

Parenting experienced by young adults with and without migration background and their satisfaction with said parental upbringing - Results of a quantitative survey

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Abstract

The article gives an overview on the parenting experienced by young adults with and without migration background and their satisfaction with said parenting based on a quantitative questionnaire survey (n=1,090).

In summary, first results of the study indicate significant correlations between the parenting experienced and the satisfaction with said parental upbringing. The migration background shows a significant correlation with the parenting experienced in two characteristics. Native Germans characterise the parental upbringing in comparison as less constrained and state to be more satisfied with the parenting overall than young people with migration background.

The very differing parenting realities experienced by children in families of different ethnic-cultural characteristics with differing family migration histories reveal that an intensive collaboration with migrant families is necessary on part of educational and extra-curricular facilities as well as on part of child and adolescent support facilities.

Key words: parenting/parental upbringing, satisfaction, family, migration

1. Introduction and theoretical background

The *Shell-Youth-Studies* (2015, 2019) show that the relationship of young persons to their own parents has steadily improved since reaching a low for the so-called 1968 generation. The Shell-Study has been implemented as a trend analysis since 1957 and documents the parental upbringing experienced by young adults and their satisfaction with said parenting on the basis of the question – which is also used in this survey – whether they would raise their own children later in life exactly the same, approximately the same, differently in parts or completely differently. Compared to previous generations, the current interviewees display a majorly relaxed relationship to both parental parts of 52 % (Shell Deutschland Holding, 2015). This relationship depends primarily on layer variables such as the financial situation and the level of education of their parents, whereas young persons in destitute circumstances and from educationally disadvantaged families are less satisfied with their parental upbringing. All in all, children and adolescents stated a higher level of satisfaction if they experienced a democratic-authoritative style of parenting, but were less satisfied with the parental upbringing if they perceived their parents as being extremely strict and more authoritarian. An emotionally cold style of parenting is also regarded less satisfactory by children and adolescents (Shell Deutschland Holding, 2015).

The styles of parental upbringing are determined strongly by layer variables – similar to the survey of the children concerning how they experienced their upbringing by their parents (Stein, 2012, 2015), for instance by the high correlation between the stated parenting goals and the Sinus-Milieus, which allocate the socio-economic localisation of the parents (Liebenwein, 2008). Röhr-Sendlmeier and Demircioglu (2006) also prove the extraordinarily high impact of the level of education on the stated parenting goals and the realised parenting behaviour.

Styles of parental upbringing are additionally dependent on further differing influences such as the *ethnic-cultural-religious origin* or the value orientation whereas these determining factors are highly associated with each other (Stein, 2017, 2018). Differences in the preferred parenting goals can for instance also be observed along the dimension of the socio-cultural background.

In *Expert's report for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung ,Migration families as partners of education'* Boos-Nünning (2011) for instance studies families with a migration background and also describes

the parenting situation in detail as well as the chosen styles and means of parental upbringing in migration families based on previous research and statistics. The parenting atmosphere is evaluated as mostly appropriate by children of native-German and migration families alike and there is a large amount of commonalities regarding the parenting goals strived for. While children of migration families also regard autonomy goals such as independence, self-confidence/ assertiveness, social competencies, openness, sense of responsibility and the ability for self-criticism as important, they place more emphasis on convention goals such as respect, but also discipline (Boos-Nünning, 2011, p. 23) as well as religious goals. These include moral values such as reverence for authorities and older persons, more rigid norms and roles regarding sexuality and gender as well as the higher significance of conveying religious values and rules (Boos-Nünning, 2011; Stein, 2017, 2018; Ceylan & Stein, 2016).

According to *Expert's report 'Migration and family'* of the German Ministry for Families (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend BMFSFJ, 2016), the aspect of styles and goals of parenting based on SOEP/FiD (socio-economic Panel/families in Germany) data that there are hardly any differences in the evaluation of the paternal style of upbringing by adolescents with and without migration background. However, adolescents with migration background perceive their parents' style of upbringing as less supportive. This is however put into perspective upon taking the parents' educational background into account. The correlation is only statistically significant for very few groups [adolescents of the former USSR; authors' comment] and only regarding the maternal style of upbringing (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend BMFSFJ, 2016, p. 22).

According to *'Report on children migration'* (Cinar et al., 2013), the parenting styles children with migration background experience do not differ from the ones of children without migration background. About one third of the children of 0 to 8 years of age with migration background experience an [...] authoritarian orientated parenting according to the parents, one third of the boys and girls have parents applying an authoritative orientated style of parenting. The laissez-faire orientated parenting shows the least significance with only 15 % (Cinar et al., 2013, p. 80). Little differences show along the national background in this respect; apart from the biggest difference of 7 % in a larger quantity of children with a Turkish migration background regarding the authoritarian orientated style of parenting (Cinar et al., 2013, p. 81).

There are *several studies specifically on families with a Turkish-Muslim migration background* (Alamdar-Niemann, 1990; Ateş, 2014; Fuhrer and Uslucan, 2005; Karakaşoğlu & Öztürk, 2007; Spenlen, 2014; Uslucan, 2007, 2008; Uygun-Altunbaş, 2017). The results and deductions are often contradictory. After some studies, the parenting styles of parents with a Turkish migration background are characterised by a tender-affective bond, shelter, relief as well as over-protection (Boos-Nünning et al., 2016, p. 122). Uslucan (2007, 2008) on the other hand concludes in a secondary study that parenting in Turkish based families has a tendency to be more rigid and strict than in Christian native German families. Spenlen (2014) put this putative contradiction into perspective by introducing the age variable according to which young children in families of Turkish descent are very often brought up in a very soft-gloved way with the level of strictness rising as the children get older. Few studies exist in regards to the growing sector of children and adolescents of Arabic-Muslim descent or to the sector of children and adolescents with a migration background from former CIS-countries.

There is also an *interaction between socio-economic and socio-cultural influences*. This has a high significance to such a degree as children and adolescents with migration background rather show a tendency to come from families with lower incomes that are also educationally more disadvantaged compared to native German children and adolescents. As for instance the study of Uygun-Altunbaş (2017) shows, the parenting behaviour in families of academics of Turkish descent differs widely from the parenting behaviour in non-academic families of Turkish descent. This correlation between the socio-economic and the socio-cultural dimensions can also be found in the writings and studies by Boos-Nünning et al. (2016, p. 128). In this connection it becomes apparent that corporal punishment is more often applied in families of Turkish descent than in native German families. According to this 27 % of boys of Turkish descent and 16 % of native German boys state to be sometimes beaten by their parents (Boos-Nünning et al., 2016, p. 128). These findings however are put into perspective by paying attention to the social classes whereupon a similarly authoritarian-aggressive parenting style dominates in native German classes upon control of the class variable (Boos-Nünning et al., 2016). According to this corporal punishment is rather applied in native German families than in families of Turkish descent as long as the highest level of graduation of the parents is the Hauptschulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2).

The examination of the correlations between parenting styles and their perception from the adolescents' point of view shows in ethnic comparison that the mother-child as well as father-child dyads are consistently closer in German families than in Turkish families. These findings can be interpreted in such a way that in German families the parenting intentions and goals of the parents are more often realised as such on the part of the adolescents (Uslucan, 2008, p. 12).

About 24 % of the 82 Mio. inhabitants of Germany do have migration background. 36 % of all migrants come from another country of the European Union (mostly Poland and Italy), 14 % are of Turkish or Kurdish origin and 14 % come from Russia or Kazakhstan. Since 2015 also a lot of people from Syria migrated to Germany (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2018).

2. Methods

This study examines whether there is a relationship between migration background (also considered to be ethnic groups) and young adults' views of their parents' parenting.

The previous research raises a set of *research desiderata*: Whereas the parenting styles of parents, their parenting goals and means of parenting are on the whole relatively well researched for adolescents, there is relatively few research on the comparison between native German and migrant families.

The same applies to the research on migrant families. So far they have rather been studied as a whole with little internal differentiation on migration experience or ethnic-cultural backgrounds. As the above illustrated state of the art research shows, the sole focus in this respect has been mostly on families of Turkish descent of the 2nd generation of migration. Especially after the collapse of the USSR and due to flight migration however, a lot of young persons migrated to Germany whose experiences and satisfaction with their parental upbringing have not yet been recorded and who can be counted to the groups of resettlers and refugees.

Apart from that the studies, as for instance the Shell Youth Study, show that parenting styles and satisfaction with the parental upbringing do not only depend highly on the cultural origin but also on

socio-economic factors such as the educational background of the parents. This however has not been researched well as of now; moreover, the interacting influences have hardly been examined, such as between the socio-economic and the socio-cultural milieu. This has been only rudimentary recorded as for instance in recurring the correlation of the milieus in the aspect of corporal punishment.

This internal differentiation between the different groups of origin on the one hand and the correlation between ethnic and socio-economic background on the other hand is picked up in the study introduced in this article which takes a look at the parenting reality of young persons and in doing this records different migration backgrounds, migration generations and ethnic affiliations in a differentiated manner. Furthermore, the socio-economic as well as the socio-cultural factors are documented - also in their interacting influence on how the parenting was experienced and the level of satisfaction with said parental upbringing which has only been rudimentarily researched yet.

The questionnaire of the quantitative collection includes items regarding the person, family, language command, school, life and future, attitude towards other cultures, religion, education, gender, recreational activities and friendships. In doing so, the items are geared to the scales on the attitude towards education according to Stocké (2014), the scales on the attitude towards religion (Glock, 1969; Boos-Nünning, 1972), the scales on the attitudes towards acculturation according to van Dick et al. (2014), the questions on recreational activities according to the Shell Study (Shell Deutschland Holding, 2015), and the questions on the attitudes towards friendships, recreational contacts as well as how parenting was experienced according to Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu (2011).

These items were transferred and adapted. The rules according to Lienert and Raatz (1998) were followed upon wording the items:

- sampling of one factual content per item,
- avoiding ambiguous concepts,
- using expressions known by young adults,
- avoiding double negation as well as
- brevity of phrases.

For answering the questions, unipolar and bipolar rating scales with an uneven number of rating levels were formed. Using an uneven number of levels, there is the possibility for neutral evaluation. Even scales with for instance four or six possible answers provide an accentual ‚positive/negative‘ distribution on the one hand but do not provide an ‚undecided‘ option on the other hand and therefore have the disadvantage of forcing an answer into either the positive or negative direction. However, the empirical results rather call for uneven scales. O’Muirheartaigh et al. (2000) for instance report that - comparing 5-level answer categories to 6-level answer categories - scales with a middle category show a higher level of reliability. Some authors recommend using an ‚I don’t know‘ category to avoid that the middle category is chosen too often (Converse & Presser, 1986). This proposal is however regarded rather critically (more on this in Krosnick, 1999). It is argued that an explicit category increases the amount of interviewees to choose this possible answer. Often this option is used to reduce the cognitive effort of understanding and answering a question.

In this study a 5-level scaling is used. Although a high number of answer categories offers more options as well as a finer adjustment to the interviewees, a high amount of categories increases the cognitive requirements on part of the interviewees. Studies confirm that the optimum number of answer categories can be described by the rule of ‚7+/-2‘ (Miller, 1956; Preston & Colman 2000; Kieruj & Moors, 2010; Svensson, 2000). Scales with more than 7 or 9 categories do not show further advantages.

For general population surveys less categories should rather be used (Weijters et al., 2010), while scales with less than 3 possible answers are not recommended (Preston & Colman, 2000; Kieruj & Moors, 2010; Svensson, 2000).

This survey is a matter of closed questions with given possible answers. Unipolar and bipolar rating scales were formed for answering the questions.

The answer scales were adjusted to the wording of the question because the recurring usage of the same scales might lead to interviewee fatigue. Some studies show that item specific answer scales can increase the reliability of the rating.

The thematic block on how parenting was experienced comprises two questions:

Table 1: Questions on parental upbringing (based on Shell Deutschland Holding, 2015, 2019)

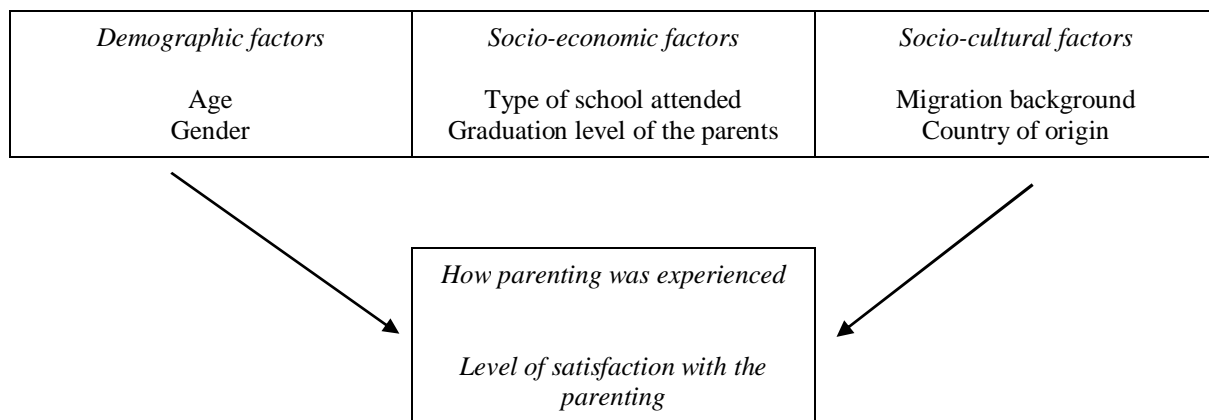
	too laid back			too strict	
What is your opinion on how your parents raised you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Would you raise your children in the same way your parents raised you?	<input type="radio"/> exactly the same	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> differently in parts	
	<input type="radio"/> approximately the same		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> completely differently	

The questionnaire was discussed with experts and a pretest (n=200) was carried out to increase the validity. After analysis of the pretest the questionnaire was modified by adding, rephrasing or deleting some questions.

Execution of the data collection: The non-recurring survey was carried out via a questionnaire using closed questions. Unipolar and bipolar rating scales with categories were formed for answering the questions.

[insert Figure 1.]

Figure 1: Examined factors having an impact on the parenting experienced by young adults



Apart from general demographic core data such as age, gender and the type of attended school, especially the socio-economic background (highest level of graduation of father and mother as well

as type of attended school) was documented. Furthermore, the interest lay on socio-cultural factors such as the country of birth of the interviewees, the countries of birth of the parents and grandparents, the nationality, and the language used mostly at home and with friends (Zimmer & Stein 2019a, 2019b). Based on these questions, a dichotomisation into not only 'without migration background' and 'with migration background' could be conducted but the migration background can be itemised in detail into persons

- without migration background
- with migration background 1st generation (born abroad themselves then migrated to Germany)
- with migration background 2nd generation (born themselves in Germany, one parent born abroad)
- with migration background 2nd generation (born themselves in Germany, both parents migrated to Germany)
- with migration background 3rd generation (born themselves in Germany as well as their parents, grandparents migrated to Germany).

This detailed presentation is necessary because previous research has shown that there are very different attitude orientations regarding the migration history, for instance in relation to preconceptual structures or the parenting experienced by the interviewees. For example those migrants of the sample group of this study with only one parent born abroad or both parents born in Germany were much more similar to the native German interviewees in respect to the attitude dimensions towards for instance marginalised population groups than interviewees who migrated to Germany or whose parents were both born abroad (Stein & Zimmer, 2019a, 2019b).

Based on the current state of research and the illustrated research desiderata, the following *hypotheses* are enunciated:

- Young persons with and without migration background differ from each other regarding their evaluation of the parenting style they experienced.
- Young persons with and without migration background differ from each other regarding their stated satisfaction with the parenting experienced at home.
- The differences interact as well with demographic (gender, age) as with socio-cultural (ethnic origin, religious affiliation) and socio-economic factors (their own education, education of the mother and father).
- The parenting they experienced and their satisfaction with said parental upbringing correlate strongly with each other.

The detailed migration background (1st, 2nd and 3rd generation) and variables such as age, gender, education of the interviewees, education of the mother and father as well as religious affiliation are controlled and documented in their - also interacting - impact on hypothesis check.

The survey was conducted in written form and online; the participating schools (grammar schools, comprehensive schools and vocational schools) were visited personally by the researchers. The schools are located in the north-west of Lower Saxony, Germany. The interviewees were young persons aged 18 to 24. The potential participants were approached directly within the context of their school lessons; the study was explained and a form declaring data protection was provided ready for signing.

In agreement with the teachers, the students had the possibility to fill in the questionnaire as a pen and pencil form or as an online form at school.

The survey period was 1 September 2017 to 14 January 2018.

3. Results

The *population* of the presented study are all students between 18 and 25 years of age in the school year 2017/2018 in Lower Saxony, Germany. According to the statistics agency of Lower Saxony (Landesamt für Statistik Niedersachsen, 2018a, 2018b) 72,125 students attended secondary schools in grade 12 (equivalent to 6th form) and 266,884 students attended vocational schools in all of Lower Saxony in 2017/18. At the vocational schools, 116,385 persons are female (43.6%) and 150,499 male (56.4%). At secondary schools in grade 12, the amount of female students is at 53.9% higher than the number of male students. The migration background is not documented in Lower Saxony; only the nationality is, whereas 8.6% of the students at vocational schools and 3.2% of the students at secondary schools in grade 12 were foreign students in 2017/18 (Landesamt für Statistik Niedersachsen, 2018a, 2018b). The percentage of students with migration background should be much higher though.

The *sample* of the study consists of 1,090 young adults aged 18 to 25 years attending vocational schools (50.1%) and secondary schools in grade 12 (49.9%) in the north-west of Lower Saxony. 35% have a migration background. A detailed distribution of the migration background can be gathered from the following diagram (cf. Figure 2). The sample does not make claim to be representative as a (adapted) convenience sample, but can however illustrate correlation dimensions well. Despite possible sampling bias, the presented sample offers first evidence respectively basic data on how young persons experienced their parental upbringing itemised into migration background, detailed migration history, country of origin and social class (Zimmer & Stein 2019a, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b).

85.5% of the interviewees are of German nationality only, 9% possess both a German and one other passport, while 5.5% have only one other *nationality*. In total the interviewees named more than 20 different countries of birth for themselves or their parents. Turkey is in the lead for young migrants of the 1st and 2nd generation with 29.5% for the interviewees country of birth, 25.6% for one parent born abroad, and 37.4% for both parents born abroad, followed by Russia, Poland and Kazakhstan.

[insert Figure 2.]

Figure 2: Characterisation of sample according to migration background (n=1,090)

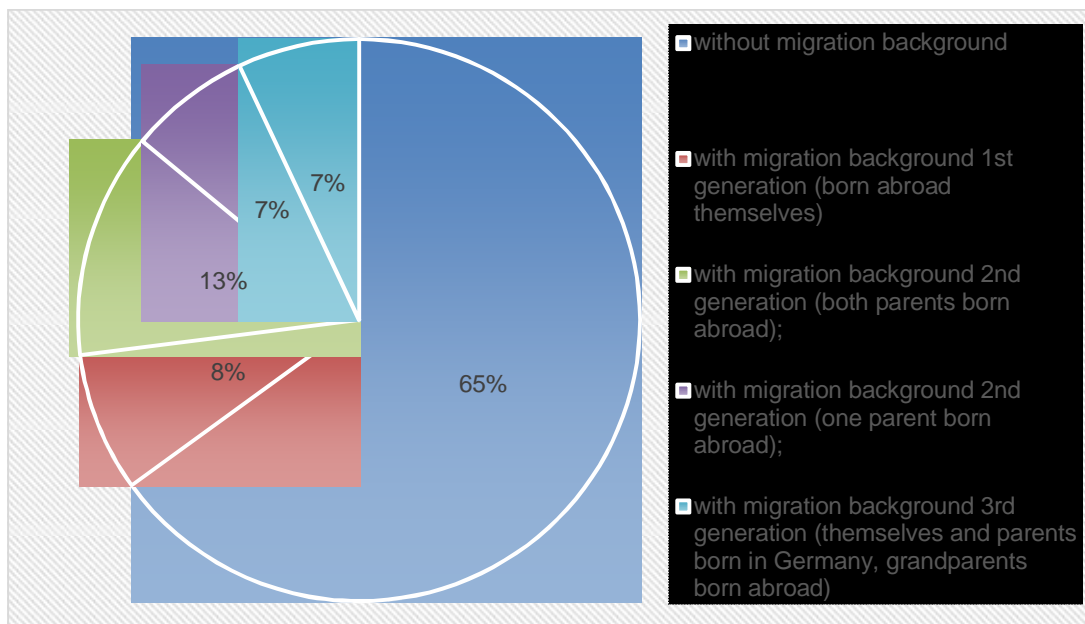


Table 2: Migration background according to the first three most frequent regions of origin in % (absolut numbers in brackets)

	Turkey	Former USSR	EU
with migration background 1 st generation (born abroad themselves)	28.4% (25)	22.7% (20)	21.6% (19)
with migration background 2 nd generation (both parents born abroad)	41.9% (57)	32.4% (44)	12.5% (17)
with migration background 2 nd generation (one parent born abroad)	26.3% (21)	10% (8)	36.3% (29)
with migration background 3 rd generation (grandparents born abroad)	The country of origin of the grandparents was not sampled.		

The average age at the time of the survey was 20 years of age (min=18, max=23). Native Germans and migrants do not statistically differ from each other in regards to the average age (native Germans: 20.06 years; migrants: 20.08 years) and the type of attended school.

The analysis of the sample itemised into the class variable, in this case operationalised by the graduation level of the parents, shows that young migrants come significantly more often from educationally disadvantaged strata, as well operationalised by the graduation level of the mother ($t(1039) = 4.327, p < .001^{***}$) as of the father ($t(1025) = 3.019, p < .01^{**}$).

Table 3: Migration background according to the level of graduation of the parents in % (absolute numbers in brackets); additionally significant correlations are specified

		<i>no graduation</i>	<i>Haupt-/Real- schulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)</i>	<i>Fachhochschul- reife/Abitur (equivalent to EQF level 4)</i>	<i>university degree</i>
<i>without migration background</i>	mother	1.6% (11) $r = -.288^{***}$	63.2% (429)	28.7% (195) $r = .116^{***}$	6.5% (44)
	father	1.2% (8) $r = -.158^{***}$	61.5% (414)	28.1% (189)	9.2% (62)
<i>with migration background 1st generation (born abroad themselves)</i>	mother	24.7% (19) $r = .202^{***}$	50.6% (39) $r = -.064^*$	14.3% (11) $r = -.071^*$	10.4% (8)
	father	4.9% (4)	60.5% (49)	15.9% (21)	8.6% (7)
<i>with migration background 2nd generation (both parents born abroad)</i>	mother	25% (30) $r = .262^{***}$	50.8% (61) $r = -.080^*$	16.7% (20) $r = -.071^*$	7.5% (9)
	father	8.8% (11) $r = .118^{***}$	68% (85)	15.2% (19) $r = -.094^{**}$	8% (10)
<i>with migration background 2nd generation (one parent born abroad)</i>	mother	11% (8)	64.4% (47)	17.8% (13)	6.8% (5)
	father	9.3% (7)	50.7% (38)	28% (21)	12% (9)
<i>with migration background 3rd generation (grandparents born abroad)</i>	mother	2.6% (2)	71.8% (56)	24.4% (19)	1.3% (1)
	father	4.1% (3)	61.6% (45)	28.8% (21)	5.5% (4)

Table 4: Region of origin according to level of graduation of the parents in % (absolute numbers in brackets); additionally significant correlations are specified

		<i>no graduation</i>	<i>Haupt-/Real- schulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)</i>	<i>Fachhochschul- reife/Abitur (equivalent to EQF level 4)</i>	<i>university degree</i>
<i>Germany</i>	mother	1.7% (13) $r = -.343^{***}$	64.3% (489) $r = .095^{**}$	28.1 (214) $r = .117^{***}$	5.9% (45)
	father	1.5% (11) $r = -.162^{***}$	61.3% (459) $r = .076^*$	28.4% (213)	8.8% (66)
<i>former USSR</i>	mother	6.9% (4)	62.1% (36)	25.9% (15)	5.2% (3)
	father	1.5% (1)	72.7% (48)	24.2% (16)	1.5% (1) $r = -.068^*$

<i>Turkey</i>	mother	40.9% (38) $r = .426^{***}$	53.8% (50)	2.3% (2) $r = -.167^{***}$	3.2% (3)
	father	15.8% (15) $r = .228^{***}$	64.2% (61)	11.6% (11) $r = -.107^{**}$	8.4% (8)
<i>EU</i>	mother	1.6% (1)	58.1% (36)	27.4% (17)	12.9% (8) $r = .065^*$
	father	4.8% (3)	54.8% (34)	27.4% (17)	12.9% (8)
<i>other countries</i>	mother	26.4% (14) $r = .181^{***}$	39.6% (21) $r = -.105^{**}$	18.9% (10)	15.1% (8) $r = .081^{**}$
	father	5.5% (3)	52.7% (29)	25.5% (14)	16.4% (9) $r = .062^*$

Especially mothers and fathers of young adults of Turkish origin have not graduated from school. Therefore young migrants with a Turkish background come significantly more frequently from educationally disadvantaged classes as post-hoc tests show as well.

3.1 Results regarding parenting experiences and satisfaction with parenting

Correlations between perceived parenting and satisfaction with parenting

The descriptive analysis of the data proves that especially young adults without migration background (15.5%) as well as those with migration background of the 3rd generation (19.5%) state having been brought up in a (too) laid-back way. Whereas, especially young adults with a migration background of the 1st generation (44.3%) claim to have been brought up in a (too) strict manner (cf. Table 5). Asked whether the interviewees would raise their children in exactly the same way as their parents did to them, most interviewees would adopt their parents' style of parenting with minor adjustments (cf. Table 6). However, young adults with migration background of the 1st generation refuse the parenting they experienced to a very high extent compared to the other sample groups (16%). Perception of the parenting ($t(1041) = -6.171, p < .001^{***}$) as well as the satisfaction with said parental upbringing ($t(1054) = -2.634, p < .01^{**}$) differs between native-German and migrant interviewees. Young persons with migration background for instance state that they experienced their parental upbringing as stricter and that they are less satisfied with their parental upbringing.

Table 5: Migration background and how parenting was experienced in % (absolute numbers in brackets)

	<i>(too) laid back</i>	<i>neither nor</i>	<i>(too) strict</i>	<i>correlation</i>
without migration background	15.5% (104)	68.4% (460)	16.2% (109)	$r = -.164^{***}$
with migration background 1 st generation (born abroad themselves)	8.9% (7)	46.8% (37)	44.3% (35)	$r = .132^{***}$
with migration background 2 nd generation (both parents born abroad)	8.9% (12)	63.7% (86)	27.4% (37)	$r = .069^{**}$
with migration background 2 nd generation (one parent born abroad)	10.1% (8)	63.3% (50)	26.6% (21)	n.s.
with migration background 3 rd generation (grandparents born abroad)	19.5% (15)	45.5% (35)	35.0% (27)	n.s.

Table 6: Migration background and satisfaction with parenting in % (absolute numbers in brackets)

	<i>exactly the same</i>	<i>approximately the same</i>	<i>differently in parts</i>	<i>completely differently</i>	<i>correlation</i>
without migration background	21.5% (148)	40.9% (281)	32.0% (220)	5.5% (38)	$r = -.081^{**}$
with migration background 1 st generation	27.2% (22)	28.4% (23)	28.4% (23)	16.0% (13)	n.s.
with migration background 2 nd generation (both parents born abroad)	18.0% (24)	36.8% (49)	37.6% (50)	7.5% (10)	n.s.
with migration background 2 nd generation (one parent born abroad)	17.9% (14)	26.9% (21)	46.2% (36)	9.0% (7)	$r = .063^*$
with migration background 3 rd generation (grandparents born abroad)	19.5% (15)	36.4% (28)	36.4% (28)	7.8% (6)	n.s.

The descriptive analysis of the data on the basis of the country of origin of the interviewees or their parents about the parenting experienced by the interviewees and their satisfaction with said parental upbringing shows that especially the young adults from the former USSR state to have been raised (too) strictly (39.7%), followed by the interviewees of Turkish descent (30.6%) (cf. Table 7). Asked whether the interviewees would raise their children in exactly the same way as their parents did to them, most interviewees would adopt their parents' style of parenting with minor adjustments, whereas the percentage of interviewees displaying refusal towards the parenting style they experienced is especially high with the interviewees from the former USSR compared to the other sample groups (17.4%). While the parenting the interviewees experienced ($r = .113$, $p < .001^{***}$)

differs significantly between interviewees of different countries of origin, the satisfaction with said parental upbringing shows no significant correlation.

Table 7: Country of origin (of the interviewees respectively the parents of the interviewees) and how the parenting was experienced by the interviewees in % (absolute numbers in brackets)

	<i>(too) laid back</i>	<i>neither nor</i>	<i>(too) strict</i>	<i>correlation</i>
Germany	15.5% (119)	66% (497)	18.2% (137)	$r=-.151^{***}$
former USSR	4.4% (3)	55.9% (38)	39.7% (27)	$r=.121^{***}$
Turkey	9.2% (9)	60.2% (59)	30.6% (30)	$r=.073^*$
EU	10.8% (7)	69.2% (45)	20% (13)	n.s.
other countries	13.6% (8)	49.2% (29)	37.3% (22)	$r=.065^*$

Table 8: Country of origin and satisfaction with the parenting in % (absolute numbers in brackets)

	<i>exactly the same</i>	<i>approximately the same</i>	<i>differently in parts</i>	<i>completely differently</i>	<i>correlation</i>
Germany	21.2% (163)	40.4% (310)	32.4% (249)	6% (46)	$r=-.066^*$
former USSR	18.8% (13)	31.9% (22)	31.9% (22)	17.4% (12)	$r=.064^*$
Turkey	19.6% (19)	28.9% (28)	44.3% (43)	7.2% (7)	n.s.
EU	17.2% (11)	32.8% (21)	42.25 (27)	7.8% (5)	n.s.
other countries	29.3% (17)	36.2 (21)	27.6% (16)	6.9% (4)	n.s.

The analysis of the parenting experienced by the interviewees in connection with the stated adoption of their parents' parenting style for their own children clearly shows that especially those interviewees who experienced a rather strict parenting style would like to raise their children completely differently (39.1%). This is followed with 20% of interviewees who claim to have been raised in a too laid-back way. The parenting experienced by the interviewees correlates the most significantly with the satisfaction with their own parental upbringing, with decreasing satisfaction the more the level of strictness increases. The effect is according to Cohen (1988) weak ($f=.175$). The linear regression also shows that the experienced level of strictness has a most significant impact on the satisfaction with the parenting experienced ($F=32.787^{***}$).

The correlation coefficient according to Pearson hardly changes upon control of the following variables and remains in all cases in a most significant area: age ($r=.174^{***}$), gender ($r=.175^{***}$), migration background ($r=.167^{***}$), type of school attended ($r=.175^{***}$) and graduation level of the father ($r=.172^{***}$). The correlation coefficient decreases slightly more for the variable 'graduation level of the mother' ($r=.163^{***}$). The detailed analysis of the graduation level of the mother shows that the correlation coefficient decreases noticeably more upon checking the confounding variable 'mother without graduation' ($r=.157^{***}$), so that it can be deduced that especially the education level of the mother has an influence on the correlation between the parenting experienced and the satisfaction with said parenting.

Determinants of how the interviewees experienced their parenting and their satisfaction with said parental upbringing

Correlations between the demographic variables and how the interviewees experiences their parenting

There are no significant differences between the groups of female and male interviewees in compliance with t-tests for independent samples regarding parenting experiences and the satisfaction with the parenting experienced. There are also no differences between the different age groups.

3.2 Correlations between the socio-cultural variables and how the interviewees experienced their parenting

The different groups within the sample are included in the computation according to the itemisation of the migration background as well as the countries of origin. A single factor variance analyses is calculated for the individual values to compute the differences. The overall model is significant for the detailed migration history ($p=.000$, $n=1,042$). The post-hoc tests display significant differences between young persons without migration background and the 1st as well as the 2nd generation (both parents born abroad) regarding the parenting experienced.

It also becomes apparent that the overall model is significant (regarding the country of origin) ($p=.000$, $n=1,043$). Young native-Germans and migrants from Turkey and from the former USSR differ according to post-hoc tests in regards to the parenting they experienced.

Young persons with and without migration background differ from each other most significantly regarding their parenting experiences ($t_{Welch}(1042)=-5.795^{***}$). The effect size d according to Cohen (1988) is calculated because the groups differ widely regarding their size which is $d=.40$ (small to medium effect). Both groups also differ highly significantly regarding their satisfaction with their parental upbringing ($t_{Welch}(1055)=-2.572^{**}$). The effect size according to Cohen (1988) is $d=.16$ in this case (very low effect).

At this place the variable ‚migration background’ is itemised into five categories and converted into a dummy variable with the following characteristics for a detailed analysis of the results:

- a) without migration background
- b) with migration background 1st generation (born abroad themselves)
- c) with migration background 2nd generation (born in Germany, both parents born abroad)
- d) with migration background 2nd generation (born in Germany, one parent born abroad)
- e) with migration background 3rd generation (grandparents born abroad)

The computation indicates differing correlations between the characteristics of the migration background and the parenting experienced. There is for instance a most significant correlation between young adults without migration background as well as young adults with migration background of the 1st generation regarding the parenting experienced. The data shows that young adults without migration background state that they experienced their parental upbringing in a more laid-back way than young adults with migration background of the 1st generation and 2nd generation (both parents born abroad) ($r=-.188^{***}$).

Young persons of the 1st generation however state that they have been raised in a stricter manner than young persons without migration background or young persons with migration background of the 2nd generation (both parents born abroad) ($r=.163^{***}$).

Young adults without migration background report to be more satisfied with their parental upbringing than young persons with migration background of the 2nd generation (one parent born abroad) ($r=-.081^{***}$). There are especially significant differences between young native-German adults and young adults from the former USSR. The former claim with a high frequency to have been raised in a more laid-back manner ($r=-.168^{***}$; former USSR: $r=.148^{***}$) and to be more satisfied overall with their parental upbringing ($r=-.066^*$; former USSR: $r=.064^*$).

3.3 Correlations between the socio-economic variables and how the interviewees experienced their parenting

There is no significant correlation between the type of school the interviewees attended and how they experienced their parental upbringing. Only attending a special school decreases the satisfaction with their parenting ($r=-.072^*$). The parenting experienced by the interviewees correlates significantly with the graduation level of the mother as well as of the father.

Young persons with mothers without graduation report to have been raised in a more strict manner than young persons with mothers with Haupt-/Realschulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3) as well as with a university degree ($r=.128^{**}$). Young persons with mothers with Haupt-/Realschulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3) experienced an extremely laid-back style of parenting ($r=-.111^{**}$). There is no correlation between the satisfaction with the interviewees' parental upbringing and the graduation level of the mother.

The higher the graduation level of the father, the more strict - differing from the graduation level of the mother - the parenting style. Simultaneously, the satisfaction with their parental upbringing increases with the graduation level of the father. However, all correlations are in a very low area here as well.

General context between the examined variables

Herinafter, firstly an overview over all demographic, socio-cultural and socio-economic variables is given that significantly correlate with the parenting experienced and were analysed in chapter 3.2.

Table 9: Significant correlations between the socio-cultural and the socio-economic variable with the parenting experienced by the interviewees

	<i>how the interviewees experienced their parenting</i>
without migration background	$r=-.188^{***}$
with migration background 1 st generation (born abroad themselves)	$r=.163^{***}$
with migration background 2 nd generation (both parents born abroad)	$r=.063^*$
country of origin: Germany	$r=-.168^{***}$
country of origin: former USSR	$r=.148^{***}$
graduation level of the mother (no graduation)	$r=.128^{***}$
graduation level of the mother (Haupt- und Realschulabschluss) (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)	$r=-.111^{***}$

graduation level of the mother (university degree)	$r=.074^*$
graduation level of the father (Haupt- und Realschulabschluss) (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)	$r=.073^*$
graduation level of the father (university degree)	$r=.082^{**}$

The variables gender and age have no significant correlation to the parenting experienced. There is also no difference between native-Germans and migrants with one parent born abroad to migrants with the grandparents born abroad regarding the parenting experienced.

For further computation the variables without significant correlation with the parenting experienced will not be considered any further.

Due to the above mentioned significant correlations, at this point the variables are checked, i.e. the impact of the individual variables with regard to the correlation between migration background respectively country of origin and parenting experienced is factored out via the partial correlation. Here the correlation between the variables ‚parenting experienced‘, ‚general migration background‘, ‚detailed migration background‘ as well as ‚country of origin‘ (Germany, former USSR) is calculated by factoring out the variables ‚graduation level of the mother‘ and ‚graduation level of the father‘. In doing so it becomes evident that the migration background only has its own independent impact primarily on the parenting experienced if the person migrated themselves and not if they were born in Germany. The computations prove that the correlation between the parenting experienced and the variables ‚without migration background‘ as well as ‚with migration background of the 1st generation‘ only change minimally upon checking the confounding variables. The biggest change appears upon checking the variable ‚mother without graduation‘ (von $r=-.188$ auf $r=-.158$). Checking the confounding variables for the correlation between parenting experienced and a migration background of the 2nd generation (both parents born abroad) leads to mostly missing significance.

The results reveal that young persons who migrated to Germany themselves and whose mothers have not graduated from any type of school especially often describe the parenting they experienced as strict or too strict.

Table 10: Significant correlations between the examined variables upon checking the confounding variables

	<i>how the interviewees experienced their parenting</i>				
<i>changed correlation after checking the confounding variable</i>	<i>without migration background</i>	<i>with migration background 1st generation</i>	<i>with migration background 2nd generation (both parents born abroad)</i>	<i>country of origin: Germany</i>	<i>country of origin: former USSR</i>
<i>control variables</i>	$r=-.188^{***}$	$r=.163^{***}$	$r=.063^*$	$r=-.168^{***}$	$r=.148^{***}$
mother without graduation	$r=-.158^{***}$	$r=.130^{***}$	$r=.038$, n.s.	$r=-.118^{***}$	$r=.111^{***}$
mother Haupt-/Realschulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)	$r=-.183^{***}$	$r=.147^{***}$	$r=.063^*$	$r=-.143^{***}$	$r=.111^{***}$
graduation level of the mother (university degree)	$r=-.188^{***}$	$r=.150^{***}$	$r=.070^*$	$r=-.150^{***}$	$r=.111^{***}$
father Haupt-/Realschulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)	$r=-.186^{***}$	$r=.164^{***}$	$r=.063^*$	$r=-.152^{***}$	$r=.120^{***}$
father university degree	$r=-.188^{***}$	$r=.166^{***}$	$r=.061$, n.s.	$r=-.152^{***}$	$r=.122^{***}$

Regarding the satisfaction with the parenting experienced no significant correlation can be determined concerning gender, age, migration background, type of school attended or the graduation level of the mother. Nonetheless, the variable of native-German origin or a partly native-German origin (one parent with migration background), the country of birth as well as attending a special school and the graduation level of the father prove significant. According to this, native-German interviewees, persons who attended a special school and those with fathers with a higher level of education stated to have a higher tendency of being satisfied with their parental upbringing.

Table 11: Significant correlations between demographic, socio-cultural and socio-economic variables with the satisfaction with the parenting experienced by the interviewees

	<i>satisfaction with the parenting experienced by the interviewees</i>
without migration background	$r=-.081^{**}$
with migration background 2 nd generation (one parent born abroad)	$r=.063^*$
country of origin: Germany	$r=-.066^*$
country of origin: former USSR	$r=.064^*$
type of school (special school)	$r=-.072^*$
graduation level of the father (Haupt- und Realschulabschluss) (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)	$r=.104^{***}$
graduation level of the father (Fachhochschulreife/Abitur) (equivalent to EQF level 4)	$r=-.084^{**}$

For further computations the variables without significant correlations regarding the satisfaction with the parenting experienced are considered any further; the other variables that have proven to be significant are checked. Here the impact of the individual variables with regard to the correlation between migration background and the satisfaction with the parenting received is factored out via the partial correlation.

Table 12: Significant correlations between the variables upon checking the confounding variable

	<i>satisfaction with the parenting experienced by the interviewees</i>			
changed correlation after checking the confounding variable	without migration background	with migration background 2 nd generation (one parent born abroad)	country of origin: Germany	country of origin: former USSR
control variables	$r=-.081^{**}$	$r=.063^*, p=.040$	$r=-.066^*$	$r=.064^*$
attending a special school	$r=-.080^{**}$	$r=.062^*$	$r=-.066^*$	$r=.063^*$
father Haupt-/Realschulabschluss (equivalent to EQF level 2 and 3)	$r=-.099^{**}$	$r=.080^*$	$r=-.092^{**}$	$r=.069^*$
father Fachhochschulreife/Abitur (equivalent to EQF level 4)	$r=-.195^{**}$	$r=.074^*$	$r=-.087^{**}$	$r=.074^*$

Regarding the satisfaction with the parenting experienced, the migration background seems to have a significant impact. Moreover, the correlation coefficient changes strongly upon checking the variable ,graduation level of the father (Fachhochschulreife/Abitur) (equivalent to EQF level 4)‘.

While native-Germans with fathers with a higher level of education have a tendency to be more satisfied with the parenting they experienced, the level of satisfaction decreases for young persons with migration background with one parent born abroad with a father with a higher level of education.

In summary, first results of the study indicate significant correlations between the parenting experienced and the satisfaction with said parental upbringing. Less strictly raised persons are more satisfied with the parenting they experienced. The migration background shows a significant correlation with the parenting experienced in two characteristics. Upon checking the strata variable, only young migrants of the first generation report to have been raised in a more strict manner than young persons without migration background; this does not, however, apply to persons with migration background who were born in Germany. Mothers without any form of graduation are perceived as especially strict by both native-German and migrant interviewees. The age and level of education of the interviewees shows no significant correlation with the parenting experienced.

4. Conclusions

This study is afflicted with several limitations, for instance that the parenting experienced by the interviewees has to be documented in greater detail and that the parenting roles of the father and mother have to be distinguished from each other. As for instance indicated above, the impacts the graduation level of the mother in comparison to the graduation level of the father have on the evaluation of the parenting experienced differ completely. Furthermore, the sample is not representative and a closer look at the newly arriving persons with a refugee background is still mostly missing. Nonetheless, the present sample offers a first insight into the experiences with the parental upbringing of young persons with migration background especially due to the detailed itemisation of the migration background as well as the documentation of the country of origin of the 1st und 2nd generation of the young persons with migration background. Here, detailed analyses are necessary to identify the correlations between the parenting experienced and the satisfaction with said parental upbringing as well as other variables in more depth.

Especially the parenting in migrant families has not been largely researched. Often those families are regarded to be homogeneous, whereas the results of the present study indicate strongly that other factors such as class affiliation, the detailed and individual migration history of the family as well as their country or region of origin take a more frequent impact on the parenting style. The results of this study also suggest that young persons from the former USSR perceive the parenting style of their parents as more strict than other young persons of the sample do.

The very differing parenting realities experienced by children in families of different ethnic-cultural characteristics with differing family migration histories reveal that an intensive collaboration with migrant families is necessary on part of educational and extra-curricular facilities as well as on part of child and adolescent support facilities.

This more intensive collaboration cannot be reduced to education counselling for children and their parents or to offers for special educational needs on part of the schools. An intensive exchange on child-oriented parenting and socialisation conditions is also important. The project ‚Bildungsbrücken bauen‘ (building bridges in education) of the Otto Benecke Stiftung exemplary takes up all aspects that become relevant in the broadest sense in cooperation between parents and educational facilities (Boos-Nünning et al., 2016; Stein, 2016) and instigates a discussion on shared values and child-oriented settings. The authoritative or also called democratic parenting style is regarded to be child-oriented and the parenting style to be preferred. Authoritative raised children

are self-confident, socially competent and productive. Research results show that the authoritative or democratic parenting style is reckoned as the optimum condition for a healthy development of the child today (Horn et al., 2011, p. 347).

Equally important is not only opening educational facilities to the aspects of interculturality but also and especially of (parenting) information centres and helplines. According to a current survey of the authors, such an opening to the aspect of interculturality often resorts in the information that they offer their counselling in English. What is really necessary here is a deeper understanding for the parenting reality experienced and the conditions of socialisation in migration families of widely differing characteristics.

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