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Social Identities of Immigrant Parents in Home–School–Society Relational Spaces: Perspectives and Experiences of Turkish Parents in Germany

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SUMMARY

Germany, which had long denied its role as a country of immigration (Constant et al., 2012), is today, after the US, the second most popular destination country among immigrants (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Over the past decades, waves of immigration – to Germany in particular, and to Europe more broadly – have presented societies with numerous new challenges. These challenges exist both at the macro level in terms of social and educational policies to meet the needs of a pluralistic society, and at the micro level concerning how to live together in a culturally and linguistically diversified society (Malik, 2015; Vertovec, 2007b). The overlap between integration and education policies is large, and educational institutions are considered an influential context for immigrant families' adjustment to the host country (OECD, 2017). In particular, the large achievement gaps between children based on their socioeconomic and immigrant backgrounds have highlighted the need for measures to address inequalities in children's early years of life (Anders et al., 2012; Kluczniok & Mudiappa, 2019). Accordingly, in recent years, preschools and primary schools have become a greater focus of research and policy. However, it is questionable to what extent these institutions provide an inclusive environment and quality education to children who experience disadvantages due to their social and migration backgrounds. Immigrant parents can provide valuable insight into their children's formal learning environment in the early years. However, there are limited studies that give immigrant parents a voice and portray their everyday realities.

Despite the fact that immigrant parents have high educational aspirations for their children (B. Becker & Gresch, 2016), they experience acculturation stress in the host country, including their children's schools, due to language and cultural barriers (Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008; Norheim & Moser, 2020). Moreover, they have been observed to have a desire for their children to develop bicultural competencies in relation to both their heritage and their host

countries (Uttal & Han, 2011). Accordingly, immigrant parents have particular identity-related concerns about their children, which affect their beliefs and practices in childrearing. However, we know little about how the characteristics of different contexts influence parents' social identities and how their social identities shape those contexts. The educational sciences have only recently recognized the relevance of spatial theories in considering issues of identity and inequality (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gulson & Symes, 2007a), and there are few empirical studies that apply a socio-spatial theoretical framework. Further, research on immigrant families has not adequately illustrated the relationships between different contexts and usually focuses on only one particular context, such as the home learning environment and school. The study of socio-spatial relations has been mainly limited to the home–school relationship. The linkages between these and broader societal micro and macro contexts that may interact with immigrant parents' social identities have not been adequately explored.

Therefore, this dissertation focuses on this topic and addresses the Turkish-origin community in Germany, the largest immigrant group in the country (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). In particular, it examines how Turkish-origin parents of preschool- and primary school-aged children (re-)construct their social identities within home–school–society relational spaces. The dissertation consists of four sub-studies based on the qualitative and quantitative interview data collected within the framework of the *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS) project. The quantitative data comprise survey responses from Turkish parents (n = 338) with children aged 3–6 (before primary school) or aged 8–12 (in primary school). The qualitative interview study subjects were drawn from a subsample of the quantitative survey respondents and consisted of 22 mothers. The qualitative data were analyzed utilizing content analysis and included in all four studies of this dissertation. Additionally, Study 4 used a mixed methods design, and content analysis of the qualitative data

was used to provide possible explanations for the results of the quantitative data, which were analyzed using (multi-group) regression analysis.

Study 1 examined how mothers perceive socio-spatial school and residential segregation and how they relate this issue to the quality of their children's education. The results showed that mothers living in neighborhoods with high immigrant populations were largely dissatisfied with the quality of their children's education. Respondents' concerns about their children being marginalized in a native-dense environment, as well as concerns about their children's ethnic identity in the context of their potential 'Germanization,' were cited as reasons for choosing an immigrant-dense or ethnically and socially diverse school and neighborhood. Despite the fact that some respondents complained about segregation tendencies on the part of the native population, the data showed that middle-class Turkish families, in particular, use similar strategies to raise their children in native-dense environments, even though they ascribe a high value to social diversity. The perceived high educational quality of schools in these neighborhoods was also identified as an influential factor. Moreover, the results indicated not only segregation between schools but also within schools, i.e., the creation of separate classroom groups in primary schools for children from native and/or middle-class families.

Study 2 investigated mothers' perceptions and experiences related to their language use at the intersection of their ethnocultural identities in home–school–society relational spaces. The results showed that the respondents' linguistic competencies and the value they place on the German language, and their heritage language coincide extensively with their ethnocultural identities, which are mirrored in their ethnolinguistic upbringing beliefs and practices. Parents reported how language barriers affected their parenting (e.g., parental involvement, parent–child relationship) as well as their sense of belonging to the host country (e.g., everyday discrimination) and emphasized experiencing parental stress. Some parents also pointed out

that while they did not face a language barrier, symbolic boundaries between them and the native population persisted (e.g., the misconception that women wearing headscarves have little knowledge of German). Regardless of their own German language skills, the parents placed great importance on their children's German language development, which they saw as a source of success in the host country. Parents were particularly inclined to raise their children bilingually because they viewed their heritage language as an important resource for developing their children's heritage ethnocultural identity and for enhancing the quality of parent–child interactions. Yet dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in school and society toward their heritage language, as well as the extent to which their linguistic support needs were recognized, appeared to be critical in influencing their social identities in the host country and thus their parenting within the home space.

Study 3 addressed the ethnoreligious identities of immigrant mothers within home–school–society relational spaces. The findings showed that parents' ethnoreligious identities make the home space religiously congruent with or separated from the school and societal space. Their desire to integrate into German society and to ensure that their children received high-quality education and were not marginalized in a non-family environment motivated parents to create congruent spaces (e.g., celebrating Christian festivals at home, parental involvement in Christian celebrations at school, enrolling their children in a church-run preschool). Conversely, some respondents chose contextually separate parenting approaches as a way to maintain their children's strong religious affiliation. In addition, narratives showed that inclusive (e.g., teachers collaborating with minority parents on their religious celebrations, using interreligious pedagogical practices) and exclusive (e.g., teachers' cultural prejudice, the perception that some preschools refused to enroll minority children) approaches in schools appeared to be closely linked to the societal space in terms of attitudes toward religious minorities. These spaces seemed to reproduce each other, influencing the ethnoreligious

identities of the parents that were reflected in the home space. Thus, they also influenced parents' beliefs and practices with regard to ethnoreligious upbringing.

Finally, Study 4 was conducted to identify the relationship between Turkish immigrant parents' perception of their children's school climate and their life satisfaction in Germany. In addition, how this relationship varies depending on the immigrant generation of the parents (first vs. second generation) and the school level of their children (preschool vs. primary school) was investigated. Applying a mixed methods research in Study 4, an explanatory sequential design was used. Thereby, the qualitative interviews were used to further interpret the quantitative research findings. The results of the quantitative survey revealed that life satisfaction in Germany was predicted by the way parents perceived the children's school climate. While the relationship was significant for both generations, it was stronger for second-generation parents. Further, the relationship was significant only for parents with children attending primary school. The qualitative research findings suggested that there was a high degree of overlap between perceived inequalities in school and in society. These included the sense of injustice (particularly in primary schools), the extent to which an inclusive school climate has been created, and the collaboration of schools with immigrant parents. In conjunction with the quantitative research findings on life satisfaction among Turkish families, this could potentially have implications for immigrant parents.

Taken together, the present dissertation highlights the significance of socio-spatial relational theory approaches, which have been largely overlooked in educational sciences, and emphasizes such approaches' power in portraying immigrant parents' social identities. Accordingly, this dissertation seeks to contribute theoretical developments, as well as further concrete empirical research, for the exploration of the complex perceptions and experiences of immigrant families within and across various contexts. Moreover, it provides valuable insights

for the inclusive pedagogical approaches in preschools and primary schools, as well as educational and social policies aiming to create inclusive environments in their societies.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Deutschland, das lange Zeit seine Rolle als Einwanderungsland verleugnete (Constant et al., 2012), ist heute nach den USA das zweitbeliebteste Zielland von Einwanderern (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). In den letzten Jahrzehnten haben Einwanderungswellen – insbesondere nach Deutschland, aber auch nach Europa im Allgemeinen – die Gesellschaften vor zahlreiche neue Herausforderungen gestellt. Diese Herausforderungen bestehen sowohl auf der Makroebene in Bezug auf die Sozial- und Bildungspolitik, um den Bedürfnissen einer pluralistischen Gesellschaft gerecht zu werden, als auch auf der Mikroebene in Bezug auf das Zusammenleben in einer kulturell und sprachlich vielfältigen Gesellschaft (Malik, 2015; Vertovec, 2007b). Die Überschneidungen zwischen Integrations- und Bildungspolitik sind groß und Bildungseinrichtungen gelten als einflussreicher Kontext für die Integration von Zuwandererfamilien in das Aufnahmeland (OECD, 2017). Insbesondere die großen Leistungsunterschiede zwischen Kindern aufgrund ihres sozioökonomischen Hintergrunds und ihres Migrationshintergrunds haben deutlich gemacht, dass Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung von Ungleichheiten bereits in den ersten Lebensjahren ergriffen werden müssen (Anders et al., 2012; Kluczniok & Mudiappa, 2019). Dementsprechend sind Kindertageseinrichtungen und Grundschulen in den letzten Jahren stärker in den Fokus von Forschung und Politik gerückt. Es ist jedoch fraglich, inwieweit diese Einrichtungen Kindern, die aufgrund ihres sozialen Hintergrundes und Migrationshintergrundes Benachteiligung erfahren, ein inklusives Umfeld und eine hochwertige Bildung bieten. Vor allem Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund können jene Einrichtungen in den ersten Jahren wertvolle Einblicke in das formale Lernumfeld ihrer Kinder geben. Es gibt jedoch nur wenige Studien, in denen Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund selbst zu Wort kommen und ihre Alltagsrealität reflektieren.

Auch wenn Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund hohe Bildungsziele für ihre Kinder haben (B. Becker & Gresch, 2016), erleben sie aufgrund sprachlicher und kultureller Barrieren

Akkulturationsstress im Gastland, was auch die Schulen ihrer Kinder einschließt (Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008; Norheim & Moser, 2020). Darüber hinaus wurde beobachtet, dass sie sich für ihre Kinder wünschen, bikulturelle Kompetenzen sowohl in Bezug auf ihre Herkunft als auch auf ihr Gastland zu entwickeln (Uttal & Han, 2011). Dementsprechend machen sich Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund besondere identitätsbezogene Sorgen um ihre Kinder, welche sich auf ihre Überzeugungen und Praktiken bei der Kindererziehung auswirken. Wir wissen jedoch nur wenig darüber, wie die Merkmale der verschiedenen Kontexte die sozialen Identitäten der Eltern beeinflussen und wie ihre sozialen Identitäten diese Kontexte prägen. Die Erziehungswissenschaften haben die Bedeutung räumlicher Theorien für die Betrachtung von Fragen der Identität und Ungleichheit erst kürzlich erkannt (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gulson & Symes, 2007a), und es gibt nur wenige empirische Studien, die einen sozialräumlichen theoretischen Rahmen anwenden. Darüber hinaus hat die Forschung über Migrantenfamilien die Beziehungen zwischen verschiedenen Kontexten nicht angemessen dargestellt und konzentriert sich in der Regel nur auf einen bestimmten Kontext, z. B. das häusliche Lernumfeld und die Schule. Die Untersuchung der sozialräumlichen Beziehungen hat sich hauptsächlich auf die Beziehung zwischen Elternhaus und Schule beschränkt. Die Verbindungen zwischen diesen und weiteren gesellschaftlichen Mikro- und Makrokontexten, die mit den sozialen Identitäten von Zuwandereltern interagieren können, wurden nicht ausreichend untersucht.

Daher konzentriert sich diese Dissertation auf dieses Thema und betrachtet die türkischstämmige Gemeinschaft in Deutschland, die größte Einwanderergruppe des Landes (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). Im Speziellen wird untersucht, wie türkischstämmige Eltern von Kindern im Vorschul- und Grundschulalter ihre sozialen Identitäten in den Beziehungsräumen zwischen Elternhaus, Schule und Gesellschaft (re-)konstruieren. Die Dissertation besteht aus vier Teilstudien, die auf den qualitativen und quantitativen

Interviewdaten basieren, welche im Rahmen des Projekts *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS) erhoben wurden. Die quantitativen Daten umfassen die Antworten türkischer Eltern (n = 338) mit Kindern im Alter von 3 bis 6 Jahren (vor der Grundschule) oder 8-12 Jahren (in der Grundschule). Die Teilnehmenden der qualitativen Interviews entstammen einer Untergruppe der quantitativen Umfrageteilnehmer und umfassten 22 Mütter. Die qualitativen Daten wurden mit Hilfe der Inhaltsanalyse ausgewertet und in alle vier Studien dieser Dissertation einbezogen. Des Weiteren wurde in Studie 4 ein *Mixed-Methods-Design* verwendet. Zudem wurde die Inhaltsanalyse der qualitativen Daten genutzt, um mögliche Erklärungen für die Ergebnisse der quantitativen Daten zu liefern, die mithilfe einer (Mehrgruppen-) Regressionsanalyse analysiert wurden.

In Studie 1 wurde insbesondere untersucht, wie Mütter die sozialräumliche Schul- und Wohnsegregation wahrnehmen und wie sie dieses Thema mit der Bildungsqualität ihrer Kinder in Verbindung bringen. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass Mütter, die in Stadtvierteln mit hohem Migrantenanteil leben, mit der Bildungsqualität ihrer Kinder weitgehend unzufrieden sind. Die Befragten hatten Sorgen, dass ihre Kinder in Gegenden mit hohem Anteil an Familien ohne Migrationshintergrund an den Rand der Gesellschaft gedrängt werden könnten. Außerdem wurden die Sorge um die ethnische Identität ihrer Kinder im Zusammenhang mit ihrer potenziellen „Germanisierung“ als Gründe für die Wahl einer Schule und eines Viertels mit hoher Zuwandererdichte oder ethnischer und sozialer Vielfalt genannt. Obwohl sich einige Befragte über Segregationstendenzen der einheimischen Bevölkerung beschwerten, zeigten die Daten, dass insbesondere türkische Familien der Mittelschicht ähnliche Strategien anwenden, um ihre Kinder in Gegenden mit hohem Anteil an Familien ohne Migrationshintergrund aufzuziehen, obwohl sie gesellschaftlicher Vielfalt einen hohen Wert beimessen. Die wahrgenommene hohe Bildungsqualität der Schulen in diesen Vierteln wurde ebenfalls als einflussreicher Faktor identifiziert. Darüber hinaus zeigten die Ergebnisse, dass es nicht nur

eine Segregation zwischen den Schulen gibt, sondern auch innerhalb der Schulen, d.h. dass in den Grundschulen getrennte Klassen für Kinder gebildet werden, die beispielsweise aus Familien ohne Migrationshintergrund und/oder aus der Mittelschicht stammen.

Studie 2 untersuchte die Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen von Müttern in Bezug auf ihren Sprachgebrauch im Schnittpunkt ihrer ethnokulturellen Identitäten in den Beziehungsräumen zwischen Elternhaus, Schule und Gesellschaft. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass die sprachlichen Kompetenzen der Befragten und der Wert, den sie der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Herkunftssprache beimessen, in hohem Maße mit ihren ethnokulturellen Identitäten übereinstimmen, welche sich in ihren ethnolinguistischen Erziehungsvorstellungen und -praktiken widerspiegeln. Die Eltern berichteten, wie sich die Sprachbarrieren auf ihre Erziehungsarbeit (z. B. elterliches Engagement, Eltern-Kind-Beziehung) und ihr Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zum Gastland (z. B. alltägliche Diskriminierung) auswirkten und betonten, dass sie elterlichen Stress erleben. Einige Eltern wiesen auch darauf hin, dass sie zwar nicht mit einer Sprachbarriere zu kämpfen hätten, aber symbolische Grenzen zwischen ihnen und der einheimischen Bevölkerung fortbestünden (z. B. das Missverständnis, dass Kopftuchträgerinnen kaum Deutschkenntnisse haben). Unabhängig von ihren eigenen Deutschkenntnissen legten die Eltern großen Wert auf die deutsche Sprachentwicklung ihrer Kinder, die sie als Quelle des Erfolgs im Gastland ansahen. Die Eltern waren besonders geneigt, ihre Kinder zweisprachig zu erziehen, weil sie ihre Herkunftssprache als eine wichtige Ressource für die Entwicklung der ethnisch-kulturellen Identität ihrer Kinder und für die Verbesserung der Qualität der Eltern-Kind-Interaktionen ansahen. Die Dynamik der Inklusion und Exklusion ihrer Herkunftssprache in der Schule und in der Gesellschaft sowie das Ausmaß, in dem ihr Bedarf an sprachlicher Unterstützung anerkannt wurde, schienen jedoch einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf ihre soziale Identität im Gastland und damit auch auf ihre Erziehung im häuslichen Umfeld zu haben.

Studie 3 befasste sich mit den ethnoreligiösen Identitäten von Müttern mit Migrationshintergrund in den Beziehungsräumen von Elternhaus, Schule und Gesellschaft. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass die ethnoreligiösen Identitäten der Eltern den häuslichen Raum religiös mit dem schulischen und gesellschaftlichen Raum kongruent oder davon getrennt machen. Ihr Wunsch, sich in die deutsche Gesellschaft zu integrieren und sicherzustellen, dass ihre Kinder eine qualitativ hochwertige Bildung erhalten und nicht in einem familienfremden Umfeld ausgegrenzt werden, motivierte die Eltern dazu, kongruente Räume zu schaffen (z. B. das Feiern christlicher Feste zu Hause, die elterliche Beteiligung an christlichen Feiern in der Schule, die Anmeldung ihrer Kinder in einer kirchlich geführten Kindertageseinrichtung). Umgekehrt wählten einige Befragte kontextuell getrennte Erziehungsansätze, um eine starke religiöse Zugehörigkeit ihrer Kinder zu erwirken. Darüber hinaus zeigten die Erzählungen, dass inklusive (z. B. Zusammenarbeit der Lehrkräfte mit den Eltern von Minderheiten bei deren religiösen Feiern, Anwendung interreligiöser pädagogischer Praktiken) und exklusive (z. B. kulturelle Vorurteile der Lehrkräfte, die Wahrnehmung, dass einige Kindertageseinrichtungen sich weigerten, Kinder von Minderheiten anzumelden) Ansätze in den Schulen offenbar eng mit dem gesellschaftlichen Raum in Bezug auf die Einstellung gegenüber religiösen Minderheiten verbunden sind. Diese Räume schienen sich gegenseitig zu reproduzieren und die ethnoreligiösen Identitäten der Eltern zu beeinflussen, was sich im häuslichen Umfeld widerspiegelt. Somit beeinflussten sie auch die Überzeugungen und Praktiken der Eltern in Bezug auf die ethnoreligiöse Erziehung.

In Studie 4 wurde schließlich der Zusammenhang zwischen dem aus Perspektive der türkischen Migranteneltern wahrgenommenem Schulklima ihrer Kinder und ihrer Lebenszufriedenheit in Deutschland ermittelt. Darüber hinaus wurde untersucht, wie dieser Zusammenhang in Abhängigkeit von der Einwanderergeneration der Eltern (erste vs. zweite Generation) und der Schulstufe ihrer Kinder (Kindertageseinrichtung vs. Grundschule) variiert.

In Studie 4 wurde die *Mixed-Methods*-Forschung angewandt, wobei ein erklärendes sequentielles Design verwendet wurde. Die qualitativen Interviews wurden hierbei zur weiteren Interpretation der quantitativen Forschungsergebnisse herangezogen. Die Ergebnisse der quantitativen Umfrage zeigten, dass die Lebenszufriedenheit in Deutschland durch die Art und Weise, wie die Eltern das Schulklima ihrer Kinder wahrnehmen, vorhergesagt wurde. Der Zusammenhang war zwar für beide Generationen signifikant, aber für die Eltern der zweiten Generation stärker ausgeprägt. Außerdem war die Beziehung nur für Eltern mit Kindern, die eine Grundschule besuchen, signifikant. Die Ergebnisse der qualitativen Forschung deuten darauf hin, dass es ein hohes Maß an Überschneidungen zwischen den wahrgenommenen Ungleichheiten in der Schule und in der Gesellschaft gibt. Hierzu zählten das Gefühl der Ungerechtigkeit, (insbesondere in den Grundschulen), das Ausmaß, in dem ein inklusives Schulklima geschaffen wurde, und die Zusammenarbeit der Schulen mit Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund. In Verbindung mit den quantitativen Forschungsergebnissen zur Lebenszufriedenheit von türkischen Familien könnte dies potenziell Auswirkungen auf Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund haben.

Insgesamt unterstreicht die vorliegende Dissertation die Bedeutung sozialräumlicher relationaler Theorieansätze, die in den Erziehungswissenschaften bisher weitgehend übersehen wurden, und hebt die Bedeutsamkeit solcher Ansätze bei der Darstellung der sozialen Identitäten von Zuwandereltern hervor. Dementsprechend hat diese Dissertation das Ziel, einen Teil zu theoretischen Entwicklungen sowie weiteren konkreten empirischen Forschungen hinsichtlich der komplexen Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen von Zuwandererfamilien in verschiedenen Kontexten beizutragen. Darüber hinaus liefert sie wertvolle Erkenntnisse für inklusive pädagogische Ansätze in Kindertageseinrichtungen und Grundschulen sowie für die Bildungs- und Sozialpolitik, die darauf abzielt, ein inklusives Umfeld in ihren Gesellschaften zu schaffen.

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Over recent decades, global developments in the facilitation of transportation and communication, as well as socio-political conditions, have led to mass movements across countries, so that today we live in "the age of migration" (Castles et al., 2014). According to United Nations estimates, there are about 281 million international migrants today, representing 3.6% of the world's population (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Europe's demand for immigrant labor after World War II, the family reunification of former immigrants, various waves of refugees and asylum seekers, and individuals who have immigrated for better life opportunities have changed the demographic characteristics of European societies (Castles et al., 2014). Consequently, we are experiencing in the present era what has been termed "super-diversity," meaning high levels of social, cultural, and economic complexity emerging as a result of pluralism within societies (Vertovec, 2007b). In 2021, 23.7 million residents of European Union (EU) countries, corresponding to 5.3% of the total population, were recorded as non-EU citizens (Eurostat, 2022). This linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity has brought challenges both at the macro level, requiring reactions in social and educational policies to this societal diversity, and at the micro level, in terms of dealing with how to live together as a society (Malik, 2015; Watters, 2011). The study of social identities has taken on a profound significance in addressing the current challenges of today's multicultural societies (Berry et al., 2006; Phinney, 1999).

Immigrants and their children face various challenges in host countries, such as cultural and language barriers, difficulties integrating into the labor market, and struggles to adapt to the country's social and educational system (Berry, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001). Moreover, political statements about the "failure of multiculturalism" (Kymlicka, 2012; Malik, 2015; Watters, 2011), securitization discourses in the post-9/11 era (Kaya, 2009; Zorlu & Frijters, 2019), and growing anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe have made the lives of immigrants

even more difficult (Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Kaya & Tecmen, 2019; Kende & Krekó, 2020). In OECD countries, children from socially and economically disadvantaged families – including children with immigrant backgrounds – are particularly at risk and have lower levels of well-being than their more advantaged peers, due to the poor conditions they face at home, in school, and in society (Clarke & Thévenon, 2022). Moreover, international assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) have shown that there are large gaps between the academic performance of children with and without an immigrant background, which are also closely related to the socioeconomic status (SES) of their families (Entorf & Minoiu, 2005; OECD, 2015, 2018).

Research has highlighted that disadvantages become apparent as early as the first years of primary school due to differences between children's cognitive and linguistic competencies, which can be traced back to their socioeconomic and migration backgrounds (Anders et al., 2013; B. Becker & Biedinger, 2006, 2016; Kratzmann & Schneider, 2009). Accordingly, policy attention, especially recently, has centered on combating these background-related disparities as early as possible (European Commission, 2022; OECD, 2019b). In addition to humanistic considerations, the long-term economic returns to countries of investing in early childhood education are also driving factors (Heckman, 2006, 2011). However, not only the mere enrolment but also the quality of the educational institutions that these children from disadvantaged families attend have a decisive impact on their academic performance as well as their cognitive, social, and linguistic development (Anders et al., 2013; Anders & Roßbach, 2019; Baumert et al., 2010; B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Fincke & Lange, 2012; Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Roßbach et al., 2009; Tietze et al., 2013). Children with immigrant backgrounds have in various countries been reported as predominantly attending educational institutions with high numbers of socially disadvantaged children, mirroring residential and (pre-)school segregation (e.g., Boterman, 2019; B. Fuller & Leibovitz, 2022; Hogrebe et al.,

2021). The formal educational context also plays an important role in the adjustment of immigrant families to their host countries, so the extent to which their cultural, socio-linguistic resources are taken into account and their support needs are identified can make a significant difference in their lives (Agirdag, 2010; Çelik, 2017; Faas, 2009; Hüpping & Büker, 2014). While there have been some efforts to develop innovative and promising approaches to inclusive education at the policy level in Europe, as research has shown, their impact on educational institutions has been limited, and monolingualism and monoculturalism remain the prevailing norm (Agirdag, 2010; Gogolin, 2021; Pulinx et al., 2017; Somers, 2018).

Parenting in such a micro and macro context of migration undoubtedly has its challenges. Immigrant parents often have high educational aspirations for their children (B. Becker & Gresch, 2016; Hadjar & Scharf, 2019; Langenkamp, 2019). However, due to linguistic and cultural barriers, as well as asymmetrical power relations, they face numerous challenges when it comes to being involved in their children's formal education (Antony-Newman, 2019; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Norheim & Moser, 2020; Turney & Kao, 2009). Previous research has identified differing developmental and educational value systems, as well as variations in cultural norms, between immigrant parents and teachers (Bossong & Keller, 2018; Hauser-Cram et al., 2003; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014). Moreover, socio-cultural prejudices against immigrant families in schools can make home–school collaboration even more challenging (Kollender, 2021; Sirin et al., 2022). Accordingly, immigrant families may not only face acculturative stress in the broader societal context, but also have to cope with ethnic or racial othering in schools (Kollender, 2021; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014; Sirin et al., 2022). Parents' perceived discrimination at school and in society may influence their parenting behavior (Ayón & García, 2019; Juang et al., 2018).

Furthermore, scholars have reported that despite their challenges, parents tend to place a high value on their children's bicultural identity competencies, that is, identity defined by

both their heritage and their host countries (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Uttal & Han, 2011). On the one hand, children's mastery of the host country's language, and cultural integration in general, may be considered by parents necessary for educational and professional achievement (Chan, 2018; Uttal & Han, 2011). On the other hand, they may attach importance to transmitting their heritage culture and language as well as their religious resources to their children (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). These parental beliefs are reflected in their parenting practices, so-called ethnic-racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). In doing so, parents play a key role in shaping their children's familial and non-familial environment, influencing children's cognitive and linguistic development, socioemotional well-being, and academic performance (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Y. Kim et al., 2020). As social identities interact closely with individuals' belief systems and influence their practices (Owens et al., 2010; Oyserman et al., 2012), the study of parents' social identities holds particular relevance for the exploration of the developmental context of immigrant families and their children (Uchikoshi et al., 2021; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010).

Despite growing interest in educational research on the topic of social identity, the focus has primarily been on children and adolescents with respect to their school adjustment, psychological well-being, and academic achievement (e.g., Çelik, 2015; Hannover & Zander, 2020; Schotte et al., 2018). We know little about how parents perceive their children's education, especially in the early years, and how these perceptions are connected to parents' own identities. In addition, previous research has concentrated on the effects of parents' social identities in a particular context. For instance, researchers have examined the effects of parental acculturation on the home learning environment, e.g., parental language choice (Francot, 2021; Kolancali & Melhuish, 2021). The relationship between contexts in educational research has focused primarily on home–school relationships, e.g., parental involvement (Antony-Newman, 2019; Ryan et al., 2010). However, the relationship of these contexts to broader society has

been investigated by relatively few researchers (e.g., Durán et al., 2020; J. L. Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Moreover, we have limited knowledge about the process of immigrant parents' social identity construction, which is highly dependent on context, situation, and time (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Jenkins, 1996; Oyserman et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1974).

The importance of the characteristics of contexts on individuals' development, as well as the relationship between contexts, is grounded in developmental psychology, particularly with Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1975, 1979, 1986). Socio-spatial approaches to research on identity formation have been widely recognized in various social science disciplines, including sociology (M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017; Lefebvre, 1991; Urry, 2008), human geography (Massey, 2005; Soja, 1989; Thrift, 2006) and anthropology (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Vertovec, 2007a). However, as noted earlier, educational sciences have for a long time ignored the spatiality of human perceptions and experiences, focusing mainly on the temporal aspect, such as human development over time and adaptation of educational institutions (Baroutsis et al., 2017; Gulson & Symes, 2007a, 2007b; Larsen & Beech, 2014; Paechter, 2004; Peters, 2011). Spatiality has only recently been recognized in educational theory, in the so-called "spatial turn" (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gulson & Symes, 2007a; J. Morgan, 2000; Peters, 2011). Consequently, there is little empirical educational research examining aspects of identity within a socio-spatial theoretical framework (e.g., Engel & Fritzsche, 2019; Isik-Ercan, 2014; Yahya & Wood, 2017). Drawing attention to the complexity of current migration dynamics, scholars emphasize the under-researched and under-theorized nature of the perceptions and experiences of contemporary immigrants and call for new theoretical approaches (M. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). As already noted, identities should not be conceptualized as being bound to a specific geographic location (Phinney, 1999; Portes et al., 1999; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). In studying immigrants' identities today, we need to adopt approaches that recognize the plurality of their identities

which are hybrid (Faas, 2009), creolized (R. Cohen, 2007; Hannerz, 1987), and hyphenated (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Immigrants' intersecting ethnic, cultural, religious, gendered, and class-based identities transgress both mental and physical spatiality (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Zaidi et al., 2014). Accordingly, socio-spatial theories of immigrant families' identities need to be developed further within and beyond the macro (e.g., heritage and host country) and micro (e.g., home, child's school) contexts.

Germany is, after the United States, the second most popular destination country for immigrants worldwide (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021), and a quarter of the population has an immigrant background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). The country's late acceptance of itself as a country of immigration and its long-standing assimilationist, exclusionary policies toward immigrants have led to various negative impacts on immigrants' lives, including on their children's education (Faas, 2008; Hüpping & Büker, 2014). Especially after the publication of the first PISA results, in which the country's students performed worse than the OECD average, the country has been confronted with the reality of a large achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged groups related to their socioeconomic and migration backgrounds (Davoli & Entorf, 2018; OECD, 2001, 2019a). Since then, Germany has been working on expanding its high-quality early childhood education facilities and creating inclusive environments in preschools and primary schools to compensate for inequalities in the early years of life stemming from children's backgrounds (Anders, Roßbach, & Tietze, 2016; Hüpping & Büker, 2014).

The relatively low socioeconomic background of immigrant families and their low proficiency in the host country language have been identified by numerous large-scale studies as the primary reasons for the prevailing achievement gaps between native and immigrant children (e.g., Anders et al., 2012; Edele & Stanat, 2011; Heinze et al., 2007). Consequently, preschools, in particular, have been proposed as a great opportunity for children who have

background-related disadvantages at home (e.g., poorer learning environments, limited opportunities to learn the German language) (Anders et al., 2012; Kluczniok & Mudiappa, 2019). However, compared to native children, children with an immigrant background attend preschool less and later than their native peers (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020).

Moreover, they are more likely to be enrolled in preschools and primary schools that are predominantly composed of disadvantaged social groups, which underlines the aspect of socio-spatial segregation (B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Fincke & Lange, 2012; Gambaro, 2017; Karakayali & zur Nieden, 2013; Morris-Lange et al., 2013). Since a high composition of disadvantaged students has been shown to have a negative impact on the quality of educational institutions (Fincke & Lange, 2012; Hachfeld et al., 2016; Kuger & Kluczniok, 2008; Morris-Lange et al., 2013; Tietze et al., 2013), it appears that minority children are more likely to attend educational institutions with lower educational quality. In addition, scholars have recently drawn attention to ethnic inequalities, discrimination, and racism in children's formal education in the country (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009; Juang et al., 2021; Moffitt et al., 2019) which can adversely affect immigrants' social identity, academic success, and life chances.

Notwithstanding the increasing attention researchers have paid to immigrant voices and the application of critical theoretical perspectives (e.g., Juang et al., 2021; Kollender, 2021; Kurban & Tobin, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019; Wischmann, 2018), there remains a shortage of research in Germany from a critical perspective, especially at the preschool and primary school levels. Therefore, immigrant parents' perceptions and experiences of perceived educational quality and disparities in their children's education can provide important insights into their social identity construction, affecting parental beliefs and practices within the family, as well as shedding light on educational and social inequalities in Germany.

1. Aim and significance of the dissertation

This present dissertation targets the Turkish-origin community in Germany, which represents the largest immigrant group in the country (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022) with a long history of migration to Germany since the 1960s (Constant et al., 2012). Based on four empirical studies, the major goal of this dissertation is to examine *how Turkish-origin parents of preschool and primary school-aged children in Germany (re-)construct their social identities within the home–school–society relational spaces*.

Focusing on school–society relational spaces at the intersection of parents' ethnocultural and class-based identities, Study 1 investigates the aspects of socio-spatial residential and school segregation from parental viewpoints and the ways in which they relate them to the quality of their children's education. Study 2 looks specifically into the intersection of ethnocultural identity and language use within the home–school–society relational spaces, focusing on parents' ethnolinguistic beliefs and practices regarding the use of their heritage and host country languages. Study 3 examines parents' ethnoreligious identities in the home–school–society relational spaces, focusing on parents' ethnoreligious beliefs and practices that are socio-spatially culturally congruent or separative. Finally, Study 4 concentrates on the relationship between Turkish immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's school climate and their life satisfaction in Germany, along with the variations in this relationship depending on the parents' immigrant generation and their children's school level.

There are several areas in which the current dissertation provides contributions. First, applying a socio-spatial relational framework, this dissertation innovatively combines different approaches and models to explore the characteristics of multifaceted, intersecting identities within and across micro and macro contexts. Particularly in the field of educational sciences, where socio-spatial theorizing has only recently received interest (e.g., Gulson & Symes, 2007a; Paechter, 2004; Raffo, 2011), this dissertation can make a significant impact on

furthering theoretical developments to understand the complexity of immigrant families' perceptions and experiences within and beyond educational institutions. Second, it addresses the aforementioned research gaps, expands the limited knowledge about the social identity construction of immigrant parents, and makes an important contribution to family and migration research. To capture the complexity of social identities of immigrant parents, the work applies an interdisciplinary approach and integrates theories and empirical findings from a variety of social science disciplines, including educational sciences, psychology, sociology, human geography, and anthropology. Third, the present work, from the viewpoint of immigrant parents, provides important insights for equity and inclusion in education by addressing the following topics: socio-spatial segregation and quality of education, culturally responsive inclusive education, and a sense of injustice in education. Finally, the results of the dissertation can contribute to equity and inclusion in society by informing policymakers concerned with tackling social and educational inequalities at local, national, and European levels.

2. Definitions of terms

Before presenting the chapter outline, it is necessary to define the main terms used throughout this dissertation. A person of *Turkish origin* or with a *Turkish immigrant background* are terms used to refer to someone who was born in Turkey themselves or has at least one parent or grandparent born in Turkey, or a person who identifies themselves as a member of the Turkish community in Germany, regardless of nationality (e.g., Turkish, German) or ethnicity (e.g., Turkish, Kurdish). The terms *German* or *native* are used to describe a person who is a native German speaker and has no migration background. *Preschool* refers to early childhood education institutions that provide non-familial care and education for children until their entry into primary school education. Finally, the term *inclusion* describes the inclusion of individuals or groups who are at risk of exclusion because they belong to an ethnic or religious minority.

3. Chapter overview

In the general introduction (**A**), the aim and significance of the dissertation, the definitions of terms, and the chapter overview were presented. The next chapter (**B**) will focus on the theoretical and conceptual framework. Firstly, it provides a general overview of theoretical approaches to explaining the ways in which individuals construct their social identity, putting emphasis on cognitive, structural, and contextual processes. Secondly, the focus will be on the social identity construction of immigrant parents using the socio-spatial perspective. Next, the connections between immigrant parents' social identities and their parenting beliefs and practices, as well as their school-related perceptions and experiences, will be addressed.

Next, Chapter **C** introduces the sociohistorical and educational context of the dissertation. Firstly, it will address Germany as a country of immigration, covering migration and education policies, social boundaries within society, and the characteristics of Turkish-origin immigrants. Secondly, the early childhood and primary education systems in Germany will be presented briefly, and social and ethnic inequalities at these educational levels will be discussed. The details of the present dissertation will be covered in Chapter **D**, which concentrates on the objectives of the four studies that comprise the dissertation, the methodology and applied methods, and the summary of the four studies.

Finally, Chapter **E** comprises the general discussion of the dissertation. Here, first, the main contributions of the dissertation will be presented along with a discussion of the present dissertation's findings with the existing literature. Next, limitations and directions for future research will be addressed. The dissertation concludes with its implications for social and educational policy and practice.

B. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework of this dissertation, consisting of four parts. Firstly, social identity construction will be presented from an interdisciplinary perspective focusing on cognitive, structural, and contextual processes. The main emphasis will be placed on theoretical approaches to social boundaries (e.g., Alba, 2005; Lamont & Molnár, 2002), critical race theory (e.g., Gillborn, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998), and the negotiation of multiple identities within and across contexts (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Wiley et al., 2019). Secondly, it discusses a socio-spatial perspective for studying immigrant parents' social identities, drawing on the bio-ecological model of human development (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and relational space theory (e.g., M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017; Murdoch, 2006), specifically focusing on the relationality of home, school, and societal space. Thirdly, the relationship between parents' social identities and their parenting beliefs and practices will be examined, with an emphasis on ethnocultural identity and language use, as well as the aspect of ethnoreligious identities. Finally, parents' perceptions of school in relation to the quality of education and socio-spatial segregation, inclusion and equity in pedagogical practice, and the relationship between schools and immigrant parents will be addressed.

4. The construction of social identities: Cognitive, structural, contextual process

The word identity has Latin roots and comes from *idem*, which means the same (Gleason, 1983). The concept has gained attention through the influence of psychologist Erik Erikson, expanding on the work of Freud, who had previously worked on identity issues in the field of psychology, focusing on psychoanalysis (Gleason, 1983; Liu & Turner, 2018). Erikson (1956) defines identity as "a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (p. 57). The term became particularly popular after his work on the "identity crisis," in

which he examined the identity confusions that result from experiencing contradictions between one's internal self-image and the image one has of the external world (Erikson, 1968). Since Erikson, the concept of identity has been used in various social disciplines such as sociology (e.g., Goffman, 1963; S. Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Jenkins, 1996; Owens et al., 2010), political science (e.g., Kymlicka, 2003; R. M. Smith, 2004); human geography (e.g., Massey, 1993; B. L. Turner, 2002), anthropology (e.g., Barth, 1969; Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992), social psychology (e.g., Hogg & Ridgeway, 2003; Phinney, 2000; Tajfel, 1974; J. C. Turner et al., 1987), and educational sciences (e.g., T. Epstein, 2008; Norton, 2000; Oyserman, 2013). However, there is no consensus among and within the various social science disciplines on the definition of identity (for reviews, see Owens et al., 2010; Oyserman et al., 2012).

Identities can be regarded as linked to both the personal and social self (Hannover & Zander, 2020; Oyserman et al., 2012; Stets & Burke, 2000). While the *personal self* refers to the way a person is distinguishable from another based on individual characteristics such as emotions or traits, the *social self* describes a person's group membership, such as belonging to a particular ethnicity or religion (Hannover & Zander, 2020). In social psychology, scholars have traditionally focused on group behavior, exploring interpersonal interactions so that the emphasis has been on the *individual in the group*; in recent decades, the emphasis on the *group in the individual*, the so-called social identity approach, has gained attention (Hogg & Abrams, 1998, p. 3). According to Tajfel (1974), social identity is an "individuals' self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 69). Social identity thus combines group-level attributes that represent something collective with the individual level of social perception and behavior (Hogg & Ridgeway, 2003). The following sections will present the theoretical approaches that underpin this dissertation to investigate social identity construction.

4.1. Cognitive process of establishing social boundaries: ‘Us’ versus ‘them’

Social identities are dynamic, meaning that they are context- and situation-dependent and change over time (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Jenkins, 1996; Oyserman, 2001; Oyserman et al., 2012; Stets & Burke, 2000; Tajfel, 1974). In constructing their social identities, individuals undertake a cognitive process to identify in-groups and out-groups based on their similarities and differences to themselves (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000; J. C. Turner et al., 1987). For example, issues of belonging and fitting into certain groups and contexts are of great importance for the construction of one’s social identity (Oyserman, 2001). The establishment of an in-group naturally leads to the development of an out-group (Jenkins, 1996; Tajfel, 1974).

Moreover, social identities are formed both in connection with the process of internal group identification and with external social categorization (Jenkins, 1996, 2000). There are continuous negotiations between how individuals perceive their own group and how others perceive them (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Jenkins, 1996, 2000; Oyserman et al., 2012; Stryker & Burke, 2000). According to Jenkins (2000), on the one hand, there is the internally directed self-image, which refers to how individuals identify themselves. The public image, on the other hand, is externally directed and refers to how others categorize them. He remarks that this constant negotiation of both self-images and public images can be described as an “internal-external dialectic of self-image and public image” (Jenkins, 2000, p. 8). Social identities, thus, are a matter of categories and classifications, and there are always boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018). Accordingly, exploring these boundaries has emerged as a useful approach for this dissertation in investigating social identities and addressing markers of inclusion and exclusion (Alba, 2005; Barth, 1969; Bauman, 1990; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Sanders, 2002). The study of boundaries provides important insights into changes in individuals’ organization of behavior and social

relationships (Barth, 1969). It sheds light on their strategies and practices for constructing social identities (Owens et al., 2010).

Boundaries begin first with mental categorizations that refer to symbolic boundaries such as those of persons or contexts (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Symbolic boundaries are directly related to inequalities which pertain at both the macro and micro levels, as they reveal how (non-)material resources are distributed (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Sanders, 2002). For example, symbolic boundaries can lead to the exclusion of minority cultural resources in educational institutions, such as their language and religions (Alba, 2005; Çelik, 2017; Faas, 2008; Gogolin, 1994; Hoff, 1995). The objectified state of boundaries can also be reflected in physical boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Social boundaries can shape the physical organization of societies, leading to socio-spatial segregation, and such segregated contexts, in turn cause the reproduction of existing boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Sanders, 2002). For example, socio-spatial segregation may occur as a result of boundaries associated with the class and ethnic/racial background of individuals in conjunction with differences between groups in terms of their cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1999, 1991/2018).

4.2. Structural inequalities: Critical race theory

The social categories that form in-groups and out-groups are closely linked to the structured society, which exhibits power relations (Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Owens et al., 2010). Stryker and Burke (2000) emphasize that internal cognitive identity construction processes should be studied in concord with social structural sources. Accordingly, the hierarchical features of contexts that influence individuals' construction of identities should be considered (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Oyserman et al., 2012). Thereby, social identity includes not only a person's self-perception regarding his or her group membership but also the social position, status, and rank of the corresponding group within society

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Jenkins, 1996; Oyserman et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1981). These contexts can be larger national contexts as well as institutionalized micro contexts such as schools (Jenkins, 2000).

Critical race theory has emerged useful for this dissertation in highlighting structural aspects of power relations that impact immigrant identities (Colak et al., 2020; Kurban & Tobin, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019). Critical race theory was initially developed by US legal scholars to combat the systemic inequities experienced by people of color (Crenshaw, 1988; Matsuda, 1991). Thereafter, scholars, particularly in the US and the UK, began to apply it to study structural inequalities faced by oppressed groups, including educational institutions that serve to maintain their subordinate position in society (Bell, 1992; Dixson & Rousseau Anderson, 2018; Gillborn, 2006, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ledesma & Calderon, 2015; López et al., 2018; Parker, 1998; Rogers & Mosley, 2006; Solorzano, 1997). Race is increasingly viewed not only as a biological characteristic, but also as a cultural and social category (Gilroy, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Wischmann, 2018). Accordingly, this critical perspective has recently gained attention in continental Europe to illustrate the social and educational inequalities experienced by ethnic minorities as a result of institutional and interpersonal discrimination (Colak et al., 2020; Juang et al., 2021; Kurban & Tobin, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019; Wischmann, 2018).

Scholars argue that ‘white supremacy’ is seen as normative in societies and that the status of others is classified and ranked based on this domination (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ledesma & Calderon, 2015; Wischmann, 2018). For example, in Europe, ‘whiteness’ can be a visible characteristic, such as skin color (e.g., Schenker & Munro, 2016), but it can also be based on class, linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and religious background, such as being a native speaker of the country, a middle-class, Christian, non-immigrant and European (Colak et al., 2020; Juang et al., 2021; Kurban & Tobin, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019; Rühlmann & McMonagle,

2019; Wischmann, 2018). For instance, scholars have reflected on societal debates about who counts as European: e.g., whether the definition includes EU citizens, whether non-EU foreigners can be European, and even which communities residing in the EU can and cannot (or not yet fully) be considered European (Balibar, 2004; Fligstein et al., 2012; Toplak & Šumi, 2012). In this way, immigrants' experiences in the host country may vary depending on their heritage country's position within the European socio-political structure. Scholars that apply critical race theory argue that the perspectives and experiences of oppressed groups must be taken into account to uncover structural problems that cause prevailing disparities (Moffitt et al., 2019; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019; Solorzano, 1997; Wischmann, 2018). It is primarily used as a framework in qualitative research to reflect on topics such as discriminatory pedagogical practices, exclusion in peer relations, and curriculum (e.g., Colak et al., 2020; Kurban & Tobin, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019; Parker, 1998; Rogers & Mosley, 2006); lately, however, quantitative research has also started to receive increasing attention (e.g., López et al., 2018; Sablan, 2019).

Researchers emphasize that critical race theory provides a particularly useful framework for examining the intersection of identity and language to mirror structural aspects of social and educational inequalities (e.g., Crump, 2014; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019). Overall, there are more multilingual than monolingual people in the world, and there is a global tendency to learn languages that are higher in the hierarchy in terms of their economic and social power (de Swaan, 2001). According to Bourdieu (1977), understanding such an ordering system of social and linguistic differences is crucial in any society, as such symbolic power relations reflect which groups and their languages dominate and are dominated. In European societies, despite the high number of multilingual inhabitants, there is still a strong tendency towards monolingualism as the norm, including in educational institutions, which suppress linguistic diversity (Agirdag, 2010; Gogolin, 1994, 1997, 2021; Piller, 2016; Pulinx et al.,

2017; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). Moreover, linguistic diversity has been not only largely neglected but also highly stratified (Piller, 2016). Different languages have varying degrees of prestige in their respective societies (Plewnia & Rothe, 2011). For example, numerous researchers in Europe have reported that languages of European origin, such as English and French, are highly valued and encouraged in schools, while migration-related multilingualism is discouraged (Agirdag, 2010; Moffitt et al., 2019; Putjata & Koster, 2021).

The way different ethnic groups and their culture are perceived in society can be reflected in how their languages are seen and practiced in educational institutions (Crump, 2014; Moffitt et al., 2019; Plewnia & Rothe, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). Immigrant families can question their position in society when they realize that some multilingualities are valued in their society, including schools, while others are ignored and devalued (Agirdag, 2010; Agirdag et al., 2014; Cummins, 2001; Plewnia & Rothe, 2011). Even an accent when speaking the native language can put one in a disadvantaged position (Gärtig et al., 2010; Matsuda, 1991). As Matsuda (1991) emphasizes, "your accent carries the history of who you are," i.e., your ethnic and class background (p. 1329). Therefore, examining immigrants' social identity in relation to their language use from a critical race theory perspective would help to "making the invisible visible" (López et al., 2018), thus shedding light on stratified country and educational systems.

4.3. Multiple intersecting social identities within and across contexts

Individuals can adopt and internalize multiple identities and identify with more than one group (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016; Martiny et al., 2020; Owens et al., 2010; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Wiley et al., 2019). In the literature, the blending of different identities is referred to by various terms, such as "dual" (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016), "bicultural"

(Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), "hybrid" (Faas, 2009), "creolized" (R. Cohen, 2007; Hannerz, 1987), or "hyphenated" (e.g., religious-national identity: Muslim-American identity) (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Nevertheless, individuals' negotiation of multiple social identities is a complex process; their identities are dynamic and change over time and context (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Phinney, 1989; Tajfel, 1978). In the following first, the social identities studied in this dissertation are presented: ethnic, national, religious, and class identities, followed by a section that focuses on the aspect of negotiating multiple identities.

4.3.1. Ethnic, national, religious, class identities

Ethnic identity is particularly significant in a context where the group presents a minority (Hannover & Zander, 2020; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Tajfel, 1978; J. C. Turner et al., 1987). Following the definition by Phinney (2003), it can be described as "a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group" (p. 63). Ethnic groups have common characteristics such as culture, religion, language, or place of origin (Phinney, 2003). Correspondingly, both cultural and geographical elements play a role in the formation of ethnic identity of minorities (Sanders, 2002). In examining ethnic identity, researchers have suggested considering several dimensions, such as ethnic self-identification, sense of belonging to or attitude toward the ethnic group, ethnic behaviors (e.g., cultural practices, language use, everyday ethnic contacts), and set of values and belief systems (Helms, 2007; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The way a particular ethnic group is perceived by others, so-called ascribed identities, can also influence how individuals position themselves in society (Phinney et al., 2001).

Furthermore, the study of the *national identity* of ethnic minorities is primarily concerned with the extent to which individuals adapt to and identify with the culture, values, and belief system of the host country (Fuller-Rowell et al., 2013; Phinney & Devich-Navarro,

1997; Shin & Park, 2018). It has been established that the degree to which they use the national language, whether they feel a sense of belonging to the host country, and what attitudes they hold toward the native population are closely related to the construction of immigrants' national identity (e.g., Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Gong, 2007; Stoessel et al., 2012). Accordingly, the construction of a national identity can be associated with the life satisfaction of immigrants in the host country. As numerous scholars highlight, individuals seek a place where they feel they belong, where they feel safe, are accepted with their individual and social identities, and can build emotional bonds (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2015; Sigmon et al., 2002; Sirin & Fine, 2008). Immigration has posed a number of challenges to national identity for both native and immigrant groups in terms of who counts as "us" and who as "them" (Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Ditlmann & Kopf-Beck, 2019; Randeria & Karagiannis, 2020; Wright, 2011). Despite the historical socio-cultural heterogeneity in their respective countries, many immigration countries have reconstructed the concept of a homogenized national community as a response to large waves of migration (Hobsbawn, 1996). Perceived discrimination and the lack of a sense of acceptance in the majority society could have a negative impact on life satisfaction in the host country and thus could challenge the building of a positive national identity among immigrants (Kirmanoğlu & Başlevent, 2014; Safi, 2010; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2015; Sirin & Fine, 2008; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018; Verkuyten, 2008). For example, anti-migrant sentiments in society have been demonstrated to reduce immigrants' life satisfaction, e.g., in Germany (Knabe et al., 2013) and in the US (Raffaelli et al., 2012). Research has also shown group-level differences by immigrant generation. For instance, cultural and language barriers, as well as a lack of social capital, can make first-generation immigrants less satisfied in the host country in comparison to second-generation immigrants (Arpino & de Valk, 2018; Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008). Moreover, perceived discrimination may have a greater impact on the life satisfaction of second-generation immigrants than on that of first-generation immigrants

(Morawa et al., 2020). This could be due to the fact that, despite their sociocultural and linguistic integration in the host country, they are not fully accepted by the local society and their boundaries become 'blurred,' making it difficult for them to be seen as 'equal' citizens in their daily lives and in institutions, including schools (Alba, 2005). Since both ethnic and national identities are closely linked to cultural attachments, beliefs, and practices, as well as to inter-group interactions, in this dissertation, the concept of *ethnocultural identity* is used to comprehensively address the negotiation and construction of heritage- and host-country-based social identities.

Language is also an inseparable component of ethnocultural identity, serving as a particular marker for the formation of in-groups and out-groups (Giles et al., 1977; Sanders, 2002) and a carrier of culture and group identity (Giles et al., 1977; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013; Soehl & Waldinger, 2012; Taylor et al., 1973). For example, high levels of attachment to heritage culture can encourage the transmission of the heritage language to the next generation (Francot, 2021; Soehl & Waldinger, 2012). As identities are constructed through interactions, language is a particular element of this (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Peirce, 1995). For example, proficiency in the national language can foster greater identification with the host country as it enables closer contact with the natives (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Angelini et al., 2015). Furthermore, immigrant families' linguistic perceptions and experiences can reveal the linguistic–symbolic power relations between groups and their languages (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Perceived linguistic power relations can influence the way immigrants construct their identities, such as experiencing the prohibition of using one's heritage language in school (Agirdag, 2010; Cummins, 2001) or discrimination on the basis of being a non-native speaker (Colak et al., 2020; Trofimovich & Turuševa, 2020). This intersection of ethnocultural identity and language is of particular importance to the study of immigrant social identity.

In addition, religion might be critical to immigrants as part of a minority group and constitute an essential part of their identity (Peek, 2005; Yalçin-Heckmann, 1998; Zanfrini, 2020). Religion involves certain belief systems and practices and binds people together as part of a moral community (Durkheim, 1912/2001). Religious beliefs and practices are closely related to ethnic identities, as religion can be a source of ethnic identity perceived as part of heritage country culture, and at the same time, ethnic contacts in the host country can serve to maintain a person's religious identity (Güngör et al., 2012; Isik-Ercan, 2012; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Therefore, the concept of *ethnoreligious identities* is used to capture this intersectionality. Ethnoreligious identities are not only about cultural worldviews but also about belonging and socialization channels for immigrants (Isik-Ercan, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Research has shown that immigrants' experience of exclusion and discrimination in society on the basis of their ethnoreligious background (Guo, 2011b; Sirin & Fine, 2008), the extent to which their religion is recognized and taken into account in society, and educational institutions can have an impact on immigrants' identity (Alba, 2005; Allievi, 2014; Arshad, 2016; Stockinger, 2018). Moreover, the majority religion may be considered a cultural resource of the host country, and immigrants may seek to adopt it with a desire to integrate into the host country (Haw, 2011). Thus, ethnoreligious identities reflect the high level of complexity of identity construction linked to their national identities.

Class identities of individuals also closely intersect with ethnocultural identities (Kelly, 2012). For example, low-SES immigrants may have lower life satisfaction in the host country than high-SES immigrants (Ambrosetti & Paparusso, 2021; Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018). The reasons for this could be that class identities not only determine the economic position of individuals and groups within a society but also shape their cultural and social capital and provide them with different forms of access to certain resources (Bourdieu, 1986, 1999). Accordingly, immigrants' assimilation in the host country is segmented, which means that they

participate in society within their respective socioeconomic position (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Moreover, class is something that pertains to micro-politics (Reay, 1998). Individuals can demonstrate their awareness of their ethnic/racial, class, or gender position within the hierarchical, hegemonic structures of society (Reay, 1998; Yuval-Davis, 2006). For example, class-based hierarchical structures in society can feed into mental structures and influence spatial structures in urban areas in terms of differential access for advantaged and disadvantaged groups in society (Bourdieu, 1999). Accordingly, individuals make certain choices for where to live or where to send their children to school based on their capital, distancing themselves from undesirable places and groups (Boterman, 2013; Bourdieu, 1999; Kosunen, 2014; Lareau, 2014). For instance, Lareau (2014) has shown that low-SES parents are more likely to rely on their social networks and perceive schools similarly, while high-SES parents seek the best options for their children and use different strategies to create an environment composed of particularly advantaged groups. In the case of immigrants, class and culture overlap and influence the practices of individuals and, thus, the production of material disparities (Devine & Savage, 1999). For instance, their migratory status may make them unfamiliar with the education system, or restrict their social capital to their ethnic networks as a result of residential segregation or cultural and language barriers (B. Becker, 2010). Accordingly, studying socio-spatial school and residential segregation in the intersection of class and ethnocultural identities can provide important perspectives.

4.3.2. Negotiating multiple identities

The topic of multiple identity dynamics has been addressed mainly in acculturation research (e.g., Berry et al., 1986; Berry, 1997; Phinney, 2003; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Berry's well-established bidimensional model presents four acculturation models for immigrants: exclusive attachment to either heritage (separation) or mainstream culture (assimilation), attachment to both cultural groups (integration), or

attachment to none of them (marginalization) (Berry et al., 1986; Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2016). For example, researchers have shown that immigrants' acculturation profiles vary according to individual characteristics (e.g., migration generation, ethnic group, SES) and contextual factors (e.g., orientation of national integration policies, quality of neighborhoods) (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Groenewold et al., 2014). Immigrants' attachment to both majority and minority cultures, referred to as integration, has been shown to impact most favorably on their psychological well-being (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007; Phalet & Baysu, 2020; Schotte et al., 2018). However, several obstacles may stand in the way of developing an integrative identity.

For instance, negative attributions of immigrants' ethno-cultural/religious identity by the native population may cause immigrants to form stronger attachments to that identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Phinney et al., 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Conversely, minorities who face negative attitudes toward their own group identity may develop negative attitudes toward that group and desire to belong to the majority society (Phinney, 1989; Phinney et al., 2001; Tajfel, 1978). Moreover, whilst some identities may be perceived as contradictory by the majority population, such as being Muslim and German (Pollack & Friedrichs, 2013), immigrants might not see the co-existence of these two attachments as a barrier to social integration (Diehl & Urbahn, 1998; Karakaşoğlu, 2003; Sirin & Fine, 2008). In addition, national policies that promote pluralism in society may favor the retention of immigrants' heritage country identities and the development of integration, while assimilationist policies may offer only the two options of separation and assimilation (Phinney et al., 2001; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Findings from previous research suggest that pluralistic, multicultural policies are associated with higher levels of contact between immigrants and native groups and lower levels of perceived symbolic threat in society (E. G. T. Green et al., 2020); these policies have a positive impact on immigrants' attachment to their

host country (Igarashi, 2019). Accordingly, the complex identity construction and negotiation processes of immigrants should be explored by looking at macro and micro contexts and the connection between them.

5. Socio-spatial perspective for studying immigrant parents' social identities

After an overview of the construction of social identities of individuals in the previous chapter, this part discusses the application of the socio-spatial perspective to the study of immigrant parents' social identities, centering on immigrant parents' ecological systems and the relational space theoretical perspective.

5.1. An ecological model for immigrant parents

This dissertation's theoretical framework for the socio-spatial study of immigrant parents' identity is grounded in the argument that context matters for human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1975, 1979). Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994, 2005) bio-ecological model of human development provides a broad perspective to examine contextual factors that influence immigrants' perceptions and experiences. In addition, the model has greatly influenced the *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS) project, from which the data used in this dissertation were obtained. It served as an overarching framework for the project and formed the basis for the formulation of the data collection instruments (for details, see Moser et al., 2017).

According to Bronfenbrenner (1975, 1979), the bio-ecological model centers on the interaction between developing organisms and enduring environments or contexts. Individuals' interactions with contexts, the so-called proximal processes, are bi-relational and begin to intertwine over time (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The bio-ecological model of human development proposes that process, person, context, and time are inextricably linked, forming a nested system of environments that ranges from the micro to the macro level (Bronfenbrenner, 1986, 1988, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Each

system of the model is described as follows (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; 1994): The microsystem gives insight into face-to-face interactions of a person within their immediate environment (e.g., home, school). The mesosystem refers to the linkages between the microsystems in which the person is engaged (e.g., home–school relationship). The exosystem includes the system that indirectly influences the life of the developing person (e.g., parental work conditions). The macrosystem stands for broader systems, such as belief systems and customs of the country. Finally, the chronosystem covers temporal context, such as the changes in the developing person or their environment over time.

The characteristics of each individual's ecosystem and their personal history regarding, position in, and relationships to other ecosystems may differ across cultures (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Condry, 1970). Culture and contexts are, thus, inextricably linked, and it is essential to recognize the dynamic, culturally sensitive nature of ecosystems (Rogoff, 2003; Way et al., 2008). For example, parents may have different identity-related concerns when raising their children in a country other than their heritage country, which affects the characteristics of the family context (Peek, 2005). The bio-ecological model provides a clear framework for understanding the complex contextual dynamics of immigrant parents (Eunsung, 2018) and an opportunity to gain insight into the developmental contexts of children of immigrants (C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018).

The ecological model for immigrant parents' social identity construction presented below (see Figure 1) was adapted from "an integrative risk and resilience model for understanding the adaptation of immigrant-origin children and youth" by C. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2018, p. 786), which was developed based on Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

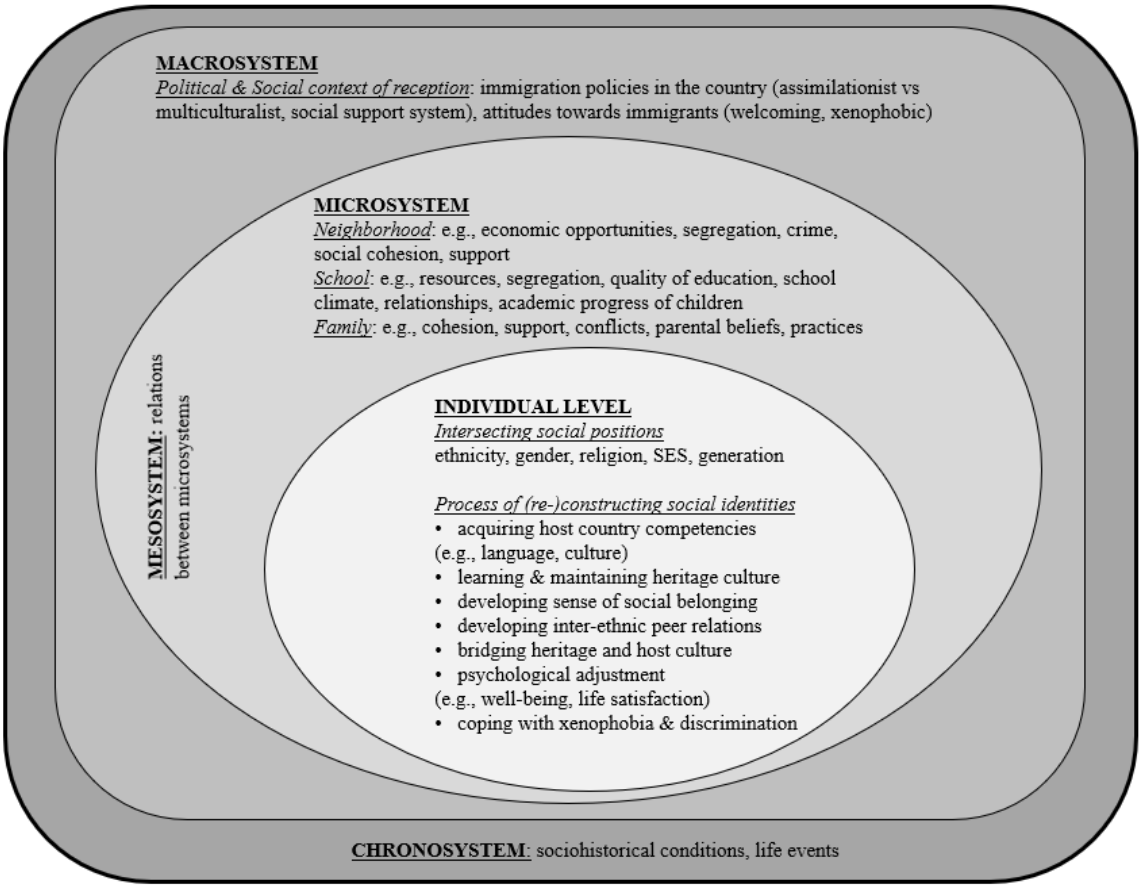

Figure 1: An ecological model for immigrant parents' social identity construction

The model provides a general overview of the application of the bio-ecological model of development in this dissertation to understand the dynamics of the different ecosystems that interact with parental social identity. However, to examine the relationship between context and identity from a critical perspective, a more critical theorization of context is necessary. Therefore, the relational space theory, which is explained in the following, is used and serves as the main theoretical basis of the dissertation.

5.2. Relational space theory: Home–school–society relational spaces

The significance of the socio-spatial approach was reported by Edward Soja as "everything in society is spatially and historically constituted. There are no spheres, realms, systems, perspectives, rationalities, relations, ideologies, identities, etc. that are aspatial" (Borch, 2002, p. 116). The concept of space has been found to be the most appropriate to investigate contexts from a critical perspective, as it encompasses the physical/material,

symbolic/mental, and social character of contexts (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005; Soja, 1989). Lefebvre (1991) argues that a particular space, such as a neighborhood or a school building, not only has a physical character that individuals perceive (*perceived space*) but also reflects certain mental representations, such as the meanings that individuals associate with it (*conceived space*), as well as a context in which they socialize and produce certain practices (*lived space*). A similar framework inspired by Lefebvre is also presented by Soja (1996) to address the material/physical aspect of contexts (*firstspace*), their imagined mental representations (*secondspace*), and how they are experienced and lived by individuals by blending the two (*thirdspace*). Accordingly, space is an appropriate concept to explore the dimensions beyond what is visible that interact with individuals' identities, such as symbolic power relations (Bourdieu, 1999, 1991/2018; Massey, 1993, 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Soja & Hooper, 1993). An analysis which takes space into account contributes to the understanding of the relationality of human life by acknowledging the positioning of 'otherness' along with social and spatial divisions within and across spaces (Soja & Hooper, 1993). There is a reciprocal relationship between identity and space, and they reproduce each other (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Thrift, 2006). Primarily with the 'spatial turn' in educational sciences, which theorize the perceptions and experiences of individuals within and beyond educational institutions, space theory has received particular attention (e.g., Baroutsis et al., 2017; Gulson & Symes, 2007a; Paechter, 2004). For instance, immigrants' social identities can characterize the way how particular school practices are perceived and experienced and how schools' pedagogical approaches and practices, in turn, shape immigrants' social identities (Paechter, 2004).

Moreover, every space is relational (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017). Consequently, it is necessary to take into account the components of a given space, the space as a whole, and its relationship with other spaces (M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017). A

relational conception of spaces allows for the possibility of exploring particular perceptions and experiences within educational institutions by linking them to broader societal dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, as well as to material aspects of differential resource availability (Baroutsis et al., 2017; Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Larsen & Beech, 2014). For example, researchers have examined relationships within schools (e.g., teachers' roles and children's sense of belonging) by linking them to the broader social context (e.g., the school's location in a marginalized neighborhood) (Butler et al., 2017). Others emphasize the connection between home and external spaces, e.g., how perceived negative societal space can increase the importance of home for groups (Sibley, 1995) or the importance of schools as a bridge between the home and the broader society (J. L. Epstein & Sanders, 2006).

In particular, in this dissertation, for the study of immigrant parents' social identities, the spaces of home, school, and society are considered relational and conceptualized as home–school–society relational spaces. It is argued that the social identities of immigrant parents should be examined within this relationality (see Figure 2). *Home space* characterizes the physical home environment and the overall family context. *School space* pertains to both the children's actual school and the general educational context in a country. *Society space* refers to the space for micro-level intergroup relations in everyday life, the broad socio-political context of a host country, as well as the contexts to which individuals feel connected, such as heritage and host countries or neighborhoods. The main argument, therefore, is that we cannot fully understand the social identity of immigrant parents without examining their connection to these socio-spatial relationships.

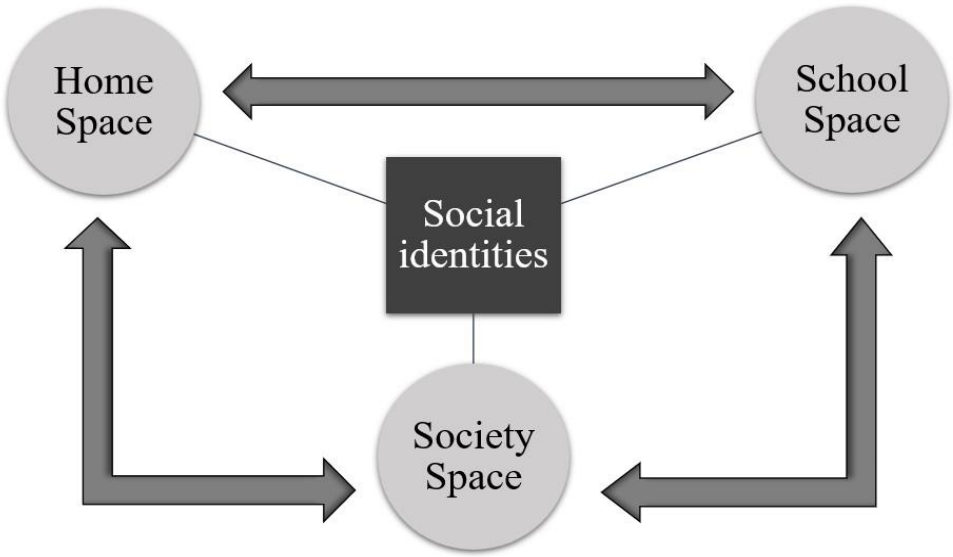

Figure 2: Social identities within home–school–society relational spaces

This socio-spatial, relational approach allows us to examine the social identities of immigrant parents with both a detailed and a broader lens in today's highly diverse societies (Baroutsis et al., 2017). Apart from capturing a comprehensive picture of social and educational inequalities at the micro and macro levels, it can provide valuable insights for policy, educational practice, and understanding of identity-related dynamics in families (Baroutsis et al., 2017; Gulson & Symes, 2007a). Moreover, this critical socio-spatial framework fits with voice-centered research (e.g., hooks, 1994; Smrekar & Cohen-Vogel, 2001) that aims to give voice to marginalized groups in society and reflect their views in order to transform educational institutions and society in a more inclusive way.

6. Parenting in immigration and social identities

Parents are key actors in shaping the family and non-family developmental context of their children (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Y. Kim et al., 2020; Soehl, 2017). Parenting in the context of migration is particularly difficult because, in addition to their own linguistic and cultural barriers and unfamiliarity with the educational and social system in the host country, immigrant parents have various challenges in raising their children in relation to the cultures of both the heritage and host countries (Berry, 1997; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014; Uchikoshi et al.,

2021). Researchers have reported that immigrant parents usually want their children to develop a bicultural identity (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In this way, children in the host country can have linguistic and cultural competencies that will enable them to succeed both in education and later in their professional lives while preserving their heritage culture and language (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Uttal & Han, 2011). Immigrant parents' upbringing beliefs and practices are closely related to their own social identities, such as how they are connected to their heritage country or how they position themselves as part of an ethnic minority group in the host country, as well as to everyday inter-group interactions at the micro level (Uchikoshi et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2017). Accordingly, this section focuses on the family context and presents the dynamics within the family and its connection to the broader school and societal context. First, the ethnolinguistic upbringing beliefs and practices of immigrant parents will be addressed by examining the intersections between their ethnocultural identities and language use. Second, the focus is on the ethnoreligious identities of parents that interplay with their ethnoreligious upbringing beliefs and practices.

6.1. Parenting, ethnocultural identity, and language use

Parental language use in the family and potential relations to their social and ethnic background characteristics have been studied by many researchers, with particular emphasis on the role of the home learning environment in children's language development (Hayes et al., 2018; Kluczniok & Mudiappa, 2019; Kolancali & Melhuish, 2021; Novita & Kluczniok, 2021). In Germany, for example, the language spoken at home has been found to be the main predictor of immigrant students' reading achievement, even after accounting for all background characteristics (Edele & Stanat, 2011). Accordingly, researchers have placed a great emphasis on the host country language development of children in order to close the language-related educational gap between immigrant and native children as early as possible (B. Becker, 2011; Edele & Stanat, 2011). As has been shown, immigrant parents value their children's majority

language development as a way to ensure their future educational and professional success, even if they may face language barriers themselves (Kirsch, 2012; Song, 2019; Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006). However, they are not only concerned about their children's success but also about their identity development, socioemotional well-being, and the quality of their parent–child relationship, which makes their children's heritage language development of great importance (Kouritzin, 2000; Pavlenko, 2004; Song, 2019; Yang, 2017). Research has also shown that the family is the primary context for children's heritage language development (Biedinger et al., 2015; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Willard et al., 2015). Moreover, immigrant parents can view multilingualism as having great potential for developing a cosmopolitan, international identity for their children in today's global world (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Gogonas & Kirsch, 2018). In this regard, immigrant parents have been identified as desiring bilingualism for their children (Chan, 2018; King & Fogle, 2006; Song, 2019). The cognitive benefits of bilingualism are well documented (Antoniou, 2019; Bialystok, 2011; Blom et al., 2014; Blom et al., 2017; Lauchlan et al., 2013). For instance, the study by Blom et al. (2014) demonstrated that Turkish-Dutch children had increased cognitive functioning on tests for visuospatial and verbal working memory by controlling their SES and vocabulary.

However, there are several mechanisms that affect children's bilingual language development: Social and cultural characteristics of parents, as well as ethnolinguistic beliefs and practices shaped by their social identities, have been revealed as some of the key factors (e.g., B. Becker, 2011; Chan, 2018; Francot, 2021; Kolancali & Melhuish, 2021; Song, 2019; Uchikoshi et al., 2021). For instance, Kolancali and Melhuish's (2021) study showed that parents of Turkish origin in England with low levels of social integration in the host country used their heritage language more frequently in their home literacy activities. Research on parental acculturation has identified a positive correlation between children's host country language dominance and parents' host country identity attachment (Uchikoshi et al., 2021).

Parents' own heritage and host country language proficiency has been noted as a determinant of parental language practices that can affect children's language development (Arriagada, 2005). Parental SES and migration generation may also be related to the linguistic characteristics of the family environment; for example, first-generation and low-SES parents have generally been found to have more limited host country language resources (e.g., B. Becker, 2011; Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018).

In addition, parents' ethnolinguistic upbringing beliefs and practices may be influenced by external environments. Especially in contexts where monolingualism is prevalent, they may become less comfortable using their heritage languages (Kirsch, 2012). Further, the devaluation of their heritage languages in the host country could make parents adopt the prevailing language ideologies and fail to see the benefits of children being taught their heritage language (H. Y. Kim, 2011). In contrast, some parents may specifically maintain the use of their heritage language within the family in order to preserve the cultural identity associated with their heritage country across generations (Farr et al., 2018; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Yang, 2017). Thus, further exploration of parents' upbringing beliefs and practices regarding heritage and host country language use at the intersection of their ethnocultural identities can be a significant contribution to existing family and language research.

6.2. Parenting and ethnoreligious identities

The family is a primary context for children's religious identity (Boyatzis et al., 2006; Soehl, 2017), yet the relationship between religion and parenting appears to be insufficiently explored (Frosh, 2013). Especially children at early ages have a strong tie to their families; religious beliefs and practices of parents substantially affect children's identity and socio-emotional development (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2011; Uslucan, 2008). Religion is seen as highly pertinent in parenting in the context of migration (Zanfrini, 2020). The study by Fleischmann and Phalet (2011) on second-generation Turkish immigrants in Europe showed

that religious socialization in childhood is a strong predictor of continued religiosity later in life. Moreover, there is a growing research interest in the impact of parental religiosity on children's education (e.g., Carol & Schulz, 2018; Stokes, 2008). For example, in Germany, Carol and Schulz (2018), based on the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS), found that the religiosity of Muslim and Christian parents was neither beneficial nor harmful to their children's mathematical performance.

In the context of migration, ethnocultural and religious attachments can overlap and be portrayed as part of the culture of both the heritage and host country (Güngör et al., 2012; Haw, 2011). Belonging to a minority may reinforce the parents' ethnoreligious identity in the host country, which was taken for granted in the heritage country, and they may view the transmission of this identity to their children as important (Peek, 2005). Accordingly, immigrant parents may make great efforts to create cultural and religious educational contexts that are aligned with their familial religious beliefs and practices (Isik-Ercan, 2012; Shakeel, 2018; Yalçin-Heckmann, 1998). In addition, negative attitudes toward their religion in mainstream society, the media, and politics may generate specific parental practices, as can be seen among Muslim minorities in Britain (Haw, 2011; McCreery et al., 2007). For instance, the study by McCreery et al. (2007) showed that Muslim parents sending their children to faith-based schools can be a strategy to reduce the risk of facing discrimination as a religious minority. Conversely, immigrant parents' high educational aspirations for their children and desire to integrate into the host country may lead them to involve their children in majority religious practices, such as by sending them to a Christian church school (Haw, 2011). However, immigrant parents may also face 'othering' at their children's school related to their religious background, which could affect their positioning in the host country and influence their parenting behavior (Guo, 2011b). Moreover, religion can be a critical aspect influencing family relationships and leading to acculturation conflicts between immigrant parents and their

native-born children, e.g., Iranian immigrants in the US (Jannati & Allen, 2018) or Turkish immigrants in Germany (Uslucan, 2008).

In addition, scholars have stressed the heterogeneity of Muslim immigrants in terms of their religious affiliation and religiosity and have criticized the tendencies toward a homogeneous image in European contexts (e.g., Erel, 2003; Haw, 2011; Ramm, 2010). Research on immigrant parents' diverse ethnoreligious identities, as reflected in parental beliefs and practices within and outside the family context, is of great importance in gaining deeper insights into today's religious immigrant minorities in western countries.

7. Parental school perceptions

This section focuses on how parents' perceptions of school interact with their social identity. First, parents' perceptions of educational quality will be presented in relation to socio-spatial segregation. Secondly, the aspect of inclusion and equality in pedagogical practice will be discussed. Finally, the relationship between school and immigrant parents will be addressed.

7.1. Quality of education and socio-spatial segregation

It has been widely established that children with immigrant backgrounds are more likely to attend schools with the lower educational quality compared to their native peers (Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, 2017; Crosnoe, 2005). Even though parents may not be able to assess the quality of their children's education, the ethnic and social composition of schools can function as the most visible aspect of parents' quality assessment (B. Becker & Schober, 2017). In particular, the stigmatization aspect of schools with a high proportion of children from disadvantaged backgrounds (low SES or with an immigrant background) can influence parents' school choices and teachers' perceptions and practices (Frank & Weck, 2018; Merry, 2012; Pulinx et al., 2017), e.g., the labeling of these schools as 'black' within Dutch society (Boterman, 2013; Vedder, 2006). Parents' perceived quality of education in relation to the ethnic and social composition of schools can be examined using the

structure–process model of educational quality (e.g., Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Pianta et al., 2005; Slot, 2018; Tietze et al., 1998; Tietze et al., 2013) (see Figure 3).

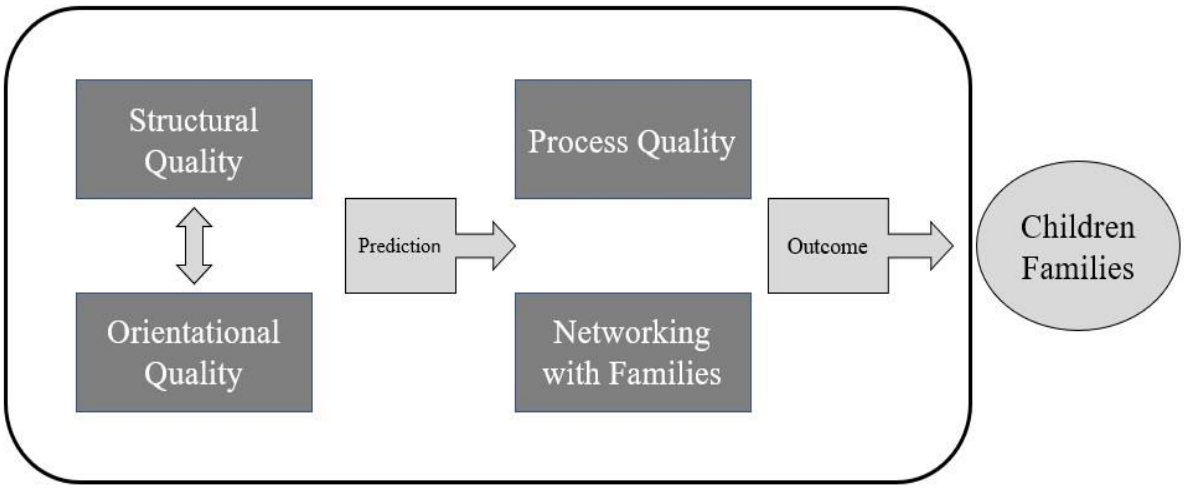

Figure 3: Structure–process model of educational quality (e.g., Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Pianta et al., 2005; Slot, 2018; Tietze et al., 1998; Tietze et al., 2013)

The model consists of four areas of educational quality. The first area is structural quality, which refers to measurable and countable aspects such as the teacher–child ratio, the number and condition of instructional materials, and the social and ethnic composition of the student body (Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Pianta et al., 2005; Pianta et al., 2016; Slot, 2018). Secondly, process quality describes pedagogical practices and interactions between social actors as well as with their surroundings, such as teacher–child interaction, child–child interaction, or children's interactions with the learning environment (Anders et al., 2013; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Kuger & Kluczniok, 2008; Pianta et al., 2016; Slot, 2018; Ulferts et al., 2019). Researchers have categorized this aspect of quality as global and domain-specific processes (Hamre et al., 2014). While global process quality refers to general aspects of the school climate, such as warm relationships and a welcoming atmosphere (Roßbach, 2002; Slot, 2018; Ulferts et al., 2019), domain-specific quality focuses on specific domains of behavioral, socioemotional, or cognitive development, such as math and literacy skills (e.g., Anders et al., 2012; Anders et al., 2013; Ebert et al., 2013; Hamre et al., 2014; Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Melhuish et al., 2008; Sylva et al., 2006). Thirdly, the

orientational quality aspect focuses on teachers' educational beliefs and attitudes as well as schools' pedagogical orientations (Anders & Roßbach, 2019; Anders, Roßbach, & Kuger, 2016; Kuger & Kluczniok, 2008; Kurucz, Hachfeld, et al., 2020; Wieduwilt et al., 2021). Finally, networking with families has been established as an important aspect of educational quality, such as activities for collaboration with parents or mutual trusting relationships (F. Cohen & Anders, 2020; Hummel et al., 2022; Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Petrogiannis & Penderi, 2013).

Previous research has found that a higher proportion of children from disadvantaged backgrounds, defined by their socioeconomic and migration backgrounds, negatively affects the process quality of children's learning environments (Kuger et al., 2016; Kuger & Kluczniok, 2008; Pianta et al., 2005; Slot et al., 2015). Researchers have pointed to academic risk factors for minority children attending educational institutions with a high proportion of disadvantaged children, such as decreased development of numeracy skills (Anders et al., 2013), poorer performance in math (Agirdag et al., 2012; Crosnoe, 2005), and slower progress in vocabulary development (Ebert et al., 2013; Kratzmann et al., 2013). In addition, especially teachers who are inexperienced or not well trained in pedagogical work in classrooms with a high density of non-native children may have difficulties and suffer from emotional exhaustion, which affects the process quality (Trauernicht, 2021). Language barriers can affect daily pedagogical work in teacher–child interactions (e.g., handling rules, discipline, etc.) (Lehrl et al., 2014). The socioeconomic composition of the class may lead to differences in grading, such as teachers tending to give higher grades to children in classes made up predominantly of those with high SES backgrounds (Westphal et al., 2016). The ethnic and social composition of schools can also influence teachers' linguistic attitudes, e.g., suppression of linguistic diversity in schools with a relatively equal mix of ethnic minority and native groups (Pulinx et al., 2017). Moreover, Hachfeld et al. (2016) found that preschool teachers were less satisfied with their

partnerships with families when there was a high percentage of children with immigrant backgrounds in their class. However, scholarly work has shown that, for children with immigrant backgrounds, high concentrations of non-native children could lead to fewer peer victimization experiences (Agirdag et al., 2011), better interpersonal functioning, and a greater sense of belonging at school (Crosnoe, 2005). Consequently, immigrant parents may have concerns about the socioemotional well-being of their children while choosing their children's schools.

According to Böhlmark et al. (2016), schools may practice 'cream-skimming,' i.e., selecting students by class and migration background. Thus, in addition to policies (e.g., assignment of children to schools based on their residential area) and parental choice, there are also institutional factors that promote socio-spatial segregation. Moreover, socio-spatial segregation can occur not only between but also within institutions, for example, when schools assign children to different classrooms depending on their family background (Karakayali & zur Nieden, 2013). These discriminatory practices on the part of institutions create segregated contexts that can also lead to reactions from immigrant parents and make them question equality in education and society, which in turn interacts with their social identities (Karakayali & zur Nieden, 2013).

7.2. Inclusion and equity in pedagogical practice

The extent to which the heritage culture and language, as well as the religion of minority families, are included in educational institutions can affect immigrants' identities and the way they position themselves in their host country (e.g., Agirdag et al., 2014; Çelik, 2017). Scholars have examined various factors that influence these dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, such as institutional structures (Çelik, 2017; Vrooman & Coenders, 2020), teachers' beliefs and attitudes (Kratzmann et al., 2017; Kurucz, Hachfeld, et al., 2020; M. Schwartz et al., 2010), teachers' professional knowledge and competencies (Anders, 2012, 2018; Fröhlich-Gildhoff et

al., 2011), and parental expectations (Agirdag et al., 2014; Braun et al., 2011). For example, preschool teachers in Germany with multicultural beliefs were found to place more importance on additive language education opportunities in culturally diverse classes (Kurucz, Hachfeld, et al., 2020). In contrast, Kratzmann et al. (2017) showed that teachers with an assimilationist attitude that favors German over children's heritage language are less likely to integrate multilingualism into pedagogical practice. Moreover, despite having multilingual students, schools may maintain a monolingual institutional habitus (Agirdag, 2010; Çelik, 2017; Gogolin, 1994, 1997) or engage in selective multilingualism by accepting the use of perceived western languages such as English, German, or French, and excluding or explicitly forbidding those of non-western origin (Agirdag, 2010; Agirdag et al., 2014; Mampaey & Zanoni, 2016; Moffitt et al., 2019). Moreover, the inclusion of non-Christian religions in the curriculum is not widespread in Europe, and monocultural ideologies still dominate in this regard (Mampaey & Zanoni, 2016). Accordingly, differing perceptions of 'valued' and 'devalued' cultures and languages in schools can significantly transform the social identities of immigrant parents and their children with regard to how they position themselves in the host country (Ünver & Nicaise, 2019).

Even when teachers have multicultural beliefs and attitudes and are willing to integrate different cultures and languages into pedagogical practice, they may encounter difficulties in their pedagogical work due to their lack of knowledge and skills (Anders, 2012; Hachfeld et al., 2015). For example, interreligious education has also been identified as the most neglected area of intercultural education, and teachers have been found to be particularly deficient in dealing with religious diversity in their classrooms (Arshad, 2016; Schweitzer, Biesinger, et al., 2011). It has been underscored that teachers often fail to recognize the hybrid, pluralistic identities of children and employ folkloric inclusion of cultures, in which students are perceived as representatives of their heritage country or culture, and inclusive approaches are

limited to the presentation of different music, food, and so on (Holzbrecher, 2004; Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Prengel, 2006).

Furthermore, cultural prejudices and differentiated behaviors of teachers towards different groups of students based on their ethnic origin and SES have been observed in various studies conducted in different national contexts (e.g., Büker & Hüpping, 2012; Froehlich et al., 2016; Lorenz et al., 2016; Mellom et al., 2018; Stephens, 1997). For instance, Büker and Hüpping (2012), in their study with primary school teachers in Germany, showed that teachers have varying interpretations of pedagogical situations based on the gender and cultural origins of children. Similar findings have also been shown in the US, in which teachers have been found to attach cultural significance to children's behaviors (Sirin et al., 2022). Some research has found that teachers may be prejudiced against Islam and tend to associate children's behavior with their religious background, for example, when boys do not listen to a female teacher (Auernheimer, 2012; Büker & Hüpping, 2012). Being confronted with stereotypes about one's own group, the so-called stereotype threat, can have a negative impact on children's academic performance (Froehlich et al., 2022; Peterson et al., 2016; Sander et al., 2018).

Teachers' implicit and explicit tendencies to unfairly grade ethnic minority children have also been examined in numerous studies (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Kristen, 2006; Sprietsma, 2013; Triventi, 2020; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020). While some have found no evidence of discrimination in grading (Kristen, 2006; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020), others have identified unfair grading by teachers of children with immigrant backgrounds (Sprietsma, 2013; Triventi, 2020). Numerous studies have also shown that teachers' expectations for success can vary by children's backgrounds, with children from non-native families and families with low social status at a disadvantage (Froehlich et al., 2016; Lorenz et al., 2016; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020). Thus, levels of perceived inclusion and equity in pedagogical practice

can lead to immigrant families' negotiating and reshaping their social identity and positioning in society.

7.3. The relationship between school and immigrant parents

The extent to which schools collaborate with immigrant parents can significantly alter immigrant parents' perceptions and experiences of their children's schools, along with their social identity in terms of attachment to the host country (Guo, 2011b; Theodorou, 2008). As J. L. Epstein and Sanders (2006) point out, schools act as an important connector between the parental home and the broader community. A large body of research has demonstrated that positive parent–school relationships are a crucial contributor to children's well-being and academic success (F. Cohen & Anders, 2020; Izzo et al., 1999; Janssen et al., 2012; Minke et al., 2014; Yazdani et al., 2020). However, although immigrant parents have high educational aspirations for their children (B. Becker & Gresch, 2016; Hadjar & Scharf, 2019; Langenkamp, 2019) and a strong desire to be involved in their children's education (Hachfeld et al., 2016; Zhong & Zhou, 2011), they have been shown to be less involved in their children's school activities due to perceived asymmetrical power relations in school interactions, as well as their cultural and language barriers (Antony-Newman, 2019; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Norheim & Moser, 2020; Theodorou, 2008; Zhong & Zhou, 2011). Research has also shown that immigrant parents might demonstrate less trust in teachers in comparison to native parents (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020). However, even if they trust teachers, teachers might tend to be less trusting of immigrant parents, as can be seen in the Netherlands (Janssen et al., 2012). Prior research has revealed that teachers assess immigrant parents' involvement as lower than that of native parents (Ho & Cherng, 2018). It was also found that immigrant parents are aware of different perceptions and attitudes of teachers towards immigrant parents and native parents (Sirin et al., 2022). The disparity in teachers' collaboration standards with parents based on their ethnic origin can be a demotivating factor for the involvement of minority families (Fine,

1993; Sirin et al., 2022). In addition, parents' motivation to be involved in school activities may be related to perceived discrimination against their children and protecting their children from mistreatment (Rowley et al., 2010).

There can also be differences in the cultural values and educational beliefs of immigrant parents and teachers (Bossong & Keller, 2018; Curdt-Christiansen, 2020; Hauser-Cram et al., 2003; Sirin et al., 2009). For instance, in Germany, Bossong and Keller's (2018) study identified large differences in the cultural values of preschool teachers and parents of Turkish and Russian origin with low levels of education. These value differences can also lead to academic risk factors for children, as research in the US has shown that the greater the perceived value differences with immigrant parents, the more negatively teachers assess children's academic skills and behaviors (Sirin et al., 2009). The deficit-oriented approach of teachers, focusing only on the linguistic and cultural barriers of immigrant parents instead of acknowledging their socio-cultural and linguistic resources, as well as their prejudiced perceptions of immigrant parents as disinterested, have been criticized by scholars (Curdt-Christiansen, 2020; Guo, 2011a; Theodorou, 2008). Immigrant parents have their own 'funds of knowledge,' which refers to their knowledge and resources, as well as the strengths they have developed throughout their personal and collective social histories (Moll et al., 1992; Moll, 2019). In this regard, scholars have drawn attention to the informal learning environments of immigrant families, highlighting the diversity of their involvement in their children's education using their own sociocultural and linguistic resources, which may differ from the 'western' ideologies applied in schools (Guo, 2011a; Theodorou, 2008).

Furthermore, educational institutions generally lack intercultural approaches for collaborating with immigrant families, such as providing information in the families' languages, implementing intercultural practices at parent–teacher meetings, and recognizing immigrant parents as equal educational partners, as can be seen in various countries, e.g.,

Germany (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022; Hachfeld et al., 2016; Viernickel et al., 2013), Sweden (Dahlstedt, 2009), and the US (Olivos, 2009; Soutullo et al., 2016). It is thus necessary to further develop the structures in schools and foster the intercultural competencies of principals, teachers, and other staff in order to establish an inclusive school context (Kiel et al., 2017). Moreover, relationships between parents can also play both a supportive or a destructive role in immigrant parents' school involvement (Pastori et al., 2021). Even though immigrant parents may have a strong desire for intercultural contact, they can feel unwelcome in native parent groups and may have difficulty joining their networks, limiting immigrant parents' full inclusion in educational settings and leading to segmented inclusion, as observed among Moroccan immigrant parents in Italy (Pastori et al., 2021).

It is important to note that these school dynamics cannot be fully understood without examining broader societal dynamics at both the micro and macro levels. Majority society attitudes and social policies toward immigrants have a tremendous impact on educational policies and practices (Faas, 2008; Sirin et al., 2022).

C. SOCIOHISTORICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

The previous chapter (B) on this dissertation's theoretical and conceptual framework provided, firstly, an overview of perspectives on the construction of social identities, emphasizing cognitive, structural, and contextual processes based on interdisciplinary theoretical approaches. Second, a socio-spatial theoretical framework was presented, with a particular focus on the study of immigrant parents' social identities. Third, parental modes of upbringing in a migration context were discussed, focusing on parents' social identity-related upbringing beliefs and practices, with a focus on ethnocultural identities and language use, as well as ethnoreligious identities. Fourth, the perceptions of immigrant parents regarding the perceived quality of education and socio-spatial segregation, inclusion and equity in pedagogical practice, and parental relationships with schools were reviewed. Since this dissertation primarily argues that identity construction is spatial and dynamic, the following chapter (C) addresses the context of this dissertation and provides an overview of German migration and education policy, Turkish immigration to Germany, and Germany's early childhood and primary education system and its specific educational inequalities.

8. Germany as a country of immigration

The Federal Republic of Germany, despite not traditionally being thought of as an immigration country, is now the second-most popular destination country for international migrants in the world, following the US (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). The statistical category *Migrationshintergrund*, meaning 'migration background' or 'immigrant background,' is widely used in Germany to identify and distinguish citizens or residents of Germany with non-native identities and is defined as when a person themselves, or at least one of their parents, does not have German citizenship by birth (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022, p. 5). Currently, there are about 83 million people living in Germany; approximately one-quarter of the population has an immigrant background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022).

Immigration to Germany [1] began primarily after World War II in the 1950s when labor was needed to rebuild a run-down Germany (Constant et al., 2012). The country signed bilateral agreements to recruit workers from Turkey and other southern European countries such as Greece, Spain, and Italy (Constant et al., 2012). These workers were called guest-workers (*Gastarbeiter*) to indicate that they were on temporary contracts and were expected to return to their home countries after a particular period (Constant et al., 2012). Despite the change in immigration policy in the 1970s, with the end of this form of labor recruitment, and in the 1980s, when immigrants were offered financial incentives to return to their home countries (*Rückkehrhilfegesetz*), most of them stayed in Germany and immigration continued to increase as a result of family reunification (Bönke & Neidhöfer, 2016; Constant et al., 2012). Therefore, guest workers became permanent residents of the country, established their families, engaged in business and labor, and secured stability in their accommodation (Bönke & Neidhöfer, 2016; Kagitcibasi, 2010). In the 1980s and 1990s, in addition to ongoing family reunification, immigration flows to Germany were primarily characterized by asylum seekers who had left their home countries due to political conflicts, such as individuals fleeing the former Yugoslavia or Kurds leaving Turkey (Constant et al., 2012). Aside from asylum seekers, ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) from eastern Europe and Russia, who were displaced after the war, resettled in Germany following the fall of the Iron Curtain (Constant et al., 2012; Hachfeld et al., 2015). With the recent eastward expansion of the EU, there has also been considerable immigration from Romania, Bulgaria, and other eastern European countries (Hammer & Hertweck, 2022).

Today, there is continued immigration from these countries as former immigrants form a channel for newcomers by providing social capital (Haug, 2008). Moreover, individuals and

[1] In describing the history of migration, 'Germany' refers to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) until reunification on October 3, 1990, and to today's unified Germany after that date.

families from various other countries, as well as the massive influx of refugees in recent years, have made Germany a very ethnically and culturally diverse society (Schmidtke, 2021).

8.1. Migration and educational policies

Notwithstanding its rich history of migration, Germany has long been reluctant to consider itself a country of immigration (Constant et al., 2012; S. Green, 2013). The country introduced its first Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetzt*) in 2001, but after political controversy, only a scaled-down version came into force on January 1, 2005 (Constant et al., 2012). Since then, the country has begun to recognize itself as a country of immigration and approach its integration issues more openly (Constant et al., 2012). The large wave of refugees in recent years prompted the country to adopt the first Integration Law in 2016, which addresses the various expectations and support needs of newcomers, focusing primarily on their integration into the labor market (Schmidtke, 2021). These delays in the introduction and implementation of migration policies have also been reflected in various other policies that affect immigrant integration, such as the exemption of immigrants from citizenship rights (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). Until the 1990s, the legal requirement for acquiring German citizenship was mainly the ethnically oriented principle of descent (*jus sanguinis*), and in 2000 the territorial principle (*jus soli*) was introduced to a limited extent, liberalizing access through naturalization (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Howard, 2008; Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). However, dual citizenship is accepted only in a minority of naturalization cases; immigrants largely must renounce their heritage country nationality (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Howard, 2008; Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). Also, applicants for naturalization are required to pass a citizenship test (*Einbürgerungstest*) and demonstrate sufficient German language skills and basic knowledge of the legal and social systems in Germany (van Oers, 2021). Despite some improvements over the years, such as lowering the barriers to obtaining citizenship, residence, and asylum, as well as introducing

new regulations for skilled immigration and providing state-funded integration and language courses, Germany mainly follows assimilationist approaches, one-sided integration policies, and fails to recognize hybrid immigrant identities (Brandhorst et al., 2021).

These migration policies have inevitably also influenced the country's education policies. The perception that immigrants would only stay temporarily has also resulted in the late establishment of intercultural pedagogical approaches in the country (Faas, 2008; Holzbrecher, 2004). In the 1960s and 1970s, Germany applied a so-called 'foreigner pedagogy' (*Ausländerpädagogik*), in which children of immigrants were viewed as a homogeneous group with special educational needs, emphasizing their 'otherness' and deficits in adapting to the German educational system, resulting in the segregation of these children (e.g., being taught in separate classrooms) (Faas, 2008; Holzbrecher, 2004; Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Miera, 2007). In the 1980s, with the recognition of the permanence of immigrants, intercultural pedagogical approaches began to play a role in educational institutions, focusing on learning about the children's cultural origins and striving to create a dialogue between cultures, as well as to integrate the children's heritage language (Faas, 2008; Holzbrecher, 2004; Hüpping & Büker, 2014). However, as criticized by numerous scholars, this led to a folkloristic understanding of intercultural education in which children were perceived as representatives of their country, and today, this is still partly the case in some institutions (Holzbrecher, 2004; Hüpping & Büker, 2014). Since those years, the focus has also been partly on anti-racist education, raising awareness of structural inequalities in society – as well as its institutions and laws – and empowering ethnic minority communities (Faas, 2008). In the 1990s, especially after the publication of the first joint document on guidelines for intercultural education in the country in 1996 by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder (*Kultusministerkonferenz*, KMK), the federal states have been encouraged to develop intercultural dimensions in their schools, for instance by using culturally integrative teaching

materials and textbooks, as well as including intercultural aspects in teacher training (Faas, 2008). However, during these years, schools have, under the umbrella term ‘intercultural education,’ focused more on the European dimension, leading to the exclusion of minorities of non-European origin (Faas, 2008; Hoff, 1995). Since the 2000s, a form of ‘diversity pedagogy’ has gained attention (Prengel, 2006), which requires that cultural heterogeneity be perceived as normality and that children’s hybrid, transcultural, and dynamic identities be recognized (Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Prengel, 2006). However, scholars have highlighted that notwithstanding some innovative approaches to inclusive education, gaps remain today between policy and actual pedagogical practice in schools and that ‘othering’ processes, particularly toward children of immigrants, persist and reflect social boundaries in educational institutions (Faas, 2008; Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Moffitt et al., 2019; Wischmann, 2018).

8.2. Social boundaries in society

Since the focus of this dissertation is on identity construction based on social boundaries, it is important to provide a brief overview of the social boundaries between native and immigrant populations in the German context. Scholars have noted that irrespective of an individual’s citizenship or immigration status, German society continues to perpetuate a polarized “notion of a white, ethnocultural Germany and a non-white, immigrant Other” (Moffitt et al., 2019, p. 832). For instance, studies have shown that holding German citizenship does not necessarily lead to immigrants reporting an attachment to German identity, as it does not eliminate existing disadvantages related to their ethnocultural and linguistic backgrounds (Çelik, 2015; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019). Moreover, the term ‘people with an immigrant background’ (*Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund*) is not merely a statistical category but is also widely used as a social descriptor in public discourse, with predominantly negative connotations such as being separated from the majority of society or being poor and uneducated (Elrick & Farah Schwartzman, 2015). Thereby, in everyday life, people with a migration

background become those "who 'look' or 'speak' differently" (Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019, p. 95). As Faas (2008) criticizes, 'foreigners' (*Ausländer*) or 'foreign citizens' (*ausländische Mitbürger*) are commonly used official terms in Germany, even when referring to the children or grandchildren of immigrants. In addition, several scholars have made reference to the racialized term *bildungsfern* (roughly, 'less educated'), which is often used in public discourse to refer to people without a high level of education, frequently with a strong (implied) association with individuals or groups with immigrant backgrounds (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022; Karakayali & zur Nieden, 2013; Moffitt et al., 2019).

There are also specific challenges associated with belonging to a Muslim minority in western cultures worldwide, especially in the post-9/11 era (Sirin & Fine, 2008). This has also had an impact on the lives of the Muslim community in Germany; they are confronted by discourses of securitization in the media, the portrayal of Islam as a challenge to integration, and negative stereotypes in general (Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Holtz et al., 2013; Juang et al., 2021; Kaya, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019). Germany is a country that, due to its traumatic socio-political history, has long had something of a distant relationship with the concepts of national identity, race, and racism (Juang et al., 2021; Kurban & Tobin, 2009; Wischmann, 2018). However, the recent wave of refugees, in particular, has led to an anti-immigration movement and the rise of right-wing populist parties in Germany, as in much of the rest of Europe (Kaya & Tecmen, 2019). These parties have created a new understanding of national identity by constructing a climate of hostility towards a foreign out-group (Bauer & Hannover, 2020). The political and media debate regarding whether Islam 'belongs' to Germany has also led to a reinforcement of the boundaries between the Muslim minority and the native population (Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Kaya & Tecmen, 2019). Everyday experiences of exclusion, xenophobia, and Islamophobia have also been demonstrated in qualitative studies, especially in cities with a low proportion of people of foreign origin (Rees et al., 2022). In addition, scholars have

drawn attention to the use of the term ‘Muslim,’ which in some cases is not necessarily associated with a person’s actual religious affiliation, but is used as a contextual, racialized term to refer to certain individuals and groups (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022). In this context, research has shown that, in Germany, local community boundaries exist which exclude individuals who originate from a majority Muslim country, resulting in these minority groups being subjected to various forms of discrimination (Yilmaz Sener, 2019).

Naturally, this social context affects both educational institutions and the way in which immigrant parents are portrayed. Gomolla and Kollender (2022) criticize the political discourses regarding ‘immigrant parents,’ which are predominantly associated with socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds and are repeatedly used almost synonymously with ‘at risk’ or *bildungsfern*. They argue that such deficit-oriented approaches ignore social divisions, as well as ethnic and racial inequalities, and fail to recognize the social structures that lead to unequal opportunities for parents. Moreover, collaboration with parents is often found to be one-sided, portraying immigrant parents as subjects who need to be correctly activated to conform to the norms of teachers and native parents, e.g., through language support and integration courses (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022). As such, on the one hand, immigrant parents’ involvement in education has been partially instrumentalized and seen as a means of social integration; on the other hand, exclusionary, assimilationist approaches have been adopted that contradict this integratory rationale (Gomolla & Kollender, 2019, 2022). The interview study by Kollender (2021) with immigrant and Muslim parents in Berlin schools found that these parents encounter racial othering in educational institutions, feel pressured to fit in, and use various strategies to cope with discrimination and stereotypes, such as overperforming in order to be seen as good parents. Power asymmetries prevent immigrant parents both from being able to use their own cultural and linguistic resources in educational

institutions and from expressing the structural discrimination they experience (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022; Gomolla & Radtke, 2009; Kollender, 2021; Norheim & Moser, 2020).

8.3. Turkish-origin immigrants

Today, about 2.7 million people of Turkish origin reside in Germany, representing the country's largest immigrant community, and Turkish is the second most widely spoken language in households after German (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). Turkish migration waves began in the 1960s with labor migration, mostly from rural areas of Turkey, followed in later years by family reunification migrants and asylum seekers (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Aydın, 2016). Recently, due to unfavorable economic and political conditions, highly skilled middle-class individuals have also emigrated from urban areas of Turkey, and the number of Turks coming to Germany in search of higher education, as well as better living and working opportunities in general, is also growing (Elveren, 2018). Despite the tendency in mainstream society, politics, and the media to view people of Turkish origin as a homogeneous Muslim community, they represent a very heterogeneous group in terms of cultural, religious, and class background, as well as migration motives and identity attachment to their heritage and host countries (Erel, 2003; Karakaşoğlu, 2003; Ramm, 2010; Yilmaz Sener, 2019). Accordingly, Turkish immigrants today are transnational immigrants who have highly pluralized, heterogeneous social identities (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

It is also important to note that the Turkish community in Germany is a particularly marginalized group that is often thematized in the public debate as resistant to integration (for a critical review, see Diehl & Schnell, 2006). Their low levels of educational attainment (e.g., Baysu et al., 2018; Below, 2007; Kristen & Granato, 2007; Söhn & Özcan, 2006) and labor market integration has been widely reported (e.g., Below, 2007; Diehl & Granato, 2018; Euwals et al., 2010). Further aspects that research has established about this community include their limited German language skills, low levels of contact with native residents (Diehl &

Granato, 2018; Höhne & Koopmans, 2010; Seibel, 2020), and a strong retention of their heritage country cultural and religious identity, even across generations (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Nauck, 2001). In line with this, the research by Francot (2021) on the acculturation strategies of Turkish immigrant parents has shown that parents in Germany have a stronger separation profile compared to those in the Netherlands, England, and Norway. These findings about country-specific differences are also explained by Germany's assimilationist and exclusionary policies throughout history (Francot, 2021).

The reasons for this, as already mentioned, may also lie in the specific marginalization of the Turkish community in Germany. For instance, the two-wave comparative panel study by Diehl et al. (2016), focusing on new Turkish and Polish immigrants, highlighted the impact on the immigrants' national identities of the ethnic boundaries between the native and the immigrant populations. Their study found that Turkish newcomers initially identified more strongly with Germany than Polish immigrants did. However, identification decreased over time for Turks, while it increased for Poles. The study's authors suggest a connection with perceived discrimination because, while the extent of perceived discrimination was similar for both groups to begin with, there was a significant increase over time for the Turkish group, while it remained similar for the Polish group. Likewise, other studies have addressed the fact that people of Turkish origin are exposed to various forms of discrimination in everyday life, e.g., having a Turkish-sounding name leads to them being less likely to be accepted when it comes to housing (Auspurg et al., 2017; Moritz & Manger, 2022) and job applications (Kaas & Manger, 2012; Thijssen et al., 2021). Thus, discrimination against this group has been raised as one of the critical issues when describing the persistent disadvantage of the Turkish-origin population in Germany across generations (Diehl & Granato, 2018).

Furthermore, researchers have emphasized the segregation tendencies of Germany's Turkish community (Friedrichs, 1998; Häußermann, 2007; Reuschke & Weck, 2013). In

addition to structural and institutional aspects at the federal and local levels, at the individual level, the availability of social support from their ethnic community and the negative attitude of the native community towards them have been cited as the main reasons for Turkish self-segregation (e.g., Friedrichs, 1998; Reuschke & Weck, 2013). Moreover, the recent study by Seibel (2020) on Turkish immigrants showed that even three years after migration, 36% of women and 18% of men reported spending nearly no time with natives. Seibel (2020) emphasizes the importance of looking at the reason for migration; for example, women who migrated for family reasons have been found to be more likely to have less contact with natives than women whose motivation for migration was economic or educational. These women have fewer opportunities to access structures for learning the language, entering the labor market, or pursuing further education. Another study of immigrants of Turkish origin has shown that the acculturation profile 'separation' has a negative impact on life satisfaction and that women tend to have lower psychological well-being than men when controlling for their employment status (Morawa et al., 2020). Thus, social isolation is highly gendered and, from a parental perspective, seems to drastically affect mothers. It has also been shown that Turkish mothers in Germany have higher life satisfaction when the number of years of education in the host country increases (Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008). Education in the host country gives immigrants the opportunity not only to familiarize themselves with the country's social and educational system but also to build social and human capital that can make their lives easier and reduce everyday stress (Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008).

The high educational aspirations of parents of Turkish origin and their children have also been reported by numerous scholars (B. Becker & Gresch, 2016; Gresch, 2012; Salikutluk, 2016). However, as Salikutluk (2016) points out, there is "the aspiration-achievement paradox": Despite high educational aspirations, these children achieve low levels of education. It has been shown that Turkish children in Germany are disproportionately placed in the lower

tracks of secondary education and tend to have low academic achievements at various educational levels (Below, 2007; Schuller, 2018; Söhn & Özcan, 2006). Their academic performance is lower than that of native children and other children with an immigrant background (e.g., from the former USSR or Poland), and they remain a particularly disadvantaged group in the German education system (Stanat et al., 2010). This makes it necessary to draw attention to the specifics of children of Turkish origin in the national context when examining their academic underperformance (Froehlich et al., 2022). Today, 48% of children with immigrant backgrounds are affected by at least one of the financial, social, and educational risk factors (for children without immigrant backgrounds, the rate is 16%), and for children of Turkish origin, the rate is as high as 79% (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2022). In addition, education-related risk factors are notable among children of Turkish origin (54%), compared to children of parents from EU countries (27%) and of parents without immigrant backgrounds (4%) (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2022).

Scholars posit various explanations for the low academic performance of children of Turkish origin. While some attribute it to their low SES background and limited German language skills (Ammermueller, 2007; Kristen, 2006; Marx & Stanat, 2012; Söhn & Özcan, 2006), others emphasized structural and everyday discrimination in educational institutions (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019; Schuller, 2018).

9. Early childhood and primary school education system

In Germany, as previously discussed, educational disparities are significantly dependent on children's SES and migration backgrounds (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2022; OECD, 2020). These background-dependent social and cognitive differences between children are already observable at preschool age (Anders et al., 2013; B. Becker & Biedinger, 2006; Weinert et al., 2010). To close the achievement gap at the

earliest possible educational stage, special scientific and political attention has been paid to preschool and primary education (e.g., Anders et al., 2013; Gresch, 2016; Kuger et al., 2016; OECD, 2020; Roßbach, 2002). Accordingly, this section focuses on early childhood education and care (ECEC) and primary education in Germany and provides a brief overview of educational disparities at these educational levels.

9.1. Early childhood education and care

Attendance at ECEC is not mandatory in Germany; however, all children from the age of one have a legal right to a childcare place until they start mandatory schooling at the age of six (Anders, 2015). ECEC is universally state-subsidized, so parents pay little or no fees, depending on the regulations in their federal state (B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Camehl et al., 2018). Childcare-related costs for families are, thus, lower compared to the majority of OECD countries (OECD, 2016).

Moreover, ECEC is not part of Germany's education system, instead being classified as child and youth welfare, for which the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth is responsible (KMK, 2019). Although the federal government acts as the legislative authority, implementation is the task of the federal states, and municipalities organize the actual planning and funding of services (Anders, 2015; B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Stahl et al., 2018). These services can be summarized as follows: *Kindergarten*, for children aged 3 to 6; infant–toddler center *(Kinderkrippe*), for children aged 0 to 3; and day care (*Kindertagespflege*), for all children before school entry, which can be in the form of home-based day-care, family centers, or childminding (Anders, 2015; KMK, 2019). It has also been noted that traditional formal age divisions seem to be disappearing over time and that there are now many preschools with mixed-age groups (Linberg et al., 2013).

Social Security Code VIII (*Achtes Buch Sozialgesetzbuch – Kinder- und Jugendhilfe – R61*) prioritizes preschools with non-public providers such as churches, welfare associations,

or parents' associations (KMK, 2019, p. 33). This means that municipalities only establish their own preschools in the absence of adequate non-public providers or if these cannot be arranged in time; consequently, around 67% of preschools in Germany are sponsored by non-public organizations (KMK, 2019). This non-public prioritization is designed to address societal demands at the level of the smallest possible unit and provide a wide variety of pedagogical approaches (Anders, 2015). The different types of providers can be categorized into three groups: public or municipal, church-based (Catholic or Protestant), and non-church affiliated, non-public providers such as the German Red Cross and the Workers' Welfare Association (Schreyer & Krause, 2016). Among non-public providers, churches constitute a large proportion (33%; Fowid, 2018); this circumstance has its roots in the nineteenth century, a time when ECEC was established by the churches to provide care and protection for children in poverty and otherwise without supervision (Reyer, 2006). Therefore, the role of religious institutions can be seen as relatively large in pedagogy (Anders, 2015).

Moreover, there is no national curriculum for preschools. The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany establishes common principles which are to be applied individually in all federal states (KMK, 2019). For example, in addition to general goals such as promoting children's development, the guidelines also make reference to considerations of children's ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious backgrounds, as well as their particular abilities and living conditions (KMK, 2019). Moreover, the necessity of collaboration with children's parents and guardians is emphasized, e.g., the formation of parents' councils and collaboration on an individual level to support children's educational processes (Jugend- & Kultusministerkonferenz, 2004; KMK, 2019). However, these framework plans have the function of defining areas of learning rather than setting clear learning objectives, resulting in wide variation across federal states and across preschools in the quality of their provision and

their pedagogical practices (Anders, 2015; Knauf, 2020). There is no national quality monitoring so the responsibility remains with the individual preschool (KMK, 2019). Besides, there are regional differences in the qualifications and training of preschool teachers (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020). Also, the high demand for ECEC has led to a shortage of staff in preschools (Schreyer & Krause, 2016).

Parents are free to decide which preschool they wish to send their children to, so there are no set catchment districts (B. Becker & Schober, 2017). In addition, fees do not represent quality and are strictly regulated; parents cannot obtain higher quality education for their children by paying higher fees (B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Camehl et al., 2018). The overall attendance rate of ECEC is particularly high; for the age group 3–6 years, it is 94% in total (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2022). However, there exist disparities in preschool attendance between children with and without an immigrant background in both the 3–6 age group (80% vs. 91%) and the under-3 age group (25% vs. 37%) (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2022). Children with immigrant backgrounds thus both attend preschool at lower rates and start later than native children (Linberg et al., 2013; Peter & Spiess, 2015).

The underrepresentation of immigrant families in preschools and the reasons for their delayed attendance have been studied by many researchers (Burghardt, 2017, 2019b; Jessen et al., 2020; Lokhande, 2013; Peter & Spiess, 2015). Apart from supply-side issues related to the limited availability of preschool places, there are also reasons associated with familial, social, and migration characteristics (Schober & Spiess, 2013). For example, research has shown that the higher parents' SES, the more often and earlier they send their children to preschool (R. Becker & Tremel, 2006; Burghardt & Kluczniok, 2016; Jessen et al., 2020; Kreyenfeld & Krapf, 2016; Schober & Spiess, 2013). The proportion of families with low SES is particularly high in families with an immigrant background (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung,

2020), and immigrant-origin mothers are to be less likely to be employed compared to native mothers (BMFSFJ, 2013). Accordingly, the intersection of SES and migration background must be considered in understanding this attendance gap (B. Becker & Biedinger, 2016; Fuchs-Rechlin & Bergmann, 2014; Schober & Spiess, 2013). For example, parents with higher levels of education are more likely to have access to preschools, especially if preschools are scarce (Jessen et al., 2020).

Research has also shown that immigrant parents have higher expectations of preschools compared to native parents and view preschools as beneficial to their children's development (Burghardt & Kluczniok, 2016). However, their lack of information about the preschool system (Burghardt, 2017; Burghardt & Kluczniok, 2016) and language barriers have been identified as an underlying reason for their limited access (B. Becker, 2009; R. Becker & Tremel, 2006; Peter & Spiess, 2015). For instance, B. Becker (2009) found that in families of Turkish origin, there is a positive correlation between higher German language skills of the main caregiver and early enrollment of their children in preschool. Furthermore, researchers have demonstrated that immigrant parents have specific demands of preschools, e.g., longer opening hours, closer proximity, a simpler enrollment process, as well as particular quality- and identity-related concerns, e.g., multilingual teachers, smaller groups, or consideration of their culture and religion (Jessen et al., 2020; Lokhande, 2013). The differences within immigrant groups have also been highlighted; for example, immigrants from southeastern Europe (Turkey, Albania, former Yugoslavia) have been found to be particularly underrepresented in preschools (Peter & Spiess, 2015).

It has been shown that the percentage of families who intend to send their children to preschool earlier is greater than the percentage who actually do so, which has motivated research attempts to understand the reasons for this gap (Burghardt, 2019b; Jessen et al., 2020; Lokhande, 2013). For instance, despite being well-informed, some parents with an immigrant

background have reported not getting a preschool place (Burghardt, 2019b). When we look at the supply side, research has identified several selection criteria among preschools, such as structural characteristics (proximity to home or work), family SES background (e.g., parents' occupation), siblings already attending preschool, child characteristics (age, developmental stage), waiting time, social needs (e.g., single parents) (Burghardt, 2019a). However, we know little about migration-specific aspects. According to Scholz et al. (2019), preschools evince both intentional and non-intentional mechanisms of exclusion. While some preschools have been established as having inclusive approaches that target disadvantaged groups, such as actively combating segregation (Böhme, 2017), some have exclusive, less pluralistic policies, in part through the influence of their providers (Hogrebe, 2016; Scholz et al., 2019).

Furthermore, not only the frequency and timing of preschool attendance but also the specific characteristics of the preschools that children of immigrants attend play an important role in generating educational inequities (B. Becker, 2012; B. Becker & Biedinger, 2016; B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Lehrl et al., 2014; Stahl et al., 2018). Children with an immigrant background are less likely to attend high-quality preschools (Lehrl et al., 2014; Stahl et al., 2018). The role of residential segregation and the fact that those preschools that are mostly visited by immigrant children are located in 'poor quality' neighborhoods has also been investigated (Jessen et al., 2020; Scholz et al., 2019). Although additional financial resources have been allocated to the development of deprived districts in some federal states, the extent to which this has had an impact on the quality of educational institutions remains questionable (Hogrebe, 2014). For example, the quality of preschools attended by Turkish-origin children has been found to be lower than those attended by natives with regard to organized activities (e.g., field trips), facilities (e.g., outdoor areas), and equipment (e.g., play materials, books, and musical instruments) (B. Becker, 2012, p. 154). Notwithstanding that some federal states apply educational plans that require smaller group sizes, better teacher–child ratios, and financial

support in preschools with a high proportion of children of immigrant backgrounds, the negative impact of ethnic and social composition on pedagogical processes is still visible (Kuger & Kluczniok, 2008). In addition, the decision-making processes on the part of parents are also the focus of research. For example, it has been found that the social networks of Turkish immigrant parents (which are mainly bounded by their ethnic group) and the fact that they are more likely to choose preschools close to home lead them to be more affected by residential segregation in their preschool choices than native parents (B. Becker, 2010).

It is also important to note that there are various programs at the regional and national level that target immigrant families and their children and aim to create an inclusive preschool environment, as well as to promote children's language development and collaboration with parents (e.g., BMFSFJ, 2022; Doll & Kreuzer, 2018). However, most preschools in the country still have shortcomings in practice, e.g., in applying intercultural or religious approaches in pedagogical practice (Schweitzer, Edelbrock, & Biesinger, 2011), collaboration with immigrant parents (Hachfeld et al., 2016; Lokhande, 2014; Viernickel et al., 2013), and tackling cultural prejudices (Kratzmann & Pohlmann-Rother, 2012). Overall, while researchers have established that early and quality preschool education can be particularly beneficial for children with migration backgrounds (Anders, 2013; B. Becker & Biedinger, 2016; Kluczniok, 2017; Peter & Spiess, 2015), these children face challenges in both aspects in Germany.

9.2. Primary school education

Primary school is compulsory in Germany and comprises grades 1 to 4 (with the exception of Berlin and Brandenburg, with grades 1 to 6). Compulsory schooling begins for all children who have reached their sixth birthday before a statutory starting date (KMK, 2019). There is no national curriculum; the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the federal states are responsible for their curricula and educational plans, and the school principals for their implementation (KMK, 2019). The country has a large public school system; private

schools are established only under special conditions (e.g., serving a particular educational interest or ideology) (KMK, 2019). However, researchers have also pointed out that the number of private schools has been increasing in recent years, and children with immigrant backgrounds are less likely to attend these schools compared to native children (Fincke & Lange, 2012).

In most federal states, catchment areas are decisive for enrollment in primary school (except North Rhine-Westphalia and Schleswig-Holstein) (KMK, 2019). The school authorities have the option of determining these areas for their schools; in some federal states, the school boards can define interdistrict catchment areas (KMK, 2019). Parents can also apply for a change of school in some places, giving specific reasons; however, parents with an immigrant background are less likely to request a change of school because they may not be aware of the possibility or perceive obstacles related to the bureaucratic process (Fincke & Lange, 2012; Noreisch, 2007). Middle-class parents have also been reported to use strategies to send their children to their desired schools (Lobato, 2017; Noreisch, 2007). Moreover, scholars have also addressed the institutional side, pointing to schools' non-transparent, strategic admissions processes (Lobato, 2017; Noreisch, 2007). Accordingly, in addition to residential segregation, aspects of parental and institutional choices also lead to school segregation, and children from immigrant backgrounds have a higher probability of attending primary schools with a high proportion of disadvantaged children (Fincke & Lange, 2012; Kristen, 2008a; Noreisch, 2007; Riedel et al., 2010). Moreover, researchers have drawn attention to segregation within educational settings, drawing on some primary schools in Berlin where children with high SES backgrounds, particularly native-born children, were taught in a different classroom than children with low SES and immigrant backgrounds (Karakayali & zur Nieden, 2013). In this regard, children with immigrant backgrounds and from low-SES families in particular, remain at risk of being disadvantaged in primary school from the outset,

especially those who previously had no or delayed preschool attendance or who attended low-quality preschool (Anders et al., 2013; B. Becker & Biedinger, 2006; B. Becker & Schmidt, 2013).

Research has shown the differences in achievement between children with and without an immigrant background at the primary school level (Hussmann et al., 2017; Stanat et al., 2017). This is also evident in international studies. The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), for example, has shown that the differences in reading achievement in the fourth grade between children with and without an immigrant background have remained constant from 2001 to 2016 (Wendt & Schwippert, 2017). Likewise, achievement gaps have been seen in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) (Bos et al., 2008; Wendt et al., 2020). These unsatisfactory results highlight the need for quality monitoring at the national level. Accordingly, the KMK adopted its strategy for educational monitoring in 2006 and revised it in 2015, with the aim of ensuring national quality and standards by regularly assessing the education system, both at the systemic level as well as at the school and classroom level, through the continuous observation of conditions, processes, and educational outcomes using empirical scientific methods (KMK, 2015). The Institute for Educational Quality Improvement (IQB) is a scientific institute that supports the 16 federal states in improving and assuring their quality and regularly monitors progress in achieving their objectives (IQB, 2022). Their most recent report also examined the competencies in German and mathematics of fourth-grade students and determined immigration-related disparities on the grounds of their competencies. Researchers found that children with immigrant backgrounds are at a significant disadvantage overall and in all federal states and that while there has been a declining trend in competencies for all children, it is even stronger for children of immigrant backgrounds compared to levels in 2011 and 2016 (albeit this is partly attributable to the COVID-19 pandemic) (Henschel et al., 2022). These growing disparities, especially in

language skills, have shown that the federal states have not succeeded over the years in reducing immigration-related skills gaps (Henschel et al., 2022).

Several reasons for these educational disparities have been discussed. Less advantageous social backgrounds (low SES, limited cultural capital) and belonging to households which never or rarely speak German were highlighted as among the main family-related reasons for immigrants' children's poor academic low performance (B. Becker & Klein, 2021; Henschel et al., 2022; Kristen, 2008b). In addition, researchers have drawn attention to how educational institutions affect children's learning outcomes. For example, some studies have found that schools with a high proportion of students with an immigrant background performed less well in developing children's literacy (e.g., Bellin, 2009; Helbig, 2010) and numeracy development (e.g., Schneider, 2013). However, researchers also pointed out that controlling for students' prior achievement and class average SES may reduce or eliminate the extent of ethnic composition effects, underscoring that students' below-average performances may be related to the proportion of children with low SES backgrounds rather than their immigrant backgrounds (Bellin, 2009; Eksner & Stanat, 2012). Moreover, Bellin (2009) showed in her study of primary schools in Berlin that the ethnic composition of schools can have different effects depending on the children's linguistic background. Regardless of the SES composition or the average cognitive ability of the class, students of Turkish origin, in particular, showed lower progress in reading literacy when they attended a class in which more than 70 percent of the children had a non-German language origin (Bellin, 2009, pp. 215–216).

In Germany, students are assigned to different secondary schools at the end of primary school based on a joint agreement between teachers and parents, in which teachers' recommendations play a key role (Dustmann et al., 2016; Krause & Schüller, 2014; Sprietsma, 2013). The school types are as follows: *Hauptschule* (for manual or industrial professions); *Realschule* (for administrative and low-level white-collar professions); *Gymnasium* (for higher

education and direct access to universities) (Krause & Schüller, 2014). In addition, there is also *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive school offering preparation for all three degrees in a single school); however, not all federal states implement this approach, and less than 10% of students in Germany attend this type of school (Krause & Schüller, 2014). Although mobility between school tracks is possible, in practice, it occurs in only 2% of students (Dustmann et al., 2016). Immigrant children have lower achievement levels and are also less likely to receive a recommendation for *Gymnasium* (Ditton et al., 2005; Dustmann et al., 2016; Gresch, 2012; Krause & Schüller, 2014). In this context, scholars have examined teachers' unfair grading and their secondary school recommendations for children with and without an immigrant background to further explain educational disparities. For example, numerous experimental studies have confirmed the tendency of teachers to be unfair in grading (for example, by comparing Turkish- and German-sounding names) (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Sprietsma, 2013). The results of non-experimental studies have been mixed. For instance, in a study conducted at six primary schools in Mannheim, Kristen (2006) found no evidence of ethnic discrimination in teachers' math grades or school career recommendations under the condition of equal performance by students of Turkish, Italian, and native origin. Others have even found slightly supportive trends of teachers for higher levels of secondary school enrollment for immigrant-origin students (e.g., Gresch, 2012; Schneider, 2011). Using data from the TIMSS transition study, Gresch (2012) showed positive discrimination in that fourth graders with an immigrant background received slightly better math grades and were more likely to receive a recommendation for *Gymnasium* than native children when they had the same academic achievement and socioeconomic background as native children. In contrast, some researchers have found disparities in teachers' grading and school recommendations that place children of immigrant backgrounds at a disadvantage (e.g., Kiss, 2013; Lüdemann & Schwerdt, 2013). Lüdemann and Schwerdt's (2013) study based on large-scale PIRLS-E data (German extension

of PIRLS 2001) demonstrated that second-generation immigrant students (those who born in Germany and with at least one parent born abroad) received lower grades and a lower track secondary school recommendation than natives, which could not be attributed to the performance and general intelligence of the students. However, they reported that this difference was largely related to differences in students' socioeconomic status, such that immigrant students seemed to be disproportionately affected by disadvantages associated with their social background. Conversely, Kiss's (2013) findings suggest that second-generation immigrant students are disadvantaged in grading at primary school even when their SES and performance are taken into account, which can lead to bias in tracking for the secondary level.

In addition, research has investigated the role played by teachers' cultural biases and their success expectations for immigrant children. Some studies have revealed that primary school teachers tend to have low expectations of success for children with low SES and immigrant backgrounds (Bonefeld et al., 2020; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020). Lorenz et al. (2016) showed that teachers' expectations for academic success in the subject of German were lower for children of Turkish origin, even at the beginning of the school year. Another study also underscored the role of teachers' negative and positive stereotypes toward minority children: While positive stereotypes toward Turkish students' reading achievement led to more positive teacher expectations for these children and reduced the expectation gap relative to native students, negative achievement-related stereotypes showed significantly lower expectations for linguistic achievement relative to native children (Lorenz, 2021). Froehlich et al. (2016) also investigated the relationship between teachers' stereotypes of children of immigrant origin and their causal attributions for their low academic performance. They found that teachers had more negative attitudes towards Turkish-origin children than native and Italian-origin children and were more likely to attribute the low academic performance of Turkish-origin children to the children's own characteristics (e.g., lack of motivation or ability) than the Italian-origin group.

Moreover, for Turkish-origin students only, teachers' negative stereotypes were predictive for the teachers being less likely to blame the education system for these children's poor academic performance (Froehlich et al., 2016). In this regard, stereotypes about a particular ethnic group may influence teachers' pedagogical practices by making them less supportive of these children, believing that their performance cannot be changed (Froehlich et al., 2022).

Negative teacher prejudice can also lead to stereotype threat, which can affect children's academic achievement (e.g., Martiny et al., 2014; Sander et al., 2018). For example, children from immigrant backgrounds, including children of Turkish origin, after the application of negative stereotype threat conditions, have shown less progress in vocabulary in comparison to the control group (Sander et al., 2018). Similar findings on the decline in mathematical achievement of children of Turkish origin after the activation of a negative stereotype about their ethnic group have also been evidenced (Martiny et al., 2014). Similarly, Froehlich et al. (2022) emphasize that negative stereotypes about the Turkish community in Germany can influence educational institutions and thus have a negative impact on the academic performance of Turkish-origin children and hinder their social integration.

Despite the efforts of some institutions to create a pluralistic school climate (e.g., Dlugaj & Fürstenau, 2019; Küppers, 2015), these are not representative of the national educational system. For example, the inclusion of migration-related multilingualism was found to be inadequate (Gogolin, 1994; Putjata & Koster, 2021). Despite some pilot projects for multilingual schools, as well as initiatives and programs to support children in their heritage language, German-only approaches or multilingual approaches which centered on other western European languages are widespread (Bayram & Wright, 2017; Gogolin, 2021; Pfaff, 2011). In addition, there are numerous studies that report the inadequacy of establishing culturally responsive educational institutions, both in pedagogical work (e.g., Alba, 2005; Moffitt et al., 2019) as well as in collaboration with immigrant families (e.g., Gomolla &

Kollender, 2022; Kollender, 2021). At this level of education, therefore, there are various disparities based on ethnicity and class background that can affect not only children's academic achievement but also the social identities of immigrant families.

D. THE PRESENT DISSERTATION

In the previous chapter (C), the sociohistorical and educational context of Germany was presented. This included Germany's migration history in terms of its immigration and education policies, the social boundaries in society, the characteristics of the Turkish-origin community, the early childhood and primary education systems, and the social and ethnic inequalities at these educational levels. The following section focuses on the present dissertation's main objectives by discussing the four studies that comprise the dissertation, as well as the research methodology and applied methods, followed by a summary of the four studies.

10. Objectives of the dissertation

This dissertation seeks to investigate *how Turkish-origin parents of preschool- and primary school-aged children in Germany (re-)construct their social identities within the home–school–society relational spaces*. It focuses, in particular, on the scarcity of empirical educational research that applies socio-spatial theories and the limited studies on the social identity construction of immigrant parents in relation to specific contexts, as well as on the relationality of different contexts. The perceptions and experiences of parents from the Turkish ethnic community in Germany, the country's most marginalized immigrant group, could provide valuable perspectives for existing studies on ethnic and social disparities in education and society. The dissertation also offers important implications for pedagogical practices, as well as educational and social policies to create an inclusive environment.

The research questions of the four studies are as follows:

1) Study 1: How do Turkish-origin mothers in Germany perceive and experience socio-spatial segregation, and how do they relate this issue to the quality of their children's education?

2) Study 2: How do mothers of Turkish origin in Germany perceive and experience their language use in home–school–society relational spaces, and how does this interact with their ethnocultural identities?
3) Study 3: How do parents of Turkish origin in Germany reconstruct their ethnoreligious identities within home–school–society relational spaces?
4) Study 4: a. To what extent does immigrant parents' perceived school climate predict their life satisfaction in the host country, after controlling for SES, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity?
    b. To what extent does this relation between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country vary based on parents' immigrant generation (first vs. second generation) and their children's school level (preschool vs. primary school)?
    c. How do immigrant parents perceive school climate and its relationship to their life satisfaction in the host country?

All four studies apply the relational space theoretical framework (see Chapter 5.2; e.g., M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017; Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006), and Study 4, in particular, combines it with Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (see Chapter 5.1; e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994). Theoretical perspectives on the study of individuals' social identity constructions that consider cognitive, structural, and contextual aspects (see Chapter 4) were informative throughout all studies in understanding parents' social identities. In Study 2, great emphasis was placed on critical race theory (see Chapter 4.2.; e.g., Crump, 2014; Gillborn, 2006) to examine the intersection of language use and ethnocultural identity. All studies looked into aspects of inclusion and equity in pedagogical practice (see Chapter 7.2.) as well as the collaboration between schools and immigrant parents (see Chapter 7.3). Study 1, in particular, examined perceived educational quality associated with socio-spatial segregation

by applying structure-process model of educational quality (see Chapter 7.1; e.g., Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Tietze et al., 1998). While Studies 1 and 4 centered on the relationality of school and societal spaces, Studies 2 and 3 examined the relationality of home and school spaces, linking to the societal space, and included aspects of parental upbringing beliefs and practices associated with their social identities (see Chapter 6.1 for Study 2; see Chapter 6.2. for Study 3). Moreover, all studies briefly addressed the sociohistorical and educational context in Germany, which was presented in detail in Chapter C.

In the next chapters of this section, a brief summary of the methodology and applied methods of the dissertation will be presented first, followed by short summaries of the results of the four studies.

11. Research methodology and applied methods

This dissertation takes an exploratory approach by seeking to understand 'how' the social, spatial, and cognitive processes of parental social identity construction take place. Accordingly, all four studies in this thesis utilize constructivist and interpretivist approaches that examine the process of individuals' multiple (inter-)subjective constructions of meaning and knowledge in combination with the researcher's interpretations (Schwandt, 1994). Moreover, these approaches are taken together with the critical paradigm by looking at the sociohistorical aspects that lead to the marginalization of individuals and groups and aim to give them a voice and contribute to equality and social justice (Howell, 2016). Accordingly, the dissertation focuses on social identity construction among Turkish immigrant parents in Germany and relies on the case study methodology for an in-depth examination of a real-world, contextual phenomenon from the perspectives of research participants (Harrison et al., 2017; Yin, 2018). The mixed methods approach applied in Study 4 means that the constructivist–interpretivist and positivist research paradigms are not viewed as opposing, but complementary, and thus resulting in the application of a pragmatic paradigm (Johnson &

Onwuegbuzie, 2004). An explanatory sequential design is used, in which findings from the qualitative interview data are utilized to enhance the understanding of the quantitative survey study findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). In the following, the details of the sampling, the method of data collection, and the analysis are presented.

11.1. Sampling procedure

Both the quantitative and qualitative data used in this dissertation were collected as part of an EU-funded project: *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS). For the quantitative survey, parents with children aged 3–6 years (before primary school) or aged 8–12 years (in primary school) were selected from those who were born in Turkey and immigrated to Germany or were born in Germany but of Turkish origin (children or grandchildren of first-generation immigrants; Broekhuizen et al., 2018). In recruiting the sites, particular attention was paid to targeting disadvantaged areas and districts with a high share of Turkish immigrants as well as good accessibility to the target group. Recruitment strategies utilized using both top-down approaches, such as outreach to educational institutions and immigrant and parent associations, as well as bottom-up approaches, such as direct contact with parents through online parent groups (e.g., on Facebook) and snowballing (parents who participated in the study directed to other parents). The face-to-face interview survey was conducted by trained interviewers using the online survey tool LimeSurvey. The interviews were conducted from December 2017 to July 2018 in the state-cities of Berlin and Bremen, in the Rhine-Neckar region, and in the city of Frankfurt am Main.

At the end of the survey, we asked respondents if they were willing to attend the second qualitative in-depth interview. Among those who agreed to participate, the sub-sample was selected by applying purposive sampling in Berlin and Bremen. Parents' education level, immigration generation, and their children's age group were considered to obtain diversity

within the overall sample while achieving similar background characteristics in each recruitment site. Given that the project agreement prohibited the case-by-case matching of quantitative survey and qualitative interview data, responses to the quantitative data could not be used to select respondents for the qualitative study. Parents were reached via their contact information (email or phone) and informed about the details of the qualitative interview study. If they were still interested in participating, a time and place for the interview were arranged. I personally conducted the semi-structured interviews.

Regarding the characteristics of the sample, a total of 338 parents participated in the quantitative survey, consisting mainly of mothers (93.2%) and first-generation immigrants (66%). The number of respondents with children of primary school age (n = 204) was higher than those of preschool age (n = 134). The mean age of parents was 37.89 (*SD* = 6.04), and parents who immigrated to Germany (those who were not born in Germany) immigrated at an average age of 19.12 (*SD* = 9.15). The percentage of respondents with a high level of education (bachelor's degree or higher) was 23%. Otherwise, respondents had either an upper secondary degree, a post-secondary non-tertiary degree, or a short-form tertiary degree (40.9%), or no more than a lower secondary degree (36.1%).

As a subsample of the quantitative survey study, 22 mothers participated in the qualitative in-depth interview study. The average age of the respondents was 39.0 (*SD* = 5.45). Ten respondents had a primary school-age child, and 12 had a child of preschool age. Nine of the respondents were born in Germany, while the others immigrated to Germany for various reasons, such as family reunification, political reasons, or to obtain higher education. Most respondents had an upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education degree (n = 14), while the others had a bachelor's degree or higher (n = 8). Respondents born in Germany were bilingual (with varying levels of proficiency in their heritage language or in German), and first-generation respondents had varying levels of proficiency in German (ranging from low to

high). We had no respondent who was fully assimilated in Germany and had no knowledge of their heritage language. The sample was also quite diverse in terms of religious affiliation. From their own statements, eighteen of them were Muslims, with half of them strongly religious and the others moderately religious or non-religious. Three of them expressed religious beliefs without any specific affiliation, and one respondent was a Christian. In terms of the social and ethnic composition of their neighborhood, again, according to self-reports, 12 of them lived in a Turkish or immigrant-dense neighborhood, while others lived in a native-dense (n = 8) or ethnically mixed neighborhood (n = 2). Nine respondents indicated that their children attend educational institutions with a high density of children with a Turkish or immigrant background. There were five respondents whose children attended a school with a high proportion of native children and eight who visited an ethnically mixed school (for the profile of qualitative study respondents, see Appendix B).

11.2. Method of data collection

The quantitative study was conducted as a cross-sectional study, collecting data from a large number of parents at a single point in time (J. Hall, 2008). The survey instruments (for the quantitative study measures used in this dissertation, see Appendix E) were based on (or adapted from) a variety of pre-developed scales and items from other studies or were self-created by the research team (see Broekhuizen et al., 2018). The questionnaire was programmed with LimeSurvey. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at respondents' preferred time and location by trained interviewers (e.g., at home, in a café, or at the children's school). Respondents could choose if they wanted to carry out the interview in German or in Turkish. The interviewers read the questions to the respondent and entered the respondent's response into LimeSurvey. For sensitive questions (e.g., household's monthly income), the interviewer handed their laptop to the respondent, who could then enter their responses themselves. Also, there were a small number of cases where the survey was completed in paper-

pencil form and then transferred into LimeSurvey by the interviewers (for further details, see Broekhuizen et al., 2018).

The method of data collection for the qualitative study was developed by the scholars from the University of Oxford (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018), in collaboration with other researchers from the project. The qualitative study was conducted with semi-structured in-depth interviews, where the interview guide comprised several themes, and each theme contained specific questions and provided an opportunity to explore the perceptions, experiences, feelings, and attached meanings of the respondents (Mears, 2012). The semi-structured nature of the interviews also gave respondents the opportunity to provide direction to the interview, which had a positive effect on creating a good respondent–interviewer partnership and obtaining in-depth data (Weiss, 1994). The interview guide included a brief biographical section with questions about the respondent's life and migration history, followed by a semi-structured section (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). In a semi-structured section, several topics were addressed, such as feelings and plans regarding current residence, identity (e.g., ethnic origin and belonging), cultural contacts and tensions, type of support received (formal and informal), experiences with the educational system, home learning environment (parental linguistic and religious upbringing beliefs and practices), home–school relationship. As part of the research team, I included additional questions in the interview guide to contribute to the studies in this dissertation (the interview guide can be found in Appendix C). Before finalizing the interview guide, a pilot interview was conducted with one mother to add, remove, or modify some questions.

I conducted all interviews in person at the respondent's preferred location (e.g., home, school, or café). The interviews were carried out mainly in Turkish, with some participants switching to German at times in the natural flow of the interview. My 'insider' position, due to my shared language and cultural background with the respondents, minimized potential

cultural and language barriers that could otherwise arise between interviewer and respondent (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). The interviews lasted approximately one and a half to two hours and were audio-recorded. During the interviews, the respondents focused not only on the target child (attending preschool or primary school) but also on their own and the other children's educational, professional, and social life to date in Turkey and/or Germany and their future plans as a family. Therefore, interview content included current, retrospective, and prospective perceptions and experiences. In both the quantitative and qualitative interviews, the respondents' consent to participate was obtained. As an incentive, parents received a 10-euro gift voucher from a bookstore upon completion of the interviews.

11.3. Method of data analysis

For all studies of the present dissertation, qualitative data was first transcribed verbatim and transferred to Atlas.ti software. Separate Atlas.ti projects were created for each study, and data were analyzed using content analysis (Mayring, 2014; Schreier, 2012). The content analysis provided a structured analysis of the data by creating categories and subcategories with their descriptions and coding rules (Mayring, 2014). Following Schreier (2012), both concept-driven and data-driven approaches were used to develop the coding scheme (for the coding scheme for each study, see Appendix D). The coding schemes were finalized after the process of intercoder consistency. Preliminary coding procedures were applied to approximately 10% of the data. Codes on which the two coders disagreed were discussed, and the coding scheme was revised. After finalizing the coding scheme, I then coded the entire data for each study. In addition, analytical notes, called memos, were often used to match the codes with the theoretical framework of the home–school–society relational spaces.

For the analysis of the quantitative data to answer the research questions of Study 4, (multi-group) regression analyses were performed. Both descriptive statistics for the respondents' profile and the regression analyses were carried out using the statistical software

MPlus (Version 8.3; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). For comparing the means of two independent groups, the t-test and the Mann–Whitney U test were applied using SPSS (Version 29.0, IBM, 2022).

12. Summary of the four studies

This section provides a brief summary of the results of the four studies undertaken in this dissertation (the full manuscripts can be found in Appendix A).

12.1. Study 1: Socio-spatial segregation and perceived quality of education

Socio-spatial segregation in societies has been the subject of debate on societal integration in general and on the existence of parallel communities between immigrants and natives in Germany (Häußermann, 2007). For the case of school segregation, besides residential segregation, parents' school choice also contributes to segregation (B. Becker, 2010; Fincke & Lange, 2012; Kristen, 2008a). In Germany, it was found that children with immigrant backgrounds are more likely to attend preschools and primary schools with a high percentage of children from disadvantaged backgrounds (with low SES and/or migration backgrounds) (B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Fincke & Lange, 2012). Since a high proportion of disadvantaged students can adversely affect educational processes in classrooms (Kuger & Klucznіok, 2008), it can be said that children from immigrant backgrounds are at a higher risk of receiving a lower quality education (Fincke & Lange, 2012; Gresch, 2016; Lehrl et al., 2014; Stahl et al., 2018). Although parents may not be able to assess the quality of education in educational institutions, the social and ethnic composition of schools can be the most visible indicator of educational quality when it comes to choosing schools for their children (B. Becker & Schober, 2017). Despite the existence of studies on Turkish parents' preschool and primary school choices (e.g., B. Becker, 2009, 2010; Kratzmann, 2011; Kristen, 2008a), there are not enough studies that examine in depth the aspect of socio-spatial segregation in interaction with these parents' ethnocultural and class identity, as well as their perceived quality of education. Moreover,

spatial theories are rarely applied in empirical educational research (Gulson & Symes, 2007b; Larsen & Beech, 2014). In doing so, this qualitative interview study, particularly focusing on school–society relational spaces, explored Turkish mothers' perceptions and experiences of socio-spatial segregation in Germany and how they associate this aspect with the quality of education in their children's (pre-)schools.

By applying the concept of 'space,' socio-spatial segregation is examined here with regard to symbolic and physical boundaries to reflect the material and mental dimensions of spaces (e.g., Bourdieu, 1991/2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). The connections between school and societal segregation are theorized in terms of school–society relational spaces, following scholars who emphasize the relational nature of spaces (M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017; Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006). Moreover, it has been argued that socio-spatial segregation can ideally be studied at the intersection of an individual's ethnocultural identity, which is their common identity based on history and cultural heritage (Barth, 1969), as well as class identity, associated with their position within society in terms of cultural background and distribution of resources (Kelly, 2012). The quality of education from the parents' point of view was identified by looking at the schools' structural, orientation, and process quality, as well as the way they collaborate with parents (e.g., Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Tietze et al., 2013). Based on parents' own descriptions and perceptions, the social and ethnic composition of their neighborhood and their children's schools were categorized into groups: Turkish/immigrant-dense, mixed, and German-dense. The results of the content analysis of the qualitative interviews revealed four main topics that emerged from the data.

(1) *Diversity as a blessing and a curse*: Parents living in neighborhoods with a relatively high Turkish or immigrant population expressed satisfaction with the open and tolerant atmosphere, easy access to their ethnic community, and availability of resources to maintain ethnic and religious identity. Some of these parents whose children attended schools with a

similar social and ethnic composition also expressed worries about their children growing up in areas or attending schools where a majority are native-born because they believe that their children might be exposed to peer exclusion or their identities would be 'Germanized'. At the same time, nonetheless, they complained about the poor condition of their neighborhood, the sense of insecurity (e.g., crime, drug use), and the lack of well-informed parents in the area, highlighting the role of low SES. The underlying desire of these parents seemed to be that their children grow up and be educated in a socially and ethnically balanced mixed environment.

(2) *Boundaries erected by Germans*: Mothers generally showed a strong desire for contact with the native population in order to overcome linguistic, cultural, and social barriers. However, some respondents criticized the tendency of the native population to live in residential areas or to send their children to schools with a low percentage of immigrant children. The barriers of physical boundaries, which make daily contact between the groups difficult, were raised. It has also been shown that despite shared spaces, symbolic boundaries can exist, such as the reluctance of natives to make contact with immigrant parents. Parents' narratives were associated with their class identity as well. Some middle-class parents, while appreciating the diversity in their neighborhood and expressing the desire to instill these values in their children, still prefer a more homogeneous school composition for their children, given the high density of children of native origin. This shows that middle-class Turkish parents partly face the so-called middle-class dilemma in terms of the discrepancy between diversity values and actual practices (Frank & Weck, 2018).

(3) *Perceived quality of education as boundary maker*: It was found that some Turkish parents followed the same strategy as the native population and moved to neighborhoods with high-density native populations, as they considered school quality to be better in these neighborhoods. These were referred to as middle- and upper-class districts, and despite financial hardship, some parents sought to live in these areas to provide a higher quality of

education for their children. Low-SES parents primarily reported being satisfied with state benefits and not perceiving educational inequity resulting from economic difficulties (e.g., in financing preschool education). However, quality differences between educational institutions induce unequal spaces and, consequently, educational disparities related to social and ethnic backgrounds. Despite their concerns about quality, some parents had access problems for preschool enrollment due to social and linguistic barriers. The general preschool shortage, as well as the quotas some apply for the number of children with immigrant backgrounds, turned out to be additional obstacles. Also, one respondent interpreted the reason for her child's non-acceptance at preschool in a neighborhood with a high native population as her wearing a headscarf. Even when immigrant parents make an effort to overcome physical barriers, symbolic barriers may remain that hinder access to quality education. Respectively, the results contribute to research on late preschool enrollment of children with immigrant backgrounds (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020).

(4) *Boundaries within schools*: Concerning parents' actual perception of the quality of their children's schools, those whose children attend Turkish/immigrant-dense schools reported lower structural quality (e.g., lack of teachers, overcrowded classrooms, and poor material equipment). Some of them reported strategic selection of teachers to ensure better home–school collaboration and process quality for their children, as these teachers had good reputations in their ethnic networks (e.g., not xenophobic, and supportive of immigrant families). Despite being satisfied with the teachers, they were concerned about the academic and social development of their children in these schools due to the peer effect. They emphasized the negative influence on their children's behavior (e.g., aggressiveness, inappropriate language use) as well as on their German language development since the majority of children in their schools speak German as a second language. Moreover, teachers' low success expectations, cultural prejudice, and unfair treatment and grading were reported,

particularly by mothers whose children attended Turkish/immigrant-dense or mixed schools – reflecting symbolic boundaries. In contrast, other parents whose children attended German-dense schools were mostly satisfied with the educational quality, and contrary to other parents' expectations, they did not report peer victimization. Another important finding was 'cream skimming,' which reflects the selection of children with respect to their skills and social or ethnic family backgrounds (Böhlmark et al., 2016). One respondent noted the 'hidden' segregation in a Berlin primary school where children are taught in separate classrooms depending on whether they come from a high or low SES family, as well as having a native or immigrant background.

Overall, it was shown that the quality of education is not only influenced by segregation but also plays a role as a reason for segregation, as it influences parents' choice of school and neighborhood. In addition, the reported segregation tendencies of the native population, as well as the ethnocultural identity-related concerns of parents that intersect with their class identities, provide interesting perspectives on socio-spatial segregation and underscore the necessity of examining the intersection of symbolic and physical boundaries. The study suggests that crucial steps must be taken to overcome symbolic boundaries to eliminate socio-spatial segregation in schools and society. Further, socio-spatial segregation between and within educational institutions must be combated to reduce inequalities related to differences in educational quality. School and society thus reproduce each other's structures, including ethnic and class inequalities.

12.2. Study 2: Ethnocultural identities and language use

Recent waves of immigration have increased migration-related linguistic diversity in many European societies (Gogolin, 2021). This has led to numerous public debates about the social integration of immigrants regarding their host country language competency, as well as the necessity of policy and practical measures to adapt social and educational institutions to

this diversity (Curdt-Christiansen, 2020; Gogolin, 2021). In addition, differences in academic achievement between children with and without an immigrant background have been found to be closely related to family SES, as well as linguistic resources (e.g., German-speaking versus non-German-speaking family environment, parental native vs. non-native language status) (e.g., Anders et al., 2012; Edele & Stanat, 2011). Although dual language proficiency has been shown to have a beneficial impact on minority children's socio-emotional and cognitive development, as well as academic achievement (Bialystok, 2011; Blom et al., 2017; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016), the extent to which this is achieved depends in part on the characteristics of the micro and macro contexts. The studies on immigrant parents' language use mainly focus on a specific context, such as the home literacy environment (e.g., Kolancali & Melhuish, 2021), and the relationship between contexts largely centers solely on the home–school relationship, such as the linguistic barriers to parental involvement (e.g., Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Turney & Kao, 2009). Accordingly, there is a research gap for the critical study of home and school linguistic contexts in relation to the broader society. Parents' linguistic beliefs and practices, as well as language-related perceptions, are closely related to their ethnocultural identity (Lytra, 2012; Park & Sarkar, 2007), which both shapes and is shaped by the cultural characteristics of the school and societal contexts. However, there are few studies that use socio-spatial approaches in empirical educational research (e.g., Karlsson, 2004; Yahya & Wood, 2017) and apply critical theories to examine language-related inequalities in education and society (e.g., Crump, 2014; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019; Wischmann, 2018). Addressing this research gap, Study 2 examined Turkish-origin mothers' perceptions and experiences of their language use (heritage and German) in home–school–society relational spaces and its connections to their ethnocultural identities.

Ethnocultural identity and language cannot be considered separately, as language functions as a carrier of culture, a symbol of group membership, and a marker of boundaries

between groups (Giles et al., 1977; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013; Sanders, 2002). Moreover, ethnocultural identities, as part of a social identity, are constructed not only on the basis of group membership but also on the basis of the perceived rank and status of one's group in society (Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Oyserman et al., 2012). Thereby, individuals' linguistic resources are also positioned within the hierarchical structures of society, and there are dominant and dominated languages in a given context (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Accordingly, Study 2 combined critical race theory with the socio-spatial theoretical framework of 'space' to reflect the complexity of language-related inequalities in education and society. While critical race theory makes it possible to uncover structural and cultural mechanisms that lead to the perpetuation of the subordinate position of minorities in society (Gillborn, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1998), the socio-spatial theoretical framework of 'space' (Baroutsis et al., 2017; Ferrare & Apple, 2010; J. Morgan, 2000) provides the opportunity to examine the language-related symbolic dimensions of a given micro- and macro-context of home, school, and societal spaces, as well as their relationality. The findings of the content analysis of the qualitative interviews revealed six thematic areas:

(1) *The role of the German language in parental involvement*: It has been shown that the poor German language skills of some first-generation parents not only have a negative impact on their involvement in their children's schools, but also lead them to question their position within the societal space. Non-participation in school space led these parents to feel they had little parental agency in the host country, and they argued that they would have acted differently as parents in their heritage country by becoming more involved in their children's formal schooling. Moreover, they shared their concerns about the way their children perceive them as inadequate parents, which is reflected in parent–child relationships in the home space, such as children ignoring their mothers in school matters. In this case, it was noted that support

from schools and individual teachers is critical, for example, encouraging parents to get involved.

(2) *Upbringing beliefs and practices linked to the German language*: Parents commonly placed great importance on their children having a good command of the German language in order to achieve future academic and professional success. Even though some parents had language barriers themselves, they indicated that they try their best to get their children involved in the German language, for example, through learning activities at home. The view that German is a 'must' was shared by numerous respondents. Second or third-generation parents, in particular, placed this in the context of their own upbringing and language problems and did not want their children to experience the same. Special emphasis was placed on learning German in the early years, with some saying this was the main motivation for sending their children to preschool as early as possible. Furthermore, high German proficiency was reported to play a role in reducing the likelihood of their children encountering discrimination. In this context, parents' narratives about the importance of speaking German 'like Germans' reflect the perceived linguistic hierarchical societal space.

(3) *Ethnolinguistic boundaries and the German language*: Some parents described the symbolic boundaries they felt between themselves and the native population when using the German language, such as being subjected to hate speech because of their low proficiency in German. In this case, language learning was also portrayed as part of empowerment and coping with everyday discrimination in the societal space. However, it was also emphasized that symbolic boundaries still exist despite language proficiency. For example, wearing a headscarf was reported to be directly associated with low German language skills by natives. Some of the respondents reported that mastering the German language does not solve the boundary problems because they are still perceived as 'other,' e.g., due to their Turkish origin or simply their physical appearance. They emphasized that they perceive a hierarchical school and

societal space in which natives and immigrants of European origin take up a higher position. Despite these perceived boundaries, some parents emphasized their strong ties to Germany and the role of the German language in their sense of attachment to German identity. This, they said, also affected their modes of upbringing within home space and made their children feel 'at home' in Germany, which in turn positively affected their children's German language development.

(4) *Value of the heritage language in school spaces*: Perceptions of whether their heritage language was valued at school also influenced parents' sense of welcome in the societal space. In particular, teachers who specialized in diversity were appreciated for their empathetic and supportive pedagogical approach to bilingual children. Furthermore, a school space that allowed children to use their heritage language was observed to prevent children from feeling excluded. Conversely, some parents stressed that their heritage language was not valued in schools where exclusively monolingual or selective multilingual approaches were adopted. For instance, one mother pointed out that the children were allowed to use some foreign languages (mainly languages of European origin such as English and French), while others (e.g., Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic) were explicitly forbidden. This language-based hierarchical school space also made parents feel marginalized. It was also mentioned that some teachers believed that the heritage language is an obstacle to learning German or to academic success. These teachers advised parents to speak German at home, regardless of their own language proficiency. These 'German language first' approaches in schools were noted not only by teachers, but also by some other native parents and interpreted by respondents as disrespect for their cultural and linguistic resources.

(5) *Value of the heritage language in German society*: These boundaries in the school space, linked to immigrants' heritage language, can be better understood by looking at the societal space. For this reason, respondents were asked how they felt about using their heritage

language in society. Some of the responses reflected that the mothers were warned by natives not to speak Turkish, arguing that it would have a detrimental effect on their children's lives in Germany in terms of social integration and success at school. Especially when such incidents occurred in the presence of their children, mothers reported feeling stressed because their children might see them as 'second-class citizens.' In addition, recent right-wing tendencies have led parents to worry about their children's use of their heritage language in public, as one of the respondents in Berlin mentioned. The narrative regarding the respondent's concerns about racism that her daughter may encounter in daily life is reinforced by references to her child's dark skin color and Turkish language use.

(6) *Upbringing beliefs and practices linked to the heritage language*: Despite the challenges they face at school and in the societal environment, a common tendency among respondents is to raise their children bilingually. The children's low proficiency either in the heritage or the German language created worries among respondents. Children's knowledge of their heritage language was emphasized in the context of better parent–child relationships and the children's development of a bicultural identity in which they can feel a sense of belonging to both the heritage and host countries. The heritage language was, therefore, particularly vital for the inheritance of the heritage culture. Additionally, parents viewed bilingualism as an important human capital that can contribute to their children's acquisition of other languages and the development of an international identity.

Taken as a whole, Study 2 makes an important contribution to existing research by going beyond institutional and parental linguistic practices to reflect on various symbolic dimensions of language use in the context of migration. Exploring parents' linguistic perceptions and experiences at the intersection of their ethnocultural identities in home, school, and societal spaces, as well as the interrelated nature of these spaces, offers multiple perspectives for policy and practice targeting inclusive educational and societal contexts.

12.3. Study 3: Ethnoreligious identities

In European countries today, migration has led to the strengthening of boundaries between groups associated with national or European identities based on Christian roots, as opposed to religious minority groups (e.g., Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Kaya & Tecmen, 2019). In particular, immigrants who come from a Muslim-majority country are portrayed as a homogeneous group and subjected to discourses about inadequate integration and national security (Haw, 2011). Inevitably, such a social context also affects educational institutions, for example, the extent to which a religiously inclusive environment is created (Alba, 2005). While intercultural education has been emphasized as helping societal integration, insufficient attention has been paid to the role of interreligious education (Arshad, 2016). Further, the issue of parenting and religion has been only sparsely explored (Frosh, 2013). Little is known about immigrant parents' ethnoreligious upbringing beliefs and practices, which interact with societal and educational contexts. Also, there is a lack of research on parents' perceptions and experiences of the dimension of religion in their children's educational settings (except from a few studies, e.g., Aysel, 2021; Braun et al., 2011). To address these research gaps, this study examined how mothers of Turkish origin reconstruct their ethnoreligious identities within home–school–society relational spaces.

Ethnoreligious identities are components of social identities that provide individuals with a worldview, a sense of belonging to a group, and a carrier of the culture of their heritage country (Güngör et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Ethnoreligious identities that were taken for granted in the pre-migration period may become significant in the context of migration because immigrants now belong to a minority group (Peek, 2005; Zanfrini, 2020). Also, individuals who are not religious or do not consider religion an important part of their social identity might be portrayed as religiously other by the native population (Ramm, 2010). Accordingly, this study highlights the importance of applying the relational space theoretical

approach (e.g., Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Sibley, 1995) to explore parents' ethnoreligious identities. In doing so, it argues that home, school, and societal spaces are interconnected and that we cannot understand these contexts without examining their relationality, as well as the ways in which they interact with parents' ethnoreligious identities. The results of the qualitative interview study manifested in three main thematical aspects.

(1) *Home space: Congruence with or separation from school and societal spaces*: The results showed that the home space might be critical in transmitting ethnoreligious identity to children, given the sense of otherness in overall society. The lack of trust in institutional religious education was reflected in the fact that some respondents considered the home as the only context for religious education. The desire to preserve their own ethnoreligious identity across generations also appeared to motivate parents to shape school and societal space in accordance with home space, for example, in their choice of extracurricular activities or their children's schools. Moreover, some parents emphasized the socio-spatial separation of 'our' versus 'their' religion, expressing that it was appropriate for their children to learn about other religions in contexts other than home, but that these religions should not be practiced at home, reflecting parents' contextual forms of identity management. One of the mothers was a Christian, where cultural congruence between home, school, and societal space was natural. However, some of the Muslim respondents felt that Christian practices should also be part of the home environment, as they represent the culture of the host country, and the child should not feel like an outsider at school and in society. Accordingly, the creation of culturally congruent spaces based on the religion of the host country was seen as a parental strategy to prevent the social exclusion of children and as an expression of the parents' desire for social integration in the host country. However, the application of Christian practices in the home environment is also reinforced by some parents as potentially creating an identity dilemma, as this could lead to their children abandoning the ethnocultural identities associated with their

heritage country. Accordingly, parents' desire for a bicultural identity is reflected in their ethnoreligious upbringing beliefs and practices.

(2) *School space: A bridge between home and societal spaces*: Most respondents indicated appreciation for their schools' respect for their religious backgrounds and recognition of religious diversity, such as by considering families' dietary preferences and celebrating immigrant families' religious festivals. However, only a few respondents reported that their children's schools used interreligious education practices, such as introducing different religions in teaching or visiting families or different sites of worship during their religious festivals. The lack of interreligious practices was not problematized by parents; they were emphatic with teachers about the challenges they experienced in dealing with religious diversity in the classroom. Nevertheless, it became clear that parents whose children engaged in interreligious practices at school demonstrated their appreciation for the home–school relationship and perceptions of an inclusive societal space that strengthened their bonds with the host country. Also, it was revealed that inclusive approaches do not necessarily create inclusion but can also lead to marginalization. Some of the non-religious mothers criticized teachers' presumption of their Muslim identity and the pedagogical practices deriving from this. They interpreted such practices as meaning that, despite their integration efforts, they were still seen as 'Muslim others,' which led to the negation of their multiple identities (ethnic, religious, and national). Moreover, some parents reported that they preferred a church-based preschool for their children primarily because of the high quality of education. However, one of the respondents indicated that identity conflicts can arise when children cannot relate Christian practices (e.g., biblical stories) to their home lives. Also, religious education for religious minority students in primary school does not necessarily lead to the cultural congruence between home and school. One parent pointed out that there are cultural differences within religious groups, and she criticized her child's high sensitivity to religious rules as a

result of peer relationships in religious education classes for Muslim students. There is also the fact that children in intra-ethnoreligious relationships experience peer victimization by being accused of not being religious by other children, which draws attention to children's feelings of otherness. Such incidences affect parental practices within the home space, especially regarding the identity-related empowerment of their children.

(3) *Societal boundaries reflected in the spaces of school and home*: Boundaries in the societal space toward Muslim minorities, such as exclusionary political discourse and microaggressions, also reinforced parents' sense of being caught between heritage and host country identification and challenging their national identity. This exclusionary societal space can also impact the home space in terms of identity-related parent–child conversations. As one of our respondents noted, children may question their own ethnocultural identity and demonstrate a stronger identity commitment to their heritage country. The exclusionary societal space also reproduces the exclusionary school space that appears in the narratives of parents who feel discriminated against when they enroll their children in preschool, for example, not being accepted because the mother wears a headscarf. As one respondent reported, church-based preschools may prioritize children from Christian backgrounds in their enrollment procedure, and the general perception is that the quality of education is higher in church-based preschools; the results thus call into question religious minorities' access to quality education. The findings, based on parents' perceptions, indicated that teachers' prejudices toward Muslim culture may influence their pedagogical practices and interpret some educational situations based on children's religious backgrounds (e.g., boys not listening to a female teacher being associated with the child's Muslim background).

To sum up, this study showed the heterogeneity of ethnoreligious identities of Turkish-origin immigrant parents and their various perceptions and experiences within home–school–society relational spaces. The findings suggest that suitable practices could include the use of

interreligious practices in classrooms, an acceptance of the diversity of the student body in terms of religious affiliation and religiosity, combating prejudice in schools and in society, and the creation of common platforms for interreligious dialogue. Approaching the spaces of home, school, and society, as interwoven, represents a valid critical approach and reflects the complexity of immigrant parents' ethnoreligious identities.

12.4. Study 4: Perceived school climate and life satisfaction in Germany

Education and integration policies cannot be considered separately, as the educational context is seen as critical to immigrant integration (OECD, 2017). Scholars have shown that schools' institutional policies and practices toward immigrants are closely linked to the broader socio-political atmosphere toward immigrants (e.g., Sirin et al., 2022). This link between school and society is not one-sided; the school climate can also influence how immigrants feel in the host country (e.g., Sirlopú & Renger, 2020; Vietze et al., 2019). However, research to date has focused primarily on children, and little is known about how immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's school climate influence their life satisfaction in the host country. Immigrant parents with low acculturation in the host country and low SES were found to be notably more dissatisfied with their life in the host country compared to parents with high acculturation in the host country and medium or high SES (Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018; Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008). Schools can play an essential role in supporting parents and providing connections to the broader societal space (Durán et al., 2020; J. L. Epstein & Sanders, 2006), which potentially impacts their life satisfaction in the host country in a positive way. Conversely, differences in developmental goals or educational approaches between immigrant parents and teachers (Bossong & Keller, 2018; Sirin et al., 2009), misperceptions of immigrant parents as disinterested parents in schools (Theodorou, 2008), or perceived prejudices and injustices towards parents and their children (Sirin et al., 2022) could lead to a reinforcement of the social boundaries they feel as part of a minority group in society. Moreover, the

relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country might differ depending on the children's school level and the parents' immigrant generation. Previous research has shown that first-generation immigrants tend to have lower life satisfaction in their host country than second-generation immigrants (Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018; Morawa et al., 2020) and that parents perceive their children's schools more negatively as school level increases (Berkowitz et al., 2021; K. H. Smith, 2020).

With this in mind, this mixed methods study used an explanatory sequential design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) and applied a relational socio-spatial theoretical perspective (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017) by linking the bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). By looking into the reproduction of inclusion and exclusion dynamics in the school–society relational spaces, the study examined the following questions: (1) To what extent does immigrant parents' perception of their children's school climate predict life satisfaction in the host country, after controlling for socio-economic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity? (2) To what extent does the relation between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country vary based on parents' immigrant generation and their children's school level, after controlling for socioeconomic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity? (3) How do immigrant parents perceive their children's school climate and relate it to their life satisfaction in the host country?

The results based on quantitative data (n = 338) showed that parents of primary school children rated their children's school climate worse than parents of children of preschool level (U = 10382.000, Z = -2.064, p = .04) and that second-generation parents demonstrated higher life satisfaction than first-generation parents in a statistically significant manner, t (330) = - 2.34, p = .02. Regression analysis for the first research question revealed that parents' perceived school climate was a significant predictor of their life satisfaction in

Germany after control variables were taken into account (β = .20, *SE* = .05, *p* = .000). The variance in Model 1, which included only control variables, was 10%, and the inclusion of perceived school climate accounted for an additional 4% of the variance in parents' life satisfaction in Germany. The results of the second research question showed that the relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction was significant for both generations, being slightly stronger for the second generation (β = .27, *SE* = .09, *p* = .003) than for the first generation (β = .17, *SE* = .07, *p* = .014). The variance explained by parents' immigrant generation was 19% for the second generation and 11% for the first generation. Moreover, the relationship was significant only for parents whose children attend primary school (β = .27, *SE* = .07, *p* = .000) but not for parents of children at the preschool level (β = .03, *SE* = .09, *p* = .701). The variance explained by the children's school level was 17% for the primary school level and 9% for the preschool level.

The qualitative data were used to further explore the findings of the quantitative data. Parents of primary school children particularly emphasized the importance of perceived (in)justice in grading and treatment at school and linked it to the position of the Turkish community within the perceived hierarchical society. Accordingly, the significance of the relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction only being expressed by parents of primary school children could be related to the fact that parents attach great importance to primary education, as they believe it directly affects children's future education and socioeconomic positioning within society (e.g., based on grading, teachers' role in deciding which secondary school children attend). An inclusive school climate seemed to have a positive impact on feelings of being welcomed into society, and an exclusive school climate the opposite. However, some narratives particularly emerged in the primary school group, for example the folkloristic approach of the teachers, in which the children were simplistically seen as representatives of their home countries. Some parents reported that teachers did not

recognize children's hybrid identities and interpreted these pedagogical practices as excluding their children from German identity and society, which could affect their life satisfaction in the host country.

In addition, first-generation parents reported lower parental involvement than second-generation parents. Second-generation parents' closer contact with their children's schools could enhance the effect of perceived school climate on their life satisfaction in Germany. First-generation parents in the primary school group were particularly hesitant to get involved because of the complexity of educational issues that may keep them at a greater disconnect from the host society. Supportive and positive attitudes of schools appeared to promote parental involvement and adjustment of immigrant parents to the host society. Conversely, some responses referring to primary school mentioned teachers' prejudices towards immigrant parents and their divergent behavior towards native and immigrant parents (e.g., a more tolerant attitude towards native parents). These responses illustrated that societal boundaries between 'us,' and 'them' were reproduced in school, which in turn may cause parents to question their position in society.

Overall, the findings corroborate the theory that an inclusive (or exclusive) school and societal space are mutually reproductive and that important measures need to be taken to promote an inclusive educational space, as this could positively influence the life satisfaction of immigrant parents.

E. GENERAL DISCUSSION

The previous chapter addressed the details of the dissertation, including its objectives, research methodology, and applied methods, as well as a summary of the four studies upon which it is based. In the following discussion section, the main contributions of the dissertation, including an overview of the results, together with the existing literature, are presented. The limitations of the dissertation and suggestions for future research are then addressed. Finally, the dissertation ends with suggestions for social and educational policy and practice.

13. Major contributions of the present dissertation

This dissertation makes several contributions to research, policy, and practice. Firstly, its contributions to educational theory and empirical research will be elaborated. Secondly, the significance of the findings for family and migration research by focusing on parenting in the context of migration will be addressed. Third, I will discuss the impact of these findings on equity and inclusion in educational practice, which could help reduce the achievement gap between children with and without an immigrant background. Finally, the potential role the conclusions of this dissertation can play in creating equity and inclusion in society at large will be illustrated by suggesting pathways to tackle the challenges of today's highly culturally diverse societies that result from migration.

13.1. Educational theory and research

This dissertation – which is located at the intersection of education and migration research by applying an interdisciplinary, socio-spatial relational approach – provides important contributions to further empirical educational research and theory development. Since the spatiality of human perceptions and experiences has long been ignored in educational sciences (see critiques by, e.g., Baroutsis et al., 2017; Gulson & Symes, 2007a; Paechter, 2004), there has been little empirical research applying a socio-spatial theoretical framework. The role of contexts as well as the relationality of different contexts on individuals, has been emphasized

in the bio-ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). However, identity construction is a highly complex process involving both, on the one hand, cognitive aspects of the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' (Barth, 1969; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Sanders, 2002), as well as, on the other hand, perceived inequalities and power structures in a given context (Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Owens et al., 2010; Oyserman et al., 2012), it has become clear that a more critical theorization of contexts is essential. Theorizing contexts as spaces, viewing them both as producers and products of social identities (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005), and recognizing different symbolic, mental representations of physical contexts and the ways in which they are practiced (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1989, 1996) provides a useful framework for this dissertation to examine immigrant social identities. For example, Study 1 showed that schools are more than just physical places where children are taught; in part, they also represent a social positioning of families within society that is linked to their ethnic and class identities.

Moreover, following other scholars, the relationality of multiple spaces has been emphasized in this dissertation, and the specifics of a space have been conceived by considering its relationality to other spaces (M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017; Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006). The application of the home–school–society relational spaces framework and the proposition that immigrant parents' social identities can be better studied by considering their interplay with these relational spaces represents crucial work in the development of these theories. As such, this dissertation contributes to developing new theoretical approaches to examine the complexity of perceptions and experiences of contemporary immigrants (M. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). As the fields of migration and education cannot be considered independently of each other (OECD, 2017), the application of a socio-spatial, relational theoretical framework can provide important insights into educational theory and its application to empirical educational research by offering both a detailed and a holistic approach

to the study of immigrant groups in society and the social and educational inequalities they encounter.

13.2. Family and migration research

The dissertation's findings have provided rich insights into parenting in the context of migration, thus contributing to family and migration studies. Referring to both the physical home environment and the overall context of family relationships from a relational perspective, linking to school and the wider societal space, the home space inquiry has revealed the complexity and heterogeneity of immigrant parents' social identities reflected in their parenting beliefs and practices. In line with existing research (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Jenkins, 1996; Oyserman et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1974), Turkish immigrant parents' social identities were found to be dynamic, contextual, and time-dependent. Their multiple identities, shaped by their heritage and host countries, are negotiated and restructured across time and space (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Phinney, 1989; Tajfel, 1978), bringing different parenting challenges and strategies.

The research in this dissertation has shown that parents' attachment to German identity and sense of belonging to Germany were closely related to their immigrant generation, their acculturation in the country (such as their German language proficiency), and their level of contact with natives. Regardless of their individual level of acculturation, inequalities, and discrimination were perceived as a challenge to German identity, leading them to question their position in society. For this reason, some parents felt caught 'in-between' their heritage country and the host country when it came to raising their children. Parents' main intention was to bring up their children with bilingual and bicultural competencies. In this regard, the challenges they faced in building their children's cultural and linguistic resources, related to either the heritage or the host country, seemed to cause parental stress.

Especially in countries like Germany, which take an initially assimilationist approach to immigrants, adopting the dominant linguistic and cultural norms could have a positive impact on immigrants' life satisfaction (Angelini et al., 2015; Morawa et al., 2020). In this context, some parents, even if they suffered from acculturation stress, attached great importance to their children mastering the German language and being culturally integrated into German society. The results showed that these parents had two motivations for doing this: one was their desire to see their children succeed in school and later in their careers, and the other was a concern for their well-being so that they would not feel excluded.

The first concern is in line with the existing research showing that immigrant parents have high educational aspirations for their children, fundamentally because a higher educational level can be viewed as a higher SES position within the social structure of society (B. Becker & Gresch, 2016; Hadjar & Scharf, 2019; Langenkamp, 2019). As shown in Study 1, some parents, especially those with middle to high SES, expressed a desire to send their children to preschools and primary schools that were visited by predominantly native children. Although some valued cultural diversity and even lived in neighborhoods with a high proportion of Turkish and immigrant residents, they still sent their children to relatively homogeneous, middle to-high SES schools with a high proportion of natives; this is known as the middle-class dilemma (Frank & Weck, 2018). Besides the high quality of education at these schools, as perceived by the parents, the motivating factor was the fact that their children should not feel like outsiders in the host society. Similarly, in Study 2, parents' desire for their children to speak the German language like natives, and in Study 3, their efforts to have children adopt Christian practices at home and at school were reported by parents as part of a protective parenting approach aimed at their children's well-being by preventing potential exclusion in school and societal spaces. However, the great importance they ascribe to linguistic and cultural integration in Germany in the upbringing of their children has led to an 'identity dilemma' for

some parents. They question their parenting beliefs and practices, wondering if they had 'Germanized' their children to a great extent (e.g., if the child had a poor command of their heritage language (see Study 2), or was not familiar with the heritage culture associated with their religion (see Study 3)), and felt that they had been unable to achieve the desired bicultural or bilingual development of their children.

Conversely, despite their willingness to have cultural contact with the native population and their dissatisfaction with socio-spatial segregation, a part of the respondents – as seen in Study 1 – indicated that they had concerns about raising their children in a native-dense social environment, with both schools in particular and neighborhoods in general being addressed here. These parents expressed concerns that their children would not only forget their heritage culture and language but, conversely, still run the risk of peer victimization by native children as a minority. However, contrary to their expectations, our respondents whose children attend schools with high proportions of native children did not report that their children were victimized by native children. Consequently, the reasons for the symbolic and social boundaries that these parents feel and express towards the native population should be investigated and tackled (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Sanders, 2002). Moreover, not only ethnic but also class-based boundaries may emerge: As seen in Study 1, although some parents were satisfied with living in Turkish/immigrant-dense neighborhoods because they had easy access to their cultural resources there, they complained about several aspects. For example, they mentioned the high percentage of poorly informed parents, which was related to their low SES, and, in some cases, the problematic aspects of their neighborhoods, such as crime, drug use, and violence, as well as the poor quality of schools. In cases such as these, parents face the challenge of creating a developmental context for their children in which they have access to both their cultural/linguistic resources as well as good quality school and neighborhood structures.

Furthermore, all four studies address, at least in part, ethnic boundaries that arise both from negative inter-group interactions at the micro level and from perceived 'otherness' within the broader society as part of a minority group (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Tajfel, 1978). In Study 3, for example, one of the mothers reported that exclusionary political discourses toward Muslims had led to her child questioning his sense of belonging to Germany, strengthening his ties to their country of origin. While this finding confirms the scientific studies that have found that external forces of exclusion directed toward one identity can lead to a stronger attachment to that identity (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), from the parental perspective, this leads to an increase in parental stress. Similarly, in Study 2, some parents reported perceived discrimination against their heritage language at school and in society and shared their concerns that their children would be exposed to racism for using their heritage language in public. Such incidents prompt parents, for example, to find ways to empower their children with their own ethnolinguistic and religious identities within the home space and to create a social space that minimizes feelings of exclusion (e.g., sending the child to a Turkish-German bilingual school). As indicated by the responses of one of the mothers in Study 2, parents who face discrimination against their heritage language in society in the presence of their children may have concerns about whether their children would see their parents as second-class citizens. Given that critical race theory provides an insight into perceived and experienced 'white supremacy' (Gillborn, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ledesma & Calderon, 2015), this framework may be crucial not only for understanding the subordination of marginalized groups in society as a whole, but also for the psychological stresses that parents face regarding their relationship with their children at the micro level within the home space.

In addition, as members of an ethnic minority, while encountering some difficulties at school and in the wider society, some of the parents reported making great efforts to build a

bicultural identity for themselves and for their children by using the cultural and linguistic resources of both their heritage and host countries. Study 2, for example, found that proficiency in their heritage language was not only considered necessary for children not to feel foreign when visiting their heritage country but also improved the quality of the parent–child relationship. Even if they do not have linguistic difficulties in German, some respondents reported that they use their heritage language with their children to enhance their family relationship quality, employing what has been termed a shared emotional language (Kouritzin, 2000). Equally, however, these parents strive for close contact with the native population and involve their children in the cultural and linguistic resources of the host country. Nevertheless, there are still challenges faced by parents in providing bicultural or bilingual resources to their children, even if they genuinely wish to do so. First-generation parents, in particular, who experience acculturation stress due to their cultural and language barriers, reported low levels of involvement in their children's education (see Study 2 and Study 4). These parents indicated that, were they still living in their heritage country, they would raise their children differently and engage more actively in their children's education. Thus, parents' heritage- and host-country identities are shaped not only by their participation but also by their non-participation in school, which is consistent with Wenger (1998), who examines identity formation through community participation and non-participation. As one of the respondents remarked (see Study 2), parents may be deeply dissatisfied with the passive image they have in the eyes of their children, which leads to the child completely ignoring the parent in school matters. In this case, as some respondents noted, teachers encouraging parents to get involved by creating a welcoming atmosphere can make a positive difference in their involvement, resulting in better parental well-being.

Therefore, the socio-spatial, relational approach of this dissertation reflects the complexity of parenting in the context of migration. Parents' beliefs and practices with regard

to their children's upbringing are closely interrelated with their social identity. In contrast to the homogeneous image of Turkish immigrants as resistant to integration in the public discourse (Diehl & Schnell, 2006), the current study showed that the main tendency of parents was integration: seeking to bond with the culture of the host country while preserving the heritage culture (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). However, their uncertainty regarding the concrete opportunities offered by school and societal space to preserve their heritage culture and language, or the perception or direct experience of complete exclusion from these resources, also reinforced their tendencies towards separation in their parenting. Moreover, symbolic boundaries with the native population, such as a sense that their children are at risk of exclusion in a native-dense environment, may lead parents to adopt a more separative approach. Separation as an acculturation strategy has a negative impact on immigrants' life satisfaction, while integration is the most beneficial (Morawa et al., 2020; Phinney et al., 2001). Consequently, social spaces that give opportunities for promoting biculturalism and bilingualism in immigrant families and their children could lessen migration-related parental stress and can strengthen parental agency in the host country. If immigrant parents' levels of well-being increase, this is likely to have a positive impact on their parental involvement and parental agency in the host country, which in turn could be beneficial both for family relationships and for children's academic performance in schools.

13.3. Equity and inclusion in education

The previous section discussed the contributions of this dissertation in terms of examining parenting in the context of migration, establishing links between determinants of parental social identities, such as parental acculturation stress, and identity-based childrearing beliefs and practices. This next section focuses on the educational context and explores how research findings can help advance equity and inclusion in education by shedding light on

educational disparities perceived and experienced by immigrant families on the issues of socio-spatial segregation, of cultural, religious, and linguistic inclusion, and of perceived injustice.

13.3.1. Socio-spatial segregation and quality of education

Study 1 showed that perceived educational quality is both a cause and a consequence of socio-spatial segregation. Numerous scholars have pointed out that socio-spatial segregation is one of the reasons for the educational disparities between advantaged and disadvantaged children with regard to their SES and migration background (B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Fincke & Lange, 2012; Gambaro, 2017). Although this theme has been primarily the focus of research in the US in investigations of segregation between people of color and white communities (e.g., Coleman et al., 1966; Reber, 2010), a considerable body of research has established that segregation between native and immigrant groups in western Europe, including Germany, has been on the rise in recent years (Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, 2017; Fincke & Lange, 2012; Hogrebe et al., 2021; Kristen, 2008a; Vedder, 2006). As such, the findings from immigrant parents' perspectives expressed in this dissertation reflect the existing and potentially increasing aspect of socio-spatial segregation. Consistent with previous research (e.g., B. Becker, 2010; Lareau, 2014), the voices gathered here corroborate that it is not just residential segregation but also decision-making dynamics on the part of parents themselves which appears to lead to school segregation based on families' ethnic and social backgrounds. In addition, the institutional side of the (non-)acceptance of children was also occasionally noted by respondents.

The results contribute to research on later preschool attendance among children with immigrant backgrounds (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020). Some parents living in neighborhoods with a high percentage of Turkish/immigrant groups complained of difficulties finding a preschool place due to the fact that some of these preschools set quotas for the percentage of children with immigrant backgrounds. Although the use of quotas may

be one way to counteract segregation, given the shortages of preschools in general (Schober & Spiess, 2013), immigrant parents in these neighborhoods appear to have additional difficulties assigning their children to preschools. Moreover, the results suggest that while parents may consider sending their children to preschools with a high proportion of natives, preschools might not accept them. As mentioned in Study 1 and Study 3, parents feel that rejection by preschools is related to their ethnic and religious background. This shows that symbolic boundaries can be transferred to physical boundaries (Bourdieu, 1991/2018; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). The research by Burghardt (2019b) also draws attention to the discrepancy between parents who intend to send their children to preschool early and those who could have actually done so, as well as understudied aspects of the supply side of preschools. The exclusionary educational characteristics of some providers and preschools have also been noted by others (Hogrebe, 2016; Scholz et al., 2019). Therefore, the reception aspects of preschools need to be further examined to identify potential exclusionary dynamics. At the primary level, parents reported sending their children to their assigned schools based on residence and did not report applying for a change of school. However, as seen in Study 1, medium to high SES parents in particular, used various strategies to send their children to native-dense schools, such as moving to a native-dense neighborhood before the child enters primary school.

In examining the perceived educational quality, the results of Study 1 and Study 3 also provided valuable insights into potential educational inequalities due to the quality differences between educational institutions attended by native and immigrant children. For instance, church-run preschools were preferred by some Turkish mothers. Parents have reported that they perceive the quality of church preschools to be higher than that of other preschools because of the greater financial support these preschools receive. In Study 3, narratives from one respondent revealed that while church preschools accept children regardless of their religious background, in practice, especially when demand is high, they tend to select children with

Christian backgrounds. This means that children from non-Christian backgrounds may face additional difficulties in accessing quality preschool education.

In Study 1, the ethnic and SES composition of a school's pupils was found to be the most visible aspect of quality to parents, similar to the findings of previous research (B. Becker & Schober, 2017). These parents believed that schools with a high proportion of native children had better educational quality. In line with this, parents whose children attended Turkish/immigrant-dense educational settings reported lower quality than parents whose children attended mixed or majority German schools based on the structure–process model of educational quality (e.g., Kluczniok & Roßbach, 2014; Pianta et al., 2005; Slot, 2018; Tietze et al., 1998). The high proportion of disadvantaged children (of immigrant background and/or low SES) has been shown to have a negative impact on the quality of education (Kuger & Kluczniok, 2008; Slot, 2018) and, consequently, on children's outcomes such as decreased development in numeracy skills (Anders et al., 2013), less progress in vocabulary development (Ebert et al., 2013), and lower performance levels in mathematics (Agirdag et al., 2012). Similar to other research findings (Karakayali & zur Nieden, 2013), current research has also shown that there is not only segregation between primary schools but also within them. Separate classrooms for native and middle SES children were noted by one of our respondents in Berlin. Accordingly, school structures that promote segregation need to be addressed and quality monitoring should take such institutional aspects into account.

To sum up, parents' perceptions of educational quality and the social and ethnic composition of schools are closely linked. When it comes to the parental decision-making process, both ethnic and class identities play a role and contribute to socio-spatial segregation. Although parents did not report SES-related educational inequalities due to state benefits and low or no parental fees, the varying educational quality contexts to which parents have access demonstrate the indirect production of unequal school spaces. Moreover, the plans of some

parents to send their children to private schools at the next level of education indicate the increasing segregation resulting from the social background of families. Beyond that, parents' complaints about segregation tendencies among natives and their desire for inter-ethnic contact indicate that Turkish parents wish for a high-quality learning environment for their children which is balanced in terms of both class and ethnicity.

13.3.2. Culturally responsive inclusive education

This dissertation also offers important insights into the application of culturally responsive inclusive approaches in pedagogical practice and in collaboration with parents. All four studies addressed parents' perceptions and experiences within the school space based both on their own and their children's interactions; these experiences are closely intertwined with their social identities.

Perceived hierarchical school space, in terms of the inclusion or exclusion of families' cultural and linguistic resources, has been shown to cause parents to renegotiate their position within society. As mentioned earlier, identity is not only about similarities and differences between groups but also about the perceived rank and associated value and prestige of groups (e.g., Jenkins, 1996; Oyserman et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1981). The findings discussed in this dissertation also provided some examples of good practices for educational institutions. For example, Study 2 showed that among the behaviors which positively influenced families' feelings of welcome at school and in society are, firstly, teachers' positive attitudes toward families' heritage language, secondly, providing emotional support to their children when they have difficulties with bilingualism, and, finally, encouraging parents to be involved despite their difficulties with the German language. Parents associated their children being allowed to use their heritage language at school with not feeling excluded there, which shows how important inclusion can be to parents' and children's socioemotional well-being. Also, in Study 3, teachers' efforts to include minority religions in their practice (e.g., creating a

Ramadan calendar similar to the Christmas calendar), using interreligious pedagogical approaches (e.g., visiting places of worship of different religions), and seeing religion as a way to collaborate with immigrant families (e.g., by making home visits during their religious festivals) all seemed to strengthen the parent–teacher relationship and children's sense of belonging to the school. Scientific research has also shown that inclusive pedagogical approaches can have a positive impact on minority children's sense of school attachment (Agirdag et al., 2014; Çelik, 2017), which could subsequently positively impact their academic performance (Oxman-Martinez & Choi, 2014; Sanchez Ordaz & Mosqueda, 2021). A positive parent–teacher relationship has also been demonstrated to have a positive impact on children's development and educational achievement (e.g., F. Cohen & Anders, 2020; Janssen et al., 2012).

However, the results did not just depict good practices, but also intentional and unintentional aspects of the exclusion of immigrant families' culture and language within schools. Study 2 offered evidence of monolingual or selective multilingual approaches, which mirrored hierarchical school spaces that interacted closely with immigrant families' identities. Working from the fundamental theoretical understanding that a particular space cannot be understood without examining its relationship to other spaces (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; M. G. Fuller & Löw, 2017), this dissertation sought to explore such exclusionary aspects by investigating the broader societal space. As Bourdieu points out, languages have symbolic value and play a crucial role in determining the symbolic power relations in a society, including its educational institutions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). The dominance of monolingual approaches in German educational institutions has also been illustrated by other scholars (Gogolin, 1994; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019). This was discussed especially in the context of the country's history and the aspired common German national identity, in which the German language plays a critical role (Ditlmann & Kopf-Beck, 2019). Moreover, the prevailing racialized discourses

and immigrant integration campaigns that emphasize the necessity of German language proficiency also marginalize immigrants (Zambon, 2021). Here then, the focus should be more on creating an equal dialogue in society, so that language learning takes place naturally and is not forced to conform to prevailing linguistic and cultural norms.

It is also well documented in educational research that the weaker academic performance of children with immigrant backgrounds is closely related to their coming from low SES and non-German-speaking households (Anders et al., 2012; Edele & Stanat, 2011). Confronting SES-related disadvantages that negatively affect their home learning environment (Kluczniok & Mudiappa, 2019), these children also have problems because they start preschool later or do not attend at all (Linberg et al., 2013; Peter & Spiess, 2015), as well as facing difficulties receiving a quality education more generally (B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Lehrl et al., 2014; Stahl et al., 2018). All of these factors can have a negative impact on their language skills, negatively influencing their academic progress (Anders et al., 2012; B. Becker & Schober, 2017; Kluczniok & Mudiappa, 2019). Educational institutions are therefore encouraged to ensure that children with immigrant backgrounds learn German from an early age (see KMK, 2019). In educational practice, however, these can lead to exclusion. As some parents reported in Study 2, educational institutions viewed heritage language use as a threat to children's German language learning and academic performance. However, research has shown that heritage language comprehension can be an asset for the acquisition of a second language (e.g., Edele & Stanat, 2016), and bilingualism can have several cognitive benefits for children (e.g., Blom et al., 2014; Lauchlan et al., 2013). In this context, as suggested, teachers' knowledge and competencies regarding multilingual learning environments should be developed (Kratzmann et al., 2017; Stitzinger & Lüdtke, 2014).

Research has established that teachers' beliefs and attitudes toward multilingualism also affect their pedagogical practices (Kratzmann et al., 2017). For example, teachers who see

multilingualism as positive are more likely to integrate different languages into their practice than teachers who hold more monolingual and assimilationist beliefs (Kratzmann et al., 2017; Pulinx et al., 2017). However, multilingual beliefs might not always produce an inclusive environment in schools. One of the most important findings of this dissertation was the portrayal of selective multilingualism in some schools, showing that European-origin languages were welcomed, whereas migration-related multilingualism, such as the use of the Turkish language, was excluded. Similar results on exclusive attitudes towards migration-related multilingualism and language hierarchies were found in other studies, e.g., in Germany (Moffitt et al., 2019; Putjata & Koster, 2021) and in Belgium (Agirdag, 2010; Agirdag et al., 2014). The exclusion of the heritage language in the school space can have various consequences for children. As Cummins (2001) points out, such exclusive practices mean that children must leave part of their identity outside of school. Then, they may be reluctant to use their heritage language to avoid being viewed negatively (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988).

Accordingly, this dissertation argues that we need to look beyond the visible and address the symbolic social boundaries within society (Barth, 1969; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Sanders, 2002). Some aspects can be explained not only by teachers' knowledge, skills, and competencies but also by institutions' ideological positions on inclusion, determining which cultures and languages are included and which are excluded (Çelik, 2017; Gogolin, 1994, 1997; Putjata & Koster, 2021). Here, critical race theory offers a profound perspective on the systemic problems that lead to the subordination and marginalization of certain groups and perpetuate their subordinate position in society (Bell, 1992; Dixson & Rousseau Anderson, 2018; Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). These perceptions and experiences within the school space inevitably lead to immigrant families being marginalized and not feeling welcome and accepted with their multiple identities within the societal space, thus struggling to express their ethnocultural identities as connected to the heritage and host country culture.

Furthermore, it has been emphasized that not only the levels of inclusion but also the methods of including cultures in pedagogical practice are critical. As shown in Study 4, some parents of primary school children complained about teachers' folkloristic pedagogical approaches, in which children with immigrant backgrounds are perceived as representatives of their heritage countries and are asked to present music, cuisine, and other cultural resources of those countries. Parents interpreted such practices as an exclusion rather than inclusion, emphasizing their children's exclusion from German identity and the schools' refusal to recognize children's Turkish-German hybrid identities. This kind of folkloristic approach has also been criticized by many scholars in Germany (e.g., Holzbrecher, 2004; Hüpping & Büker, 2014). Especially in today's globalized world, immigrant identities are increasingly moving toward the transnational, transcending the boundaries of nation-states (Edelmann, 2006; Tyrrell, 2015). Therefore, educational institutions urgently need to adapt to this cultural diversity and embrace and normalize the multiple identities of immigrant families and their children.

Likewise, Study 3 provided valuable insights for educational practice regarding the importance of recognizing heterogeneity within the ethnic community in terms of their religious affiliation and religiosity. Multicultural teacher beliefs that acknowledge cultural and linguistic diversity can be particularly beneficial for children in culturally diverse learning contexts compared to a colorblind approach (Hachfeld et al., 2015). However, a multicultural mindset alone does not necessarily lead to inclusion. One of the most notable findings was that while the intention of teachers may be inclusive education, this can lead to the stigmatization of children. Some parents criticized the 'Muslimization' of children of Turkish origin in educational institutions. In particular, parents who were not religious or for whom religion was not an important part of their identity criticized teachers when they told their children what they could or could not do as a Muslim child, such as warning them about dietary issues (e.g.,

not to eat pork) or giving holidays for Islamic festivals. This highlights the failure of educational institutions to collaborate with parents so that teachers were not well informed about the home space in terms of parents' ethnoreligious upbringing beliefs and practices. The identities ascribed by teachers can upset parents, leading them to perceive such practices as exclusion rather than inclusion.

These parents felt that, although they made an effort to integrate, they were still subject to the process of exclusion as Muslims. However, such parental discourses need to be understood through the dominant discourse in German society, in which German and Muslim identities are portrayed as contradictory (Holtz et al., 2013), as well as the homogeneous image of the Turkish community in Germany as Muslims (Ramm, 2010). In contrast, the Turkish parents in our study who were religious Muslims valued teachers' recognition of their children's Muslim identity and their practices, acknowledging parents' religious concerns. While these parents have predominantly applied contextually separated religious upbringing practices (e.g., not practicing Christian practices at home, but motivating their children to participate in Christian festivals at school), they do not see Muslim and German identities as contradictory. Although some research has found a negative relationship between attachment to Muslim identity and their national identity (e.g., Phalet et al., 2018; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), they emphasize the role of perceived inter-group relations, such that perceived discrimination makes the co-existence of these identities difficult, while positive inter-group relations can foster it. In this regard, immigrants' multiple attachments to their religious and national identities can be supported or challenged by their experiences in educational institutions.

In addition, some mothers reported that religious education is provided in primary schools for children from religious minorities. However, there was criticism that no attention was paid to cultural differences among children associated with their countries of origin (e.g.,

Muslims from Turkey versus other Muslim-majority countries). Also, despite recognition of families' religious backgrounds (e.g., dietary requests, religious festivals), limited interreligious pedagogical approaches were reported in both preschool and primary education levels. Teachers' inadequate skills in dealing with religious diversity in educational institutions have also been highlighted by scholars in Germany (Schweitzer, Biesinger, et al., 2011). Especially since interreligious pedagogy has been regarded as a mostly neglected area of intercultural education (Arshad, 2016), these findings call for the inclusion of interreligious pedagogical approaches in teacher training.

In addition, the cultural and religious prejudices of teachers reported by some respondents (see Studies 3 and 4) call attention to the potential stereotype threat that immigrant families face in school. Teachers' tendency to interpret pedagogical situations on the basis of children's cultural and religious backgrounds has also been noted by other researchers in Germany (Büker & Hüpping, 2012). Numerous researchers found that the stereotype threat can have a negative impact on children's academic performance (e.g., Peterson et al., 2016; Sander et al., 2018). Thus, in addition to the marginalization of immigrant families in school that affects their social identity, the findings shed light on possible reasons for the low academic performance of immigrant children.

Moreover, the misperception of immigrant parents as disinterested parents who provide a poor learning environment for their children at home (see Study 4) has also been shown to make immigrant parents feel excluded. Scholars in Germany also criticized macro-level political discourses towards immigrant parents, which portray them as passive in parental involvement, and actors that need to adopt the dominant culture and language (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022). Along these lines, in Study 2, teachers asking parents to speak German with their children at home could be seen as a failure to acknowledge parents' "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al., 1992). Also, this reflects the contrasting beliefs of teachers and parents about

children's development: While these parents aspire to a bilingual upbringing, some teachers place more emphasis on German language proficiency. The differing educational and developmental values of teachers and parents may also affect teachers' perceptions of children's academic performance, which could have a negative impact on children of immigrants (Hauser-Cram et al., 2003; Sirin et al., 2009). In addition, prejudice towards immigrant parents can have a negative impact on the parent–teacher relationship (Sirin et al., 2022; Theodorou, 2008). Correspondingly, prejudice consciousness training in teacher education should be expanded, in which teachers are trained to become aware of their own cultural prejudices against different groups in society (Albers et al., 2020). Teachers should be encouraged and trained to develop intercultural competencies in collaboration with immigrant parents, a practice that is reportedly not widespread in Germany (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022; Hachfeld et al., 2016; Lokhande, 2014).

Furthermore, this dissertation provides valuable perspectives on children's interactions in school via parental perceptions. Study 3 showed that the non-religious children had intra-ethnic conflicts with other children because of their being perceived as not truly Muslim or the internal emotional conflicts they experienced as Muslims in their church-run preschool that resulted from the cultural incongruence between home and school. Study 2 also showed that children questioned the attitudes of some teachers, asking, for instance, why they were not allowed to use their heritage language at school while other foreign-born children were. Researchers have emphasized that children are aware of cultural differences and their otherness in educational contexts from an early age (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Kurban & Tobin, 2009). Accordingly, educational institutions should strive to understand the psychology of minority children and develop approaches to strengthen their identities with their own cultural and linguistic resources. Culturally responsive approaches, in which teachers acknowledge heterogeneity within cultural groups and approach their educational practice self-reflexively

and critically, should be implemented in educational practice (Civitillo et al., 2019; Maasum et al., 2014).

13.3.3. Sense of injustice in education

Another important finding of the dissertation was that perceived injustice in schools is closely related to parents' social identities. As Bormann, Niedlich, and Würbel (2021) emphasize, educational institutions have become increasingly important, especially in the current context of European societies, where social inequality and ethnic diversity are on the rise, as education is an important determinant of an individual's social status in society. In such a context, trusting relationships within educational institutions take on even greater relevance, including the teacher–parent relationship (Bormann, Killus, et al., 2021; Bormann, Niedlich, & Würbel, 2021). Scholarly work has largely established the asymmetrical power relationships between immigrant parents and teachers (Janssen et al., 2012; Norheim & Moser, 2020).

In line with this, in both Study 1 and Study 4, we see the significance of trusting relationships between teachers and parents. While some parents expressed trust in teachers, others voiced skepticism, believing that teachers have low expectations for the achievement of children with immigrant backgrounds, thus assigning unfair grades. Research on teachers examining their biased treatment and unfair grading tendencies based on children's social and ethnic backgrounds has yielded mixed results in Germany. Some research has confirmed that teachers have low expectations of success for immigrant children (e.g., Bonefeld et al., 2020; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020) and that they tend to grade these children unfairly (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Kiss, 2013; Sprietsma, 2013); others have found no such evidence (e.g., Kristen, 2006; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020) or even positive discrimination in assigning comparably higher grades (e.g., Gresch, 2012). Institutional discrimination and racism among teachers have also been the focus of numerous scholars in Germany (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2019).

Here, this dissertation examines how this perception of unfairness is related to parents' social identity. Parents' perceived ethnic and social inequalities at the personal and group levels in society as a Turkish minority were closely related to their skepticism about the fairness of teachers. As Study 4 indicated, parents may see teachers as actors who reproduce social inequalities in society by setting low expectations for Turkish children's success, or even creating barriers when they have the potential to pursue higher education. Moreover, parents who were born in Germany and experienced unfair situations in their own educational lives were more cautious about their children's education (e.g., see Study 2: the perception of having received unfair grades in own educational life due to coming from Turkey and not being a native speaker of German). Although some parents perceived injustice toward the Turkish community in Germany at the group level, at the individual level, they did not believe that their children would be treated unfairly if the teacher gained their trust. However, the perceived injustice was not just related to teachers' grading and achievement expectations but also to teachers' differing behaviors toward immigrant and native children, such as tolerating misbehavior on the part of native children but not for others (see Study 1 and Study 4). Furthermore, similar tendencies of teachers can be observed in parent meetings towards native and immigrant parents, such as not valuing the opinion of immigrant parents and expressing direct opposition to it while not showing the same negative attitude towards native parents (see Study 4). Within such a context, teachers play a role both as generators of ethnic inequalities in society as well as reproducers of perceived ethnic inequalities in society within schools. All of these experiences lead parents to renegotiate their social identities, as they experience not being seen as equal educational partners in school and thus not as equal citizens in the societal space. As has also been emphasized in identity research, the construction of social identity is not only about how one places oneself within society but also about how one is perceived by others (Phinney et al., 2001).

In addition, as shown in Study 4, perceived school climate predicted parents' life satisfaction in the host county after controlling for their ethnocultural identity, German language proficiency, and SES. However, there were group differences by school level and immigrant generation. It was found that the relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the quantitative analysis was significant only for parents with primary school children but not for parents with preschool children. When exploring possible reasons in the qualitative interviews, it became clear that the feeling of injustice was particularly salient for parents with children attending primary school, as grades and teachers' recommendations determine their children's future educational path. Moreover, the complexity of educational relationships as educational level increases (Berkowitz et al., 2021), as well as children's growing awareness of the stereotypes they face in school (McKown & Weinstein, 2003) and the fact that they may more actively act as carriers of issues of injustice in school to their parents, can also contribute to an understanding of the significance of the primary school context for parental life satisfaction. In addition, research shows that parents perceive the school climate most positively in the preschool stage and that positive perceptions decline as the grade level increases (Berkowitz et al., 2021; K. H. Smith, 2020). A number of parents with preschool children who had no problems with their current preschool teacher reported being concerned about their children's future educational experiences due to the potential risk of facing discrimination as members of an ethnic minority. The negative school experiences shared with them by other members of the Turkish community in their networks were also a factor. In this way, ethnic networks, particularly in the context of migration, play a crucial role in the transmission of knowledge (B. Becker, 2010).

It should also be noted that in Study 4, while perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country were significant for both generations, it was slightly stronger for second-generation parents. The reason for this could be that, as was also evident from the

responses to the qualitative interviews, second-generation parents were more involved in their children's education than first-generation parents, which could be related to the fact that they were less likely to suffer from acculturative stress (e.g., cultural and language barriers; Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008). Thereby, second-generation parents' school perceptions might play a greater role in their life satisfaction in the host country. Moreover, perceived injustice in the school context could have a more significant impact on second-generation parents' life satisfaction. Another study conducted with Turkish immigrants in Germany has also shown that perceived discrimination has a stronger impact on the life satisfaction of the second generation than that of the first generation (Morawa et al., 2020). Exclusionary school perceptions could reflect the fact that, despite being integrated into the host country and even feeling German, the 'blurred' boundaries with the native population could persist, with even second-generation immigrants still being perceived as 'other' (Alba, 2005).

Overall, the results not only demonstrate the importance of school spaces associated with parental social identity but also call for various pedagogical measures to create trusting relationships between immigrant parents and teachers. The lack of trust between immigrant parents and teachers has been highlighted in numerous studies on both teachers (e.g., Janssen et al., 2012) and immigrant parents (e.g., Fandrem & Støen, 2022). The degree of trust in teacher–parent relationships can also determine children's academic performance. For instance, Lerkkanen and Pakarinen's (2021) study of primary school students in grades 1–4 and their parents in Finland showed that parents' trust in their children's teachers predicted their children's interest in math; the higher the levels of trust, the greater the child's interest in math. Similarly, researchers in the Netherlands found that higher teacher trust in parents was associated with better reading performance among children (Janssen et al., 2012). Accordingly, trusting teacher–parent relationships can improve the academic performance of children with immigrant backgrounds. Thus, in line with other researchers (Lerkkanen & Pakarinen, 2021),

this dissertation calls for the integration of courses in teacher education on building trusting educational partnerships with parents.

Previous research has demonstrated that teachers' low success expectations can have a negative impact on children's academic achievement (e.g., Flanagan et al., 2020; Soto-Ardila et al., 2022). In doing so, teachers' low expectations for success, as expressed by some parents, should be taken seriously, and important steps should be taken to change these teachers' expectations. As numerous scholars have pointed out, teachers' beliefs and expectations influence their pedagogical practices (e.g., Kratzmann et al., 2017). The study by Froehlich et al. (2016) in Germany showed that teachers were more likely to attribute the poor academic performance of Turkish-origin children to the children's own characteristics, such as their low motivation and skills than to problems on the part of the educational institution. These expectations may lead teachers to provide less support for the academic performance of these children since they believe that they, as teachers, have no influence on the situation (Froehlich et al., 2022).

Moreover, there should be greater scrutiny of potential racism and injustice in educational settings. To this end, studies should be based not only on teachers' self-reports but also on observations, experiments, and self-reports from multiple stakeholders to tackle injustice in educational contexts. Applying clear measures against injustice can foster immigrant parents' trust in the educational institutions of their host country.

13.4. Equity and inclusion in society

This dissertation also makes an impactful contribution to equity and inclusion in society. All four studies linked their findings to the sociohistorical context of Germany. It was argued that, without an understanding of attitudes toward immigrants at both the micro level in everyday life and the macro level in terms of policy as well as public and political discourse, we cannot fully understand identity-based family dynamics in the home space and the

perceptions and experiences of immigrants in the school space. Several themes emerged in the parents' narratives that reflect their desire for more equity and inclusion in their lives in Germany.

Study 1 showed that socio-spatial segregation is related to the boundaries between the native and immigrant populations in Germany and that parents are dissatisfied with this and would like to have more inter-group contact. Symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002), such as the reluctance of the native population to interact with immigrant families in everyday life, perpetuate so-called parallel societies at both the school and residential levels (Häußermann, 2007). The separate groupings of immigrant and native parents in everyday life contacts also reflect the segmented, rather than full, inclusion of immigrant parents in the educational context (Pastori et al., 2021). Although Turkish parents in this dissertation emphasized their desire for intercultural contact with the native population, the social and physical structures in which they live seem to pose challenges for them. For example, parents cited as reasons for living in areas with a low percentage of natives and difficulty accessing the labor market due to language barriers and discrimination. As seen in Study 2, parents felt that poor German language skills increased the likelihood of being discriminated against in everyday life. In particular, narratives about how receiving an education and learning German changed their lives in Germany, both in terms of overcoming everyday discrimination and building connections with the native population, seemed to reduce the inter-group boundaries. This is consistent with the findings of other studies: Education acquired in the host country (Jäkel & Leyendecker, 2008), acquisition of host country language skills (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Angelini et al., 2015), and the presence of positive social contacts (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019) all contribute to immigrants' life satisfaction.

Also, these findings support the argument of segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997), i.e., the integration of parents into the host country system on the basis of

their economic, social, and human capital within the framework of the respective stratification system of the host country. Parents, in particular, who lacked the expected knowledge and skills seemed to be pushed out of the system, feeling completely isolated or having to build their lives within their own ethnic communities. Since all qualitative interviews were conducted with mothers, the results also underscore the gendered aspect of the migration experience (Morawa et al., 2020; Seibel, 2020). Scholars have illustrated that, compared to Turkish men, Turkish women in Germany are much less likely to be employed, have fewer contacts with natives (Seibel, 2020), and have lower psychological well-being (Morawa et al., 2020). It is important to note that Germany has recently taken important steps to promote the labor market integration of immigrant mothers, who show the lowest employment rates and the highest employment aspirations (BMFSFJ, 2021). For example, the current federal program "Strong in Work Place – Migrant mothers get on board" (*Stark im Beruf – Mütter mit Migrationshintergrund steigen ein*) offers mothers coaching and support in various phases of employment, such as everyday language support, social integration through network partners, individual coaching for childcare, and general career prospects (BMFSFJ, 2021; OECD, 2022). It was shown that one-third of mothers who completed the program entered the labor market or completed vocational or educational training (BMFSFJ, 2021). Although such programs can contribute to parents' life satisfaction in the host country by supporting their integration into the country's economic, social, and educational systems, they do not necessarily make them feel like citizens on an equal footing with the native population.

As criticized by numerous scholars, one-sided discourses of integration are still common in Germany, directed at immigrants (Brandhorst et al., 2021) and immigrant parents in particular (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022). For instance, deficit-oriented discourses can even be found in materials from the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of Länder (KMK), which formulate one of their goals as "to strengthen the parenting

skills of migrant families as well as their interest in education" (KMK, 2006, as cited in Gomolla & Kollender, 2022, p. 9). Such discourses also inevitably reflect the prevailing beliefs and discourses in society that influence the dynamics of daily life and educational institutions. In Study 2, for example, parents expressed dissatisfaction when they were criticized by natives in everyday life, and by teachers and native parents at school especially, for using their heritage language with their children; they thus felt accused of not being good parents, failing to support the integration of their children into German society and the development of their German language skills. Study 2 and Study 3 also found that, despite the parents' high level of German language skills and their integration into German society, 'othering' processes persist in everyday life. Especially the prejudices of the native population towards women wearing headscarves, directly associating them with having low German language skills and being narrow-minded, were criticized by the parents. Moreover, parents indicated that the exclusionary political discourse against the Turkish and Muslim populations, the misrepresentation of these communities in the media, increasing everyday racism, and microaggressions in everyday life associated with, for example, wearing a headscarf, having a dark skin color, or having a Turkish name, adversely impact their sense of belonging to Germany. These could be some of the reasons why about half of Turkish immigrants in Germany feel like second-class citizens (Pollack et al., 2016). Without addressing the perceived processes of exclusion of the Turkish community in Germany, we cannot fully understand the persistent disadvantage of their socioeconomic position in society over generations (Diehl & Granato, 2018) or why children from this community perform worse than the native population and other immigrant groups (Stanat et al., 2010).

Yet, as numerous scholars have noted, there is a trend toward the exclusion of immigrants, especially those originating from Muslim-majority countries, not only in Germany but also in many other European societies (Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Kaya, 2009; Kaya &

Tecmen, 2019). Thereby, such discourses reflect both overt and covert unequal structures in the host country that immigrants encounter. Study 4 also identified that such perceived social hierarchical structures are closely related to parents' perceptions of schools and have a negative impact on their overall life satisfaction in the country. As scholars drawing on critical race theory point out, these parental narratives reflect white supremacy in Europe that excludes, for example, non-native, non-European, and non-Christian members of societies (e.g., Moffitt et al., 2019; Rühlmann & McMonagle, 2019; Wischmann, 2018). Therefore, these parents' perspectives from the Turkish community, which has an immigration history of more than 50 years in Germany, provide important insights for the advancement of equity and inclusion in society.

14. Limitations and directions for future research

This section discusses the general limitations of the present dissertation. The limitations specific to each study have been addressed in the discussion part of the manuscripts (see Appendix A). In addition, directions for future research will be indicated.

14.1. Generalizability of the research findings

The first limitation that should be reported concerns the generalizability of the research findings within and beyond the persons, groups, and contexts studied. Accordingly, this subsection discusses the limits of the results' *statistical generalizability* and their potential for *analytical transferability* (Maxwell, 2021).

Both samples of the quantitative and qualitative data were not representative of the Turkish-origin community, or immigrant parents as a whole, in Germany. The issue of generalizability is notably challenging in qualitative research due to small sample sizes (Harding & Seefeldt, 2013; Maxwell, 2021). Although a relatively large sample was used in Study 4, the sample was not representative, which also undermines the generalizability of the results. The data were collected in a limited number of federal states with a high proportion of

Turkish-origin immigrants, using nonrepresentative sampling strategies such as snowball sampling. Also, the specific characteristics of the recruitment sites should be taken into account in terms of urban structure (e.g., segregation), educational institutions (e.g., the likelihood of integrating Turkish culture and language), and the availability of ethnic resources and social networks. For example, Berlin, where most of the data were collected, has the largest Turkish community outside of Turkey itself (Müller, 2001). The perceptions and experiences of Turkish immigrants could be significantly different in other federal states in Germany. Moreover, the Turkish-origin community tends to have lower socioeconomic status and a higher risk of poverty compared to the native population and numerous other immigrant groups (e.g., southern European countries, former Soviet countries, Poland (Henkel et al., 2014). Furthermore, Turkish immigrants, considered as a single societal segment, have, as scholars have noted, relatively limited proficiency in the German language (e.g., Diehl & Granato, 2018; Höhne & Koopmans, 2010). As a research group, we aimed to collect data in relatively disadvantaged neighborhoods to tackle experienced social and educational inequities as a goal of the broader ISOTIS project. However, the respondents who actually participated in the study reflected a comparatively favorable profile in terms of their middle to higher SES background and their self-reported good German language skills.

Moreover, Turkish-origin immigrants in this country are, in fact, quite a heterogeneous community in terms of their migration history, immigrant generation, SES, and social identity orientations (Erel, 2003; Karakaşoğlu, 2003; Yilmaz Sener, 2019). Although the data were able to capture part of this heterogeneity, it was not representative. Besides, the respondents in the survey study were mostly mothers, and the subsample of respondents in the survey study who participated in the qualitative interview study was composed entirely of mothers. Consequently, the results of the study reveal gender-specific perceptions and experiences and cannot be generalized to all Turkish-origin immigrant parents. Scholars have emphasized that

both migration experiences and parental beliefs and practices are highly gendered (Erel, 2003; Kraler et al., 2011). Future research that includes immigrant fathers may provide a more nuanced account of parents' social identities.

In addition, immigrant parents' experiences with Germany's education system were limited to the federal states where the data were collected. Due to the non-centralized structure of preschool and primary education in this country, the results reflected only the partial experiences of immigrant parents and cannot be generalized nationwide. As scholars have noted, there are also still significant differences between the states of what was formerly East and West Germany due to differing migration histories (Rees et al., 2022). East German states have, compared to their western counterparts, a smaller number of immigrants (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022) and are characterized societally by a stronger anti-immigrant sentiment and Islamophobia in particular (Kalter & Foroutan, 2021), as well as a more distant relationship with religion in general (Schluss, 2009). This could all affect both immigrants' daily lives as well as their experiences with educational institutions.

Moreover, it is important to note that while examining perceptions certainly presents valuable insights because they represent the everyday reality of individuals and influence their behavior (K. H. Smith, 2020), the perceptions of a limited number of immigrant parents reflect only a partial picture of immigrant life in German society and in its educational institutions. The viewpoints of immigrant parents cannot be generalized to the whole country, to the native or immigrant population, or to all preschool and primary schools. Consequently, future studies with a more representative sample could provide broader and more detailed perspectives. Also, as mentioned earlier, individuals' identities are highly time-, situation-, and context-dependent (e.g., Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Jenkins, 1996; Tajfel, 1974). Although the perceptions and experiences of Turkish immigrant parents cannot be directly generalized to other contexts and immigrant groups, a qualitative methodology, as highlighted, does offer beneficial perspectives

for ‘transferability,’ aiming not at statistical generalization, but at analytical generalization, with results being transferable to other contexts (Maxwell, 2021). Future studies in other contexts or international studies that include Turkish and/or other immigrant groups could further explore the transferability of these findings.

Overall, it can be said that this dissertation, in line with other scholars’ research, has aimed to obtain the most comprehensive information possible about the individual, the group, and the context under study and to explore the processes involved in the formation of certain human perceptions and experiences to achieve analytical transferability, rather than statistical generalizability (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Harding & Seefeldt, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

14.2. The use of self-report data

All four studies in this dissertation involved self-report data. Qualitative research using semi-structured in-depth interviews had several limitations that may have affected the quality and content of the data collected. First of all, even though the researcher could set the direction of the interview, the tendency of respondents to ascribe more weight to certain topics – or indeed to downplay them or not mention them at all – could not be avoided. Although this may be considered part of the important findings in qualitative research (Knapik, 2006), it is important to emphasize that not all respondents provided equally detailed information about the topics covered in the interview guide. For example, low parental involvement associated with a lack of knowledge about the education system and language barriers led some respondents to have a limited understanding of their children’s formal education context. Although this was an important finding, some data were limited for the study of the specific topic, such as perceived quality of education (Study 1), linguistic (Study 2) and religious inclusion in schools (Study 3), and perceived school climate (Study 4). While this issue may occur in the survey studies primarily as missing data, it appears to be a particular limitation in the qualitative interview study, which already has a small sample.

The guaranteed confidentiality of the study and the researcher's shared cultural and linguistic background with the interviewees could reduce feelings of uncertainty and concerns about power relations during the interview (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Nevertheless, since social identity research involves various sensitive topics, such as perceived discrimination and exclusion, as well as questions about their children, respondents may still be reluctant to comment on certain topics in the qualitative interview or to provide truthful responses in the survey study. Accordingly, there could be a problem with *reactivity*, which refers to the possible influence of the researcher on the respondent's answers, and with *respondent bias*, where respondents give biased answers in the context of a scientific study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). There are also some criticisms of the validity of self-report studies, stating that individuals may not have an accurate awareness of their cognitive processes and the stimuli that drive their responses (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). Given that the study of social identity requires the exploration of one's perceptions and experiences within and across contexts, many scholars still consider self-report measurements, as in this dissertation, to be the most appropriate method (e.g., Jacobs et al., 2022; A. Y. Kim et al., 2021; Muldoon et al., 2017). Particularly in examining characteristics of the environment that are associated with people's social identities, future research that employs observational and objective measures could also offer valuable insights, such as the extent to which schools create an inclusive environment for immigrant families and their children.

14.3. The validity of measurements and relational/causal inferences

Another limitation of the dissertation concerns the validity of measurements and relational or causal inferences drawn on the basis of both variable-oriented and process-oriented methodological approaches (for more details, see Maxwell, 2004a, 2004b).

In the quantitative study (Study 4), the internal consistency of the scales was assessed using Cronbach's α-coefficient, which led to satisfactory or good results. In addition, the

construct validity of the perceived school climate scale was tested using a single-factor structure through exploratory factor analyses. However, test-retest reliability could not be assured for data collected cross-sectionally, where both predictors and outcomes were collected at a single time point. Also, the items measuring perceived school climate were not created specifically for a particular school level. For example, teacher–child and teacher–parent relationships may differ at preschool and primary school levels. Thus, future studies that include school-level-specific items for the perceived school climate may reveal different results. Moreover, in the survey data (Study 4), missing data were not completely systematically distributed across the observed measures, which could affect statistical validity (McKnight, 2007).

In order to draw causal inferences, the quantitative survey in Study 4 used the variable-oriented approach to statistically examine the relationship between variables (Maxwell, 2004a). Examining parents' perceived school climate to predict their own life satisfaction in the host country revealed significant results, albeit only for parents of children attending primary school, and not preschool; this, and the relatively low percentage added value of perceived school climate to the model explaining life satisfaction in Germany, suggests that some important variables might be missing. Moreover, the relationality could also be reversed, e.g., parents with higher life satisfaction in the host country could have better relationships with their children's schools, leading to more positive perceptions. Causal inferences were also limited because of the cross-sectional design. Correspondingly, future studies may consider investigations with larger samples, considering additional or modified items, and reverse causal relationships. There might also be stronger evidence from longitudinal studies and studies with experimental designs to draw conclusions.

In the qualitative study, the aspect of validity is mainly related to the appropriateness of the data collection instruments and analysis and the credibility, emphasizing the

transparency and trustworthiness of the whole process from data collection to analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Leung, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Noble & Smith, 2015). In order to attain a high level of research quality in this dissertation, several approaches were combined, including pretesting interview guides, attending qualitative data collection and analysis training, and reflective exchanges with researchers for data interpretation, as well as the data coding process (Flick, 2011). Furthermore, the inclusion of another researcher to code part of the data to assess inter-coder consistency and the integration of different methodological approaches (Study 4 with the mixed methods study) are part of the triangulation, which implies that the phenomena under study are approached from multiple perspectives (Flick, 2011; Leung, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mayring, 2014).

The process-oriented approach of qualitative research was applied to all of the studies in the dissertation to examine social and psychological processes and individuals' relationships to their social contexts through a flexible and inductive lens (Maxwell, 2004a, 2004b). This approach has its own strengths when it comes to drawing causal inferences by questioning relationality, asking "why?" and "how?" questions that lead to a deep overview (Maxwell, 2004b). Recently, especially in educational research, the need for qualitative approaches has been emphasized in order to make causal inquiries, as they facilitate explorations of individuals' sense of meaning, as well as the role of contexts and processes (e.g., Maxwell, 2004a, 2012). It also plays a complementary role to quantitative research, which fails to reflect on 'processes' in drawing causal conclusions (Maxwell, 2016). For example, Study 4 used the process-oriented approach to further explore the results of the quantitative study on the relationship between parents' perceived school climate and their life satisfaction in Germany and group differences. Studies 1, 2, and 3, which were based on a solely qualitative study, all provided several causal or relational conclusions; parental perceived educational quality contributes to socio-spatial school and residential segregation (Study 1); the extent to which

immigrant families' heritage languages are valued in society influences how inclusive language policies and practices are in schools (Study 2); or that parents' desire for social integration in the host country drives them and their children to engage in Christian activities at school (Study 3).

However, despite its strengths, the process-oriented approach also has its limitations, for example, in establishing causality, typically based on small samples as in this dissertation. Also, when parents openly made connections and causal links in some of their narratives, 'researcher sensitivity' also played an integral role in drawing some causal inferences. Corbin and Strauss (2008) describe sensitivity as "having insight, being tuned in to, being able to pick up on relevant issues, events, and happenings in data" as well as "being able to present the view of participants and taking the role of the other through immersion in data" (p. 32). Thus, in this dissertation, on the one hand, the application of 'sensitivity' was considered crucial for the quality of qualitative research analysis; on the other hand, the role of the researcher to draw causal inferences, in particular, cannot be ignored.

Although both qualitative and quantitative research have their own strengths and weaknesses when it comes to drawing causal inferences (Tacq, 2011), mixed methods research, as in Study 4, offers valuable complementary insights. Correspondingly, further future mixed methods research at the intersection of social identity, migration, and education might shed valuable insights.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that despite taking into account various quality criteria, this dissertation makes no claim to objectivity. As scholars point out, despite methodological checks, the positionality or standpoint of the researcher with regard to their own and respondents' social and cultural backgrounds and interests (e.g., political, cultural, academic) can never be completely eliminated in any research, and its results (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Flick, 2011). Accordingly, in line with others (e.g., H. Becker, 1998; Mason, 2002), I believe

that being aware of one's own standpoint, e.g., as a researcher, as a person who has a migration experience, and being self-reflexive throughout the research process, rather than claiming to be a neutral data analyzer and collector, actively contributes to the quality of the research itself.

14.4. Other areas for future research

This dissertation, in addition to the aforementioned limitations and recommendations for future research, offers a number of other suggestions for further studies. As mentioned earlier, social identities are dynamic and are constructed in relation to 'others' (Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The immigration aspect not only has an impact on the social identity of immigrants but also on the native population (Bauer & Hannover, 2020). Accordingly, native parents' perspectives on culturally diverse social and educational contexts could yield interesting results.

Moreover, some of the findings of this dissertation addressed teachers' cultural prejudice, injustice in their behavior and grading toward children of immigrants, and deficits in intercultural and interreligious approaches. These parental perceptions should be further investigated with observational and experimental studies including children and teachers. Moreover, teachers may not be aware of how their practices lead to the reproduction of white mainstream privilege and the subaltern status of immigrants in society at large (Kurban & Tobin, 2009). Accordingly, the marginalization of minority children can occur through implicit and explicit attitudes and practices of teachers (Dervin et al., 2015). Therefore, it is necessary to engage teachers in self-reflexive approaches to question the ways in which their pedagogical practices lead to the elimination or reinforcement of societal boundaries (Ponciano & Shabazian, 2012). There are many successful intervention studies on social identities which describe how to create an inclusive environment (e.g., Juang et al., 2020; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018). For example, a recent 8-week school-based intervention study for students in Germany showed that identity-based interventions can help eliminate ethnic boundaries in educational

contexts, such as recognizing one's own stereotypes, symbolic boundaries, and inappropriate behaviors, as well as identifying commonalities with so-called out-groups (Juang et al., 2020). In addition, the findings of this dissertation in Studies 2 and 4 demonstrated that parents' acculturation stress, associated with language and cultural barriers and inadequate support, can negatively affect their involvement in their children's formal education as well as their life satisfaction in the host country. As has been shown, intervention and prevention programs that aim to support immigrant parents and improve teachers' knowledge and skills for collaborating with immigrant families can have a positive impact on home–school collaboration (e.g., Nelson et al., 2000; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2014). Accordingly, future prevention and intervention studies on the topic of social identity, as well as collaboration with immigrant parents, could provide important insights for creating inclusive contexts in society in general and civic education in particular.

Beyond that, this dissertation obtained children's perceptions and practices in different developmental contexts indirectly through their parents' views. In line with other research (Finke & Sökefeld, 2018; Kurban & Tobin, 2009), it has been shown that children at an early age already perceive cultural and linguistic group differences, as well as inconsistencies between the home, school, and societal cultural contexts. The long-term impact of high-quality early education on children's future cognitive skills and academic achievement is well established (e.g., Barnett, 1995; Melhuish et al., 2013; Sammons et al., 2008; Ulferts et al., 2019). The impact of the degree of cultural inclusiveness in early educational contexts on the future positive identity development and well-being of immigrant children deserves further focus and attention.

As evidenced by the narratives of the respondents in this dissertation, second and third-generation parents, in particular, reported retrospectively on their own upbringing or schooling, such as experiencing discrimination or language barriers that impacted the construction of their

social identity, as well as their current beliefs and practices with regard to childrearing. Accordingly, longitudinal studies of children's social identities in relation to the characteristics of their learning environments from the early years of life, as well as retrospective studies on immigrants, could provide us with further information about the significance of developmental contexts that influence individuals' positive identity development and well-being.

Moreover, this dissertation's socio-spatial, interdisciplinary theoretical framework for examining the social identity of immigrant parents may provide important insights for the further development of critical theories of space in education. As scholars have pointed out, there are still inadequate empirical studies in education concerning the application of spatial theories (Baroutsis et al., 2017; Gulson & Symes, 2007a). Therefore, this theoretical framework can be applied to other immigrant groups and other national contexts and can be further developed to reflect the complexity of contemporary cultural and linguistic super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007b).

15. Implications for social and educational policy and practice

This section provides recommendations for social and educational policy and practice both in the context of Germany and for contemporary European and other immigration countries. First, in line with numerous scholars, it is argued that education and social policies cannot be considered separately (Faas, 2008; Hüpping & Büker, 2014; OECD, 2017); instead, as mentioned earlier, migration and education policies are closely interlinked (see Chapter 8.1.). Germany has encountered the negative consequences of its late recognition of itself as a country of immigration in terms of socio-economic, humanitarian, and educational outcomes (Holzbrecher, 2004; Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Miera, 2007). Especially after the shock of the first PISA results in 2000 (Davoli & Entorf, 2018; OECD, 2019a), important steps were taken, both at the policy level and in practice, to reduce the cognitive and linguistic differences between children from advantaged and disadvantaged families in their early years

by increasing funding for education, prioritizing inclusive pedagogical approaches, and collaborating with immigrant families (e.g., BMFSFJ, 2022; Doll & Kreuzer, 2018; KMK, 2019). However, research shows that educational gaps related to children's low SES and immigrant background persist (Henschel et al., 2022; Mostafa & Schwabe, 2019; Wendt & Schwippert, 2017).

One reason for this could be the problems in the actual implementation of policy in pedagogical practice (Hepp, 2011). As the findings of this dissertation demonstrate, from the perspective of immigrant parents, there are also gaps in educational practices for creating inclusive, equitable, and culturally responsive school environments for immigrant families and their children. Measures should be taken to strengthen the link between policy and practice, and the actual implementation of the required practices in educational institutions should be assessed, and the necessary improvements undertaken.

Another important aspect that should be underlined is the inequalities in urban areas deriving from socio-spatial residential and school segregation, along with the aspect of educational quality. Despite the fact that in some federal states, additional financial support is provided to disadvantaged districts (e.g., Semm, 2011) and their educational institutions (Kuger & Klucznik, 2008) in order to improve their social cohesion and concrete infrastructure, in practice, there still seem to be problems in achieving the set goals, as corroborated by the respondents of the present dissertation. The aspect of socio-spatial segregation cannot only be explained by the SES of families, as mentioned previously; there are also symbolic boundaries, i.e., certain neighborhoods and schools are stigmatized due to their ethnic and social composition. While crucial steps should be taken for social cohesion in society and improving the quality of neighborhoods, efforts should also be made in educational institutions to ensure quality education and a socially and ethnically balanced student body.

Teacher shortages mentioned by some respondents, especially in disadvantaged areas, could exacerbate educational inequities (Dräger & Kober, 2018; Ziegler et al., 2019). However, the use of quotas for the number of immigrant children in preschools appeared to pose a challenge to early preschool attendance for some immigrant families, given the overall shortage of preschool slots. In this context, tackling shortages of teachers and educational facilities in general and in disadvantaged areas, in particular, should be prioritized in policy. Families' concerns about educational quality should be taken seriously, and even at the individual institution level, quality measures and monitoring should be made transparent, and institutions should strive for quality improvement while taking parents' wishes into account. These quality concerns, also reflected in the current dissertation, may lead families to consider private schooling for their children. Although private schools are not widespread in Germany, in line with other researchers, the findings highlight the growing demand for private schools (Nikolai & Koinzer, 2017) and the potential growth of SES-related educational inequalities (Fincke & Lange, 2012).

Furthermore, it is widely recognized that teaching and caring for a culturally, linguistically, and religiously diverse group of children, as well as collaborating with their families, presents several challenges to teachers in Germany (Sliwka, 2010). Hence, teachers need to be empowered by acquiring knowledge and skills in these areas in teacher education and training (OECD, 2010). Their role in influencing immigrant families and their children's social identity should be part of this training to emphasize teachers' role in building civic society. Even when teachers feel that identity issues related to the broader society are transcending not only their competence and knowledge but also their responsibility (Kurban & Tobin, 2009), raising awareness of the vital role of teachers in creating an inclusive society can have an impact, as inclusive education is a prerequisite to an inclusive society (Alasuutari & Jokikokko, 2010). Particularly in teacher education and additional training, demonstrating

inspiring practices and motivating and empowering teachers to take leadership roles on issues of inclusion could make profound differences in the lives of immigrant families and their children (Donnelly et al., 2019; Grudnoff et al., 2017). Moreover, the employment of teachers who share the same cultural and linguistic background as immigrant children could help these children feel a sense of belonging to the school, as well as strengthen the home–school relationship (Stitzinger & Lüdtke, 2014).

In addition to the teaching level, changes must also be made at the institutional level by adopting strict inclusive institutional policies, which could limit the exclusionary pedagogical practices of teachers (Çelik, 2017). For example, research has highlighted the importance of educational institutions' leaders in creating inclusive environments for immigrant families impacting teacher practice (Kurucz, Lehrl, & Anders, 2020; McGlynn, 2010). Rather than adopting surface-level discourses of inclusion and seeing immigrant families as a 'melting pot,' educational institutions should take actions at the individual and family levels that recognize the heterogeneity of these families. Immigrant parents should be seen as equal educational partners, and their parenting beliefs and practices should be acknowledged so that they can have the opportunity to integrate their familial resources as part of educational institutions. As stressed earlier, structural and institutional discrimination against immigrant families and their children in schools should be recognized and strongly counteracted. Also, collaboration between schools and other organizations (e.g., immigrant organizations, parent unions, neighborhood associations) should be improved to identify families' support needs and engage their family resources in educational settings. The close relationship between home, school, and society could have a positive impact on families and their engagement in school (J. L. Epstein & Sanders, 2006). As researchers point out, providing targeted support to immigrant families, in addition to universal support, can have several beneficial effects on those families

(Leseman & Slot, 2020). Also, intervention and prevention measures can promote inclusion in the education system (see Chapter 14.4., e.g., Juang et al., 2020).

Moreover, attitudes toward immigrants in society, as well as social and migration policies, not only affect education policy but can also have a direct impact on educational practice within school spaces (Pulinx et al., 2017; Sirin et al., 2022) as well as family dynamics within the home space (Francot, 2021). Since teachers are also part of society, the broader societal atmosphere could affect their beliefs and attitudes toward immigrants (e.g., cultural prejudice) and thus affect their pedagogical practice and collaboration with immigrant families (Pulinx et al., 2017; Sirin et al., 2022). As research shows, immigrant parents in countries with multicultural integration policies (e.g., England and Norway) are more likely to engage in intercultural socialization of their children (e.g., by fostering friendships with natives) than in countries with assimilationist policies (e.g., Germany and the Netherlands) (Francot, 2021).

In addition, parents' concerns about the negative portrayal of immigrants in the media need to be addressed. Researchers have emphasized that there is a close relationship between immigrants' social identity construction and (social) media (Mittelstädt & Odag, 2016; Odag & Hanke, 2019). Negative portrayals of immigrants in the media can hinder immigrants' integration (Cisneros, 2008; Odag & Hanke, 2019), adversely influence public attitudes toward immigrants, and promote exclusionary policies (Cisneros, 2008). Therefore, measures should be taken to combat the creation of media spaces that marginalize immigrants.

Furthermore, instead of exclusionary public and political discourses, significant action should be taken both in policy and in practice to promote social cohesion. There could be more initiatives and public spaces that promote intercultural dialogue. The focus of policymakers should not only be on labor market integration or the one-sided cultural and linguistic integration of immigrants. Creating an inclusive civil society that respects and recognizes the linguistic, cultural, and religious resources of immigrants in society and integrates them into

society and its educational institutions should be the main objective. The aspect of integration should be considered a two-way process that also includes the adaptation of the native population to today's diversity. Instead of pressuring immigrants to choose either their heritage or host nation identity (as discussed earlier, see Chapter 8.1.), there should be policies and regulations that value and support immigrants' preservation of multiple identities. These would help immigrants build a positive bicultural social identity that enhances their overall well-being (Phinney et al., 2001; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Overall, while focusing on the perceptions and experiences of Turkish immigrant parents in Germany, this dissertation attempts to improve understanding of the experiences of diverse families who do not live in their heritage countries, such as immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees, and of their children who were born and raised in a country that still considers them 'other,' by drawing on an interdisciplinary, socio-spatial, and relational theoretical perspective. Although the findings of this study focus in part on the specific national context of Germany, they offer valuable insights into other multicultural nations where both immigrants and native populations at the micro level and policymakers at the macro level face various challenges in meeting the needs of a pluralistic society. Understanding the nested developmental contexts of immigrant families and the interplay of social identities with the home–school–society relational space from a critical perspective with respect to the (re)production of inclusive and exclusionary spaces can shed light on the ways in which equality, inclusion, and successful civic societies can be established.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Manuscripts

Appendix A.1. Manuscript for Study 1

STUDY 1

Socio-spatial segregation in school–society relational spaces from the perspectives of Turkish immigrant mothers: "Where are the Germans?"

Erdem-Möbius, H., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y. (2021). Socio-spatial segregation in school–society relational spaces from the perspectives of Turkish immigrant mothers: "Where are the Germans?". *Contemporary Social Science*, *16*(4), 464–479. https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2021.1890813

*** This manuscript is not included in the online version. To access the full manuscript, please visit: https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2021.1890813

Appendix A.2. Manuscript for Study 2

STUDY 2

The interplay of ethnocultural identity and language: Perceptions and experiences of Turkish immigrant mothers in home–school–society relational spaces

Erdem-Möbius, H., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y. (2022). The interplay of ethnocultural identity and language: Perceptions and experiences of Turkish immigrant mothers in home–school–society relational spaces. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2022.2106230

*** This manuscript is not included in the online version. To access the full manuscript, please visit: https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2022.2106230

Appendix A.3. Manuscript for Study 3

STUDY 3

Ethnoreligious identities in home–school–society relational spaces: The case of Turkish immigrant parents in Germany

Erdem-Möbius, H., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y. (2022). Ethnoreligious identities in home–school–society relational spaces: The case of Turkish immigrant parents in Germany. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2022.2138320

*** This manuscript is not included in the online version. To access the full manuscript, please visit: https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2022.2138320

Appendix A.4. Manuscript for Study 4

STUDY 4

The relationship between Turkish immigrant parents' perceptions of school climate and their life satisfaction in Germany: A mixed methods study

Erdem-Möbius, H., Wolf, K., Sirin, S., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y. (submitted). The relationship between Turkish immigrant parents' perceptions of school climate and their life satisfaction in Germany: A mixed methods study.

Abstract

Using a socio-spatial relational theoretical framework, this mixed methods study examined the relationship between Turkish immigrant parents' perceptions of the climate of their children's schools and their life satisfaction in Germany. A close look was taken at how this relationship varied based on the parents' immigrant generation (first vs. second) and children's school level (preschool vs. primary school). The results showed that life satisfaction in Germany was predicted by perceived school climate for both immigrant generations, but the relationship was slightly stronger for second-generation parents. School level moderated the relationship; it was significant only for parents with children in primary school. The perceived (in-)justice of the school, the extent of inclusive pedagogical practices, and how teachers collaborate with immigrant parents and their attitudes toward them emerged in narratives associated with the parents' life satisfaction. The results can inform educational practices and policies that promote an inclusive society.

Keywords: school climate, life satisfaction, migration, parenting, mixed-methods

Introduction

European countries today are confronted with the incredible diversity of their societies, the so-called "super-diversity" resulting from the growth of immigrant populations (Vertovec, 2007). Education and integration policies overlap in many ways, as educational institutions are recognized as an important context for the integration of immigrant families and their children into society (OECD, 2017). However, schools also reflect the broader societal context, so the extent to which society adopts inclusive approaches can influence the beliefs and practices related to immigrant families adopted by educational institutions (Sirin et al., 2022). A significant body of research has shown that immigrants' perceptions of school climate can influence their lives outside of educational institutions and affect their well-being in the host country (e.g., Sirlopú & Renger, 2020; Vietze et al., 2019). However, most studies have focused on children: the question of how immigrant parents' perceptions of school climate affect their life satisfaction in the host country has not received adequate attention.

Immigrant parents have high educational aspirations for their children (Langenkamp, 2019). However, many of them struggle with cultural and language barriers and asymmetrical power relationships at their children's schools (Antony-Newman, 2019; Norheim & Moser, 2020). Conversely, schools can mitigate parents' problems adjusting to society and serve as a bridge to external contexts (Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Accordingly, using an explanatory sequential design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), this mixed methods study applies a socio-spatial relational approach and examines the relationships between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country (Germany) among Turkish immigrant parents.

Immigrants' life satisfaction in the host country

Individuals and groups desire a "psychological home" where they form emotional bonds, develop a sense of community, and connect their self-identities (Sigmon et al., 2002). Depending on their position in society (race/ethnicity, class, gender, immigrant generation),

immigrants' life satisfaction in the host country (e.g., feeling at home, accepted, and welcome) may be challenged (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018; Verkuyten, 2008). As research shows, both an individual's personal experiences and the social position of their ethnic group can influence the way they perceive themselves as part of the majority society (Jenkins, 2000; Oyserman et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1981).

Accordingly, individuals' ethnocultural identities, which are constructed in relation to their home and host countries, can play a role in their life satisfaction (Morawa et al., 2020). For instance, the development of a bicultural identity through the *integration* of both host and home cultures has been shown to be ideal for immigrant well-being (Berry, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001). However, scholars also emphasize that cultural *assimilation* can positively influence immigrants' life satisfaction, especially in countries that take a predominantly assimilative approach to immigrants, such as Germany (Morawa et al., 2020).

As the evidence shows, proficiency in the national language (Amit, 2010; Angelini et al., 2015), the extent of social contacts (Arpino & de Valk, 2018), and the availability of social support can enhance immigrants' life satisfaction (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). Some scholars have found that first-generation immigrants face particular difficulties, such as fewer social contacts, which can cause them to experience lower life satisfaction than second-generation immigrants (Arpino & de Valk, 2018). Furthermore, Fassbender and Leyendecker (2018) drew attention to the role of socioeconomic status (SES) based on a sample of Turkish immigrant mothers in Germany. They found that first-generation mothers tended to have lower SES and respondents with higher SES had fewer daily hassles, less depression, and showed greater life satisfaction.

Furthermore, the negative impact of perceived discrimination on immigrants' life satisfaction in the host country has been widely established (Berry, 1997; Kirmanoğlu & Başlevent, 2014; Verkuyten, 2008). This effect may be even greater for second-generation immigrants, including Turkish immigrants in Germany (Morawa et al., 2020), because second-

generation immigrants experience these obstacles despite having assimilated into the host society (Alba, 2005; Morawa et al., 2020; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Immigrants parents' perceived school climate

School climate can be described as the "patterns of people's experiences of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures" (Cohen et al., 2009, p. 182). Recently, it has been emphasized that perceptions are more useful for studying school climate than objective aspects because they serve as the primary determinants of individual behaviors (Griffith, 2000; Smith, 2020). Research suggests that parents with older students have more negative perceptions of school climate (Berkowitz et al., 2021; Smith, 2020). For instance, Berkowitz et al. (2021) found that in the United States, parents of preschool children had the most positive perceptions of school climate, while they were mostly negative among parents of high school children. This may be related to the decreased collaboration between teachers and parents as students age (Izzo et al., 1999) and the increasingly conflictual relationships that develop due to the growing complexity of educational issues (Berkowitz et al., 2021).

Immigrant parents may have additional concerns that influence their perception of school climate based on their own experiences and those of their children (Hamilton et al., 2011). For instance, minority children can experience discrimination based on their linguistic, ethnocultural, and religious backgrounds (Moffitt et al., 2019), confront low expectations of success from their teachers (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007), and face unfair grading practices (Sprietsma, 2013). Furthermore, immigrant parents may face the stress of acculturation when they engage in their children's schools (Hamilton et al., 2011; Norheim & Moser, 2020). Unfamiliarity with the education system and cultural and language barriers can cause difficulties, especially for first-generation parents (Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018). In this case, support from the school and collaboration can positively impact parents' involvement and

result in more positive perceptions (Durán et al., 2020). For instance, Hummel et al. (2022) showed that, for parents of preschoolers, trust is positively correlated with the perceived level of communication with the preschool.

Furthermore, teachers and immigrant parents may have different education-related values (Bossong & Keller, 2018; Sirin et al., 2009). For instance, Bossong and Keller (2018) showed discrepancies between the developmental goals and educational strategies favored by preschool teachers in Germany and parents of Turkish and Russian origin, especially those with low SES. However, middle SES may not eliminate immigrant parents' racial and ethnic "otherness" at school, as shown by the experiences of Korean parents in the United States (Park, 2020). Also, teachers might tend to perceive immigrant parents' educational involvement as lower than that of native parents (e.g., Ho & Cherng, 2018). The false perception that they are disinterested can marginalize immigrant parents, as shown in an ethnographic study in Cyprus (Theodorou, 2008). Moreover, research in the United States has provided evidence that feelings of exclusion and cultural prejudices can negatively affect parents' perceptions of school climate (Sirin et al., 2022).

A relational socio-spatial perspective

Examining the relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country requires an understanding of individuals' socio-psychological processes in relation to particular contexts, as well as the connections between contexts. In this paper, we apply a critical socio-spatial perspective and conceptualize contexts using the term "space." We argue that spaces are not only physical, but also include norms, beliefs, practices, and power relations (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1989). Moreover, every space is relational: one cannot fully understand the dynamics of a given space without examining its relationships to other spaces (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Fuller & Löw, 2017). More recently, scholars have applied relational space theory to educational contexts, reflecting material and symbolic inequalities by emphasizing their

relational nature within and beyond these contexts (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Morgan, 2000). A particular school space can be perceived differently depending on the position of the individual or group within society. In addition, schools can become spaces where societal boundaries are reconstructed in terms of inclusion and exclusion (Morgan, 2000). Accordingly, school and societal spaces are treated here as relational spaces.

The interconnections between human development and context are grounded in the ecological model developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979). This model focuses on proximal processes – the interactions between individuals and enduring contexts – which take place in a nested system of environments ranging from the micro to the macro level. It also argues that process, person, context, and time are inextricably linked (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For example, the home and school both form part of the microsystem, where children and their parents have face-to-face interactions with each other and other people. The relationships between the microsystems make up the mesosystem (e.g., the relationship between home and school). The macrosystem describes the broader socio-political systems (e.g., the country's belief systems and body of knowledge; Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Recently, scholars have applied the ecological model to immigrant parents and their children (e.g., Seginer, 2006; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). For example, immigrants' life satisfaction can be influenced by various systems, such as the socio-political context, the country's policies and attitudes toward immigrants (e.g., assimilationist vs. multiculturalist; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018), and the extent to which schools create an inclusive environment, collaborate with immigrant families, and provide a supportive climate (Seginer, 2006; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). Accordingly, combining the ecological model with the critical relational space theoretical framework may provide further insight into the relationships between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country.

The context of the study

Germany is the world's second most popular country for immigrants after the United States (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Today, about a quarter of the German population is of immigrant origin, with the Turkish community representing the largest immigrant group (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). Germany has a state-subsidized early childhood education and care (ECEC) system available to all children starting at one year old, as well as an extensive public school system (KMK, 2019). The overall attendance rate in ECEC is high (93% for children 3-6 years old); however, immigrant-origin children tend to attend preschool later than native children (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020). Moreover, they are more likely to attend educational institutions with a high percentage of children from disadvantaged backgrounds (Becker & Schober, 2017; Fincke & Lange, 2012; Lehrl et al., 2014).

International assessments have indicated that there is a significant performance gap between native and immigrant children, which intersects with socioeconomic differences (Mostafa & Schwabe, 2019). Germany's late recognition of itself as an immigrant country and the assimilationist policies that prevailed for many years have also reinforced these inequalities (Hüpping & Büker, 2014). Given the achievement gap, Germany has recently taken major steps to combat the educational disparities and invested significantly in improving the quality of education – for example, by creating programs for an inclusive educational environment, promoting children's language development, and collaborating with parents (KMK, 2019; OECD, 2016).

However, despite these national plans, research has identified gaps in implementation, such as the insufficient integration of migration-related multilingualism (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2022b; Putjata & Koster, 2021), inter-cultural/religious approaches in pedagogical practices (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2022a, Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Prengel, 2006), and collaboration with immigrant parents (Viernickel et al., 2013). Moreover, "immigrant parents" have been

presented as nearly synonymous with socioeconomically vulnerable or educationally-alienated (*bildungsfern* – meaning that "'far' from the educational system") parents in political discourse (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022, p. 2). According to Kollender (2021), they have been instrumentalized to promote social integration through assimilationist approaches, which she calls the "exclusionary inclusion" approach (p. 5). This means that immigrant parents are expected to conform to the dominant norms (e.g., by taking integration courses) rather than being treated as equal educational partners (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022; Kollender, 2021).

The Turkish community is a particularly marginalized group in Germany, who are often portrayed as refusing to integrate (see critical review in Diehl & Schnell, 2006). The community has a long history of immigration, with its roots in the mass labor migration of the 1960s (Aydın, 2016). Over the years, Turkish immigrants have included individual laborers, political refugees, and those pursuing family reunification and higher education. Therefore, one can today speak of a very heterogeneous Turkish community in Germany (Aydın, 2016).

Research questions

This study examines the following research questions based on the experiences of Turkish immigrant parents in Germany:

- RQ1: To what extent does perceived school climate predict life satisfaction in the host country, after controlling for socioeconomic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity?
- RQ2: To what extent does the relation between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country vary based on immigrant generation and school level, after controlling for socioeconomic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity?
- RQ3: How do immigrant parents perceive school climate and its relationship to their life satisfaction in the host country?

Method

The present study was conducted as part of an EU-funded project: *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS; www.isotis.org). Following Creswell and Plano Clark (2018), we used an explanatory sequential design in which qualitative data were used to complement the interpretation of the quantitative research findings. The qualitative data, which were derived from examining social and cognitive processes, explained the regression model, which was based on the survey data (Maxwell, 2004).

Sampling and procedure

Parents were selected based on their Turkish origin and the school level of their children. Parents of children in preschool (3–6 years old) or primary school (8–12 years old), who were either born in Turkey and immigrated to Germany or were born in Germany but have Turkish origins were chosen (see Broekhuizen et al., 2018). Recruitment sites were selected considering the accessibility of the target group (e.g., recruiting in economically disadvantaged areas or those with a high share of Turkish immigrants).

As recruitment strategies, both top-down approaches, such as contacting schools and migrant organizations, and bottom-up approaches, such as reaching out directly to parents through online parent groups or snowballing, were utilized. All respondents provided their consent to participate. Structured, fully-standardized face-to-face interviews were carried out using the online survey tool LimeSurvey (see Broekhuizen et al., 2018). Among the respondents who agreed to participate in the second (qualitative, in-depth) interview, we used purposive sampling to obtain a diverse sub-sample in terms of parental education level, immigrant generation, and school level (see Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and anonymized with pseudonyms.

Sample

The quantitative study respondents were 338 parents with children in either preschool (n = 134) or primary school (n = 204). The parents ranged from 22 to 54 years old, with a mean age of 37.89 (*SD* = 6.04). The majority of them were mothers (93.2%) and first-generation immigrants (66%). The average age of immigration to Germany was 19.12 (*SD* = 9.15). Respondents mostly had completed upper secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary, or short-form tertiary education (40.9%); 23% had a bachelor's degree or higher, while the others had no more than a lower secondary education (36.1%).

For the qualitative study, the respondents were 22 mothers with an average age of 39.0 (*SD* = 5.45). Twelve parents had a child in preschool, while 10 had a child in primary school. Thirteen parents were first-generation, and nine were second-generation immigrants. Eight respondents had a bachelor's degree or higher, while the others had completed upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education.

Measures and data analysis

Quantitative study measures

Perceived school climate was measured with a focus on teacher–child and teacher–parent relationships, using a modified version of the "Parent–Teacher Relationship" scale (Petrogiannis & Penderi, 2013) and items designed by the project team, which were inspired by other scales such as the "Parental Trust of School" (Forsyth et al., 2002) and "Educator–Student Relationship" (Marx & Byrnes, 2012) scales. The resulting scale comprised nine items (e.g., "My child's teachers understand me" and "My child's teachers treat my child fairly"). Parents reported their level of agreement using a 5-point Likert scale. The results of an exploratory factor analysis indicated that all nine items loaded on the same factor, explaining 51.34% of the

overall variance, with item loadings ranging from .55 to .81. The reliability of the scale was good, with a Cronbach's alpha of .88.

Life satisfaction in Germany was measured using an adapted version of Verkuyten's (2008) migration-specific life satisfaction scale. This four-item measure was designed to capture immigrants' feelings about their lives in the host country, such as their sense of belonging and feeling welcome (e.g., "I feel at home in Germany" and "I feel accepted in Germany"). Parents reported their level of agreement on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = disagree; 5 = agree), with higher values indicating a higher level of life satisfaction. The reliability of the scale was satisfactory, with a Cronbach's alpha of .78.

Immigrant generation was defined based on birth country. First-generation referred to parents who were born in Turkey but currently live in Germany, while second-generation referred to those who were born in Germany but had Turkish origins.

School level referred to whether the parents' children attended preschool (3–6 years old) or primary school (8–12 years old).

Control variables: Socioeconomic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity were considered as control variables to ensure that the differences in the degree of life satisfaction in Germany were exclusively influenced by the perceived school climate.

Socioeconomic status was measured using two variables, parental education level and economic status. For *education level,* we used the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) codes to quantify the participants' educational attainment (Eurostat, 2011). We distinguished between low (ISCED 0, 1 or 2; lower than primary education, primary or lower secondary education), medium (ISCED 3, 4 or 5; upper secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary and short-cycle tertiary education), and high (ISCED 6 or 7; Bachelor's degree or higher) levels

of education. The indicators of economic status were *family employment* (both parents unemployed; one earner in the family; dual-earner) and the *material deprivation* index, a 13-item scale used for social monitoring at both the national and EU levels (e.g., "Could you tell me if you can replace worn-out clothes with new (not second-hand) ones?"). The index is used widely and is a psychometrically valid indicator of family income (Guio et al., 2016). For each affirmative item, one point is added to the scale.

The *German proficiency* measure was developed by the project team, using three items to determine parents' self-assessment of their reading, speaking, and listening proficiency in the German language (e.g., "When listening to the German news on television or the radio, do you have difficulty understanding the German language?"). The response scale ranged from 1 to 6, with higher scores representing better language skills. The reliability of the scale was high, with a Cronbach's alpha of .91.

Ethnocultural identity measured parents' attachment to their Turkish and/or German identity across different contexts. The measure was developed by the project team and represented the mean of three responses. Participants answered the following question: "How strongly do you feel that you are Turkish, German, or equally Turkish and German in the following situations: home or family, neighborhood, and (pre)school?". They responded using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = "completely Turkish" to 5 = "completely German." The reliability of the scale was satisfactory, with a Cronbach's alpha of .73.

Quantitative study analysis

We conducted a regression analysis for RQ1 to investigate the extent to which perceived school climate predicted life satisfaction in Germany, followed by a multigroup regression analysis for RQ2 to determine whether this relationship differed based on immigrant generation and school level. The first model contained the background and control variables. In the second

model, perceived school climate was added to analyze the incremental predictive power. All regression analyses were performed using MPlus statistical software (Version 8.3; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). The frequency of missing data ranged from 0.0% to 5.0% for the variables included in our analyses. Little's (1988) test of Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) showed that missing values were not distributed completely at random across our observations ($\chi 2$= 25.41, *df* = 15, *p* = .05). In this case, the use of MPlus provided the full information maximum likelihood (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012), which is optimal for reducing the likelihood of biased parameter estimates and minimizing parameter estimation error (Shin et al., 2009).

Qualitative study instruments

The qualitative study based on semi-structured in-depth interviews was designed by scholars at the University of Oxford (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). As collaborators, we included additional questions related to the focus of our research. In the current study, the following content was informative: socioeconomic status, respondents' education level, current employment, and (if indicated) whether they receive state benefits. We also asked questions about their German proficiency and their perceptions of themselves ethnically and culturally. Regarding perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country, we asked several questions, such as "How do you get along with your child's teachers?", "Do you feel that you and/or your child are treated differently because of your ethnic background?", "How do you feel about living in Germany?", and "How do you think your ethnic group is treated here?".

Qualitative study analysis

The qualitative data were analyzed to answer RQ3 and explore whether parents' perception of their children's school climate influenced their life satisfaction in Germany. Atlas.ti software was used and the principles of qualitative content analysis were applied.

Following Schreier (2012), both concept-oriented and data-oriented approaches were used to create the categories. Initially, the first author created the preliminary version of the coding scheme based on 10% of the data. The groups "Life satisfaction in Germany" and "School climate" were created. They contained categories grouped in terms of positive and negative narratives. For example, data related to negative experiences in Germany were grouped under the main categories of "adaptation problems" and "perceived discrimination." The same procedure was employed for "school climate," with categories addressing positive and negative teacher–child and teacher–parent relationships.

Second, using the data-based approach, additional categories and subcategories were created. After completing the first coding scheme, a second trained coder was involved and coded the same part of the data to assess intercoder reliability. After several revisions to the coding scheme based on discussions between the two coders, 93% agreement was reached and the coding scheme was finalized. Finally, the first author coded the remaining data.

Results

Quantitative study results

Descriptive results

Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 1. In our sample, 32.2% were part of dual-earner families and 23.0% of respondents had high educational backgrounds. Moreover, the average perceived level of German proficiency was high. The ethnocultural identity reported was close to the center of the scale. Table 1 also includes descriptive statistics separated by school level and immigrant generation. There were more dual-earner families in the preschool and second-generation groups. There were also differences in terms of educational background, with more highly-educated parents in the preschool group and more less-educated parents in the first-generation group. The parents of primary school-aged children rated school climate

lower than the parents of preschool-aged children (M = 4.29, SD = .86 vs. M = 4.49, SD = .70). A Mann-Whitney U test indicated that the difference was statistically significant (U = 10382.000, Z = -2.064, p = .04). Moreover, the second-generation parents showed significantly higher life satisfaction than the first-generation parents (M = 4.12, SD = 1.02 vs. M = 3.84, SD = 1.05); $t(330)$ = -2.34, p = .02.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for the whole sample, by child's school level and parent's immigrant generation

	Child's school level		Parent's immigrant generation		
	Preschool (n = 134)	Primary school (n = 204)	1st generation (n = 221)	2nd generation (n = 114)	Whole sample (n = 338)
	M (SD)	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***
Socioeconomic status					
Family employment in %					
Unemployed	12.0	10.4	11.5	10.5	11.0
One earner	51.9	59.9	61.4	47.4	56.8
Dual earner	36.1	29.7	27.1	42.1	32.2
Material deprivation	1.09 (1.49)	1.69 (1.91)	1.71 (1.94)	0.98 (1.32)	1.45 (1.78)
Education level in %					
Low	27.8	41.6	45.0	20.2	36.1
Medium	38.4	42.6	34.4	53.5	40.9
High	33.8	15.8	20.6	26.3	23.0
German proficiency	5.14 (1.12)	4.81 (1.27)	4.47 (1.23)	5.82 (0.52)	4.94 (1.22)
Ethnocultural identity	2.23 (0.95)	1.98 (0.90)	1.97 (0.94)	2.27 (0.88)	2.08 (0.93)
Perceived school climate	4.49 (0.70)	4.29 (0.86)	4.33 (0.82)	4.45 (0.79)	4.37 (0.81)
Life satisfaction (host country)	3.98 (1.03)	3.91 (1.05)	3.84 (1.05)	4.12 (1.01)	3.94 (1.05)

Note: frequency in %, resp. mean and standard deviation.

Regression models

Table 2 displays the results related to RQ1. Model 1 explained 10% of the variance; adding perceived school climate led to a significant change in the amount of variance explained. Perceived school climate was a significant predictor of parents' life satisfaction in Germany after accounting for socioeconomic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity. School climate alone explained an additional 4% of the variance in life satisfaction (see Table 2).

Table 2

Regression analyses for predicting life satisfaction in the host country for the whole sample

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	ß (SE)	***p***	***ß (SE)***	***p***
Family employment	-.02 (.05)	.707	-.01(.05)	.783
Material deprivation	-.06 (.06)	.335	-.05 (.06)	.373
Educational level	.00 (.06)	.955	-.02 (.06)	.789
German proficiency	**.26 (.07)**	**.000**	**.25 (.07)**	**.000**
Ethnocultural identity	.10 (.05)	.054	.07 (.05)	.225
School level	.01 (.05)	.889	.04 (.05)	.417
Immigrant generation	-.03 (.06)	.654	-.02 (.06)	.748
Perceived school climate			**.20 (.05)**	**.000**
R^2		**.10**		**.14**

Note: Table displays standardized regression coefficients, standard errors in brackets, significance and explained variance. Values highlighted in bold represent significant results.

Multigroup regression analyses were conducted to investigate whether there were different associations depending on school level and immigrant generation (see Table 3). Indeed, perceived school climate was related to life satisfaction in Germany among parents of primary school-aged children but not those of preschool-aged children. We did not detect that immigrant generation had a moderating effect on the association between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in Germany. However, the standardized regression coefficient was slightly larger for the second-generation group. According to the findings, the variance explained by the second model was higher among parents of primary-school children than parents of children attending preschool (17% vs 9%) and among second-generation parents than first-generation parents (19% vs 11%).

Table 3

Multigroup regression analyses for predicting life satisfaction in the host country by child's school level and by parent's immigrant generation

	Model 1		Model 2	
	ß (SE)	***p***	***ß (SE)***	***p***
School level: preschool				
Family employment	-.01 (.09)	.959	.02 (.11)	.835
Material deprivation	-.02 (.09)	.815	-.02 (.09)	.857
Educational level	-.10 (.09)	.277	-.14 (.10)	.165
German proficiency	**.23 (.10)**	**.027**	**.23 (.11)**	**.030**
Ethnocultural identity	.12 (.10)	.217	.06 (.10)	.556
Immigrant generation	-.07 (.10)	.503	-.05 (.11)	.653
Perceived school climate			.03 (.09)	.701
R^2		.10		.09
School level: primary school				
Family employment	-.01 (.06)	.838	-.01 (.06)	.909
Material deprivation	-.07 (.08)	.386	-.06 (.07)	.417
Educational level	.08 (.08)	.305	.05 (.08)	.472
German proficiency	**.25 (.10)**	**.012**	**.25 (.10)**	**.009**
Ethnocultural identity	.09 (.06)	.176	.08 (.06)	.179
Immigrant generation	.01 (.07)	.891	.01 (.07)	.938
Perceived school climate			**.27 (.07)**	**.000**
R^2		**.10**		**.17**
Immigrant generation: first generation				
Family employment	-.02 (.06)	.748	-.03 (.06)	.636
Material deprivation	-.01 (.07)	.869	-.01 (.07)	.947
Educational level	-.01 (.07)	.943	00 (.07)	.984
German proficiency	**.23 (.08)**	**.003**	**.23 (.08)**	**.003**
Ethnocultural identity	.11 (.07)	.115	.08 (.07)	.262
School level	-.04 (.06)	.495	-.01 (.07)	.939
Perceived school climate			**.17 (.07)**	**.014**
R^2		**.09**		**.11**
Immigrant generation: second generation				
Family employment	-.03 (.10)	.794	.01 (.10)	.928
Material deprivation	**-.20 (.10)**	**.039**	**-.20 (.09)**	**.030**
Educational level	-.04 (.11)	.720	-.11 (.10)	.241
German proficiency	**.23 (.10)**	**.027**	**.22 (.10)**	**.029**
Ethnocultural identity	.08 (.08)	.302	.03 (.08)	.737
School level	.08 (.09)	.355	.11 (.08)	.208
Perceived school climate			**.27 (.09)**	**.003**
R^2		**.10**		**.19**

Note: Table displays standardized regression coefficients, standard errors in brackets, significance and explained variance. Values highlighted in bold represent significant results.

Qualitative study results

Perceived (in-)justice in teacher–child relationships and schools' (non-)recognition of children's hybrid identities

Parents' feelings that their children were mistreated in school spaces emerged as an influential cognitive process by which parents – regardless of their immigrant generation – had to negotiate their position in societal space. Notably, some parents of primary-school children revealed the perceived injustice. For example, *Zuhal* was a mother who had low life satisfaction in Germany due to language and cultural barriers, as well as issues linked to participating in the labor market. She reported that:

> They (the teachers) take care of my children, one by one ... Support for their further education... Sometimes I think they want to be seen as interested, but maybe they think my children won't continue studying anyway and pretend to be interested... Because what I know is that they put obstacles in the way of the [Turkish] children if they are successful… Because Germans do not want Turks to have a high position in society. (Zuhal, first generation, primary school)

Another example came from *Gamze*, who criticized the fact that teachers associate Turkish children with misbehavior and react to them more strongly than they do to native children. She linked this issue with perceived hierarchical relationships in the societal space:

> When German children distract the class, it is not noticed, but when a Turkish child shows the same behavior, the teachers react as if they are sick of them. I don't want my children to feel that Germans are superior and everything they do is okay. Teachers should not make children feel inferior. (Gamze, first generation, primary school)

In addition, *Fatma*, who had a high sense of belonging in Germany, emphasized the importance of fair treatment:

> I am happy with the school; for example, from first to third grade, there was a teacher who was known to be strict and disciplined... We were afraid to approach her even as parents. But then I realized that although she was distant with the parents, she was fair with the children, such as who was guilty and who deserved what. Teachers do not have to get along with me, but how they treat my child is very important; fair treatment is critical. (Fatma, second generation, primary school)

Although parents of children at the preschool level mostly perceived the teacher–child relationships as positive and showed higher levels of life satisfaction in Germany, seven of them reported their concerns about their children's future education, as revealed by *Sennur* and *Ebru*:

> I can say that there is a great trust between us [teacher and parent]… Fortunately, we haven't experienced anything like that so far [discrimination]… Such things don't really happen in preschool, but in schools from first to sixth grade, I hear about such things from families around. (Sennur, second generation, preschool)

> My son had an active temperament; for example, he showed intense reactions when he was angry with other children. I was sad and thought about how it will be when he is in primary school and confirms the prejudices of Germans. (Ebru, second generation, preschool)

Moreover, regardless of their children's school level, parents reported (dis-) satisfaction depending on whether the school applied inclusive or exclusive pedagogical approaches towards their religion, heritage culture, and language. However, the "folkloric" approach (in the sense of perceiving children as representatives of their families' country of origin) to intercultural pedagogical practices was particularly criticized by parents of children attending primary schools, as demonstrated by two respondents in our sample. For example, *Aslı* had lived in Germany for ten years, immigrating to achieve family unification. She initially experienced acculturative stress. However, after learning German and studying in Germany,

she became more familiar with German society. However, she was dissatisfied with her child's school because of their failure to recognize the hybrid identities of children:

> Doing a cultural festival is good, but for example, just because I'm Turkish, why should I only bring food from Turkish culture? Why shouldn't I bring food from another culture, you know? I think it's generalized or stereotyped. Maybe I can bring pizza. Why should I only bring börek [traditional food in Turkish culture]? They put children in one category. When you think about Berlin today, immigrants are not only linked to one culture, such as Turkish, Arab, or other cultures. Even the fourth generation of immigrants is here. People are no longer exactly the way they were when they came from their countries; all cultures are intertwined with each other… It's like telling a child where he comes from. My child was born and raised here, he only goes to Turkey to visit. He's not from Turkey, he's from here... These [practices in schools] exclude children. (Aslı, first generation, primary school).

Varied parent–teacher relationships by school level and immigrant generation

First-generation parents reported less collaboration with their children's teachers than second-generation parents due to their unfamiliarity with the education system and low proficiency in German. This was especially true among parents of children in primary school: when they experienced cultural and language barriers, the complexity of educational issues made them more likely to involve other family members. Accordingly, parents of primary school children may feel more disconnected from the host country due to their lack of educational involvement, especially when schools fail to provide support for them. For instance, *Figen* reported that:

> I am not enough for my children. I have a German problem and I have nobody here [to provide support]. I mean, you feel helpless… [For meetings at school] just the father is attending. If he doesn't, I am not attending. Even if I can understand what the teacher is saying, I can't express myself. I feel like I'm annoying the person and I become anxious. (Figen, first generation, primary school)

In addition, *Gamze* revealed that teachers had different attitudes depending on parents' backgrounds. This could have a negative impact on life satisfaction in Germany, as perceived ethnic boundaries in the societal space can be reproduced by boundaries in the school space. Throughout the interview, she used the terms "we" and "they" to refer to boundaries between the native and foreign populations (e.g., "we live in their country"). She also complained about teachers' attitudes at parent meetings:

> My husband and I attend parent meetings at school… For instance, if a German mother says whatever she thinks and criticizes the education system, teachers, other children, etc., the teacher is okay with it and does not say anything against it. If one of our parents [Turkish/immigrant] says something, teachers complain directly, "You are wrong; you cannot say such things." (Gamze, first generation, primary school)

Moreover, prejudice toward immigrant parents was particularly mentioned in the context of primary school. For example, *Ebru* perceived a high level of discrimination in the societal space, which negatively affected her life satisfaction. She had previously worked as a primary school teacher and described teachers' cultural prejudices toward immigrant parents:

> I know the prejudices of teachers in teachers' rooms because I worked as a teacher. The teachers say, for example, "these [immigrant] parents don't read books to their children." They throw them all into the same pot. (Ebru, second generation, preschool)

Discussion and conclusion

This mixed methods study utilizing an explanatory sequential design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) first used survey data to examine the extent to which Turkish immigrant parents' perceptions of the climate of their children's schools predicted their life satisfaction in Germany (RQ1) and how this relationship differed based on the parents' immigrant generation and their children's school level (RQ2). Following this, qualitative interviews were used to find possible

explanations for these relationships by investigating how parents perceived school climate and its relationship to their life satisfaction in Germany (RQ3).

Relational space theory allowed us to look at contexts critically and view them as "spaces" that reflect certain norms, values, and practices linked to power relations within (school) and beyond (society) a particular space (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Lefebvre, 1991; Morgan, 2000; Soja, 1989). The ecological model provided a framework for understanding parents' proximal processes, the contextual interactions within a nested system of environments (e.g., microsystem: school; mesosystem: home-school relationships; macrosystem: attitudes toward immigrants in society) that can influence their life satisfaction (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). We argue that the spaces of the school and society are interconnected. Since the broader societal space can influence educational institutions (e.g., anti-immigrant sentiments in society affecting pedagogical practice; Sirin et al., 2022), immigrant parents may also view the school space as a reflection of society (e.g., feelings of acceptance, being at home and welcome). Accordingly, we specifically examined teacher–child and teacher–parent relationships in terms of inclusion and exclusion dynamics in the school space, which can influence life satisfaction in the societal space.

Our findings showed a significant positive relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country after controlling for parental socioeconomic status, German proficiency, and ethnocultural identity. The relationship was significant for parents of both immigrant generations, though it was slightly stronger for second-generation parents. However, the relationship between school climate and life satisfaction was only significant for parents with primary school-aged children, not parents with preschool-aged children. The qualitative study allowed us to explore parents' perspectives and possible explanations for the differences among them in greater depth.

For parents of primary school-aged children in particular, the (in-)justice of grades and treatment was a very sensitive issue, as it may affect their children's future education and careers. Parents of preschool-aged children reported less discrimination and injustice; however, some also shared concerns that their children would experience discrimination in their future education. Accordingly, the fact that the association between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in Germany was only significant for parents of primary school-aged children may be related to the increased complexity of educational issues, such as grading and teacher expectations (Berkowitz et al., 2021). Teachers who associate Turkish-origin children with misbehavior and treat native children differently were portrayed as creating a hierarchical school space. This issue was particularly revealed by parents of primary school-aged children. It may be the case that children in primary school are more active in telling their parents about issues at school, as they are more aware of stereotypes attached to them than preschool children (McKown & Weinstein, 2003).

Some parents interpreted the unfair treatment of their children as an effort to keep Turkish-origin people in a low social stratum and viewed schools as spaces for the reproduction of white supremacy in society (Morgan, 2000). Accordingly, parents positioned themselves in society based not only on their experiences but also their perception of the social position of their ethnic group (Jenkins, 2000; Oyserman et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1981). Regarding (in-)justice in German schools, while some scholars have identified no disadvantage for students from ethnic minorities in terms of grading (e.g., Kristen, 2006; Wenz & Hoenig, 2020) other studies have found significant results (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Sprietsma, 2013). In line with the views of some of our respondents, previous research has indicated that teachers tend to have low expectations of success for children from immigrant and low socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g., Wenz & Hoenig, 2020). Accordingly, the issue of perceived injustice in schools and its psychological effects on immigrant families should be investigated further.

Moreover, parents who reported that their children's schools valued their religious, cultural, and linguistic resources felt more welcome in society regardless of immigrant generation and school level. However, two parents in the primary group criticized teachers' "folkloric" approach to intercultural practices, interpreting them as exclusion and indicative of the school's failure to accept children's hybrid identities. This "folkloric" method of including cultures has also been criticized by numerous scholars, who have called for diversity and hybrid identities to be considered "normal" today (Edelmann, 2006; Hüpping & Büker, 2014; Prengel, 2006). Teachers can contribute to families' well-being by creating a welcoming school climate that recognizes familial resources and pluralistic identities (Delpit, 2006).

Furthermore, in our qualitative interviews, the second-generation parents showed higher levels of school involvement and closer relationships with their children's teachers, which could be related to their familiarity with the educational system and the culture and language of the host country (Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018). Their involvement may lead to the stronger perception of a positive or negative school climate, which may create a stronger connection between school climate and life satisfaction. First-generation parents were less engaged in school due to cultural and language barriers, and parents of primary-school children tended to be more hesitant to get involved, which may be due to the complexity of educational issues at this school level. Accordingly, first-generation parents with primary school children may feel more disconnected from the host society because of their limited involvement in their children's schooling. This result particularly underlines the role of the school as a bridge between the home and society (Epstein & Sanders, 2006).

Regular contact between teachers and parents and supportive attitudes can contribute to positive perceptions of the school among parents (Durán et al., 2020). Collaboration on the part of schools can strengthen parents' attachment to the host society, as social contacts and social support have a positive impact on immigrants' life satisfaction (Arpino & de Valk, 2018; Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). In addition, one of the respondents at the primary school

level complained about the differences in teachers' behavior toward immigrant and native parents. The perception that teachers have a more tolerant attitude toward native parents and disregard immigrant parents' concerns seems to reproduce the ethnic boundaries of "us" and "them" in society (Alba, 2005).

Moreover, the participants mentioned primary school teachers' stereotypes about the parenting behaviors of immigrant parents, such as the idea that they provide a poor learning environment at home. Researchers have emphasized that the home learning environment, including literacy and numeracy processes, is closely linked to a family's socioeconomic background (Anders et al., 2012; Kluczniok et al., 2013). Immigrant parents with high levels of education can create a home environment similar to that of native parents (e.g., by providing family support; Kluczniok et al., 2013). The stereotyping of immigrant parents in both educational institutions and political discourse has been criticized (Gomolla & Kollender, 2022; Kollender, 2021). These misconceptions about immigrant parents in society can lead to their marginalization in schools (Sirin et al., 2022).

The limitations of the present study should also be noted. Our sample was not representative of the Turkish community in Germany. Moreover, this community is a particularly marginalized group and other immigrant groups' experiences may differ (e.g., differing life satisfaction; see Obućina, 2013). Second, we did not include the amount of time that children had attended the current preschool or school, which could influence parents' perceptions of school climate. Moreover, the structural characteristics of schools and places of residence (e.g., segregation) were not considered, which could provide interesting insights. Finally, the non-significance of the association between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country among parents with preschool children could be due to the scale used to measure perceived school climate being too broad to capture preschool-specific issues. Future studies may develop school-level-specific scales of school climate to further explore this association.

Despite these limitations, by applying the explanatory sequential design in mixed methods research, we were able to gain both broad and deep insights into the relationship between perceived school climate and life satisfaction in the host country among immigrant parents. The quantitative portion of the study allowed us to examine the extent of the impact of perceived school climate on the life satisfaction of immigrant parents and how this relationship differs based on school level and immigrant generation. The qualitative portion of the study deepened the investigation of this relationship and presented potential explanations for differences between the groups. The mixed methods research thus provided multiple dimensions of the connection between school and societal spaces.

As Griffith (2000) has highlighted, schools can be vital for the social empowerment of immigrant parents. Targeted support – which recognizes hybrid identities and the resources possessed by immigrant families – could help to create an inclusive school climate (Edelmann, 2006). Providing further professional training for teachers on diversity and the implementation of family-focused approaches could also make a significant difference (Anders, 2018; Bryan & Griffin, 2010). Moreover, the parents' emphasis on the connection between unequal school and societal spaces, suggests that social and educational policies must be improved to create a sense of inclusion and equity in all spaces. Hence, improving the school climate is closely linked to creating a civil society (Cohen et al., 2009; Sirin et al., 2022). As Ross et al. (2020) have underscored, "You can't have equity without attention to climate, and you can't have a good school climate without attention to equity" (p. 21).

In conclusion, an inclusive school space is not possible without an inclusive society. The creation of a positive school climate in terms of equality and inclusion can contribute to an inclusive society, positively impacting the life satisfaction of immigrant families.

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Appendix B – Qualitative study: the profile of respondents

respondent		child age-group	recruitment site	age	country of birth	year of migration	ethnic/social composition: neighborhood	ethnic/social composition: (pre-)school	education level	employment
R1	**Sevgi**	8-12	Berlin	47	Germany	-	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Post-secondary vocational education	Elderly care worker
R2	**Zuhal**	8-12	Berlin	42	Turkey	1994	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Mixed	Upper-secondary education	Unemployed
R3	**Sennur**	3-6	Berlin	31	Germany	-	German-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Bachelor's degree	Unemployed
R4	**Gül**	3-6	Berlin	30	Germany	-	Mixed	Mixed	Upper-secondary vocational education	Administrative secretary, Maternity leave
R5	**Ebru**	3-6	Berlin	40	Germany	-	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Bachelor's degree	Primary school teacher, Maternity leave
R6	**Ömür**	8-12	Berlin	44	Turkey	2001	German-Dense	German-Dense	Upper-secondary vocational education	Unemployed
R7	**Aslı**	8-12	Berlin	29	Turkey	2008	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Post-secondary vocational education	Unemployed
R8	**Selin**	3-6	Berlin	37	Turkey	2013	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Bachelor's degree	Unemployed
R9	**Tülin**	3-6	Berlin	37	Turkey	1997	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Upper-secondary education	Unemployed
R10	**Fatma**	8-12	Berlin	34	Germany	-	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Mixed	Upper-secondary vocational education	Social worker
R11	**Figen**	8-12	Berlin	40	Turkey	2004	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Upper-secondary education	Unemployed
R12	**Ece**	3-6	Berlin	38	Germany	-	Turkish/Immigrant Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Master's degree	Unemployed
R13	**Meliha**	3-6	Bremen	42	Turkey	2009	German-Dense	German-Dense	Master's degree	Scientific researcher, Language teacher
R14	**Ceren**	3-6	Bremen	32	Turkey	2008	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	German-Dense	Bachelor's degree	Regulatory scientist
R15	**Gamze**	8-12	Bremen	32	Turkey	2008	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Upper-secondary education	Working in a family business (salad bar/cafe)
R16	**Nur**	8-12	Bremen	37	Turkey	1996	German-Dense	Mixed	Bachelor’s degree	Preschool teacher
R17	**Rezzan**	3-6	Bremen	43	Turkey	1991	German-Dense	German-Dense	Upper-secondary vocational education	Working in a restaurant
R18	**Cavidan**	8-12	Bremen	42	Germany	-	German-Dense	German-Dense	Bachelor's degree	Social pedagogue, Language teacher
R19	**Fazilet**	3-6	Bremen	45	Turkey	1988	German-Dense	Mixed	Upper-secondary vocational education	Hairdresser
R20	**Didem**	8-12	Bremen	45	Turkey	2003	Turkish/Immigrant-Dense	Mixed	Upper-secondary education	Runs her delicatessen shop
R21	**Gönül**	3-6	Bremen	37	Germany	-	Mixed	Mixed	Post-secondary vocational education	Social assistant/ Preschool teacher
R22	**Nurdan**	3-6	Bremen	47	Germany	-	German-Dense	Mixed	Upper-secondary vocational education	Runs her beauty salon

Appendix C – Qualitative study: interview guide

The interview guide, which was used as a part of the ISOTIS project, originally included several topics (see Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). The parts that are relevant to this dissertation are noted below. The questions included in addition to the original project interview guide to address the research questions of this dissertation are also specified.

Spontaneous Narration	Ask the informant to summarize her biography, starting from the place of birth, covering the events of her childhood, and growing up.
The place where they live	Could you, please tell me more about your neighbourhood? I mean the area that you could reach in about 5 to 10 minutes walk. What is it like bringing up a child in this neighbourhood? How did you and your family come to live in this location? How much do you feel that the neighbourhood where you live is where you belong? Added: Could you please describe your neighbourhood? Who mainly lives there? (asking ethnic/social composition)
Cultural contacts	Please tell me about your and your child's contacts with people from other cultural backgrounds? Added: Could you please tell me your close contacts in everyday life? How would you describe them with their ethnic, religious, cultural background? What kind of activities do you do together? How is your relationship with the people in the neighbourhood? How are your language skills affecting your contacts in everyday life?
Ethnic origin and belonging (heritage and host country)	What is your family background? Who were your parents and spousal/partner's family? How do you see yourself ethnically/culturally? Where do you feel yourself belong to? (home, residence country) What does it mean to you? How do you feel about living in Germany?
Type of support in bringing up children and young families	How easy has it been to get support or advice from the school, social care professionals, health professionals, volunteers, family or friends? Who, if anyone, would you ask for support regarding your child's linguistic upbringing/education/health? Added: How did the provided support change your life in Germany? Are you happy with the support system in the country? What would you wish as support for your family and children? Have you ever received linguistic support? From whom? How? What kind of support have you received regarding language development and education of your child?
Experiences with the education system (quality and accessibility)	"I would like to talk now about the quality and accessibility of education for your child": How do you feel about the education that is provided for your children? What would you like to be different about it? What should be done to improve it? Do you think you understand the local/national education system well enough? What are the most important reasons that stopped you from using preschool (or earlier)? Added: How/Why did you choose the current (pre-)school? (respondents with the old age-range child: ask both preschool and primary school). What were your considerations?

Home-school relationship	Are you confident to contact the school, nursery, your child's teachers or supervisors? Are your knowledge and (linguistic-)skills relevant to support your child's homework or reading? Do you feel that you have an opportunity to be involved in your child's (pre-)school activities as a parent? If not, why? How do you get on with your child's teachers/caregivers/supervisors, key-workers? How do you get on with other parents? <u>Added:</u> How do your language skills affect your contact with (pre-)school?
Experiences with the education system: (perceptions and experiences as an ethnic/religious/linguistic minority, perceived inclusion vs. exclusion)	Can you tell me about your child's experiences in (pre-)school? Have you/your child ever experienced discrimination there? <u>Added:</u> How would you describe the cultural/religious diversity of the (pre-)school? (teachers and children) (asking ethnic/social composition) How would you describe the attitudes of the staff in (pre-)school towards cultural/religious diversity? Do you think your religious background influences (or have a relationship with) your child's education? How? (e.g. religious courses, school curriculum) What do you think about how your child feels in (pre-)school? How is his/her relationship with the teacher, other children? What are your observations? How much do you think the (pre-)school responds to your needs? How do you feel as a parent of Turkish origin in (pre-)school? What do you think about the attitudes of teachers towards your heritage language? What do you think about heritage language/German language promotion/support in (pre-)schools?
Parental linguistic resources	What is your heritage language? What languages were spoken in your family? How do you feel about using your heritage language in this country/everyday life? <u>Added:</u> How is your heritage/German language skill? How do you feel about it? How important do you find using/knowing the heritage language? Why? How important do you find using/knowing the German language? Why?
Ethnolinguistic upbringing beliefs and practices and home language environment	What languages do you speak at home with your child and within your family? <u>Added:</u> How would you describe your child's linguistic skills? How do you feel about it? What do you think about the heritage language development of your child? Is it important for you? Why? What do you think about the German language development of your child? Is it important for you? Why? What kind of activities do you and your partner do with the child at home? Which languages are used in these activities? Could you please give examples? What kind of strategies have you applied for the linguistic upbringing of your child? Why? What do you think about bringing up a child bilingual? What are the advantages and/or challenges?
Ethnoreligious attachment	How would you describe your religious attachment and religiosity? Could you describe your own cultural and religious upbringing? How can you describe your involvement with local religious places of worship and/ or prayer?
Ethnoreligious upbringing beliefs and practices	What is your opinion about the role of moral values in bringing up children? What is your opinion about the role of faith in bringing up children? How often do you and your family attend a place of worship? What religious occasions and festivals do you and your family attend?
Cultural/ethnic tensions Perceived discrimination	How do you think your ethnic/religious group is treated in this country? Have you ever felt being discriminated against because of your immigrant background, ethnicity, religion or linguistic background? Has your child been discriminated against because of your immigrant background, ethnicity, religion or linguistic background? Do you feel you (+ your child) might be treated differently (discriminated) because of your family situation, immigrant background, ethnicity, religion or linguistic background? Have you heard of others feeling discriminated against?

Appendix D – Qualitative data content analysis: coding scheme

STUDY 1: CODING SCHEME

perceived impact of neighborhood ethnic/social composition on child	**perceived impact of school ethnic/social composition on child**	**perceived social and physical characteristics of neighborhoods based on ethnic/social composition:**	**(own) neighborhood social characteristics**	**(own) neighborhood physical characteristics**
educational path: Turkish/Immigrant-dense: - low quality schools German-dense: - high quality schools socio-behavioral development: Turkish/Immigrant-dense: - bad friendships - bad habits - normalization of criminality - self-confidence - more social socio-emotional development: Turkish/Immigrant-Dense: - being outside of the society German-dense: - feeling of exclusion ethnocultural identity: Turkish/Immigrant-Dense: - keeping Turkish culture German-dense: - Germanization language development Turkish/Immigrant-Dense: - problems in the German language German-dense: - problems in the heritage language	educational path: Turkish/Immigrant-dense - low quality education o general perception o chaotic classroom o lack of cleanliness o lack of discipline o poor conditions of materials o low teacher competencies o low teacher expectations o teacher deficiency o cultural prejudices of teachers German-dense: - high-quality education o better teachers o disciplined o cleanliness - critiques o racist teachers o too strict teachers socio-behavioral development: Turkish/Immigrant-dense: - bad habits German-dense: - lack of learning cultural diversity Mixed: - learning cultural diversity socio-emotional development: German-dense: - feeling of exclusion ethnocultural identity: Turkish/Immigrant-dense:	Turkish/Immigrant-dense: - self-segregation tendency - perceived discrimination - feeling of insecurity - chaotic - cleanliness problem - hard for parenting - openness/tolerance - availability: ethnic contacts/support German-dense: - green area - people take care of their neighbourhood - perceived discrimination - feeling alone Mixed: - openness/tolerance - good mixture	age - old - young parenting - well-informed parents - lack of well-informed parents security - feeling of security - feeling of insecurity o anonymity o criminality o drug use o racism o violence SES - low SES o lack of well-informed parents o low rent of flats - medium/high SES o high cultured o parents with better education o well-informed parents neighbourhood ethnic/social composition - German-dense - Mixed - Turkish/Immigrant-dense	cleanliness - clean - cleanliness problem green area - availability of green area - lack of green area playground - availability of playground - lack of playground population density - calm - chaotic proximity - central - not central social facilities - cultural/religious facilities - institutions supporting families - facilities for children

- keeping Turkish culture
- less perceived discrimination

German-dense:
- Germanization
- adaptation to German society

Mixed:
- keeping Turkish culture

language development
Turkish/Immigrant-dense:
- problems in the German language development

German-dense:
- German language development

Mixed:
- German language development
- supporting bilingualism

(own) neighborhood social relations	**neighborhood and school selection criteria**	**school process characteristics**	**school structural characteristics**	**teacher-parent relationship**
general - respect - support - anonymity - appreciation - no contact relations with German natives - desire for contact - contact on the surface - close contacts o social support - ethnic-based grouping o separation of Germans o self-segregation tendency - cultural prejudices - no Germans to contact - openness/respect - perceived discrimination o using the heritage language o towards Muslims o physical appearance o poor German language o general feeling of xenophobia - no perceived discrimination	selection criteria of neighbourhood - born in/grew up in the neighbourhood - affordability o affordability to buy a house o affordability to rent a flat - family relations - German-density o own selection criteria o selection criteria of German-natives - availability of ethnic contacts/facilities - familiarity - green area selection criteria of school - process quality o child-centered o child's positive feelings o disciplined o paying attention to children	child–child relationship - behaviour o aggressiveness o bad language o temperament o positive relationship o ethnic-based grouping o conflict resolution - language o bilingualism o using the heritage language o poor German skills o perceived discrimination o no discrimination teacher–child relationship - respect o cultural/religion o heritage language - support o bilingualism of child o children's talent o lessons of failure o further education - emotion o warm relationship - teachers' interactions o disciplined	class size - overcrowded - small class room size - small size - adequate size school size - big school - small school staff-child ratio - teacher deficiency - adequate number of teachers physical conditions - cleanliness o clean o lack of hygiene/cleanliness - conditions of play materials o good conditions o bad conditions - outdoor playground o no outdoor playground o outdoor playground - security - teacher's education and qualification	collaboration - child's educational path - collaboration for lessons of failure - teacher as informants for support needs - keep informing each other - linguistic barriers o teacher's encouragement o mother's effort for involvement - lack of motivation of parents - lack of time of parents - helping teacher - teacher's lack of informing - moderating parent-parent - disagreements perceived discrimination - feeling of exclusion - usage of heritage language no perceived discrimination empathizes teacher parent–teacher satisfaction o satisfaction o dissatisfaction

- linguistic barriers to contact

contact with Turkish community
- mainly Turkish
- family members
- social support
- mosque

mixed contacts
- intra-ethnic boundaries
- contact on the surface

    - teachers' communication language
    - activities
    - teacher-parent positive relationship
- orientations
    - pedagogical concept/focus of school
        - Waldorf school
        - Montessori school
        - Islamic school
        - Church-based school
        - Turkish-German school
    - including Turkish culture
    - additional language support
- structural quality
    - cleanliness
    - adequate number of teachers
    - security
    - outdoor playground
    - physical conditions of materials
    - profile of students
    - small class size
    - teacher's education and qualifications
    - German-density
        - own selection criteria
        - selection criteria of German-natives
    - mixed
    - other
        - familiarity
        - shortage of preschools
        - opening hours
    - discipline problems
    - valuing child's opinion
    - child-centered
    - fairness
    - honoring children
    - no pressure
    - communicative
    - attention to children
        - paying attention
        - no attention to children
- perceived discrimination
    - wishing not success
    - cultural prejudices
    - forbidding heritage language
    - low teacher expectations
    - tolerating German children
    - unfair grading
    - physical
    - general feelings
- no perceived discrimination
- activities
    - lack of outdoor activities
    - lack of teaching basics
    - additional language education
    - intercultural content
        - Turkish culture/language
- school satisfaction
    - general satisfaction
        - satisfaction
        - dissatisfaction
    - child's general school feelings
        - positive
        - negative
- school no perceived discrimination (general)
- stratification within school
    - specialization in integration
- school ethnic/social composition
    - German-dense
    - Turkish/Immigrant-dense
    - mixed
- linguistic/cultural diversity of teachers
    - all German
    - Turkish/German mixed

- selection of children by schools
- private school
- close proximity to home

school social relations	**other complementary categories**

- relations with German parents
  o ethnic-based grouping
  ▪ separation of German
  ▪ self-segregation tendencies
  o get along well
  o German's interest in cultural exchange
  o perceived discrimination
  ▪ heritage language usage
  ▪ general feeling of exclusion
  ▪ towards poor German language
  ▪ unfairness
  o linguistic barriers to contact
- get along well (no specific group)
- mixed
- other immigrant parents
- Turkish parents
	class background
	- affordability
	  o renting a flat
	  o buying a house
	  o child's education
	- own class perception
	  o low SES
	  o mid SES
	- perceptions of income adequacy
	- receiving financial support
	  o informal support
	  o state-benefits
	  ▪ country perception
	  ▪ satisfaction own experience
	no knowledge of the education system
	child preschool attendance
	- before age 3
	- at age 3
	- later
	
	wishes/recommendations for quality
	
	perceived discrimination in education (general)
	- fair education system
	- may experience in the future
	
	neighbourhood belonging
	- born in/grew up there
	- ethnic/social contacts
	- long years in the neighbourhood
	- moving to a new neighbourhood
	  o having plans to move
	  o no plans to move
	- lack of belonging

STUDY 2: CODING SCHEME

parent language proficiency

high German language proficiency
- awareness of social rights and support services
- but not like a native
- managing formal procedures
- contact with German-natives
- involvement in school
- positive impact on parents' own education and career
- self-satisfaction

low German language proficiency
- lack of awareness of social rights and support services
- barriers to contact German-natives
- efforts for parental involvement
- hesitance to teach German to children
- low/no parental involvement in education
- negative reactions from child
- low parental self-agency
- low self-confidence
- need linguistic support for everyday life
- need linguistic support for parental involvement in education
- adaptation problems to country
- general

bilingualism
- German is the first language
- proficiency in both languages

additional language
- knowing/learning English
- second ethnic language of family

parent language learning

German language
- support from family
- no support from family
- learning in own childhood
- contacting German natives
- necessary for own education and employment
- no contact with Germans as an obstacle
- own resources
- professional support

heritage language
- learning in own childhood in Germany
- learning in Turkey
- learning together with own child

parent (dis-)satisfaction with child language proficiency

- bilingualism_satisfaction
- high level of the German language_satisfaction
- high level of the heritage language_satisfaction
- low level of the German language_dissatisfaction
- low level of the heritage language_dissatisfaction

parent ethnolinguistic upbringing beliefs

heritage language
- child should not feel foreign in the country of origin
- not forgetting roots
- ability to contact extended family
- language of emotions
- positive impact on parent–child relationship
- positive impact on learning other languages
- should be spoken without an accent
- child's right to learn
- general importance

German language
- key of success in education and society
- should know the language of the residence country
- not feeling oppressed
- should be spoken without an accent

bilingualism
- 1 Language 1 Person
- universal/international identity
- advantages in learning other languages
- advantages in future education/career
- belonging to both countries/cultures
- German is priority, heritage language can be learned later
- heritage language is priority, child learn German anyway
- both German and heritage language is equally important

parent ethnolinguistic upbringing practices

German language
- communication within family
- attending preschool late
- home learning activities
- German-dense neighborhood selection
- German-dense/mixed school selection
- having German-native teacher
- sending preschool at age 3 or earlier

heritage language
- communication within family
- contact with ethnic community
- home learning activities
- not forcing teaching heritage language
- not sending heritage language classes at school
- home country visit
- sending language classes at school
- using only heritage language until preschool
- extracurricular activities

bilingualism
- home learning activities
- using informative materials
- support from experts
- contextual differentiation
- parental differentiation
- bilingual school selection
- using both languages in communication

additional language
- English in home learning environment
- school selection

school: linguistic policies, practices and parental relations

competencies of teachers
- specialization in diversity
- linguistic_all German-native
- linguistic_Turkish/ German mixed
- lack of competencies in multilingualism

school linguistic policies
- Turkish-German bilingual
- providing heritage language classes
- should be German-only education
- teaching German is school responsibility
- wishing additional foreign language
- wishing additional German language support
- wishing additional heritage language support

teacher–child relationship
- discouraging heritage language usage
- encouraging child in improving German
- encouraging heritage language usage
- no negative experience linked to heritage language usage
- no support for improving German
- providing emotional support for linguistic difficulties

child–child relationship
- German is the communication language within ethnic group
- heritage language is the communication language within ethnic group
- immigrant-dense group as obstacle to learn German
- peer victimisation due to German language proficiency

teacher-parent relationship
- collaboration for child's language development
- linguistic barriers to contact
- negative attitudes towards heritage language usage
- positive attitudes towards heritage language usage
- positive attitudes towards low German language

parent-parent relations
- linguistic barriers to contact
- negative attitudes towards parents' heritage language
- no negative experience
- positive attitudes towards parents' heritage language

ethnocultural and country attachments

ethnocultural attachments
- both heritage and German identity
- feeling in between
- international/universal
- attachment to ethnic identity
  - contact with ethnic community in Germany
  - enjoyment of heritage cultural practices/practices in the heritage language
  - ethnically perceived
- attachment to German identity
  - being close to German worldview/lifestyle
  - enjoyment German cultural practices/practices in the German language

country attachments
- belonging Turkey
  - attachment to city of origin in Turkey
  - born in/long years in Turkey
  - culture of warmth in Turkey
  - feeling of longing Turkey
  - following sociopolitical agenda of Turkey
  - having family/friends in Turkey
  - national proud
  - plan of return migration
  - general
- not belonging Turkey
  - being always outsider (gurbetci/Almancı)
  - cultural differences
  - negative socio-political conditions
  - just a place for holiday
- belonging Germany
  - born in/long years in Germany
  - family in Germany
  - feeling part of German society
  - following sociopolitical agenda of Germany
  - future plans in Germany
  - good life conditions in Germany
  - strong attachment to city/neighbourhood
  - the role of German citizenship
- not belonging Germany
  - adaptation problems
  - being always foreigner
- belonging nowhere

additional: criticizing own group's low sociolinguistic integration

ethnolinguistic discrimination in society

- high level of German language proficiency_experiencing less discrimination
- low level of German language proficiency
- using the heritage language
- being always a foreigner/second-class citizen
- having a foreign name
- low career expectations
- physical appearance
- religious background
- prejudices of German-natives towards Turks/Turkish culture
- unfairness in education
- no perceived discrimination

- positive attitudes towards parents' low German language proficiency

STUDY 3: CODING SCHEME

parent religious upbringing beliefs

- child's own agency
- learning/respecting other religions
- source of morality/ethics
- religion not, but faith is important
- responsibility of family

Islam
- against conservatism
- religious upbringing important
- source of Turkish culture

Christianity
- the child should not feel like an outsider at school
- No practice-child should not Germanize
- Source of German culture

parent religious upbringing practices

- "ours" vs "their" religion differentiation
- balancing two religions
- identity dilemma
- no religious content
- responding child's religious/existential questions
- teaching morality/ethnics

Islam
- being a role model
- celebration Islamic feasts
- home learning activities
- school selection
- sending Islamic classes in school
- sending mosque
- not sending mosque
- not sending Islamic classes

Christianity
- celebration of Christian feasts/home activities
- following pillars of Christianity
- not sending to Christian classes at school
- church-based school selection

school pedagogical concept, practices and ethnic relations

school religious concept
- Islamic school
- church-based school

school intercultural/interreligious practices
- acknowledging diversity causes marginalizing children
- acknowledging religious concerns/wishes of families
- handling multicultural school context
- introducing different religions
- introducing religion Islam
- no attention to cultural/religious diversity
- offering a course for Islam
- offering holidays in religious feasts of minority children
- providing intercultural activities
- schools' children selection-the role of religious affiliation

school ethnoreligious relations
- child–child relations
  - peer victimization linked to religion
  - sensitization of religious rules
- teacher–child relations
  - child's no interest or negative reactions toward practices linked to Christianity
  - ethnoreligious prejudices/discrimination
  - presumption of child's attachment to Muslim identity
- teacher-parent relations
  - collaboration with a teacher about religious topics
  - no collaboration general
  - no contact about religious topics
  - parent attending school activities-Christian feasts
  - teacher's home visit in Islamic feasts
- No perceived discrimination
  - positive parental relations
  - positive child relations

parent inter-group interactions linked to religion and being a religious minority

- parent inter-group interactions/perceptions
  - critiques from own ethnic groups about own Christian practices

parent religious affiliation/religiosity

- Christianity
- culturally affiliated/moderate Muslim
- nonaffiliated believer

- own ethnoreligious group-attending mosque
- perceived discrimination in society toward Muslims
- no perceived discrimination
- respecting each others' religions

- not religious
- religious Muslim
- parents' own religious upbringing

- the feeling of being a religious minority
  - living religion freely
  - religious practices home vs. Germany

STUDY 4: CODING SCHEME

life satisfaction Germany negative	**life satisfaction Germany positive**	**school climate negative**	**school climate positive**

adaptation problems
- barriers to access to services/institutions
- cultural differences
- lacking social contact general
- lacking social contact natives
- linguistic barriers
- low psychological wellbeing
- parental low self-agency
- plan for return migration
- problems access to labor market
identity dilemma
 	
perceived discrimination
- being always a foreigner/second-class citizen
- discrimination in education
  - mothers own education
  - other children
  - Turkish/immigrants in Germany
- German language skills
- having a foreign name
- labor market
- parenting cultural socialization
- physical appearance
- political discourses
- prejudices towards Turks/Turkish culture
- prejudices towards Muslims
- using heritage language
- xenophobia
	inter-group contacts
	- no perceived discrimination
	  - education: mother´s own
	  - education: Turkish/immigrant community
	  - society general
	- close ethnic contacts
	- positive contacts: German-natives
	
	sense of belonging
	- attachment to city/neighborhood
	- bicultural belonging
	- born in/long years in Germany
	- feeling part of German society
	- future plans in Germany
	- German cultural attachment
	
	social/educational system
	- education
	- life standards
	- parental support
	- state benefits
		inclusion negative
		- inclusion via stigmatization
		- lack of German language support
		- lack of heritage language support
		- lack of intercultural activities
		- lack of teacher competencies
		- stratification within school
		
		teacher–child
		- cultural/religious prejudice
		- lack of attention
		- negative attitudes towards heritage language
		- feeling of injustice
		
		teacher-parent
		- negative attitudes towards heritage language
		- disagreements
		- German vs. immigrant parents injustice
		- prejudices about Turkish parents
		- teachers' lack of communication
			inclusion positive
			- acknowledging cultural/religious/linguistic diversity
			- having Turkish-origin teachers
			- trained teachers in diversity
			
			satisfaction/no perceived discrimination
			- no discrimination but can experience in the future
			- no discrimination child experience
			- no discrimination parent experience
			- satisfaction/no discrimination general
			
			teacher–child
			- child-centered
			- positive fairness
			- support
			- warm relationship
			
			teacher-parent
			- appreciation
			- collaboration
			- support/encouragement
			- trust
			
			additional categories:
			- no/low parental involvement in school
			- parent school involvement

EXAMPLES FROM THE CODING PROCESS

Study 1:						
Code-group		**Category**	**Sub-category**	**Sub-category**	**Definition**	**Example**
impact of neighbourhood composition on child		educational path	German-dense neighbourhood	high-quality schools	It refers to mothers' narratives related to German-dense neighbourhoods having high-quality schools in comparison to other neighbourhoods.	"The schools there also have better quality (…) I believe this is because of the quality of the district. I: *What determines the quality of the district?* R17: Density of the German population."
impact of ethnic/social composition of school on child		socio-behavioural development	German-dense school	lack of learning cultural diversity	German native-dense schools provide less opportunity for learning diversity	"(…) I mean there is not so much 'diversity', all of them are German (…) He, unfortunately, has never spent much time in such a diverse environment."
Code-Group	**Category**	**Subcategory**	**Definition**	**Sub-category**	**Definition**	**Example**
school process characteristics	teacher–child relationship	perceived discrimination	Mothers' narratives linked to perceived discrimination in the teacher–child relationship	tolerating German children	Mothers' narratives about teachers tolerating German children	"It's easy to understand that some of the teachers openly tolerate German children [misbehaving]"
Study 2:						
Category		**Definition**		**Sub-category**	**Definition**	**Example**
parent language proficiency_low German		Mothers' narratives linked to the consequences of having low German language proficiency		low/no parental involvement in education	Mothers state that, due to having low German language proficiency, they have low/no engagement in their children's education.	"I want to be able to talk to the teacher of my child in preschool. But I can't because of the language [barrier]."
ethnolinguistic upbringing beliefs_heritage language		Mothers' narratives about why it is important for the child to speak the heritage language		not feeling foreign in the country of origin	Mother attaches importance to the child's heritage language knowledge because the child should not feel foreign in their country of origin (Turkey).	"He should be able to speak Turkish; I do not want him to feel foreign in Turkey."
ethnolinguistic discrimination in society		Mothers' narratives about perceived ethnolinguistic discrimination in society		using the heritage language	Mothers' narratives about perceived discrimination in society linked to the usage of the heritage language	"We have our fears. My daughter speaks Turkish. There is racism."
Study 3:						
Category		**Definition**		**Sub-category**	**Definition**	**Example**
school ethnoreligious relations: teacher–child relations		This category refers to mothers' narratives addressing teacher–child relations.		presumption of child's attachment to Muslim identity	This category is about mothers' critiques toward teachers because they presume Turkish-origin children have an attachment to Muslim identity.	"It is common among Germans to say, "you cannot eat it; you are Muslim." Teachers do the same; one day, he [son] came home crying and said, "I wanted to eat salami, but the teacher took it away and said I am not allowed to eat it"… I went to the school and explained that I do not think that way; my son can eat whatever he wants."
school intercultural/interreligious practices		This category refers to schools' intercultural or interreligious practices.		introducing different religions	This category is about schools introducing different religions in their practices, such as school trips, classroom activities.	"They show their respect. Children visit the places of worship of various religions such as Judaism, Islam."
parent religious upbringing practices		This category refers to narratives linked to mothers' religious upbringing practices. Note: The narratives linked to the absence of religious practices are also included in this category.		"ours" vs. "their" religion differentiation	This category refers to mothers not practicing Christian practices and clearly separating Muslim and Christian practices. Note: It can be spatial separation addressing particular contexts as well as general differentiation.	"This culture does not belong to us; we are Muslim. It does not mean excluding Germans, but we do not need to get so much into that… For other cultural things, I am fine, but religion is a sensitive topic."

Study 4:				
Category	**Definition**	**Sub-category**	**Definition**	**Example**
school climate negative: teacher–child	This category refers to narratives related to mothers' perceived negative school climate in terms of the teacher–child relationship.	feeling of injustice	This category refers to narratives that concern mothers' perceived injustice in the teacher–child relationship, such as unfair grading and not treating children fairly.	"When German children distract the class, it is not noticed, but when a Turkish child shows the same behavior, the teachers react as if they are sick of them. I don't want my children to feel that Germans are superior and everything they do is okay. Teachers should not make children feel inferior."
school climate positive: teacher-parent	This category refers to narratives related to mothers' perceived positive school climate in terms of the teacher-parent relationship.	trust	This category refers to narratives in which mothers report the trusting relationship between them and their child's teacher. Note: Narratives that explicitly mention "trust" should be coded.	"I can say that there is a great trust between us [teacher and parent]… Fortunately, we haven't experienced anything like that so far [discrimination]."
life satisfaction Germany: negative	This category refers to narratives in which mothers report negative perceptions and experiences in Germany that could potentially have a negative impact on their life satisfaction (e.g., perceived discrimination, adjustment problems)	discrimination in education: Turkish/immigrants in Germany	This category refers to mothers' perceived discrimination in education, especially against Turkish or other immigrant children.	"Because what I know is that they put obstacles in the way of the [Turkish] children if they are successful… Because Germans do not want Turks to have a high position in society."

Appendix E – Quantitative study: scales and items

The scales and all items used in the quantitative data analysis can be found below. Further details and the sources of the single scales can be found in Study 4; and also see Broekhuizen et al., 2018).

Scale Name	Items	Response scale				
Perceived school climate						
		disagree	slightly disagree	undecided	slightly agree	agree
	1. I trust the way my child's teachers work with the children.					
	2. My child's teachers understand me.					
	3. I feel comfortable to talk to my child's teachers.					
	4. My child's teachers and I have similar beliefs about my child's behaviour.					
	5. My child's teachers and I have similar beliefs about what my child can achieve.					
	6. My child's teachers see me as a competent parent.					
	7. My child's teachers seem prepared to help my child succeed in school.					
	8. My child's teachers care about my child.					
	9. My child's teachers treat my child fairly.					
Life satisfaction in the host country						
		disagree	slightly disagree	undecided	slightly agree	agree
	1. I feel at home in Germany					
	2. I am satisfied in Germany					
	3. I feel happy living in Germany					
	4. I feel accepted in Germany					

Ethnocultural identity

	You feel completely Turkish	You feel more Turkish than German	You feel as much Turkish as German	You feel more German than Turkish	You feel completely German
1. When you are at home or with your family					
2. When you are at your child's (pre-)school					
3. When you are in your local neighborhood					

German proficiency

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	I can not 1. read/ 2.understand / 3. speak/ German
1. When reading newspapers, do you have difficulty to understand the German language?						
2. When listening to the German news on the television or the radio, do you have difficulty to understand the German language?						
3. When you are talking with your child's teacher or the (family) doctor in German do you have difficulty with the use of German language?						

Material deprivation

	Yes	No, cannot afford it	No, other reason
1. Most weeks, do you spend a small amount of money on yourself, for your own pleasure (buying/doing something for yourself)?			
2. Do you regularly participate in a leisure activity (that costs money)?			
3. Do you get together with friends/family (relatives) for a drink/meal at least once a month?			

4. Could you tell me if you can replace worn-out clothes by some new (not second-hand) ones?
5. Do you have two pairs of shoes in a good condition that are suitable for daily activities?
6. Could you tell me if your household replaces furniture (bed, sofa/ dresser, cupboard) when worn out or damaged?
7. Does your household have a car/van for private use?
8. Do you have an Internet connection for personal use when needed?

Yes / No

9. Can your household afford a meal with meat or fish (or a vegetarian equivalent) at least every second day?
10. Can your household afford an unexpected required expense (e.g., 1020 €) and pay with your own resources?
11. Can your entire household afford to go for a week's annual holiday, away from home, including stays in a second dwelling or with friends/relatives?
12. Can your household afford to keep your home adequately warm?

Yes, once / Yes, once or twice / No

13. In the past twelve months, has the household been in arrears, i.e. has been unable to pay on time due to financial difficulties for rent or mortgage repayment for the main dwelling?

Parent immigrant generation

Country of birth:

If the answer is Germany: first generation immigrant; If the answer is not Germany: second generation immigrant

Child's school level

Month and year of birth target child:

The stated age is grouped as follows: Age group 3-6: Preschool level; Age group 8-12: Primary school level.

Family employment

Do you currently have a paid job? Yes/No
Does your partner currently have a paid job? Yes/No

Grouped as: one earner; dual-earner; both unemployed

Parent educational level

Did you receive a secondary school certification? Yes/No
If yes, which level?

- Lower secondary school level (Berufsbildungsreife (BBR)/Hauptschulabschluss)
- Intermediate secondary school level (Mittlerer Schulabschluss (MSA)/Realschulabschluss)
- Upper secondary school level ((Fach-)Abitur)
- Other:

Do you have a vocational education? Yes/No
Do you have a vocational qualification? Yes/No
Do you have a college or university education? Yes/No
If yes, what is your highest achieved qualification?

- None
- Bachelor
- Master
- PhD
- Other

Groupled as: Low (ISCED 0, 1 or 2; lower than primary education, primary or lower secondary education); Medium (ISCED 3, 4 or 5; upper secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary and short-cycle tertiary education); High (ISCED 6 or 7; Bachelor's degree or higher)

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that I have independently produced the present work entitled “Social Identities of Immigrant Parents in Home–School–Society Relational Spaces: Perspectives and Experiences of Turkish Parents in Germany.” All aids I have used are listed. Intellectual property of other authors has been marked accordingly. The work has not been accepted or rejected in any previous doctoral procedure.

Berlin, January 31, 2023 _____

OWN CONTRIBUTIONS AND PUBLICATION STATUS

The following table illustrates my own contribution to the scientific articles published or submitted for publication within the present dissertation.

Authors	***Title***	***Status***	***Own contributions***
Erdem-Möbius, H., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y.	Socio-spatial segregation in school–society relational spaces from the perspectives of Turkish immigrant mothers: "Where are the Germans?"	Published in *Contemporary Social Science, 16*(4), 464–479. https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2021.1890813	Lead in the conception, preparation of the literature and the theoretical background; contributing to the development of qualitative data collection instruments; lead in qualitative interview data collection; lead in qualitative interview data analysis; lead in writing of the manuscript
Erdem-Möbius, H., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y.	The interplay of ethnocultural identity and language: Perceptions and experiences of Turkish immigrant mothers in home–school–society relational spaces.	Published in *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2022.2106230	Lead in the conception, preparation of the literature and the theoretical background; contributing to the development of qualitative data collection instruments; lead in qualitative interview data collection; lead in qualitative interview data analysis; lead in writing of the manuscript
Erdem-Möbius, H., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y.	Ethnoreligious identities in home–school–society relational spaces: The case of Turkish immigrant parents in Germany.	Published in *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2022.2138320	Lead in the conception, preparation of the literature and the theoretical background; contributing development of qualitative data collection instruments; lead in qualitative interview data collection; lead in qualitative interview data analysis; lead in writing of the manuscript
Erdem-Möbius, H., Wolf, K., Sirin, S., Odağ, Ö., & Anders, Y.	The relationship between Turkish immigrant parents' perceptions of school climate and their life satisfaction in Germany: A mixed methods study	Submitted to *European Educational Research Journal*	Lead in the conception, preparation of the literature and the theoretical background; co-coordinating quantitative data collection; contributing development of qualitative and quantitative data collection instruments; lead in qualitative interview data collection; lead in qualitative interview data analysis, compilation of the quantitative data set; lead in statistical analysis; lead in writing of the manuscript