and/ or vandalism. Of the 2879 participants, 8.6 percent reported acts of vandalism (186 individuals) and 5.3 percent reported violent activity (123 individuals). These proportions allow us to make to make reliable statistical claims about this group.

4. Measurement of Constructs

In the present study numerous scale constructs were used to assess the relationship between the independent variables and self-reported violence. Because of the extensive number of concepts that were used, we choose to present a general overview of the scale constructs and refer to Appendix 1 for a more detailed overview of scales.

Table 1: Scale constructs and reliabilities

Scale construct	Cronbach's alpha	Scale construct	Cronbach's alpha
Perceived procedural justice	0.84	Anomia (political powerlessness)	0.85
Perceived legitimacy	0.80	Moral support for right-wing extremism	0.89
Personal discrimination	0.89		
Group discrimination	0.95	Peer racism	0.68
Religious authoritarianism	0.89	Peer delinquency	0.70
Impulsiveness	0.63	Political violence	0.87
Thrill-seeking behaviour	0.73	Political vandalism	0.80
Parental attachment	0.84	School social bond	0.59
Parental monitoring	0.82	Academic integration	0.89

4.1. Dependent Variables

Violence was measured using two scales: one that measures acts of violence towards persons and another that measures acts of violence towards property (damaging or destroying things) for political or religious reasons. Self-reported *violence towards property (vandalism)* was measured by asking if respondents had ever "written a political message or political graffiti on a wall", "participated in a banned political action", "thrown stones at the police during a demonstration", "vandalised anything in the street or at a station", "damaged someone's property", or "set something on fire" because of their political or religious beliefs. Cronbach's alpha is 0.80. The scale is derived from a Belgian study of illegal political participation of youths (Gavray, Fournier, and Born 2012). The dependent variable *political vandalism* is a dichotomous variable that is coded one when respondents report at least one act of political vandalism and zero if they do not report any acts of political vandalism.

Self-reported *violence towards persons* was measured by asking the respondents if they had ever "fought with someone", "threatened anyone on the internet", "threatened someone in the streets", or " hit a foreigner" because of their political or religious beliefs. Cronbach's alpha is 0.87. The scale is translated from Swedish and was originally used in a youth survey conducted by the Swedish Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet och Säkerhetspolisen 2009). The dependent variable political violence is also dichotomous and refers to whether the participants have ever committed one of the above-mentioned acts (coded 1) or never done so (coded 0).

4.2. Independent Variables

Independent variables were drawn from the integrated model outlined above. An overall *social integration scale* was constructed from subscales referring to attachment to parents (alpha: 0.84), parental monitoring (alpha: 0.82), academic orientation (alpha:0.59), and school integration (alpha: 0.80). The original scales were used to create risk scores (1= upper risk quartile) that were then collapsed into a general scale that measures the number of risk factors. High scores refer to high levels of integration. To study the impact of variables derived from Procedural Justice Theory, the survey included items that measure trust in police procedural justice (alpha: 0.84), moral alignment (alpha:0.77), and obedience to the police (alpha: 0.77). Police legitimacy means the right to govern and the recognition of that right by citizens. Both moral alignment (shared values between the public and the police) and obedience to the police are key dimensions of the concept of the legitimacy of the police, and were collapsed into one general legitimacy scale. These scales have previously been used in the European Social Survey (Hough, Jackson, and Bradfort 2013; Jackson et al., 2012) and have been additionally tested in a large-scale student survey in Belgium (Van Damme and Pauwels 2013). The difference between police procedural justice and legitimacy is that the justice variable corresponds to the overall picture people have about how citizens are treated by the police. The variable legitimacy, on the other hand, concentrates on the extent to which people perceive the police as legitimate.

Agnew's *General Strain Theory* argues that negative feelings may cause strain which can pressure adolescents into crime (by stimulating negative emotions and violent beliefs). *Perceived personal discrimination* refers to feelings of injustice when respondents compare their own situation with others in Belgium. Alpha is 0.89. *Perceived group discrimination*, on the other hand, refers to the feeling that the respondent's group is treated less well than other groups in Belgium. Cronbach's alpha is 0.95. The items were originally used in a Dutch survey of attitudes towards extremism conducted by Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje (2010).

In the present study a number of *attitudes/beliefs that intervene* in the relationship between perceived injustice, perceived procedural justice, and social integration are studied. These intervening mechanisms are religious authoritarianism, self-control, perceived political powerlessness, and moral support for right-wing extremism. *Religious authoritarianism* was measured by using a seven-item scale. Cronbach's alpha is 0.89. Religious authoritarianism refers to extreme dogmatic views with regard to religion. This scale is based on Altemeyer's authoritarianism scale (1996; see also Altemeyer and Hunsberger 2004). Two dimensions of Hirschi and Gottfredson's (conceptualization of self-control 1990)

were used in the present study: impulsiveness (the tendency to seek immediate gratification) and thrill-seeking behaviour (the tendency to seek adventure and kicks). The items for the two scales were taken from the attitudinal self-control scale used by Grasmick, Tittle, Bursik, and Arneklev (1993). Anomia (perceived political powerlessness) is derived from Srole's (1956) study of personal alienation. Cronbach's alpha is 0.85. This scale has been frequently used in the European Social Survey. *Support for right-wing extremism* was measured using items from a scale that measures attitudes towards the use of violence by right-wing extremists for political goals. Cronbach's alpha is 0.89. The items were taken from a larger scale used in a study by Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje (2010). Sutherland's Differential Association Theory and Akers's social learning theory can easily be applied to the study of violence: both argue that violence is learned through differential associations with attitudes favourable to violence and racism. *Peer racism* measures racist behaviour of peers. This scale is adapted from Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje (2010). Cronbach's alpha is 0.68. *Peer delinquency* refers to respondents' perception of law-breaking behaviour by their best friends. This scale originates from the PADS+ study (Wikström et al. 2012). Cronbach's alpha is 0.70.

Finally some additional statistical controls were used in the multivariate analyses. *Age* is a metric variable that expressed the respondent's age in years at the time of the survey. *Gender* was coded zero for females and one for males. *Religious attendance* was measured on a four-point scale. *Importance of religion* was measured on a seven-point scale. All scale constructs were standardized before analysis, in order to make their effects comparable.

5. Results

Logistic regression analysis was used to gain insights into the independent effects of the available set of independent variables on the likelihood of self-reported political vandalism (Hosmer and Lemeshow 2000). We estimate the effect of a series of independent variables on the odds of having committed political vandalism versus not having committed political vandalism. The descriptive statistics can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 2: Binomial logistic regression analyses of independent variables on politically motivated vandalism

Dependent variable: Political vandalism	Model 1 Exp (B)	Model 2 Exp (B)	Model 3 Exp (B)	Model 4 Exp (B)	Model 5 Exp (B)
Control					
Gender (male)	2.977***	2.674***	2.592***	2.195***	1.931***
Age (reference >22)					
<18j	1.205	1.144	1.024	0.673	0.601
19–22j	1.142	1.103	1.040	0.901	0.884
Attentending religious service (reference category "never")					
≥ once per week	1.665	1.231	1.030	0.881	0.756
once per month	1.141	1.154	1.145	1.022	1.196
twice per year	0.837	0.922	0.875	0.861	0.907
once per year	0.851	0.892	0.898	0.815	0.827
Importance of religion (reference category "not important")					
average	1.259	1.238	1.198	1.118	1.118
high	2.417*	2.122	1.995	1.583	1.872
Social vulnerability	1.418***	1.300**	1.240**	1.188*	1.120
Procedural justice					
Police procedural justice		1.042	1.068	1.082	1.068
Overall police (legitimacy)		0.603***	0.636***	0.680***	0.709**
Discrimination					
Percieved personal discrimination			0.803	0.733*	0.715*
Percieved group discrimination			1.642***	1.667***	1.707***
Intrapersonal attitudes					
Religious authoritarianism				1.196*	1.142
Impulsiveness				1.136	1.125
Thrill seeking behaviour				1.394**	1.284*
Anomia				0.899	0.901
Support for RW extremism				1.137	1.116
Peer influences					
Positive attitudes towards racism					1.003
Peer delinquency					1.392***
Model evaluation					
Pseudo R^2(Nagelkerke)	9.80%	13.90%	16.10%	19.40%	21.50%
–2 LL	1130.87	1090.81	1069.02	1035.72	1014.23

* p<0.05
**p<0.01
***p<0.001

The results of the blockwise multiple logistic regression analyses of religiously or politically motivated vandalism (referred to in the following simply as "vandalism") are presented in Table 2. We assessed to what extent different theoretical frameworks are related to self-reported political vandalism. Within this regression model we present the net effects of a series of variables: demographic background (model 1), procedural justice (model 2), perceived discrimination (model 3), intrapersonal beliefs/attitudes (model 4), and peer influences (model 5). The order in which the variables are entered is determined by the conceptual model. This procedure was chosen to gain insight into the relationship between these independent socio-psychological measures and self-reported delinquent acts, such as vandalism. In model 1 we tested the relationship between the control variables and vandalism. In order to generate reliable statements about the net effects of the different theoretical variables and the independent variables, the model needs to be controlled for certain demographic background variables. In this research, we took five control variables into account: gender, age, religious attendance, the importance of religion, and social integration. Of these control variables, both gender (odds ratio: 2.977), high importance of religion (O.R.: 2.417), and social integration (O.R.: 0.705) have independent effects on self-reported vandalism. The effect of gender cannot be seen as a specific cause, but rather as a marker that men are more likely to be involved in political violence (Bouhana and Wikström 2008). Nagelkerke pseudo R square is 9.80 percent. In *model 2* procedural justice variables (procedural justice by police and perceived legitimacy) were added as explanatory variables. Legitimacy, in contrast to police procedural justice, has a significant negative effect (O.R.: 0.603) on self-reported political vandalism. *Model 3* reveals that perceived group discrimination, in contrast to personal discrimination, has a strong positive direct effect (O.R.: 1.642) on self-reported political vandalism. It seems that the externalization of political thoughts in vandalism occurs to a lesser extent from a feeling of perceived personal discrimination but rather from a disadvantaged and discriminated group feeling. So the way that a group is treated might be more important for political vandals than their personal treatment by others.[8] *Model 4* presents the intrapersonal characteristics related to delinquent behaviour. It is noticeable that religious authoritarianism (O.R.: 1.196) and thrill-seeking behaviour (O.R.: 1.394) have a significant positive direct effect on self-reported political vandalism. Impulsiveness, anomia, and support for right-wing extremism do not have an independent significant direct effect on political vandalism.

In *model 5* peer effects were studied by entering peer racism and peer delinquency into the equation. This model shows a positive significant relationship between peer delinquency and political vandalism (O.R.: 1.392). Overall we see a positive direct effect of gender (O.R.: 1.931 for males), perceived group discrimination (O.R.: 1.707), thrill-seeking behaviour (O.R.: 1.284), and peer delinquency (O.R.:1.39). In the final model two variables suddenly appear to have negative effects on political vandalism, specifically legitimacy (O.R. 0.709) and perceived personal discrimination (O.R.: 0.715). This may be due to redundancy or suppression.

8 This does not mean that personal discrimination does not matter, because personal and group discrimination are strongly correlated (0.829) (see appendix 3). In this case, the effect of group discrimination dominates the effect of personal discrimination.

Table 3: Binomial logistic regression analyses of independent variables on politically motivated violence

Dependent variable: Political violence	Model 1 Exp (B)	Model 2 Exp (B)	Model 3 Exp (B)	Model 4 Exp (B)	Model 5 Exp (B)
Control					
Gender (male)	3.820***	3.311***	3.190***	3.110***	2.759***
Age (reference >22)					
<18j	3.369**	3.219**	2.701*	1.549	1.450
19–22j	1.484	1.430	1.265	1.090	1.063
Attentending religious service (reference category "never")					
once per week	2.669	2.090	1.904	1.645	1.539
once per month	0.974	1.020	1.004	0.961	1.083
twice per year	0.647	0.720	0.690	0.770	0.830
once per year	1.007	1.060	1.095	0.985	1.022
Importance of religion (reference category "not important")					
average	1.531	1.480	1.437	1.257	1.260
high	3.892**	3.327*	2.863	2.201	2.582
Social vulnerability	1.747***	1.567***	1.464***	1.414**	1.356**
Procedural justice					
Police procedural justice		0.930	0.955	1.015	1.009
Overall police (legitimacy)		0.642***	0.705*	0.764*	0.782*
Discrimination					
Percieved personal discrimination			1.028	0.861	0.840
Percieved group discrimination			1.445*	1.426*	1.453*
Intrapersonal attitudes					
Religious authoritarianism				1.344**	1.285*
Impulsiveness				1.722***	1.699***
Thrill seeking behaviour				1.000	0.916
Anomia				1.016	1.023
Support for RW extremism				1.367**	1.308**
Peer influences					
Positive attitudes towards racism					1.136
Peer delinquency					1.246**
Model evaluation					
Pseudo R^2(Nagelkerke)	18.50%	21.90%	24.40%	31.60%	32.80%
–2 LL	769,71	742,49	724,16	663,80	654,20

* p<0.05
**p<0.01
***p<0.001

The results of the blockwise multiple logistic regression analyses of violence are presented in Table 3. As in the previous analysis of vandalism, model 1 tested the relationship between the control variables and violence. The same control variables were taken into account (gender, age, religious attendance, importance of religion). Social integration has a strong and negative effect on violence, independent of the statistical control variables. Compared to the analysis of vandalism, we see a slightly different picture of the relationship between background variables and violence. Gender (O.R.: 3.820), high importance of religion (O.R.: 3.892), and age under 18 (O.R.: 3.369) significantly increase the likelihood of violence. Nagelkerke R square is 18.50 percent. *Model 2* shows that both procedural justice variables (police procedural justice and police legitimacy) tend to have the same effect on political violence as they had on political vandalism. Police legitimacy strongly decreases the likelihood of political violence (O.R.: 0.642). Comparable to the effects found in the previous analysis, *Model 3* also shows a strong positive direct effect of perceived group discrimination (O.R.: 1.445). In *model 4* personal beliefs/attitudes and were added to the regression analysis. As was the case with vandalism, there is a positive effect of religious authoritarianism (O.R.: 1.344) and there is no direct effect of anomia in the multivariate analysis. It can be seen that there is no direct effect of thrill-seeking behaviour, but there is, however a positive direct effect of impulsiveness (O.R.: 1.722). Model 5 includes the effect of peers, and shows a positive significant relationship between peer delinquency and vandalism (O.R.: 1.246). Peer racism seems to have no significant effect on political violence. Overall we see positive effects of gender (O.R.: 2.759), perceived group discrimination (O.R.: 1.453), religious authoritarianism (O.R.: 1.285), impulsiveness (O.R.: 1.699), support for right-wing extremism (O.R.: 1.308), and peer delinquency. Social integration still has a significant negative effect on the variable violence (O.R.: 0.737).

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The present study was built on an conceptual model that integrated elements of Social Control Theory, Procedural Justice Theory and General Strain Theory. The key message of our analyses is that both controls and motivational factors are related to the explanation of (religiously or politi-

cally motivated) violence. The finding that social integration is negatively related to violence is consistent with Social Bond Theory. The finding that police legitimacy is inversely related to violence is consistent with Procedural Justice Theory, which argues that trust in procedural justice is necessary to install legitimacy, which then becomes a mechanism of informal control and further restrains individuals from committing acts of violence. Consistent with Agnew's General Strain Theory perceived group discrimination is also related to violence. In contrast to our hypothesis, perceived personal discrimination tends to play a minor role within the expression of violence or vandalism. Legitimacy, social bonds, and perceived discrimination have strong effects on violence, independently of one another. The fact that these three different exogenous sources of individual variation in committing violence have independent effects on violence supports the idea of the complexity of the phenomenon: one theoretical framework is insufficient to provide an adequate explanation of why individuals engage in political violence.

On the level of personal beliefs/attitudes we found some very interesting results. First, it appears that religious authoritarianism is strongly related to political violence. Our findings suggest that there might even be a (hidden or neglected) layer of Christian fundamentalism in Flanders which is related to violent extremism. This finding is important as the debate on extremism seems to stress fundamentalism as a problem exclusively related to violent Islamic extremism. Second, we did not find any significant effect of political powerlessness. One possible explanation is offered by Bjørgo, Van Donselaer, and Grunenberg (2009), who argue that right-wing adolescent violence is probably not strongly guided by political powerlessness (if that can be considered an ideological motivation) but rather by thrill-seeking behaviour. Another explanation, which should be examined in path models, could be that the effect of political powerlessness is indirect. Third, the likelihood of political violence is related to lower levels of self-control. Low self-control was measured in this study by impulsiveness and thrill-seeking behaviour. The difference between the two dimensions is their relation to political offending. While thrill-seeking behaviour is positively related to political vandalism, this is not the case with impulsiveness. On the other hand, impulsiveness is positively related to personal violence, while thrill-seeking behaviour has no direct effect on personal violence. This finding suggests that there is a difference between the two dimensions of low self-control in relation to political offending. While individuals searching for sensation or thrills merely choose to engage in violent acts against property, impulsive individuals tend to engage in violence towards persons. Finally, peer delinquency is related to both vandalism and violence. This is congruent with the idea that peers provide a social context, i.e. they shape the individuals' routines. Contrary to expectations, we found no direct effect of peer racism on violence. One must be very careful in interpreting the effect of peer delinquency, as recent research suggests that traditional measures of peer delinquency may be partially caused by the projection of own behaviour onto the behaviour of peers (Young et al. 2013). It is unclear to what extent respondents who had committed political crimes overestimated the criminal behaviour of their peers.

The present study has several limitations which must be to take into account. First of all, this theoretical framework can account for only part of the variation in youth participation in violence and is thus incomplete. We have identified direct effects of social bonds, perceived legitimacy, and perceived discrimination on violence that cannot be accounted for by exposure to peer delinquency, religious authoritarianism, or moral support for extremist violence. Future research should focus on additional mechanisms that translate social bonds, perceived legitimacy, and perceived discrimination into violence. This could be done using a social psychology approach. The model can easily be extended, however, by explicitly linking macrostructural properties to social bonds, procedural justice, and perceived discrimination. Second, we need to bear in mind that not all relevant variables were taking into account in the questionnaire. Although social learning theory was included in this research, we only included social learning processes of peers. Parental attitudes towards conservatism or extremism, for instance, were not included. Future research on this topic could examine the impact of the latter social learning process. A next logical step would

be to test this model further as a full structural equation model, allowing us to establish relationships between the independent variables. Third, our theoretical model has been applied to explain individual differences in violence committed by adolescents and young adults. Future research should investigate to what extent the model also applies to adults. It is unclear to what extent the integrated framework is able to explain all types of violence in all age groups and across all settings. Looking at our sample we see that 95 percent of our respondents are students. The question remains whether this theoretical model is also applicable to young people who quit school. Fourth, the study is cross-sectional and therefore it is not possible to determine the direction of the relationships because causes and effects are measured simultaneously. Fifth, blockwise regression does not allow the relationships between the independent variables to be uncovered. Structural equation modelling is needed to determine the causal structure incorporating all variables. Finally, we need to take into account that our results are based on a large-scale web survey and it is unclear to what extent they are biased (through undercoverage and self-selection) by this method of data collection.

Our findings are, however, consistent with a small but growing number of studies that empirically document the importance of procedural justice and discrimination as sources of political violence. Research into the domain of violence is important not only from an aetiological point of view, but also within the framework of prevention of violence, or, as Bouhana and Wikström (2008) have argued, if we cannot properly explain why and how people come to commit acts of violent extremism, we have no base from which to develop effective preventative strategies.

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Appendix 1: Scales and question wording

Police procedural justice (five-point scale): the police … "treats adolescents with respect", "respects the rights of adolescents", "takes the time to listen to people", "takes fair and impartial decisions", "is prepared to explain their decisions and actions when asked". (scale from European social survey, round 5; also Jackson et al. 2012)

Overall police legitimacy is measured by combining two highly correlated legitimacy subscales ($r= 0.80$, $p < 0.001$). Obedience to the police (five-point scale) "It is your duty to do what the police tell you even if you disagree?", "it is always unacceptable to disobey the police", "I back the decisions made by the police even when I disagree with them", "When the police order me to do something I do it, even if I don't like how they treat me". *Moral alignment* (five-point scale) "Police have the same sense of right and wrong as me", "if the police does not arrest somebody, they will have a good reason for that", "I generally support how the police act", "I have respect for the police". (based on the scale from European social survey, round 5; www.europeansocialsurvey.org, also Jackson et al. 2012)

Perceived personal discrimination (five-point scale): "It makes me angry when I think of how I am treated in comparison to others", "I think I am worse off than others in Belgium", "I have the feeling of being discriminated", "If I compare myself with others in Belgium than I feel unfairly treated ". (Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje 2010)

Perceived group discrimination: (five-point scale): "I think the group to which I belong is worse off than other people in Belgium", "It makes me angry when I think of how my group is treated in comparison to other groups in Belgium", "I have the feeling that the group to which I belong is discriminated", "If I compare the group to which I belong with other groups in Belgium, I think we are treated unfair". (Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje 2010)

Religious authoritarianism (five-point scale): "People should pay less attention to religion and should instead develop their own moral standards", "God has given a flawless and complete way to happiness and salvation. This path must be followed without exception", "A figure like Satan does not exist", "It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and religion", "Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, science must be wrong", "In fact, there are only two kinds of people: righteous people whom God will reward and the others who will not be rewarded", "No single book of religious teachings contains all the intrinsic, fundamental truths about life", "To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion. (Altemeyer 1996; Altemeyer and Hunsberger 2004)

Support for right-wing extremism (five-point scale): "I understand that some right-wing extremists use violence against the people who have the power in Belgium", "I can understand right-wing extremists who disrupt the order", "I can understand right-wing extremists who use violence against others". (Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje 2010)

Peer delinquency (four-point scale): Have your friends been involved in … "taking something from a shop/supermarket", "stealing money or other goods from somebody", "damaging or destroying something", "hitting someone on purpose so that the person needed care", "breaking into a car/building". (Ceccato and Wikström 2012)

Pro-racist peers (four-point scale): Do you think your friends would think it is OK if … "you would say that you don't want to have anything to do with immigrants?", "you would write 'stop immigration' on a public wall", "if you would fight with an immigrant without any reason". (Van den Bos, Loseman, and Doosje 2010)

Impulsiveness (five-point scale): "I always say what I think, even if it is not nice or smart", "If I want something, I do it immediately", "I lose my temper easily", "When I am really angry, other people better stay away from me". (Grasmick et al. 1993)

Thrill-seeking behaviour (five-point scale): "I sometimes find it exciting to do things that could be be dangerous", "I often do things without thinking of the consequences", "Sometimes I will take a risk just for the fun of it". (Grasmick, Title, Bursik, and Arneklev 1993)

Parental attachment is measured using following items: "I can get along well with my parents", "I think the comments of my parents are important", "I like to spend my free time with my parents", "I can talk well with my parents". (scale from European social survey)

Parental control (five-point scale): "My parents know with who I am when I am not at home", "My parents know where I am when I am not at home", "My parents know how I behave when I am not at home". (scale from European social survey)

School social bonds (five-point scale): "I put little effort in studying", "I am not interested in getting high points", "Studying is very important for me", "I always study, even if I know there will be no test". (scale from European social survey)

School social integration (five-point scale): "I can get along well with most of my classmates", "I have the feeling of belonging to the group in my class", "I can count on the help of pupils in my class", "I feel left alone in my school". (scale from European social survey)

Self-reported politically motivated vandalism (four-point scale): Have you ever …"vandalised anything in the street or at public transport stations (e.g. bus stops, bicycles, streetlights or something else)", " participated in a political action that was not allowed", "thrown stones at the police during a demonstration?", "destroyed something on the streets because of your political or religious belief", "damaged someone's property because of your political or religious belief", "set something on fire because of your political or religious belief". (Gavray, Fournier, and Born 2012)

Self-reported politically motivated violence (four-point scale): Have you ever …"fought with someone because of your political or religious belief", "threatened someone on the internet because of your political or religious belief", "threatened someone in the streets because of your political or religious belief", "hit a foreigner", "… hit a capitalist". (Brottsförebyggande rådet och Säkerhetspolisen 2009)

Appendix 2: Descriptives

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard deviation
Gender	0	1	0.3591	0.47983
Age	0	2	0.8642	0.58943
Attend religious services	0	4	3.0507	0.91615
Importance of religion	0	2	1.4048	0.89727
Social bonds	–1.1245	3.2855	–0.0829	0.97054
Police procedural justice	–3.0570	5.6186	0.0749	1.02303
Police legitimacy	–3.5758	2.6864	0.0581	1.01688
Perceived personal discrimination	–0.8848	3.5191	–0.0116	1.02786
Perceived group discrimination	–0.7039	3.3538	–0.0117	1.01625
Religious authoritarianism	–1.2302	4.8277	0.0852	1.02287
Impulsiveness	–2.4666	2.8454	–0.1643	0.96293
Thrill-seeking behaviour	–1.5737	2.8975	0.0975	1.00746
Anomia	–2.1882	2.2212	0.0523	1.01430
Support for RW extremism	2	4	2.6876	0.84991
Peer racism	–1.0651	4.8409	.0085	1.0095
Peer delinquency	–0.9522	8.9788	-.0247	1.0457

Appendix 3: Correlations

	(1)	(2)	/3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Pro-racist peers (1)	1													
Peer delinquency (2)	.217**	1												
Procedural justice (3)	-.090**	-.156**	1											
Perceived legitimacy (4)	-.084**	-.232**	.561**	1										
Personal discrimination (5)	.214**	.150**	-.232**	-.271**	1									
Group discrimination (6)	.176**	.155**	-.223**	-.250**	.823**	1								
Religious autoritarianism (7)	.148**	.113**	-.026	-.020	.211**	.183**	1							
Moral support for right-wing extremism (8)	.369**	.189**	-.110**	-.152**	.263**	.214**	.268**	1						
Political vandalism (9)	.137**	.241**	-.141**	-.214**	.151**	.185**	.159**	.172**	1					
Political violence (10)	.180**	.253**	-.134**	-.185**	.169**	.195**	.188**	.209**	.767**	1				
Impulsiveness (11)	.278**	.228**	-.186**	-.194**	.226**	.188*	.179**	.319**	.162**	.201**	1			
Thrill seeking behaviour (12)	.248**	.358**	-.184**	-.239**	.197**	.158**	.151**	.225**	.167**	.161**	.439**	1		
Anomia (13)	.208**	.110**	-.208**	-.198**	.200**	.167**	.114**	.264**	.055*	.099**	.281**	.200**	1	
Social integration (14)	.159**	.248**	-.212**	-.202**	.218**	.209**	.016	.113**	.159**	.153**	.192**	.241**	.151**	1

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