

Theorie und Praxis

Wissenschaftliche Reihe zur Entwicklungszusammenarbeit,
Humanitären Hilfe und entwicklungspolitischen Anwaltschaftsarbeit



Julia Söhnholz

The social participation of children with migration backgrounds

Angefertigt im Rahmen des European Masters in
Migration and Intercultural Relations an der Carl
von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg und der
University of Stavanger

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Abstract

While most research about children with migration backgrounds in an affluent country of residence focuses on their integration, more and more critique of immigrant integration research has emerged (Schinkel, 2018; Hadj Abdou, 2019; Foroutan, 2019). This research adds to this discussion by using a concept that applies equally to all members of society and which focuses on the agency of individuals: social participation. There is only limited research that focuses explicitly on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds and it fails to define social participation with measurable criteria (Spieß et al., 2016). Focusing on family, school and community life, I created a theoretical concept of social participation for children with and without migration backgrounds and quantitatively analysed six indicators of social participation based on data from the 4th World Vision Children Study, a major representative study of children's life in Germany with a sample of 2550 children aged 6-11 years old. The following question guided the research: How do children with migration backgrounds living in Germany (children with migration backgrounds and German nationality and children without German nationality) engage in forms of social participation and which other factors influence their social participation? The following hypothesis was examined and confirmed: There are differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds, but these differences are to a great extent related to other social factors. In particular, age, socioeconomic class, poverty experience and generagency influence children's social participation more than the 'social space' of migration backgrounds and also partly function as moderators,

Keywords: social participation, childhoods, migration backgrounds, generagency,
4th World Vision Children Study

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Social participation of children with migration backgrounds

I. Introduction

In 2019, approximately 21.2 million people in Germany had migration backgrounds in a broader sense, thus at least one parent did not acquire German citizenship by birth. This means that approximately every fourth person in Germany has migration backgrounds (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020, July 28). Against that background, most research about children with migration backgrounds' lives in an affluent country of residence such as Germany focuses on their integration. However, in the field of migration studies, more and more critique of immigrant integration research emerges; with scholars asking for immigrant integration research to stop omitting important social categories such as class by focusing on migration backgrounds as an all-encompassing explanatory category of analysis Hadj Abdou (2019); asking for social sciences to move beyond the concept of immigrant integration in a perceived primordial society (Schinkel, 2018); or even asking society to move overcome the meta-narrative of migration and to develop to a post-migrant society where integration becomes a political goal for participation of all members of society (Foroutan, 2019).

The importance of children's social participation

I add to this discussion by approaching the research on children with migration backgrounds with a different concept than integration, a concept that is as important for children with migration backgrounds as for children without migration backgrounds: social participation. Social participation is thought of as important for peaceful coexistence and social cohesion (Diehl, 2017). Social participation is the social, political and psychological 'glue' for the well-being of the society, as well as for individuals (Berger et al., 2020). It contributes to a purposeful life and feelings of self-worth and dignity (Nussbaum, 2011). In an ideal modern

society, each member of this society holds equal participation opportunities (Behrendt, 2018). Meaningful opportunities for social participation support children's self-confidence and citizenship skills (European Commission, 2015). Furthermore, opportunities for social participation pave the way for the development of prosocial behaviour and positive relationships with adults. Social participation is a healthy learning experience that entails exploring ideas and developing competences (European Commission, 2015). In contrast, social exclusion has long term life effects on children and can be damaging to their self-esteem (Bittman, 2002).

Equal opportunities for participation is an important topic in the Germany society, but the focus on participation opportunities for members of German society with migration backgrounds is only a recent one and is manifested in the 2012 Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration: Zusammenhalt stärken-Teilhabe verwirklichen [National Action Plan on Integration: Strengthen Cohesion – Realising Participation] (Kostner, 2016, p.323). This plan is part of Germany's strategy to resolve the integration failures of the past by now achieving equal participation opportunities through structural institutional changes (Kostner, 2016, p.323). The National Action Plan places a specific focus on children and youth with migration backgrounds (Kostner, 2016, p.315).

Empirically investigating the social participation of young children is crucial, because their lifeworld and experiences shape their future role in society and the future of society as such (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016). As children are in a process of becoming, thus acquiring additional knowledge and developing social skills in social interactions, social participation is seen as a fundamental condition for their development (Piškur et al., 2013). Social participation is embedded in social conditions, as children's participation is facilitated or hindered by individual or collective factors and its outcomes benefit the children, as well as society overall (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018). Participation has transformative potential for existing practice and social relations (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). In particular for disadvantaged children and youth, social participation is a mean to break out of dependent lives, as a policy review found (European Commission, 2012). Nevertheless, experiences of childhood and youth are very different, depending on each individual's life trajectories (Evans & Furlong, 1997 as cited in Percy-Smith, 2018, p.164). But Percy-Smith (2018, p.164-165) argues, that while acknowledging structural constraints it is important to take young people's agency and self-determination into account, as they actively form their life biographies.

Research gap

I place the focus on children with migration backgrounds since there is only limited research that focuses explicitly on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds and existing research fails to define social participation with specific, measurable criteria (Spieß et al., 2016, p.129). However, research on social participation is crucial as the concept emphasizes the agency of individuals to contribute to their participation, while at the same time society and politics have the responsibility to provide equal participation opportunities (Diewald et al., 2016, p.65). Furthermore, most concepts of participation are developed for children above the age of 13 since according to the Article 12 (1) of the UNCRC, age and maturity is seen as a precondition for participation (Tuukkanen et al., 2012 as cited in Horgan et al., 2017, p. 278); and are rather broad concepts of civil participation that do not acknowledge everyday practices of children (Horgan et al., 2019).

Research objective

To add to this research gap, I developed a concept of social participation which is aimed at both children with and without migration backgrounds living in Germany. The concept was developed based on the 4th World Vision Children Study, a major representative study of children's life in Germany focusing on children aged 6-11 years old. I emphasize the importance of recognising the participation of younger children and expand on the often too narrowly defined definition of children's participation, not as a form of civic, but as social participation that includes more diverse forms of social participation. The objective of this research is not to feed into dominant, paternalistic narratives, by imposing a concept of social participation on children with migration backgrounds in order to 'integrate' them with an imaginary mainstream population; instead, the research objective is to examine the socio-structural factors facilitating and hindering social participation for all children in general. Instead of problematizing migration backgrounds, I want to examine migration backgrounds as a factor that might bear risks but also chances and particular opportunities for participation (Diewald et al., 2018). Therefore, I compare social participation across different social groups of children and include different social factors such as age, gender, socioeconomic class, poverty experience, generagency etc.

Research question

This research is guided by the following research question: How do German children with and without migration backgrounds living in Germany engage in forms of social

participation and which other factors influence their social participation?

With children with migration backgrounds, both children with migration backgrounds and German nationality, and children without German nationality, are in the focus of this research. This research question is innovative because it addresses several aspects at once; it adds to the limited research of measurements of social participation of children, as well as to the limited research of the social participation of children with migration backgrounds. The research objective is to evaluate the current social participation of children and to make the underlying mechanisms of social participation visible. In addition, by using the concept of social participation instead of integration, I aim to challenge the perception of children with migration backgrounds as a homogenous, problematic or vulnerable group that needs to be integrated into a perceived homogenous society, by also examining the social participation of children without migration backgrounds. Furthermore, I hope to open up the perspective that children with migration backgrounds engage in forms of social participation that have so far been negated in the integration discourse.

The following hypothesis will be examined: There are differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds, but these differences are stronger related to other social factors than to migration backgrounds.

Structure of the research

This research has eight main chapters. After the introduction, in the theoretical framework (see section 2), I discuss relevant theoretical concepts such as childhoods, generativity and migration backgrounds. Besides these concepts, the main concept of interest is social participation. First, I discuss the concept of social participation and provide the definition of social participation as used in this research. Then, in the state of art (see section 3), I discuss existing research on social participation of children with a specific focus on research of the social participation of children with migration backgrounds. After that, I elaborate on the methods used for this research (see section 4). The empirical part of this research is divided into a concept development of children's social participation based on existing literature (see section 5) and statistical analysis to examine the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds based on six representative indicators of social participation (see section 6). I discuss the results in-depth in the discussion and then explain the limitations of this research and provide suggestions for future research (see section 7). Finally, I summarize and conclude the research (see section 8).

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework presents the guiding concepts of the research. For this research, I focus on the concept of social participation, but besides that, three other concepts guide this research; childhoods, generagency and migration backgrounds. In the following, I shortly discuss these concepts, explain their relevance and present the definitions used for this research.

Childhoods, generagency and migration backgrounds

To start with, for this research, I regard the concept of childhood as socially constructed, with various meanings changing through history, and conceptualize childhood as a process of becoming and belonging (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016). Children are “active, creative social agents who produce their own unique children’s cultures while simultaneously contributing to the production of adult societies” (Corsaro, 2011, p.3). As important children’s agency is, structures play an important role in enabling as well as constraining agency (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016). Against this background, the concept of “generagency” (Leonard, 2016) is a guiding theory of this research. This concept acknowledges the social positioning of childhood within the generational order while at the same time recognising children’s capacities to exert agency within these structures (Leonard, 2016, p.152) Leonard’s concept of generagency can be further distinguished into inter-generagency and intra-generagency. Inter-generagency focuses on the asymmetrical but also interdependent and reciprocal relationships between adults and children, while the concept of intra-generagency describes relationships between children as peers and how these are also influenced by children’s positioning in the social order, in particular age and also by gender, class and ethnicity (Leonard, 2016, p.155).

Children with migration backgrounds

This research places its focus on children with migration backgrounds living in Germany. Various official definitions of migration backgrounds exist. The definition by the Statistisches Bundesamt [German Federal Statistical Office] (2020) is as follows: A person has a migration background if he or she or at least one parent was not born with a German nationality. In detail, this definition includes immigrated and non-immigrated foreigners, immigrated and non-immigrated naturalised citizens, (Spät-) Aussiedler and (Spät-) Aussiedler

as well as the descendants of these groups born as Germans¹.

In this research, I use the term “migration backgrounds”. The use of the plural form emphasizes the heterogeneity of the people included in this seemingly homogenous category. The use of the term “migration backgrounds” in this research includes all children with foreign nationality born in Germany and all children born in Germany as Germans with at least one immigrant or foreign-born parent in Germany, in accordance with the definition of the German Federal Statistical Office (2020). For the statistical analysis, the overarching category “children with migration backgrounds living in Germany” are distinguished into “children with migration backgrounds and German nationality” and “children with a foreign nationality living in Germany”, in comparison with “children without migration backgrounds and German nationality”. For the readability, I mostly employ the expressions “German children with migration backgrounds” and “foreign children”, in comparison with “German children”.

However, the designation “German” is only meant to describe the official nationality of the children. This does not mean that “foreign children” do not belong to Germany. As Will (2019, p. 553) criticizes, the category “migration background” “evokes questions about national membership, especially for persons who may feel German, but whose belonging to Germany is questioned by the official category”. I do not aim to impose the category of migration backgrounds as an exclusionary concept. Therefore, this research conceptualises migration backgrounds as a socially significant variable for a deeper understanding of children’s lives. Migration backgrounds impact the experiences of childhood in one or the other way, by influencing the construction and understanding of values and meanings. For example, Seeberg and Goździak (2016, p.2) state that the impact of migration and “migrancy” on children’s lives is often neglected in childhood studies. According to the scholars, “migrancy” is more than a social category such as gender, social class, nationality etc., rather it constitutes a whole “social space” (Seeberg &Goździak, 2016, p.8) Similar to this argumentation, Spieß et al. (2016, p.183) conceptualise migration backgrounds as a “lebenschancenprägendes Ereignis” [life-chance shaping event] by arguing that a migration experience or background can be a classification for people connected through a life-biographical event that impacted their life situation and of subsequent generations, having in common the process of a social reorientation in a new society.

¹ Translated by the researcher, the following is the original definition in German: “Eine Person hat einen Migrationshintergrund, wenn sie selbst oder mindestens ein Elternteil nicht mit deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit geboren wurde. Im Einzelnen umfasst diese Definition zugewanderte und nicht zugewanderte Ausländerinnen und Ausländer, zugewanderte und nicht zugewanderte Eingebürgerte, (Spät-) Aussiedlerinnen und (Spät-) Aussiedler sowie die als Deutsche geborenen Nachkommen dieser Gruppen.” (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020).

Nevertheless, categories also bring with them the danger of ‘othering’, for example as Gardner (2012, p.900) argues, “by describing young people first and foremost as the descendants of immigrants, it racialises them”. I acknowledge that the danger lies within concretising only one aspect of children’s lives, as in the case of research with children with migration backgrounds, only focusing on migration backgrounds as the decisive factor (Ní Laoire, 2011). Research with children needs to recognise the complex, multiple, social categories influencing children’s lives, such as gender, age, social class and ethnicity (Morrow, 2006; Ní Laoire, 2011; Hadj Abdou, 2019). On the one hand, these social factors shape and construct children’s lives, and on the other hand, children perform and negotiate them. Hadj Abdou (2019, p.6) argues that immigrant integration research omits important categories such as race and class by taking migration backgrounds as the main category of analysis and Foroutan (2019, p.12) adds to this argument by criticizing the use of migration as a “meta-narrative” as it obscures the impact of other explanatory categories such as poverty. Therefore, this research includes most of the above mentioned social factors into the analysis.

Social participation

In the following section, I first argue why the concept of social participation is used in this research instead of the concept of integration. Then I discuss the theories of social participation and present the definition used in this research.

Most research about children with migration backgrounds’ lived experiences in an affluent country of residence focuses on integration, or similar concepts of inclusion, adaptation etc. According to Spencer and Charsely (2016), integration is the inclusion of immigrants into the majority population, so that immigrants can become functional members of the society, take part in its development of an equal basis, and develop a sense of belonging on the local level. With a slightly different approach, Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016) define integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society” (p.14). Both definitions have in common that they agree on the existence of a so-called majority, or receiving society, versus the immigrants.

Criticizing immigrant integration research and its political connotations, Schinkel (2018) puts forward the claim that the concept of integration by evaluating only migrants against a perceived primordial, native society is a form of neo-colonial knowledge production and power exercise, and that social science needs to move beyond the concepts of immigrant integration and society. Schinkel (2018) warns that “ research, increasingly, becomes part and parcel of the problematization of immigrants and their children, and hence it becomes

intricately tied to racist discourses and practices” (p.2), and later adds “we live in an era where we cannot afford to simply reproduce dominant divisions” (p.15). Similarly, Foroutan (2019) advocates for “Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft” [post-migrant society], in which integration loses its normative connotation and instead becomes a political goal for recognition, equal opportunities and participation for all members of society. Integration in a post-migrant society thus applies as well to migrants, as to East-Germans and other stigmatized or disadvantaged social groups. However, it will take time until Foroutan’s vision of a post-migrant society where integration loses its normative connotation will become reality, if ever. This research adds to this discussion by approaching the research on children with migration backgrounds with a different concept than integration: social participation. I use the concept of social participation because social participation concerns all members of society; social participation is as important for children with migration backgrounds as for children without migration backgrounds. By using the concept of social participation instead of integration I aim to challenge the problematization of immigrants and their children, as well as to challenge the concept of a homogenous society by also examining the social participation of children without migration backgrounds. I cannot refrain from constructing categories and detecting differences but I look at these “different categories of people within a society of which they are all part”, as suggested by Klarenbeek (2019, p.5) in an answer to Schinkel’s (2018) critique. Thus, by using the concept of social participation, I still research differences but I do not aim to produce otherness, by putting observations through a reflective discussion into context and by opening up the perspective that children with migration backgrounds engage in forms of social participation that have so far been negated in the integration discourse.

In the following section, I explain the very complex and debated concept of social participation, looking at common conceptualisations and critique. The origin of the topic of children’s participation is debatable, but it became a more dominant theme after the ratification of the UNCRC in 1989. Thereafter until now, children’s participation and children’s agency has been increasingly emphasized and put on the policy agenda (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018). Children’s participation has remained a contested concept with three main critiques: The concept is dominated by the UNHCR and by Western normative conceptions (Sarmiento et al., 2018); it is a form of restricted civic and political participation, a mere discursive, voice-based involvement in decision-making processes conditional on age and maturity, (Horgan et al., 2017); and the concept neglects the daily participatory activities of children (Percy-Smith, 2018) This perception of children’s participation dominates most research and hinders new theoretical contributions (Horgan et al., 2017).

However, with the increasing popularity of the topic of children's participation, more critical theoretical and empirical perspectives emerged (Wyness, 2018). A renewed focus on agency now emphasises the capacity of children as self-determined actors, rather than their actions being a mere result of adult-determined socialisation (Stoecklin, 2013 as cited in Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018, p.9).

Overall, the understanding of children's participation seems to be constantly changing with time. One of the most convincing approaches to an understanding of children's participation is provided by Wyness (2018), who differentiates between the dominant, the critical and the emergent narrative of participation. Nevertheless, he failed or did not aim to provide a comprehensive definition of participation.

The dominant narrative is placed within an institutional context, oriented at the UNCRC's definition. Focusing on considering children's voices for decision-making processes, participation according to the UNCRC's interpretation is mainly political participation and urges for children's opinions to be taken into account in decisions that concern their lives. Overall, the dominant narrative is discursive and frames children's participation as a tool for forming democratic, adult citizens (Wyness, 2018).

The critical narrative criticizes the adult agendas behind children's social participation and the narrow outreach and adds two additional arguments: The superficiality of the existing participatory initiatives might not result into significant changes of children's lives and they have an event-based rather than a processual character (Wyness, 2018). Furthermore, existing participatory initiatives are mostly directed at well-positioned children and often exclude the marginalized ones. Participatory decision-making and consultations only exist within institutional and adult frameworks and are therefore restricted (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018). Such criticism of children's participatory initiatives describes them as neo-liberal, individualised governance (Raby, 2014, p.77).

The emergent narrative advocates for a multidimensional, diverse conceptualisation of children's participation, including emotional and material dimensions, as well as various domains such as the children's participation in the political, economic, family, virtual and relational domain. Thus, the emergent narrative embraces a broader perception of children's participation than mere participation in decision-making processes (Wyness, 2018). This perception acknowledges, for example, children's role as carers for ailing or ageing guardians (Skovdal et al., 2009), as head of households (Kendrick & Kakuru, 2012); thus all their contributions to household and extended family members as well as peers, through doing household chores, caring for young family members, earning money and even providing

support through neighbourly and friendship network (Moses, 2008).

This research orientates its definition of social participation at the emergent narrative, building upon Wyness (2018), Horgan et al. (2017), Geisen and Riegel (2009), Davis and Hill (2006), Baraldi & Cockburn (2018) and Diewald et al. (2016). The emergent narrative calls for a broad definition of social participation, therefore, this research uses social participation as a concept that applies to a wide array of life domains, as suggested by Davis & Hill (2006). For young children, the most important life domains are the family, the school, and recreation and leisure. For all these areas, social activities and relationships are important.

Geisen and Riegel (2009, p.20), referring to youth with migration backgrounds, emphasize the role of socially important resources and the realisation of participation through negotiation processes. Horgan et al. (2017, p.276), referring to children overall, describe participation as a “democratic task” and a “relations space” where children’s everyday actions are all acts of participation.

Furthermore, in line with John Rawl’s concept of participation, agency, voice and contribution to decision-making processes are essential features (Wyness, 2018). The active practice of agency, thus the ability to make independent decisions and act upon them, is most crucial for social participation (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018) and differentiates it from the concept of integration by emphasizing freedom over passivity and adaption (Diewald et al., 2016, p.76).

In this research, the definition of social participation is based on a broad conceptualisation of socio-cultural participation, thereby excluding political/civic, economic, ecological and spiritual/religious participation. To sum up, the definition of social participation employed in this research is:

Social participation of children

- 1) Is the lived, every day social relations, interactions and practices of children as social actors
- 2) Emerges from the active exercise of agency, voice and decision-making but also includes non-voiced forms of participation
- 3) Takes place on the meso-level in different life domains where social activities and relationships are exercised
- 4) Is influenced by the social context, the generational order (generagency), the availability of relevant resources and the possibility of their effective use

3. State of the art

Unfortunately, as the focus of this research lies on children with migration backgrounds living in Germany, most of the literature discussed is based on the research of German scholars. Therefore, it is difficult to incorporate non-Western perspectives and transnational forms of participation in this research, nevertheless, new environments and new perspectives of social participation and Western normative conceptions within family and community settings are discussed. This research also includes multiple diversities, for example, children with poverty experience and children living in rural areas.

Overall, there is a lot of research on participation and social participation, especially in the health and social care literature, focusing on the elderly and people living with disabilities (Piškur et al., 2013) There is also a lot of research on children's participation in general, but in contrast to adults and youth, children with migration backgrounds are seldom considered in integration research, and even less in research on participation (Spieß et al., 2016; Sauer, 2009). Available research has a strong focus on education, while other, more informal aspects of social participation, for example, social interactions with family, friends and the community, are neglected (Spieß et al., 2016).

Thus, there is very limited explicit research on children's social participation and even less on explicitly the social participation of children with migration backgrounds. In the following, the limited but relevant research is presented and discussed. First, I discuss research on the social participation of children in general, and then I focus on research on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds specifically.

The state of art: What is known?

The discussion of the state of the art starts with a report on the Bildungspaket [education package]. The education package is a measure implemented by the Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales [Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs] to provide families in need financial support for education and social participation (Bartelheimer et al., 2016). Financial support for socio-cultural participation is provided for club memberships, cultural education and participation in holiday camps (Bartelheimer et al., 2016). In order to evaluate these measures, for one part of the report, Bartelheimer et al. (2016) conducted interviews with young people concerning their perspectives on participation needs. The young people distinguished their participation needs into basic needs (food, living, clothes), education needs (school utensils, school trips, computer to do school work), leisure time needs (membership fees plus additional expenses, informal/private activities), transportation

needs (bike or public transport ticket); and, in addition, they expressed the need for money to celebrate birthdays and to go out and for a smartphone. Overall, they saw money as crucial for their social participation and they complained that the education package does not include financial support for individual and family activities such activities with friends, birthday celebrations and visits to the cinema/zoo/swimmingpool/ theatre/ exhibition etc. (Bartelheimer et al., 2016). This study is an important addition because although it does not explicitly include children with migration backgrounds, it is the only study available that asked young people directly about their social participation needs.

The next research also focuses on the role of financial means for social participation. Tophoven et al. (2015) researched the poverty of children living in families with unemployment benefit II receipt, thereby examining the areas of living, food/clothes, consumption, finances and social and cultural participation. Amongst these areas, the greatest undersupply was found for goods and opportunities available to social and cultural participation. At the same time, the research participants regarded social and cultural participation at least important in comparison to the other areas, as it is the only area that is not considered an area of basic life necessities (Tophoven et al., 2015). Furthermore, the study points out that children with migration backgrounds have a higher risk to grow up in a household with unemployment benefit II receipt (Tophoven et al., 2015). Unfortunately, the authors neither explained their definition of migration backgrounds nor defined social and cultural participation. They also failed to explain whether social and cultural participation is a single or two different but interrelated concepts. They also did not further explain the choice of the four representative aspects used to represent social and cultural participation: A one week holiday per year; Invite friends for dinner once a month; Go to the cinema/theatre/concert once a month; Go to the restaurant once a month (Tophoven et al., 2015).

In a further publication, Tophoven et al. (2018) investigated the relationship between poverty and other influential factors, and social participation in more detail. Focusing at young adolescents' likelihood of engaging in sports and movement; spending time with friends and family; computer, games and online communication; making and listening to music; and activities in organisations; the results showed that there were no significant differences between young adolescents with and without migration backgrounds. Only for spending time with friends and family, young adolescents with migration backgrounds were less likely to engage in this form of social participation (Tophoven et al., 2018, p.81) The researchers also analysed the subjective feeling of participating and being included in social life, as well as general life satisfaction. There was no significant difference found for young adolescents with and

without migration backgrounds. However, looking at the satisfaction with the standard of living, young adolescents with migration backgrounds were less likely to be satisfied (Tophoven et al., 2018, p. 87). Overall, the indicators of social participation in the research from 2018 provide more insights and focus more on everyday aspects of social participation.

The importance of focusing on everyday aspects of social participation is also emphasized by Horgan et al., (2017) who conducted the most theoretically sound research on children's social participation. Their research provided the basis for the development of the Irish 'National Strategy on Children and Young People's participation', the first such strategy in Europe. Horgan et al., (2017) divided their sample of children into age groups of 7-12 and 12-17 years old without considering children's migration backgrounds. The researchers conducted a qualitative study focusing on children's every day, relational participation in their homes, schools and communities in Ireland. They distinguished between institutional/public/formal and private/informal spaces of participation and found that children's participation is most limited in public spheres, especially in schools, while the home is the most facilitative space of children's participation. Many formal participation opportunities are still voice-based and conditional and depend on age, adult-perceived competence without considering children's diversity. Horgan et al. (2017) further emphasize the importance of good relationships and everyday aspects of participation. The research findings also underline the importance of consumption activities in the context of participation, related to for example food, clothes and pocket money. Finally, the researchers conclude that to weaken the dominance of governed, formal structures of participation, it is crucial to use and facilitate a broad concept of children's participation as every day, informal and social participation in horizontal spaces (Horgan et al., 2017).

Coming back to the field of integration research; Sauer and Held (2006) conducted comparative research on the integration, including the aspect of participation, of children aged 9-14 years in Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany, and California, USA. Their results emphasize the interconnectedness between neighbourhood, school, family and social relationships as social and action spaces of participation. Furthermore, they suggested that children with migration backgrounds, and thus with different ethnic and social backgrounds, need to actively use their resources and capital to participate in society and their lived spaces; and that societal conditions influence their participation more than the migration background as a biographical factor.

The Gutachten des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats für Familienfragen beim Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend [Report of the Scientific Advisory

Committee for Family matters at the Federal Ministry for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth] researched the social participation of children with migration backgrounds in Germany. The researchers criticize that the limited research available uses simplified, homogenized conceptualisations of migration backgrounds and bring forward an insufficient consideration of socioeconomic and socio-structural factors (Spieß et al., 2016). Furthermore, the researchers criticize that existing research does not provide a definition of social participation with specific, measurable criteria and therefore, they developed an own concept of participation by drawing upon Amartya Sen's capabilities approach (Diewald et al., 2016). The research project's concept of social participation is based on family relationships and resources, social networks beyond the family, and formal and informal educational participation; based on the findings that these aspects are neglected in the existing research. "Family resources and capabilities" include cohesion and conflict, educational support processes (taking care of school performance, helping with homework, being present at school), everyday family life (joint activities, distribution of household tasks), spatial and financial aspects (own room, pocket money) etc. "Social networks" include relationships to peers and friends, participation in organisations and own activities (friendships, volunteer work), perceived acceptance by others (rejection, integration and acceptance) etc. "Formal and informal participation in education" included the use of kindergarten, 'Hort', and 'Ganztagsschule', and informal activities ('AGs', sports and culture) etc. The results show that migration backgrounds can result in specific risks, but also particular opportunities for participation (Andresen et al., 2016). Furthermore, differences in participation between children with and without migration backgrounds are very weak and are often only at first sight related to a migration background. Differences are mostly caused by other variables that somehow correspond with migration backgrounds. For both children with and without migration backgrounds, their participation opportunities are mostly determined by their parents' education, their socio-economic status and (especially the mother's) labour market participation (Gerlach, 2016).

3.2 The research question: What needs to be known?

Overall, the state of the art shows that there is a research gap for the social participation of children with migration backgrounds. To be precise, only the report from Filipp et al. (2016) focuses more or less explicitly on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds. Thus, there is a need to conduct more research on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds and the factors that determine their

social participation. Based on the discussed literature, the following research question emerges: How do children with and without migration backgrounds living in Germany engage in forms of social participation and which factors influence their social participation?

This research question is new and innovative because it addresses several aspects at once and attempts to contribute to the research gap of measurements of social participation of children, as well as to the research gap of the social participation of children with migration backgrounds. The following hypothesis will be examined: There are differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds, but these differences are stronger related to other social and structural factors than to migration backgrounds. In the next section, I explain the methodology and the methods used to answer this research question.

4. Methods

In the theoretical framework (see section 2.2), the theories of social participation were discussed and a definition of social participation was created. In the state of art (see section 3), existing research focusing on the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds was discussed. In the following section, I explain the methodology and methods used in this research. The research methodology is divided into four steps, encompassing a theoretical and empirical analysis.

Theoretical analysis:

1. Concept development of social participation

Empirical analysis:

2. Descriptive statistics of the children in the data set and their migration backgrounds
3. Bivariate analysis: Chi-square tests of independence to analyse how migration backgrounds are associated with the indicators and factors of social participation, and for additional insights, how the parental countries of origins are associated with the indicators of social participation
4. Multivariate analysis: Binary logistic regression analysis to analyse the relationship of the indicators of social participation and migration backgrounds in relation to factors of social participation

4.1 Research methodology

The methodology of this study combined macro-, meso- and micro-level perspectives, as suggested by Popyk et al., (2019). The analysed data were individual-level data based on children's answers and, thus, account for the micro-level perspective. The different life domains of the children (family, school, and community) that were examined in the analysis represented the meso-level perspective, whereas socio-structural variables, such as socio-economic class reflected the macro-level perspective.

In the process of the concept development, I analysed research that focuses on the different meso-level life domains of children's' social participation and incorporated the insights into a measurable concept of children's social participation. This approach was oriented at the research methodology of the Gutachten des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats für Familienfragen beim Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend [Report of the Scientific Advisory Committee for Family matters at the Federal Ministry for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth] who researched the social participation of children with migration backgrounds in Germany². I do not claim that the concept development of this research is a perfect scientific operationalisation of the concept of social participation, but it is a concept development based on empirical research, and it permits scientific analysis and the generation of knowledge by the means of a pragmatic, survey-based measure of social participation. Oriented at the example of Harder et al. (2018) who designed a multidimensional measure of immigrant integration, the concept used in this research captures key aspects of social participation without claiming these aspects to be the only or the best ones to assess the complex concept of social participation.

The first approach of this research was to use latent class analysis and to create a single, coherent, latent variable of social participation, based on several indicator variables. However, the creation of this model and the latent variable proved to be very difficult. Furthermore, it is questionable whether participation can be measured as a latent variable, thus as an unobservable underlying concept, although this approach is represented in existing research in the field of health and social care literature (Coster et al., 2012, p.244). Instead, I then based the research on Coster et al.'s (2012, p.244) recommendation to use items, which "are not taken as representing an unobservable underlying quality, but simply treated as meaningful

² The report first discussed the target group, children with migration backgrounds living in Germany, then the concept of participation in general and later focused on its separate dimensions (Diewald et al., 2016). The report then discussed the existing literature for the different dimensions of participation (Diehl et al., 2016) and based on these insights, the researchers defined variables and indicators of interest and analysed them (Spieß et al., 2016).

indicators in and of themselves.”³

The six representative indicators of social participation used in this research are as follows: self-determination in everyday life, family outings, school life satisfaction, club membership, meeting friends, the usage of online social networks such as Facebook and Instagram. More information on the choice of these indicators and their operationalisation can be found in Appendix A. “German children without migration backgrounds” were used as a reference category because they represent the majority compared to children with migration backgrounds, but this does not mean that the degree of social participation of German children without migration backgrounds is the benchmark.

Participation can be measured based on a comparative, normative or societal norm (Coster et al., 2012, p.243-244). The benchmark set for the indicators of social participation in this research is comparative and societal, at oriented at the 50/75 rule⁴ as used by de Haan 1998 (as cited in Bittman, 2002, p.409). Each indicator is a measurable, binary category of social participation (see Appendix B & C). The percentage distribution of these binary categories is in accordance with the 50/75 rule, except for the indicator “online social networks” (see Table E.2.2). This research measured whether children reported engaging in a certain form of social participation, instead of whether they can engage in theory in this activity but choose not to. Thus within this measurement, there is still a certain kind of inherent normativity. As stated by Coster et al. (2012, p.243): “These questions cannot be addressed without examining the values implicit in them about what is important, what is desirable and what constitutes the ‘good life’”.

4.2 Research methods

The statistical analysis was based on explanatory correlational research design, following the example of the 4th World Vision Children Study (Andresen et al., 2018). Explanatory correlational research aims to measure and explain the relationships between variables (Creswell, 2012, p.340). The statistical procedures employed in this research are chi-square tests of independence and binary logistic regression analyses. Another advantage of using

³ This approach was also used to create the measurement of participation of children and youth with and without disabilities: The Participation and Environment Measure - Children and Youth Version (PEM-CY) (Coster et al., 2012). The multidimensional construct of participation is measured with items representing life activities at the three-life settings family, school and community.

⁴ Bittman (2002) argues that social participation is the “integration in the activities customary in a particular society” (de Haan 1998: 12 as cited in Bittman, 2002, p. 409). The boundaries between luxuries and necessities concerning leisure activities thus should be drawn in comparison to the community standard. Using the 50/75 rule, if 50% of the community pursue a certain item or activity, it should be part of every modest lifestyle, and if 75% of the community do so, then the item or activity in question should be even part of a frugal lifestyle.

correlational research is that the results of this research can be compared to the results of the 4th World Vision Children Study.

Data and sample

The software SPSS was used to analyse a quantitative survey of a representative sample of children in Germany. The data used in this research are from the 4th World Vision Children Study, conducted in Germany in 2017 among 2.550 children aged 6-11 years who go to school. The household survey is based on computer-assisted personal interviews with children and a written parent questionnaire (Pupeter, Wolfert & Schneekloth, 2018a, p. 345). More information about the survey and the data collection process can be found in the publication by World Vision (Andresen et al., 2018). The 4th World Vision Children Study has a quantitative and a qualitative part. The latter part presents the results of interviews with 12 representative study participants. For this research, only quantitative data are analysed. The variables used in this research are presented in Table 6 (see section 5.9).

Descriptive statistics

The descriptive statistics provide insights into the composition of the representative sample of children living in Germany used in this research, also by presenting the parental countries of origins that could not be integrated into the logistic regression analysis due to their complexity.

Bivariate analysis

Chi-square tests of independence were computed with each of the six indicators of social participation and the variable “ migration backgrounds”, which distinguishes three categories of children in Germany:

- 1- Children with German nationality and no migration backgrounds
- 2- Children with German nationality and migration backgrounds
- 3- Children with foreign nationality living in Germany.

The category of migration backgrounds is the same as used by the 4th World Vision Children Study. Pupeter and Schneekloth (2018a, p.57) gathered information about the origin of the parents, as well as the nationality of the children and computed the above-mentioned three categories oriented at the definition of the German Federal Statistical Office (2020). In the following, these three categories are reported simplified. The simplified description only

serves for better readability and is not aimed to be a normative marker of belonging or exclusion.

- 1- German children
- 2- German children with migration backgrounds
- 3- Foreign children.

Multivariate analysis

The final step of the analysis determined whether the associations detected in the bivariate analysis persist when including other factors through logistic regression analysis. The logistic regression analysis allows examining the relationship between the main variable of interest, the independent variable “migration backgrounds”, and a dependent variable representing social participation (for example meeting friends), while simultaneously looking at the relationships with other factors⁵, such as socioeconomic class etc. In this way, it can be found whether other factors have significant explanatory value or are moderators; what the direction of the relationship is, and whether including other factors decreases or increases the significance and strength of “migration backgrounds”. However, logistic regression can only indicate correlation, not causation. The logistic regression analysis is useful for answering the research question as it can show whether “migration backgrounds” can explain the likelihood of engaging in forms of social participation and, if so, to what extent migration backgrounds explain indicators of social participation compared to other factors. A further important step is the inclusion of interaction effects⁶ between migration backgrounds and other factors. This analytical step provides further important information, as it shows that seemingly straightforward relationships can depend on moderators. The two-way interaction effects with “migration backgrounds” as the main variable of interest were tested for each model with each factor. Non-included interaction effects thus indicate non-significant interaction effects. Three-way interaction effects were not tested and also interaction effects between other factors than “migration backgrounds” were not tested as this is not the focus of analysis.

⁵ The term “factors” is used for additional explanatory independent variables. These additional factors are not mere control variables, they are treated as additional independent variables, oriented at the methods of the 4th World Vision Children Study (Andresen et al., 2018). For this study, binary, multinomial and ordinal logistic regressions were conducted with the same data set but with other models than in this research. All factors were treated as independent variables which were analysed separately, not as mere control variables.

⁶ An interaction effect is “the combined effect of two or more predictor variables on an outcome variable. It can be used to gauge moderation” (Field, 2018, p.1285).

However, it can be assumed that even better fitting models with more explanatory value could be created by testing other interaction effects.

5. Theoretical results: Concept development

The objective of this research is to create a concept of social participation that can be analysed and measured quantitatively and that is oriented at children's lifeworlds. This concept is based on findings taken from the revision of the state of the art and on additional literature. This concept defines life domains and important indicators of social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds. From the literature review, the following life domains of social participation of children with migration backgrounds emerged: Family life, school life and community life. Following Davis and Hill's (2006, p.1) suggestion, the concept also incorporates factors that function as facilitators and barriers to social participation.

5.1. Family domain

Research on migrant families often problematizes immigrant parents and intrafamilial dynamics in migrant family lives, by negatively evaluating immigrant parents' cultural capital and socialisation practices (Popyk et al., 2019, p. 241). For example, especially with families with Arab and Turkish backgrounds, a stronger family-centredness is associated (Spieß et al., 2016). Indeed, a strong focus on the family can be an enabling factor for participation opportunities, but an all-consuming focus on family can restrict participation opportunities (Gerlach, 2016). Against this background, an own children's room can be a positive factor for children's social participation as an own room carries meanings of freedom for children and allows them to express their identity (Popyk et al., 2019; Diewald et al., 2016).

Other research on migrant families focuses on migrant children as agents and at their family roles (Popyk et al., 2019, p.243). For example, language is seen as a resource opening up opportunities for social participation in the country of residence, and it is influenced by family life (Sauer, 2009). Often, children with migration backgrounds become interpreters and support and guide their parents with their newly acquired cultural competences and language brokering. This can be either a straining or a strengthening role for the children (Popyk et al., 2019, p.241-242). Overall, family structures and processes are crucial for the social participation of children, as they determine the availability of resources and possibilities (Sauer, 2009).

Similarly considering the importance of family processes, Horgan et al. (2017) suggest measuring children's participation in family life with very small, seemingly insignificant

indicators of daily life, such as children's choice of food and clothes, the use of social media at home, bedtime, the use of leisure time, meeting friends, pocket money etc; as all these choices emerge from daily interactions and negotiations between children's agency and their parents' exercise of power within the generational order (Mitchell & Elwood, 2012; Ralph, 2013 as cited in Horgan et al. 2017, p.284). In line with Horgan's (2017) argument, Spieß et al. (2016, p.173) underline in their study the significant role that parents play concerning their children's social participation, in this case, their free-time activities. According to Spieß et al. (2016, p.173), parental decisions and influences play a more significant role in children's access to cultural activities than educational institutions such as schools. Interestingly, concerning children with migration backgrounds, Spieß et al. (2016, p.173) did not find a significant difference in the frequency of family outings to theatres, circus or museum etc. compared with children without migration backgrounds.

However, as Horgan et al. (2017) criticize, the suggested everyday, affective forms of participation are often neglected in research. Social participation of children is often measured with indicators that are linked to structured activities or familial financial means, for example, as in the research by Tophoven et al. (2015) who measured social participation with indicators such as going on holiday, inviting friends over for lunch or dinner, going to the cinema, theatre or concert and going to the restaurant.

In their study on children's poverty in Germany, Tophoven et al. (2016) theorize a lower degree of social participation to be a consequence of material deprivation, which is caused by the following factors: Single-parent family, a high number of siblings, unemployment/low qualification of parents and Non-German nationality. In research on social participation and family welfare, Bittman (2002) identified household income and parental time available as the main factors influencing exclusion from leisure participation. Thereby, Bittman (2002) combines both financial factors as well as parental factors for the analysis of social participation, which are interlinked through, for example, hours of work, family responsibilities and gender. Considering material resources, amongst others, a television, newspaper, magazines, toys, a home computer, and a telephone are considered to be necessary items for social participation (Bittman, 2002). Overall, social participation in the family domain can be either measured by every day, unstructured interactions in family life or by structured activities and it is influenced by manifold factors. The following table summarizes the conclusions drawn from the discussed literature.

Table I

Indicators and influencing factors of social participation in the family domain

Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Structured activities with the family (going on a holiday, family outings to the theatre, circus, museum etc.) (Tophoven et al., 2015; Spieß et al., 2016)- Unstructured, daily life interactions and negotiations in family life (choice of food and clothes, bedtime, the use of leisure time, meeting friends etc.) (Horgan et al., 2017)
Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Financial means of the parents, household income (Tophoven et al., 2015; Bittman, 2002)- Parental socioeconomic status (unemployment, educational qualifications etc.) (Tophoven et al., 2016)- Parental respect and trust (Horgan et al., 2017)- Parental time (Bittman, 2002) <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Family structure (Single-parent family, number of siblings) (Tophoven et al., 2015; Tophoven et al., 2016).- Material resources provided by the family (television, newspaper/magazines, toys, computer, phone) (Bittman, 2002)- Own children's room (Popyk et al., 2019; Diewald et al. 2016),- The language spoken at home (Sauer, 2009)

5.2. School domain

The education system is often considered to be the most important space for social participation, as its goal is to teach children how to comply with society's rules (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018). However, the participation that the education systems asks for is a form of simple agency that adheres to the hierarchical, generational order, as Baraldi and Cockburn (2018) criticize. Horgan et al.'s (2017) confirm this critique as the researchers found that many children are dissatisfied with the very restricted decision-making opportunities in school, feel they have little to say and wish for informal discussion spaces in the school. Another problem is, that while participation initiatives can be useful for the development of skills such as self-understanding (Raby, 2014), students involved in formal student voice initiatives are often the smart, politically interested, popular and well-behaved students, often from wealthier classes (Davey, Shaw & Burke, 2010; Turkie, 2010 as cited in Horgan et al., 2017, p.278); while it is particularly important to include and represent those children that do not fit into this scheme, for example, children with migration backgrounds.

Research of children with migration backgrounds and their positionings in education systems often frames them as a problematic and disadvantaged homogenous group, lacking educational, cultural and linguistic competences and therefore needing political, linguistic and

national socialisation and identity adoption (Popyk et al., 2019).

In a literature review of research on education and second-generation from refugee backgrounds in Germany, Chimienti et al. (2019, p.5-6) conclude that most research on the second generation studied their school performance compared to other groups, mostly resulting in the findings that educational achievements are mainly influenced by individual factors (language skills, parents' educational and socioeconomic level). Nevertheless, structural and social factors, in particular institutional factors, can offset the individual factors.

The Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) also distinguishes into individual and social factors relevant for the integration into the education system: Individual factors such as language spoken at home, parents' educational background, arrival in the host country after the age of 12; and institutional factors, such as the host country's percentage of GDP spent on education and the education system and school composition in general, for example, student-teacher ratios (Huddleston et al., 2015).

Besides measuring the educational achievements, participation in school can be measured by examining children's involvement in schoolwork, their commitment to the school rules, children's expressions of opinion when asked, and their participation in school events and activities (De Castro, 2012, p.58 as cited in Horgan, 2017, p.280). However, for De Castro (2012, p.58 as cited in Horgan et al., 2017, p.280), these are indicators of „conservative participation“, thus behaviours that support to maintain hierarchical relationships in schools with possible negative effects on children's participation.

Instead of measuring academic achievements, Sauer (2009) suggests asking children with migration backgrounds how important school is for them. Based on this question, a study by Sauer and Held (2006) found that children with migration backgrounds in Germany and the US consider the school as more important to them than children without migration backgrounds. It can be assumed that children with migration backgrounds appreciate the education and social contacts offered by schools and that often their parents have high educational aspirations for their children (Sauer, 2009).

This argumentation is supported by a strand of research that focuses on the immigrant optimism claim, which argues that children of immigrants often have higher educational ambitions than their native peers, even when facing economic precarity (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kirui & Kao, 2018; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016). For example, Feliciano and Lanuza (2016) found that in the U.S., children from immigrants are more likely to attend graduate school than their native peers. This advantage is explained by higher parental expectations, such as an obligation ethos to achieve a better socio-economic standing, children of immigrants' greater interest in

school already in early elementary school, and specific types of cultural capital such as country of origin language knowledge. The researchers argue that the usage of the country of origin language shapes children to educated individuals who are aware of cultural differences in communication and social interaction and can prioritize “proper relatedness and moral formation” (Prins, 2011 as cited in Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016, p. 26).

However, in a more recent study, Feliciano and Lanuza (2017) claim that the second-generation advantage is overstated in many studies and that it can be explained by the contextual attainment of the parents, as U.S. immigrants mostly originate from higher social classes, only that their socio-economic standing is downgraded after the migration process (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017). Overall, the theory of immigrant optimism is debated. Another example is provided by Khattab (2018) who compares three studies with a focus on Britain confirming the theory of immigrant optimism by arguing that minority students have higher educational aspirations as a strategy of resistance to overcome structural disadvantages with a similar study in Italy that finds that immigrant students have lower academic aspirations and achievements than their non-immigrant peers.

Adding to the discussion, Nygård and Behtoui (2020) analysed the social capital and educational attainments of children of immigrants. They define social capital as social resources such as “norms, values and information, but also cultural and economic capital, help and emotional support”(Nygård and Behtoui, 2020, p.52). The research on the social capital of children of immigrants and ethnic minorities has produced contradicting results; with studies arguing that immigrants and their children have less access to social capital than non-immigrants and studies arguing the opposite theorizing that immigrants and their children have more transnational ties and also stronger bonds of solidarity among their communities. Nygård and Behtoui (2020) found that children of immigrants in Sweden are more likely to be confronted with discrimination, are at higher risk of poverty and are more likely to attend disadvantaged schools. However, these barriers can be countered with social capital, which has a positive relationship with educational outcomes and outweighs parents’ origin.

In addition, an important variable, which is seldom taken into account when measuring the educational aspirations of students, is the teacher regard. The teacher regard can be measured by the objective relationship between a teacher and a student by asking how much students feel their teachers care about them, how fairly they feel treated and how often they have trouble (Pinchak, 2017). Pinchak (2017) found that increases in teacher regard were positively related to increases in college attendance aspirations, and for students whose parents had not completed college and also Hispanic students, a positive teacher regard was

especially influential for increases in college attendance expectations. The findings are in line with Horgan et al. (2017) who argue that teachers' dismissive attitudes can function as a barrier to children's participation, but teacher's positive, respectful attitudes function as facilitators.

Finally, against the background of the COVID-19 pandemic, Tophoven et al., (2020, p.23) emphasize the increased importance of having a suitable place to study at home for children. Overall, research on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds in the school domain seems to focus either on their academic performance or on their educational ambitions. The differences between children with and without migration backgrounds in the school domain are theorised to be caused by manifold individual and social/structural factors. The findings from this part of the concept development are summarized in the following table.

Table 2

Indicators and influencing factors of social participation in the school domain

Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School performance/academic achievements (Chimienti et al., 2019; Huddleston et al., 2015) - Involvement in school work (Horgan et al., 2017) - Commitment to school rules (Horgan et al., 2017) - Expressions of opinions when asked (Horgan et al., 2017) - Participation in school events and activities (Horgan et al., 2017) - Participatory/student-voice activities (Raby, 2014; Horgan et al., 2017) - Appreciation/satisfaction with education and social contacts at school (Sauer, 2009) -
Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual factors - The language spoken at home (Chimienti et al., 2019; Huddleston et al., 2015; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016) - Parents' educational and socioeconomic background (Chimienti et al., 2019; Huddleston et al., 2015; (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017). - Arrival in the country of residence after the age of 12 (Huddleston et al., 2015) - Educational ambitions and aspirations (Sauer & Held, 2006; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kirui & Kao, 2018; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Khattab, 2018) - Parental expectations, obligation ethos (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016) - Interest in school already in early elementary school (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016)

-
- Specific types of cultural and social capital (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Nygård and Behtoui, 2020)
 - **Structural and social factors**
 - Residence country's percentage of GDP spent on education (Huddleston et al, 2015)
 - The education system and school composition (Huddleston et al, 2015)
 - Teachers' attitudes (Pinchak, 2017; Horgan et al., 2017)
 - A suitable place to study at home (Tophoven et al., 2020)
-

5.3. Community domain

The concept of social participation in the community domain is separated into three parts; structured and unstructured community participation and online participation. All three parts are discussed in the following.

Structured community participation

Tophoven et al. (2016) point out the importance of leisure time, in particular extracurricular activities, as an important place of socialisation besides family and school, and as an opportunity for new lifeworlds and experiences, and with the potential for accessing social support. Lareau et al. (2013, p.356) distinguish leisure time into “concerted cultivation” and “natural growth”; while (U.S. American) middle-class children engage more in organised activities, the working class and poor children rather hang out and spend time with extended kin, thus forms of non-organised leisure. In contrast, Hille et al. (2013) differentiate between educational leisure activities (for example sports, music, dance, theatre, volunteer work) and informal leisure activities (meeting friends).

In particular, participation in clubs and association is highlighted by many scholars as an important influential factor and expression of social participation (Marschke, 2014; Bartelheimer et al., 2016). Horgan et al. (2017) found that children who are involved in youth clubs or projects in the community are extremely positive about their participatory experiences. However, when Horgan et al. (2017) asked children and young people directly about their community participation, they found that formal participatory structures such as youth councils were not mentioned; instead, the young research participants mentioned their participation in after-school activities, such as playful activities, sport and youth clubs.

Some scholars criticize that free time for children is too much regulated by adults and institutions (Moss and Petrie, 2002; Prout, 2002 as cited in Davis & Hill, 2006, p. 9). However, Popyk et al. (2019) claim that hobbies and leisure activities in the local community enable children to execute their agency and form social capital and feelings of belonging.

Diehl et al. (2016, p.108) found that children with migration backgrounds are less represented in German associations than children without migration backgrounds. However, this result might be caused by a lack of accessibility to children with migration backgrounds as the “deutsche Vereinskultur” [German culture of associations] focuses on the needs of the majority society. Against this background, Marschke (2014) suggests a distinction between participation in clubs and associations of the majority society and migrant/ethnic organisations. Most migrant /ethnic organisations are cultural or religious organisations and participation in these organisations can provide a feeling of belonging, and at the same time increase participation in other areas. For example, active members of migrant/ethnic organisations often are also active in organisations of the majority society and overall maintain more contact to the majority society (Cyrus, 2005 as cited in Marschke, 2014, p. 74). Furthermore, besides these formal forms of engagement, many adults and youth with migration backgrounds participate in informal engagement directed at family, neighbours and the community (Marschke, 2014).

Overall, participation in clubs and associations depends on many factors. According to Hille et al., (2013), children with parents who have high educational attainment participate more in educational than in informal leisure activities; the migration backgrounds (of the mother) and the level of household income play a significantly smaller role than the social class in this context. In contrast, Lareau et al. (2013) found that family income and maternal educational attainment, all of them proxy variables of social class, are significantly related to children’s time use, while race does not seem to play a significant role. Besides financial means, the spatial situation also matters. Especially in rural areas, there is limited availability of clubs, and in some cases, there is no public transport, or parents do not have the time to take especially younger children to the activities. (Bartelheimer et al., 2016).

Unstructured community participation

According to Tophoven et al. (2018, p.65), when children and young adolescents were asked about their favourite free-time activities, the three most often reported activities were the following: Sport and movement; spending time with friends and family; and computer, games, and communication through phone, internet etc.. Reported reasons for not being able to engage in these activities were as followed: Too costly, not available in the region, not enough time and no partner to engage in the activity with (Tophoven et al., 2018, p. 76).

Overall, peer socialisation can be more influential on the development of children than educational institutions and their families, as Popyk et al. (2019) argue. Friendships between

children with and without migration backgrounds are influenced by opportunities for social participation within their family, neighbourhood and school, and by children's social and cultural capital (Sauer, 2009). According to Brinkmann (2014, p. 46), while Germans are more likely to participate in cultural and sports activities, foreigners maintain stronger social relationships with friends and neighbours than their German peers and Gerlach (2016) found that boys with migration backgrounds have more friends than boys without migration background.

As mentioned before, social participation opportunities are also influenced by geographical factors. Sixtus et al. (2019) examined objective social participation opportunities such as the distance to the next school and the availability of a swimming pool or a cinema and found that the federal states of East Germany still lack behind the federal states of former West Germany. The areas with most participation opportunities are in the South of Germany (Sixtus et al., 2019, p.19). Within big cities, different neighbourhoods offer very different social participation opportunities. Sixtus et al. (2019) found that neighbourhoods, where a lot of state transfer benefits recipients and people with migration backgrounds live, are more restricted in their social participation opportunities due to deficient infrastructure and little public funding. But in general, big cities offer more opportunities for social participation because of a better supply of services, availability of institutions such as schools, and public transport networks compared to rural areas. Social participation opportunities in rural areas are often hindered by long distances and a lack of public transport connections. However, the main research finding is that a sense of home, a sense of solidarity with a region and identification with the community can outweigh structural deficits in participation opportunities. (Sixtus et al., 2019, p.7).

Fernández-Kelly's (2020) research confirms that demographic factors, such as the neighbourhood and the location, as well as class-related dynamics, are very influential for the capacities of immigrant children and children of immigrants to resist downward mobility and to shape their self-image. In line with this finding, Sauer (2009) argues that the neighbourhood as the immediate living environment allows children to participate in spaces, interact with peers and negotiate rules and responsibilities, and that, the neighbourhood can be seen as a socio-ecological resource that shapes possibilities of social participation. Furthermore, Sauer (2009) claims that children with migration backgrounds who live in a multicultural neighbourhood develop a specific openness, understanding and curiosity of other cultures. Sauer (2009) also criticizes that since the 1990s, parents increasingly coordinate the social spaces of children and their financial capital increasingly influences spaces accessible to

children. Another development is that former free time is now often structured and planned, leaving little room for an independent appropriation of places in the neighbourhood. Thus, for children with and without migration backgrounds, the use of different social spaces is influenced by different factors (Rauschenbach & Wehland, 1989 as cited in Sauer, 2009, p.175).

Online social participation

There is not a lot of comparative research available for children with and without migration and their online social participation, and it is questionable whether online activities can be a form of social participation. Also, smartphones and social media bear a certain danger for children as they can be used for cyberbullying and sexual cyberbullying (Bergmann et al., 2019, p.45). Nevertheless, this research includes an indicator of social participation to investigate this question.

Research on online activities and immigrants often focuses on transnationalism, for example on the fostering of intergeneration transnational ties through social media (Bloch & Hirsch, 2018), immigrant children's role as media brokers (Wang, 2020) and the role of children as connectors to the country of origin (Tyrell & Kallis, 2015). For example, technology and social media increased children's opportunities to maintain transnational ties without being dependent on their parents (Bloch & Hirsch, 2018).

Tophoven et al. (2018, p. 81) found poverty experience and gender as two explanatory factors for the likelihood of playing computer, online games and engaging in online communication. The findings for youth with poverty experience were contradicting, some youth engaged more and some less than children without poverty experience (Tophoven et al., 2018, p.81). Girls were less likely to engage in these online activities and there were no significant differences found for children with and without migration backgrounds

According to the definition of social participation used in this research, for online activities to be a form of social participation, they need to be performed as a social practice and need to provide opportunities for the exercise of agency. Forms of online communication per messengers, video chats or social networks can be theorised as forms of social participation. Computer and other online games could be forms of social participation if they are not played alone but with others, depending on the extent of agency that can be exercised, but this is debatable and would rather be a question for future research. Passive activities or activities performed without social interactions, such as watching movies and listening to music online, or surfing the internet are thus not online forms of social participation.

Table 3*Indicators and influencing factors of social participation in the community domain*

Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Structured activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in formal clubs, associations, organisations (for example sports, music, dance, theatre, volunteer work) (Marschke, 2014; Bartelheimer et al., 2016; Hille et al., 2013) - Formal participatory youth councils (Horgan et al., 2017) - Unstructured activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Playing/hanging out in the neighbourhood/community (Lareau et al., 2018) - Meeting friends (Hille et al., 2013; Tophoven et al., 2018) - Spending time with family and extended kin (Lareau et al., 2013; Tophoven et al., 2018) - Online social participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Online social communication/interaction (Bloch & Hirsch, 2018; Tophoven et al., 2018; Wang, 2020, Tyrrell & Kallis, 2015)
Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social class (Fernández-Kelly, 2020) - Household income (Hille et al., 2013; Lareau et al., 2013; Sauer, 2009; Tophoven et al., 2018) - Parental educational attainment (Hille et al., 2013) - Parental opinions (Sauer, 2009) - Parental time (Bartelheimer et al., 2016) - Region (East/West/South Germany) (Sixtus et al., 2019) - Area (Rural or urban) (Sixtus et al., 2019; Fernández-Kelly, 2020; Bartelheimer et al., 2016) - Availability of public transport (Sixtus et al., 2019; Bartelheimer et al., 2016) - Children's time (Tophoven et al., 2018) - Children's social and cultural capital (Sauer, 2009) - Gender (Tophoven et al., 2018; Gerlach, 2016) - Sense of home/solidarity/identification with the community (Sixtus et al., 2019)

The concept development shows that most research on the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds focuses on the school and the community domain, rather than the family domain. The following concept of social participation is based on the discussed literature (see Table 4). However, the framework is based on the data available in the 4th World Vision Children Study, thus the concept is influenced by the availability of the data. The discussed indicators and factors of social participation are thus combined with the existing variables in the data set.

Developing a short concept based on the main concept of social participation

The presented concept of social participation is a detailed concept based on the literature discussed in the concept development of social participation and based on the data available of the 4th World Vision Children Study. It can be used to quantitatively assess the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds.

Unfortunately, the analysis of the detailed concept is not within the scope of this research. Therefore, I created a short concept of social participation which encompasses six representative indicators within the three life domains (see Table 5). For the interested reader, the justification for the choice of the six representative indicators can be found in Appendix A. Below the short concept of social participation can be found the variable description (see Table 6) that results from the short concept, and in the following section 6, the concept is statistically analysed.

5.4. A comprehensive concept of social participation

Table 4

Concept of social participation

Domain	Indicators of social participation	More specific measurements	Factors of social participation
			Gender Age
Family domain	Structured activities with the family (family outings)		Poverty experience
	Going on a one-week holiday at least once a year		Number of siblings in the household
	Celebrating special occasions such as birthdays, name days or religious		Single-parent family
	Inviting friends to eat or play		Parental attention and care
	Self-determination in everyday life	Own decision... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - with which friends to meet - which clothes to wear - what to spend the pocket money on - how many friends to bring home - what to do in the free time - when to do the homework 	Mother's valuation of the child's opinion Father's valuation of the child's opinion

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to play outside without adults? - to go to school without adults? <p>To be allowed to decide what to do as a family do in the free time</p> <p>To be allowed to decide what to eat at home</p>	
School domain	Academic performance		Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion
	Satisfaction with school life	<p>Satisfaction with school and school lessons</p> <p>Satisfaction with the teachers</p> <p>Satisfaction with the other children</p>	<p>The language spoken at home</p> <p>Socioeconomic class</p> <p>A suitable place to study at home</p> <p>Private tutoring</p>
	Participation in activities offered by the school	<p>Participation in...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a lunchtime care facility at the school - a daycare centre - another facility or group for afternoon care 	
	School co-determination	<p>Co-determination...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Classroom design - Bank neighbour - Setting up the tables - Shaping the class rules - School trip destinations - Design of school festivals - Choosing which tasks to work on in school lessons 	

		- Election of a class representative or pupils' council	
Community domain	Satisfaction with free time		Socioeconomic class Household income Settlement structure
	Friendships	Number of friends Number of really good friends Satisfaction with the friendship circle	Parental attention Mobile phone West/East Germany
	Online socialising	Meeting with friends online Being on Facebook or Instagram (or using other social networks) Using Whatsapp or Snapchat Chatting with others on the internet	Neighbourhood factors: Few public transport Playground/meadow within walking distance Too much car traffic
	Neighbourhood activities & relationships		
	Informal activities	Meeting with friends Meeting with friends outside (in the street, or the playground, yard etc.)	
	Formal/educational activities	Participation in clubs/associations/organisations	

5.5. A short concept of social participation

Table 5

Short concept of social participation

Domain	Indicator of social participation	Factors of social participation	
Family domain	Self-determination in everyday life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration backgrounds - Gender - Age - Socioeconomic class - Poverty experience - Parents' valuation of the child's opinion - Parental attention - Mobile phone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of siblings in the household - Single parent family
	Family outings		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Class teacher values the child's opinion - Friends' valuation of the child's opinion
School domain	School satisfaction		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of siblings in the household - Single parent family - Friends' valuation of the child's opinion
Community domain	Club membership		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of siblings in the household - Single parent family - Friends' valuation of the child's opinion
	Meeting friends		

	Online social participation (Usage of online social networks such as Facebook and Instagram)		<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Region (West/East Germany)- Settlement structure
--	--	--	---

5.6. Variable description

Table 6

*Variables*⁷

Variable name and type	Values range	Explanation
Family outings Dependent, binary	0- Almost never 1- Sometimes and often	The reported likelihood of going on family outings
Self-determination Dependent, binary	0- Little self-determination 1- Often or throughout self-determination	World Vision index of self-determination in everyday life
School life satisfaction Dependent, binary	0- Rather not satisfied with school life 1- Rather satisfied with school life	Index of the reported satisfaction with school life
Meeting friends Dependent, binary	0- Almost never 1- sometimes and very often	The reported likelihood of meeting friends

⁷ Further information on the variables and indexes can be found in Appendix B&C.

<p>Club membership</p> <p>Dependent, binary</p>	<p>0- No club membership 1- At least one club membership</p>	<p>Whether the respondents participate in at least one club, group, organisation or association, for example, sports club, music group etc. (according to their parent(s))</p>
<p>Whatsapp & Snapchat</p>	<p>0- Almost never 1- Sometimes and very often</p>	<p>The reported use of Whatsapp and Snapchat</p>
<p>Migration backgrounds</p> <p>Independent, factor with 3 levels</p>	<p>0- Germans (ref.) 1- Germans with migration backgrounds 2- Foreigners</p>	<p>0- Children with German nationality and without migration backgrounds 1- Children with German nationality and migration backgrounds 2- Children without German nationality and with migration backgrounds</p>
<p>Age</p> <p>Control, discrete</p>	<p>Min 6, max. 11</p>	<p>Respondents' age</p>
<p>Gender</p> <p>Control, binary</p>	<p>0- male (ref.) 1- female</p>	<p>Respondents' gender</p>

Socioeconomic class Control, factor with 3 levels	0- upper socioeconomic classes (ref.) 1- middle socioeconomic class 2- lower socioeconomic classes	World Vision index of social class
Poverty experience Control, binary	0- No poverty experience (ref.) 1- Concrete poverty experience	Whether the respondents experience poverty in their life
Parental attention Control, binary	0- Sufficient parental attention (ref.) 1- Parental attention deficit	Whether the respondents feel that their parents spend sufficient time with them or whether they feel a one- or two-sided parental attention deficit
Parents' valuation of the child's opinion Control, binary	0- rather no 1- rather yes (ref.)	Whether the respondents feel that their opinion is valued by their parents
Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion Control, binary	0- rather no 1- rather yes (ref.)	Whether the respondents feel that their opinion is valued by their class teacher

Friends' valuation of the child's opinion	0- rather no 1- rather yes (ref.)	Whether the respondents feel that their opinion is valued by their friends
Mobile phone Control, binary	0- no mobile phone (ref.) 1- mobile phone	Whether the respondents have a mobile phone
Region Control, binary	0- West (ref.) 1- East	Whether the respondents live in the West (incl. Berlin) or East of Germany
Settlement structure Control, factor with 4 levels	0- (large) cities (ref.) 1- peripheral locations of large cities 2- conurbations 3- rural areas	The settlement structure the respondents live in
Number of siblings in the household Control, factor with 3 levels	0- no siblings (ref.) 1- one sibling 2- two or more siblings	The reported number of siblings in the household according to the parents
Single-parent Control, binary	0- No single-parent family (ref.) 1- Single-parent family	Whether the respondents live in a single-parent family or not

Educational outcomes

0- (Above) average student (ref.)

1- Below average student

Whether the respondents think of themselves as a below-average, or average and above-average student

Control, binary

6. Empirical results: Testing the concept with statistical analyses

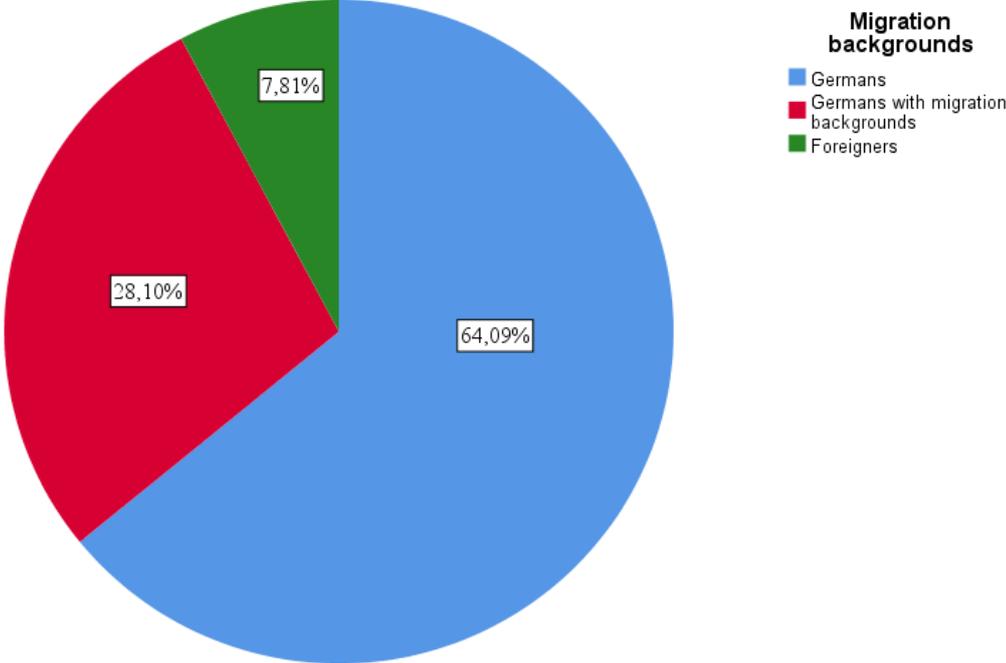
In the following sections, I first computed descriptive statistics, such as the distribution of migration backgrounds and the parental countries of origin, based on the data of the 4th World Vision Children Study (see section 6.1). Then I computed chi-square tests of independence with the dependent variable “migration backgrounds” and the factors of social participation (see section 6.2), as well as chi-square tests of independence with the dependent variable “migration backgrounds”, and to be more specific, with the dependent variable “parental country of origin) and indicators of social participation (see section 6.3). Finally, I computed six logistic regression models based on the six representative indicators of social participation (see section 6.4).

6.1 Descriptive analysis of children in Germany and their migration backgrounds

The emphasis of the heterogeneity and complexity of migration backgrounds is an important theoretical foundation of this research, and as the inferential statistical analyses cannot account for the complexity of migration backgrounds, the data is presented here to provide detailed insight. The presented numbers are a result of statistical weighting to represent the distribution of these groups in the overall population of Germany (see Appendix D). Amongst 2550 children, 64.1% of the children have German nationality and no migration backgrounds, 28.1% of the children have German nationality (or double nationality) and migration backgrounds and 7.8% have another nationality and migration backgrounds. More specific data on the distribution of one-sided and two-sided migration backgrounds as well as parents' reasons for migration can be found in Appendix F.

Figure 1

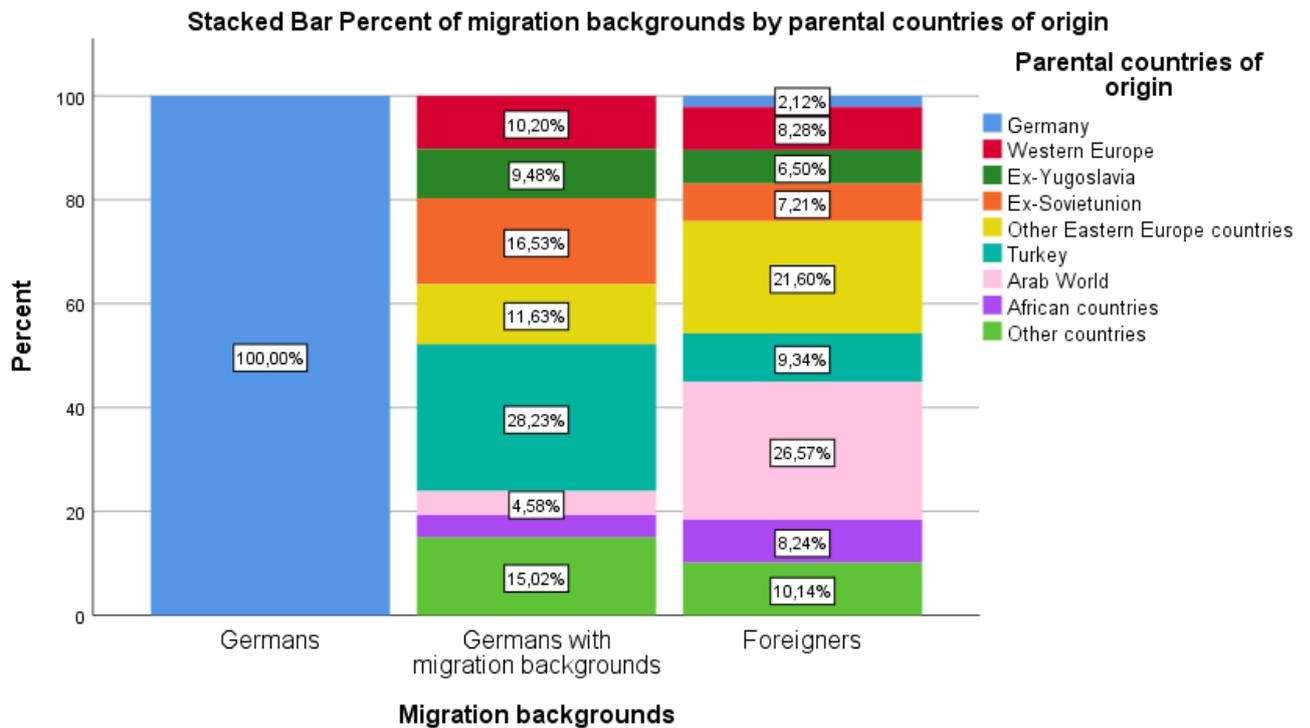
Migration backgrounds



Note. The figure shows the distribution of children’s migration backgrounds in Germany.

The following figure presents the parental countries of origin of the children. The countries of origins are assigned according to the nationality of the parents and the children. These categories were created by the 4th World Vision Children Study (Pupeter & Schneekloth, 2018a, p.58). The majority of German children with migration backgrounds have Turkish, Ex-Soviet, “other”, other East European and West European backgrounds, while the majority of foreign children have migration backgrounds from Arab, other East European countries, “other” countries and Turkey.

Figure 2
Countries of origin



Note. The figure shows the distribution of the countries of origin of children in Germany.

6.2 Bivariate analysis of migration backgrounds with factors of social participation

First, I computed descriptive summaries of the weighted samples of migration backgrounds according to the factors of social participation (see Table E.1.2) and chi-square tests of independence examine the relationships (see Table E.1.1). Except for parents' valuation of the child's opinion, the relationships between migration backgrounds and the factors of social participation are all significant, but the effect strength is very weak or weak⁸.

Foreign children are overrepresented in the lower socio-economic class and underrepresented in the upper ranks of socio-economic class in Germany. The same relationship, but weaker, is present for German children with migration backgrounds. Furthermore, more foreign children experience concrete poverty, compared to German children with and without migration backgrounds. Also, less foreign children have a mobile phone compared to their peers, however, the majority of children overall do not have a mobile

⁸ For all statistical tests, the p-level is specified at $p < .05$, thus p-values lower than .05 are considered as statistically significant. P-values in this research are reported as follows: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. The effect strengths of Cramér's V for the chi-square tests of independence are interpreted as follows: $V=.1$ is a weak effect, $V=.3$ is a moderate effect and $V=.5$ is a strong effect.

phone. Surprisingly, more German children without migration backgrounds have a parental attention deficit compared to the other two groups. In addition, slightly more German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children feel that their opinion is mostly valued by their parents⁹. The same effect can be found for the class teacher's and friends' valuation of the child's opinion.

Furthermore, it is of interest to look at in which parts of Germany and in which settlement structures and neighbourhoods the children live. German children without migration background are overrepresented in East Germany, rural areas and peripheries of large cities. On the contrary, German children with migration backgrounds and foreigners are overrepresented in large cities.

For the number of siblings in the household, more German children without migration backgrounds have no or only one sibling, while more German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children have two or more siblings. More German children without migration background live in single-parent families, compared to the other two groups. Finally, more German children with and without migration backgrounds estimate themselves to be an average or (very) good student, while more foreign children think of themselves as a below-average student.

6.3 Bivariate analysis of migration backgrounds with indicators of social participation

I computed the percentage distribution of the samples within the six indicators of social participation (see Table E.2.2) In addition, chi-square tests of independence were performed to examine the relationships between children's migration backgrounds and the representative indicators of social participation (see Table E.2.1). Furthermore, to get some additional insights into the category of migration backgrounds, first, descriptive statistics (see Table E.3.1) and then chi-square tests of independence were computed to examine the differences between the indicators of social participation and children's countries of origin (see Table E.3.2).

The results show that German children without migration backgrounds have more self-determination in everyday life than the other two groups and participate more often in at least one club. Fewer foreign children go on family outings, but more foreign children are rather satisfied with school life and use online social networks sometimes and often compared to the other two groups of children. German children with migration backgrounds are always situated between the two groups. The above-mentioned differences are statistically significant,

⁹ This is the only amongst the mentioned relationships that is not statistically significant (see Table E.1.1).

only for foreign children meeting their friends less often, the differences are not significant.

Furthermore, the analysis of the countries of origin (see Table E.3.1) showed that, compared to German children without migration backgrounds, fewer children with Turkish, Arab, African and “other” migration backgrounds report to have self-determination and to go on family outings; fewer children with Ex-Soviet, Turkish, Arab and African backgrounds are a member in at least one club; and children with Arab and “other” migration backgrounds meet friends less often. Children with Western European, Ex-Yugoslavian, Ex-Soviet, Eastern European and Turkish backgrounds use online social networks more often compared to German children without migration backgrounds. Interestingly, all 100% of children with African countries of origin report that they meet their friends sometimes or often and that they are rather satisfied with school life. All these differences between the countries of origin are statistically significant with a weak effect strength, except for the differences in school life satisfaction.

6.4 Multivariate analysis

A 3-step strategy was applied to specify logistic models for the six dependent variables, resulting in a total of 18 models (see Table FD&FO, Table SL, Table CC, CF& CO in Appendix H). To evaluate the logistic regression models, I used different tests, which are presented in the reporting tables of the logistic regressions. The reporting of the missing cases can be found in Appendix G and the confidence intervals, likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance and the tests for the assumption are in Appendix H.

In the first step (see models FDI, FOI, SLI, CCI, CF1, and CWI in Appendix H), the dependent variables have been simply regressed on children’s migration background. The reference group in these models are always German children without migration background. All odds ratios from step-1 models should always be interpreted in relation to this reference group.

In step 2, the models from the first step have included additional factors (see models FD2, FO2, SL2, CC2, CF2, and CW2 in Appendix H). For the reference groups see Table 7. All odds ratios from step-2 models should always be interpreted in relation to the reference groups.

Finally, in step 3, the models from the second step have included significant interaction effects between the main variable of interest “migration backgrounds “and some of the factors (see specific models FD3, FO3, SL3, CC3, CF3, and CW3 in Appendix H). Here it should be remembered that all possible interaction effects with migration backgrounds were tested and

only the significant interaction effects are included in the models. Consequently, all interaction effects not mentioned are not significant and only decreased the fit of the models.

Table 7

Reference groups in step-2 models

Model	Reference group¹⁰
<i>All step-2 models</i>	<i>Youngest German boys without migration backgrounds from upper socioeconomic class families, without poverty experience, with sufficient parental attention, without a mobile phone and whose opinion is rather valued by their parents</i>
FD2	+ Without siblings
FO2	+Without siblings and living in a non-single parent family
SL2	+Whose opinion is valued by their teachers and their friends
CC2	+Without siblings, living in a non-single parent family, whose opinion is valued
CF2	by their friends and who live in large cities in Western Germany
CW2	

In the following sections, for each model separately, the negative or positive associations with the odds of the specific indicator of social participation (the dependent variable) for German children with migration backgrounds, foreign children, and the factors are reported. For better readability, instead of reporting “In model FO3, being a foreign child is associated with an 85% decrease in the odds of going on family outings, compared to the reference group”, I mostly just write whether foreign children are more or less likely to go on family outings, compared to the reference group. The exact odds ratios can be found in Appendix H and the exact increase and reduction in the odds of indicators of social participation associated with migration backgrounds in percentages can be found in Table 8.

Self-determination

In model FDI and FD2, both German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children are less likely than the reference group to report often and throughout self-

¹⁰ The reference group represents the most represented “norm” in Germany, according to the frequency distribution (except for the number of siblings- the majority of children in the data set has one sibling).

determination in everyday life. However, in model FD3, after including the interaction effect of migration backgrounds and socioeconomic class, the significant differences between German children with migration backgrounds, foreign children and the reference group disappear.

Socioeconomic class is a moderator for German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children, as being in a lower socioeconomic class decreases the likelihood of often or throughout self-determination in everyday life for these two groups of children compared to the reference group. However, neither German children with migration backgrounds nor foreign children from the middle socioeconomic class differ significantly from their German peers in the reference group when it comes to self-reported self-determination in everyday life (see model FD3).

Throughout the models, the likelihood of having often or throughout self-determination in everyday life is significantly associated with the age of the child, parents' valuation of the child's opinion, poverty experience, having a mobile phone and parental attention. The likelihood of having higher self-determination does not have a significant relationship¹¹ with gender, and the number of siblings in the household¹². The older children, the more likely they are to report higher self-determination in everyday life. Children who feel that their opinion is not valued by their parents, who experience poverty and who have a parental attention deficit are less likely to have self-determination in everyday life than the reference group. Children who own a mobile phone are more likely to report self-determination in everyday life than the reference group. In model FD2, children from lower socioeconomic class families are less likely to report self-determination in everyday life, but this relationship becomes non-significant in model FD3, when including the interaction effect of migration background and socioeconomic class.

Family outings

Without including any factors, German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children are less likely than German children without migration backgrounds to go on family outings (see model FO1). When including other factors; the association with a significant negative reduction in the odds for going on family outings only remains for German children

¹¹ The factor „single-parent family“ was excluded as it significantly decreased the fit of the model, according to the Hosmer and Lemeshow test, $p < .05$.

¹² According to the likelihood ratio test for assessing variable importance, the factor „siblings in the household“ adds significant explanatory value to the model, but in models FD2 and FD3, the differences in the odds are not significant.

with migration backgrounds (see model FO2).

In the model FO3, when including the interaction effects of migration backgrounds with parents' valuation of the child's opinion and with the number of siblings in the household, this relationship changes again. In model FO3, only foreign children are associated with a negative reduction in the odds for going on family outings.

The interaction effects show foreign children who feel that their opinion is not valued are less likely to go on family outings compared to their peers in the reference groups whose opinion is also not valued. Furthermore, foreign children who have one, or two or more siblings are more likely to go on family outings compared to their peers in the reference group who have a similar number of siblings.

Throughout the models, children from the lower socioeconomic classes, children with poverty experience, children who feel that their opinion is rather not valued, children who live in single-parent families and children with two or more siblings are less likely than the reference group to go on family outings. Children who own a mobile phone are more likely than the reference group to go on family outings. The older a child, the less likely they are to go on family outings. In model FO2, family attention deficit does not have a significant association with the likelihood of going on family outings, however, the association becomes significant in FO3.

School life satisfaction

Throughout the models, the likelihood of German children with migration backgrounds to be rather satisfied with school life is not significantly different from the likelihood of the reference group. In contrast, in model SL1 and even more so in model SL2 and SL3, when including additional factors and then the factor of „educational outcomes“¹³, the likelihood of foreign children to be rather satisfied with school life is significantly higher than for the reference group. Throughout the models, the younger the children, the more likely they are to be satisfied with school life. Children with poverty experience, children from the lower socioeconomic classes and children who feel that their opinion is not valued by the class teacher are less likely to be satisfied with school life compared with their peers in the reference group.

¹³None of the interaction effects with migration backgrounds and the factors of social participation were significant. Without including the additional factor of „educational outcomes“, the model fit was not acceptable, according to the Hosmer and Lemeshow test, as $p < .05$. Therefore „educational outcomes“ was added, which was not listed in the short concept of social participation but mentioned as important in the literature (Chimienti et al., 2019; Huddleston et al., 2015).

In model SL2, children who feel that their opinion is rather not valued by their parents are less likely than their peers in the reference group to be rather satisfied with school life, but when including educational outcomes, the association becomes insignificant. model SL3 shows that students who think of themselves as below average students are less likely than their peers in the reference group to be rather satisfied with school life.

Club membership

In model CCI, German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children are less likely than their peers in the reference group to be a member of at least one club. When including other factors in model CC2 and the interaction effect in the model CC3, the negative relationship remains.

Socioeconomic class and friends' valuation of the child's opinion moderate the relationship between German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children, and their likelihood of being a member of at least one club. Foreign children in lower socioeconomic classes are more likely than German children in lower socioeconomic classes to be a member of at least one club. German children with migration backgrounds whose opinion is rather not valued by their friends are more likely than German children whose opinion is rather not valued by their friends to be a member of at least one club.

Throughout the models, children living in the peripheries of large cities and children living in rural areas; as well as children owning a mobile phone and children with one sibling are more likely to be a member of at least one club than their peers in the reference group. Girls, children with poverty experience, children who feel that their opinion is not valued by their parents and children living in single-parent families, as well as children from the lower and middle socioeconomic class are less likely to be a member of at least one club. Children aged 8-11 years are more likely than children aged 6-7 years to be a member of at least one club.

Meeting friends

Throughout the models CF1 and CF2, there is no significant difference between the likelihood of meeting friends for German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children in comparison to their German peers in the reference group. Only after adding the interaction effect of migration backgrounds and owning a mobile phone (see model CF3), the likelihood of foreign children to meet friends sometimes and often becomes significantly higher, compared to their peers in the reference groups. Foreign children who own a mobile

phone are less likely than their German peers from the reference group who have a mobile phone to meet friends.

Throughout the models, girls and children who own a mobile phone are more likely than the reference group to meet their friends. Children with poverty experience, who feel that their friends rather do not value their opinion, and children living in East Germany, as well as children from the middle socioeconomic class¹⁴, are less likely to meet their friends, compared to their peers in the reference group.

Online social networks (usage of Facebook, Instagram etc)

Three stepwise regression models were constructed for the dependent variable using online social networks¹⁵. Throughout the models CO1-CO3, German children with migration backgrounds are more likely to use online social networks sometimes or often compared to their peers in the reference groups. Throughout the models CO1-CO2, foreign children are more likely to use online social networks sometimes or often compared to their peers in the reference group, but the differences become insignificant in model CO3, after including the interaction effects.

Model CO3 includes interaction effects between migration backgrounds and socioeconomic class, as well as between migration backgrounds and poverty experience. Foreign children with poverty experience are less likely than German children with poverty experience to use online social networks. Furthermore, foreign children from the middle and lower socioeconomic classes are more likely to use online social networks, while German children with migration backgrounds from the middle and lower socioeconomic classes are less likely to use online social networks compared to their German peers in the reference group in the same class and with poverty experience.

Throughout the models CO2-CO3, children with two or more siblings, children with poverty experience, children from East Germany, and children living in the peripheries of large cities and conurbations, are less likely to use online social networks sometimes or often compared to their peers in the reference group. Children with a mobile phone, children who

¹⁴ In the model CF2, the socioeconomic class did not have a significant relationship with the likelihood of meeting friends. After including interaction effects in the model CF3, children from the middle socioeconomic class are less likely than their peers in the reference group to meet friends. However, even in model CF2, the relationship with children with the middle socioeconomic class was almost significant

¹⁵ The logistic regression models of online social participation contain many missing values, as in the 4th World Vision Children's Study only children who reported a regular use of the Internet were asked about their usage of online social networks.

feel that their opinion is rather not valued by their parents and children from the lower socioeconomic classes are more likely than their peers in the reference group to use online social networks rather often.

Summary

When only evaluating the last models with the best fit, migration backgrounds remain a significant variable for all models except for self-determination in everyday life. Table 8 illustrates the main effects of migration backgrounds. The table can be read in the following way: In model 1, being a German child with migration backgrounds is associated with a 43% reduction in the odds of having often or throughout self-determination in everyday life, compared to the reference group etc.

Table 9 presents the results of the step-3 final models visually. The factors are ranked according to their explanatory value to the model based on the likelihood ratio (see Appendix H). For example, for self-determination in everyday life, age adds the most explanatory value and parental attention deficit adds the least explanatory value to the model. Only the variables with significant associations are listed. Table 9 summarized the findings reported above gives even more in-depth information as reported above for the interested reader. In the following chapter, I discuss the results within relevant empirical and theoretical literature.

Table 8

Increase and reduction in the odds of indicators of social participation associated with migration backgrounds in %

Models	Migration backgrounds	Self-determination	Family outings	School life satisfaction	Club membership	Meeting friends	Online social networks
Model 1	Germans with migration backgrounds	-43%	-36%	ns	-43%	ns	+67%
	Foreigners	-66%	-62%	+319%	-66%	ns	+348%
Model 2	Germans with migration backgrounds	-45%	-42%	ns	-45%	ns	+77%
	Foreigners	-53%	ns	+593%	-53%	ns	+343%
Model 3	Germans with migration backgrounds	ns	ns	ns	-53%	ns	+261%



Table 9

Importance of factors according to the likelihood ratio test

Self-determination	Family outings	School life satisfaction	Club membership	Meeting friends	Online social networks
Age (+)	Socioeconomic class (lower class -)	Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion (+)	Socioeconomic class (middle class -) (lower class -)	Poverty experience (-)	Migration backgrounds* socioeconomic class (GMB* middle & lower class -) (F*middle & lower class +)
Parents' valuation of the child's opinion (+)	Siblings in the household (2 or more siblings -)	Age (-)	Migration backgrounds	Migration backgrounds* mobile phone (F*mobile phone -)	Migration backgrounds
Mobile phone (+)	Parents' valuation of the child's opinion (+)	Migration backgrounds	Migration backgrounds* socioeconomic class (F* lower socioeconomic class+)	Mobile phone (+)	Age groups

Migration backgrounds* socioeconomic class <i>(GMB & F*lower class -)</i>	Migration backgrounds* parents' valuation of the child's opinion <i>(F* parents value opinion rather not -)</i>	Socioeconomic class <i>(lower class -)</i>	Settlement structure <i>(Peripheries +)</i> <i>(Rural areas +)</i>	Gender <i>(female +)</i>	Migration backgrounds* poverty experience <i>(F* poverty experience -)</i>
Poverty experience (-)	Poverty experience (-)	Poverty experience (-)	Poverty experience (-)	Friends' valuation of the child's opinion (+)	Siblings in the household <i>(2 or more siblings -)</i>
Siblings in the household	Migration backgrounds* siblings in the household <i>(F* 1&2 or more siblings +)</i>	Educational outcomes	Parents' valuation of the child's opinion (+)	Region <i>(East Germany -)</i>	Socioeconomic class <i>(lower class +)</i>
Parental attention deficit (-)	Migration backgrounds		Age groups <i>(8/9 years +)</i> <i>(10/11 years +)</i>		Settlement structure <i>(peripheries -)</i> <i>(conurbations -)</i>
	Age (-)		Siblings in the household <i>(1 sibling +)</i>		Mobile phone (+)
	Mobile phone (+)		Mobile phone (+)		Parents' valuation of the child's opinion (-)

	Single-parent family (-)		Single-parent family (-)		Poverty experience (+)
	Parental attention deficit (-)		Migration backgrounds* friends' valuation of the child's opinion (GMB* friends value opinion rather not -)		Region (East Germany -)
			Gender (female -)		
ns: Gender	ns: Gender	ns: Gender, parents' & friends' valuation of the child's opinion, parental attention deficit, mobile phone	ns: Parental attention deficit, region, friends' valuation of the child's opinion	ns: Socioeconomic class, age, parental attention deficit, parents' valuation of the child's opinion, single-parent family, siblings in the household, settlement structure	ns: Gender, parental attention deficit, single-parent family, friends' valuation of the child's opinion

Note. The direction of the factors “parents-”, “class teacher’s- “and “friends”- “valuation of the child’s opinion” was reversed for readability. The factors listed in the last row with “ns” are the included factors that were not significant. GMB and F are the abbreviations for German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children living in Germany throughout this table. „*“ is a sign for an interaction effect.

7. Discussion

The discussion is separated into three main parts. First, I discuss each indicator of social participation separately and put the research results into the theoretical and empirical context. Thereby I focus on the most important results and in some cases do not mention the role of every single factor. Then I summarize the discussion and I conclude with a discussion of the limitations of this research and suggestions for future research.

7.1 Self-determination in everyday life

Children's participation in private and familial decision-making was measured with seemingly insignificant daily interactions and negotiations, as suggested by Horgan et al. (2017). The index of self-determination in everyday life encompasses the dimension of autonomous decision-making in everyday life (choosing with which friends to meet, inviting friends home, choosing clothes, spending pocket money, free time activities, homework time, playing outside without adults, going to school without adults) as well as co-determination in family life (choice of free time activities, choice of meals).

A similar logistic regression analysis with the index of self-determination was already conducted for the 4th World Vision Children Study (Pupeter & Schneekloth, 2018b, p. 152). This research contributed to the analysis by adding "parents' valuation of the child's opinion", "mobile phone", "number of siblings in the household" and the interaction effect "migration backgrounds by socioeconomic class". The 4th World Vision Children Study found age and socio-economic class, poverty experience, migration background, parental attention and the region as significant explanatory factors for the self-determination of children (Pupeter & Schneekloth, 2018b, p.157). All the former findings are confirmed in this research, but in addition, all the above-mentioned factors were found to be significant factors as well.

The importance of taking Non-Western frameworks into account

The bivariate analysis showed that more German children without migration backgrounds report having often and throughout self-determination in everyday life compared to German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children. Besides, the bivariate analysis of parental countries of origin showed that fewer children with Turkish, Arab and African backgrounds have self-determination in everyday life than children with German and

other parental countries of origin. Research results of less self-determination in everyday life for specific ethnic groups of children with migration backgrounds can be instrumentalized to problematize intrafamilial dynamics in migrant family lives and to frame authoritarian parenting as problematic compared to a perceived German way of parenting. Therefore, it is important to take non-Western frameworks of parenting into account. For example, the continuation of an authoritarian parenting style can be interpreted as a strategy to strengthen cultural identity and to protect children from risky behaviours such as substance abuse (Kelley et al. 1992; Kotchick & Forehand 2002 as cited in Renzaho et al., 2011, p.229). Renzaho et al. (2011, p. 231) found in a study on parenting styles of African migrants living in Australia that parents felt challenged by the individualistic values of the Australian society which made it difficult for them to raise their children with a mindset of collective responsibility. As for coping strategies, parents monitored their children closely, including their friends and their free time activities; and family roles such as household chores were an important part of family relations (Renzaho, 2011, p.235). Overall, there is a lack of sufficient research on migrant parents' negotiation of parenting in a new country of residence (Renzaho et al., 2011, p. 229). The consideration of non-Western frameworks of children's participation is important. While acknowledging the need for fostering children's participation seems to be universally regarded as important, in non-Western countries, the social conditions, strategies and forms of participation can differ (Shier, 2010 as cited in Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018, p.14). This difference is even visible in official charters and conventions. For example, the UNCRC emphasizes the responsibility of institutions to enable provision, protection and participation of children. This is also the point of view mostly adopted in the Global North. In contrast, the African Charter (1999) focuses on children's responsibilities and contribution to their families and communities (Wyness, 2018).

Familial interdependence and independence

In contrast to the bivariate results, the multivariate analysis showed that when taking additional factors and the interaction effect between "migration backgrounds" and "socioeconomic class" into account, the significant differences in the likelihood for self-determination between German children, German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children disappear; as well as the differences in the likelihood for self-determination for children from the lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic classes. Foreign children and German children with migration backgrounds in the lower socioeconomic classes are significantly less likely to have self-determination in everyday life than German children in the

lower socioeconomic classes, but there are no significant differences found for the middle socioeconomic class. Thus, whether German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children have self-determination in everyday life seems to be related to their socioeconomic class, rather than to their migration backgrounds as such. This is a new finding that adds to the results of Pupeter & Schneekloth (2018b, p. 157). Interestingly, “poverty experience” by “migration backgrounds” is not a significant moderator for the likelihood of self-determination. This might indicate that the socioeconomic class differences for children with and without migration backgrounds are related to the above-mentioned parenting strategies. As Kagitcibasi (2016, p.231) theorized, the family model (total) interdependence is often found within “urban low-income groups with limited resources, where children have utilitarian-economic value and are sources of old age security for their parents”. Obedience-oriented parenting thus fosters close family relations and secures family survival. However, with time, intra-familial material dependence decreases, while psychological interdependence is maintained. For Kagitcibasi (2016, p.231), socio-economic status is beside the urban/rural variation the main decisive living condition that influences family models. Affluent middle class urban Western families thus often represent the family model of independence, with autonomy and self-reliance oriented parenting. Kagitcibasi (2016, p.232) argues that both “relatedness” and “autonomy” are very important from a psychological perspective and that in individualistic cultures, autonomy is emphasized but relatedness is often neglected, and the opposite occurs for collectivistic cultures. Therefore Kagitcibasi (2016) proposes the family model of psychological interdependence and the autonomous-related self as optimal. Overall, the results of this research showed that for an interpretation of children’s interpretation in everyday life, besides the autonomy in everyday life, also the psychological relatedness should be measured, as throughout self-determination without family relatedness might not be beneficial for social participation.

Parental support within inter-generacy

For social participation, it is very important whether adults show negative, dismissive attitudes or whether children’s opinions are considered (Horgan et al., 2017). The multivariate analysis showed that children who feel that their opinion is not valued by their parents are less likely than their peers to have often or throughout self-determination in everyday life. This research did not find a significant interaction effect between “migration backgrounds” and “parents’ valuation of the child’s opinion” for the likelihood of self-determination. Thus, it seems as if “parents’ valuation of the child’s opinion” has a similar relationship with the three

different groups of children. “Parental attention deficit” is also a significant factor for the likelihood of social participation. Against this background, it is interesting that the bivariate results indicate that more German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children report that they feel that their parents spend sufficient time with them. However, the effect strength for these differences in perceived parental attention is weak and there was no significant interaction effect found for “migration backgrounds” and “parental attention deficit”. Motti-Stefanidi and Masten (2017) argue that for immigrant youth, the relationship with their parents is especially important, especially concerning parental support in dealing with cultural and societal differences, as well as discrimination and prejudice. Overall, adult support can be an important factor in facilitating social participation (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018).

The interconnectedness of agency and dependency

Overall, according to the likelihood ratio test, more than “parents’ valuation of the child’s opinion”, the interaction effect of “migration backgrounds” and “socio-economic class”, and “parental attention deficit”; “age” is the most important factor in explaining children’s self-determination in everyday life. In accordance with the results that show a significant association between increasing age and self-determination, Horgan et al. (2017, p. 282) found that not only parents but also children consider age as very relevant for participatory entitlement of decision-making. Similarly, Bjerke (2009) argues that children perceive their parents’ power and authority in decision-making as legitimate because of their maturity and life experience and value protection, care and having fewer responsibilities over full independence. However, all children want to be “recognised as ‘differently equal’ partners in shared decision-making processes”, thus they want to be valued, and treated with dignity and respect (Bjerke, 2009, p.97). Overall, the older children become, the more capable of making rational choices they feel and the more autonomy they expect. Based on these findings of children and youth aged 8-15 years old, Bjerke (2009) emphasizes that adult-child relationships are dynamic, influenced by age, and that agency and dependency are not contradictory but interconnected.

Similarly, Graham and Fitzgerald (2010, p.3) argue that children often want their opinion to be respected but they do not necessarily want to take full responsibility for the decision and engage in autonomous decision-making all by themselves. Children’s participation in social life is thus a call for recognition rather than a claim for purely autonomous decision-making (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010). In line with Bjerke’s (2009) and Gritz and Fitzgerald’s (2010) arguments, Thomas (2012, p. 18) describes social participation as an emotional process

for which children want to feel warmth and affection, solidarity, mutual esteem and a shared purpose, and to be respected as rights holders. Thus, the findings of this research confirm the importance of considering inter-generacy in research on children's social participation, which also includes recognising the social participation of younger children.

Independence and connectedness

Against this background, the role of mobile phones is very interesting, as children who own a mobile phone are more likely than their peers to have often or throughout self-determination in everyday life. Children with a mobile phone are probably more independent of their parents. Referring to the indicators of the index of self-determination, with a mobile phone, children can independently and without supervision communicate with their friends. Their parents might be more likely to let their children walk or play without their supervision because they can reach them. With a smartphone, children can buy clothes and spend their pocket money through their phone. Another example given by Wolfert & Pupeter (2018, p.112) is that children are likely to receive a phone from their parents in the case of long journeys to school.

Future research suggestions

Unfortunately, I could not analyse the role of children in families with migration backgrounds. The questions asked in the 4th World Vision Children Study do not allow to gain an insight into which family roles and chores children with migration backgrounds engage in, for example, language brokering or guiding their parents with their (cultural) competences. Future research is needed to investigate the roles and responsibilities of children in families with and without migration backgrounds. Overall, the significance of the variable "parents' valuation of the child's opinion" suggests that future research should take the emotional and psychological aspects of social participation more into account, and measure both autonomy and familial relatedness for analysing children's self-determination in everyday life. Research should ask children directly how they perceive the balance between parental attention and care and throughout autonomous decision-making.

7.2 Family outings

The indicator of family activities was chosen instead of more traditional indicators of social participation such as going on a one-week holiday and inviting friends over to eat because it is not as necessarily linked to familial financial means. A family outing can be a walk in the forest, a picnic or a visit to the extended family; but it can also be a visit to a museum or the

cinema, where financial means are necessary. However, the results indicate that the availability of familial financial means indeed is very influential for the likelihood of going on family outings, but the family structure and generageny are also important factors. Including all factors and significant interaction effects, foreign children are less likely than their peers in the reference group to go sometimes and often on family outings.

Money as a crucial factor?

Socioeconomic class is the factor with the highest explanatory value for the likelihood of going on family outings, and poverty experience is a significant factor as well, but the interaction effects with migration backgrounds were not significant. It can be concluded that socioeconomic class and poverty experience relate to all three groups of children the same way. For all three groups of children, being in a lower socioeconomic class and experiencing poverty is negatively associated with the likelihood of going sometimes or often on family outings. However, as the bivariate analysis showed, in particular, foreign children are overrepresented in the lower socioeconomic class and more often experience poverty.

The findings are in line with the research by Tophoven et al. (2018, p.81) who found that children with migration backgrounds are less likely to spend time with family. The researchers did not further explain their finding, but their research focused on the relationship between poverty and social participation. Amongst other, Tophoven et al. (2016) found that children from a lower socio-economic class are less likely to go on family outings that afford money such as cinema, theatre or concert visits (Tophoven et al., 2016). As Bartelheimer et al. (2016) found, youth see money as crucial for being able to engage in individual and family activities, such as visiting the cinema, zoo or the swimming pool.

Tophoven et al. (2018, p.81) also found that youth with permanent receipt of welfare benefits and girls are more likely to report spending time with friends and family as favourite free time activity, while children with migration backgrounds and children living in East Germany are less likely to do so. In contrast, the findings of this research showed that children with poverty experience are less likely to go on family outings and that gender is not a significant factor. However, in line with Tophoven et al.'s (2018, p.81) findings is that children living in Germany with a foreign nationality are less likely to go on family outings. The results of this research might differ because, first, Tophoven et al. (2018) only distinguished two groups (German children with and without migration backgrounds) and second, the definitions of socioeconomic class and poverty experience vary and lastly, family outings is only one of

many forms of spending time with family, thus this research and the research by Tophoven et al. (2018) conducted the logistic regression analysis on a slightly different indicator.

The ambiguous role of family-centredness and authoritarian parenting styles

The research findings showed that children who feel that their opinion is not valued much by their parents and who have a parental attention deficit are less likely to go sometimes or often on family outings. The research findings showed that foreign children are less likely to go on family outings, in particular, foreign children whose parents do not value their opinion are less likely to go on family outings than their peers. In contrast to Tophoven et al. (2018), who emphasized the role of financial means, Spieß et al. (2016) found that children with migration backgrounds are more likely to go on family outings, perhaps because of family-centredness. The concept of family-centredness refers to familial activities, family relationships, respect of family values and time spent together (Andresen et al., 2016, p.184). For children and youth, this is expressed by siblings being important figures of reference and attachment, as well as a higher likelihood to spend time with relatives of the same age. It could be that children do not identify these activities to be family outings, and that family-centredness is rather expressed in everyday familial activities, for example eating together. These findings of this research do not confirm a stronger family-centredness for children with migration backgrounds in the realm of family outings.

Family centredness is a concept which is often connected with families of Turkish or Arab backgrounds (Gerlach, 2016, p.196). However, looking at the country of origin of the parents, children in Arab families are with 22.6% the least likely to go on family outings, followed by children of African parents (19.6%), and children of Turkish parents (8.7%). In contrast, only 4.7% of German children without migration backgrounds rarely go on family outings. This finding is surprising, but a suggestion for future research is to ask children more in detail about how they spend time with their family because they might engage in activities together that children do not automatically identify as family trips or family outings but that are still participatory social activities, for example visiting relatives.

Family-centredness is also associated with authoritarian parenting styles. Authoritarian parenting styles are often negatively evaluated by literature from a Western perspective, but the relationship between family-centredness and authoritarian parenting styles is very complex. A strong meaning attached to family and relatives, respecting the parents and the elderly and mutual responsibility can be part of these parenting styles which can also have a positive effect on social participation. There are also inevitably many differences between

Turkish and Arab families, with whom authoritarian parenting styles are associated with, and social class also matters in this context (Diehl et al. 2018, p.85).

The bivariate results show that actually, 93.9% of foreign children and 94.7% of German children with migration backgrounds feel that their opinion is rather valued by their parents, compared to German children with only 92.5%, but these differences are not statistically significant. As these results are not statistically significant and the effect strength is very low, the difference in authoritarian parenting styles mentioned in the literature cannot be confirmed. It needs to be taken into account that the variable “parents’ valuation of their child’s opinion” is not a perfect measure of authoritarian parenting styles.

Horgan et al. (2017, p.284) suggested that children often perceive the home as most supportive for their everyday participation, as at home children are more likely to be encouraged than in the school or the community; and that respectful and trustful parental attitudes are important for children’s social participation. The research findings confirm that it is very important whether the parents value the child’s opinion. But on the other hand, that means that it might affect children very negatively when their parents do not value their opinion. In addition, children who feel that their parents do not have enough time available for them are less likely than other children to go on family outings. This indicates that what matters besides structural inequality such as socioeconomic class or poverty is the relationship between parents and the child, thus inter- generagency. Thus, the decision- making processes and other family dynamics concerning family outings are of interest for future research.

Two or more siblings: a facilitator or barrier to social participation?

Children with two or more siblings are less likely to go on family outings, but this can be related again either to parental lack of time or money or that children with many siblings contend themselves with playing together at home. What can be known from the results of this research is that children living in single-parent families are less likely to go sometimes or often on family outings and that, while overall children with two or more siblings are less likely to go on family outings, foreign children with one siblings or two and more siblings are more likely to go on family outings compared to German children with and without migration backgrounds with the same number of siblings. According to Bujard et al. (2019), families with more than two children are either families from the lower class and with lower educational attainment; from the middle, or the higher social class; or families with a migration background, low educational attainment and strong religious and Muslim influence, families living in rural areas (in particular catholic families), single women or reconstituted families. Overall, while

families with more than two children are often stigmatised as families with low educational attainment, they are becoming a phenomenon of the middle class (Bujard et al., 2019). Therefore, it is very difficult to interpret the role of the number of siblings, but it is a recommendation for future research to investigate the role of the number of siblings and social participation.

The role of age-related autonomy

A very interesting result is that the likelihood of family outings decreases when the children become older. A possible explanation is that older children are more likely to engage in activities with their friends than with their family members. Furthermore, children who own a mobile phone are more likely to go on family outings. Having a mobile phone was positively associated with self-determination in everyday life in this research, and Wolfert and Pupeter (2018, p.113) found that older children and children from the socioeconomic middle class are the most likely to have a mobile phone, but there was no significant association found with poverty experience. Thus, it might be that older children are less likely to go on family outings because they are more autonomous and use their mobile phones to interact and meet with friends. Seen from this perspective, perhaps measuring the likelihood of family outings is not an adequate measure of social participation. The question that needs to be answered is whether children who do not participate in family outings spend time lonely at home or whether they engage in other social activities where they can exercise and negotiate their agency.

Socioeconomic class, family structure and inter-generacy outweigh migration backgrounds

Foreign children are less likely to go on family outings than German children. This relationship is moderated by the number of siblings and parental valuation of the child's opinion, but still, the main effect for foreign children persists, while the significant differences between German children with and without migration backgrounds disappear when including the interaction effects. Overall, the likelihood of family outings does not seem to be explained mainly by whether the children have migration backgrounds but seems to be mostly related to their socioeconomic class and poverty experience, the family structure and inter-generacy. A report from Eurochild showed that the 2008 economic crisis negatively affected children's participation opportunities in family and social life, recreational activities and education (Ruxton, 2012). Low income, unemployment and lack of parental motivation

are amongst the effects of the crisis that result into a lack of parental and communal interest and motivation of supporting social participation of children (Ruxton, 2012, p. 19). But for this analysis, it seems that socioeconomic class and parents' valuation of the child's opinion provides more explanatory value to the likelihood of family outings than poverty experience and parental time. This research was written during the COVID-19 pandemic, a new crisis with possibly even more negative impacts than the 2008 economic crisis on children's social participation. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate how social participation opportunities can be secured for children even during a crisis, how the parent-child relationship can be strengthened and possibly improved and in which ways financial incentives can be of help to families.

Future research suggestions

Future research should distinguish structured and unstructured family activities. A suggestion for future research is to investigate the kinds of activities that families engage in, to look into the affordability of these activities and into the role of the number of siblings. Also, parents and children should be asked directly what strategies they employ to overcome possible financial barriers for family outings and in which alternative forms of social participation engage in instead of family outings. Questions to be asked in future research are whether mostly the children or the parents suggest going on family outings and for what reasons besides lack of money and time parents decide not to on family outings.

7.3 School life satisfaction

Most research uses the traditional indicator of academic performance to measure children with migration background's participation in school (Chimienti et al., 2019). In contrast, Sauer (2009) and Sauer and Held (2006) hypothesised that children with migration backgrounds are more satisfied with school life because they appreciate the education and social contacts offered by schools and because their parents often have high educational ambitions for their children. The multivariate results confirm the hypothesis partly, as only foreign children are more likely to be rather satisfied with school life compared to German children. It can be confirmed that the teacher regard, in this case, attempted to measure with the class teacher' valuation of the child's opinion, is a highly influential factor. Socioeconomic class, which includes the parental educational background in the case of this research, is also an influential factor, which is in line with the findings of Chimienti et al. (2019). Unfortunately, the research findings do now allow insights into whether this school satisfaction is caused by a higher

appreciation of school life and higher educational aspirations, but they can confirm that students who think of themselves as average or above-average students are more likely to be satisfied with school life. With increasing age, children are less likely to be satisfied with school life. The model does not provide sufficient information to find an explanation for this phenomenon. One explanation could be that with increasing age, school lessons become more difficult. Perhaps the change from elementary school to secondary school brings within factors that decrease children's satisfaction. The same results were found by Tophoven et al. (2018, p.61) and the 4th World Vision Children Study, also without an explanation.

The teacher regard

. In general, children seem to be more satisfied with school life when they feel that their opinion is respected by their teacher. As foreign children are significantly more likely to be satisfied with school life than German children, the question of which factors cause this satisfaction arises. Overall, the findings are in line with the research of Pinchak (2017). Although Pinchak (2017) measured the educational aspirations of students, different from overall school life satisfaction, the importance of taking into account a variable such as the teacher regard for this kind of research is confirmed. In Pinchak (2017)'s research, for Hispanics students, a positive teacher regard was especially influential. Alba and Foner (2016, p.8) also conclude extra attention from the teachers can be beneficial for children with migration backgrounds to close the achievement gap with their peers belonging to the majority population. However, according to Alba and Foner (2016, p.8) evidence suggests that children with migration backgrounds are likely to receive less attention from teachers than their majority peers and that "students from low-status immigrant families" may be more likely to be distanced from students belonging to the majority population as well as from teachers (Alba & Foner, 2016, p.8). In contrast to that, the bivariate analysis showed that 75.5% of foreign children and 72.8% of German children with migration backgrounds report that their opinion is rather valued by their class teacher, in comparison to 70.6% of German children and that slightly more German children with migration backgrounds and foreign children reported that their opinion is rather valued by their friends. These differences are statistically significant. However, for all children, being in a lower socioeconomic class has a negative relationship with school life satisfaction. Furthermore, in many schools, teachers assume that children have smartphones (and computers) and use these mediums for communication etc. (Bartelsheimer et al., 2016, p. 87), but for this analysis, having a mobile phone did not have a significant relationship with school life satisfaction.

The survey data of the 4th World Vision Children's Study is not detailed enough to analyse children's individual resources and competences. The bivariate results showed that, especially children with West-European, Arab and even 100% of children with African backgrounds are more likely than German children without migration backgrounds to be rather satisfied with school life, however, the differences between the groups are not statistically significant. Söhn and Özcan (2006) who examined the school participation and performance of children with Turkish migration backgrounds in Germany found their academic competences as below average, caused by low socio-economic status and deficient German language competencies. Interestingly, the bivariate results showed that 93.2% of children with Turkish migration are rather satisfied with school life.

According to MIPEX, the education system in Germany is less responsive to the needs of the large number of children of immigrants than the Nordic countries and traditional countries of immigration. In general, "few countries (...) are seizing the opportunities and skills that migrant pupils bring to the classroom" (MIPEX, 2015, p.1). This research shows that there seem to be indeed opportunities that are brought by children with migration backgrounds to the classroom and that this is an important topic for future research. The higher school life satisfaction of foreign children is likely to have a positive impact on social relationships with teachers and other students and the school climate, whether this satisfaction is due to higher appreciation or due to higher aspirations.

The immigrant paradox

The findings also challenge the framing of children with migration backgrounds as a "challenge to the education system" (Popyk et al., 2019, p.243) by looking further than traditional indicators of educational attainment. Surprisingly, the socioeconomic class provides less explanatory value to school life satisfaction than age and class teacher's valuation because, in most research, educational outcomes are explained by the effect of the social class (Tophoven et al., 2018, p.54).

The findings of this research are in line with Lau et al, (2018) who researched post-migration adjustment of refugee children and adolescents in Australia and found a sound adjustment to their new lives compared with non-refugee Australians, with high levels of engagement in extracurricular activities such as dance and sports; low levels of school absenteeism and high levels of school achievements including awards (Lau et al., 2018). An explanation can be that children with foreign nationality adjust easily to school life because they attribute discriminative, unpleasant experiences in school life to differences in social class

and professional downgrading of their parents rather than perceiving it as a personal attack, a strategy which Ossipow et al. (2019, p.9) call “between denial and relativization”.

In a recent German study, the subjective feeling of participation was compared with the objective opportunities for participation. The finding was that the perceived opportunities and chances for participation are only partly related to the actual opportunities and chances (Sixtus et al., 2019). This finding emphasizes how important it is that children feel satisfied with their social participation in school, regardless of their objective opportunities for participation.

Another interesting concept against the background of this research is the “immigrant paradox”. As some studies have found, immigrant youth adaption in the areas of academic achievement, school engagement and conduct or psychological well-being is often better than expected, and even better than the performance of their peers without migration backgrounds. The immigrant paradox seems to be strongest amongst first-generation immigrants (Berry et al., 2006 as cited in Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017, p.26). The immigrant paradox depends on factors such as the researched life domain, the country of residence and ethnicity (Garcia-Coll & Marks, 2012; Sam et al., 2008 as cited in Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017, p.26) and it is facilitated by a higher parental education level, economic resources and other educational capital. According to Garcia-Coll and Marks (2012), the immigrant paradox can be manifested in specific educational behaviour such as spending more time on homework which does not necessarily translate into better educational outcomes. Perhaps this research also found an immigration paradox.

Afternoon activities as facilitative space for social participation?

Another explanation can be that higher school life satisfaction is related to the afternoon activities offered by schools. For example, Gerlach (2016) found that children with migration backgrounds seem to be less active in informal education than their German peers, however, there is no difference in participation for activities offered by the school. Furthermore, when researching delinquent and deviant behaviour amongst primary school pupils in Aachen, Bergmann & Baier (2015) found only one pronounced difference; migrants performed worse at school. They hypothesised that this finding might be related to the migrants having less ‚native German‘ friends; maybe partly because they are more likely to participate in leisure activities offered by the school where less ‚German native‘ pupils are present (Bergmann & Baier, 2015, p. 113).

Overall, the results indicate that foreign children can exercise their agency on the meso-level in schools to resist structural restrictions such as institutional factors,

socioeconomic class factors and poverty. It can be assumed that the school can be a space for children to participate in social life despite a lack of resources.

Suggestions for future research

Future research is needed to investigate the underlying reasons for the higher school life satisfaction of foreign children and to look into diverse manifestations of educational behaviour besides educational outcomes such as time spent on homework. Furthermore, research should look into the immigrant paradox in Germany and into possible opportunities that are brought by children with migration backgrounds to the classroom. Another suggestion is to analyse the three dimensions of the school life satisfaction index used in this research separately.

7.4 Club membership

According to the research findings, foreign children and German children with migration backgrounds are less likely than German children to participate in at least one club. This confirms the findings by Diehl et al. (2016). To clarify, for assessing the club membership for the 4th World Vision Children's Study, the parents of the children were asked whether they were a member of the following clubs, groups and organisations: Sports club, music group/music School, dance group/ballet, painting/ drawing group, theatre or cinema group, church group, boy/girl scouts, animal or nature conservation, a group in a children's or youth club, traditional costume/customs association. The parents could also indicate additional activities. Four times it was indicated that children had a Tamil language group, six times it was indicated that children went to a Russian school and one time each it was indicated that children were a member of Ditib or went to a mosque (Andresen et al., 2018).

Club membership: a structured leisure activity for the upper socioeconomic class

As mentioned before, researchers such as Percy-Smith (2018) emphasize the importance of informal, unstructured activities for children's negotiation and exercise of agency in contrast to structured activities such as club membership. Therefore, it is unsure whether not being a member of at least one club affects children with migration backgrounds significantly in their social participation or whether they engage in other social activities instead.

An important finding of this research is that socioeconomic class acts as a moderator for the likelihood of foreign children and German children with migration backgrounds to be

a member of at least one club. Thus, whether they participate in at least one club or not is related to the socioeconomic class they belong to. Surprisingly, when comparing foreign children and German children from the lower socioeconomic classes, foreign children are more likely to be a member of at least club, which contradicts Lareau's (2016) theory that children from lower class families rather engage in unstructured activities. However, the theory is confirmed when looking at all children, as according to the results, club memberships are rather a free time activity of children from the upper socioeconomic classes.

The results show that friends' valuation of the child's opinion does not influence the likelihood of participating in at least one club when looking at all children. However, friends' valuation of the child's opinion is a moderator for German children with migration backgrounds' likelihood of participating in at least club. German children with migration backgrounds who feel that their opinion is not valued by their friends are more likely to participate in a club than German children who feel that their opinion is not valued. This result is difficult to interpret but a very careful suggestion would be that structured free-time activities can be beneficial for children with migration backgrounds who have difficulties with their friendships.

Having a phone is positively associated with participating in at least one club, perhaps because then the children can go more independently to the clubs. Also, the parents' valuation of the child's opinion is associated with club membership, but not with meeting friends. This could indicate that children coordinate themselves more when they meet friends, but participation in clubs is more coordinated by the parents, as children whose opinion is valued by their parents are more likely to participate in clubs. Also, older children are more likely to participate in a club and girls are less likely to be a member of at least one club than boys. Interestingly, in contrast, girls are more likely to meet friends, as shown by the results of the model of meeting friends.

The impact of geographical factors

Another significant relationship is found between the settlement structure and club membership. Children living in the peripheries of (large) cities and rural areas are more likely to be a member of at least one club than children living in large cities. These are the two settlement areas where German children without migration backgrounds are overrepresented as shown in the bivariate results. This confirms Bartelheimer et al.'s (2016) findings that the rural or urban living context and the proximity to the clubs, groups and association matters. The region is not a significant factor for the likelihood of being a member of at least one club.

This finding contradicts the assumption of Reinhardt (2014 as cited in Tophoven et al., 2018, p.666), who theorizes that children from East Germany might be less likely to participate in a club because of the historical small role of clubs in the former GDR.

Club membership: an excluding measurement of social participation?

Poverty experience is also a significant factor for the likelihood of participating in at least one club. Children who experience poverty in their life are less likely than other children to be a member of at least one club. Tophoven et al. (2018) found that the membership in a club is partly influenced by financial restrictions and /or the parents' permission, and the results of this research confirm this analysis.

Overall, comparing the club memberships of children with or without migration backgrounds is a rather traditional measurement of social participation. The 4th World Vision Children's Study focused more on rather typical German clubs, groups and associations. Perhaps, this had an impact although the parents could indicate additional groups, clubs or associations. As Diehl et al., (2016, p. 21) argue, participation should not be evaluated only concerning the German society as the country of residence but also participation in the culture and language of the country of origin. Bloch and Hirsch (2018) found that children with Kurdish migration backgrounds often were active with their families in community centres. Community engagement is also sometimes expressed by the attendance of language schools, where children with migration backgrounds can learn or improve the knowledge of their parent(s)' mother tongue, and sometimes their culture. As Bloch and Hirsch (2018) found, within the Vietnamese migrant community, children are almost always sent to Chinese and Vietnamese language schools rather than taken to formal community organisations (Bloch & Hirsch, 2018).

Against the background of the comparative integration context theory, Crul and Schneider (2010) argue that social and cultural participation of second-generation immigrants Europe in social organisations is strongly influenced by the social and political integration context. Therefore, as Crul and Scheider (2010, p.1265) argue, "the question is not why individuals fail to participate but why institutions fail to be inclusive". The question is, how inclusive are German clubs?

Suggestions for future research

As some parents in the 4th World Vision Children Study reported that their children participate in Russian school or Tamil language clubs, future research should ask children more explicitly about their participation in these kinds of community centres, language schools etc.,

to find out whether the number of children with migration backgrounds participating in clubs increases just through another formulation of the question. Future research should ask children directly about their reasons to participate or not to participate in specific clubs, groups and organisations. Overall, it is of interest to future research which activities replace club memberships for German children and to look into the relationship of children's friendships and club memberships.

7.5 Meeting friends

Percy-Smith (2018, p.166) evaluates engagement in sport and leisure activities as “passive take-up of activities” and rather conceptualises participation as “an active expression of values as sociocultural practice in relation to the contexts in which young people find themselves”. This could be for example the use of neighbourhood and community spaces for an own purpose, rather than taking part in an activity organised by an adult. This research examined the likelihood of children to meet their friends sometimes and often, which is an active take-up of activities.

The mobile phone: a basic need for social participation?

Two different theories are presented by existing research; either children with migration backgrounds are thought to be more likely to meet friends often because they cherish social relationships and can rely on stronger, culturally connected social networks (Brinkmann, 2014; Diehl et al., 2016), or children with migration backgrounds are thought to be less likely to meet friends often due to socioeconomic class or poverty effects (Wolfert & Pupeter, 2018; Sauer, 2009).

This research found that there is no difference in the likelihood of meeting friends sometimes and often for German children with and without migration backgrounds, and only when including the interaction effect of migration backgrounds and mobile phone, foreign children are more likely to meet friends compared to their German peers. Thus, whether foreign children meet their friends often or not, is related to whether they have a mobile phone or not, Foreign children who have a mobile phone are less likely than German children with mobile phones to meet their friends rather often.

This is surprising because overall, children who have mobile phones are more likely to meet friends. This result confirms the findings by Bartelsheimer et al. (2016, p.92), who interviewed young people about their needs for social participation. The young people concluded that having a mobile phone "is part of today's world, it's unfortunately almost a basic need", for young people from about the fifth grade on. The most important function of

the mobile phone is calling and texting. For this function, a smartphone is not needed, but young people without a smartphone can be excluded from specific kinds of communication (Bartelsheimer et al. (2016, p.92). Perhaps, children with mobile phones engage more in online social activities and communication rather than meeting their friends in person.

Poverty experience: Stripping away participation opportunities

Poverty experience has a very strong, significant relationship with meeting friends. Children who experience poverty in their lives are less likely than other children to meet friends, while socioeconomic class is not a significant predictor for the likelihood of meeting friends. The significant relationship between poverty experience and meeting friends can be explained by children with poverty experience being scared and affected by stigmatisation and social exclusion (Laubstein et al., 2014, p. 75). Children with poverty experience tend to have smaller friendship circles (Tophoven et al., 2018, p. 7). They might not have enough the financial means to access specific kinds of leisure opportunities, for example, the swimming pool, which can be a barrier for friendships (Zeiber & Zeiber, 1994 as cited in Sauer, 2009, p. 185). Children who experience poverty in their life are less likely to have their own children's room or enough space in the place they live where they can spend time with their friends (Wolfert & Pupeter, 2018, p.141) Research also found that children with migration backgrounds are less likely to have their own room than children without migration backgrounds(Spieß et al., 2016, p.152).

While child poverty can strip participation opportunities from children, it can also open spaces for children's negotiation of their circumstances. Ridge's (2006, p.31) research shows how children as active social agents understand and are considerate to the implications of their family's financial constraints and use strategies to gain control through moderation or self-denial of needs and demands, self-exclusion of activities, or finding alternative means of income. Poverty should never be romanticized, but for example, the AWO-ISS study 2012 found, without being able to provide a satisfactory explanation, that poor youths with migration backgrounds could go on holiday more often, had a better living environment and were more satisfied with their material living situation than poor youths without migration backgrounds (Laubstein et al., 2014, p.49). Laubstein et al. (2014, p.48) also criticize that there is a lack of research focusing on the interaction effect between poverty and migration backgrounds. However, for this model, the interaction effect between poverty and migration was tested and not found to be significant.

Friendships as social capital

According to Sauer (2009), friendships are social and cultural capital that facilitate social participation, but at the same time, friendships are partly determined by children's social positions and by their social participation opportunities within their family and in the neighbourhood. However, with their agency, children can circumvent barriers such as a low socio-economic class or poverty experience through creating and maintaining friendships. To make friends, children engage in active decision-making and negotiate their social capital (Sauer, 2009). The research results show that socioeconomic class does not seem to be related to the likelihood of meeting friends sometimes and often, but there is a significant relation with poverty experience, as elaborated before. It is surprising that socioeconomic class does not matter for the likelihood of meeting friends as a common hypothesis is that children from the middle and upper classes often have a structured time plan with many activities and therefore less time for unstructured activities such as meeting friends, while children from the lower class spend more time with their friends (Rauschenbach & Gerhard Wehland, 1989 as cited in Sauer, 2009, p.176). This hypothesis could not be confirmed for the likelihood of meeting friends rather often. But it could be confirmed for the likelihood of at least having one club membership, where children from the lower classes were significantly less likely than children from the upper classes to participate in such activities. Also, in line with Sauer's (2009) argument, children who feel that their opinion is rather valued by their friends are more likely to meet their friends, which is not surprising, but it needs to be considered that to have one's opinion to be valued, agency also plays a role.

Meeting friends as an unstructured expression of autonomy and action

The research results show that whether the parents value the child's opinion or whether the parents have time available does not influence the likelihood of meeting friends. But there is a significant positive relationship for friends' valuation of the child's opinion. This shows that inter-generational, parental factors are not influential for the friendship domain, instead, intra-generational matters. This finding confirms Leonard's (2016, p.155) suggestion that it is important to "to move beyond the simplistic adult-child binary" and to also evaluate intra-generational relationships in depth. Age is also not a significant predictor. Thus, children of all ages, even younger children are likely to meet their friends rather often and engage in peer socialisation independent from the family. The findings are in line with research that suggests that informal forms of social participation offer more room for children's agency than formal forms of participation (Horgan et al., 2016; Percy-Smith; 2018).

Wolfert & Pupeter (2018) found that while children with migration backgrounds are less likely to meet friends at home, they are more likely to meet their friends to play outside in the street, the playground or the yard. Playing in the streets and meeting friends in the neighbourhood are often activities that are not supervised by adults and where children can act freely without any structures. Children living in East Germany are less likely to meet friends, which can be explained by Sixtus et al.'s (2019) findings that objective participation opportunities such as the availability of a swimming pool or cinema are less present in East Germany compared to the West; thus the structural, objective participation opportunities also matter for the likelihood of meeting friends as meeting places need to be available, but these restrictions can be circumvented by meeting in unrestricted public places, such as the street or the yard. According to Percy-Smith (2018, p.167), these form of unstructured social activities are especially important for young people as they are an expression of autonomy and action, where young people use their competences as social actors to “creatively produce their own opportunities, rather than relying on opportunities provided by (professional) adults”.

Suggestions for future research

Future research should investigate more in-depth in which activities children engage when they meet their friends, to which extent they meet in public spaces such as the playground and semi-public places such as the swimming pool, and it should investigate in detail the role of poverty and the mobile phone for friendships.

7.6 Online social networks

Only 28% of children use online social networks sometimes and often¹⁶. Children can use online social networks such as Facebook and Instagram passively, which then would not be a form of online social participation, or actively, by engaging in communication and actions. Unfortunately, from the data, it cannot be known how the children use online social networks. However, in general, social media is mostly used actively to maintain contacts and to create content (Tyrrell & Kallis, 2015, p.8).

Online social networks and the role of transnationalism

The findings showed that German children with migration backgrounds are more likely to use online social networks sometimes and often, compared to German children. However,

¹⁶ Only 934 children who responded to the question of online social networks and all of them reported that they use the internet regularly thus the sample is biased.

German children with migration backgrounds in the middle and lower socioeconomic classes are less likely to use online social networks compared to their peers in the reference group. But this moderator does not fully explain their usage of online social networks as the main effect of migration backgrounds persists. Either other factors are not accounted for, or there is something within the category of migration backgrounds that explains their usage of online social networks. This might be eventually related to transnational ties that can be maintained with online social networks. Participation of children is often analysed within a local or national context. When measuring the participation of children, seldom their transnational participatory activities are taken into account (Amadasi & Iervese, 2018). This development is so far only represented by a few scholars, although in the age of globalisation, not only children with migration backgrounds live in transnational families or have transnational ties. In a globalised world, transnational practices play a role within most members of society, but it can be assumed that it plays a bigger role for members of society with migration backgrounds (Diewald et al., 2016). Children with migration backgrounds' social relationships often extend to their country of origin (Popyk et al., 2019). Often, young immigrants use social media to keep in touch with friends in their former country of residence (Ryndyk, Johannessen, Gudjonsdottir & Vaughn, 2016, p.30). Social media can also facilitate intercultural adaptation as young migrants use the content of social media to understand the new cultural, political and social context (Sawyer, 2011), and can be used as a coping mechanism to deal with challenges of migration and to receive support from social ties in the country of origin (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014; Pustulka, 2015 as cited in Grabowska et al., 2017, p.27). Importantly there are differences between children with direct and indirect migration backgrounds. The literature on transnationalism and second-generation migrants indicates that second-generation migrants participate less or differently in transnational activities and communities and one of the means for participation is communication (Chimienti et al., 2019). Thus, foreign children would be assumed to be more active in maintaining traditional ties than German children with migration backgrounds. Indeed, the results for the first two models without including the interaction effects show that the likelihood for foreign children to use online social networks is stronger than the likelihood for German children with migration backgrounds in comparison with their German peers in the reference group, but this relationship becomes insignificant after including the interaction effects.

Foreign children with poverty experience are less likely to use online social networks, but foreign children in the middle socioeconomic class and the lower socioeconomic classes are more likely to use online social networks compared to their German peers in the

reference group. Thus, the usage of online social networks for foreign children is related to their poverty experience and their socioeconomic class. It seems as if overall, children with poverty experience are more likely to use online social networks, but this does not apply to foreign children. Keeping in mind that even the children who rarely use online social networks use the internet regularly, this might indeed confirm that for foreign children, online social networks are not just a replacement for costly forms of social participation such as club membership or meeting friends. For example, in research with Polish children in Norway, Tyrrell and Kallis (2015) found that the children performed emotional work and negotiated relations with the relatives and the broader family network by initiating and maintaining the contact. Also, Tophoven et al. (2018, p. 81) found only contradicting findings for the relationship of children's poverty and the likelihood of playing computer, online games and engaging in online communication. It is of interest for future research to investigate this relationship more thoroughly.

Overall, the findings seem to confirm that children with migration backgrounds and foreign children participate differently in transnational activities (Chimienti et al., 2019), and also participate differently in online activities compared German children without migration backgrounds. For example, Bergmann & Baier (2015, p.139) found that children with migration backgrounds seem to chat more and use social networks more than children without migration backgrounds, who in contrast spend more time on online gaming.

Bloch and Hirsch (2018) show in their research on second-generation refugees in the UK how second-generation children were less connected with the wider family networks over the globe than their parents, and how their parents' decision to take their children to return visits – or not- affected their understanding of migration, conflict and discrimination. Perhaps this explains why German children with migration backgrounds, assuming that most of them are second-generation children are less likely to use online social networks when they are from middle or lower socioeconomic classes because then they parents might have less financial means to take them on return visits to strengthen their transnational ties. However, in contrast, foreign children from the middle and lower socioeconomic classes are more likely to use online social networks. Perhaps their transnational ties are still stronger, and they do not need to go on a return visit to strengthen transnational ties. But this does not explain why foreign children with poverty experience are less likely to use online social networks. Perhaps their transnational friends and relatives are also living with poverty experience and do not have access to online social networks. Overall, there is not enough data and not enough

literature to provide a sound explanation for the findings, as children could also communicate only with persons in Germany and not with transnational contacts.

Disrupting established forms of participation?

The use of online social networks, as other communication technologies, can strengthen children's independence, but it can also be a burden, or parents can also use them to control their children. Overall, communication technologies can change, detraditionalise and even reverse parent-child relationships which can lead either to more cohesion or to conflict (Wang, 2020). Adolescent children in immigrant families often act as bottom-up digital mentors for their parents, and as media brokers between the family and the society in the country of residence, especially when the digital gap between children and parents increases through language and cultural difficulties (Katz, 2010, 2014 as cited in Wang, 2020, p.3). Wang (2020, p.8) found in a study on Chinese migrant mothers and their children in Singapore that almost all the mothers, except for some mothers with very good English skills, relied on and appreciated their children digital skills and ICT problem-solving skills, in particular for "fashionable and sophisticated functionalities" such as SNS (social network services) for example, they would register them for social media platforms, change the settings of their SNS accounts, help to upload photos and videos on SNS etc.

The research results show that children who feel that their opinion is not valued by their parents are more likely to use online social networks which then does not seem to indicate a role of these children as bottom-up digital mentors, but rather an escape into online social networks in the search of valuation. Another possibility is that the children indeed perform this role but that the parents feel threatened and react with more authoritarian parenting, as Wang (2020) indicated possible conflicts. Nevertheless, in any case, it seems as if the usage of online social networks can derange established form of social participation and it seems to empower children with specific skills that can challenge inequalities, at least in the family domain. This is in line with Horgan's et al. (2016) and Raby's (2014) argument of how children's social participation should be and is also in line with the emergent narrative (Wyness, 2018). According to Horgan et al. (2016), a concept of social participation of children should recognise the different and unequal positions of children in society. It also needs to acknowledge and respect the refusal of children to participate or the desire of children to derange established forms of participation (Apple & Bean, 1995; Larkins, 2014; Leonard, 2016 as cited in Horgan, 2019, p. 285), as well as recognise already existing participation in social interaction and practices (Raby, 2014). Instead of producing the

neoliberal subject of the 'ideal citizen', practices of children's participation should strengthen children's self-understanding and skills to challenge inequalities (Raby, 2014, p.87).

Overall, the usage of online social networks seems to be a very independent activity, although age is also a significant factor for the likelihood of using online social networks. These findings indicate that informal, unrestricted social online activities can be a form of social participation that circumvents restrictions of social life that come along with being in a lower socioeconomic class, and with experiencing poverty or negative parent-child relationships. However, also for the usage of online social networks, resources like a computer, or phone and access to the internet are needed, therefore, it is not surprising that children who have a mobile phone are more likely to use online social networks.

Against this background, I conclude that online forms of social participation have the potential to disrupt established forms of participation. This can be positive and open up space for agency, but social media also bears dangers and can affect children negatively, for example through cyber-bullying and sexual cyberbullying (Bergmann et al., 2019, p.45). Social online practices exist already but are not commonly recognised as forms of social participation, perhaps because they cannot be controlled. Especially transnational online forms of social participation should be recognised and neglecting them might draw an unbalanced picture of children with migration backgrounds' social participation.

Suggestions for future research

The model for testing the usage of online social networks is the only model for which poverty experience, being in a lower socioeconomic class, and having parents' who value their child's opinion rather little, are positively associated. From the data, it cannot be known whether they choose to use social networks because they enjoy the activity or because they lack the financial means and the parental support to engage in offline activities of social participation. The positive relationship with poverty experience and the lower socioeconomic class raises the question of whether the usage of online social networks is an adequate indicator of social participation. Here, it needs to be further investigated how exactly children use online social networks, for which purposes, and what effects the usage of online social networks has on other forms of social participation of children.

7.7 Summarizing the discussion

It is very difficult to summarize these findings and to conclude on how children with migration backgrounds engage in social participation. First, because social participation is a

highly complex concept, second, because the variable of migration backgrounds categorizes a very diverse group of children into only two categories, and third because the relationships are often moderated by other factors as well.

Few differences between German children and German children with migration backgrounds and more pronounced differences with foreign children

Most literature on children with migration backgrounds born in Europe or the US defines the lives of these children as different from the lives of children without migration backgrounds (Chimienti et al., 2019). A considerable amount of the literature on children with migration backgrounds frames migration as a negative experience, leading to discrimination, exclusion and marginality of children. Research often perceives young people with migration backgrounds as a homogenous, vulnerable population (Popyk et al., 2019, p. 236). Drnovšek and Toplak (2010) even consider children with migration backgrounds to be the most vulnerable group amongst the population in Europe. Nevertheless, a lot of more nuanced literature has emerged that challenges these dominant, negative narratives, emphasizing the importance of evaluating migration background as a heterogeneous, diverse concept and taking the context into account (Popyk et al., 2019, p.234). A similar position is taken by Spieß et al. (2016) who emphasize the importance to acknowledge the heterogeneity of migration backgrounds, thus differences in immigration and life histories, legal status, living conditions, nationality, religion and social and linguistic background. For example, Chimienti et al. (2019) suggest that it is important to distinguish between second-generation migrants with and without refugee background, based on the assumption that their (or their parents') possible experiences of violence and limited rights shape their growing up, family lives and life trajectories differently.

The objective of this research was to emphasize the homogeneity of migration backgrounds, by distinguishing at least between German children with migration backgrounds and children with foreign nationality living in Germany. The results of this research challenge the dominant perception of children with migration backgrounds as a homogenous and disadvantaged group. The results show that German children with migration backgrounds and children living in Germany with foreign nationality are two different groups that both relate differently to the indicators of social participation, compared to German children with migration backgrounds, but it cannot be included that they engage less in social participation than German children, rather the emphasis is on the different forms of engaging in social participation.

Overall, the differences between the social participation of children living in Germany with foreign nationality are more pronounced than the differences between the social participation of German children with migration backgrounds compared with German children without migration backgrounds. In 2016 Alba & Foner (2016, p.14) concluded that while most evidence suggests that the educational attainment and early labour market position of second-generation children in Western societies is less favourable than that of their majority peers due to intergenerational reproduction of inequality, attention should also be drawn to the rapidly increasing socio-economic and social integration of the second generation into the majority society. Alba and Foner (2016) base their argument on research in a US context, but this research seems to confirm their conclusion. The second generation, thus the children that might, to a great extent, fall into the category of German children with migration backgrounds, show mostly no or less significant differences in the indicators of social participation compared with their German peers. The significant differences were mostly for the first generation, thus probably many of the children that fall into the category of foreign children living in Germany. Thus the research findings seem to confirm Alba & Foner's (2016) analysis of the second generation's increasing participation in society compared to the first generation, however, the point to be made is here that the social participation of German children with migration backgrounds seems to be more similar to German children without migration backgrounds, which does not mean 'better' or more engagement in social participation.

Research that puts German children with migration backgrounds and children with a foreign nationality living in Germany in one single category of children with migration backgrounds might not lead to differentiated results as these groups are not homogenous. Research that draws ideally even more distinctions within the category of migration backgrounds would lead to more detailed results with the possibilities to draw more relevant conclusions.

Differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds across to the life domains

According to the results of this limited concept, the differences in social participation between children with and without migration backgrounds are pronounced in all life domains, but at the same time, in all of these domains except for the school domain, the expression of the differences are related to some extent to moderators. Also, in the family domain, the least differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds were found, while most differences were found in the community domain.

The findings for the social participation of children with migration backgrounds in the school domain, thus foreign children living in Germany being the most likely to be satisfied with school life, were the most surprising and the most difficult findings to explain. The findings of social participation in the community domain seem to indicate a lower likelihood of participation of children with migration backgrounds, more so children with foreign nationality, compared to German children without migration backgrounds for structured but not for unstructured free time activities, and should be researched more in detail, especially the role of socioeconomic class and poverty. For unstructured free time activities, children with migration backgrounds seem to be more likely to engage in them and some barriers present for other indicators disappear for the likelihood of meeting friends and using online social network

The role of moderators for the social participation of children with migration backgrounds

For each analysis except for school life satisfaction, there was at least one significant moderator, thus a factor through which the likelihood of children with migration backgrounds' social participation changed, rather than that the results were associated with their migration backgrounds as such. It can be assumed, that if more factors are added to the model, more significant moderators would be found. The moderators found in this research were socioeconomic class (self-determination, club membership, online social networks), the number of siblings living in the household (family outings), parents' valuation of the child's opinion (family outings), friends' valuation of the child's opinion (club membership) and having a mobile phone (meeting friends). Interestingly, poverty experience was only a significant moderator for online social networks

The impact of structural factors and genergency

The main two factors that almost always had a significant influence on children's social participation were socioeconomic class and poverty experience. In line with Spieß et al. (2016) argument, it is very crucial to consider socio-economic and socio-structural factors when using the concept of migration backgrounds in research. Their research also identified the socio-economic status, parental education and labour market participation as the main determinants of social participation (Gerlach, 2016), which is in line with the results of this research.

These are structural factors that cannot be changed or influenced much by the children's agency, but children can develop coping mechanisms and resilience. Therefore, it is

crucial that future research on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds focuses more in-depth on children individual resources and competencies, for example, their social competences. The analysis of the individual competencies could not be considered for this research.

In addition, besides societal or institutional influence, the generational order determines the range of choices available to children. Leonard (2016) uses the concept of genergency to explain that children's participation is never completely detached from external restrictive influences but also never completely determined by them. The importance of genergency is confirmed through the results of this research. According to the results of this research, genergency (parents', class teacher's and friends' valuation of the child's opinion, parental attention) is an influential factor for social participation. The generational order is a debated concept, and there is a lack of empirical research on it (Punch, 2019, p.7). However, according to Punch (2019) and Leonard (2016), the consideration of the generational order is necessary to understand how children's agency is embedded in relational and interdependent processes. Thereby, not only vertical adult-child relationships but also horizontal, intra-generational relationships of children with their siblings or friends should be taken into account (Punch, 2019, p.7). This research suggests that the variables representing genergency in this research add explanatory value to the research of children's social participation. Indeed, social participation plays an important role for both becoming and belonging of children and is influenced by an interplay of children's agency and institutional and social structures, thus "an interrelation between proper action and the conditions of possibility in the contexts where children navigate" (Leifsen, 2013, p.309).

Recognising unstructured, everyday and diverse forms of social participation

This research also argued that, according to the emergent narrative of children's social participation, it is important to recognise unstructured, everyday forms of social participation and to go beyond Western frameworks of social participation. Also, the emotional aspects of social participation are important because of the social embeddedness of participation, as argued by Thomas (2012). To fulfil their participatory potential, children need to feel loved, respected as rights holders and feel solidarity and shared purpose (Thomas, 2012). However, at this point, I would like to emphasize again that it is important to take non-Western conceptualisations of childhood into account when analysing these findings, in particular for the analysis of parent-child relationships, as childhood is perceived and lived in various ways (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016).

One of the main critiques of the concept of participation is that the Western normative conception of childhood is idealized and not compatible with the global realities of childhood (Sarmiento et al., 2018). According to this critique, the UNCRC is dominated by the Global North and it failed to include other social and cultural worlds. By focusing on children as individuals, it also failed to take into account complex dynamics within family and community settings. It is a new development that research on children's participation now includes new social environments, such as participation in local settings and leisure activities; new perspectives, e.g. participation in the domestic and family context; and that it has extended the research focus to the Global South (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018). For the analysis of social participation, I tried to be aware of multiple normativities and diversity, for example by evaluating different forms of parenting, and parent child-relationships, taking into account diverse forms of family outings and school life engagement, structured participation in non-German clubs, as well as online social participation.

For example, children's roles and responsibilities in the household, such as taking care of siblings or doing other household chores should be analysed as forms of social participation. Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that some children wish for more parental guidance than others and that not for all children full self-determination in all aspects of life is desirable. Also, unstructured family activities such as eating together should be put into the focus of the analysis of social participation. The research of social participation in schools should not only focus on whether children comply with the rules and adhere to the hierarchical order, it should attempt to understand the dissatisfaction of many children in relation to the restricted decision-making opportunities in school, but also should look into their everyday social interactions with teachers and students besides educational outcomes. When looking at social participation in the community domain, besides 'German' clubs, also the participation in culture and language of the society of origin should be recognised, as well as how children act as agents during unstructured activities, such as meeting friends. Furthermore, the transnational forms of social participation need to be acknowledged, as well as the potentials and dangers of online forms of social participation should be taken into account.

Facilitators and barriers to children's social participation

Having the rights and the possibilities to participate fully in society is an important part of social justice and participatory justice is crucial for democratic societies. (Diewald et al., 2016; Kostner, 2016, p. 325). And next to individual motivation and efforts, social participation is influenced by individual and societal facilitators and barriers. As Lakomski (1980) concludes

from Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron's Theory of Symbolic Violence: "Rather, agents are complex, material entities whose range of choices depend on their social, psychological, and behaviour dispositions which, in turn, are bounded by the specific sets of historical material conditions in which they occur" (Lakomski, 1984, p.160).

Amongst the factors examined in this research, poverty experience, being in a lower socioeconomic class, having a parental attention deficit and living in a single-parent family can be categorized as barriers to social participation. Ownership of a mobile phone and having one's opinion valued by parents, teachers and friends seem to function as a facilitator to social participation. The direction of the relationships between gender, age and migration background varies, thus it cannot be theorized that a specific age or a specific gender function as facilitator or barrier to social participation. Also, the function of the number of siblings is difficult to interpret. A very careful hypothesis based on the results but to be further tested in future research is that having one sibling can function as a facilitator to social participation while having two or more siblings can function as a barrier to social participation. Based on only one statistically significant result, living in West Germany and peripheries of large cities or rural areas can function as a facilitator to social participation. These are all mere careful, theoretical reflections based on a very limited analysis. To adequately assess the function of the factors, more analyses on additional indicators of social participation need to be conducted.

The meso-level: Challenging dominant research framings

Popyk et al. (2019, p.243) summarized the main research framings in childhood and migration studies on the micro- and macro-level. On the macro-level, children with migration backgrounds are often framed as " a uniform group being a challenge for the education system", "crime victims (violence, trafficking, poverty)"; and on the micro-level as "parents' 'luggage'", "agents" and "culturally confused children in the processes of identity construction". The scholars ask for more comprehensive, relational research that, besides the micro- and macro- level, also takes the meso-level into account when analysing children with migration backgrounds' lives. These meso-spaces can be peer groups, friendships, transnational social ties and participatory spaces of neighbourhoods and schools. (Popyk et al., 2019). The results showed that an analysis of the meso-level in the family, school and community domain indeed provides interesting insights, challenging the main research framings and that children with migration backgrounds simply cannot be evaluated as a uniform group.

Overall, the results of this research emphasize the interconnectedness of family, school

and community life. Going on family outings is connected with family and community life, self-determination in everyday life is connected to family, school and community life, etc. There are no clear demarcations in the domains, and they all influence the social participation of children.

Migration backgrounds as a social space rather than a social category

This research also shows that detecting a significant relationship with children with migration backgrounds and a specific indicator of social participation still leaves many questions open. Can this relationship be explained by the child's or the parental country of origin or the language spoken at home, thus ethnic or cultural reasons? Or by a specific form of agency, resilience or cultural capital attributed to migration backgrounds as a life-biographical influence? For example, this research found that children with foreign nationality living in Germany are more likely to be rather satisfied with school life, but a concrete causal explanation could not be found.

What aspect of the category of migration backgrounds influences the relationship to be significant? As Seeberg & Goździak (2016, p.8) argue, "migrancy" or in this case "migration backgrounds" is rather a whole "social space" than a social category, and indeed, in this research, the associations of other social categories such as gender and socioeconomic class are a lot more straightforward and easy to interpret than "migration backgrounds".

Although one of the main results of this research is that migration backgrounds are amongst the factors that can possibly influence children's social participation, the effect strength of migration backgrounds for the bivariate analysis is almost always very weak or weak. In addition, according to the likelihood ratio test and the strength and significance of the odds ratios, other factors have more explanatory value and stronger, significant relationships with the indicators of social participation, especially socioeconomic, poverty experience and age. The research results showed that the same research on the social participation of children with migration backgrounds living in Germany would have looked differently if additional social factors would not have been taken into account. This indicates that the significant differences between the three groups of children are mostly not present because of having or not having at least one parent born in another country or having or not having a German nationality, but the differences are to a greater extent created by other factors and life realities.

Social participation as a non-normative framework

Migration is often used as a meta-narrative and an all-encompassing explanatory

category for many socio-structural problems criticizes Foroutan (2019, p.12-13). To address the underlying deep-rooted socio-political conflicts of participation, Foroutan (2019) advocates for “Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft”, thus a “post-migrant society”, in which integration loses its normative connotation and instead becomes a political goal for recognition, equal opportunities and participation for all members of society. Integration in a post-migrant society thus applies as well to migrants, as to East-Germans and other stigmatized or disadvantaged social groups. The results of this research support Foroutan’s (2019) argumentation. Using only migration as an explanatory category obscures the impact of other explanatory categories. For a deeper understanding of sociostructural problems, not only children with migration backgrounds but also children living with poverty experience, children living in families from the lower socio-economic class, children living in East Germany etc. need to be included into the concept of integration, or as in this research, (social) participation as non-normative framework needs to be applied.

7.8 Limitations and suggestions for future research

Due to the small scope of this research and the complexities of the matter addressed, this research has many limitations and suggestions for future research. First, I discuss the methodological limitations of the research, then the limitations of data of the 4th World Vision Children Study, then the research limitations due to the limited scope of this research and lastly, I suggest future outlooks on the topic. Furthermore, besides these limitations, this research is also influenced by my positionality as a German researcher without any migration backgrounds.

Methodological limitations

First, quantitative research with children with migration backgrounds is very complex and as soon as inferential statistics are used to describe significant relationships, the results need to be evaluated carefully as they can change according to the methods and variables used, and very much so according to the definition and distinction of migration backgrounds used. For the sake of analysis, most categorical variables with more than two categories were simplified and transformed into binary variables, thus the data used is not as detail as originally assessed by the 4th World Vision Children study. Furthermore, only two-way interaction effects with migration backgrounds and the additional factors were tested, not two-way or three-way interaction effects between the different factors, because it would have complicated the model too much. Also, logistic regressions, the method used, can only indicate significant

relationships, but not causation. Quantitative research is limited. It can confirm or disconfirm hypotheses and draw conclusions from a representative sample of the population, but the deeper meaning behind certain findings can best be analysed by asking – in this case- children directly

Data limitations

Second, the data of the 4th World Vision Children Study has some limitations. The data provides information about the children's nationality, but it does not tell whether the children were born in Germany or another country. No data is available on the (in)direct migration background of the children. It is also not known whether children are first, second or third-generation migrants. However, it can be assumed that most children categorized as German children with migrated parents are second-generation migrants and that some of the children living in Germany with a foreign nationality are first-generation migrants. The children interviewed for the 4th World Vision Children Study are still very young and needed sufficient German skills to participate in the study, so the number of children with a direct migration experience is probably small. Also, the categories of the country of origin in the database of the 4th World Children Study is very vague, in specifically the categories of 'Arab World', 'Africa' and 'Other countries' need to be differentiated more.

Following the suggestion of Morrow (2006), Ní Laoire (2011) and Hadj Abdou (2019) I took into account the different characteristics of children in terms of gender, age, socioeconomic class and partly ethnicity, represented through the country of origin in the bivariate analysis. However, characteristics that could not be assessed due to lacking data are for example disability/ability, and previous experiences of participation.

Furthermore, based on the data available, children's agency and personal factors, for example, self-esteem, resilience or cultural capital could not be included very well into this research. Especially the concept of children's agency was not included well enough, but this concept is easier to be analysed in qualitative research.

In addition, while the 4th World Vision Children Study asks children whether they have a mobile phone and of yes, whether this is a smartphone, the study does not enquire whether children have an own computer or otherwise access to a computer. Having access to a computer is of particular importance for online learning, especially during the times of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Besides, transnationalism also needs to be considered more in the research of the social participation of children, as social participation does not end at borders. Which

transnational relationships influence children's social participation and how? And what is the role of online forms of participation in this context? In the qualitative part of the 4th World Vision Children Study, these relationships are sometimes mentioned but these relationships are not represented in the quantitative data and can therefore not be assessed.

The 4th World Vision Children Study provides manifold data of children's leisure time and family forms but not about daily intrafamilial interactions. Besides the likelihood of going on family outings, not much is known about other structured or unstructured family activities, for example, whether they help their parents in the household or whether they take care of their siblings, as well as other shared daily practices such as eating together. Also, family visits and relationships with the extended family are not part of the data. Such insights are only provided to a small extent through the qualitative data of the 4th World Vision Children Study.

Based on the data available it also difficult to investigate forms of unstructured activities. Only the likelihood of meeting friends, meeting friends outside and playing in the streets can be measured, but it is difficult to measure whether children rather go to swimming pools, parks, shopping centres etc. thus what are the semi-public and public spaces where children socially participate.

Research scope limitations

Third, other information was available in the data, but they were not included due to the focus and scope of this research. The confessional background could not be taken into account because of its complexity but it of interest for future research, especially when religious participation is also included in the concept of social participation. Also, German language proficiency was not taken into account, because I created a concept of social participation which can be applied to German children with and without migration backgrounds equally, but it could affect some of the relationships found. The concept created in this research also did not include social exclusion, mobbing or discrimination. Another topic that could be of interest is the relationship between health and social participation, for example within the context of the social determinants of health.

Future outlooks

Fourth, future research should focus on the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds from Germany to other contexts and incorporate non-Western frameworks of social participation with a strong awareness of multiple normativities and diversity. Furthermore, the topic of online social participation should be investigated more

in detail, for example by examining what social activities children pursue online and what effect it has on their well-being and their offline social participation.

Finally, for future research, the variable of migration backgrounds needs to be more differentiated and children should be asked directly about their social participation, the factors they believe are affecting their social activities and relationships, their well-being in connection to that and their wishes for change. In this way, their agency can be incorporated into the research of children's social participation. More detailed suggestions for future research were given at the end of each section 7.1-7.6.

8. Conclusion

In this research, I presented the theoretical discussions of the concept of social participation and created a new and detailed definition oriented at the emergent narrative of participation. I also argued why social participation can be an alternative to measuring the (social) integration of children with migration backgrounds. Focusing on the three meso-level domains of family, school and community life, I created a comprehensive concept of social participation aimed at children with and without migration backgrounds equally. Due to its complexity, in the statistical analysis, I tested only a short version of the concept based on six representative indicators.

How do children with and without migration backgrounds engage in social participation?

The guiding research question of this research was as follows: How do children with migration backgrounds living in Germany engage in social participation and which other factors influence their social participation? The hypothesis was as follows: There are differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds, but these differences are stronger related to structural conditions that hinder the social participation of children than related to migration backgrounds. This hypothesis can be confirmed. There are significant differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds, but for none of the six models of social participation tested, migration backgrounds was the variable with the strongest explanatory value, except for the likelihood of using online social networks where the variable with the strongest explanatory value was an interaction effect of migration backgrounds with socioeconomic class.

The main answer to the research question is that whether and how children with

migration backgrounds engage in social participation cannot be described easily in one-way direct relationships as their social participation is related to other, moderating factors, except for their social participation in the school domain. The moderators found in this research were socioeconomic class, the number of siblings living in the household, parents' and friends' valuation of the child's opinion and having a mobile phone.

This research confirmed that “social participation is rather a complex, interlocked and highly dynamic process, which finds in different areas of society again and again changing focuses” (Diehl et al., 2016 p.20). Furthermore, this research showed that using only migration backgrounds as all-encompassing explanatory category omits categories such as socioeconomic class and poverty experience, that are actually more influential for the social participation of the children. Thus, by focusing only on bivariate analyses of the category of migration backgrounds in relation to specific phenomena, the complexity of life realities is not accounted for. Another insight of this research is that besides structural inequalities, age, and the generational order is an influential factor for the social participation of children. This research showed variables of inter-generacy, in this case, „parent's valuation of the child's opinion” and „parental attention” add explanatory value and should be considered in future research as well. Thus, concerning social participation, children do not seem to be fully self-determined actors, as their positioning in a society already influences their opportunities. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight specific inequities and structural violence restricting the agency of children with and without migration backgrounds without reducing them to vulnerable, powerless entities that need to be protected and that cannot speak for themselves. Because within societal and generational restrictions, children exercise agency and use their capabilities to circumvent existing restrictions. Social participation can have transformative potential as the higher likelihood of school life satisfaction and meeting friends for children with foreign nationality living in Germany shows, in comparison to their German peers. Against this background, another interesting result was that the mobile phone seems to play an important role in children's social participation, and also online forms of social participation seem to offer new opportunities for independent, self-determined social participation of children.

Social participation: a useful concept for analysing categories of people within a society of which they are all part

Children with migration backgrounds are often portrayed as vulnerable, while it is also important to research and recognise their resilience and agency (Ensor & Goździak, 2010),

and the concept of social participation allows a stronger focus on agency than the concept of integration. Addressing the critique of immigrant integration research, with this research I suggested to adopt a different approach and to research social participation rather than focusing on the (social) integration of children with migration backgrounds. The results of this research showed that German children without migration backgrounds do not necessarily engage more or 'better' in social participation than children with migration backgrounds and that there is no homogenous German society that can be taken as a benchmark for 'desirable' social participation for which children with migration backgrounds need to strive.

If contextual factors and the homogeneity of the category of migration backgrounds is considered as much as possible, then it can be of interest to look into the differences of children with and without migration backgrounds to obtain some insights about how migration backgrounds as a social space, or as a life-biographical or as a life-chance influence can impact lived experiences of children, but it is important to see children with migration backgrounds only as one of many "categories of people within a society of which they are all part", as suggested by Klarenbeek (2019, p.5).

Significance

Overall, testing the short concept of social participation provided interesting insights but the analysis also raised more questions than it answered. Social participation is a very complex concept to understand and to measure, and further research is needed to analyse this important concept. With this research, I only provided an exemplary insight without claiming to provide the best or a perfect measure of social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds.

The findings of this research are based on the biggest representative data set that exists on children aged 6-11 in Germany. Although I could not ask children directly about the deeper meaning behind their answers, the data used for analysis is about their very own perceptions and options. While four of the chosen indicators represent activities of social participation, two of the indicators encompass the emotional dimension of social participation, such as children's satisfaction with school life and children's feelings of self-determination. The theoretical concept of social participation created in this research adds to the existing literature as it is based on a broad conceptualisation of social participation, which is not conditional on age and maturity and which includes the daily participatory activities of children, as well as emotional and material aspects of social participation. This theoretical concept of children's social participation which can be analysed further by World Vision, but it can also

be used by other researchers who can either analyse the whole comprehensive concept of social participation or pick specific representative indicators of interest.

I researched the differences in the social participation of children with and without migration backgrounds by including forms of social participation that have so far been negated in the integration discourse. This research also confirmed that it is crucial to consider children's multiple social positions and to take moderators into account, as real life is mostly not about straight one-way relationships. This is an important addition to existing research which often does not analyse possible interaction effects with migration backgrounds and other factors but only looks at the main effects. While gender does not seem to be a significant factor for children's social participation, age, socioeconomic class, poverty experience, generagency, family structure and also the ownership of a mobile phone matter, and they matter mostly more than the 'social space' of migration backgrounds.

To conclude, migration backgrounds are not a useful explanatory meta-narrative and an overemphasis on migration backgrounds risks to reproduce dominant divisions in society. Instead, for German society where every fourth person has migration backgrounds, it is crucial to ensure equal opportunities for social participation for all members of society. Against this background, I suggest future research to ask children directly whether they perceive certain forms of social participation as desirable or undesirable, what factors their social participation is determined by, and whether they perceive their social participation to be influenced to a greater extent by their agency or by structural factors.

9. References

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Appendix A

Choice of indicators for the short concept of social participation

The indicator “self-determination in everyday life” allows analysing children’s agency, and more specifically, the concept of generagency within the family domain, as the items of the index represent daily child-parent negotiations. The indicator “family outings” allows analysing presumably more or less frequently occurring family activities with possible space for children’s co-determination and without necessary dependence on family financial means - compared to for example going on a holiday or the celebration of birthdays. The school is an important place of socialisation and the indicator “school life satisfaction” allows analysing the social interactions, as well the emotional aspects connected with school life, thereby providing more insights than the analysis of academic performance. The indicator “club membership” allows analysing a structured form of social participation, and the indicator “meeting friends” allows analysing an unstructured form of social participation, which is supposedly mostly not regulated by adults, except maybe for younger children. Finally, the indicator “online social networks” allows analysing an online form of social participation, such as the usage of Facebook and Instagram which can be used in manifold ways; for social interactions and the maintenance of social relations, for the active exercise of voice, and also for information seeking and leisure.

Factors of social participation

Only the most relevant factors were chosen to assess their relationships with the indicators of social participation, besides the main variable of interest, which is migration backgrounds. In the following, I explain the choice and use of the factors. Below, the argument is summarized in Table A.1. Oriented at Leonard’s (2016) definition of generagency (see section 2.1), “parents”, “class teacher’s” and “friends’ valuation of the child’s opinion”, as well as “parental attention”, are categorized as generagency. As generagency is an important theory for this research, these variables are included in all domains, except for “class teacher’s valuation of the child’s opinion” which is only important in the school domain, and “friends’ valuation of the child’s opinion” which is assumed not to be relevant in the family domain. According to the discussed literature, the family factors are only relevant for the family and the community domain, and the geographical factors are most relevant for the community domain. The mobile phone as a material resource was included for all domains as in the research of Bartelsheimer et al. (2016) young people defined having a mobile phone as a basic

need for social participation so it is of interest to evaluate its impact throughout the three domains.

Table A.1

Summary: factors of social participation

Overarching category	Factors
	- Migration backgrounds
	- Age - Gender
Socio-structural factors	- Socioeconomic class - Poverty experience
Generagency	Inter-generagency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents' valuation of the child's opinion - Parental attention/time - Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion Intra-generagency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Friends' valuation of the child's opinion
Family factors	- Single-parent family - Number of siblings in the household
Geographical factors	- Region (West/East Germany) - Settlement structure (urban/rural)
Material factors	- Mobile phone

Appendix B

Recoding of variables

Club membership was already present as a binary variable (no club membership/ at least one club membership) in the 4th World Vision Children Study and was therefore not recoded, and the coding of the index of school life satisfaction and recoding of the index of self-determination is further explained in Appendix C. The following is an example of how I proceeded in creating measurable, binary categories of social participation. The survey data provided children's answers on a three-point scale for the variable of family outings, meeting friends and using online social networks. For example, when asked "How often do you meet your friends?" children could answer "rarely/almost never", "sometimes" or "often". For this research, the categories of "sometimes" and "often" were merged and coded as a single category. To reduce the model complexity, all the variables in Table B.1 and B.2 were recoded into binary or three-factor variables.

Table B.1

Recoding of dependent variables

Family outings, meeting friends, usage of online social networks	
Almost never	Almost never/rarely
Sometimes	Sometimes and often
Often	

Note. Recoding from ordinal to binary variables

Table B.2*Recoding of factors*

Variables of the 4th World Vision Children Study	Recoded variables
Parental attention	
No parental attention deficit	Sufficient parental attention
One-sided parental attention deficit	Parental attention deficit
Parental attention deficit	
Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion & Friends' valuation of the child's opinion	
Rather much	Rather yes
Every now and then/ every so often	
Rather little	Rather no
Number of siblings in the household	
No siblings	No siblings
One sibling	One sibling
Two or more siblings	Two or more siblings
Three or more siblings	
Educational outcomes	
A not at all good student	Below average student
A not so good student	
An average student	(Above-) average student
A good student	
A very good student	

Appendix C

Coding of variables and index

The following variables are explained in-depth as I recoded them for the research. All the other variables that are not mentioned were created by the 4th World Vision Children Study and not changed. Importantly, the answers “don’t know” and “no statement” were excluded from all variables used for this research.

Index of self-determination in everyday life

The index of self-determination of everyday life was created in the 4th World Vision Children Study. Children were asked whether they are allowed to decide for themselves in the following ten areas:

Are you allowed to decide...?

- 1- with which friends to meet
- 2- which clothes to wear
- 3- what to spend the pocket money on,
- 4- how many friends to bring home
- 5- what to do in the free time,
- 6- when to do the homework
- 7- to play outside without adults

- 8- to go to school without adults
- 9- what to do as a family in the free time
- 10- to decide what to eat at home.

For the purpose of this research, the three-factor variable (little, often, and throughout self-determination) of the 4th World Vision Children Study was transformed into a binary variable. Children who perceived self-determination in 1-5 areas were categorized as children with little self-determination in everyday life, and children who perceived self-determination in 6-10 areas were merged and categorized as children with often or throughout self-determination in everyday life.

Index of school life satisfaction

The index of satisfaction with school life is a mean index of the variables satisfaction with the school lessons, satisfaction with the teachers and satisfaction with the school friends:

- 1- When you think of school, how do you like the lessons?
- 2- And how satisfied are you with the teachers?
- 3- How comfortable do you feel with the other children?

The three variables were measured on a scale from 1-5 (very satisfied - not at all satisfied) and based on these numbers, a mean index of the three variables was created and then transformed into a binary variable. Thus means from 1-2.67 are the category “rather satisfied with school life”, the values 3 throughout 5 are the category “rather not satisfied with school life”. The Spearman-Brown coefficient of the index is .692 which is acceptable for a short-scale index.

Index of parents' valuation of the child's opinion

The index “parents' valuation of the child's opinion” is a mean index of “father values the child's opinion” and “mother values the child's opinion”, which was transformed into a binary variable. The two variables were measured on a scale from 1-3 (1- rather much, 2- from time to time, 3- rather little). After transformation, the mean values 1, 1.5 and 2 became the category “rather yes”, the values 2.5 and 3 became the category “rather not”. The

Spearman-Brown coefficient of the index is .666. For new conceptualisations with inherent logic, values that express lower reliability are acceptable (Walther, 2019).

Index of socioeconomic class

The socio-economic class index ((Herkunfts)-schicht) of the 4th World Vision Children Study was computed as a sum index of the variables “Highest school leaving certificate from mother or father”, “number of books in the household”, “type of housing (rent or ownership)”, and the question “How do you manage in your household with the money that is available to you and your family every month?” (Pupeter, Wolfert & Schneekloth, 2018b, p.352). The socioeconomic class index of the World Vision Children Study has five categories: Lower class, lower-middle-class, middle class, upper-middle-class and upper class. For the purpose of this research, I transformed them into the three categories of lower classes, middle class and upper classes. Children who were assigned 3-8 points in the index of the 4th World Vision Children Study were categorized as lower and lower-middle socioeconomic class, children with 9-10 points were categorized as middle socioeconomic class, and children with 11-14 points were categorized as upper-middle and upper socioeconomic class.

Poverty experience

The variable poverty experience was created for the 4th World Vision Children Study (Pupeter, Schneekloth & Andresen, 2018, p. 182) and not changed. The index measures poverty based on the restrictions on participation experienced. The children were asked the following questions.

- 1- Because there is not enough money in my family, I can hardly ever go to the cinema or the outdoor swimming pool.
- 2- Sometimes we can't afford to buy things for school, like notebooks or pens.
- 3- I can't invite friends over to my house to play or have dinner.
- 4- I can't join a club or learn an instrument because my family can't afford it.
- 5- We can rarely celebrate my birthday at home for financial reasons.
- 6- I could not go on a school trip because my family did not have the money.
- 7- Now and then we get food for free, for example from the "Tafel" (a stand where you can get food for free).
- 8- In winter I sometimes freeze because I don't have warm clothes.

Children who answered at least one these questions with „yes“ were categorized as having concrete poverty experience (Pupeter, Schneekloth & Andresen, 2018, p.184).

Appendix D

The statistical weighting used for this research was created by the 4th World Vision Children Study. According to Pupeter, Wolfert & Schneekloth (2018a, p. 349), based on the official statistics of the Federal Statistical Office, the weighting includes the following marginal distributions and all weighting factors were based on different West-East distributions.:

- 1- Age groups (6 to 7 years, 8 to 9 years, 10 to 11 years: 6-year-olds reduced by the estimated proportion of children not yet in school) and gender
- 2- Federal state and BIK settlement structure types,
- 3- Type of school with the characteristics of primary school, grammar school, other types of school and special school,
- 4- Family type (single parent: yes/no),
- 5- Nationality.

The following table is copied and translated from the methodology of the 4th World Vision Children Study (Pupeter, Wolfert & Schneekloth, 2018a, p. 350) as it shows the sample count and the statistical weighting of the main variable of interest, migration backgrounds.

Table A. 1.3 Sample count: migration background.

Basis: Children aged 6 to 11 years in Germany

Case numbers and columns in %	Actual	Expected
-------------------------------	--------	----------

	Absolute numbers	In %	Absolute numbers	In%
Children without migration background	1756	691	1634	64
Children with migration background and German nationality	613	24	717	28
Children without German nationality	181	7	199	8
Sum	2550	100	2500	100

Appendix E

Table E.1.1

Chi-square tests of independence with migration backgrounds and factors of social participation

Variable	N	X ²	df	p-value	Cramer's V
Gender	2549	6.732	2	.035*	.051
Age groups	2551	9.843	4	.043*	.044
Socio-economic class	2551	227.544	8	.000***	.211
Poverty experience	2550	96.625	2	.000***	.195
Region	2551	128.908	2	.000***	.225
Settlement structure	2549	271.554	6	.000***	.231
Parental attention	2551	15.282	4	.004**	.055
Parents' valuation of the child's opinion	2487	4.046	2	.123	.040
Friends value child's opinion	2472	9.924	4	.042*	.045

Class teacher values child's opinion	2294	32.206	4	.000**	.084
Own mobile phone	2549	13.010	2	.001**	.071
Number of siblings	2550	60.988	4	.000***	.109
Single-parent family	2550	57.766	2	.000***	.151
Educational outcomes	2504	58.330	4	.000***	.108

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table E.1.2

Descriptive statistics of weighted samples and their percentage: Migration backgrounds and factors of social participation

	Samples			
	Overall	Germans	Germans with migration backgrounds	Foreigners
Sample size, N	2550	1643	717	199
Age (standard error)	8.66(0.33)	8.72(0.41)	8.57(0.61)	8.47(0.111)

Age groups

6/7 years	29.2	28.1	31.0	31.7
8/9 years	25.1	34.2	35.7	40.2
10/11 years	35.7	37.7	33.3	28.1

Gender

Male	51.4	52.4	47.8	56.8
Female	48.6	47.6	52.2	43.2

Socio-economic class

Upper socio-economic class	49.3	53.1	47.1	25.6
Middle socio-economic class	27.1	28.0	27.2	18.6
Lower socio-economic class	23.7	18.9	25.7	55.8

Poverty experience

No poverty experience	81.2	84.1	81.7	55.3
Concrete poverty experience	18.8	15.9	18.3	44.7

Parental attention

Sufficient parental attention	82.4	80.4	85.8	86.9
Parental attention deficit	17.6	19.6	14.2	13.1

Parents' valuation of the child's opinion

Parents value the child's opinion rather little	6.8	7.5	5.3	6.1
---	-----	-----	-----	-----

Parents value the child's opinion rather much	93.2	92.5	94.7	93.9
Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion				
Class teacher values the child's opinion rather little	28.4	29.4	27.2	24.5
Class teacher value the child's opinion rather much	71.6	70.6	72.8	75.5
Friends' valuation of the child's opinion				
Friends value the child's opinion rather little	6.3	6.8	5.3	5.2
Friends value the child's opinion rather much	93.7	93.2	94.7	94.8
Mobile phone				
No mobile phone	54.6	53.4	54.1	66.8
Mobile phone	45.4	46.6	45.9	33.2
Region				
West	85.5	79.6	96.4	95.0
East	14.5	20.4	3.6	5.0
Settlement structure				
(Large) cities	40.7	29.3	63.0	54.5
Peripheries of large cities	25.3	30.3	15.5	19.7
Conurbations	10.3	10.6	9.2	12.1
Rural areas	23.7	29.9	12.3	13.6

Number of siblings

No siblings	27.5	30.8	22.5	18.6
One sibling	42.7	43.8	42.4	34.2
Two or more siblings	29.8	25.3	35.1	47.2

Single-parent

No single-parent family	82.1	77.8	90.7	85.9
Single-parent family	17.9	22.2	9.3	14.1

Educational outcomes

Below Average student	5.9	4.4	6.3	17.3
(Above-) Average student	94.1	95.6	93.7	82.7

Table E.2.1*Chi-square tests of independence with migration backgrounds and indicators of social participation*

Variables	N	X ²	df	p-value	Cramer's V
Family outings	2544	18.696	2	.000***	.086
Self-determination	2546	47.521	2	.000***	.137
School life satisfaction	2551	6.786	2	.034*	.052
Meeting with friends	2549	5.919	2	.052	.048
Club membership	2550	81.720	2	.000***	.179
Online social networks	949	22.787	2	.000***	.155

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table E.2.2

Descriptive statistics of weighted samples and the indicators of social participation in percentages

	Samples			
	Overall	Germans	Germans with migration backgrounds	Foreigners
Self-determination				
Little	18.6	15.0	22.9	32.2
Often and throughout	81.4	85.0	77.1	67.8
Family outings				
Almost never	6.0	4.7	7.4	11.6

Sometimes and often	94.0	95.3	92.6	88.4
School life satisfaction				
Rather not satisfied	6.8	7.4	6.6	2.5
Rather satisfied	93.2	92.6	93.4	97.5
Club membership				
No club membership	23.9	19.3	27.9	46.7
At least one club membership	76.1	80.7	72.1	53.3
Meeting friends				
Almost never	2.8	2.7	2.4	5.5
Sometimes and often	97.2	97.3	97.6	94.5
Online social networks				
Almost never	72	77.0	66.6	52.5
Sometimes and often	28	23.0	33.4	47.5

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table E.3.1

Chi-square tests of independence with countries of origins and indicators of social participation

Variables	N	X2	df	p-value	Cramer's V
Family outings	2536	67.360	8	.000***	.163
Self-determination	2536	74.743	8	.000***	.172
School life satisfaction	2544	11.519	8	.174	.067
Meeting with friends	2543	26.657	8	.001**	.102
Club membership	2550	167.976	8	.000***	.257
Online social networks	947	50.131	8	.000**	.230

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table E.3.2*Descriptive statistics of samples according to countries of origin*

	Samples								
	German	Western Europe	Ex-Yugoslavia	Ex-Soviet union	Other East European countries	Turkey	Arab World	Africa	Other
Sample size, N	1639	89	80	132	125	219	85	47	127
Self-determination									
Little	14.9	14.6	22.5	19.8	14.4	30.4	40.0	34.0	24.6
Often and throughout	85.1	85.4	77.5	80.2	85.6	69.6	60.0	66.0	75.4
Family outings									
Almost never	4.7	3.4	6.2	6.1	4.0	8.7	22.6	20.0	5.5
Sometimes and often	95.3	96.6	93.8	93.9	96.0	91.3	77.4	80.0	94.5
School life satisfaction									
Rather not satisfied	7.4	2.2	5.0	9.1	6.3	6.8	2.4	0.00	6.3
Rather satisfied	92.6	97.8	95.0	90.6	93.7	93.2	97.6	100.00	93.7
Club membership									
No club membership	19.4	16.9	13.8	31.1	25.4	43	63.5	50.0	15.7

At least one club membership	80.6	83.1	86.3	68.9	74.6	57	36.5	50.0	84.3
Meeting friends									
Almost never	2.7	1.1	3.7	0.8	2.4	1.8	9.3	0.0	7.1
Sometimes and often	97.3	98.9	96.3	99.2	97.6	98.2	90.7	100.0	92.9
Online social participation									
Almost never	77.1	66.7	38.5	64.9	58.3	60.2	82.4	80.0	88.1
Sometimes and often	22.9	33.3	61.5	35.1	41.7	39.8	17.6	20.0	11.9

Appendix F

Amongst German children with migration backgrounds, children with a one-sided and two-sided migration backgrounds are almost equally distributed and only a small percentage of children have parents who were both born in Germany. The majority of the children with a foreign nationality living in Germany have a two-sided migration background. As far as the data shows, most parents of German children with migration backgrounds migrated to Germany because of other reasons than flight, however, many parents did not report on their reasons and therefore there are a lot of missing values. Therefore it can only be drawn the careful conclusion that a slight majority of the mothers migrated of other reasons than flight to Germany, while the majority of the fathers fled to Germany.

Figure 3

Migration backgrounds by parental countries of origin

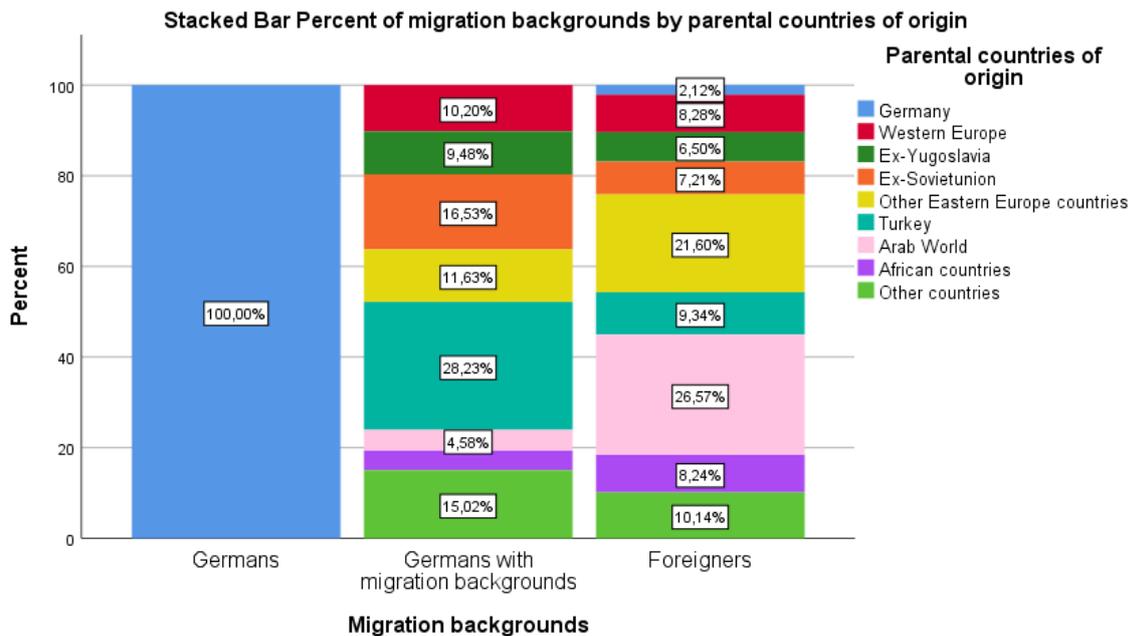


Figure 4

Migration backgrounds by mother's reason for migrating to Germany

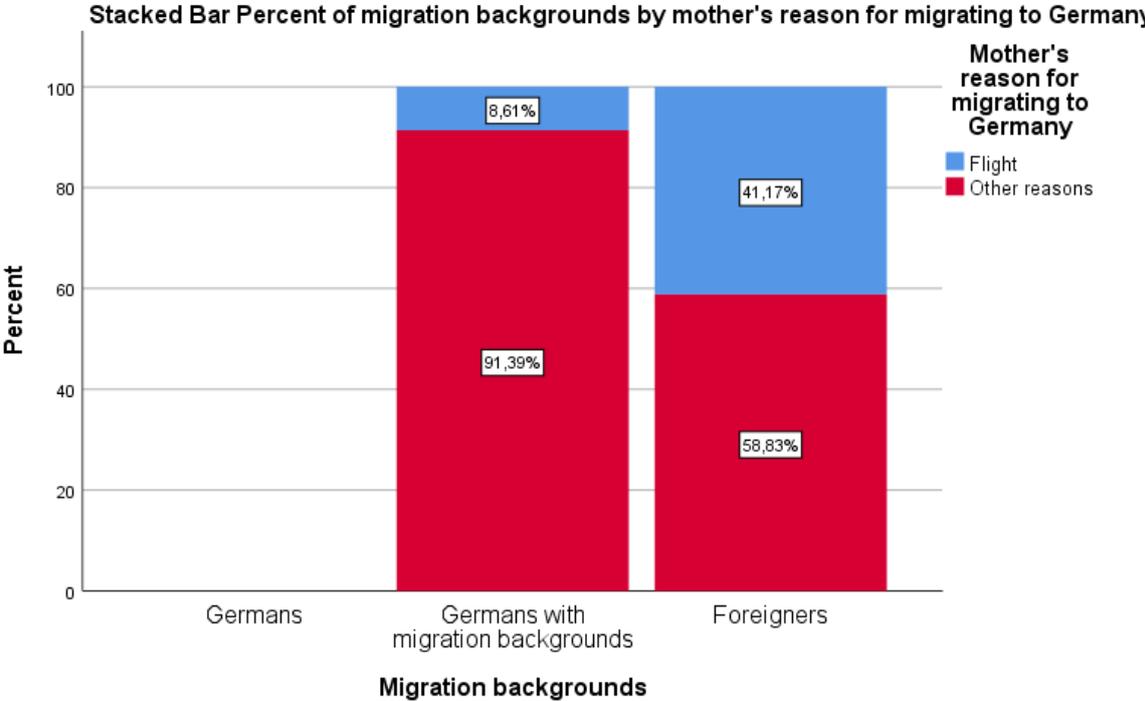
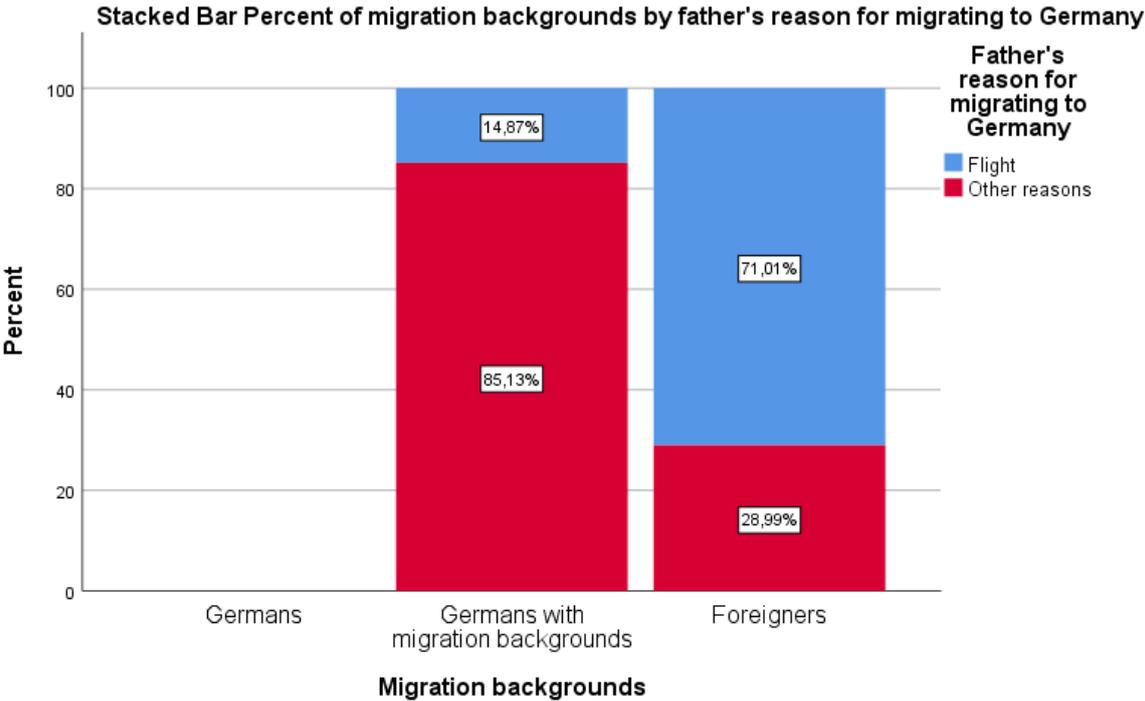


Figure 5

Migration backgrounds by father's reason for migrating to Germany



Appendix G

Table F.1

Missing cases

Cases of the logistic regression models	Self-determination	Family outings	School life satisfaction	Club membership	Meeting friends	Online social networks
Included in analysis	2485	2483	2240	2435	2434	934
Missing cases	65	67	310	115	116	1616
Total	2550	2550	2550	2550	2550	2550
Classification table model 1	2484	2480	2212	2435	2433	920
Classification table model 2	2484	2480	2212	2435	2433	920
Classification table model 3	2484	2480	2213	2435	2434	920

Note. As the weight is in effect, see classification tables for the total number of cases.

For all variables and analyses, the following answers of children were excluded as missing values: “Don’t know” and “no statement”. The number of missing values is high for the models of online social networks because only children who answered that they are regularly on the Internet during the week, whether via computer, tablet or Smartphone, were asked about their use of online social networks. Therefore, it needs to be taken into account that the data is biased as it only includes children who already use the Internet regularly. Furthermore, there are a lot of missing cases for school life satisfaction as many children reported “Don’t know” for the class teacher’s valuation of their opinion.

Table F.2*Missing cases for two example variables*

Cases of the variables	Online social networks	Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion
Don't know	2	247
Not specified	7	7
System	1592	254
Total missing cases	1601	254

Appendix H

Assessing the fits of the models and testing assumptions

To test the model fit of the logistic regressions, the chi-square likelihood ratio, Nagelkerke R², Hosmer and Lemeshow test, ROC curve and classification tables were used. All the tests indicated good fits for the step-3 models

First, the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients was computed to test whether the new model is an improvement over the previous model. It uses chi-square tests to see if there is a significant difference between the Log-likelihoods (specifically the -2LLs) of the previous model and the new model. If the new model has a significantly reduced -2LL compared to the previous then it indicates that the new model explains more of the variance in the outcome and is an improvement. So if the chi-square is highly significant, this means that the new model is significantly better (Field, 2018).

Second, the Nagelkerke R² was computed. It is a pseudo-R-square statistic that can be used as an effect size, to assess the explained variance and to carefully interpret the explanatory power of the model. Nagelkerke R² is a version of the coefficient of determination for logistic regression (Field, 2018).

Third, the Hosmer and Lemeshow test was computed. It is a goodness of fit test that suggests that the model is a good fit for the data if $p > .05$. The Hosmer and Lemeshow test is “a fairly literal translation in that it is the -2LL for the model divided by the original -2LL, in other words, it’s the ratio of what the model can explain compared to what there was to explain in the first place” (Field, 2018, p.1283).

Fourth, the ROC curve was computed. It is a measure of goodness-of-fit that evaluates the fit of a logistic regression model based on the simultaneous measurement of sensitivity (true positive) and specificity (true negative) for all possible cutoff points. The area under the ROC curve ranges from 0.5 and 1.0 with larger values indicative of better fit.

Fifth, the classification table produces a contingency table of observed versus predicted responses (Field, 2018, p. 1169) It is produced for all model steps and therefore, it can be compared across the model to see for whether additional factors or interaction terms lead to more cases being accurately, thus whether the models improved.

Lastly, I repeated the logistic regression with the Backward: LR method and checked the tables” Model if Term Removed” and look at the results for Step 1. For each variable, the hypothesis that the full model is indistinguishable from the model with that variable removed was tested. Thus, the variable with the smallest significance has the most impact on the model.

To test the assumptions, first, the confidence intervals of the significant variables were checked whether they include 0 because in this case, the significance of the variables might be over-emphasized. Second, the residuals were checked. The studentized residuals need to be checked whether there are values above 2, and any case with a value above about 3 can be an outlier. Furthermore, the values of Cook's distance indicate whether there are influential cases in the model, shown by a Cook's distance value above 1. Also, the values of DFBeta for the constant and for the first predictor should be below 1.

Third, an assumption of logistic regression is the linearity of the logit. The continuous variable "age" needs to be linearly related to the log of the outcome variable.

Fourth, the multicollinearity of the variables was tested as they can affect the parameters of the model. The collinearity statistics were checked with the VIF. Values higher than 4 indicate multicollinearity.

For all models, all the assumptions were met. I detected potential outliers for some models, but the Cook's distance value was always below 1, thus these outliers were not influential. For the models of club membership and online social networks, the linearity of the logit of the only continuous variable "age" was violated and therefore replaced with the categorical variable "age groups".

Table FD & FO

Multivariate results: models FD1-FD3 and FO1-FO3

	Dependent variable: odds ratios of self-determination in everyday life			Dependent variable: odds ratios of family outings		
	Logistic, survey-weighted					
	Model FD1	Model FD2	Model FD3	Model FO1	Model FO2	Model FO3
Constant	6.175***	.484*	.408*	20.189***	368.282***	595.409***
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Migration backgrounds						
(ref: Germans)						
<i>Germans</i>	.570***	.552***	.793	.645*	.580*	.430
<i>with migration backgrounds</i>						
<i>Foreigners</i>	.337***	.468***	1.137	.380***	.741	.155**
Age, years		1.428***	1.429***		.853*	.829**
Gender: female		.958	.978		1.003	1.091
Socioeconomic class						

(ref: upper socioeconomic classes)				
Middle class	.767	.858	.627	.614
Lower socioeconomic classes	.467***	.805	.271***	.258***
Poverty experience	.588***	.579***	.462***	.440***
Parents value the child's opinion:	.380***	.361***	.261***	.260***
rather not				
Parental attention deficit	.720*	.687**	.673	.618*
Mobile phone	1.964***	1.901***	1.781*	1.863**
Number of siblings				
(ref: no siblings)				
1 sibling	.757	.776	.766	.631
2 or more siblings	1.176	1.239	.381***	.263***
Single-parent family			.511**	.530*
<i>Interaction terms</i>				
Migration backgrounds*				
Socioeconomic class				

Germans with migration backgrounds* middle socioeconomic class	.733	
Germans with migration backgrounds*lower socioeconomic classes	.371**	
Foreigners* middle socioeconomic class	.703	
Foreigners* lower socioeconomic classes	.205**	
Migration backgrounds*		
parents' valuation of the child's opinion		
Germans with migration backgrounds* parents value opinion rather not		3.207
Foreigners* parents value opinion rather not		.077**
Migration backgrounds*		
number of siblings		
Germans with migration backgrounds* 1 sibling		.856
Germans with migration backgrounds*2 or more siblings		1.646

Foreigners* 1 sibling						24.685**
Foreigners * 2 or more siblings						10.391**
Observations	2484	2484	2484	2480	2480	2480
-2 Log-likelihood	2269.419	1955.791	1938.088	1102.539	912.439	885.495
$\chi^2(df)$	50.275 (2)***	363.903(11)***	381.606 (15)***	15.022 (2)**	205.121(13)***	232.065(19)***
Nagelkerke R2	.033	.225	.235	.017	.219	.246
Hosmer&Lemeshow test (p=)	1.000	.012	.241	1.000	.001	.058
ROC curve: Area (SE) (CI)			.772(.011)*** (.750-.794)			.827 (.018)*** (.792-.863)
Classification accuracy	82.3%	83.2%	83.2%	94.1%	94.0%	94.1%

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table FD.I

Confidence intervals for odds ratios in model FD3

		Variables in the Equation					95% C.I.for EXP(B)		
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1 ^a	migration backgrounds			1,475	2	,478			
	migration backgrounds (1)	-,230	,202	1,299	1	,254	,794	,535	1,180
	migration backgrounds (2)	,127	,468	,074	1	,785	1,136	,454	2,842
	Age of the child	,357	,044	65,705	1	,000	1,429	1,311	1,557
	socioeconomic class			1,333	2	,514			
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,154	,184	,699	1	,403	,857	,598	1,230
	socioeconomic class(2)	-,216	,207	1,088	1	,297	,806	,537	1,209
	poverty experience(1)	-,549	,145	14,409	1	,000	,577	,435	,767
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-1,016	,196	27,005	1	,000	,362	,247	,531
	parental attention(1)	-,374	,144	6,718	1	,010	,688	,518	,913
	mobile phone(1)	,643	,150	18,316	1	,000	1,902	1,417	2,554
	number of siblings in the household			10,862	2	,004			
	number of siblings in the household(1)	-,254	,144	3,138	1	,076	,775	,585	1,027
	number of siblings in the household(2)	,214	,162	1,758	1	,185	1,239	,903	1,700
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class			16,775	4	,002			
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(1)	-,310	,310	,994	1	,319	,734	,399	1,348
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(2)	-,994	,312	10,146	1	,001	,370	,201	,682
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(1)	-,351	,689	,260	1	,610	,704	,182	2,716
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(2)	-1,584	,542	8,557	1	,003	,205	,071	,593
	Constant	-,908	,356	6,509	1	,011	,403		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class .

Table FO.1

Confidence intervals for odds ratios in model FO3

		Variables in the Equation							95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	
Step 1 ^a	migration backgrounds			1,475	2	,478				
	migration backgrounds (1)	-,230	,202	1,299	1	,254	,794	,535	1,180	
	migration backgrounds (2)	,127	,468	,074	1	,785	1,136	,454	2,842	
	Age of the child	,357	,044	65,705	1	,000	1,429	1,311	1,557	
	socioeconomic class			1,333	2	,514				
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,154	,184	,699	1	,403	,857	,598	1,230	
	socioeconomic class(2)	-,216	,207	1,088	1	,297	,806	,537	1,209	
	poverty experience(1)	-,549	,145	14,409	1	,000	,577	,435	,767	
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-1,016	,196	27,005	1	,000	,362	,247	,531	
	parental attention(1)	-,374	,144	6,718	1	,010	,688	,518	,913	
	mobile phone(1)	,643	,150	18,316	1	,000	1,902	1,417	2,554	
	number of siblings in the household			10,862	2	,004				
	number of siblings in the household(1)	-,254	,144	3,138	1	,076	,775	,585	1,027	
	number of siblings in the household(2)	,214	,162	1,758	1	,185	1,239	,903	1,700	
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class			16,775	4	,002				
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(1)	-,310	,310	,994	1	,319	,734	,399	1,348	
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(2)	-,994	,312	10,146	1	,001	,370	,201	,682	
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(1)	-,351	,689	,260	1	,610	,704	,182	2,716	
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(2)	-1,584	,542	8,557	1	,003	,205	,071	,593	
	Constant	-,908	,356	6,509	1	,011	,403			

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class .

Table FD.2*Likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance of self-determination*

		Model if Term Removed			
Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	migration backgrounds	-969,759	1,468	2	,480
	socioeconomic class	-969,693	1,336	2	,513
	poverty experience	-975,969	13,889	1	,000
	gender	-969,044	,038	1	,845
	mobile phone	-978,471	18,893	1	,000
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	-981,863	25,676	1	,000
	parental attention	-972,307	6,565	1	,010
	siblings in household	-974,522	10,995	2	,004
	Age	-1003,384	68,719	1	,000
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class	-977,826	17,602	4	,001

Table FO.2*Likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance of family outings*

		Model if Term Removed			
Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	migration backgrounds	-447,827	10,160	2	,006
	socioeconomic class	-458,696	31,897	2	,000
	poverty experience	-450,340	15,186	1	,000
	gender	-442,855	,216	1	,642
	mobile phone	-446,349	7,203	1	,007
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	-451,704	17,913	1	,000
	parental attention	-444,985	4,476	1	,034
	siblings in household	-451,726	17,958	2	,000
	Age	-446,578	7,661	1	,006
	single parent family	-445,989	6,484	1	,011
	migration backgrounds * parents' valuation of child's opinion	-451,015	16,536	2	,000
	migration backgrounds * siblings in household	-450,220	14,946	4	,005

Table FD.3*Residuals*

		Statistics							
		Analog of Cook's influence statistics	Leverage value	Standard residual	Normalized residual	Deviance value	DFBETA for constant	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (1)	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (2)
N	Valid	2484	2487	2484	2484	2484	2484	2484	2484
	Missing	66	63	66	66	66	66	66	66
Minimum		,00002	,00084	-2,73790	-6,42256	-2,73627	-,05448	-,02715	-,20172
Maximum		,24655	,06653	1,74993	1,87959	1,73859	,05099	,01411	,05390

Table FD.4*Linearity of the logit*

		Variables in the Equation						
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	
Step 1 ^a	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,974	,194	25,247	1	,000	,378	
	mobile phone(1)	,647	,149	18,772	1	,000	1,911	
	parental attention(1)	-,333	,142	5,473	1	,019	,717	
	gender(1)	,045	,115	,152	1	,697	1,046	
	socioeconomic class			27,006	2	,000		
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,265	,146	3,298	1	,069	,767	
	socioeconomic class(2)	-,772	,149	26,724	1	,000	,462	
	poverty experience(1)	-,531	,143	13,847	1	,000	,588	
	siblings in household			10,413	2	,005		
	siblings in household(1)	-,272	,143	3,632	1	,057	,762	
	siblings in household(2)	,174	,159	1,190	1	,275	1,190	
	migration backgrounds			27,874	2	,000		
	migration backgrounds (1)	-,590	,128	21,123	1	,000	,554	
	migration backgrounds (2)	-,748	,196	14,539	1	,000	,473	
	Age	-1,087	1,313	,685	1	,408	,337	
	Ln(age) by Age	,466	,424	1,207	1	,272	1,593	
	Constant	2,961	3,411	,754	1	,385	19,326	

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: parents' valuation of child's opinion, mobile phone, parental attention, gender, socioeconomic class, poverty experience, siblings in household, migration backgrounds, Age, Ln(age) * Age .

Table FD.5

Collinearity statistics

Coefficients^a

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Age	,663	1,508
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	,954	1,049
	mobile phone	,668	1,497
	parental attention	,870	1,150
	gender	,995	1,005
	single parent family	,784	1,275
	migration_backgrounds=Germans with migration backgrounds	,920	1,087
	migration_backgrounds=Foreigners	,885	1,131
	socioeconomic_class=middle socioeconomic class	,866	1,154
	socioeconomic_class=lower socioeconomic classes	,755	1,325
	siblings=no siblings	,778	1,286
	siblings=2 or more siblings	,811	1,232

a. Dependent Variable: self-determination

Table FO.3

Residuals

		Statistics							
		Analog of Cook's influence statistics	Leverage value	Standard residual	Normalized residual	Deviance value	DFBETA for constant	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (1)	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (2)
N	Valid	2480	2487	2480	2480	2480	2480	2480	2480
	Missing	70	63	70	70	70	70	70	70
Minimum		,00000	,00063	-3,17783	-12,41486	-3,17624	-,18936	-,14559	-,23526
Maximum		,42196	,22602	1,81169	1,98519	1,78749	,11190	,08082	,15255

Table FO.4

Linearity of the logit

		Variables in the Equation					
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a	Age	-3,338	2,171	2,365	1	,124	,036
	gender(1)	,091	,187	,236	1	,627	1,095
	socioeconomic class			32,257	2	,000	
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,491	,283	3,013	1	,083	,612
	socioeconomic class(2)	-1,380	,258	28,568	1	,000	,252
	poverty experience(1)	-,818	,209	15,337	1	,000	,441
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-1,373	,303	20,535	1	,000	,253
	parental attention(1)	-,481	,225	4,592	1	,032	,618
	mobile phone(1)	,572	,234	5,985	1	,014	1,771
	single parent family(1)	-,650	,246	6,958	1	,008	,522
	siblings in household			16,745	2	,000	
	siblings in household(1)	-,463	,355	1,700	1	,192	,629
	siblings in household(2)	-1,301	,341	14,593	1	,000	,272
	migration backgrounds			11,660	2	,003	
	migration backgrounds (1)	-,844	,479	3,100	1	,078	,430
	migration backgrounds (2)	-1,875	,567	10,950	1	,001	,153
	migration backgrounds * parents' valuation of child's opinion			14,050	2	,001	
	migration backgrounds (1) by parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	1,159	,624	3,447	1	,063	3,188
	migration backgrounds (2) by parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-2,656	,905	8,623	1	,003	,070
	migration backgrounds * siblings in household			15,452	4	,004	
	migration backgrounds (1) by siblings in household(1)	-,150	,575	,068	1	,795	,861
	migration backgrounds (1) by siblings in household(2)	,482	,559	,743	1	,389	1,619
	migration backgrounds (2) by siblings in household(1)	3,317	1,088	9,291	1	,002	27,565
	migration backgrounds (2) by siblings in household(2)	2,356	,720	10,710	1	,001	10,551
	Ln(age) by Age	1,002	,690	2,112	1	,146	2,724
	Constant	14,811	5,855	6,399	1	,011	2706956,612

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Age , gender, socioeconomic class, poverty experience, parents' valuation of child's opinion, parental attention, mobile phone, single parent family, siblings in household, migration backgrounds, migration backgrounds * parents' valuation of child's opinion , migration backgrounds * siblings in household , Ln(age) * Age .

Table FO.5*Collinearity statistics*

Coefficients^a

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Age	,662	1,510
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	,938	1,066
	mobile phone	,667	1,498
	parental attention	,864	1,158
	gender	,993	1,007
	migration_backgrounds=Germans with migration backgrounds	,919	1,088
	migration_backgrounds=Foreigners	,868	1,153
	socioeconomic_class=middle socioeconomic class	,853	1,172
	socioeconomic_class=lower socioeconomic classes	,692	1,446
	poverty experience	,795	1,257
	single parent family	,771	1,297
	sibling=no siblings	,778	1,286
	sibling=2 or more siblings	,809	1,235

a. Dependent Variable: family outings

Table SL*Multivariate results: models SL1-SL3*

Dependent variable: odds ratios of satisfaction with school life			
Logistic, survey-weighted			
	Model SL1	Model SL2	Model SL3
Constant	12.054***	1749.423***	1581.924***
<i>Independent variables</i>			
Migration backgrounds			
Germans with migration backgrounds	1.470	1.451	1.487
Foreigners	4.187**	6.928**	7.992***
Age, years		.661***	.669***
Gender: female		1.126	1.123
Socioeconomic class			
(ref: upper socioeconomic classes)			
Middle class		.655	.673

Lower socioeconomic classes		.373***	.398***
Poverty experience		.462***	.484**
Parents valuation of child's opinion: rather not		.542*	.605
Parental attention deficit		.798	.816
Mobile phone		1.542	1.506
Class teacher's valuation of the child's opinion: rather not		.205***	.207***
Friends' valuation of child's opinion: rather not		.610	.595
Educational outcomes: below average student			.452**
Observations	2212	2212	2213
-2 Log-likelihood	1056.987	855.774	849.363
χ^2 (df)	13.043(2)**	214.257(12)***	220.667(13)***
Nagelkerke R2	.015	.241	.248
Hosmer & Lemeshow test	1.000	.044	.184
ROC curve: Area (SE) (CI)			.808 (.017)***

(.774-.841)

Classification accuracy

93.4%

93.7%

93.8%

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

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Table SL.1

Confidence intervals model SL3

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Step 1 ^a			14,695	2	,001			
migration backgrounds								
migration backgrounds (1)	,391	,224	3,041	1	,081	1,478	,953	2,294
migration backgrounds (2)	2,078	,579	12,867	1	,000	7,992	2,567	24,881
Age	-,401	,074	29,792	1	,000	,669	,579	,773
gender(1)	,116	,189	,374	1	,541	1,123	,775	1,627
socioeconomic class			13,594	2	,001			
socioeconomic class(1)	-,397	,243	2,659	1	,103	,673	,418	1,083
socioeconomic class(2)	-,921	,250	13,523	1	,000	,398	,244	,651
poverty experience(1)	-,726	,224	10,535	1	,001	,484	,312	,750
parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,503	,270	3,461	1	,063	,605	,356	1,027
parental attention(1)	-,204	,223	,836	1	,360	,816	,527	1,262
mobile phone(1)	,409	,227	3,256	1	,071	1,506	,965	2,348
class teacher's valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,1574	,195	64,900	1	,000	,207	,141	,304
friends' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,518	,289	3,214	1	,073	,595	,338	1,050
educational outcomes(1)	-,793	,302	6,908	1	,009	,452	,250	,817
Constant	7,366	,683	116,415	1	,000	1581,924		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: educational outcomes.

Table SL.2*Likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance of school life satisfaction*

		Model if Term Removed			
Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	migration backgrounds	-435,519	21,675	2	,000
	socioeconomic class	-431,359	13,355	2	,001
	poverty experience	-429,790	10,216	1	,001
	gender	-424,869	,375	1	,540
	mobile phone	-426,311	3,260	1	,071
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	-426,324	3,286	1	,070
	parental attention	-425,091	,820	1	,365
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	-426,180	2,998	1	,083
	Age	-440,752	32,141	1	,000
	class teacher's valuation of child's opinion	-458,719	68,076	1	,000
	educational outcomes	-427,887	6,411	1	,011

Table SL.3*Residuals*

		Statistics							
		Analog of Cook's influence statistics	Leverage value	Standard residual	Normalized residual	Deviance value	DFBETA for constant	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (1)	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (2)
N	Valid	2212	2212	2212	2212	2212	2212	2212	2212
	Missing	338	338	338	338	338	338	338	338
Minimum		,00000	,00027	-3,27555	-14,55765	-3,27443	-,18392	-,04152	-,32750
Maximum		,46848	,09592	1,76056	1,87120	1,73458	,08536	,02254	,05020

Table SL.5*Linearity of the logit*

		Variables in the Equation					
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a	Age	-2,366	2,412	,962	1	,327	,094
	gender(1)	,115	,189	,366	1	,545	1,121
	socioeconomic class			13,699	2	,001	
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,395	,243	2,640	1	,104	,674
	socioeconomic class(2)	-,924	,250	13,619	1	,000	,397
	poverty experience(1)	-,732	,224	10,680	1	,001	,481
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,518	,271	3,647	1	,056	,596
	parental attention(1)	-,210	,223	,889	1	,346	,811
	mobile phone(1)	,388	,226	2,942	1	,086	1,475
	class teacher's valuation of child's opinion(1)	-1,573	,195	64,895	1	,000	,207
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,504	,290	3,023	1	,082	,604
	educational outcomes(1)	-,802	,302	7,067	1	,008	,448
	migration backgrounds			14,858	2	,001	
	migration backgrounds (1)	,396	,224	3,129	1	,077	1,486
	migration backgrounds (2)	2,092	,581	12,977	1	,000	8,101
	Ln(age) by Age	,620	,760	,665	1	,415	1,859
	Constant	12,715	6,616	3,694	1	,055	332630,517

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Age , gender, socioeconomic class, poverty experience, parents' valuation of child's opinion, parental attention, mobile phone, class teacher's valuation of child's opinion, friends' valuation of child's opinion, educational outcomes, migration backgrounds, Ln(age) * Age .

Table SL.5*Collinearity statistics*

Coefficients^a

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Age	,678	1,476
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	,918	1,089
	mobile phone	,679	1,472
	parental attention	,947	1,056
	gender	,989	1,011
	migration_backgrounds=Germans with migration backgrounds	,947	1,056
	migration_backgrounds=Foreigners	,868	1,152
	socioeconomic_class=middle socioeconomic class	,867	1,153
	socioeconomic_class=lower socioeconomic classes	,701	1,427
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	,962	1,040
	educational outcomes	,909	1,100
	class teacher's valuation of child's opinion	,939	1,065
	poverty experience	,783	1,278

a. Dependent Variable: school life satisfaction

Table CC, CF & CO

Multivariate results: models CC1- CC3, CF1-CF3, CO1-CO3

	Dependent variable: odds ratios of club membership			Dependent variable: odds ratios of meeting friends			Dependent variable: odds ratios of online social networks		
	Logistic, survey-weighted								
	Model CC1	Model CC2	Model CC3	Model CF1	Model CF2	Model CF3	Model CO1	Model CO2	Model CO3
	4.227***	5.681***	7.026***	37.968***	166.541***	178.981***	.312***	.124***	.076***
<i>Independent variables</i>									
Migration backgrounds									
Germans with migration backgrounds	.635***	.678**	.467***	1.267	1.393	1.399	1.637**	1.772**	3.615***
Foreigners	.278***	.522**	.158***	.639	1.371	4.482*	3.240***	4.431***	1.490
Age, years					.857	.848			
Age groups (ref: 6/7 years old)									
8/9 years old		1.612**	1.523**				.691	.705	
10/11 years old		1.442*	1.438*				1.826	2.008	

Gender: female	.756*	.769*	2.064*	2.010*	1.040	1.065
Socioeconomic class (ref: upper socioeconomic classes)						
Middle class	.431***	.336***	.525	.502*	.825	1.241
Lower socioeconomic classes	.151***	.100***	.679	.645	1.695**	3.075***
Poverty experience	.567***	.563***	.274***	.259***	2.419**	2.290*
Parents' valuation of the child's opinion: rather not	.455***	.461***	.793	.783	2.590**	2.405**
Parental attention deficit	1.174	1.211	.682	.704	1.286	1.301
Friends' valuation of the child's opinion: rather not	1.392	.925	.384*	.360**	1.388	1.568
Settlement structure (ref: large cities)						
Peripheries of large cities	1.941***	1.978***	1.305	1.972	.531**	.514**
Conurbations	1.377	1.321	.976	1.394	.454*	.421**
Rural areas	1.376*	1.449*	1.547	1.514	.730	.706
Region: East	.738	.751	.451*	.479*	.455**	.457**
Mobile phone	1.439**	1.506**	2.717**	4.040**	2.277**	2.607**
Single-parent family	.600**	.633**	1.781	1.797	1.065	1.016

Number of siblings (ref: no siblings)

1 sibling	1.486**	1.489**	.785	.774	1.119	1.168
2 or more siblings	1.181	1.132	.695	.647	.507**	.544*

Interaction terms

Migration backgrounds* socioeconomic class

Germans with migration backgrounds* middle class		1.753				.276**
Germans with migration backgrounds* lower socioeconomic classes		1.555				.097***
Foreigners * middle class		1.578				11.282*
Foreigners* lower socioeconomic classes		6.832***				9.792*

Migration backgrounds* friends valuation of the child's opinion

Germans with migration backgrounds* friends value opinion rather not		3.609*				
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Foreigner* friends value opinion
rather not 3.720

Migration backgrounds* mobile phone

Germans with migration backgrounds with a mobile phone 1.074

Foreigners with a mobile phone .004**

Migration backgrounds* poverty experience

Germans with migration backgrounds with poverty experience 2.226

Foreigners with poverty experience .036***

Observations	2435	2435	2435	2433	2433	2434	920	920	920
-2 Log-likelihood	2586.893	2122.690	2089.546	571.503	504.720	491.664	1049.718	936.138	886.759
$\chi^2(df)$	68.148(2)** *	532.351(19) ***	565.495(25) ***	2.078(2)***	68.861(18)* **	81.916(20)* **	9.768(2)**	168.350(19) ***	217.727(25) ***
Nagelkerke R2	.042	.296	.312	.004	.133	.158	.035	.239	.302
Hosmer & Lemeshow test	1.000	.123	.925	1.000	.016	.667	1.000	.137	.652
ROC curve: Area (SE) (CI)			.770(.011)* ** (.748 - .792)			.786(.027)* **(.732- .839)			.742(.018)* **(.707- .777)

Classification accuracy	76.5%	80.2%	80.7%	97.5%	97.5%	97.5%	71.2%	75.4%	77.5%
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*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001*

Table CC.I

Confidence intervals CC3

		Variables in the Equation					95% C.I. for EXP(B)		
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1 ^a	migration backgrounds			32,561	2	,000			
	migration backgrounds (1)	-,761	,219	12,135	1	,000	,467	,304	,717
	migration backgrounds (2)	-1,842	,348	28,010	1	,000	,158	,080	,314
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,775	,199	15,185	1	,000	,461	,312	,680
	mobile phone(1)	,410	,137	8,916	1	,003	1,506	1,151	1,971
	parental attention(1)	,192	,153	1,569	1	,210	1,211	,897	1,635
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,078	,279	,078	1	,780	,925	,536	1,597
	gender(1)	-,262	,111	5,568	1	,018	,769	,619	,957
	region(1)	-,287	,162	3,142	1	,076	,751	,547	1,031
	settlement structure			20,109	3	,000			
	settlement structure(1)	,682	,156	19,246	1	,000	1,978	1,459	2,684
	settlement structure(2)	,278	,194	2,066	1	,151	1,321	,904	1,930
	settlement structure(3)	,371	,152	5,993	1	,014	1,449	1,077	1,950
	socioeconomic class			136,432	2	,000			
	socioeconomic class(1)	-1,092	,188	33,735	1	,000	,336	,232	,485
	socioeconomic class(2)	-2,300	,197	135,831	1	,000	,100	,068	,148
	poverty experience(1)	-,575	,135	18,091	1	,000	,563	,432	,733
	single parent family(1)	-,457	,152	9,022	1	,003	,633	,470	,853
	siblings in household			9,005	2	,011			
	siblings in household(1)	,398	,138	8,287	1	,004	1,489	1,136	1,954
	siblings in household(2)	,124	,148	,706	1	,401	1,132	,847	1,513
	Altersgruppen			9,853	2	,007			
	Altersgruppen(1)	,420	,139	9,203	1	,002	1,523	1,160	1,998
	Altersgruppen(2)	,363	,164	4,932	1	,026	1,438	1,044	1,982
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class			26,941	4	,000			
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(1)	,561	,305	3,379	1	,066	1,752	,964	3,187
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(2)	,441	,302	2,136	1	,144	1,555	,860	2,809
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(1)	,456	,527	,749	1	,387	1,578	,562	4,430
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(2)	1,922	,429	20,078	1	,000	6,832	2,948	15,832
	friends' valuation of child's opinion * migration backgrounds			6,876	2	,032			
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1) by migration backgrounds (1)	1,283	,565	5,153	1	,023	3,609	1,192	10,931
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1) by migration backgrounds (2)	1,314	,784	2,809	1	,094	3,720	,801	17,288
Constant	1,950	,203	92,456	1	,000	7,026			

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class , friends' valuation of child's opinion * migration backgrounds .

Table CF.I*Confidence intervals CF3*

		Variables in the Equation					95% C.I. for EXP(B)		
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1 ^a	migration backgrounds			4,553	2	,103			
	migration backgrounds (1)	,336	,411	,669	1	,413	1,399	,626	3,128
	migration backgrounds (2)	1,500	,711	4,446	1	,035	4,482	1,111	18,077
	Age	-,165	,099	2,796	1	,095	,848	,699	1,029
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,245	,422	,337	1	,562	,783	,342	1,791
	parental attention(1)	-,351	,339	1,072	1	,301	,704	,363	1,368
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-1,022	,386	6,996	1	,008	,360	,169	,767
	gender(1)	,698	,288	5,876	1	,015	2,010	1,143	3,536
	region(1)	-,736	,325	5,143	1	,023	,479	,254	,905
	settlement structure			3,447	3	,328			
	settlement structure(1)	,679	,390	3,026	1	,082	1,972	,918	4,236
	settlement structure(2)	,332	,474	,490	1	,484	1,394	,550	3,530
	settlement structure(3)	,415	,352	1,386	1	,239	1,514	,759	3,022
	socioeconomic class			3,990	2	,136			
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,689	,345	3,990	1	,046	,502	,255	,987
	socioeconomic class(2)	-,439	,391	1,261	1	,262	,645	,300	1,387
	poverty experience(1)	-1,351	,309	19,153	1	,000	,259	,141	,474
	single parent family(1)	,586	,400	2,149	1	,143	1,797	,821	3,934
	siblings in household			1,307	2	,520			
	siblings in household(1)	-,256	,356	,516	1	,473	,774	,385	1,556
	siblings in household(2)	-,435	,381	1,307	1	,253	,647	,307	1,365
	mobile phone(1)	1,396	,425	10,810	1	,001	4,040	1,758	9,288
	migration backgrounds * mobile phone			12,561	2	,002			
	migration backgrounds (1) by mobile phone(1)	,071	,748	,009	1	,924	1,074	,248	4,651
	migration backgrounds (2) by mobile phone(1)	-3,131	,910	11,848	1	,001	,044	,007	,260
	Constant	5,187	,894	33,697	1	,000	178,981		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: migration backgrounds * mobile phone .

Table CO.1

Confidence Intervals CO3

		Variables in the Equation					95% C.I. for EXP(B)		
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1 ^a	migration backgrounds			24,936	2	,000			
	migration backgrounds (1)	1,285	,258	24,844	1	,000	3,615	2,181	5,992
	migration backgrounds (2)	,399	,808	,243	1	,622	1,490	,306	7,265
	gender(1)	,063	,170	,136	1	,712	1,065	,763	1,486
	age groups			20,097	2	,000			
	age groups(1)	-,349	,371	,885	1	,347	,705	,341	1,459
	age groups(2)	,697	,364	3,677	1	,055	2,008	,985	4,096
	socioeconomic class			13,946	2	,001			
	socioeconomic class(1)	,216	,266	,659	1	,417	1,241	,737	2,091
	socioeconomic class(2)	1,123	,306	13,441	1	,000	3,075	1,687	5,605
	poverty experience(1)	,828	,313	7,022	1	,008	2,290	1,241	4,225
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	,878	,334	6,892	1	,009	2,405	1,249	4,632
	parental attention(1)	,263	,244	1,157	1	,282	1,301	,806	2,100
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1)	,449	,321	1,955	1	,162	1,568	,835	2,943
	mobile phone(1)	,958	,279	11,790	1	,001	2,607	1,509	4,504
	settlement structure			12,759	3	,005			
	settlement structure(1)	-,666	,229	8,455	1	,004	,514	,328	,805
	settlement structure(2)	-,865	,322	7,215	1	,007	,421	,224	,791
	settlement structure(3)	-,349	,234	2,218	1	,136	,706	,446	1,116
	region(1)	-,783	,300	6,798	1	,009	,457	,254	,823
	single parent family(1)	,016	,240	,005	1	,946	1,016	,635	1,626
	siblings in household			13,167	2	,001			
	siblings in household(1)	,156	,209	,552	1	,458	1,168	,775	1,762
	siblings in household(2)	-,610	,243	6,269	1	,012	,544	,337	,876
	migration backgrounds * poverty experience			18,019	2	,000			
	migration backgrounds (1) by poverty experience (1)	,800	,514	2,429	1	,119	2,226	,814	6,091
	migration backgrounds (2) by poverty experience (1)	-,319	,924	12,905	1	,000	,036	,006	,221
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class			32,258	4	,000			
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(1)	-,1286	,443	8,440	1	,004	,276	,116	,658
	migration backgrounds (1) by socioeconomic class(2)	-,2333	,516	20,459	1	,000	,097	,035	,267
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(1)	2,423	1,101	4,848	1	,028	11,282	1,305	97,539
	migration backgrounds (2) by socioeconomic class(2)	2,282	1,022	4,981	1	,026	9,792	1,320	72,617
	Constant	-,2572	,413	38,794	1	,000	,076		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: migration backgrounds * poverty experience , migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class .

Table CC.2*Likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance of club membership*

		Model if Term Removed			
Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	migration backgrounds	-1059,881	30,217	2	,000
	socioeconomic class	-1118,613	147,679	2	,000
	poverty experience	-1053,670	17,795	1	,000
	gender	-1047,568	5,590	1	,018
	mobile phone	-1049,285	9,025	1	,003
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	-1052,244	14,943	1	,000
	parental attention	-1045,568	1,589	1	,207
	siblings in household	-1049,306	9,066	2	,011
	single parent family	-1049,208	8,870	1	,003
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	-1044,812	,078	1	,780
	region	-1046,318	3,090	1	,079
	settlement structure	-1055,089	20,633	3	,000
	age groups	-1049,687	9,828	2	,007
	friends' valuation of child's opinion * migration backgrounds	-1048,385	7,225	2	,027
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class	-1057,889	26,232	4	,000

Table CF.2*Likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance of meeting friends*

		Model if Term Removed			
Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	migration backgrounds	-248,763	5,863	2	,053
	socioeconomic class	-247,841	4,017	2	,134
	poverty experience	-255,072	18,480	1	,000
	gender	-248,939	6,214	1	,013
	mobile phone	-251,877	12,090	1	,001
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	-245,994	,324	1	,569
	parental attention	-246,348	1,032	1	,310
	siblings in household	-246,496	1,328	2	,515
	Age	-247,234	2,804	1	,094
	single parent family	-246,979	2,294	1	,130
	migration backgrounds * mobile phone	-252,360	13,055	2	,001
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	-248,796	5,929	1	,015
	region	-248,235	4,806	1	,028
	settlement structure	-247,595	3,526	3	,317

Table CO.2

Likelihood-ratio test for assessing variable importance of online social networks

		Model if Term Removed			
Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	migration backgrounds	-456,089	25,418	2	,000
	socioeconomic class	-450,139	13,519	2	,001
	poverty experience	-446,811	6,862	1	,009
	gender	-443,448	,136	1	,712
	mobile phone	-449,796	12,833	1	,000
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	-446,817	6,875	1	,009
	parental attention	-443,951	1,143	1	,285
	siblings in household	-450,293	13,828	2	,001
	single parent family	-443,382	,005	1	,946
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	-444,329	1,898	1	,168
	region	-447,129	7,498	1	,006
	settlement structure	-449,925	13,090	3	,004
	age groups	-454,304	21,849	2	,000
	migration backgrounds * socioeconomic class	-461,704	36,650	4	,000
	migration backgrounds * poverty experience	-453,453	20,148	2	,000

Table CC.3

Residuals

		Statistics							
	Analog of Cook's influence statistics	Leverage value	Standard residual	Normalized residual	Deviance value	DFBETA for constant	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (1)	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (2)	
N	Valid	2435	2435	2435	2435	2435	2435	2435	
	Missing	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	
Minimum		,00002	,00107	-2,66560	-5,80286	-2,66307	-,03179	-,02875	
Maximum		,40032	,14668	1,96458	2,39391	1,95279	,01462	,02178	

Table CC.4*Collinearity statistics*

Coefficients^a

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	parents' valuation of child's opinion	,930	1,075
	mobile phone	,664	1,506
	parental attention	,864	1,157
	gender	,988	1,012
	migration_backgrounds=Germans with migration backgrounds	,799	1,252
	migration_backgrounds=Foreigners	,824	1,213
	socioeconomic_class=middle socioeconomic class	,845	1,183
	socioeconomic_class=lower socioeconomic classes	,682	1,466
	poverty experience	,789	1,268
	single parent family	,767	1,304
	sibling=no siblings	,771	1,297
	sibling=2 or more siblings	,803	1,246
	settlement_structure=peripheries of (large) cities	,747	1,338
	settlement_structure=conurbations	,860	1,163
	settlement_structure=rural areas	,739	1,354
	region	,918	1,090
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	,982	1,019
	age_groups=6/7 years	,724	1,381
	age_groups=10/11 years	,606	1,650

a. Dependent Variable: club membership

Table CF.3*Residuals*

		Statistics							
		Analog of Cook's influence statistics	Leverage value	Standard residual	Normalized residual	Deviance value	DFBETA for constant	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (1)	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (2)
N	Valid	2434	2435	2434	2434	2434	2434	2434	2434
	Missing	116	115	116	116	116	116	116	116
Minimum		,00000	,00049	-3,40075	-17,88736	-3,39744	-,19623	-,17827	-,47529
Maximum		,68784	,14269	1,19505	,93863	1,12412	,23329	,06890	,08858

Table CF.4

Linearity of the logit

		Variables in the Equation					
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a	Age	-3,681	3,211	1,314	1	,252	,025
	parents' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-,280	,424	,436	1	,509	,756
	parental attention(1)	-,368	,339	1,177	1	,278	,692
	friends' valuation of child's opinion(1)	-1,012	,387	6,840	1	,009	,364
	gender(1)	,696	,288	5,836	1	,016	2,005
	region(1)	-,731	,325	5,056	1	,025	,481
	settlement structure			3,521	3	,318	
	settlement structure(1)	,694	,392	3,144	1	,076	2,002
	settlement structure(2)	,337	,475	,501	1	,479	1,400
	settlement structure(3)	,406	,352	1,328	1	,249	1,501
	socioeconomic class			4,125	2	,127	
	socioeconomic class(1)	-,701	,345	4,125	1	,042	,496
	socioeconomic class(2)	-,446	,391	1,298	1	,255	,640
	poverty experience(1)	-1,364	,309	19,471	1	,000	,256
	single parent family(1)	,575	,402	2,042	1	,153	1,777
	siblings in household			1,060	2	,588	
	siblings in household(1)	-,239	,357	,451	1	,502	,787
	siblings in household(2)	-,394	,382	1,060	1	,303	,675
	mobile phone(1)	1,328	,425	9,740	1	,002	3,772
	migration backgrounds			4,651	2	,098	
	migration backgrounds (1)	,347	,411	,712	1	,399	1,415
	migration backgrounds (2)	1,516	,712	4,532	1	,033	4,556
	migration backgrounds * mobile phone			12,362	2	,002	
	migration backgrounds (1) by mobile phone(1)	,055	,747	,006	1	,941	1,057
	migration backgrounds (2) by mobile phone(1)	-3,109	,910	11,681	1	,001	,045
	Ln(age) by Age	1,122	1,023	1,202	1	,273	3,071
	Constant	14,522	8,590	2,858	1	,091	2027556,561

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Age , parents' valuation of child's opinion, parental attention, friends' valuation of child's opinion, gender, region, settlement structure, socioeconomic class, poverty experience, single parent family, siblings in household, mobile phone, migration backgrounds, migration backgrounds * mobile phone , Ln(age) * Age .

Table CF.5*Multicollinearity***Coefficients^a**

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Age	,665	1,504
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	,932	1,073
	mobile phone	,668	1,496
	parental attention	,865	1,156
	gender	,988	1,012
	migration_backgrounds=Germans with migration backgrounds	,796	1,255
	migration_backgrounds=Foreigners	,824	1,214
	socioeconomic_class=middle socioeconomic class	,847	1,181
	socioeconomic_class=lower socioeconomic classes	,682	1,466
	poverty experience	,789	1,268
	single parent family	,768	1,302
	sibling=no siblings	,772	1,295
	sibling=2 or more siblings	,804	1,243
	settlement_structure=peripheries of (large) cities	,748	1,337
	settlement_structure=conurbations	,861	1,161
	settlement_structure=rural areas	,739	1,353
	region	,918	1,089
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	,981	1,019

a. Dependent Variable: meeting friends

Table CO.3

Residuals

		Statistics							
		Analog of Cook's influence statistics	Leverage value	Standard residual	Normalized residual	Deviance value	DFBETA for constant	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (1)	DFBETA for migration backgrounds (2)
N	Valid	920	2435	920	920	920	920	920	920
	Missing	1630	115	1630	1630	1630	1630	1630	1630
Minimum		,00002	,00233	-2,19732	-2,98069	-2,14055	-,04567	-,03214	-,29464
Maximum		,51121	,22069	3,06003	10,28604	3,05646	,11728	,03236	,52615

Table CO.4

Collinearity statistics

		Coefficients ^a	
		Collinearity Statistics	
Model		Tolerance	VIF
1	age_groups=6/7 years	,749	1,336
	age_groups=8/9 years	,773	1,293
	gender	,974	1,026
	migration_backgrounds=Germans with migration backgrounds	,773	1,293
	migration_backgrounds=Foreigners	,865	1,156
	socioeconomic_class=upper socioeconomic classes	,695	1,439
	socioeconomic_class=lower socioeconomic classes	,660	1,515
	poverty experience	,747	1,340
	mobile phone	,692	1,446
	parental attention	,845	1,184
	parents' valuation of child's opinion	,937	1,068
	friends' valuation of child's opinion	,934	1,070
	single parent family	,751	1,331
	settlement_structure=peripheries of (large) cities	,732	1,366
	settlement_structure=conurbations	,853	1,172
	settlement_structure=rural areas	,758	1,319
	sibling=no siblings	,785	1,274
sibling=2 or more siblings	,795	1,259	
region	,920	1,087	

a. Dependent Variable: online social

