

25 YEARS OF NON-VIOLENT PARENTING IN THE GERMAN CIVIL CODE (BGB)

„Current attitudes towards disciplinary measures,
parental parenting behaviour and personally ex-
perienced disciplinary measures in childhood and
adolescence in Germany“

with a special focus on emotional punishment

Emily Sitarski, Benjamin Moritz, Therese Hiller, Jörg M. Fegert

**25 YEARS OF
NON-VIOLENT
PARENTING IN
THE GERMAN
CIVIL CODE (BGB)**

TABLE OF CONTENTS 01

3		Table of contents
4		List of tables
5		List of figures
9		Foreword
11		Summary
13		1 <i>Introduction</i>
16		2 <i>Data basis</i>
16		2.1 Sampling
16		2.2 Set of questions
18		2.3 Sample description
20		2.4 Structure of the report and description of methods
22		3 <i>Results</i>
22		3.1 Corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
22		3.1.1 Attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
27		3.1.1.1 Determinants of attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
33		3.1.2 Perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
35		3.1.3 Expected results of the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
36		3.1.4 Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
37		3.1.4.1 Determinants of use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
44		3.1.5 Personally experienced corporal punishments in upbringing
46		3.2 Emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
46		3.2.1 Attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
48		3.2.2 Perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
49		3.2.2.1 Determinants of perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
56		3.2.3 Use of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children
58		3.2.3.1 Determinants of use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
65		3.2.4 Personally experienced emotional punishments in upbringing
66		3.2.4.1 Determinants of personally experienced emotional punishment in upbringing
72		3.3 Correlations between personally experienced emotional punishment in upbringing and the perceived appropriateness of parenting methods
72		3.3.1 Correlation between emotional punishment not experienced vs. experienced emotional punishment and approval of emotional punishment vs. rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

TABLE OF CONTENTS 02

73		3.3.2	Correlation between not experienced emotional punishment vs. experienced emotional punishment and approval of corporal punishment vs. rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
74		3.3.3	Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personally experienced emotional punishment and rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
78		3.3.4	Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personal experience of emotional punishment and rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
82		3.4	Correlations between personally experienced emotional punishment in upbringing and the use of punishment in upbringing
82		3.4.1	Correlation between not experienced emotional punishment vs. experienced emotional punishment and emotional punishment used vs. no emotional punishment used
83		3.4.2	Correlation between no emotional punishment experienced vs. emotional punishment experienced and corporal punishment used vs. no corporal punishment used
84		3.4.3	Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personally experienced emotional punishment and non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
86		3.4.4	Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personally experienced emotional punishment and non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
90		4	<i>Conclusion and recommendations for action</i>
97			References
102			Appendix: Instruments used

LIST OF TABLES

18		Table 1 : Socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample (N = 2,530)
-----------	--	---

LIST OF FIGURES

- 23** | **Figure 1:** Attitudes towards corporal punishment in the survey years 2016, 2020 and 2024/2025
- 25** | **Figure 2:** Levels of agreement with attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025
- 26** | **Figure 3:** Approval/rejection of attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025
- 27** | **Figure 4:** Approval/rejection of „smack“ and „slap in the face“ by age group in the 2024/2025 survey year
- 28** | **Figure 5:** Approval/rejection of a „slap in the face“ according to religious affiliation or denomination in the 2024/2025 survey year
- 29** | **Figure 6:** Approval/rejection of „smack“, „slap in the face“ and „beating“ according to party preference in the 2024/2025 survey year
- 31** | **Figure 7:** Approval/rejection of „smack“, „slap in the face“ and „beating“ according to highest school-leaving qualification in the 2024/2025 survey year
- 32** | **Figure 8:** Approval/rejection of „smack“ by region in the 2024/2025 survey year
- 34** | **Figure 9:** Perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey years 2020 and 2024/2025
- 35** | **Figure 10:** Levels of agreement with expected outcomes of the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025
- 36** | **Figure 11:** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025
- 37** | **Figure 12:** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“, „light slap in the face“ and „no punishment“ according to age group in the survey year 2024/2025
- 39** | **Figure 13:** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „light slap in the face“ and „pinching“ according to religion or denomination in the survey year 2024/2025
- 40** | **Figure 14:** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“ according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025
- 41** | **Figure 15 :** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“ and „light slap in the face“ according to highest school leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025
- 42** | **Figure 16:** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „light slap in the face“ according to household income in the survey year 2024/2025
- 43** | **Figure 17:** Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“ and „no punishment“ according to region in the survey year 2024/2025
- 45** | **Figure 18:** Corporal punishment experienced in one’s own upbringing in the survey years 2016, 2020 and 2024/2025
- 46** | **Figure 19:** Levels of agreement with attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the 2024/2025 survey year
- 47** | **Figure 20:** Approval/rejection with attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the 2024/2025 survey year

- 48** | **Figure 21:** Perceived appropriateness of various emotional punishments in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025
- 51** | **Figure 22:** Perceived appropriateness of „shouting“ and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ as emotional punishments in the upbringing of children according to religious affiliation or denomination in the survey year 2024/2025
- 52** | **Figure 23:** Perceived appropriateness of „locking the child in a room“ as an emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025
- 54** | **Figure 24:** Perceived appropriateness of „locking the child in a room“, „shouting“ and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ as emotional punishments in the upbringing of children according to highest school-leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025
- 55** | **Figure 25:** Rejection of emotional punishment according to highest school-leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025
- 57** | **Figure 26:** Use of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025
- 59** | **Figure 27:** Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ according to nationality in the survey year 2024/2025
- 60** | **Figure 28:** Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „shouting“, „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ and „no punishment“ according to religious affiliation in the survey year 2024/2025
- 61** | **Figure 29:** Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025
- 62** | **Figure 30:** Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „locking the child in a room“ according to highest school leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025
- 64** | **Figure 31:** Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ and „no punishment“ according to region in the survey year 2024/2025
- 65** | **Figure 32:** Personally experienced emotional punishment during upbringing in the survey year 2024/2025
- 66** | **Figure 33:** Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being locked in a room“ according to age group in the survey year 2024/2025
- 68** | **Figure 34 :** Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being locked in a room“ according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025
- 69** | **Figure 35:** Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being blamed or humiliated“, „being locked in a room“, and non-experiencing emotional punishment during one's own upbringing according to highest school leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025
- 70** | **Figure 36:** Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being blamed or humiliated“ according to household income in the survey year 2024/2025

- 71** | **Figure 37:** Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being locked in a room“ and non-experiencing emotional punishment during one's own upbringing according to region in the survey year 2024/2025
- 72** | **Figure 38:** Relationship between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
- 73** | **Figure 39:** Correlation between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children
- 75** | **Figure 40:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to nationality among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 75** | **Figure 41:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to religious or denominational affiliation among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 76** | **Figure 42:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to political party preference among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 77** | **Figure 43:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in upbringing according to highest school-leaving qualification among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 78** | **Figure 44:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to gender among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 79** | **Figure 45:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to age group among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 79** | **Figure 46:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to religious or denominational affiliation among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 80** | **Figure 47:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to political party preference among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 80** | **Figure 48:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to the highest school-leaving qualification among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 81** | **Figure 49:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to household income among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 82** | **Figure 50:** Correlation between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and the use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children
- 83** | **Figure 51:** Relationship between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

- 84 | **Figure 52:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to denomination or religious affiliation of respondents who experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 85 | **Figure 53:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to region among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 86 | **Figure 54:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to age group among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 87 | **Figure 55:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to denomination or religious affiliation among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 88 | **Figure 56:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to highest school-leaving qualification among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 88 | **Figure 57:** Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to household income among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood
- 90 | **Figure 58:** Trend in corporal punishment used/perceived appropriate from 2001 to 2024/2025

FOREWORD

Twenty-five years ago, Germany sent a clear message: violence, whether physical or psychological, must not be used as a means of discipline. Following several urgent rulings by the Federal Constitutional Court, the right to a childhood free from violence was enshrined in law in the German Civil Code (BGB). At the beginning of the new century, this legal clarification marked a turning point in society that had a concrete impact on the attitudes and actions of many parents. Since then, the acceptance of corporal punishment has declined significantly. Awareness of children's rights has grown noticeably. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child also unequivocally obliges us to protect every child from violence, regardless of its form or origin.

However, reality shows that this right is still frequently violated – something that the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Psychosomatics and Psychotherapy at Ulm University Hospital and UNICEF Germany have been jointly drawing attention to for years. Despite the laws and conventions, violence is part of everyday life for many children in Germany – whether physical, psychological or through neglect. This is confirmed by the present survey. It takes a differentiated look at current attitudes towards corporal punishment, parental behaviour and personal experiences of violence in childhood and adolescence in Germany. The positive news is that 25 years after the change in the law, attitudes towards punishment in the upbringing of children have changed, especially with regard to severe corporal punishment.

Social acceptance of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children is lower than ever before.

However, we must not be satisfied with what we have achieved. **Emotional violence** in particular **often remains invisible**. This was already pointed out in our last joint report on the 20th anniversary of the introduction of the right to non-violent upbringing.

Emotional violence is often difficult to grasp, easy to overlook and yet deeply hurtful. This follow-up report therefore focuses on emotional violence and emotional punishment in upbringing. Although emotional punishment is rejected by the majority of society, it still receives too much approval in practice – especially when compared to corporal punishment. It seems that the idea still prevails that individual emotional punishments in upbringing are more appropriate and

therefore possibly not as harmful as corporal punishments. However, the negative effects of emotional violence in childhood on mental health and overall child development are well documented scientifically. Nevertheless, around a third of respondents who have raised children themselves stated that they had used corporal or emotional punishment on their children at some point. Only half of all respondents reported that they had not experienced corporal or emotional punishment themselves as children. The gap between knowledge, attitude and actual behaviour shows that there is an urgent need for action.

In order to protect children comprehensively from violence, society as a whole must be made more aware of the issue. Prevention must become more targeted, comprehensive and relevant to everyday life. There is a need for a stronger political and legal framework to guarantee that children and adolescents in Germany experience safe and nurturing conditions for their development. To achieve this, children's rights should be enshrined in the Basic Law, including the right to the promotion of physical and mental abilities. This would improve the framework conditions for effective child protection. In addition, the form of child maltreatment known as neglect – i.e. violence by omission – is largely ignored by the law. The definition of violence in the German Civil Code should therefore also include neglect, so that the condemnation of this form of violence is enshrined in law – in line with international classification systems such as the International Classification of Violence Against Children (ICVAC) proposed by UNICEF. Fortunately, the new social compensation law in the German Social Code (SGB XIV) now equates violence through significant neglect with other forms of violence. However, in the context of „non-violent parenting“, violence through omission, through the failure to meet basic needs, has not yet been adequately addressed.

Our study shows how important systematic data collection is for shedding light on hidden cases, monitoring social developments as well as for targeted prevention and intervention. Without it, well-intentioned prevention becomes a blind flight – especially in our rapidly changing world shaped by the digital revolution. The survey also shows that it is important to provide target group-specific education and support – especially for those who themselves experienced violence in childhood.

We would like to thank all participants who made this study possible, as well as our partner institutions for their constructive cooperation. Special thanks go to Prof. Dr. Elmar Brähler and the survey institute USU-MA GmbH, who jointly coordinated the representative survey and – as in the past – carried out the data collection with great expertise, reliability and professionalism. We would also like to express our gratitude to Ms. Emily Sitarski, who accompanied the preparation of the study, the coordination of its implementation and the evaluation and interpretation of the results throughout the entire research process. We would also like to thank the other co-authors who were significantly involved in the data evaluation and contributed to the interpretation of the results.

This study is a wake-up call for society as a whole. Even though much has been achieved, it is still not enough. What's more, in a rapidly changing world, there is still much to be done to enable children to grow up free from violence. Protecting children from emotional and physical violence is not an option – it is our shared social and political responsibility.

For the project partners in this study

Prof. Dr. Jörg M. Fegert

Medical Director of the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Psychosomatics and Psychotherapy at Ulm University Hospital

Head of the Competence Center Child Abuse and Neglect and the Competence Center Public Child Mental Health at the Ulm site during the development phase until the professorships are filled.

This survey was conducted in cooperation with UNICEF Germany and with funding from PORTICUS by the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Psychosomatics and Psychotherapy at Ulm University Hospital. The Competence Centres "Child Abuse and Neglect" and "Public Child Mental Health" based there are supported by the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Science, Research and the Arts (MWK). They make it possible to regularly shed light on the hidden field of punishment and violence in parenting. The aim of the Competence Center Public Child Mental Health is also to respond preventively and sustainably to current crises and long-term challenges such as the non-violent upbringing of children and adolescents. The United Nations counts non-violent upbringing among its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and calls for thematic studies on this topic. The present study meets this requirement.

Christian Schneider

Executive Director
German Committee for UNICEF

SUMMARY

Following on from the report by Clemens et al. (2020), this study, published on the 25th anniversary of the introduction of the right to non-violent parenting in the German Civil Code, examines current social attitudes towards corporal and emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in Germany. In addition to attitudes and perceived appropriateness of corporal and emotional punishment, this study also presents the frequency of personal experiences of both types of punishment in childhood and their use in the respondents' own parenting. The results are based on a sample of 2,530 people aged 16 to 92 who are representative of the German population. The survey took place between the end of 2024 and the beginning of 2025. The current findings on corporal punishment are classified according to developments over the last 25 years, as comparative values are available from earlier studies on the use and acceptance of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children. This is not the case for emotional punishment in upbringing. Based in particular on the findings and recommendations for action of the previous report from 2020 (Clemens et al., 2020), this study has the explicit aim of taking a detailed look at emotional punishment in upbringing in Germany for the first time.

To this end, particular attention will be paid to the perceived appropriateness, the emotional disciplinary measures applied and experienced by the respondents themselves, but also attitudes towards and the use of corporal punishment in their own upbringing of children (in order to chart developments over time and since its use was not covered in the 2020 expert report) based on possible socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants of the respondents: gender, age groups, nationality, religious affiliation, preference for a political party, highest school leaving certificate, household income and the region in Germany where the respondents live. Furthermore, the report examines whether individuals who experienced emotional punishment in their childhood are more likely to agree with emotional and corporal punishment in the upbringing of children than individuals who did not experience emotional punishment in their childhood, and whether this correlation is also evident in the actual use of emotional and corporal punishment. This is described in the specialist literature (mostly in relation to child abuse) as a „cycle of violence“, i.e. the transgenerational transmission of violence. On this basis, the report examines whether and, if so, which socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics are associated with breaking the cycle of violence.

With regard to the social acceptance of corporal punishment and its use in upbringing, the scientific findings of this report allow us to draw the following conclusion: almost 25 years after non-violent upbringing was enshrined in the German Civil Code, both are at an all-time low. Compared to an almost stagnant plateau in approval of corporal punishment in the form of a „smack on the bottom“ in 2016, with 44.7% of respondents and 42.7% of respondents in 2020, only 30.9% still approve in 2024/2025. Around two-thirds of respondents (66.8%) reject corporal punishment as a method of discipline, compared to around half of respondents (56.6%) in 2020. Emotional punishment in upbringing is rejected comparatively more often, with a share of 73.0%. However, the individual forms of emotional punishment surveyed are largely considered more appropriate than individual corporal punishments, especially those that can be considered harsher corporal punishments. For example, in 2024/2025, less than 1% of respondents consider „hitting the bottom hard with a stick“, „hitting with objects“, „kicking“, „beatings causing bleeding“ and „strangling“ to be appropriate, while emotional punishments such as „hurtful or insulting statements (such as „stupid“, „useless“ or „lazy“)“ and „belittling or disparaging“ are considered appropriate by more than 2% of respondents. „Isolation from family or friends“, „skipping meals“, „withholding attention and love“ and „blaming or shaming“ are even considered appropriate disciplinary measures by approximately 5% of respondents. „Shouting“ as a form of emotional punishment is considered appropriate in the upbringing of children by 16.1% of respondents, „locking them in their room“ by 9.2% and „no longer speaking to the child or refusing to communicate“ by 8.6%. Of the forms of emotional punishment surveyed in the study, these three forms are most frequently considered appropriate in Germany.

The picture is mostly inconsistent when it comes to the possible factors associated with attitudes towards, the use of, and personal experience of emotional or corporal punishment. In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to the socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants examined, as the correlations found in each case have only a minor effect. Based on the individual determinants, this report can only describe trends, which should not be overinterpreted. Gender, age groups, nationality, religious affiliation, political party preferences, school-leaving qualifications, household income and the region in which the respondent lives appear to play a role in isolated cases with regard to corporal and

emotional punishment – but only to a minor extent when considered in isolation.

However, this study does reveal clear correlations between the individual's own experience of emotional punishment in childhood and their approval of corporal and emotional punishment, as well as its use in the upbringing of children. In particular, the effect of one's own experience of emotional disciplinary punishment on the perceived appropriateness of corporal and emotional punishment can be interpreted as strong and thus represents a significant influencing factor.

In summary, it can be said that experiencing emotional violence in upbringing has a considerable influence on current attitudes towards parenting and parental behaviour, as does experiencing corporal violence, as already shown by Clemens et al. (2020). However, the introduction of the law outlawing violence in upbringing over the last 25 years has had an impressive effect in this regard and was not merely symbolic politics. Based on the scientific findings of the present study, however, it is also clear that society as a whole has not yet come to condemn violence in upbringing,

which includes both corporal and emotional punishment, and that the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 16.2, „End abuse and exploitation of children, child trafficking, torture and all forms of violence against children“ (Federal Statistical Office, 2024a) is still far from being achieved. In the authors' view, the following measures are therefore necessary to sustainably anchor the protection of children from violence and their right to support, participation and a violence-free upbringing:

- 1.** Strengthen children's rights by incorporating them into the Basic Law and enshrining them there.
- 2.** Expand the concept of non-violent parenting in Section 1631 (2) of the German Civil Code to include the form of abuse known as neglect – i.e. violence by omission.
- 3.** Promote targeted prevention, awareness-raising and education on non-violent parenting, paying particular attention to the settings of „family“ and „digital space“. Both selective and indicated prevention must be made possible (e.g. in Section 20 of the German Social Code, Book V) in order to not only warn against violence in parenting as a primary preventive measure. The WHO's setting approach must be expanded to include the digital space as a place of risk for violence, but also as a space of opportunity for prevention.
- 4.** Improve the data on violence in parenting: This data remains incomplete in Germany. Targeted monitoring of Sustainable Development Goal 16.2 is needed by the Federal Republic of Germany, which regularly records all forms of violence in parenting, including physical and psychological violence as well as violence through neglect and omission.

On 8 November 2000, the Act on the Prohibition of Violence in upbringing came into force, explicitly enshrining the right of children to a violence-free upbringing in the German Civil Code (BGB). The clear wording of Section 1631 (2) BGB states „Children have a right to a non-violent upbringing. Corporal punishment, emotional harm and other degrading measures are not permitted“¹ (Ministerium für Soziales, Gesundheit und Integration Baden-Württemberg, 2025), a legal milestone was reached that marked the final departure from parental rights of corporal punishment in Germany and made it clear that any kind of disciplinary punishment involving violence is inadmissible (Peschel-Gutzeit, 2001).

The implementation of non-violent parenting in Germany followed an asymmetrical path due to the different legal traditions and parenting cultures in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). In the FRG, the departure from parental rights of corporal punishment took a comparatively long time. Although the paternal right of corporal punishment, originally enshrined in Section 1631 (2) of the German Civil Code (BGB) of 1900, was formally repealed with the entry into force of the Equal Rights Act on 1 July 1958, it continued to apply in practice and case law as customary law as long as it was considered an „appropriate means of discipline“ (Peschel-Gutzeit, 2001). The 1980 reform of family law led to a new formulation and regulation of Section 1631 (2) of the German Civil Code: „Degrading parenting measures are inadmissible“¹. Although this prohibited violence in parenting, there was no corresponding definition, and thus this regulation did not yet have any clear criminal relevance (cf. Noak, 2002). With the further modification in 1998, a definition was added („Degrading parenting measures, in particular physical and psychological abuse, are not allowed“), but the threshold between violence and abuse was not defined, so that this specification was interpreted to mean that lighter parenting punishments were still allowed (Maiorino, 2003).

The GDR, on the other hand, had already taken a more progressive approach in this area. Officially, corporal punishment had been banned in schools in the GDR since 1949, but the sanctions included in this ban were often tolerated and implemented in practice (Schaarschmidt et al., 2018). Corporal punishment of children by their parents was formally contrary to socialist education and was frowned upon; however, it was not expressly prohibited by law. Representative

German studies that compared experiences of abuse in childhood and adolescence between growing up in the FRG and the GDR concluded that East German respondents retrospectively reported emotional and physical abuse and neglect less frequently than West German respondents (cf. Fleischer et al., 2022; Schulz et al., 2022; Spitzer et al., 2023). In this respect, the results suggest that parental practices and attitudes can also be influenced by the socio-cultural conditions of growing up, social norms and political and legal models.

The all-German legislation of 2000 thus created the first uniform, unambiguous legal basis throughout Germany that established the child as an independent holder and bearer of rights in the family context. As part of the „reform of guardianship and care law“, the provisions of which came into force on 1 January 2023, Section 1631 (2) of the German Civil Code (BGB) was also amended: „The child has a right to care and upbringing without violence, corporal punishment, emotional harm and other degrading measures“¹ (Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, 2025). The aim of this amendment was to „transfer the right to non-violent upbringing from Section 1631 (2) of the German Civil Code (BGB) to guardianship law and at the same time expressly extend it to the area of care [...] [and] [t]o avoid inconsistencies in child custody law through this extension“¹ (Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages, 2022, p. 1). Whether this is intended to change the definition of violence remains unclear on the basis of the legislative materials (Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages, 2022).

The fact that the concept of violence and thus the understanding and assessment of violence, especially in the upbringing of children, is culturally and socially variable is particularly evident in the long road to non-violent parenting (cf. Deutscher Kinderschutzbund Landesverband NRW e.V., 2025; Peschel-Gutzeit, 2001). In the latest expert report on the 20th anniversary of the introduction of the right to non-violent parenting in the German Civil Code (Clemens et al., 2020; also with the support of UNICEF Germany), the authors were already able to show that, fortunately, attitudes towards corporal punishment in Germany have changed for the better since the ban on violence in parenting, especially with regard to severe corporal punishment. Hitting children as punishment – giving them a smack on the bottom – is therefore increasingly less regarded as an „appropriate parenting method“ (Clemens

1 literally translated from German into English

et al., 2020), but rather as violence and therefore unacceptable. But how does this relate to parental actions that are not directed against the body, but take place primarily on a verbal level and attack the child mentally and emotionally?

In the 2020 report, the authors came to the following conclusion, among others: although the legal basis for non-violent parenting has existed since 2000, **emotional violence** remains the „invisible“ challenge in child protection. In contrast to physical abuse or sexual abuse, emotional abuse of children and adolescents in particular is often perceived as less harmful, as it usually leaves no physical traces (Witt et al., 2021). It has also been neglected in research for a long time (Gossmann & Fegert, 2024). The results of scientific studies paint a clear picture: child emotional abuse can have similar or even more serious psychological and physical consequences than child physical abuse and child sexual abuse (Spinazzola et al., 2014; Strathearn et al., 2020; Teicher et al., 2006). Child emotional abuse includes deliberate actions by the caregiver that make the child feel worthless, flawed, unloved or unwanted, such as verbal abuse, belittling, intimidation, terrorising and isolation (Brassard et al., 2019; Leeb et al., 2008). This refers in particular to a repetitive pattern or extreme occurrences of this behaviour by the caregiver or guardian (Brassard et al., 2019).

All forms of child maltreatment constitute criminal offences as they endanger the welfare of the child. As statistics on child and youth welfare based on suspected and reported cases show, society is also becoming increasingly sensitive to signs of neglect and emotional abuse of children and adolescents (Statistisches Bundesamt 2024b, 2025a, 2025b). However, it remains unclear **whether and what emotional punishments the German population tolerates and considers appropriate in the upbringing of children for disciplinary purposes**. The boundaries between suboptimal, emotionally punitive behaviour in upbringing and severe emotional child abuse can be fluid (Hibbard et al., 2012; Slep et al., 2011).

In a subsample of 1,340 parents based on a representative sample of the German population in 2021, almost 62% stated that they had used at least one form of emotional punishment in raising children (Sitarski et al., under revision). Almost half of the respondents in this sample reported having used one to three forms of emotional punishment in raising children, and 12% confirmed the cumulative use of an even

greater number of four to seven forms. The strongest risk factor for the use of emotional punishment in raising children was identified as having experienced emotional abuse in childhood and/or adolescence: These parents had an almost 3.5 times higher risk of using emotional punishment in raising children. The „cycle of violence“ (Widom, 1989) thus also seems to manifest itself in the use of emotional punishment in upbringing, which may also serve as a precursor to emotionally abusive behaviour by parents.

Despite the clear legal situation that has existed for 25 years now, the high prevalence of emotional punishment in upbringing requires an in-depth analysis of the factors associated with attitudes, acceptance and the use of emotional punishment in parenting. Only by understanding these determinants can prevention and awareness campaigns be designed to be target group-specific and effective. The decline in approval of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children, which was observed in the latest report from 2020 (Clemens et al., 2020), is positive, but with just over half of respondents in a study representative of Germany agreeing with the statement „A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child“, it is still far too high. The task and goal for society as a whole is still to ensure that all children grow up free from violence, as set out by the United Nations in its Sustainable Development Goals, specifically Goal 16, „Peace, justice and strong institutions,“ and in particular in Goal 16.2, „End abuse and exploitation, trafficking and torture of children, and all forms of violence against children“ (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2024a). This report takes stock on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the German law prohibiting violence in upbringing: How have attitudes and the perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children developed? What do we know about parental behaviour in relation to corporal punishment? And in particular: What is the German population's attitude towards emotional punishment in parenting? Where do we see differences?

From the end of 2024 to the beginning of 2025, the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Psychosomatics and Psychotherapy at Ulm University Hospital, under the direction of Prof. Dr. Jörg M. Fegert, supported by UNICEF Germany and Porticus, again conducted a study on current attitudes towards disciplinary measures, parental behaviour and personal experiences of disciplinary measures in childhood and adolescence in Germany. Based on the expertise

of 2020 (Clemens et al., 2020), this report also presents developments in attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children, its perceived appropriateness, personal experiences of corporal punishment in childhood and, this time, the frequency and determinants of the use of such disciplinary measures. For the reasons mentioned above, however, this report, marking the 25th anniversary of non-violent parenting, **focused** in particular **on emotional punishment in the upbringing of children**. This report examines in detail current attitudes towards emotional punishment in upbringing, its perceived appropriateness, its use and personal experiences with it among the German population. The latter are also placed in the context of attitudes towards and the use of both emotional and corporal punishment. All of this is further examined by considering socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants. In the last report (Clemens et al., 2020), significant correlations were already identified with regard to corporal punishment, leading to the conclusion that certain population groups need to be addressed more intensively in the prevention of violence in upbringing. With regard to emotional punishment, this report aims to do the same, particularly with regard to which individuals are more likely to break the cycle of violence and where there may be differences in relation to corporal punishment. In this report, a number of determinants were examined in detail: gender, age, nationality, religious affiliation, political party preference, highest level of education, household income and the region of Germany in which the respondents live.

In summary, the analysis of these determinants should help to understand where there is still a need for more intensive awareness-raising about non-violent parenting. This is because the law prohibiting violence in parenting is about a complete, comprehensive prohibition of violence against children in the family context and a change in awareness throughout society. This report aims to provide an assessment of the state of non-violent parenting in Germany a quarter of a century after the abolition of the right to corporal punishment, which includes psychological harm. At a time when the mental health of young people is in crisis and facing a critical tipping point (McGorry et al., 2024), and at a time of profound digital transformation, which is also influencing the parenting attitudes and behaviour of tomorrow's parents, it is more important than ever to focus on protection from violence in childhood, especially in parenting, and to emphasise this as a task for society as a whole. Based

on this, and in particular on the findings of this report, current theories and implications for action are presented in the conclusion.

2.1 SAMPLING

The study used a sample that is representative of the German-speaking resident population in Germany aged 16 and over. This is partly a follow-up survey based on previous representative population surveys from 2016 and 2020 with independent samples (Clemens et al., 2020). This also allows for a trend analysis across the three survey periods in some areas. The current survey was conducted between October 2024 and February 2025 by USUMA GmbH. It began with a random selection of an area sample, followed by a selection of target households within this regional area using the random route method. To this end, interviewers within each regional area were given a starting address (known as sample points) and a step size for the random selection of households. In multi-person households, the target person was selected at random using a „Kish selection grid“.

Persons aged 16 and over were eligible to participate. They were informed about the research background

of the study, voluntary participation and the right to subsequently withdraw their participation, as well as about the handling of the collected data in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

The total sample resulted in an initial selection of 7,014 households. Due to quality-neutral (e.g. unoccupied dwelling) and systematic failures (e.g. target person away, on holiday), the response rate was 38.9%, which ultimately resulted in a sample size of 2,530 individuals whose interviews could be evaluated.

The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Medical Faculty of Leipzig University on 24 September 2024 and was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. It complies with the ethical guidelines of the International Code of Marketing and Social Research Practices of the European Society of Opinion and Marketing Research and the International Chamber of Commerce.

2.2 SET OF QUESTIONS

First, a standardised interview was used to collect **socio-demographic and socio-economic data** on the target person and their household using a structured questionnaire (including age, gender, federal state of primary residence, nationality and household income). The interviewees were then given the corresponding self-administered questionnaire to complete independently. The interviewers were available to answer questions and provide advice if the study participants requested it.

To record **attitudes towards upbringing (corporal punishment)**, questions were asked based on a thematically very similar survey from 2001 and 2005 (Bussmann, 2010), which had also been used in the previous expert report (Clemens et al., 2020). To this end, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with various statements on corporal punishment, such as „A smack on the bottom has never hurt a child“, „A slap in the face has never hurt a child“ and „A beating has never hurt a child“. In addition, this survey in-

cluded items that were adapted and translated into German based on a subscale on current attitudes towards disciplinary punishment from „The Discipline Questionnaire“ by Graziano et al. (1992). Respondents were asked to rate the following statements on a five-point scale („strongly disagree“ to „strongly agree“): 1. „Parents have a right to punish,“ 2. „Physical punishment is helpful to children,“ 3. „I intend to use physical punishment,“ 4. „Physical punishment is a proper technique,“ 5. „Physical punishment is not harmful to children,“ 6. „Children don't resent physical punishment,“ 7. „Children need physical punishment,“ 8. „Parents don't need to punish less,“ 9. „Children benefit from physical punishment,“ 10. „I would not support a law against physical punishment,“ 11. „Physical punishment is not abusive,“ 12. „Teachers/principals have right to use physical punishment.“

To assess the **perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment**, a list of possible forms of corporal punishment was provided („pinching“, „smack on the

bottom“, „light slap in the face“, „hard slap in the face“, „hitting the bottom hard with a stick“, „beating until bleeding“, „beating with objects (such as belts, bamboo sticks)“, „kicking“, „strangulation“, „other corporal punishment“ or „I reject corporal punishment as a method of upbringing“), which was also used by Clemens et al. (2020), and asked which of these corporal punishments the respondents themselves consider appropriate in the upbringing of children. In comparison to the previously asked attitudes towards various statements on corporal punishment, this question rather asks about the direct perceived appropriateness in upbringing.

In addition, respondents were asked to use a five-point scale („Never“ to „Always“) to indicate which **results or consequences** they **expect** from **the use of corporal punishment in upbringing**: „How often do you think that spanking or hitting a child with a hand or an object for disciplinary purposes leads to the child...“ 1. „...being better behaved in the short-term“, 2. „...being better behaved in the long-term“, 3. „...being more respectful of parents“, 4. „...learning correct behavior“, 5. „...having a better relationship with the parent“, 6. „...having a decreased chance of being delinquent or incarcerated later in life“, 7. „...having a better sense of self control“, 8. „...being physically injured“, 9. „...being more aggressive“, 10. „...being physically abused“, 11. „...experiencing long-term emotional upset“, 12. „...having poorer cognitive abilities“, 13. „...having poorer mental health“, 14. „...having poorer physical health“. These questions were adapted and translated into German based on the question construct „Expected outcomes of using CP“ by Taylor et al. (2017).

In another set of questions, respondents were asked to select from a multiple-choice list whether **they had used corporal punishment in raising children** and, if so, what forms it had taken. Using the same principle, they were also asked what **forms of corporal punishment they had experienced in their own childhood**. The predefined response categories were the items already mentioned: „pinching“, „smack on the bottom“, „light slap in the face“, „hard slap in the face“, „hitting the bottom hard with a stick“, „beating until bleeding“, „beating with objects (such as belts, bamboo sticks)“, „kicking“, „strangulation“, „other corporal punishment“ and „I did not use corporal punishment in my parenting“ or „I did not experience corporal punishment during my upbringing“.

One focus of this report is on emotional punishment in the upbringing of children.

Based on the subscale on current attitudes towards disciplinary punishment from „The Discipline Questionnaire“ by Graziano et al. (1992), three items relating to **attitudes towards emotional disciplinary punishment** were adapted and translated into German, which respondents were asked to rate on a five-point scale („strongly disagree“ to „strongly agree“): 1. „I would not support a law against emotional punishment.“, 2. „Emotional punishment is not abusive.“, and 3. „Emotional punishment is not harmful to children.“

In addition, participants were asked which **emotional punishments they considered appropriate**, with the following response options specified: „shouting“, „blaming or shaming“, „belittling or disparaging“, „hurtful or insulting remarks („stupid“, „lazy“ or „useless“),“ „intimidation or threats (e.g. threatening physical violence, but not carrying it out)“, „locking the child in a room“, „skipping meals“, „leaving the child home alone without saying where you are going or when you will return“, „withholding attention and affection“, „isolating from family or friends“, „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“, „other emotional punishment“, and „I reject emotional punishment as a parenting method“.

Furthermore, the survey recorded **whether emotional punishment was used by respondents in raising children** and **whether emotional punishment was experienced in their own childhood**. If this was the case, respondents were asked to specify which of the above forms of emotional punishment were used (multiple selection).

All instruments are shown in full in the appendix.

2.3 SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

54.0% of participants are female and 46.0% are male. The age range is between 16 and 92 years, with an average age of 49.4 years (standard deviation = 17.72). The proportion of people with German citizenship is 94.9%, including 0.3% with self-reported dual citizenship. 42.0% are married and live with their partner, 32.4% stated that they are single, and the rest are divorced (13.9%), widowed (9.4%) or separated (2.1%) (no information provided = 0.2%). 32.2% of respondents come from southern Germany (Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Rhineland-Palatinate), 29.8% from the western region (North Rhine-Westphalia, Hessen, Saarland), 17.4% from the former new federal states of Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, 5.5% from the city state of Berlin (east: Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Berlin) and 15.1% from the northern German federal states

(Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen). The vast majority of participants belong to the Protestant (33.2%) or Catholic church (29.1%) or have no denomination (32.1%). 2.7% left school without a qualification and 29.4% have a secondary school leaving certificate or another non-higher school leaving certificate. 40.8% have an intermediate school leaving certificate or a polytechnic upper secondary school leaving certificate as their highest school qualification, and 25.5% have a university entrance qualification/A-levels. 1.4% of respondents are pupils at a general education school and 0.2% did not provide any information on this.

A detailed description of the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample can be found in Table 1.

Socio-demographic/-economic characteristic	n	Proportion (in %)
Gender		
Female	1.365	54.0%
Male	1.163	46.0%
Various	2	< 0.1%
Age groups		
16-30 years	477	18.9%
31-60 years	1.270	50.2%
61 years and older	783	30.9%
Region		
South	814	32.2%
West	753	29.8%
East	580	22.9%
North	383	15.1%
Marital status		
Married, cohabiting	1.063	42.0%
Married, living apart	54	2.1%
Single	819	32.4%
Divorced	351	13.9%
Widowed	239	9.4%
No information	4	0.2%

Socio-demographic/-economic characteristic	n	Proportion (in %)
Nationality		
German citizenship (including dual citizenship)	2.400	94.9%
Other nationality	130	5.1%
Denomination or religious affiliation		
Protestant	841	33.2%
Catholic	735	29.1%
Muslim	88	3.5%
Other	47	1.9%
No denomination	812	32.1%
No information	7	0.2%
Preference for a political party at the time of the survey		
CDU/CSU	522	20.6%
AfD	253	10.0%
SPD	259	10,2%
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	202	8.0%
Die Linke	71	2.8%
Other party	249	9.9%
No preference	138	5.4%
No response	836	33.1%
Highest school-leaving qualification		
Attended a general education school	35	1.4%
Left school without qualification	69	2.7%
Secondary school or other school leaving certificate	746	29.4%
Intermediate school leaving certificate or polytechnic secondary school leaving certificate	1.031	40.8%
University entrance qualification/A-levels	357	14.1%
Completed degree (university or technical college)	288	11.4%
No information	4	0.2%
Household income		
< 1,500 euros	405	16.0%
1,500 to less than 2,500 euros	698	27.6%
2,500 to under 3,500 euros	563	22.3%
≥ 3,500 euros	846	33.4%
No information	18	0.7%

Table 1: Socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample (N = 2,530)

2.4 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT AND DESCRIPTION OF METHODS

Chapter 3 presents the results of this study. First, the results of the current survey on **attitudes towards corporal punishment in upbringing** are presented, followed by the **perceived appropriateness** and **presumed consequences of its use**, and finally the frequency **of corporal punishment in upbringing** and respondents' **own experiences of corporal punishment in childhood**. In the context of „perceived appropriateness“ and „use“, significant socio-demographic determinants are also examined – on the one hand, in order to be able to reflect a trend in the perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in this report as well, and on the other hand, because the 2020 report did not ask about the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children. The following factors are taken into account: **gender** (female, male), **age groups** (16-30 years, 31-60 years, 61 years and older), **nationality** (German nationality (including dual nationality), other nationality), **religious affiliation** (Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, other (e.g. Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu), no denomination), **party preference** at the time of the survey (CDU/CSU, AfD, SPD, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Die Linke, other party, no preference), **highest school-leaving qualification** (left school without qualification, secondary school or other school leaving certificate, intermediate school leaving certificate, university entrance qualification/A-levels), **household income** (\leq 1,500 euros, 1,500 to less than 2,500 euros, 2,500 to less than 3,500 euros, \geq 3,500 euros) and **region** (South: Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Rhineland-Palatinate; West: North Rhine-Westphalia, Hessen, Saarland;

East: Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Berlin; North: Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen). As this is a representative follow-up survey with independent samples, a trend analysis of corporal punishment can be carried out in part, taking into account the earlier surveys from 2016 and 2020.

As already mentioned, this report focuses on emotional punishment. First, the **results on emotional punishment in the upbringing of children** are presented, i.e. **attitudes, perceived appropriateness, use in upbringing of children, and one's own experience of emotional punishment in childhood**. All of the above-mentioned **socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants** are also taken into account.

In a further step, the **correlations between the experience of emotional punishment in one's own childhood and the perceived appropriateness of emotional and corporal punishment** are presented. In addition, it is examined whether the above-mentioned **socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants** are related to the fact that people **reject emotional or corporal punishment despite having experienced emotional punishment themselves**.

The same principle is used to illustrate the **relationships between personally experienced emotional punishment and the use of emotional and corporal punishment in the upbringing of children**. Furthermore, relationships with **socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics** are examined with regard to the fact that respondents **do not use emotional or corporal punishment despite their own experience of emotional punishment in childhood**.

Chapter 4 summarises the most important findings and derives recommendations for action.

The statistical analysis of the data was performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 29. The significance level was defined as $p < 0.05$. To check whether the changes in attitudes towards corporal punishment were statistically significant across the three survey periods, the Kruskal-Wallis test for independent samples was used. Where this was the case, post hoc tests (Dunn-Bonferroni tests) were then used to check which specific periods differed significantly. In a further step, the correlation coefficient (r) was determined using the standard test statistic (z) calculated in the post hoc tests. The latter enables quantification of the effect size of the post hoc tests performed. The Kruskal-Wallis test was also used to check the significance of

differences within the determinants considered with more than two response categories (e.g. age groups, household income). If there were only two response categories (gender, nationality), the Mann-Whitney U test was used instead. The Pearson chi-square test (χ^2) was used to detect whether a statistical correlation existed. If the expected cell frequencies were ≤ 5 , Fisher's exact test was used as an alternative. To quantify the strength of a correlation (so-called correlation measures), Phi (ϕ) was calculated for 2x2 tables and Cramer's V (V) for larger tables. According to Cohen (1988), the effect size of a correlation of the ϕ and V coefficients should be interpreted as follows: $\phi, V = 0.1$ indicates a small effect, $\phi, V = 0.3$ indicates a medium effect, and $\phi, V = 0.5$ indicates a large effect. For this reason, although all results are reported in the following chapters, only those with an effect size of 0.1 or higher are presented graphically and discussed in detail.

3.1

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

3.1.1

Attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

In 2016, 2020 and 2024/2025, surveys representative of the population were conducted in Germany with the same set of questions on attitudes towards corporal punishment in upbringing. The results from 2016 and 2020 were already presented in the previous report on the 20th anniversary of the introduction of the right to non-violent parenting in the German Civil Code (Clemens et al., 2020). In this chapter, the data collected in 2024/2025 is supplemented and compared.

While in 2016 and 2020 just over half of respondents agreed with the statement „A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child“ (2016: 53.7%, 2020: 52.4%), in 2024/2025 this figure had fallen to just over a third (36.9%). This shows that the previously stable attitude has now lost significant support over the years. This marked decrease in the current 2024/2025 survey compared to previous survey periods is statistically significant (Kruskal-Wallis test: $\chi^2(2) = 215.7$, $p < 0.001$; post hoc tests (Dunn-Bonferroni tests): 2020 vs. 2024/2025: $z = 11.9$, $p < 0.001$; 2016 vs. 2024/2025: $z = 13.4$, $p < 0.001$; 2016 vs. 2020: $z = 1.4$, $p = 0.49$), with the strength of the effect being weak at $r = 0.17$ and

$r = 0.19$, respectively (Cohen, 1992). A similar pattern can be observed in the statement „A slap in the face has never hurt any child“: While agreement in 2016 and 2020 was still at a comparable level of around 23%, this figure fell to only 17.1% in 2024/2025. The decline over time, which can be objectified using the Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2) = 51.6$, $p < 0.001$) is significant, especially the decline in the approval rate in 2024/2025 compared to the surveys in 2020 and 2016, but statistically insignificant due to the low effect size (post-hoc tests (Dunn-Bonferroni tests): 2020 vs. 2024/2025: $z = 5.0$, $p < 0.001$, $r = 0.098$; 2016 vs. 2024/2025: $z = 7.0$, $p < 0.001$, $r = 0.07$; 2016 vs. 2020: $z = 1.9$, $p = 0.17$). In the case of the statement „A beating has never hurt any child“, approval was already at a comparatively low level in 2016 and 2020 (5.9% and 7.2% respectively) and fell again to 5.4% in 2024/2025 (Figure 1). The Kruskal-Wallis test also shows that the approval rate changed over the three study periods ($\chi^2(2) = 18.1$, $p < 0.001$). However, post-hoc tests (Dunn-Bonferroni tests) conducted subsequently did not reveal any statistically significant differences over time (2020 vs. 2024/2025: $z = 2.2$, $p = 0.08$; 2016 vs. 2024/2025: $z = 4.2$, $p < 0.001$, $r = 0.06$; 2016 vs. 2020: $z = 2.0$, $p = 0.13$). Only the decline from 2024/2025 to 2016 is statistically significant, although the strength of the correlation is insignificant.

Attitudes towards corporal punishment

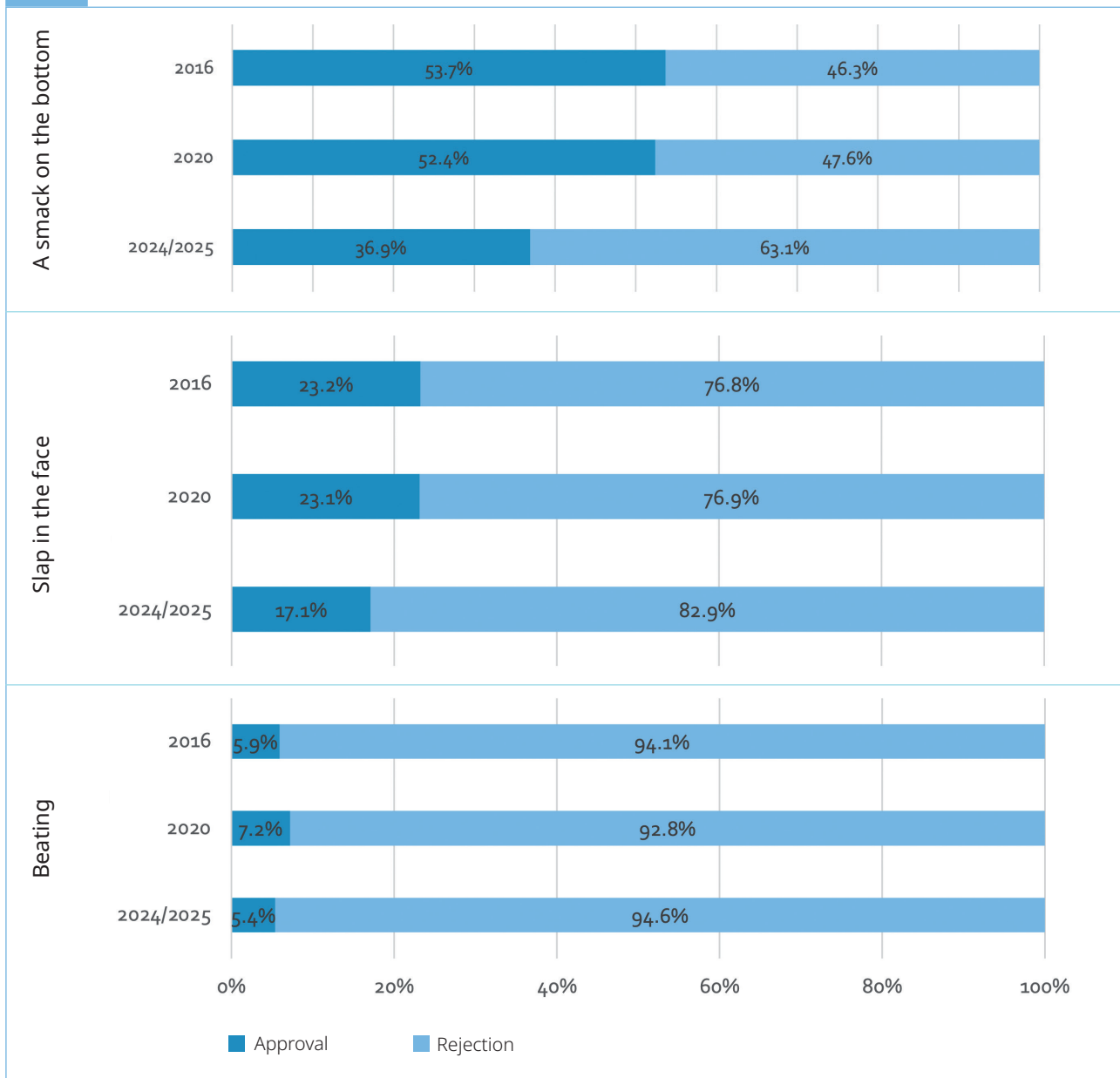


Figure 1: Attitudes towards corporal punishment in the survey years 2016, 2020 and 2024/2025

To assess attitudes towards corporal punishment in upbringing, respondents rated various statements on a scale of five levels of agreement (Figure 2). When the response categories are summarised and only agreement („somewhat agree“, „strongly agree“) and disagreement („strongly disagree“, „disagree“) are taken into account, the following result emerges (Figure 3).

Overall, it is clear that the vast majority reject corporal punishment in upbringing. Particularly high rejection rates (over 90%) are found in the statements that teachers or principals have the right to use corporal punishment (92.7% rejection) or that one intends to use corporal punishment oneself (91.2% rejection). The majority also rejects the belief that children benefit from corporal punishment (86.4% rejection) or even need it (87.6% rejection). A comparatively small

proportion of respondents consider corporal punishment to be a proper technique (5.1% agreement) or describe it as helpful for children (6.5% agreement). Similarly, a smaller proportion of respondents believe that children do not resent corporal punishment (6.8% agreement), that it is not harmful or that it is not considered abusive (8.2% agreement in each case). The statement that parents do not need to punish their children less is agreed with by 9.4% of respondents, while almost three quarters (73.2%) disagree. The picture is somewhat more nuanced when it comes to more general statements: 24.3% agree that parents have a right to punish their children, while 56.2% disagree. In addition, 17.5% would not support a law against corporal punishment, but this is offset by a clear majority of 71.7% who would support such a law.

Attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

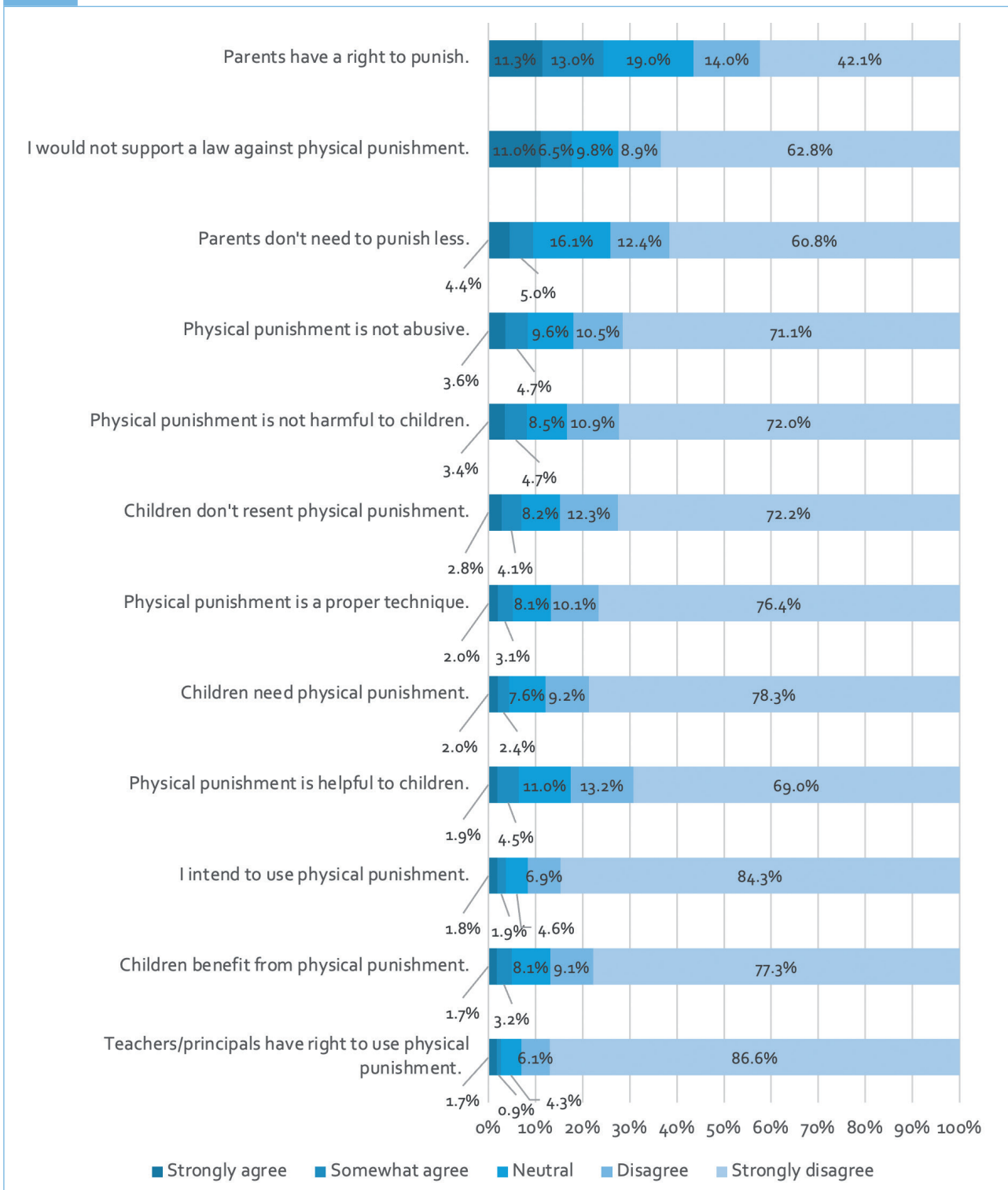


Figure 2: Levels of agreement with attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025

Attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

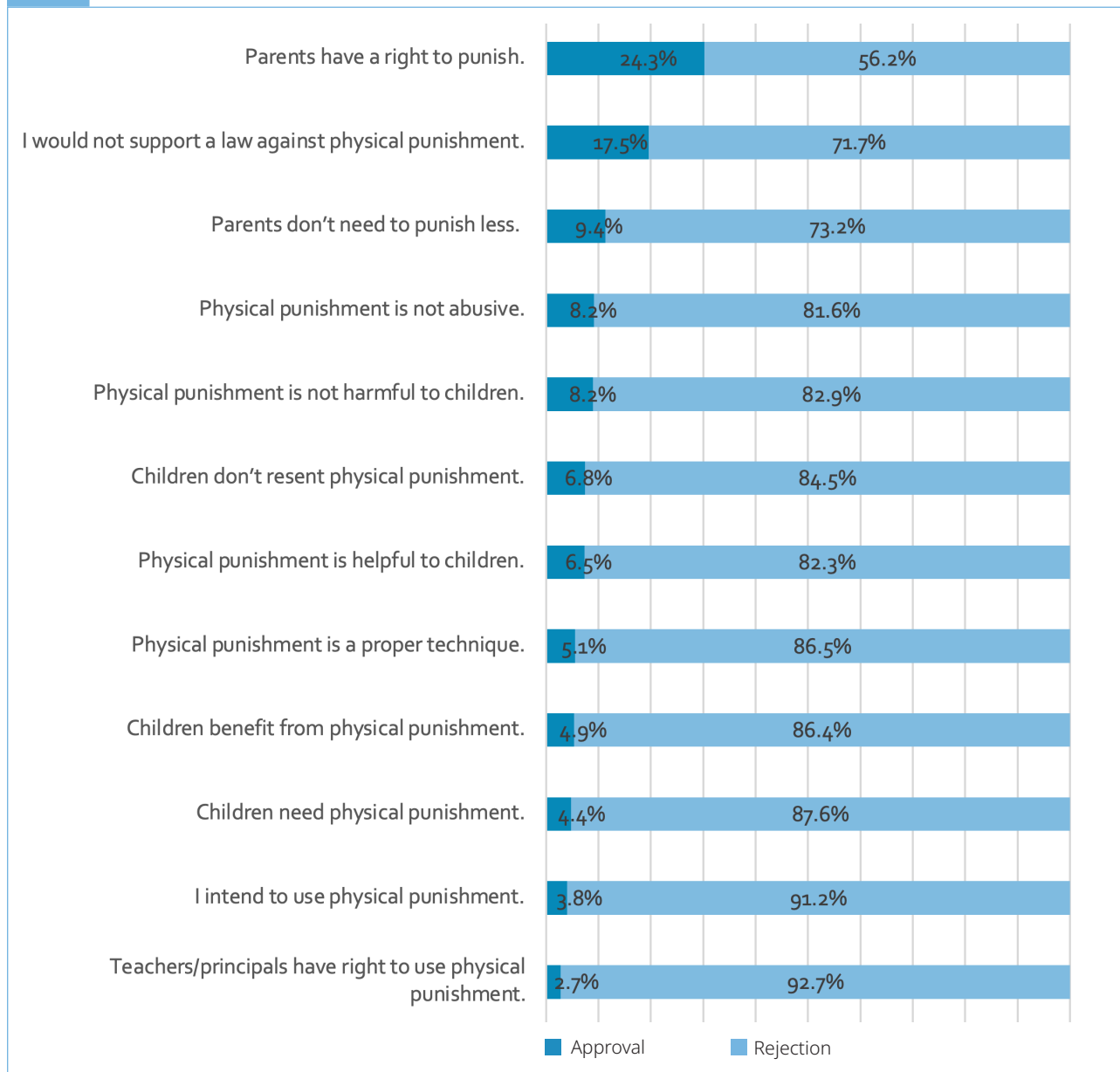


Figure 3: Approval/rejection of attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, it can be said that approval of attitudes towards corporal punishment is declining in 2024/2025 compared to 2016 and 2020. The majority of respondents from 2024/2025 take a clear stance against corporal punishment. The largest proportion of respondents reject corporal punishment of children in school. While most respondents reject both the direct use and the attribution of benefits of corporal punishment for children, almost one in ten respondents agree that corporal punishment is not harmful to children. Almost one in five respondents would not support a law against corporal punishment.

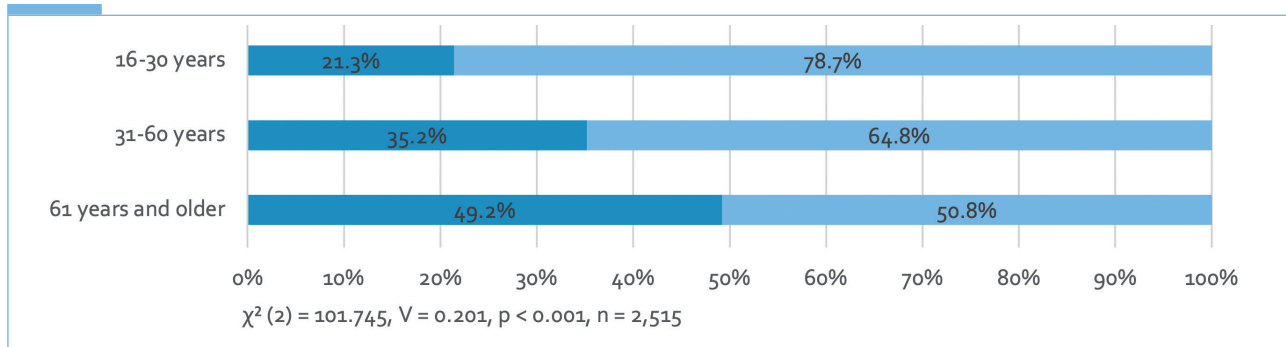
3.1.1.1 Determinants of attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

In order to identify possible determinants of attitudes towards corporal punishment in upbringing, the 2024/2025 survey was examined with regard to some of the socio-demographic and socio-economic variables listed in Table 1 (Chapter 2.3).

With regard to the determinant of **gender**, it can be seen that a higher proportion of men than women support corporal punishment in the form of „smacking“ (40.8% vs. 33.6%; $\chi^2(1) = 13.840$, $p < 0.001$, $\Phi = 0.074$, $n = 2,513$), „slap in the face“ (20.5% vs. 14.1%; $\chi^2(1) = 17.967$, $p < 0.001$, $\Phi = 0.085$, $n = 2,511$) and „beating“ (7.4% vs. 3.7%; $\chi^2(1) = 16.619$, $p < 0.001$, $\Phi = 0.081$, $n = 2,509$). In contrast, more women than men reject these forms of corporal punishment (beating: 96.3% vs. 92.6%; slap in the face: 85.9% vs. 79.5%; smacking: 66.4% vs. 59.2%). However, due to the low effect size (< 0.1), there is no significant statistical correlation between gender and attitudes towards corporal punishment.

With regard to the determinant of **age groups**, there are significant differences in attitudes towards corporal punishment. More older respondents (aged 61 and above) agree with a „smack on the bottom“ than younger respondents (49.2% vs. 35.2% among 31–60-year-olds and 21.3% among 16–30-year-olds; $\chi^2(2) = 101.745$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.201$, $n = 2,515$). A similar pattern can be seen in the approval of „slap in the face“, which is higher among older respondents (24.2% vs. 15.4% among 31–60-year-olds and 9.7% among 16–30-year-olds; $\chi^2(2) = 48.611$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.139$, $n = 2,513$). The highest age group shows more than twice as high values in direct comparison to the youngest age group. More older respondents (8.0%) agree with the statement „beating“ than respondents in the middle age group (5.0%) or the youngest age group (2.1%; $\chi^2(2) = 20.872$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.091$, $n = 2,511$). Here, the highest age group shows almost four times as high agreement values as the youngest age group. Agreement with the corporal punishments „smack“ and „slap in the face“ shows a significant increase in the higher age groups, with the corresponding effect sizes showing small correlations. A detailed presentation of the approval/rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children by age group (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 4.

A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child



A slap in the face has never hurt any child

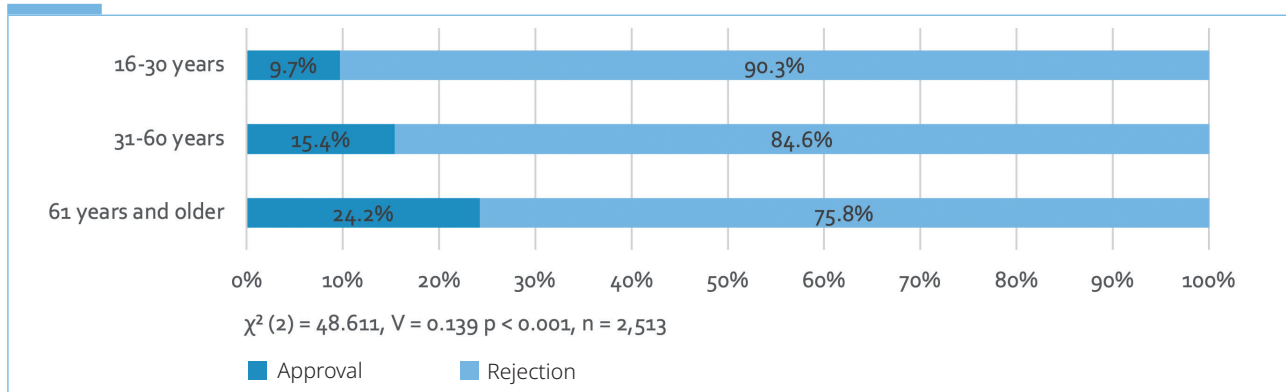


Figure 4: Approval/rejection of „smack“ and „slap in the face“ by age group in the 2024/2025 survey year

When considering the determinant of **nationality**, no significant differences were found in attitudes towards the corporal punishment of „smacking“ (exact test according to Fisher = 2.763, $p = 0.263$, $n = 2,515$). Descriptively, 63.4% of those with German nationality (including dual nationality) reject the punishment of „smacking“, as do 57.7% of those with other nationalities. Significant differences are evident in the punishment of „slap in the face“, although these can be disregarded due to the very weak effect size (< 0.1) (exact test according to Fisher = 6.603, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.052$, $n = 2,513$). 83.4% of persons with German nationality reject the punishment of „slap in the face“ and 74.6% of persons with other nationalities. No significant differences were found with regard to the punishment of „beating“ (exact test according to Fisher = 4.956, $p = 0.153$, $n = 2,511$). In the descriptive analysis, 94.8% of persons with German citizenship reject this corporal punishment, compared to 90.8% of persons with other nationalities.

For the determinant of **religious or denominational affiliation**, the approval rate for the punishment of „smacking“ ($\chi^2 (4) = 12.997$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.072$, $n = 2,508$) is highest among respondents of Muslim religion (52.3%), followed by persons of other religions

(46.8%). Lower approval rates were found among respondents without religious affiliation (37.7%), Catholic respondents (36.1%) and Protestant respondents (34.7%). There is a significant correlation between approval of corporal punishment in the form of a „slap in the face“ and religious affiliation, with a small effect size ($\chi^2 (4) = 35.540$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.119$, $n = 2,506$). The distribution shows a similar picture. More Muslim respondents agree with corporal punishment in the form of a „slap in the face“ (39.8%), followed by people of other religious affiliations (23.4%). Lower approval ratings are found among Catholic (16.7%) and Protestant respondents (16.4%) as well as among non-denominational persons (15.3%), who have the lowest approval rate in comparison. Furthermore, when comparing groups, people of Muslim religion or denomination have the highest approval ratings for „beating“ at 12.5% (Protestant: 6.2%, Catholic: 4.8%, other: 4.3%, none: 4.3%; exact test according to Fisher = 10.573, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.070$, $n = 2,504$). A detailed presentation of the approval/rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to religious affiliation or denomination (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 5.

A slap in the face has never hurt any child

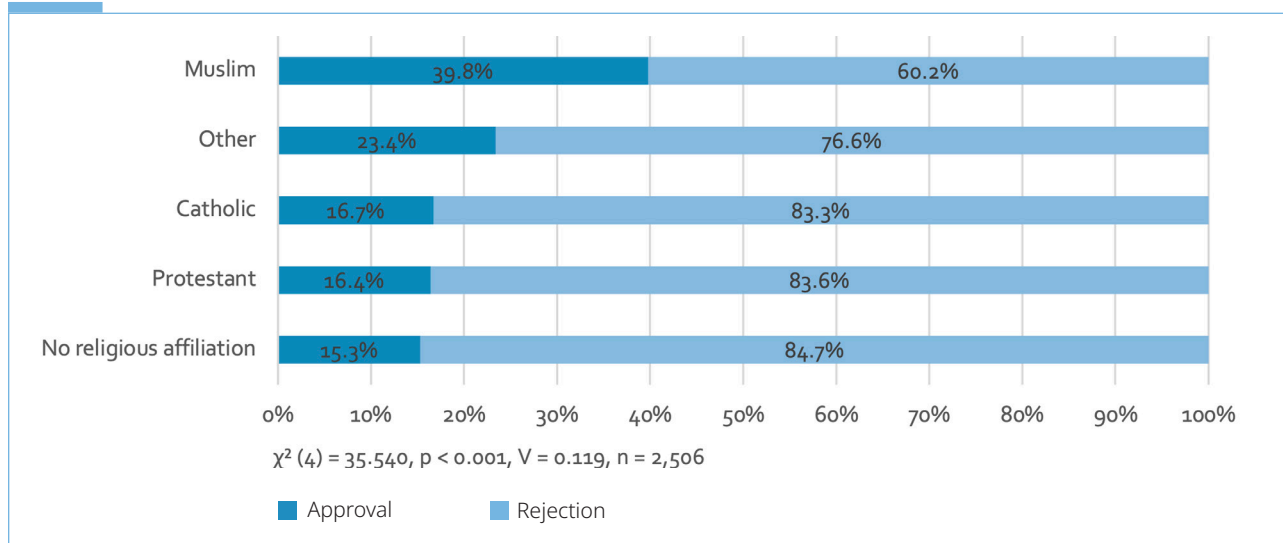
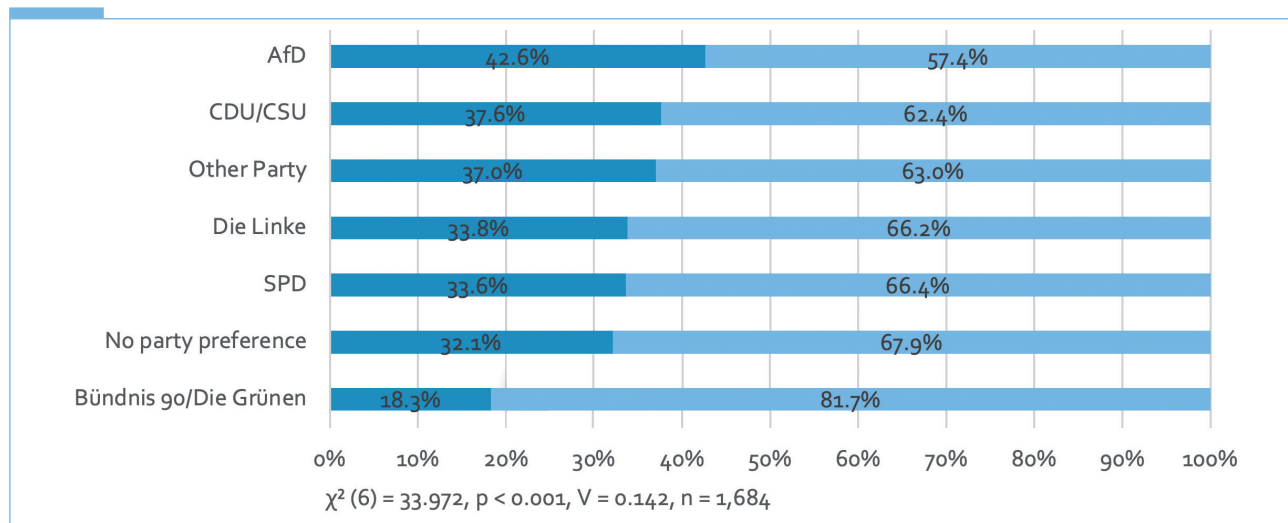


Figure 5: Approval/rejection of a „slap in the face“ according to religious affiliation or denomination in the 2024/2025 survey year

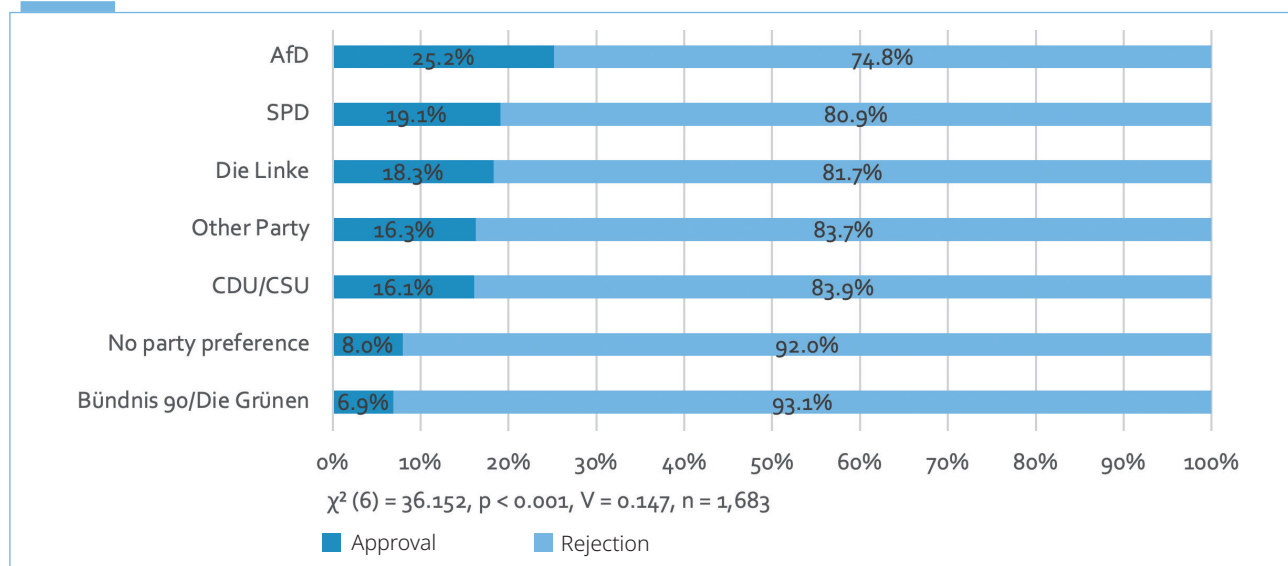
With regard to the determinant of **party preference**, it is evident that approval of corporal punishment in the form of a „smack“ varies significantly between voter groups ($\chi^2(6) = 33.972, p < 0.001, V = 0.142, n = 1,684$). Support for a „smack“ is highest among AfD supporters (42.6%), followed by supporters of the CDU/CSU (37.6%) and other parties (37.0%). Slightly lower approval ratings are found among supporters of Die Linke, the SPD and people without party preference (32.1% to 33.8%). Support is lowest among supporters of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (18.3%). There are also significant differences in the approval ratings for the corporal punishment of „slap in the face“ ($\chi^2(6) = 36.152, p < 0.001, V = 0.147, n = 1,683$). While supporters of the AfD express the highest level of approval for this form of corporal punishment at 25.2%, followed by supporters of the SPD (19.1%), approval is lowest among supporters of the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen at 6.9%. The approval ratings among respondents

who prefer other parties (Die Linke, other parties, CDU/CSU) and those without a party preference range between 8.0% and 18.3%. The following picture emerges for corporal punishment in the form of „beating“ ($\chi^2(6) = 22.223, p < 0.01, V = 0.115, n = 1,682$): SPD supporters express the highest level of approval at 10.2%, while those who did not indicate a party preference express the lowest level of approval at 1.5%. The percentages of voters for the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, AfD, Die Linke, CDU/CSU and other parties range between 2.5% and 4.6%. The effect sizes of the three forms of corporal punishment indicate small statistically significant correlations, and no consistent trend can be derived with regard to the approval of various forms of corporal punishment depending on party preference. A detailed presentation of approval/rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children by party preference (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 6.

A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child



A slap in the face has never hurt any child



A beating has never hurt any child

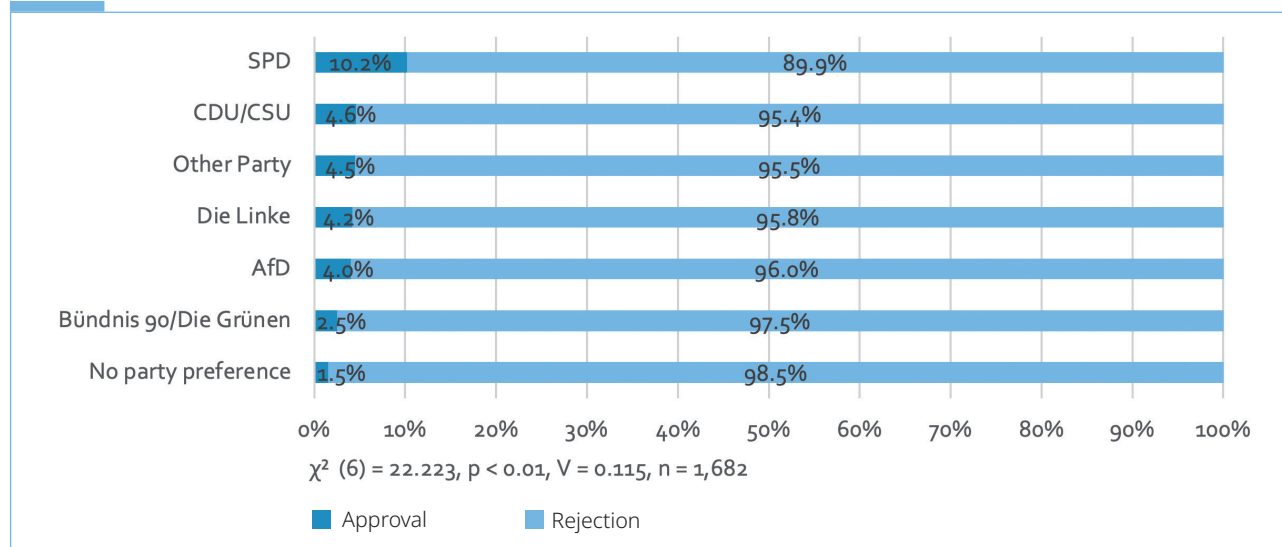
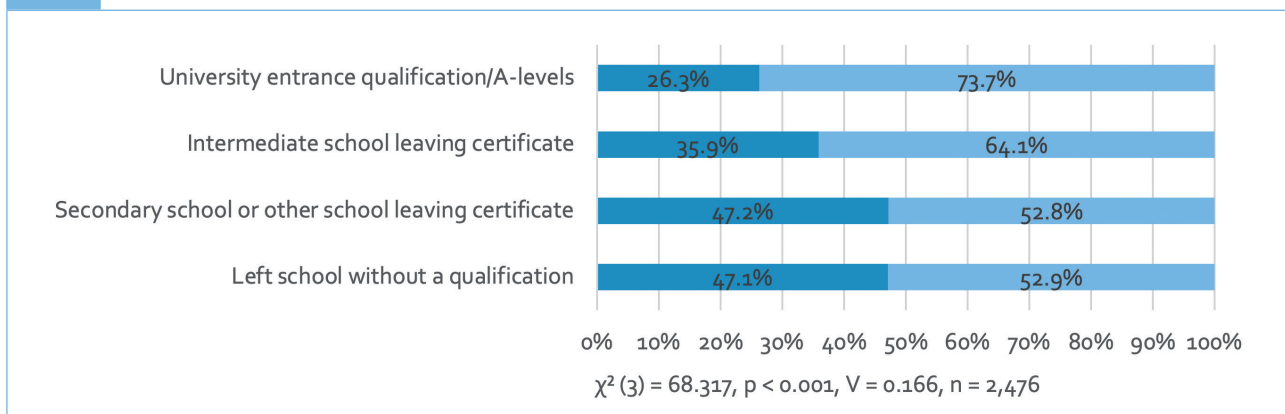


Figure 6: Approval/rejection of „smack“, „slap in the face“ and „beating“ according to party preference in the 2024/2025 survey year

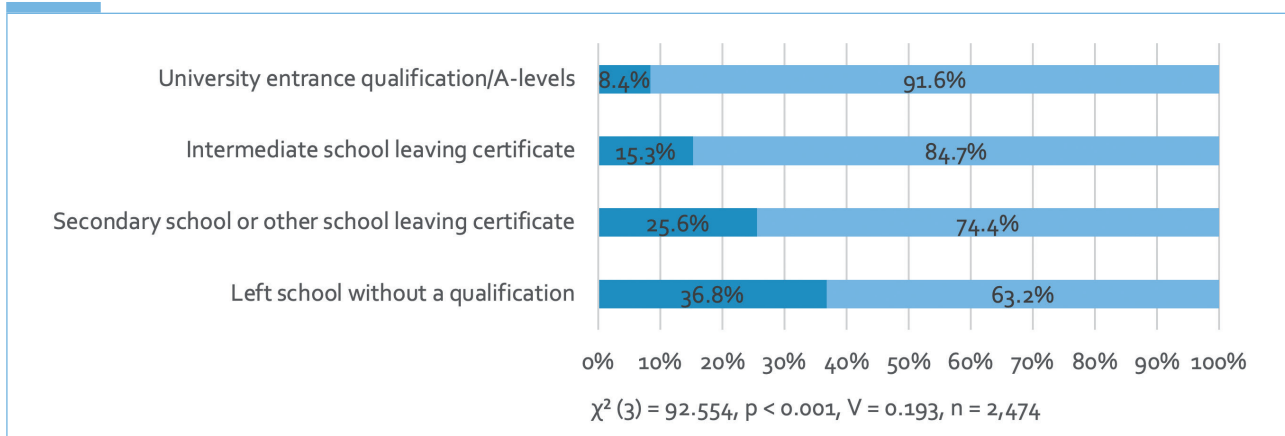
With regard to the determinant of **highest school-leaving qualification**, significant correlations were found with attitudes towards corporal punishment in the form of a „smack“ ($\chi^2 (3) = 68.317, p < 0.001, V = 0.166, n = 2,476$), „slap in the face“ ($\chi^2 (3) = 92.554, p < 0.001, V = 0.193, n = 2,474$) and „beating“ (exact test according to Fisher = 51.769, $p < 0.001, V = 0.149, n = 2,472$). It becomes clear that approval for all three forms of corporal punishment decreases with higher levels of education (with the exception of „smack“, which is approved by 47.2% of those with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate and 47.1% of those without a qualification). People with a university entrance qualification or A-levels have the lowest approval ratings for corporal punishment compared to those with intermediate secondary school qualifications, secondary school or other school leaving certificate, as well as those without qualifications. With

regard to the punishment of „smack“, the differences are almost twice as high (university entrance qualification/A-levels: 26.3%; no qualification: 47.1%), more than four times as high for the punishment of a „slap in the face“ (university entrance qualification/A-levels: 8.4%; no qualification: 36.8%) and six times as high for the punishment of a „beating“ (university entrance qualification/A-levels: 2.2%; no qualification: 13.2%). All three effect sizes indicate a small statistically significant correlation, and no consistent trend can be derived with regard to approval of various forms of corporal punishment depending on the highest school qualification. A detailed presentation of approval/rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to highest school qualification (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 7.

A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child



A slap in the face has never hurt any child



A beating has never hurt any child

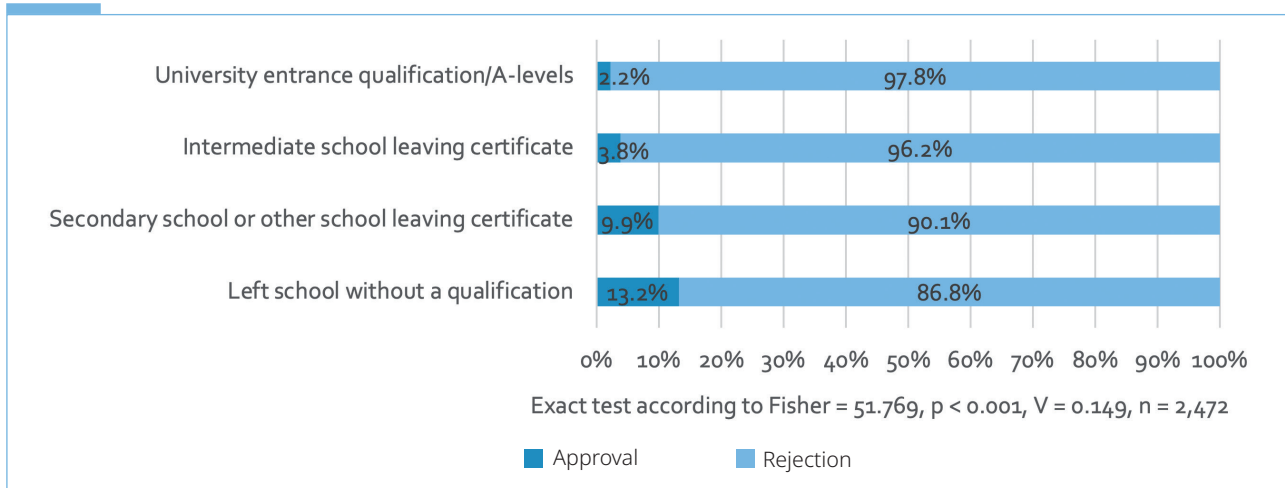


Figure 7: Approval/rejection of „smack“, „slap in the face“ and „beating“ according to highest school-leaving qualification in the 2024/2025 survey year

There are also significant differences in terms of **household income**. Approval of the three forms of corporal punishment – „a smack“, „a slap in the face“ and „a beating“ – decreases as household income rises. While 41.6% of people with a household income below 1,500 euros approve of a „smack“, the figure is 39.4% for people with a household income between 1,500 euros and 2,500 euros, 37.3% of those with a household income between 2,500 euros and 3,500 euros, and 32.1% of those with a household income of 3,500 euros or more ($\chi^2(3) = 14.135$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.075$, $n = 2,497$). Approval for corporal punishment in the form of a „slap in the face“ is 20.9% in the lowest household income bracket (below 1,500 euros), 18.1% in the 1,500 to below 2,500 euro bracket, 17.7% in the 2,500 to under 3,500 euro bracket, and 13.8% in the highest household income bracket (equal to or above 3,500 euros) ($\chi^2(3) = 11.297$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.067$, $n = 2,495$). Finally, 8.3% of people with a household income below 1,500 euros agree with the statement „A beating never hurt any child“, 6.3% with a household income between 1,500 euros and below 2,500 euros, 5.0% with a household income between 2,500 euros and 3,500 euros, and only 3.6% of people with a household income of 3,500 euros or more ($\chi^2(3) = 13.190$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.073$, $n = 2,493$). However, the deviations

in the approval rate for the three corporal punishments mentioned, depending on household income, do not show any significant effect sizes (< 0.1).

The determinant **region** shows a significant correlation with attitudes towards corporal punishment in the form of a „smack“ with a small effect size ($\chi^2(3) = 45.454$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.134$, $n = 2,515$). Support for this is highest in the east (46.2%), followed by the north (43.3%). Lower levels of support are found in the west (32.7%) and south (31.1%). The approval ratings for the punishment of a „slap in the face“ are relatively close across the four regions (north: 22.4%, east: 19.1%, west: 15.1%, south: 15.0%; $\chi^2(3) = 13.694$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.074$, $n = 2,513$). Thus, although the correlation is statistically significant, it has only a very small effect size (< 0.1) and is therefore negligible. The same applies to approval of „beating“ (North: 10.5%, West: 4.7%, South: 4.7%, East: 3.8%; $\chi^2(3) = 23.992$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.098$, $n = 2,511$). A detailed presentation of the approval/rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children by region (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 8.

A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child

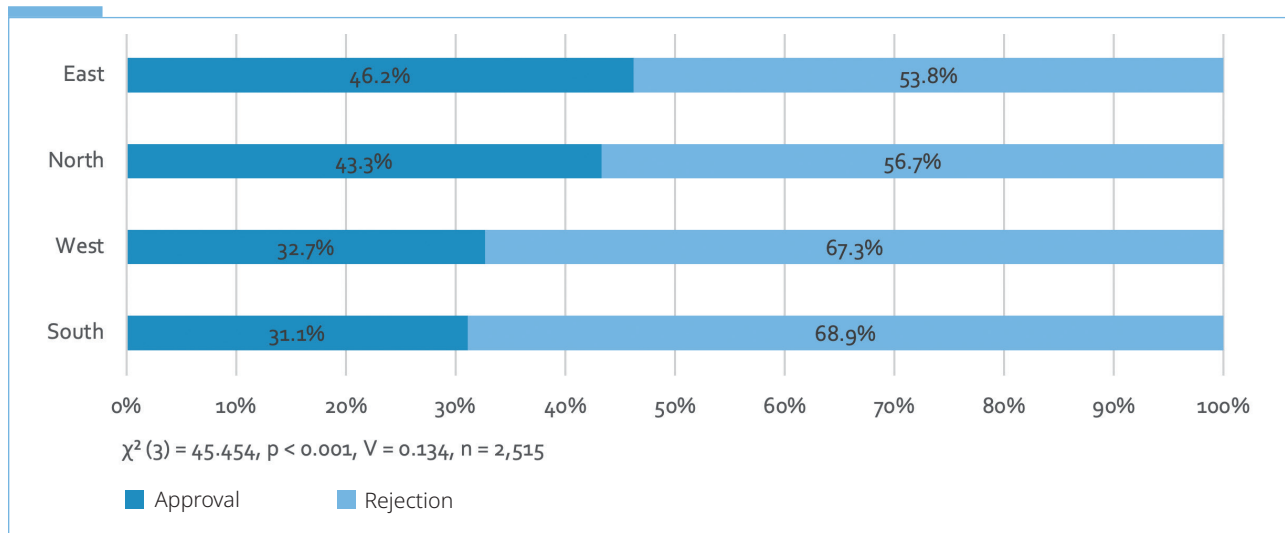


Figure 8: Approval/rejection of „smack“ by region in the 2024/2025 survey year

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants and attitudes towards corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found only show low effect sizes. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: Approval of various forms of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children is higher among respondents who are older (especially those aged 61 and above), who are Muslim, who prefer the AfD or SPD political parties, who have no school-leaving qualification or who have a secondary school leaving certificate or other non-higher school qualification, and who live in an eastern German region.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.1.2

Perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

In the reporting years 2020 and 2024/2025, questions were asked about the perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

The results show a shift in the perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in upbringing between the survey periods. The majority of respondents completely reject corporal punishment as a method of upbringing: while 56.6% held this view in 2020, the figure rose to 66.8% in 2024/2025. This indicates an increase

in general rejection. The decline in „lighter“ forms of corporal punishment is also striking. In 2024/2025, only 30.9% consider a „smack on the bottom“ to be appropriate, compared to 42.7% in 2020. The acceptance of a „light slap in the face“ also fell from 17.6% in 2020 to 14.5% in 2024/2025. Approval of a „hard slap in the face“ remained virtually stable (2.5% in 2020 vs. 2.4% in 2024/2025). More extreme forms of corporal punishment such as „strangulation“, „kicking“ or „beating until bleeding“ remained constant in both surveys at around 0.1–0.3%. The incidence of „beating with objects“ was also very low, at 0.4% (2020) and 0.5% (2024/2025) (see Figure 9).

**What corporal punishments do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children?
(Multiple selections possible, n = 2,530)**

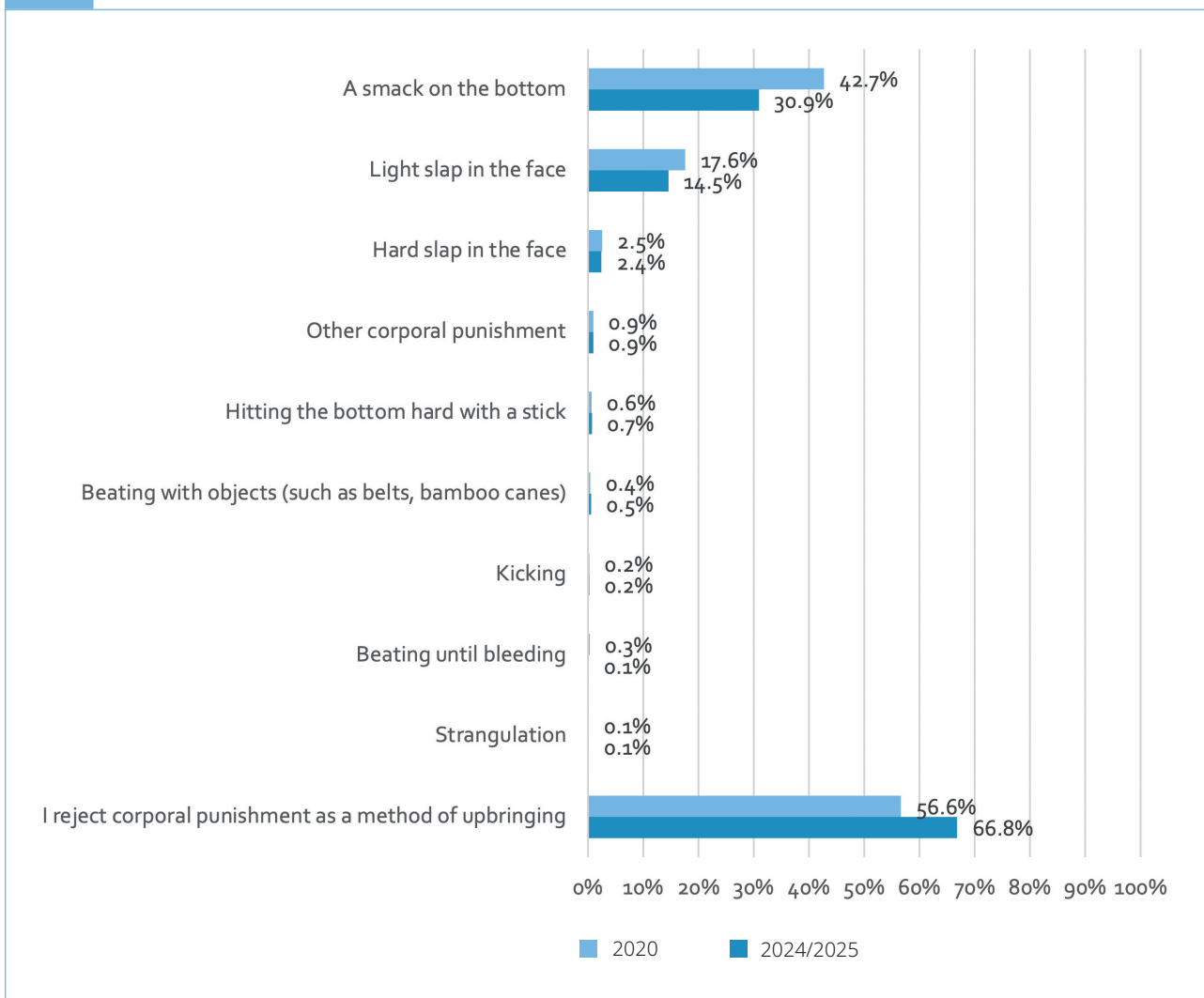


Figure 9: Perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey years 2020 and 2024/2025

Overall, the results show that social acceptance of corporal punishment in upbringing, in terms of perceived appropriateness, has continued to decline from 2020 to 2024/2025. In particular, „lighter“ punishments are increasingly rejected, while more extreme corporal punishments were already rarely advocated before, but have remained largely stable in terms of approval.

3.1.3 Expected results of the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

Another part of the 2024/2025 survey focused on the topic of corporal punishment of children and the assessment of possible consequences. The results show that corporal punishment is predominantly associated with negative effects. For example, between a fifth and a quarter of participants believe that spanking or hitting a child for disciplinary purposes always leads to the child being physically abused (26.0%), results in long-term emotional upset (25.6%), causes physical injury to the child (24.2%), worsens mental health (22.8%) or leads to increased aggression (20.6%). At the same time, the proportion of respondents who never expect these negative effects is similarly high at

around 20% to 26% in the same areas. Poorer physical health is „always“ expected by 17.9%, poorer cognitive abilities by 16.7% and short-term improvement in behaviour by 6.1% of respondents.

When it comes to the potentially expected positive consequences of corporal punishment, the approval ratings for „always“ are as follows: More respect for parents (3.2%), learning appropriate behaviour (2.5%), better behaviour in the long term (2.1%), a decreased chance of being delinquent or incarcerated later in life (1.9%), a better sense of self control (1.6%) and a better relationship with parents (1.3%). In contrast, the majority of respondents state that these effects „never“ occur. A more detailed presentation of all aspects can be found in Figure 10.

How often do you think that spanking or hitting a child with a hand or an object for disciplinary purposes leads to the child... (n = 2,530)

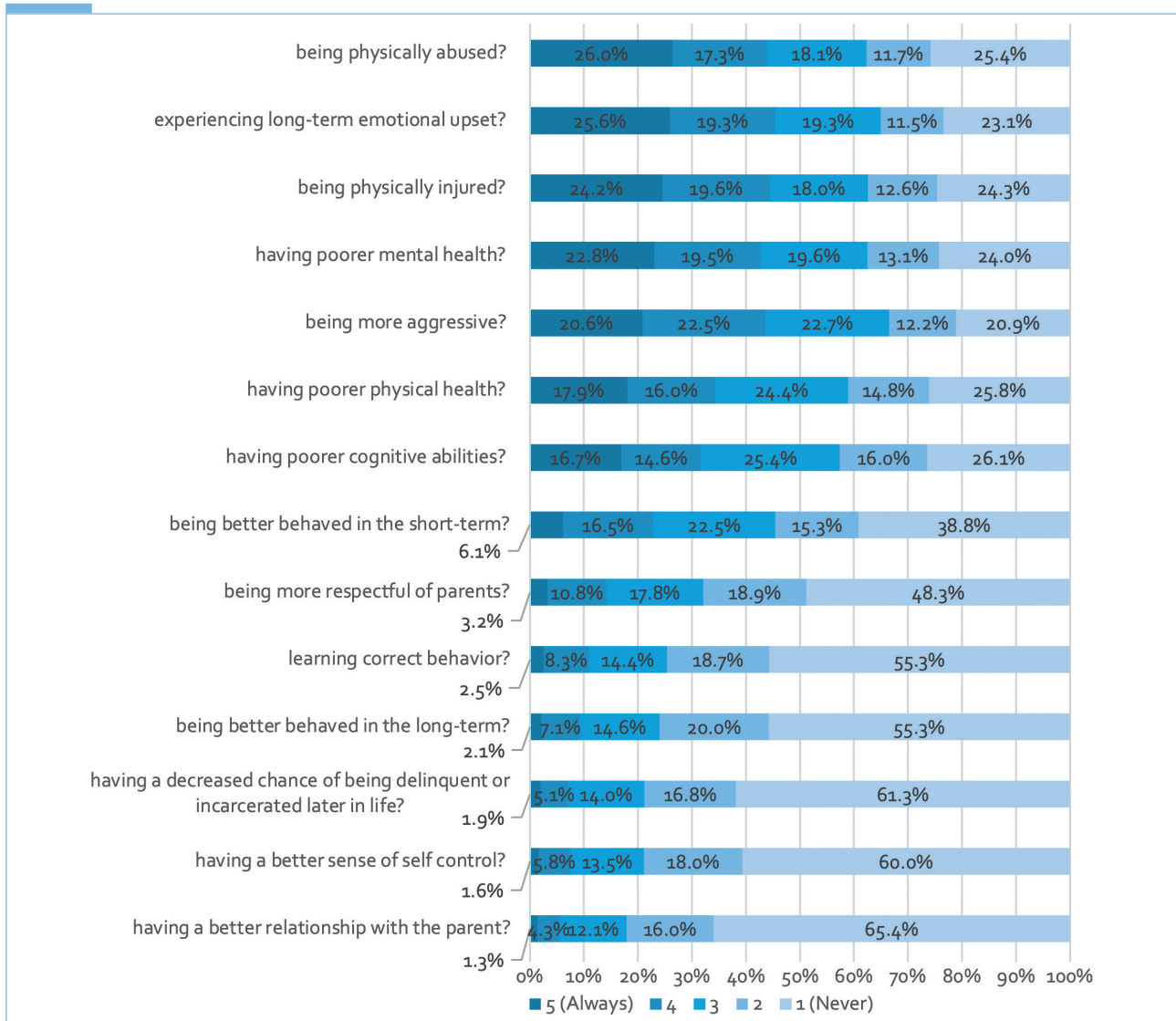


Figure 10: Levels of agreement with expected outcomes of the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025

Overall, the results paint a less clear picture: while the majority of respondents tend to associate corporal punishment with risks to a child's physical and psychological development, the aspects of physical abuse, long-term emotional distress, physical injury, poorer mental health and higher aggression in particular show a relatively even distribution between the assessments „always“ and „never“.

3.1.4 Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

The question of which corporal punishments the respondents in the 2024/2025 survey had ever used in raising children was asked of a subpopulation (n = 1,535). Those who had ever raised children were included in the study. Individuals who stated that they had never raised children (38.9%) were not included. The following picture emerges: The three most frequently mentioned forms of corporal punishment

are „a smack on the bottom“ (38.0%), „a light slap in the face“ (19.0%) and „pinching“ (7.9%). 58.8% state that they have not used corporal punishments in their parenting. Between 0.5% and 2.7% stated that they had beat their children with objects, hit them hard on the bottom with a stick, given them a hard slap in the face or used another form of corporal punishment. None of the respondents stated that they had ever used „strangulation“ in their parenting, and 0.1% of respondents stated that they had used „beating until bleeding“ or „kicking“ at some point (see Figure 11).

What corporal punishments did you use when raising children? (Multiple selections possible, n = 1,522)

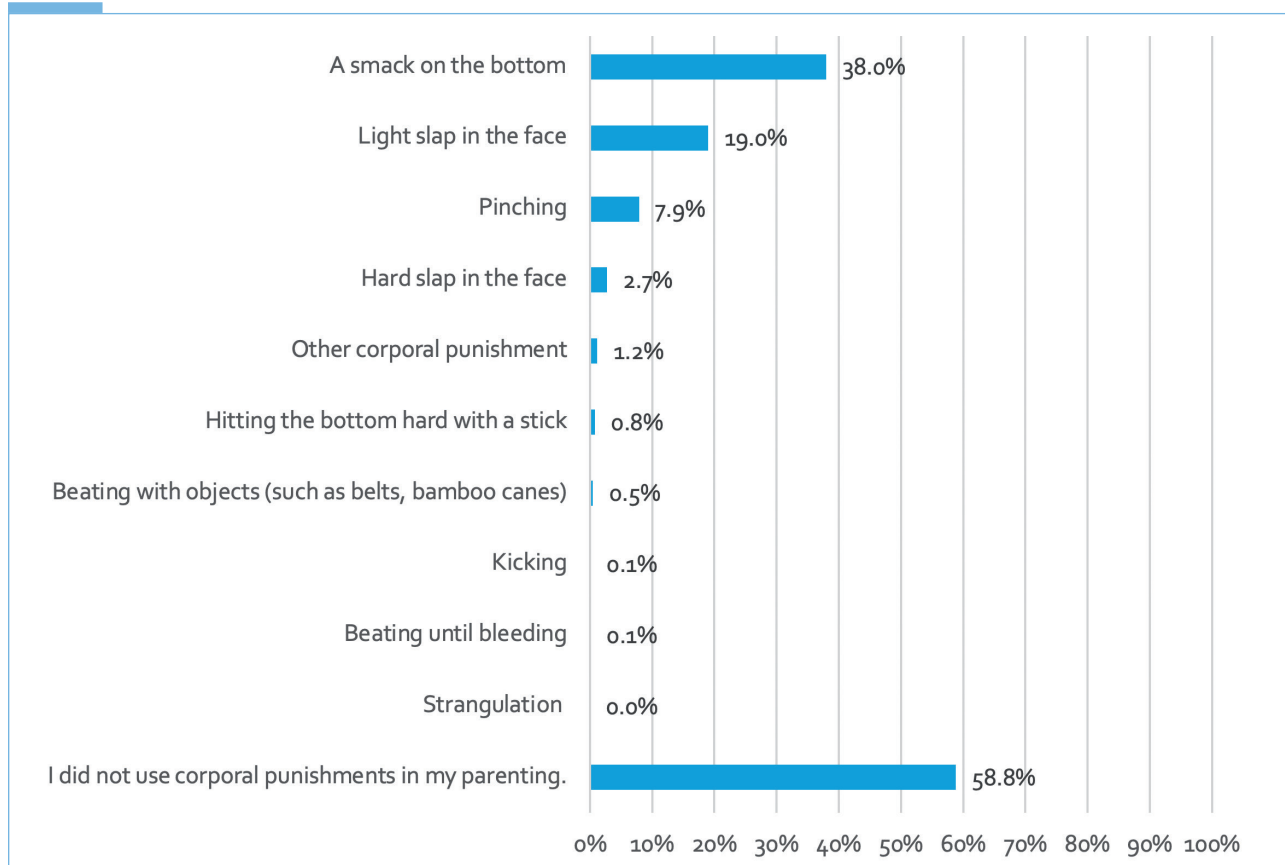


Figure 11: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, it shows that more than half of those surveyed did not use corporal punishment in their parenting. In contrast, more than a third have smacked a child on the bottom at least once.

3.1.4.1

Determinants of use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

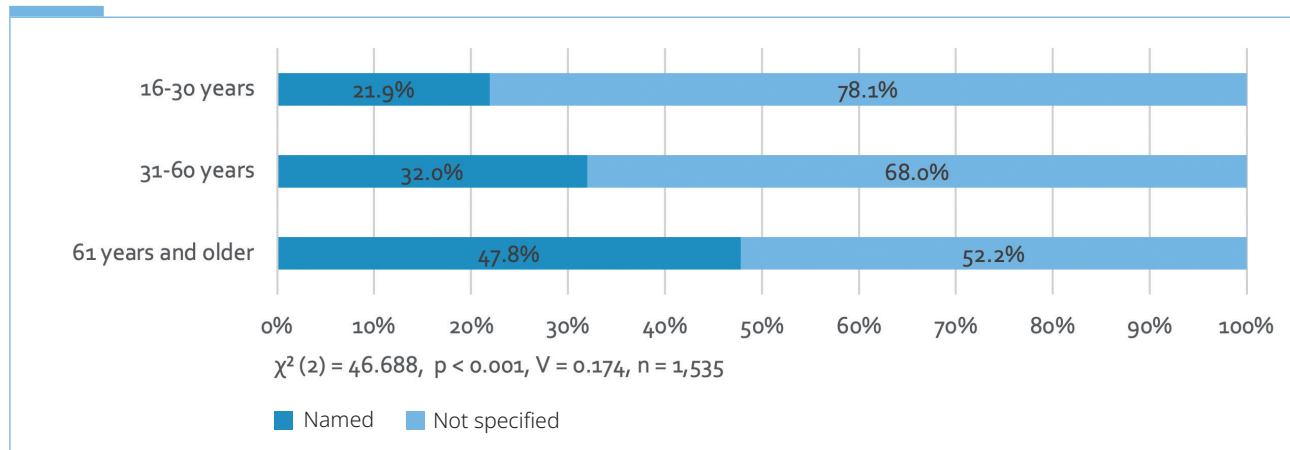
With regard to the actual use of „smacking“, „light slap in the face“ and „pinching“ as the three most frequently mentioned forms of corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children (see Figure 11), no significant **gender-specific** differences were found (smacking: female: 37.0% vs. male: 39.4%; $\chi^2(1) = 0.899$, $p = 0.343$, $n = 1,535$; light slap in the face: female: 16.2% vs. male: 23.1%; $\chi^2(1) = 11.585$, $p < 0.001$, $\phi = 0.087$, $n = 1,535$; pinching: female: 6.9% vs. male: 9.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 2.730$, $p = 0.098$, $n = 1,535$). Across genders, the majority of respondents did not use corporal punishment in parenting (female: 60.6% vs. male: 57.0%; $\chi^2(1) = 2.010$, $p = 0.156$, $n = 1,535$).

Descriptively, it can be seen that the proportion of those who have used „smacking“, „light slap in the face“ or „pinching“ in the upbringing of children is lowest

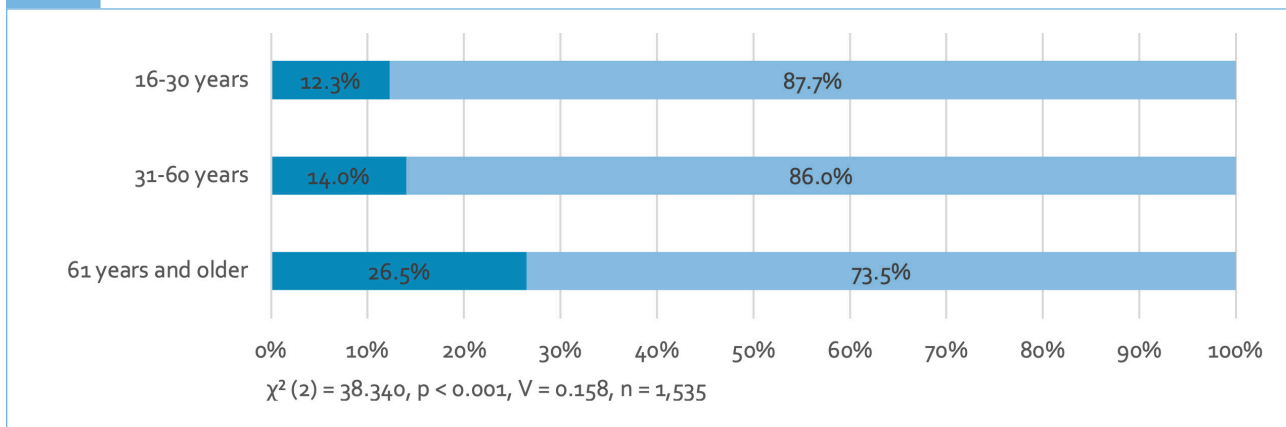
in the „16-30 years“ age group and increases steadily in the higher **age groups**. There is a statistically significant correlation with a small effect size for the corporal punishments „smack“ and „light slap in the face“, but not for „pinching“ (smack: $\chi^2(2) = 46.688$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.174$, $n = 1,535$; light slap in the face: $\chi^2(2) = 38.340$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.158$, $n = 1,535$; pinching: $\chi^2(2) = 3.499$, $p = 0.174$, $n = 1,535$). Three quarters (75.3%) of 16-30-year-olds did not use any corporal punishments in their parenting, while this proportion was 65.0% among 31-60-year-olds and 48.5% among those aged 61 and over. Consequently, there is a significant correlation with a small effect size, according to which corporal punishment was used less frequently the younger the parents or guardians were ($\chi^2(2) = 49.148$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.179$, $n = 1,535$). A detailed presentation of the corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children by age group (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 12.

What physical punishments have you ever used in raising your children?

A smack on the bottom



Light slap in the face



I did not use corporal punishment in my parenting

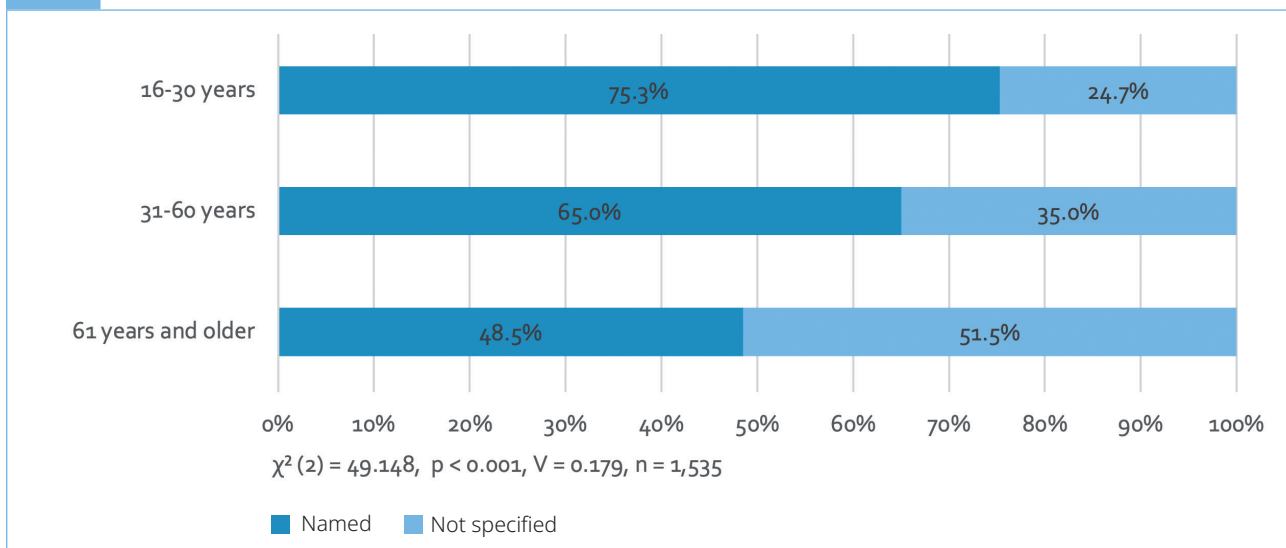


Figure 12: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“, „light slap in the face“ and „no punishment“ according to age group in the survey year 2024/2025

Purely descriptively, corporal punishment such as „smack“, „light slap in the face“ and „pinching“ is used by more respondents with non-German **nationality** than those with German nationality, but no statistically significant correlation could be found (smack: 48.3% vs. 37.4%; exact test according to Fisher = 6.793, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.068$, $n = 1,535$; light slap in the face: 27.6% vs. 18.5%; exact test according to Fisher = 4.731, $p = 0.088$, $n = 1,535$; pinching: 16.1% vs. 7.4%; exact test according to Fisher = 7.370, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.076$, $n = 1,535$). The proportion of those who did not use corporal punishments in their parenting is slightly higher among respondents with German nationality than among respondents with other nationalities (50.6% vs. 59.2%; exact test according to Fisher = 5.765, $p <$

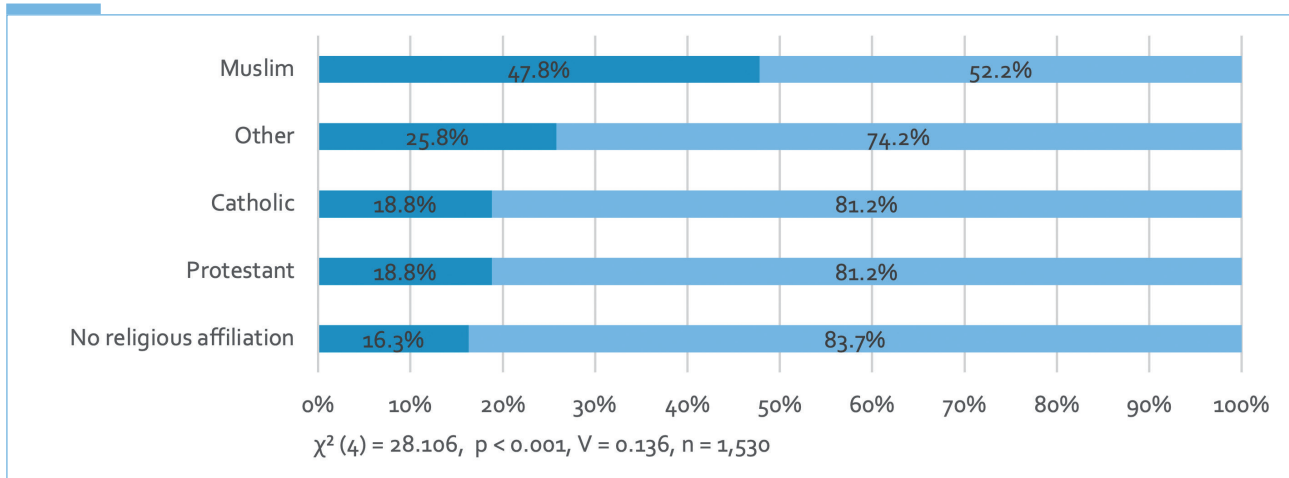
0.05, $V = 0.062$, $n = 1,535$). However, this correlation is insignificant due to the very small effect size (< 0.1).

The determinant of **religious or denominational affiliation** shows a statistically significant correlation with a small effect size (light slap in the face: $\chi^2 (4) = 28.106$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.136$, $n = 1,530$; pinching: exact test according to Fisher = 39.868, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.20$, $n = 1,530$), which is reflected in the higher rate of use of these sanctions among persons of Muslim religious affiliation. No statistically significant correlation could be found for „a smack on the bottom“ (Protestant: 37.0%, Catholic: 36.8%, Muslim: 58.7%, other: 48.4%, no denomination: 37.3%; $\chi^2 (4) = 10.393$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.082$, $n = 1,530$). The proportion of those who did

not use corporal punishments at all is higher among persons of Catholic (60.0%) or Protestant (58.7%) religious affiliation or without religious affiliation (58.9%) than among respondents of Muslim religious affiliation (41.3%) or respondents of other religious affiliations (41.9%) ($\chi^2(4) = 10.490, p < 0.05, V = 0.083, n =$

1,530). A detailed presentation of the corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children according to religious affiliation or denomination (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 13.

**What corporal punishment(s) did you use when raising children?
A light slap in the face**



Pinching

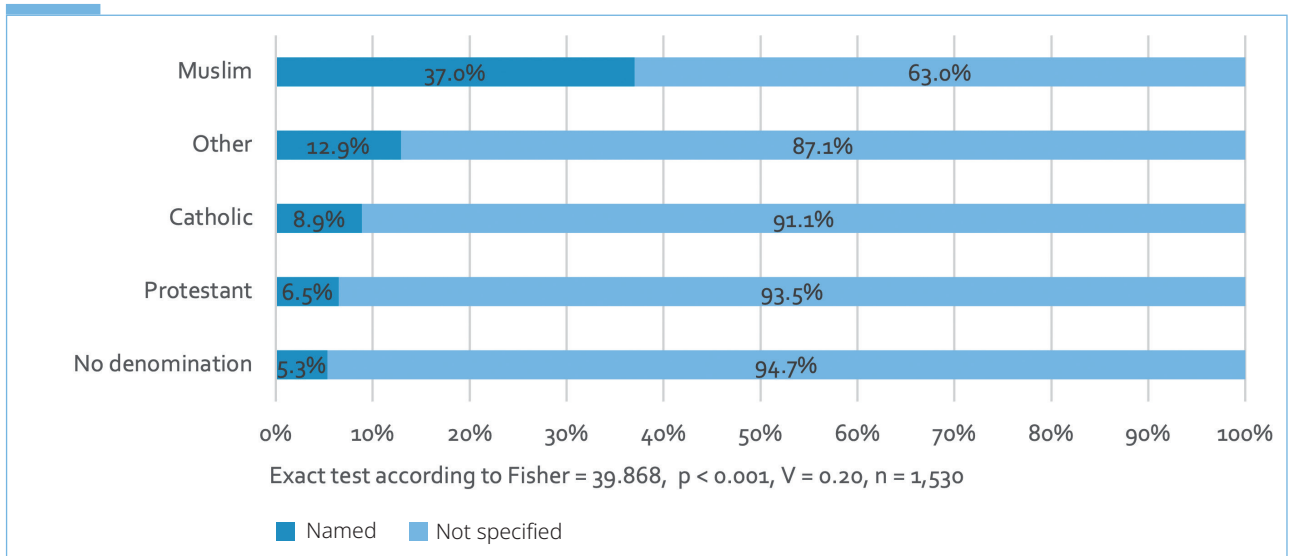


Figure 13: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „light slap in the face“ and „pinching“ according to religion or denomination in the survey year 2024/2025

Party preference is statistically correlated with the use of the „smack on the bottom“ parenting method, albeit with a smaller effect size ($\chi^2(6) = 17.988, p < 0.01, V = 0.13, n = 1,066$). Furthermore, party preference is not statistically significantly correlated with the use of corporal punishment such as „light slap in the face“ (CDU/CSU: 19.1%, AfD: 23.6%, SPD: 20.0%, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: 14.1%, Die Linke: 23.3%, other party: 18.8%, no preference: 15.2%; $\chi^2(6) = 4.871, p = 0.56, n = 1,066$) and „pinching“ (CDU/CSU: 6.7%, AfD: 7.5%, SPD: 5.7%, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: 5.4%, Die Linke: 7.0%, other party: 7.5%, no preference: 10.1%; exact test according to Fisher = 2.245, $p = 0.898, n = 1,066$). The highest proportion of non-use of the corporal pu-

nishments mentioned is found among supporters of the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen party, although no statistically significant correlation could be found here. Within this group, the fundamental non-use of corporal punishments is also higher than among supporters of other parties (CDU/CSU: 57.3%, AfD: 55.9%, SPD: 64.6%, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: 69.6%, Die Linke: 60.5%, other party: 53.1%, no preference: 58.2%; $\chi^2(6) = 9.885, p = 0.13, n = 1,066$). A detailed presentation of the corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children according to party preference (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 14.

What corporal punishment(s) did you use when raising children? A smack on the bottom

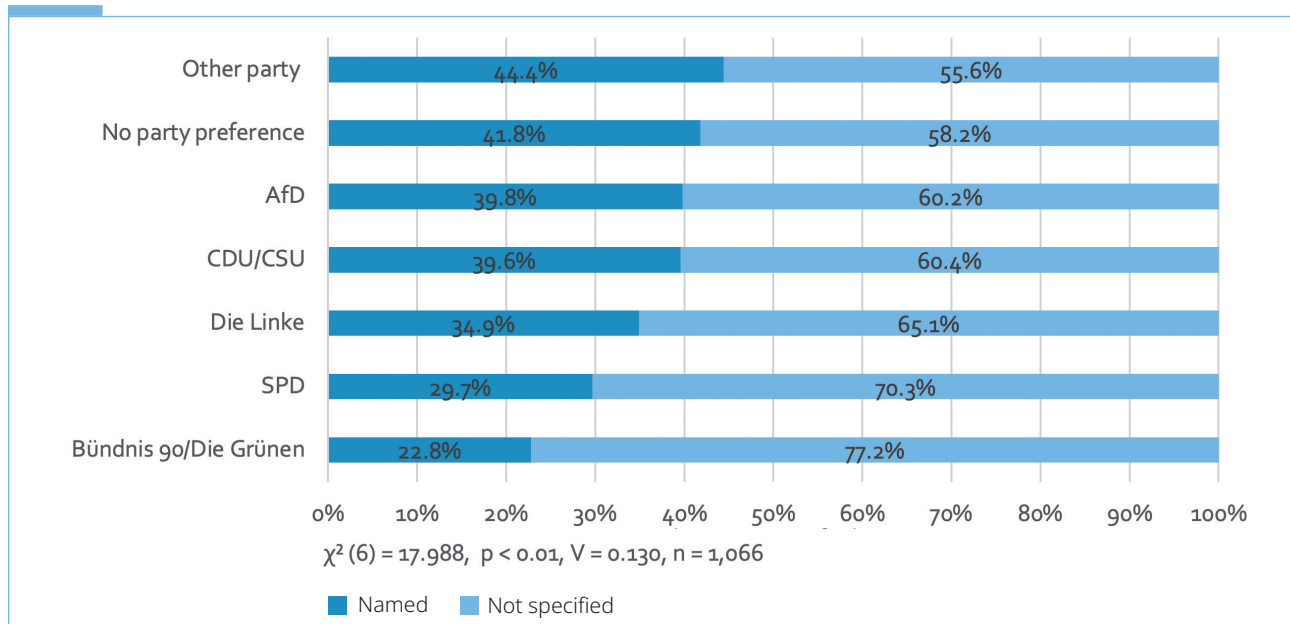


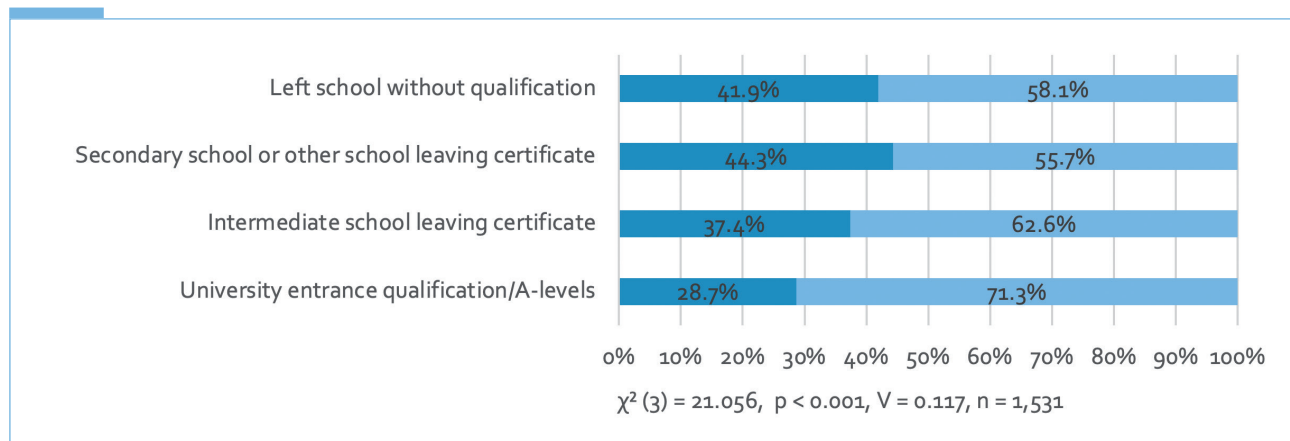
Figure 14: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“ according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025

The first two types of corporal punishment mentioned above also have a negative statistical correlation with the **highest school-leaving qualification**, i.e. „smack“ and „light slap“ are used by a lower rate of respondents with a higher school-leaving qualification. This correlation has a small effect size in each case (smack: $\chi^2(3) = 21.056$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.117$, $n = 1,531$; light slap in the face: $\chi^2(3) = 26.028$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.13$, $n = 1,531$; pinching: exact test according to Fisher = 4.693, $p = 0.19$, $n = 1,531$). Respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels also reported slightly more frequently that they had not used corporal punishments in their parenting (left school

without a qualification: 58.1%, secondary school or other school leaving certificate: 53.1%, intermediate school leaving certificate: 59.8%, university entrance qualification/A-levels: 65.5%; $\chi^2(3) = 13.146$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.093$, $n = 1,531$). A detailed presentation of the corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children according to highest school qualification (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 15. This shows that no consistent trend can be derived with regard to the use of different forms of corporal punishment depending on the highest school qualification.

What corporal punishment(s) did you use when raising children?

A smack on the bottom



Light slap in the face

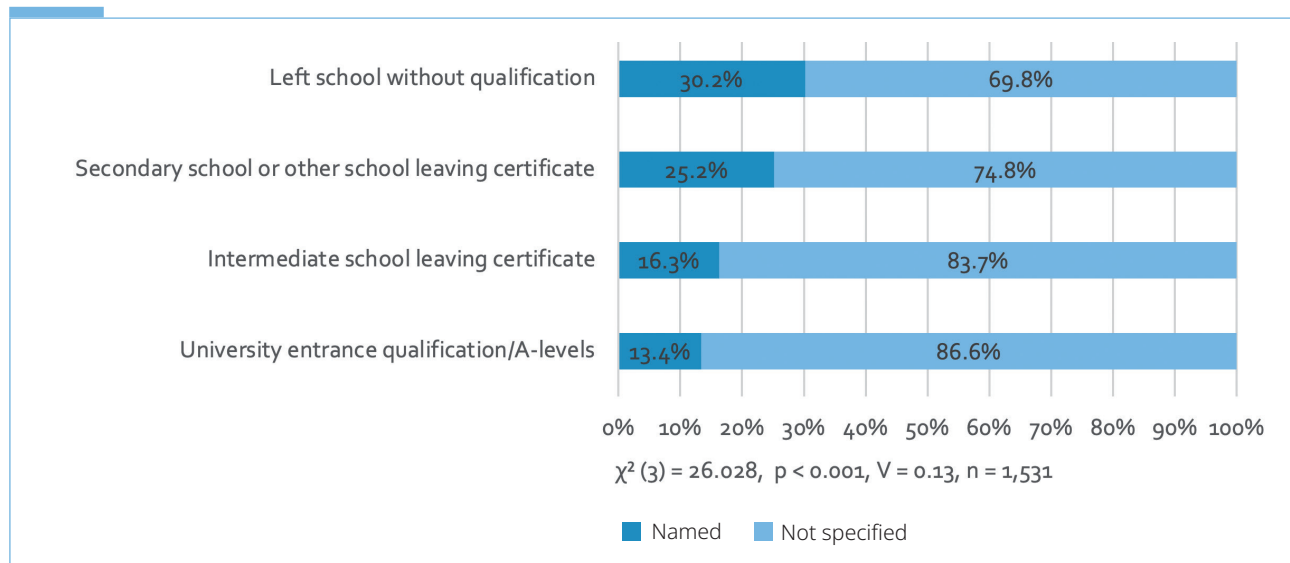


Figure 15: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“ and „light slap in the face“ according to highest school leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025

Household income shows a statistically significant correlation with a small effect size only in relation to the use of the corporal punishment „light slap in the face“ (smack: \leq 1,500 euros: 44.6%, 1,500 to under 2,500 euros: 40.9%, 2,500 to under 3,500 euros: 40.1%, \geq 3,500 euros: 31.8%; $\chi^2(3) = 15.086$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.099$, $n = 1,525$; slight slap in the face: \leq 1,500 euros: 25.2%, 1,500 to under 2,500 euros: 20.2%, 2,500 to under 3,500 euros: 22.4%, \geq 3,500 euros: 13.8%; $\chi^2(3) = 18.125$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.109$, $n = 1,525$; pinching: \leq 1,500 euros: 9.0%, 1,500 to under 2,500 euros: 6.8%, 2,500 to under 3,500 euros: 8.1%, \geq 3,500 euros: 7.8%;

$\chi^2(3) = 1.034$, $p = 0.793$, $n = 1,525$). Nevertheless, the data shows that the proportion of people who did not use corporal punishments in their parenting is highest in the highest household income category surveyed (\leq 1,500 euros: 51.8%, 1,500 to less than 2,500 euros: 56.3%, 2,500 to less than 3,500 euros: 57.4%, \geq 3,500 euros: 64.2%; $\chi^2(3) = 12.349$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.09$, $n = 1,525$). A detailed presentation of the corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children according to household income (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 16.

What corporal punishment(s) did you use when raising children?

A light slap in the face

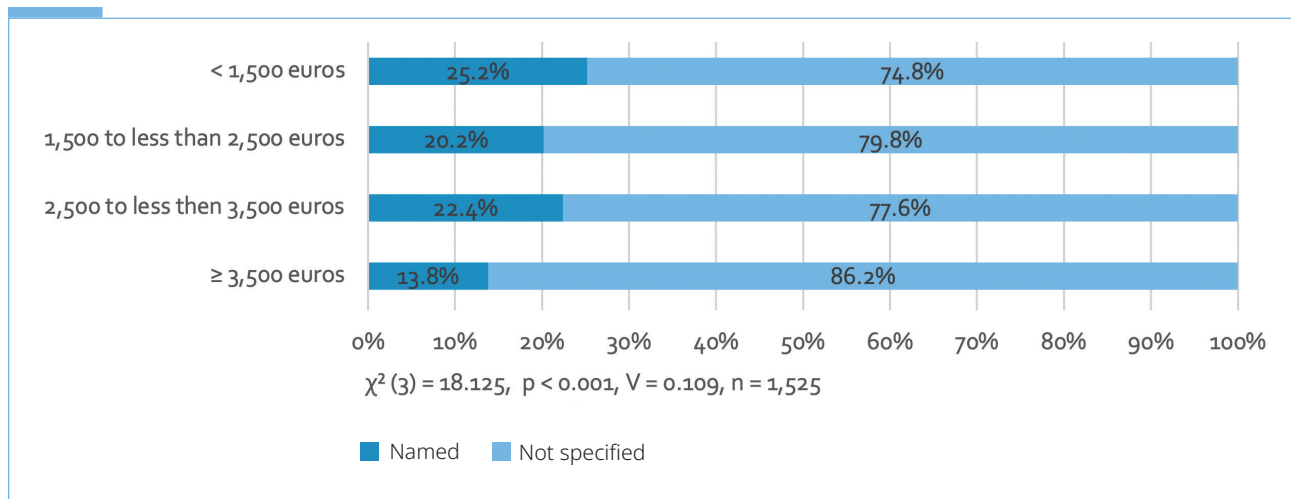


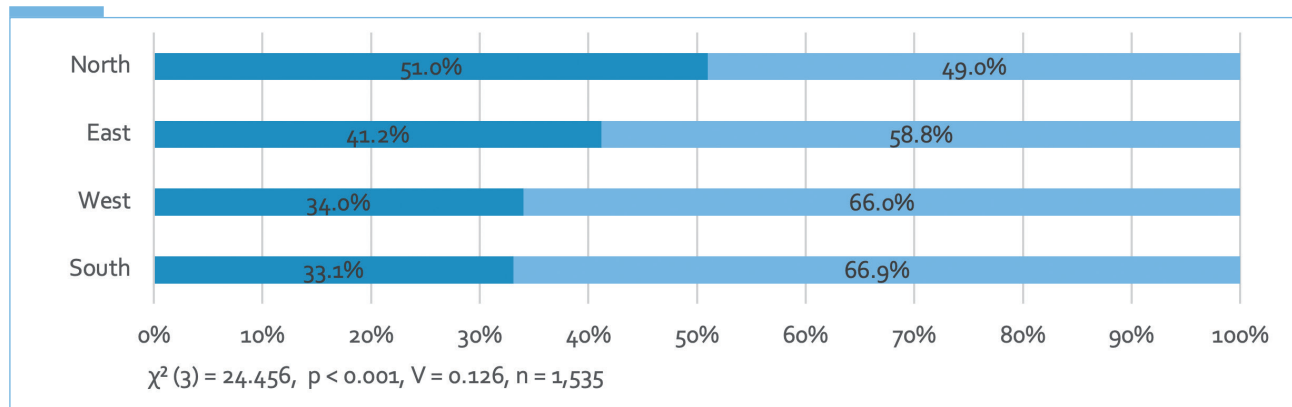
Figure 16: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „light slap in the face“ according to household income in the survey year 2024/2025

Statistically significant differences at **regional level** exist in the use of corporal punishment in the form of „smack on the bottom“, but with only a weak effect size ($\chi^2(3) = 24.456, p < 0.001, V = 0.126, n = 1,535$). For „light slap in the face“ (South: 16.0%, West: 18.4%, East: 19.8%, North: 26.0%; $\chi^2(3) = 9.744, p < 0.05, V = 0.08, n = 1,535$) and „pinching“ (South: 11.0%, West: 7.4%, East: 5.2%, North: 6.7%; $\chi^2(3) = 11.276, p < 0.05, V = 0.086, n = 1,535$), there is no significant statistical correlation with regard to the region. The rate of

parents who did not use corporal punishments in their children's upbringing is lower in northern Germany than in the rest of the country (south: 63.4%, west: 61.7%, east: 56.4%, north: 46.6%). These regional differences are statistically significant and have a small effect size ($\chi^2(3) = 19.411, p < 0.001, V = 0.112, n = 1,535$). A detailed presentation of the corporal punishment used in the upbringing of children by region (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 17.

What corporal punishment(s) did you use when raising children?

A smack on the bottom



I did not use corporal punishments in my parenting

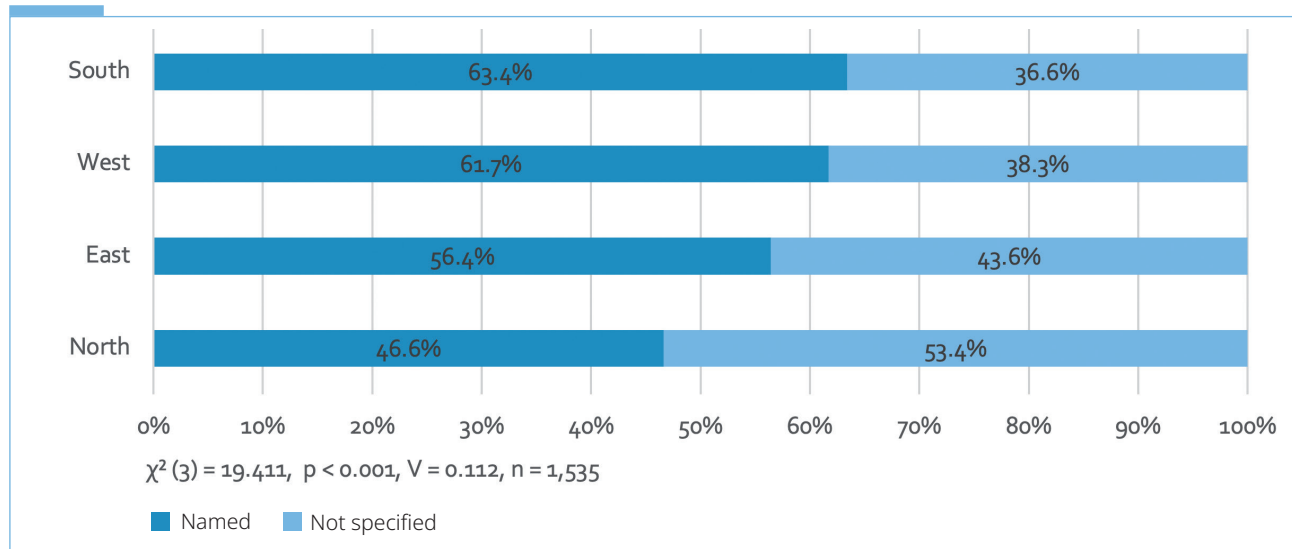


Figure 17: Use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „smack“ and „no punishment“ according to region in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants and the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found show only minor effects. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: Looking only at the specific forms of corporal punishment surveyed (excluding the response „no corporal punishment used“), the rate of use of various forms of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children is higher among respondents who belong to the oldest age group (especially those aged 61 and older), who are Muslim, prefer other parties not represented in the current Bundestag, and have no school leaving certificate or a secondary school or other not higher school leaving certificate. In addition, the rate of use of corporal punishment is higher among respondents in northern Germany than in the rest of the country, as it is among respondents with a household income of less than 1,500 euros.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.1.5

Personally experienced corporal punishments in upbringing

Another part of the survey dealt with corporal punishment experienced during childhood and was included in all three survey periods (2016, 2020 and 2024/2025).

The three most common forms of corporal punishment experienced by respondents are „a smack on the bottom“ (2016: 61.9%, 2020: 60.9%, 2024/2025: 45.3%), „a light slap in the face“ (2016: 43.6%, 2020: 36.3%, 2024/2025: 33.8%) and „a hard slap in the face“ (2016: 19.3%, 2020: 17.2%, 2024/2025: 17.7%), each of which is declining (see Figure 18). A significant decline

in the survey year 2024/2025 can be seen for „smack on the bottom“. There is also a large difference between 2016 and 2020 and 2024/2025 in respondents who did not experience corporal punishment in their upbringing (2016: 19.1%, 2020: 20.1%, 2024/2025: 45.5%). No comparative figures are available for the punishment „being pinched“ from 2016 and 2020. Corporal punishment such as „being hit hard on the bottom with a stick“, „being beaten with objects“, „being beaten until bleeding“, „being kicked“ and „being strangled“ remained relatively constant over the survey periods, ranging between 0.2% and 8.3%. In the category „other corporal punishment“, a slight upward trend can be seen (2016: 3.1%, 2020: 3.7%, 2024/2025: 4.2%). However, no further details were asked about what other punishments these might be.

**What corporal punishment(s) did you experience during your own upbringing?
(Multiple selections possible)**

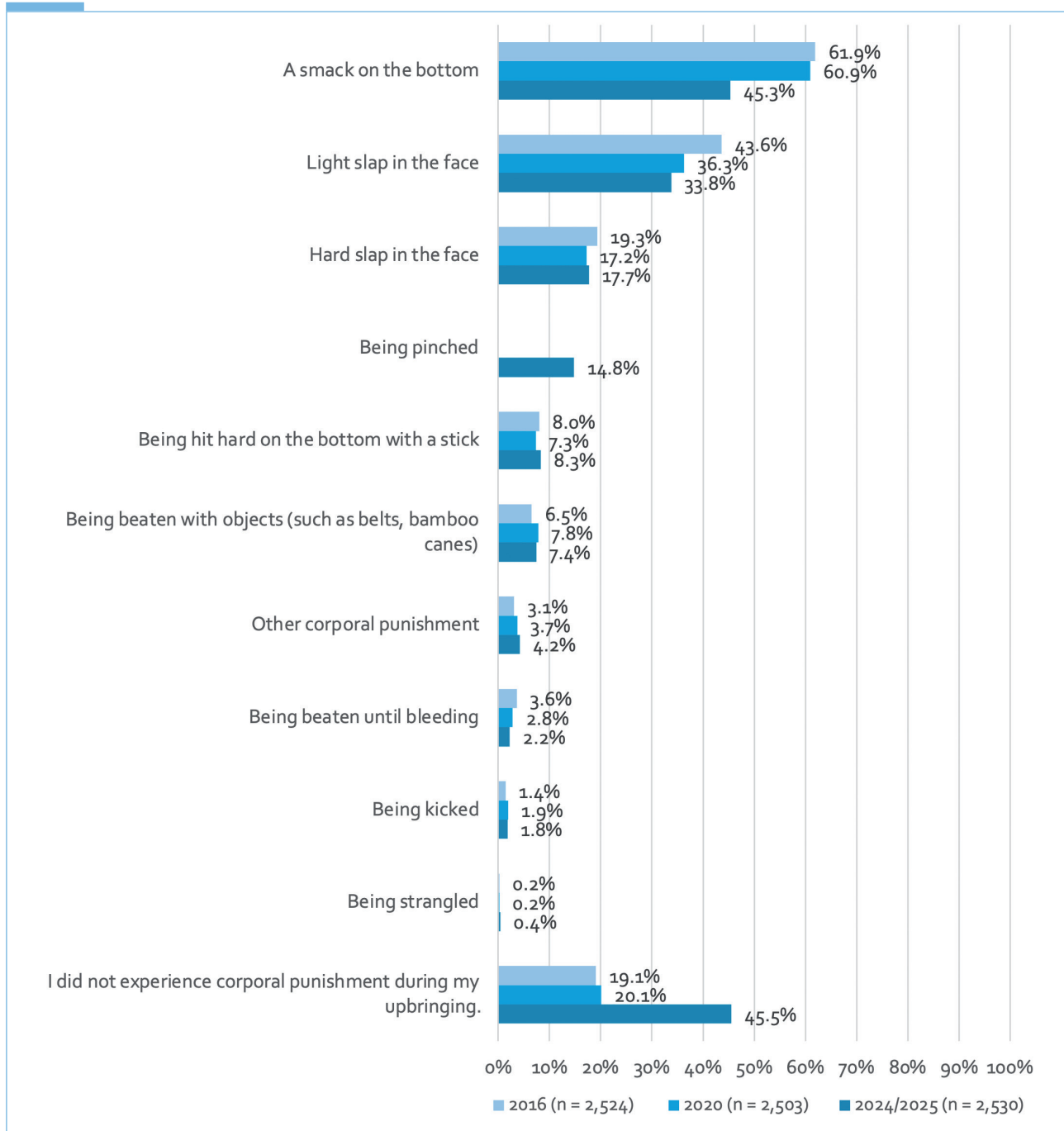


Figure 18: Corporal punishment experienced in one's own upbringing in the survey years 2016, 2020 and 2024/2025

Overall, it becomes clear from a purely descriptive perspective that there has been a downward trend in the three most frequently experienced forms of corporal punishment over the three survey years. More extreme forms of corporal punishment remain at a low but by no means at a negligible level over the course of the surveys. The proportion of respondents who did not experience corporal punishment in their own upbringing has also increased, more than doubling compared to the 2016/2020 survey years.

3.2 EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

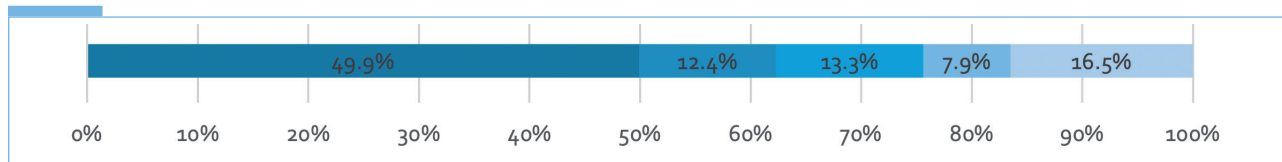
3.2.1 Attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

With regard to the attitudes towards emotional punishment in upbringing, which were surveyed for the first time in this study context, respondents were asked to rate three statements (see section 2.2) using the response options „strongly disagree“, „disagree“, „neutral“, „somewhat agree“ and „strongly agree“.

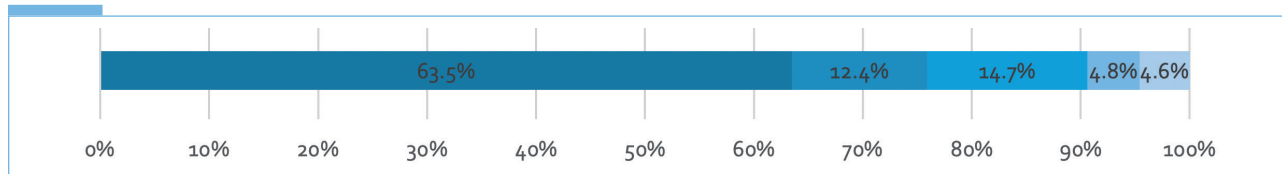
If we summarise the categories and look only at those who agree with the statements („somewhat agree“ and „strongly agree“) or reject the statements („strongly disagree“ and „disagree“), the following picture emerges: The majority of respondents (62.3%) reject the statement „I would not support a law against emo-

tional punishment“, while 24.4% agree with this statement. This means that, according to their rejection of the statement, just under a quarter of respondents would not support a law against emotional punishment. Three quarters of respondents (76.0%) reject the statement „Emotional punishment is not abusive“, while 9.4% agree with this statement. A similar picture emerges with regard to agreement or rejection of the statement „Emotional punishment is not harmful to children“. More than three-quarters of respondents (79.6%) reject this statement, while 8.2% agree with it. Figure 19 and Figure 20 illustrate the five-level degrees of agreement with the three different statements on attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children, as well as their agreement and rejection in the 2024/2025 survey.

I would not support a law against emotional punishment. (n = 2,510)



Emotional punishment is not abusive. (n = 2,512)



Emotional punishment is not harmful to children. (n = 2,514)

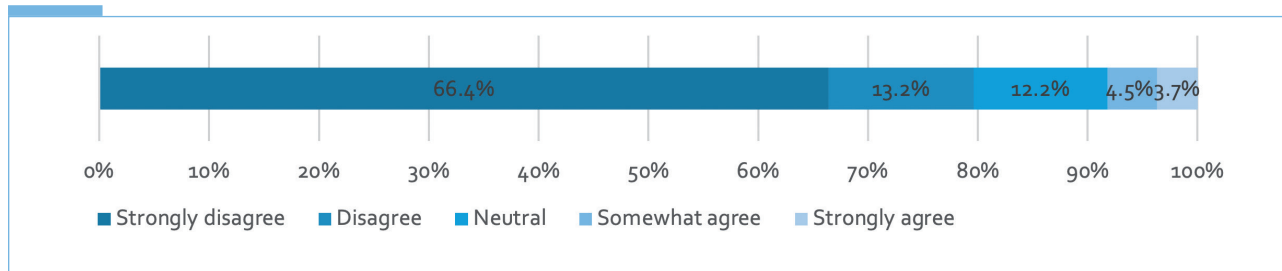


Figure 19: Levels of agreement with attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the 2024/2025 survey year

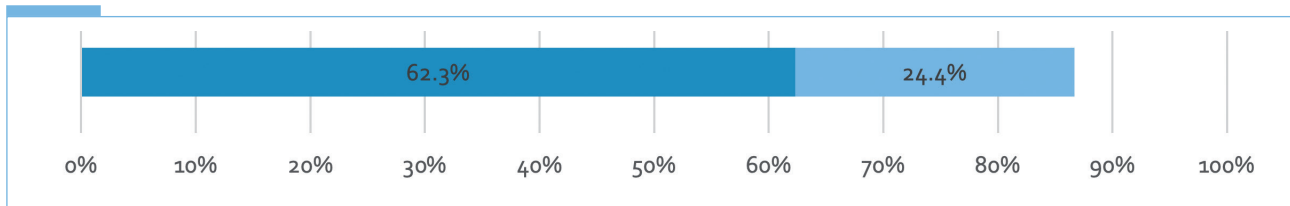
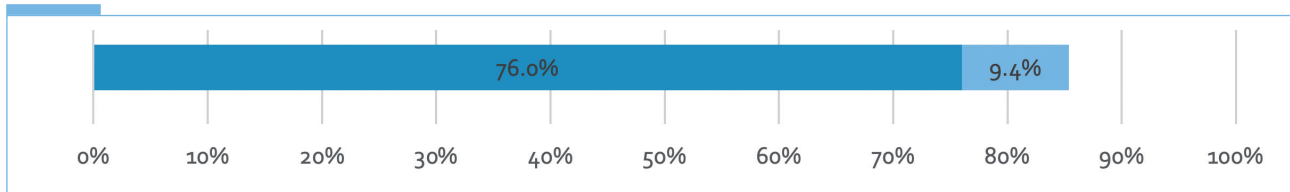
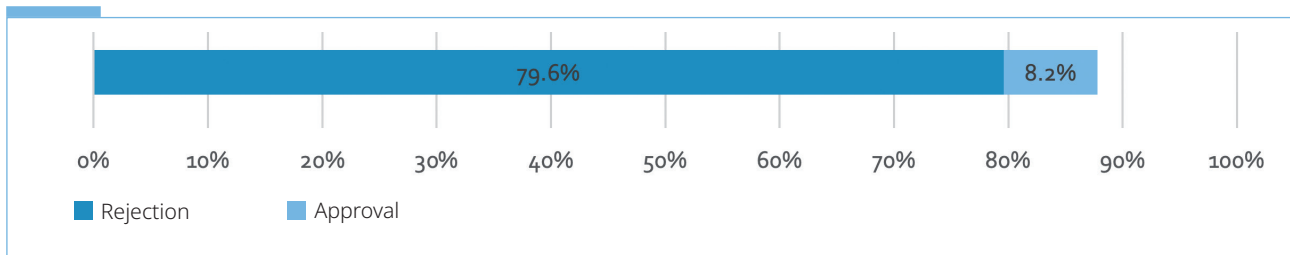
I would not support a law against emotional punishment. (n = 2,510)**Emotional punishment is not abusive. (n = 2,512)****Emotional punishment is not harmful to children. (n = 2,514)**

Figure 20: Approval/rejection with attitudes towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the 2024/2025 survey year

In summary, the majority of respondents have a negative attitude towards emotional punishment in the upbringing of children. This means that they largely reject statements that consider emotional punishment of children to be harmless or non-abusive and would not support a law against emotional punishment. However, the approval of the last statement, which is affirmed by a quarter of respondents, is not insignificant.

3.2.2

Perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

„Shouting“ as a form of emotional punishment is considered appropriate in the upbringing of children by 16.1% of respondents, „locking the child in a room“ by 9.2% and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ by 8.6%. These three forms of emotional punishment of children were considered most appropriate in Germany in 2024/2025. However, approximately 5% of respondents also consider the emotional punishments „isolation from family or

friends“, „skipping meals“, „withholding attention and love“ and „blaming or shaming“ to be appropriate. More severe emotional punishments such as „intimidation or threats“, „leaving the child home alone without saying where you are going or when you will return“, „hurtful or insulting remarks“ and „belittling or disparaging“ are also considered appropriate by approximately 2% to 3.5% of respondents. However, almost three-quarters of respondents reject emotional punishment as a parenting method (73.0%). Figure 21 graphically illustrates the perceived appropriateness of various emotional punishments in the upbringing of children in 2024/2025.

What emotional punishment(s) do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children? (Multiple selections possible, n = 2,530)

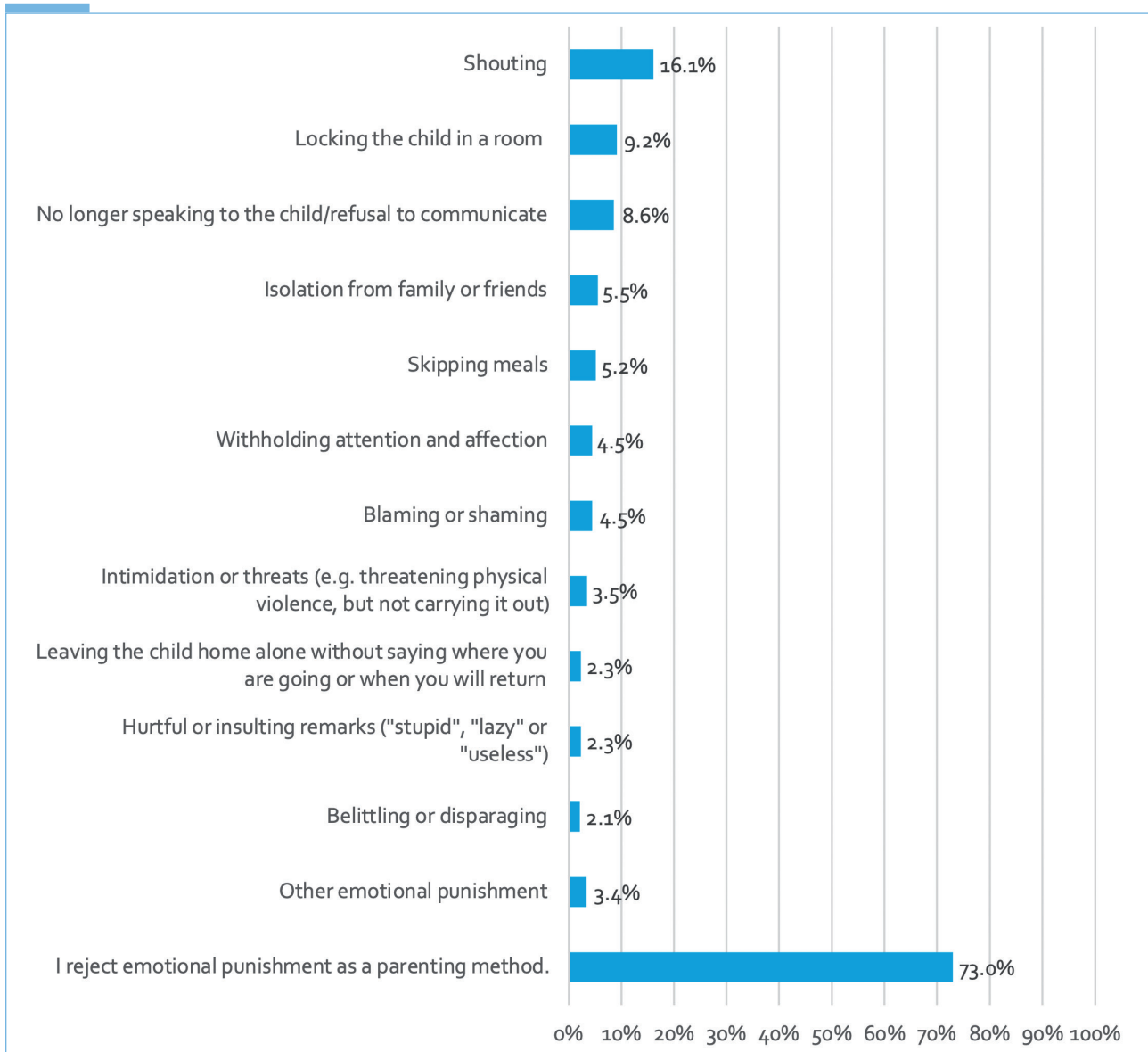


Figure 21: Perceived appropriateness of various emotional punishments in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, it can be seen that emotional punishments in the upbringing of children are now more frequently rejected than corporal punishments. However, with the exception of „a smack on the bottom“, the individual forms of emotional punishment are more frequently perceived as appropriate than the various corporal punishments surveyed.

3.2.2.1

Determinants of perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

In order to illustrate the possible determinants of perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment, the 2024/2025 survey was examined with regard to some of the socio-demographic and socio-economic variables listed in Table 1 (Chapter 2.3). For reasons of clarity and due to the length of this report, the three methods most frequently perceived as appropriate emotional punishments (see Chapter 3.2.2) and the rejection of emotional punishments were used for this purpose.

With regard to the determinant of **gender**, it becomes clear that more men than women perceive emotional punishments such as „shouting“ (18.2% vs. 14.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 7.228$, $p < 0.01$, $\Phi = 0.053$, $n = 2,528$), „locking the child in a room“ (11.3% vs. 7.5%; $\chi^2(1) = 11.240$, $p < 0.001$, $\Phi = 0.067$, $n = 2,528$) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (9.8% vs. 7.5%; $\chi^2(1) = 4.075$, $p < 0.05$, $\Phi = 0.040$, $n = 2,528$) as appropriate. In addition, a smaller proportion of men than women reject emotional punishment as a parenting method (68.5% vs. 76.8%; $\chi^2(1) = 22.067$, $p < 0.001$, $\Phi = 0.093$, $n = 2,528$). However, the significant correlations mentioned above have very small effect sizes (< 0.1), which is why no significant gender-specific statistical correlation can be established.

With regard to the **age group** determinant, it becomes clear that more older respondents than younger respondents perceive emotional punishments such as „locking the child in a room“ (61 years and older: 11.5% vs. 31-60 years: 9.1% vs. 16-30 years: 6.1%; $\chi^2(2) = 10.468$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.064$, $n = 2,530$) and „no

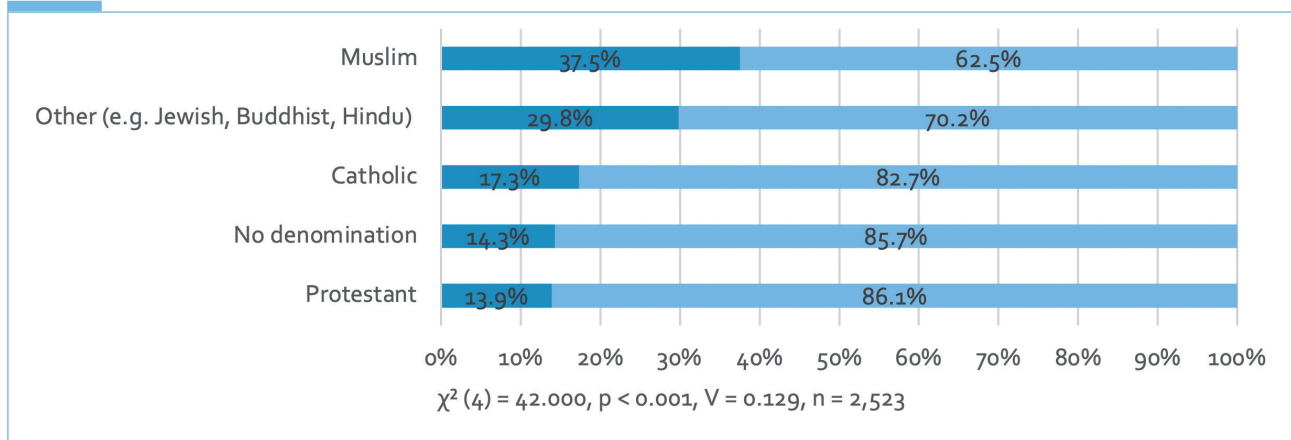
longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (61 years and older: 11.2% vs. 31-60 years: 8.0% vs. 16-30 years: 5.9%; $\chi^2(2) = 12.164$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.069$, $n = 2,530$) as appropriate. In addition, emotional punishment such as „shouting“ is also considered appropriate by more older respondents than younger respondents (61 years and older: 17.8% vs. 31-60 years: 15.5% vs. 16-30 years: 14.9%), however, this correlation is not significant ($\chi^2(2) = 2.431$, $p = 0.297$, $n = 2,530$). In addition, more younger respondents than older respondents reject emotional punishment as a parenting method (61 years and older: 68.8% vs. 31-60 years: 74.0% vs. 16-30 years: 77.4%; $\chi^2(2) = 12.154$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.069$, $n = 2,530$). However, the statistical correlations mentioned only have a very small effect size (< 0.1), which is why no significant statistical correlation can be established with regard to the age groups.

With regard to the determinant of **nationality**, it becomes clear that fewer respondents with German citizenship (including dual citizenship) than respondents with other nationalities perceive emotional punishments such as „shouting“ (15.4% vs. 28.5%; $\chi^2(2) = 15.702$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.079$, $n = 2,530$), „locking the child in a room“ (8.6% vs. 21.5%; $\chi^2(2) = 24.683$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.099$, $n = 2,530$) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (8.0% vs. 19.2%; $\chi^2(2) = 19.887$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.089$, $n = 2,530$) as appropriate. In addition, more respondents with German citizenship (including dual citizenship) than respondents with other citizenships reject emotional punishment as a parenting method (74.0% vs. 55.4%; $\chi^2(2) = 22.703$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.095$, $n = 2,530$). However, the statistical correlations mentioned only have a very small effect size (< 0.1), which is why no significant statistical correlation can be established with regard to nationality.

With regard to the determinant of **religious affiliation or denomination**, it becomes clear that a significantly higher proportion of respondents who are Muslim compared to respondents who belong to other religions or denominations (Catholic, Protestant, other, none) report emotional punishments such as „shouting“ (37.5%; $\chi^2(4) = 42.000$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.129$, $n = 2,523$) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (23.9%; $\chi^2(4) = 31.988$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.113$, $n = 2,523$) to be appropriate. However, the significant correlations mentioned above only have a small effect. The perceived appropriateness of the emotional punishment „locking the child in a room“ is also comparatively higher among respondents of Muslim religious affiliation, but the differences in the determinant of religion or denomination are statistically insignificant here due to the very small effect size (< 0.1) (22.7%; $\chi^2(4) = 19.955$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.089$, $n = 2,523$). With regard to the perceived appropriateness of the three respective forms of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children among respondents with a different religious or denominational affiliation (Catholic, Protestant, other, none), the picture is heterogeneous. For instance, 29.8% of respondents with a different religious affiliation, 17.3% of respondents with a Catholic religious affiliation, 14.3% of

respondents who state that they do not belong to any denomination, and 13.9% of respondents with a Protestant religious affiliation consider „shouting“ to be appropriate. For „locking the child in a room“, the breakdown is as follows: after respondents of Muslim religious affiliation, 8.9% of those of Protestant religious affiliation consider this form of emotional punishment to be appropriate, followed by 8.8% of those of the Catholic religious affiliation, 8.7% of those without religious affiliation, and 6.4% of respondents of other religious affiliations. „No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ is considered an appropriate form of emotional punishment by 14.9% of respondents of other denominations, 8.7% of Catholic respondents, 8.3% of Protestant respondents and 6.8% of respondents without a religious affiliation. A significantly higher proportion of respondents who do not belong to any religious denomination reject emotional punishment as a parenting method (75.0%; $\chi^2(4) = 23.145$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.096$, $n = 2,523$) compared to respondents who are Protestant (74.1%), Catholic (72.7%), of another denomination (57.4%) or Muslim (54.5%). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments perceived appropriate in the upbringing of children according to religious or denominational affiliation (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 22.

What emotional punishment(s) do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children? Shouting



No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate

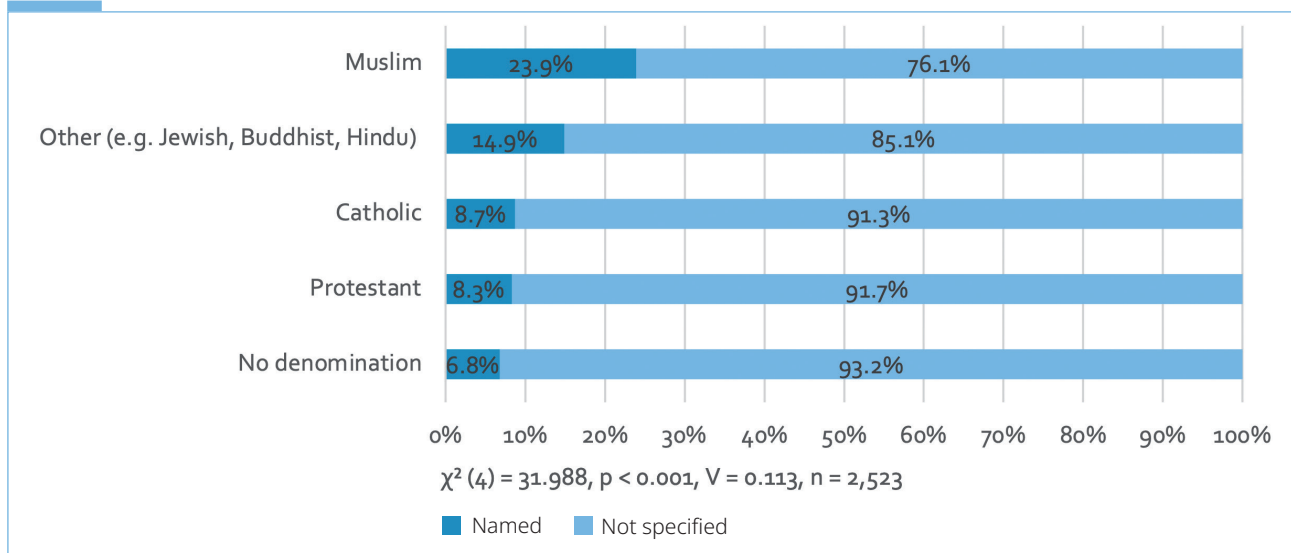


Figure 22: Perceived appropriateness of „shouting“ and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ as emotional punishments in the upbringing of children according to religious affiliation or denomination in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **party preference**, it becomes clear that significantly more respondents with a preference for the AfD than respondents with a preference for another party (CDU/CSU, Die Linke, no preference, other party, SPD, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) consider emotional punishments such as „locking the child in a room“ appropriate (13.4%; $\chi^2(6) = 19.458$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.107$, $n = 1,694$). The perceived appropriateness of this form of emotional punishment is distributed gradually among respondents with other party preferences as follows: CDU/CSU (10.0%), Die Linke (9.9%), no preference (8.0%), other party (6.4%), SPD (6.2%) and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (3.5%). However, this correlation only has a small effect size. In the case of emotional disciplinary measures such as „shouting“ (other party (18.1%), no preference (17.4%), AfD (16.6%), SPD (16.2%), CDU/CSU (15.1%), Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (11.4%), Die Linke (11.3%)) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (CDU/

CSU (10.2%), no preference (8.7%), AfD (8.3%), SPD (7.7%), other party (6.8%), Die Linke (5.6%), Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (5.4%)), the picture is heterogeneous; however, these correlations are not significant (shouting: $\chi^2(6) = 5.597$, $p = 0.470$, $n = 1,694$; no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate: $\chi^2(6) = 6.083$, $p = 0.414$, $n = 1,694$), as is the correlation between party preference and the rejection of emotional punishment as a parenting method ($\chi^2(6) = 10.167$, $p = 0.118$, $n = 1,694$). Respondents with a party preference for Die Linke show the highest rate of rejection (78.9%), followed by respondents with a party preference for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (78.2%), for another party (74.3%), the SPD (74.1%), no preference (73.2%), the CDU/CSU (72.2%) and the AfD (66.4%). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments considered appropriate in the upbringing of children according to party preference (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found at Figure 23.

What emotional punishment(s) do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children? Locking the child in a room

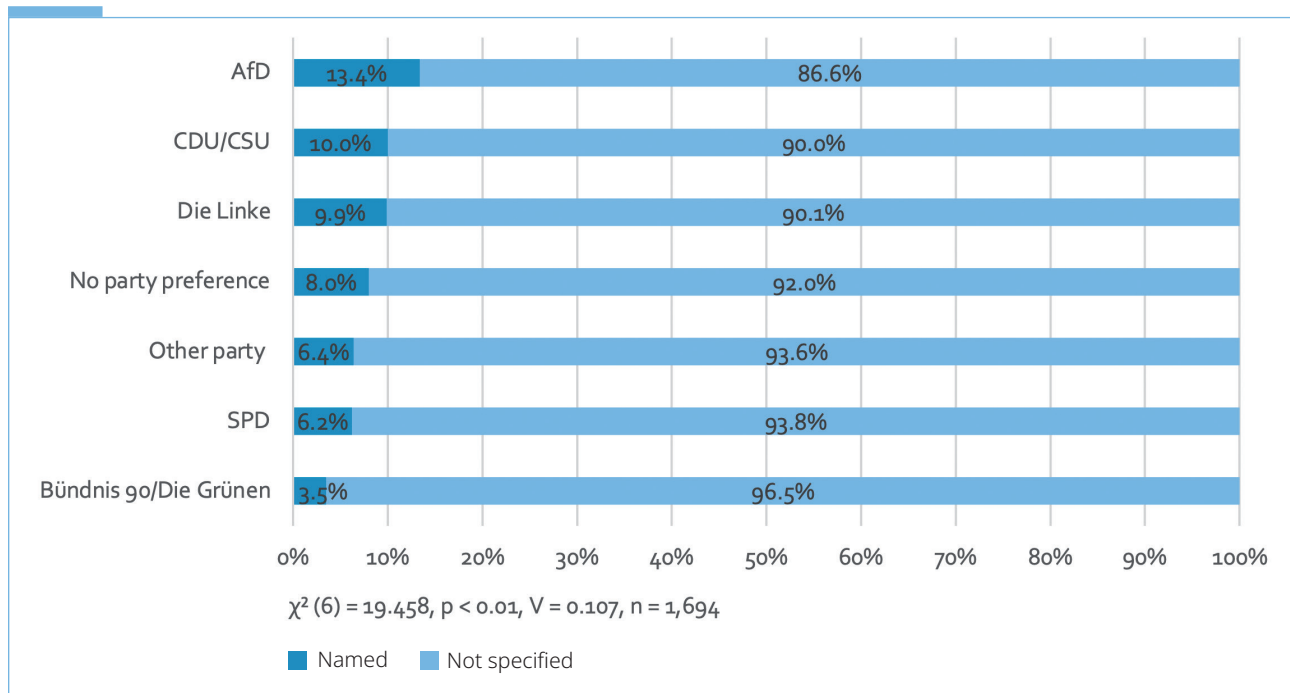


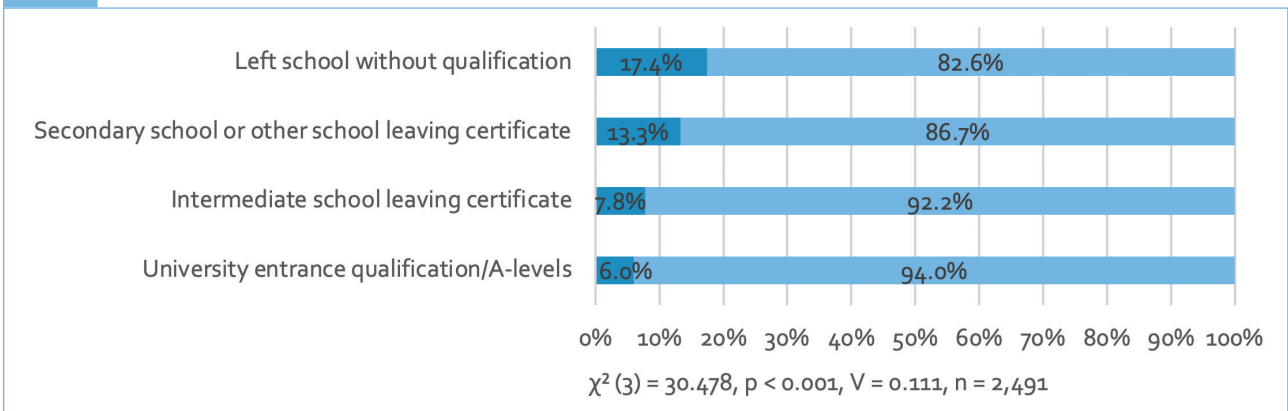
Figure 23: Perceived appropriateness of „locking the child in a room“ as an emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **highest school-leaving qualification**, it becomes clear that significantly more respondents who left school without a qualification in comparison to the respondents with a school qualification perceive emotional punishments such as „shouting“ (30.4%; $\chi^2(3) = 24.997$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.100$, $n = 2,491$) and „locking the child in a room“ (17.4%; $\chi^2(3) = 30.478$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.111$, $n = 2,491$) appropriate. The perceived appropriateness of these forms of emotional punishment is distributed as follows among respondents with a school leaving certificate: secondary school or other school leaving certificate (shouting: 19.8%; locking: 13.3%), intermediate school leaving certificate (shouting: 14.0%; locking: 7.8%), university entrance qualification/A-levels (shouting: 13.5%; locking: 6.0%). When it comes to emotional punishment such as „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“, significantly more respondents with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate agree that this is appropriate (12.5%; $\chi^2(3) = 25.042$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.100$, $n = 2,491$) than respondents who left school without a qualification (11.6%), respondents with an intermediate school leaving certificate (7.5%) and respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels (5.4%). The latter additionally show a significantly higher rate of rejection of emotional punishment as a parenting method compared to the other respondents (77.1%; $\chi^2(3) = 30.823$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.111$, $n = 2,491$). 75.8% of respondents with an intermediate school leaving certificate also reject emotional punishment as a parenting method, as do 66.8% of respondents with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate and 59.4% of respondents who left school without a qualification. A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments considered appropriate in the upbringing of children according to the highest school qualification (significant correlations and notable effect

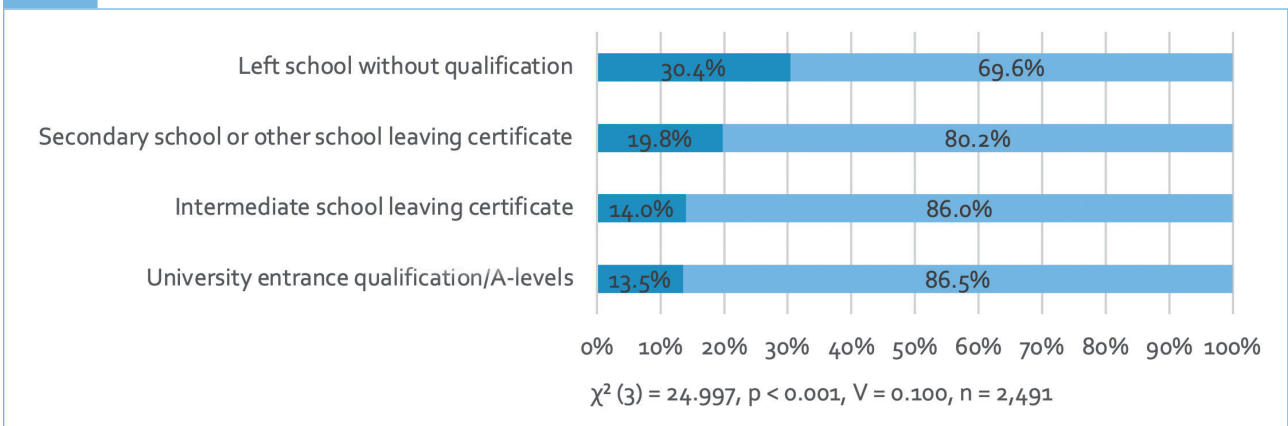
sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 24 and Figure 25. This shows that no consistent trend can be derived with regard to approval of various forms of emotional punishment depending on the highest school qualification.

With regard to the determinant of **household income**, there are no significant correlations with the perceived appropriateness of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children, such as „shouting“ ($\chi^2(3) = 2.593$, $p = 0.459$, $n = 2,512$), „locking the child in a room“ ($\chi^2(3) = 7.750$, $p = 0.051$, $n = 2,512$) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ ($\chi^2(3) = 4.753$, $p = 0.191$, $n = 2,512$) and rejecting emotional punishment as a parenting method ($\chi^2(3) = 4.240$, $p = 0.237$, $n = 2,512$). From a purely descriptive perspective, more respondents with a household income of less than 1,500 euros consider „shouting“ to be appropriate (17.8%) than respondents with a household income of 2,500 euros to less than 3,500 euros (16.7%), 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros (16.5%) or $\geq 3,500$ euros (14.5%). „Locking the child in a room“ is considered appropriate by more respondents with a household income of $< 1,500$ euros (11.6%) than respondents with a household income of 2,500 euros to less than 3,500 euros (10.3%), 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros (9.7%) or $\geq 3,500$ euros (7.2%). „No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ is considered appropriate by 10.7% of respondents with a household income of 2,500 to under 3,500 euros, 9.1% with a household income of $< 1,500$, 8.2% with a household income of 1,500 to under 2,500 euros and 7.4% with a household income of $\geq 3,500$ euros. Three quarters of respondents with a household income of $\geq 3,500$ euros reject emotional punishment as a parenting method, followed by just under 72% of respondents with a lower household income.

**What emotional punishment(s) do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children?
Locking the child in a room**



Shouting



No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate

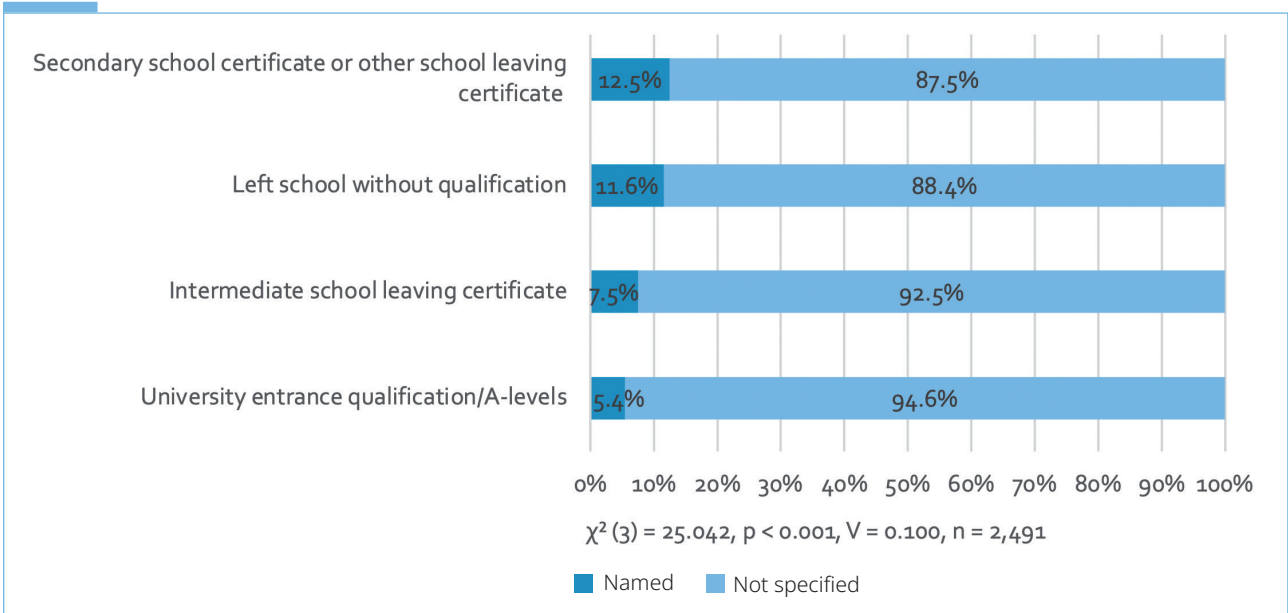


Figure 24: Perceived appropriateness of „locking the child in a room“, „shouting“ and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ as emotional punishments in the upbringing of children according to highest school-leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025

I reject emotional punishment as a parenting method

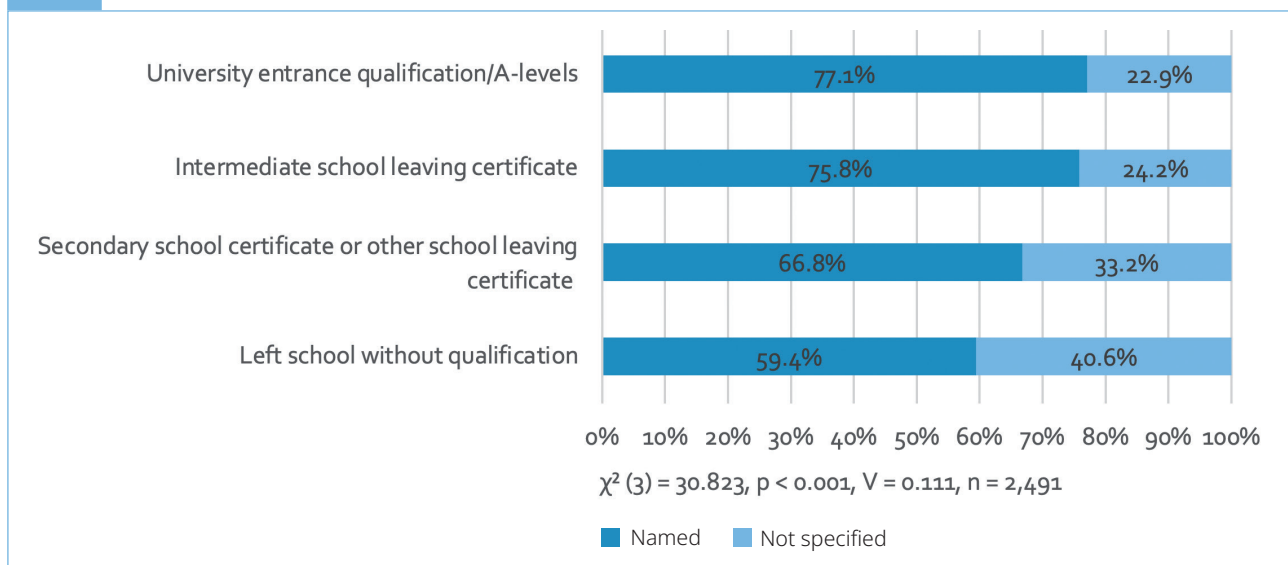


Figure 25: Rejection of emotional punishment according to highest school-leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant **region**, it becomes clear that more respondents from northern Germany than respondents from other regions of Germany perceive emotional punishments such as „shouting“ (21.4%; $\chi^2 (3) = 11.881, p < 0.01, V = 0.069, n = 2,530$) and „locking the child in a room“ (11.7%; $\chi^2 (3) = 8.854, p < 0.05, V = 0.059, n = 2,530$) as appropriate. The perceived appropriateness of these two forms of emotional punishment is distributed gradually among respondents from other regions of Germany as follows: West (shouting: 16.5%; locking: 10.4%); East (shouting: 15.5%; locking: 9.3%) and South (shouting: 13.6%; locking: 7.0%). More respondents from western Germany (11.7%) than respondents from the north (11.2%),

east (6.6%) and south (5.9%) consider the emotional punishment of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ to be appropriate ($\chi^2 (3) = 23.207, p < 0.001, V = 0.096, n = 2,530$). Respondents from the south and east equally often (74.8%) reject emotional punishment as a parenting method and thus have a higher rejection rate than respondents from the west (73.2%) and respondents from the north (66.3%; $\chi^2 (3) = 11.039, p < 0.05, V = 0.066, n = 2,530$). However, the statistical correlations mentioned only have very small effect sizes (< 0.1), which is why no significant statistical correlations can be established with regard to the region.

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants and the perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found have low effect sizes. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: Looking at the specific forms of emotional punishment surveyed (excluding the response „rejection“), more respondents who are Muslim, who support the AfD political party, who have no school-leaving qualification, who have a secondary school or other school leaving certificate consider various forms of emotional punishment to be appropriate in the upbringing of children.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.2.3 Use of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children

For the question about the use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children, those who stated that they had ever raised children (n = 1,522) were considered. Individuals who stated that they had never raised children (39.1%) were not included. It becomes clear that „shouting“ is by far the most common form of emotional punishment in the 2024/2025 survey year, at 27.3%. Among the three most common forms of emotional punishment are „locking the child in a room“ (10.6%) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (9.4%). 6.6% of respondents have used „blaming or shaming“ as emotional punishment when raising children, 5.7% have used

isolation from family or friends, and 4.9% have used withdrawal of attention and affection. 4.3% have skipped meals and 3.6% have made hurtful or insulting remarks when raising children (such as „stupid“, „lazy“ or „useless“). Between 3.0% and 3.5% of respondents say they have used „belittling or disparaging“, „intimidation or threats (e.g. physical violence)“ or „another form of emotional punishment“. Around 2% said they had left a child home alone without saying where they were going or when they would return as a form of emotional punishment.

Almost two-thirds of respondents (62.0%) stated that they had not used emotional punishment in raising their children. Figure 26 graphically illustrates the use of various forms of emotional punishment in raising children in the survey year 2024/2025.

**What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children?
(Multiple selections possible, n = 2,530)**

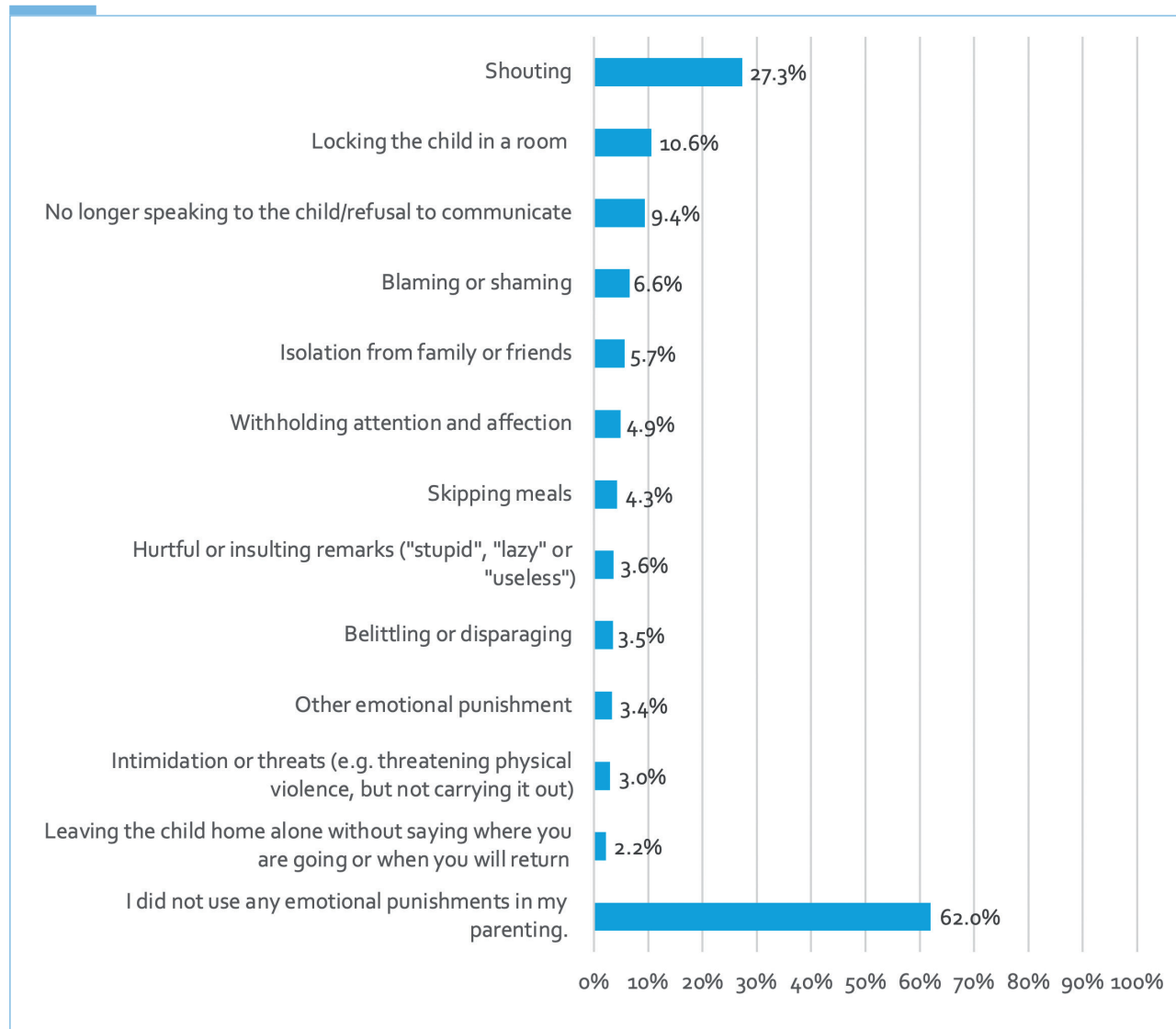


Figure 26: Use of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, it can be seen that emotional punishment was used in a variety of ways in the upbringing of children. Nevertheless, just under two-thirds of respondents did not use emotional punishment in raising children. Shouting is the most common form of emotional punishment used in raising children. According to the survey, almost one in four respondents who said they had raised children had used at least this form of emotional punishment themselves.

3.2.3.1

Determinants of use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

In order to illustrate the possible determinants of the use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children, the 2024/2025 survey was examined with regard to some of the socio-demographic and socio-economic variables listed in Table 1 (Chapter 2.3). For reasons of clarity and due to the length of this report, the three most frequently mentioned emotional punishments (see Chapter 3.2.3) and the stated non-use of emotional punishments were also used here. The following analyses were performed on a subpopulation (n = 1,522). Individuals who stated that they had never raised children were not included.

The determinant of **gender** does not show any significant correlations with regard to the use of the emotional punishments „shouting“ (χ^2 (1) = 0.117, p = 0.733, n = 1,522) and „locking the child in a room“ (χ^2 (1) = 0.781, p = 0.377, n = 1,522). Similarly, there are no significant differences in gender among those who did not use emotional punishments in their parenting (χ^2 (1) = 2.048, p = 0.152, n = 1,522). With regard to the punishment „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“, more men than women stated that they had used this punishment (11.3% vs. 8.1%; χ^2 (1) = 4.559, p < 0.05, Φ = 0.055 n = 1,522), although the very small effect size (< 0.1) means that there is no significant statistical correlation.

With regard to the **age group** determinant, it becomes clear that, overall, more older respondents than younger respondents have used emotional punishment in raising children: „Shouting“ (61 years and older: 28.6% vs. 31-60 years: 27.5% vs. 16-30 years: 15.1%; χ^2 (2) = 6.019, p < 0.05, V = 0.063, n = 1,522), „locking the child in a room“ (61 years and older: 12.8% vs. 31-60 years: 9.4% vs. 16-30 years: 5.5%; χ^2 (2) = 6.462, p <

0.05, V = 0.065, n = 1,522) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (61 years and older: 12.4% vs. 31-60 years: 7.4% vs. 16-30 years: 6.8%; χ^2 (2) = 10.908, p < 0.01, V = 0.085, n = 1,522). This is also reflected in the responses to „I did not use any emotional punishments in my parenting“: more younger respondents agreed with this statement than older respondents (61 years and older: 57.6% vs. 31-60 years: 63.9% vs. 16-30 years: 78.1%; χ^2 (2) = 14.375, p < 0.001, V = 0.097, n = 1,522). However, the statistically significant correlations mentioned in relation to the age groups do not show any significant effect sizes (< 0.1).

With regard to the determinant of **nationality**, there are no significant differences in the use of emotional punishment such as „shouting“ (exact test according to Fisher = 5.429, p = 0.058, n = 1,522) and „locking the child in a room“ (χ^2 (2) = 3.216, p = 0.200, n = 1,522). Significantly more respondents without German citizenship than respondents with German citizenship (including dual citizenship) stated that they used the parenting method „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (21.8% vs. 8.6%; exact test according to Fisher = 20.892, p < 0.001, V = 0.137, n = 1,522) when raising children. The effect size here indicates a small statistically significant correlation. In addition, a higher proportion of respondents with German citizenship (including dual citizenship) compared to respondents with other citizenship stated that they had not used emotional punishment in their parenting (62.9% vs. 48.3%; exact test according to Fisher = 8.441, p < 0.01, V = 0.075, n = 1,522). However, this statistically significant correlation only has a very small effect size (< 0.1), which is why no significant statistical correlation can be established with regard to nationality. A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments used in the upbringing of children by nationality (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (\geq 0.1)) can be found in Figure 27.

What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children? No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate

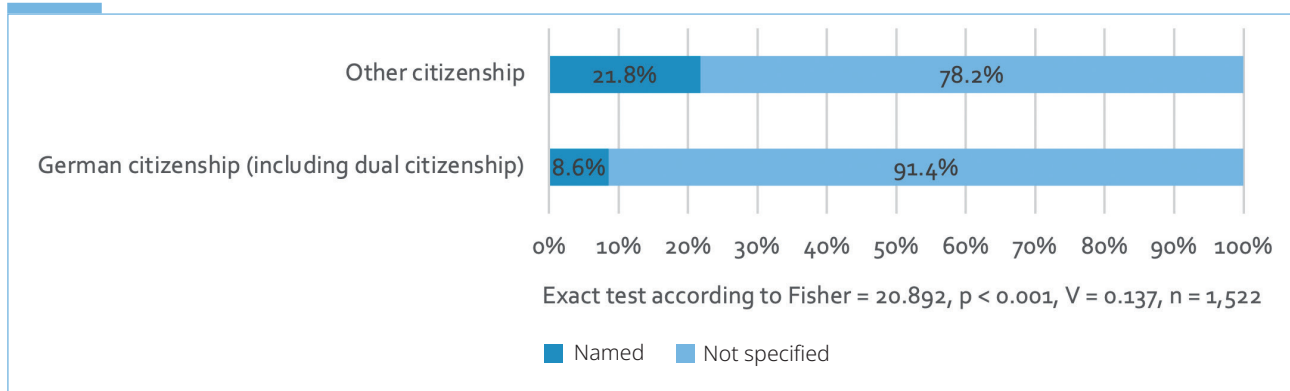


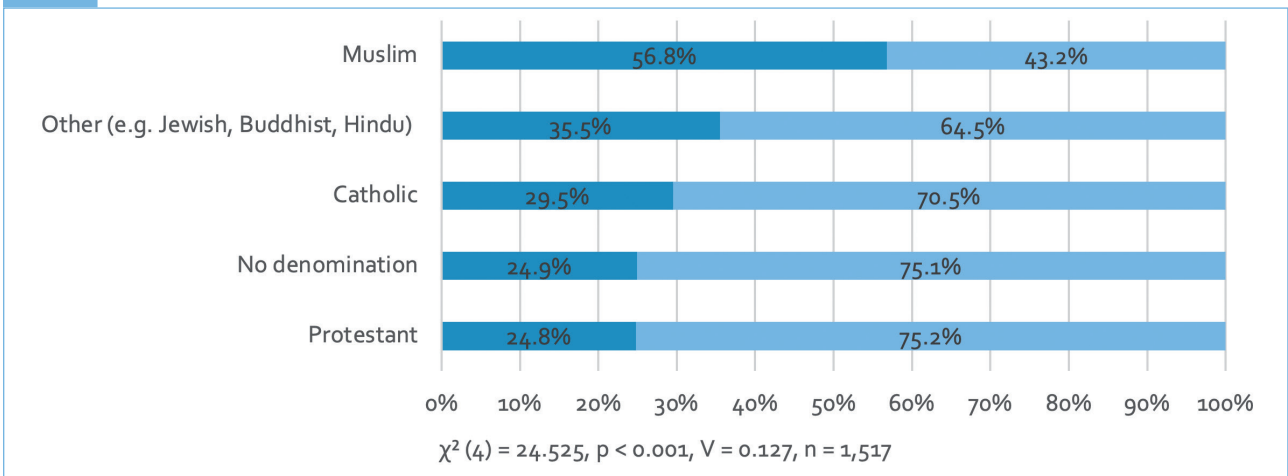
Figure 27: Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ according to nationality in the survey year 2024/2025.

With regard to the determinant of **religious affiliation**, it becomes clear that significantly more respondents of Muslim religious affiliation than respondents of other religious affiliations (Catholic, Protestant, other, none) have used emotional punishment such as „shouting“ (56.8%; $\chi^2(4) = 24.525$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.127$, $n = 1,517$) and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (27.3%; $\chi^2(4) = 26.341$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.132$, $n = 1,517$) in their parenting. According to their own statements, „shouting“ was used by 35.5% of respondents of other religious affiliations, by 29.5% of respondents of Catholic religious affiliation, by 24.9% of respondents without religious affiliation and by 24.8% of respondents of Protestant religious affiliation at some point in their parenting. For „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“, the breakdown is as follows: after respondents of Muslim religious affiliation, 19.4% of those of other religious affiliations, 11.0% of respondents of Catholic religious affiliation, 8.7% of respondents of the Protestant religious affiliation and 6.5% of respondents without religious affiliation affirmed its use. The use of the emotional punishment „locking the child in a room“ in

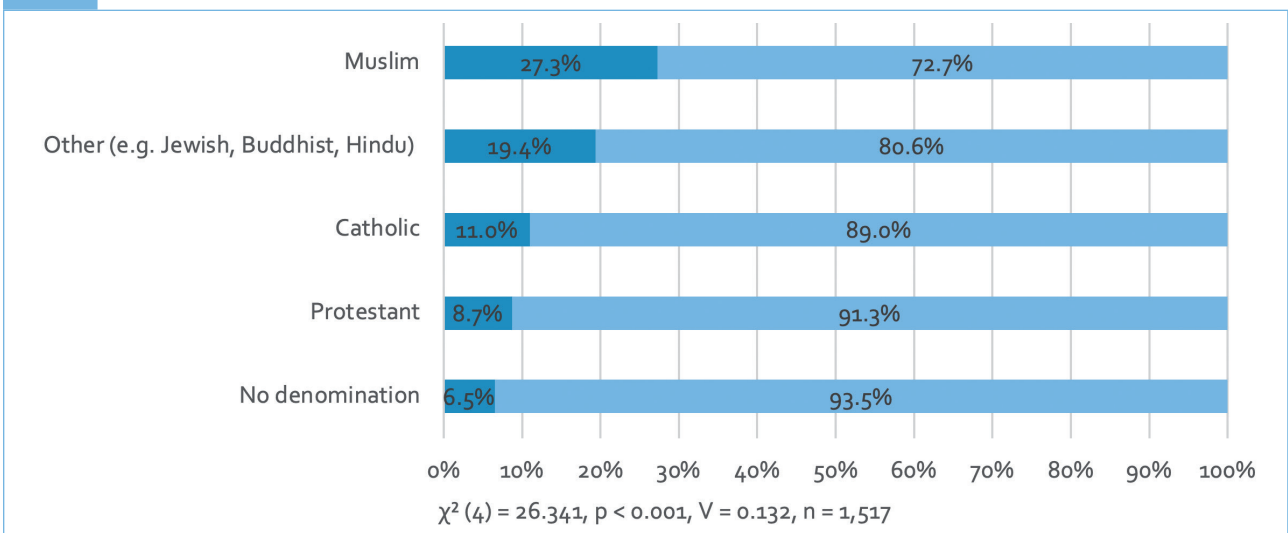
upbringing was approved by 25.0% of respondents of Muslim religious affiliation, 11.1% of respondents of Protestant religious affiliation, 10.7% of respondents of Catholic religious affiliation, 9.2% of respondents without religious affiliation and 6.5% of respondents with another religious affiliation. However, due to the very small effect size (< 0.1), there is no statistically significant correlation for the latter ($\chi^2(4) = 11.281$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.086$, $n = 1,517$). Significantly more respondents without religious affiliation (64.9%), with Protestant religious affiliation (64.0%) and respondents with Catholic religious affiliation (59.7%) stated that they had not used emotional punishment in their parenting ($\chi^2(4) = 15.579$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.101$, $n = 1,517$), compared to respondents of other religious affiliation (45.2%) and Muslim religious affiliation (40.9%). The significant deviations mentioned have a small effect size. A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments used in the upbringing of children according to religious affiliation or denomination (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 28.

What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children?

Shouting



No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate



I did not use emotional punishments in my parenting

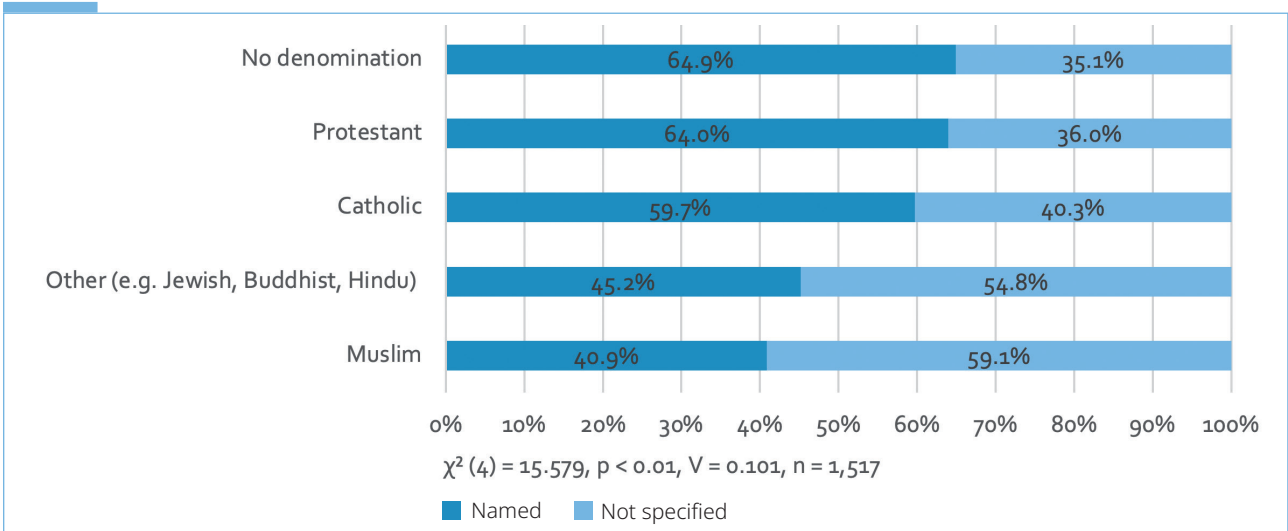


Figure 28: Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „shouting“, „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ and „no punishment“ according to religious affiliation in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **party preference**, it becomes clear that significantly more respondents without party preference have used emotional punishments such as „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ in their parenting (12.8%; $\chi^2(6) = 13.994$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.115$, $n = 1,056$) than respondents with a party preference for the CDU/CSU (11.2%), respondents with a party preference for the SPD (10.3%), for another party (8.3%), for the AfD (7.0%), for Die Linke (2.4%) and for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (1.1%). In the case of emotional disciplinary measures such as „shouting“ (Die Linke (40.5%), no preference (35.9%), Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (30.8%), CDU/CSU (29.6%), other party (26.3%), AfD (25.5%), SPD (25.3%)) and „locking the child in a room“ (Die Linke (14.3%), AfD (11.5%), CDU/CSU (11.2%), no party preference (10.3%), other party (9.6%), SPD (9.2%),

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (7.7%)), the picture is heterogeneous; however, these correlations are not significant (shouting: $\chi^2(6) = 7.371$, $p = 0.288$, $n = 1,056$; locking the child in a room: $\chi^2(6) = 2.190$, $p = 0.901$, $n = 1,056$). Similarly, there is no statistical correlation for not using emotional punishment in parenting ($\chi^2(6) = 4.192$, $p = 0.651$, $n = 1,056$; other party (64.1%), SPD (63.2%), AfD (63.1%), CDU/CSU (59.8%), no party preference (56.4%), Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (54.9%), Die Linke (54.8%)). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments used in the upbringing of children according to party preference (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 29. This shows that no consistent trend can be derived with regard to the use of different forms of emotional punishments according to party preference.

What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children? No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate

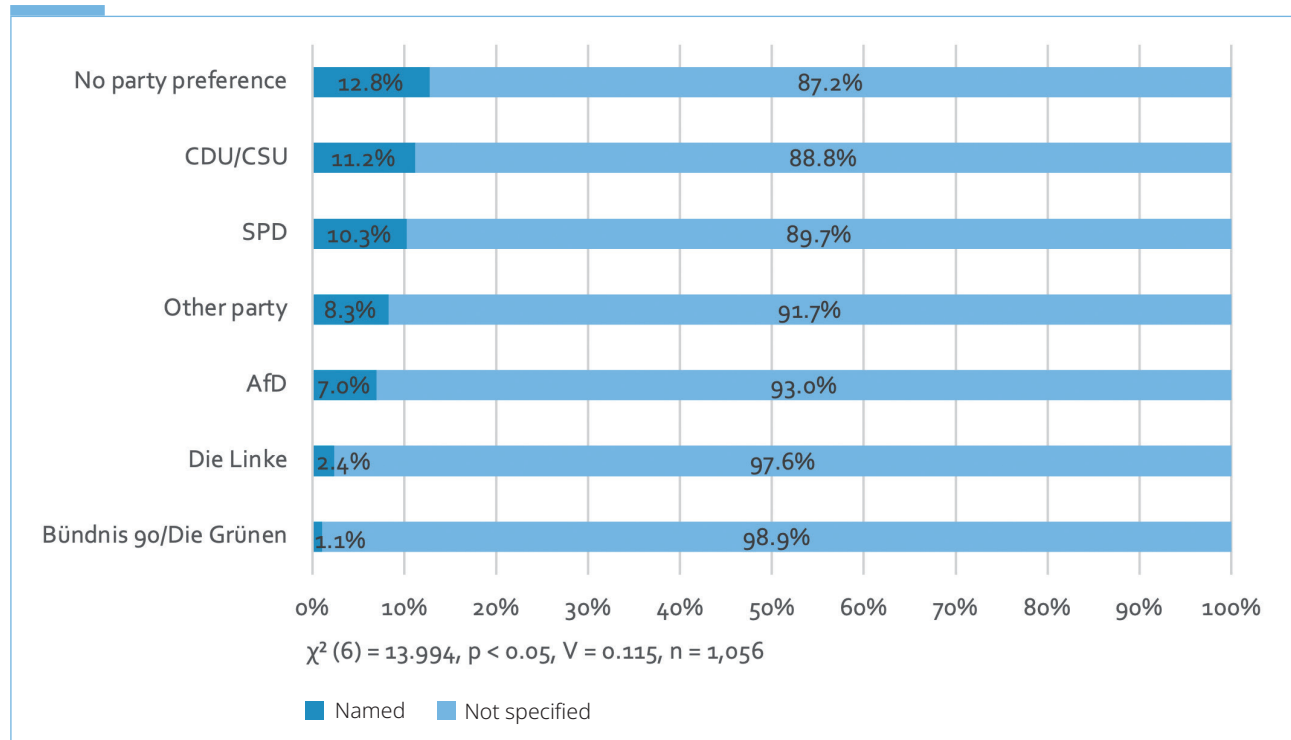


Figure 29: Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **highest school-leaving qualification**, it becomes clear that more respondents who left school without a qualification have used emotional punishment such as „shouting“ (39.5%; $\chi^2(3) = 11.715$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.088$, $n = 1,518$) in their parenting than respondents with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate (29.8%), with a university entrance qualification/A-levels (30.1%) or with an intermediate school leaving certificate (23.2%). In the case of the emotional disciplinary measures „locking the child in a room“ and „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“, respondents with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate showed the highest rate of usage (locking the child in a room: 14.9%; $\chi^2(3) = 17.078$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.106$, $n = 1,518$; no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate: 12.7%; $\chi^2(3) = 9.364$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.079$, $n = 1,518$), followed by respondents who left school without a qualification (locking the child in a room: 11.6%; no longer speaking to the child/refusal

to communicate: 9.3%), respondents with an intermediate school leaving certificate (locking the child in a room: 9.8%; no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate: 8.2%) and respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels (locking the child in a room: 6.1%; no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate: 7.0%). In contrast, more respondents with intermediate secondary education stated that they had not used emotional punishment in their parenting (66.0%; $\chi^2(3) = 9.911$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.081$, $n = 1,518$) than respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels (62.0%), respondents with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate (57.6%), or respondents without a school leaving certificate (53.5%). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments used in the upbringing of children according to highest school qualification (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 30.

What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children?

Locking the child in a room

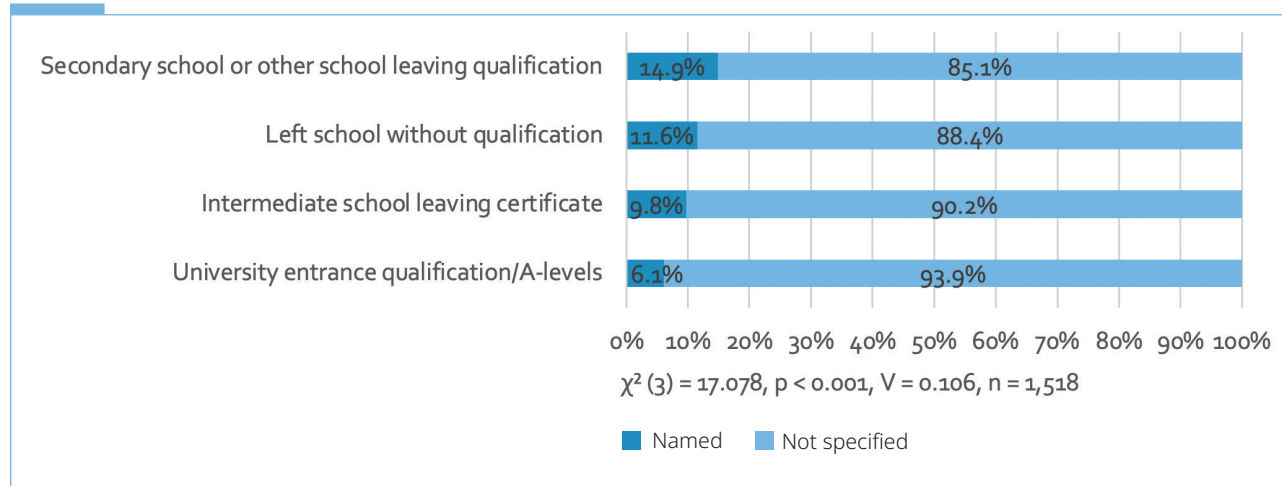


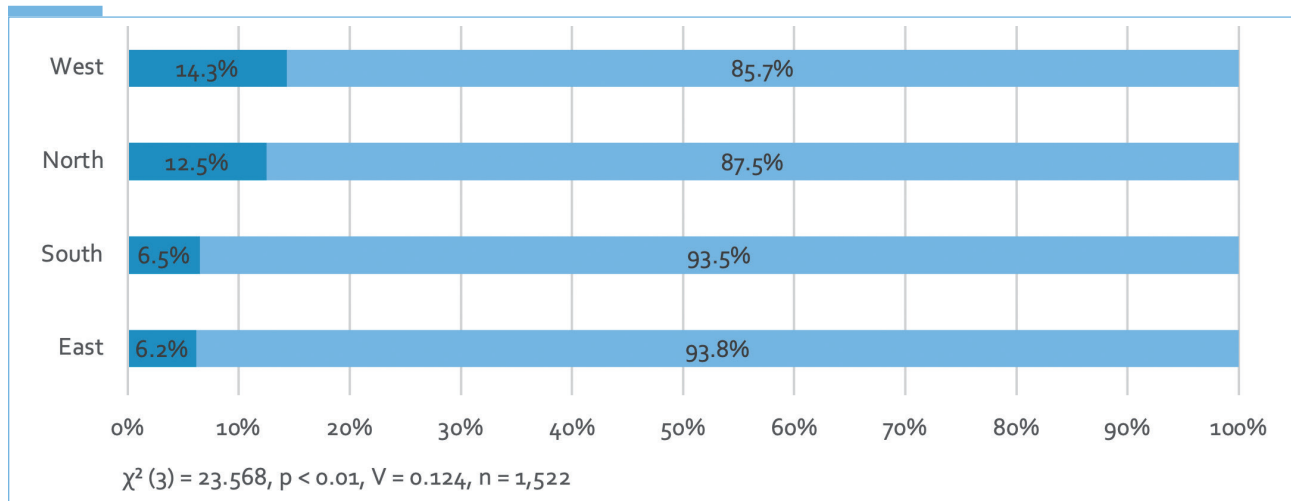
Figure 30: Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „locking the child in a room“ according to highest school leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **household income**, there is no significant statistical correlation with the use of the emotional punishment „locking the child in a room“ ($\chi^2(3) = 9.945$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.081$, $n = 1,512$). More respondents with a household income of $< 1,500$ euros (14.4%) reported using the punishment „locking the child in a room“ than respondents with a household income of 1,500 euros to 2,500 euros (12.1%), respondents with a household income of 2,500 euros to under 3,500 euros (11.6%) and respondents with a household income of 3,500 euros or more (7.6%). No significant correlations were found between household income and the use of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children, such as „shouting“ ($\chi^2(3) = 2.678$, $p = 0.444$, $n = 1,512$), „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ ($\chi^2(3) = 4.865$, $p = 0.182$, $n = 1,512$) and the non-use of emotional punishment ($\chi^2(3) = 5.852$, $p = 0.119$, $n = 1,512$). From a purely descriptive perspective, more respondents with a household income of $< 1,500$ euros (30.6%) had used „shouting“ as a punishment in parenting than respondents with a household income of 2,500 euros to $< 3,500$ euros (29.1%), respondents with a household income of $\geq 3,500$ euros (26.0%) and respondents with a household income of 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros (25.8%). When it comes to the use of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“, the following picture emerges from a descriptive perspective: more respondents with a household income of 1,500 euros to under 2,500 euros (11.4%) state this than respondents with a household income of 2,500 euros to under 3,500 euros (10.5%), respondents with a household income $< 1,500$ euros (9.5%) and respondents with a household income of $\geq 3,500$ euros (7.4%). Once again, the percentages differ among respondents who did not use emotional punishment in raising children: more respondents with a household income of $\geq 3,500$ euros (65.9%) stated this than respondents with a household income

of 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros (60.7%), respondents with a household income of 2,500 euros to less than 3,500 euros (59.8%) and respondents with a household income of less than 1,500 euros (58.1%).

With regard to the determinant **region**, it becomes clear that more respondents from northern Germany have used emotional punishments such as „locking the child in a room“ (15.4%; $\chi^2(3) = 8.822$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.076$, $n = 1,522$) in raising children than respondents from western (11.9%), eastern (9.8%) and southern Germany (8.2%). The use of the emotional punishment of „shouting“ in parenting is also slightly more common in northern Germany than in the rest of the country ($\chi^2(3) = 11.601$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.087$, $n = 1,522$; 35.1% North, 29.0% West, 26.6% South, 22.7% East). However, there is no statistically significant effect size for either of the two emotional punishments. In contrast, significantly more respondents from western Germany stated that they had used emotional punishments such as „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ (14.3%; $\chi^2(3) = 23.568$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.124$, $n = 1,522$) in the upbringing of children than respondents from northern (12.5%), southern (6.5%) and eastern Germany (6.2%). Respondents from eastern Germany show the highest rate of non-use of emotional punishment in parenting (67.3%; $\chi^2(3) = 24.523$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.127$, $n = 1,522$) compared to respondents from the south (64.3%), the west (61.3%) and respondents from northern Germany (47.6%). The statistical correlations between the emotional punishment „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ and the non-use of emotional punishments in parenting are classified as small. A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments used in parenting by region (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 31.

What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children? No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate



I did not use emotional punishments in my parenting

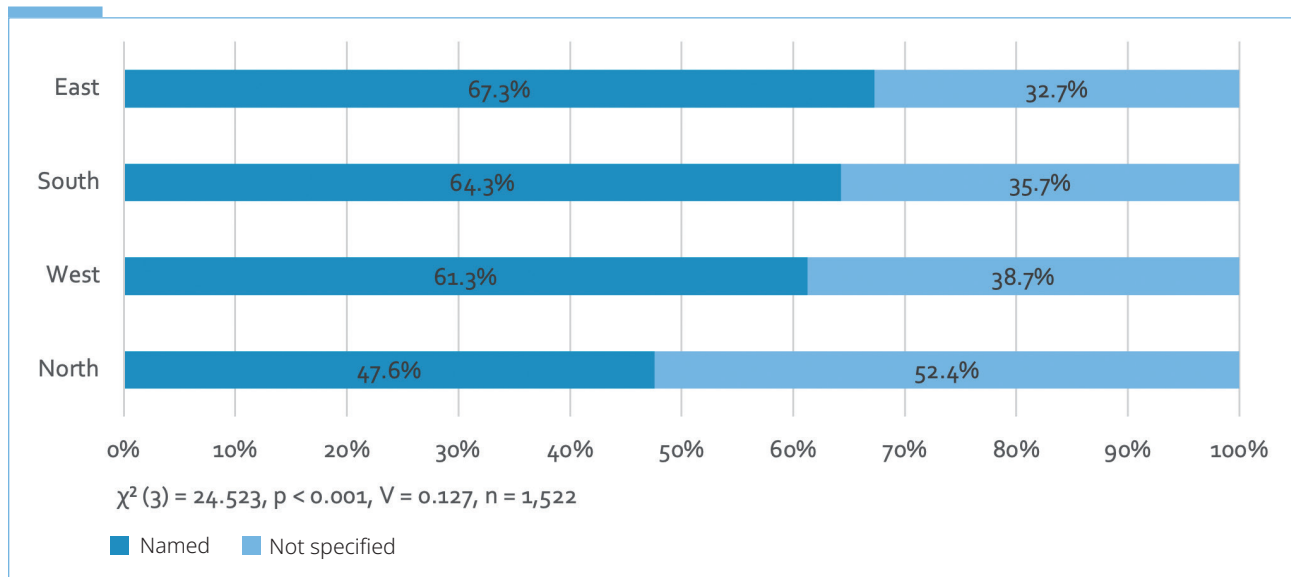


Figure 31: Use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in the form of „no longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate“ and „no punishment“ according to region in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants and the use of emotional punishments in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found only show minor effects. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: when focusing on the specific forms of emotional punishment surveyed (excluding the response „no emotional punishments used“), the rate of use of various forms of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children is highest among respondents who are not German citizens, are Muslim, have no party preference, have a secondary school or other school leaving certificate, and live in western Germany.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.2.4

Personally experienced emotional punishments in upbringing

When asked about emotional punishments experienced in respondents' own childhood, it becomes clear that „being shouted at“ is by far the most common form of emotional punishment experienced in the survey year 2024/2025, at 40.9%. This is followed by „being locked in a room“ (21.3%) and then „being blamed or humiliated“ (19.9%). Hurtful or insulting remarks (such as „stupid“, „lazy“ or „useless“) were experienced by 17.4% of respondents in their own upbringing, „no longer being spoken to/refusal to communicate“ by 16.6% of respondents, and 15.6% of respondents were belittled or disparaged in their childhood. Approximately 10-12% of respondents

have experienced the following forms of emotional punishment in their own upbringing: „having skipped meals“, „withdrawal of attention and affection“, „intimidation or threats (e.g. threats of physical violence, but not carried out)“ and „isolation from family or friends“. 5.2% of respondents stated that they had been left home alone during their upbringing without being told where their parent or guardian was going or when they would return, or that they had experienced another form of emotional punishment. Almost half of respondents (48.1%) stated that they had not experienced any emotional punishment during their upbringing. Figure 32 graphically illustrates the emotional punishments experienced by respondents during their own upbringing in the survey year 2024/2025.

What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing? (Multiple selections possible, n = 2,530)

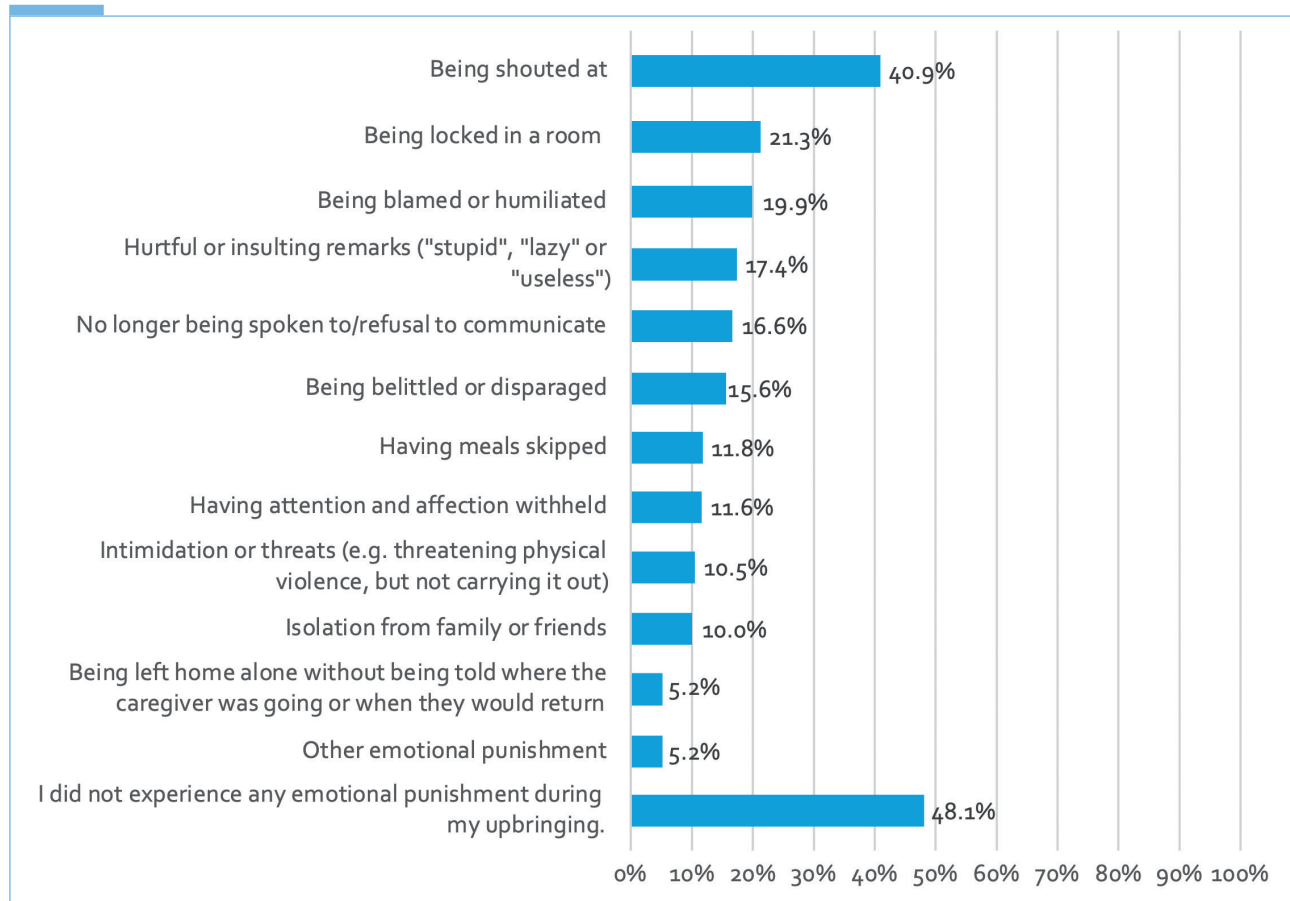


Figure 32: Personally experienced emotional punishment during upbringing in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, it can be seen that only about half of the respondents did not experience emotional punishment during their upbringing. Being shouted at is the most common form of emotional punishment experienced during upbringing.

3.2.4.1

Determinants of personally experienced emotional punishment in upbringing

In order to illustrate the possible determinants of emotional punishment experienced during one's own upbringing, the 2024/2025 survey was examined with regard to some of the socio-demographic and socio-economic variables listed in Table 1 (Chapter 2.3). For reasons of clarity and due to the length of this report, the three most frequently mentioned emotional punishments experienced (see Chapter 3.2.4) and the reported non-experience of emotional punishments were also used here.

With regard to the determinant of **gender**, it becomes clear that more men than women report having experienced emotional punishment in the form of „being shouted at“ (43.3% vs. 38.8%; $\chi^2(1) = 5.082$, $p < 0.05$, $\Phi = 0.045$, $n = 2,528$) in their upbringing. In addition, a higher proportion of women than men report not having experienced emotional punishment in their upbringing (51.0% vs. 44.8%; $\chi^2(1) = 9.641$, $p < 0.01$, $\Phi = 0.062$, $n = 2,528$). However, the correlations mentioned only have very small effect sizes (< 0.1), which is why no significant gender-specific statistical correlation can be established. Experiencing emotional punishment such as „being locked in a room“ (χ^2

(1) = 1.613, $p = 0.204$, $n = 2,528$) and „being blamed or humiliated“ ($\chi^2(1) = 1.585$, $p = 0.208$, $n = 2,528$) does not show any significant correlations with regard to gender.

With regard to the **age group** determinant, it becomes clear that significantly more older respondents than younger respondents have experienced emotional punishments such as „being locked in a room“ (61 years and older: 27.3% vs. 31-60 years: 20.3% vs. 16-30 years: 14.0%; $\chi^2(2) = 32.692$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.114$, $n = 2,530$). The same applies to „being blamed or humiliated“ (61 years and older: 23.4% vs. 31-60 years: 19.5% vs. 16-30 years: 15.3%; $\chi^2(2) = 12.342$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.070$, $n = 2,530$). Accordingly, a higher proportion of younger respondents compared to older respondents did not experience emotional punishment in their upbringing (61 years and older: 42.9% vs. 31-60 years: 48.8% vs. 16-30 years: 54.9%; $\chi^2(2) = 17.607$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.083$, $n = 2,530$). There are no significant correlations between the experience of emotional punishment in the form of „being shouted at“ and age groups ($\chi^2(1) = 4.494$, $p = 0.106$, $n = 2,530$). A detailed presentation of personally experienced emotional punishment in one's own upbringing by age group (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 33.

What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing? Being locked in a room

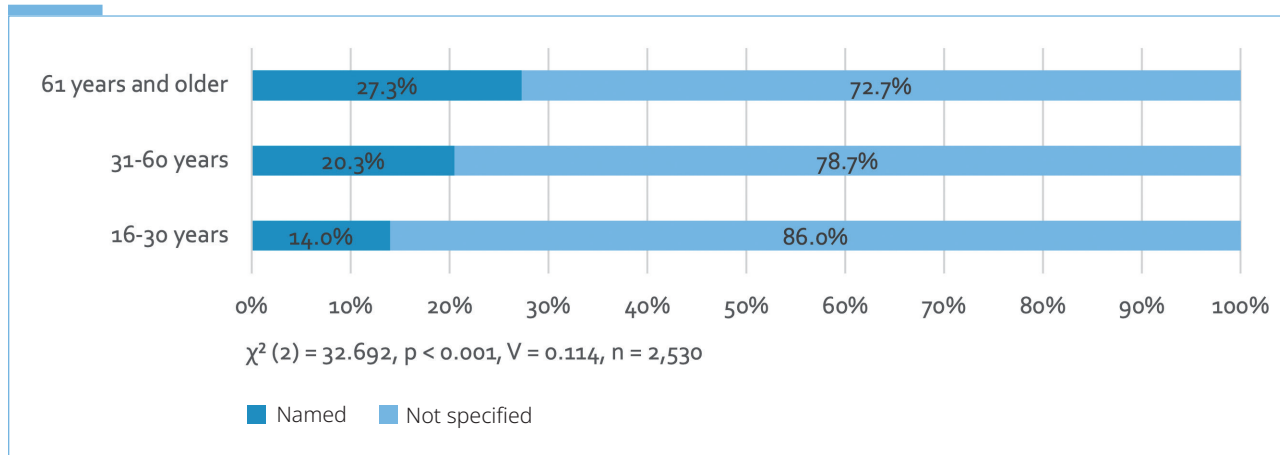


Figure 33: Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being locked in a room“ according to age group in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **nationality**, it becomes clear that more respondents with a nationality other than German (including dual nationality) experienced emotional punishments such as „being shouted at“ (51.5% vs. 40.3%; $\chi^2(2) = 6.895$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.052$, $n = 2,530$), „being locked in a room“ (32.3% vs. 20.7%; $\chi^2(2) = 9.900$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.063$, $n = 2,530$) and „being blamed or humiliated“ (33.1% vs. 19.2%; $\chi^2(2) = 17.590$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.083$, $n = 2,530$) in their own upbringing. In addition, a higher proportion of respondents with German citizenship (including dual citizenship) compared to respondents with other citizenship stated that they had not experienced emotional punishment in their upbringing (48.8% vs. 36.2%; $\chi^2(2) = 7.895$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.056$, $n = 2,530$). However, the correlations mentioned only have a very small effect size (< 0.1), which is why no statistically significant correlation can be established with regard to nationality.

With regard to the determinant of **religious or denominational affiliation**, it becomes clear that more respondents of Muslim religious affiliation than respondents of other religious or denominational affiliations (Catholic, Protestant, other, none) experienced emotional punishments such as „being shouted at“ (56.8%; $\chi^2(4) = 15.540$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.078$, $n = 2,523$) and „being locked in a room“ (34.1%; $\chi^2(2) = 9.717$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.062$, $n = 2,523$) in their upbringing. According to their own statements, 55.3% of respondents with another religious affiliation, 41.6% of respondents without religious affiliation, 39.9% of respondents with a Catholic religious affiliation and 38.6% of respondents with Protestant religious affiliation experienced being shouted at during their own upbringing. For „being locked in a room“, the breakdown is as follows: after respondents with a Muslim religious affiliation, 21.9% of respondents with a Protestant religious affiliation stated that they had experienced this form of emotional punishment in their upbringing, as did 20.5% of respondents with a Catholic religious affiliation, 20.2% of respondents without religious affiliation and 19.1% of respondents with other religious affiliations. More respondents with other religious affiliations (38.8%; $\chi^2(4) = 14.073$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.075$, $n = 2,523$) reported having experienced „being blamed or humiliated“ in their upbringing than respondents of Muslim religious affiliation (23.9%), respondents with no religious affiliation (21.4%), respondents with a Protestant religious affiliation (18.7%) and respondents with a Catholic religious affiliation (18.2%). More respondents with a Catholic religious affiliation (51.0%;

$\chi^2(4) = 12.757$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.071$, $n = 2,523$) stated that they had not experienced emotional punishment in their upbringing than respondents of Protestant denomination (48.6%), respondents without religious affiliation (47.0%), respondents with Muslim religious affiliation (36.4%) and respondents with other religious affiliations (31.9%). However, the significant correlations mentioned above only have a very small effect size (< 0.1), which is why no significant statistical correlation can be established with regard to religious affiliation or denomination.

With regard to the determinant of **party preference**, it becomes clear that significantly more respondents with a preference for the AfD experienced emotional punishment such as „being locked in their room“ during their upbringing (26.5%; $\chi^2(6) = 18.713$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.105$, $n = 1,694$) than respondents with a party preference for Die Linke (23.9%), respondents with a party preference for the CDU/CSU (23.4%), those without a party preference (21.7%), those with a party preference for another party (20.9%), those with a party preference for the SPD (15.4%) and those with a party preference for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (13.4%). When it comes to experiencing emotional punishment in the form of „being blamed or humiliated“, the picture is mixed: Respondents with a party preference for Die Linke show the highest rate (26.8%; $\chi^2(6) = 12.929$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.087$, $n = 1,694$), followed by respondents with a party preference for the AfD (25.7%), those with no party preference (23.2%), those with a preference for another party (22.9%), those with a party preference for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (20.3%), those with a party preference for the CDU/CSU (19.3%) and those with a party preference for the SPD (14.7%). In terms of experiencing the emotional punishment of „being shouted at“ ($\chi^2(6) = 8.424$, $p = 0.209$, $n = 1,694$; Die Linke (49.3%), no preference (48.6%), Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (44.1%), AfD (43.1%), other party preference (40.2%), CDU/CSU (38.7%), SPD (38.2%)) and „I did not experience any emotional punishment in my upbringing“ ($\chi^2(6) = 8.314$, $p = 0.216$, $n = 1,694$; SPD (51.7%), other party preference (50.6%), CDU/CSU (49.4%), Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (45.5%), AfD (43.9%), no preference (42.8%), Die Linke (39.4%)), as with „being blamed or humiliated“, no statistically significant correlations could be established with regard to party preference. A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments experienced in one's own upbringing according to party preference (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 34.

What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing? Being locked in a room

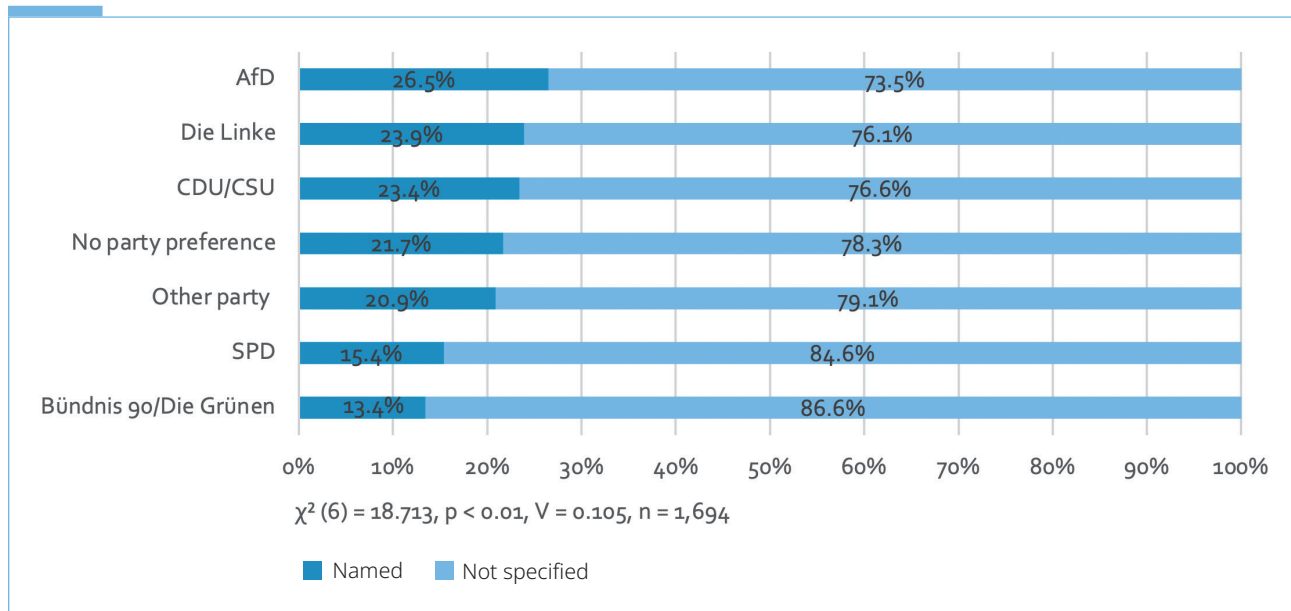
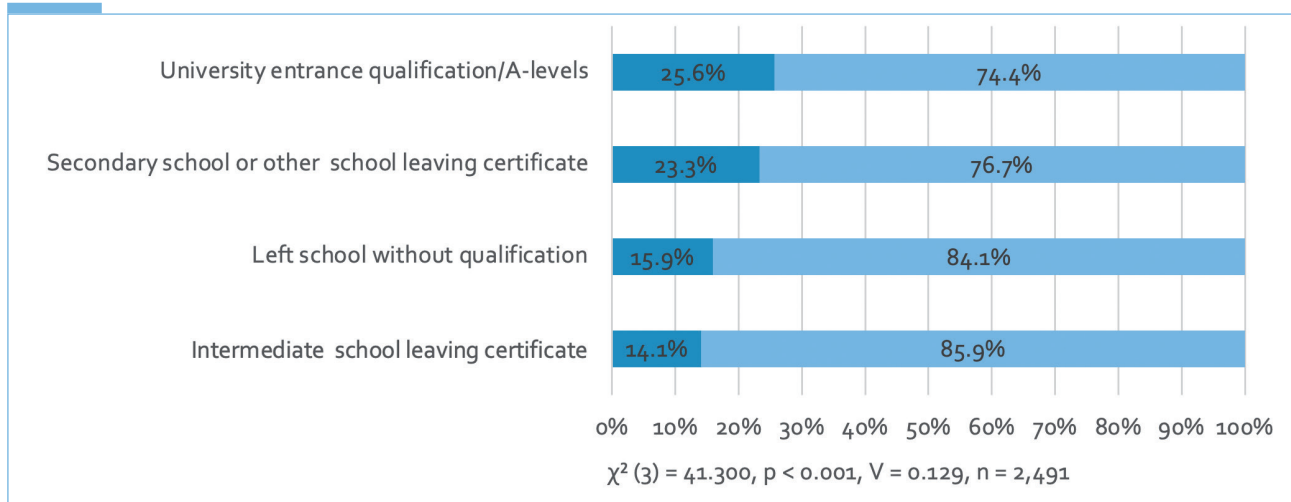


Figure 34: Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being locked in a room“ according to party preference in the survey year 2024/2025

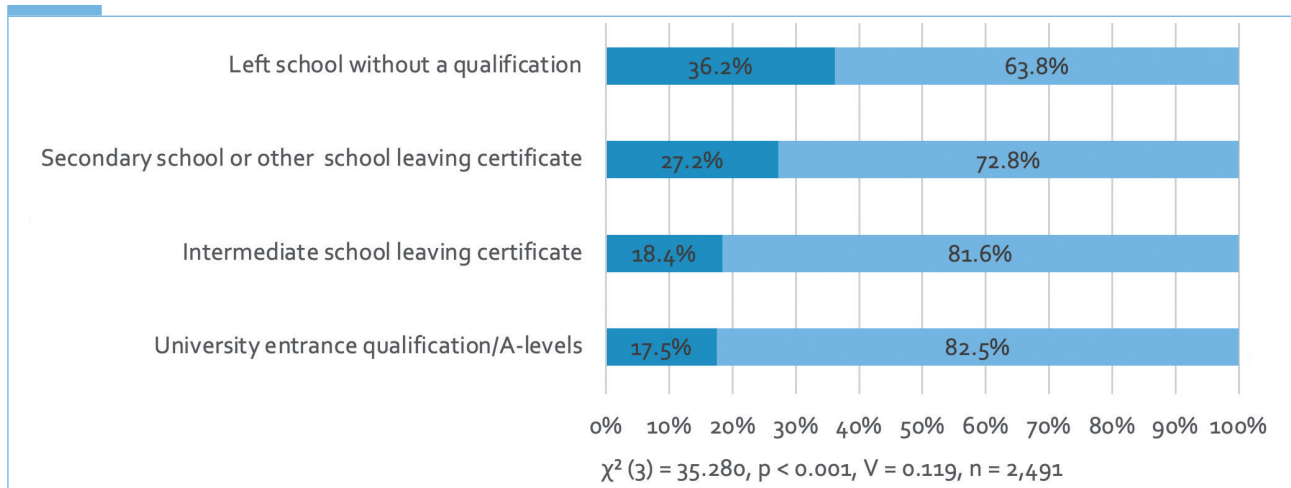
With regard to the determinant of **highest school-leaving qualification**, it becomes clear that significantly more respondents who left school without a qualification experienced emotional punishments such as „being locked in a room“ (36.2%; $\chi^2 (3) = 35.280, p < 0.001, V = 0.119, n = 2,491$) than respondents with a higher school leaving certificate (secondary school or other school leaving certificate: 27.2%; intermediate school leaving certificate: 18.4%; university entrance qualification/A-levels: 17.5%). A similar trend can also be seen in emotional punishments such as „being shouted at“ (left school without a qualification: 52.2%; $\chi^2 (3) = 17.837, p < 0.001, V = 0.085, n = 2,491$; secondary school or other school leaving certificate: 45.0%, university entrance qualification/A-levels: 41.7%, intermediate school leaving certificate: 36.4%). In contrast, more respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels experienced „being blamed or humiliated“ (25.6%; $\chi^2 (3) = 41.300, p < 0.001, V = 0.129, n = 2,491$) in their upbringing

than respondents with a lower or no school leaving certificate (secondary school or other school leaving certificate: 23.3%; left school without a qualification: 15.9%; intermediate school leaving certificate: 14.1%). Significantly more respondents with an intermediate school leaving certificate (53.7%; $\chi^2 (3) = 25.838, p < 0.001, V = 0.102, n = 2,491$) did not experienced any emotional punishment during their upbringing than respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels (46.2%), respondents with a secondary school or other school leaving certificate (43.7%) and respondents who left school without a qualification (33.3%). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments experienced in one's own upbringing according to the highest school qualification (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 35. This shows that no consistent trend can be derived with regard to one's own experience of various forms of emotional punishment depending on the highest school qualification.

What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing? Being blamed or humiliated



Being locked in a room



I did not experience any emotional punishment during my upbringing

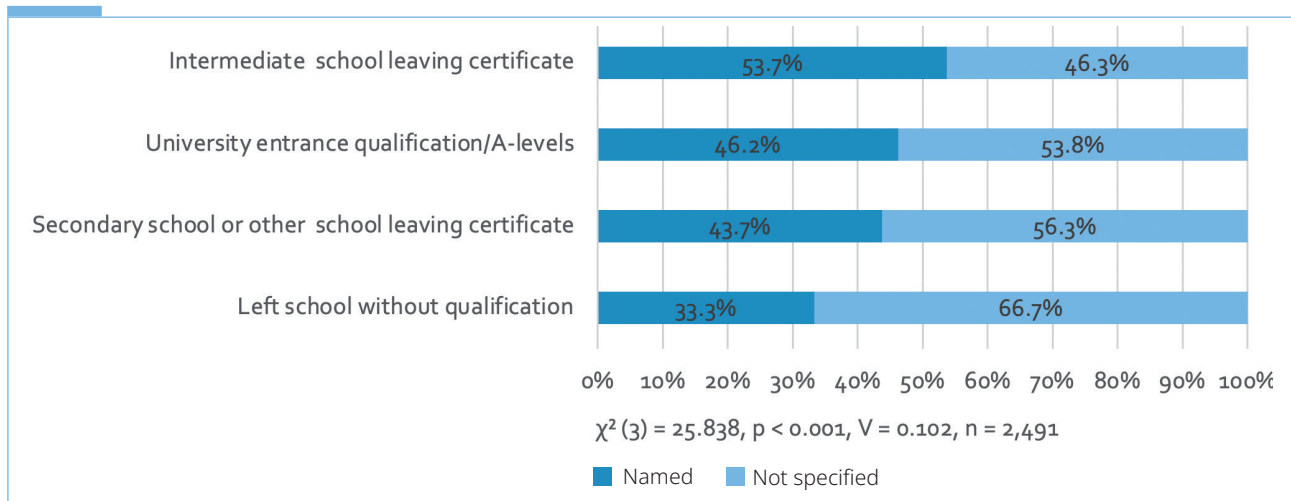


Figure 35: Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being blamed or humiliated“, „being locked in a room“, and non-experiencing emotional punishment during one's own upbringing according to highest school leaving qualification in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant of **household income**, it can be seen that more respondents with a household income of less than 1,500 euros experienced emotional punishment in the form of „being shouted at“ (46.7%; $\chi^2(3) = 12.809$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.071$, $n = 2,512$), „being locked in a room“ (26.2%; $\chi^2(3) = 17.674$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.084$, $n = 2,512$) and „being blamed or humiliated“ (29.4%; $\chi^2(3) = 27.480$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.105$, $n = 2,512$) in their own upbringing. However, only the experience of the emotional punishment „being blamed or humiliated“ shows a statistically significant correlation with a small effect size. For „being shouted at“, the rate is distributed as follows: 2,500 euros to less than 3,500 euros (44.4%), $\geq 3,500$ euros (38.9%), 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros (37.7%); for „being locked in a room“: 2,500 euros to under 3,500 euros (23.6%), 1,500 to under 2,500

euros (22.3%), $\geq 3,500$ euros (16.9%); and for „being blamed or humiliated“: 2,500 euros to less than 3,500 euros (19.4%), $\geq 3,500$ euros (18.1%), 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros (17.3%). Respondents with a household income of 1,500 euros to less than 2,500 euros and a household income of $\geq 3,500$ euros show the highest rate of not experiencing emotional punishment in their own upbringing (50.6% in each case; $\chi^2(3) = 12.084$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.069$, $n = 2,512$), followed by individuals with a household income of 2,500 euros to less than 3,500 euros (45.8%) and less than 1,500 euros (41.5%). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments experienced in one's own upbringing according to household income (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 36.

What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing?

Being blamed or humiliated

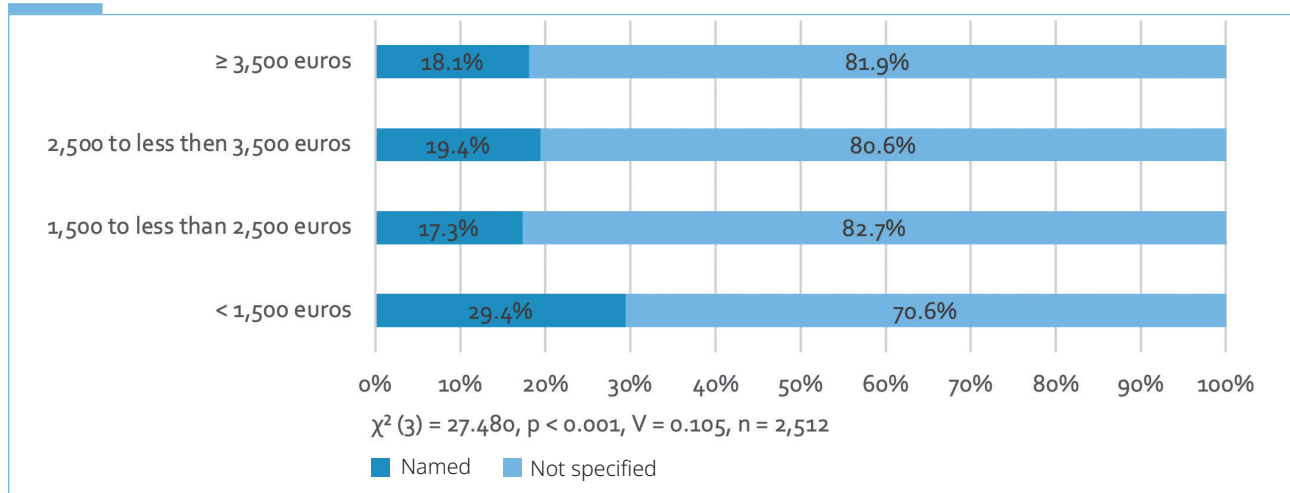
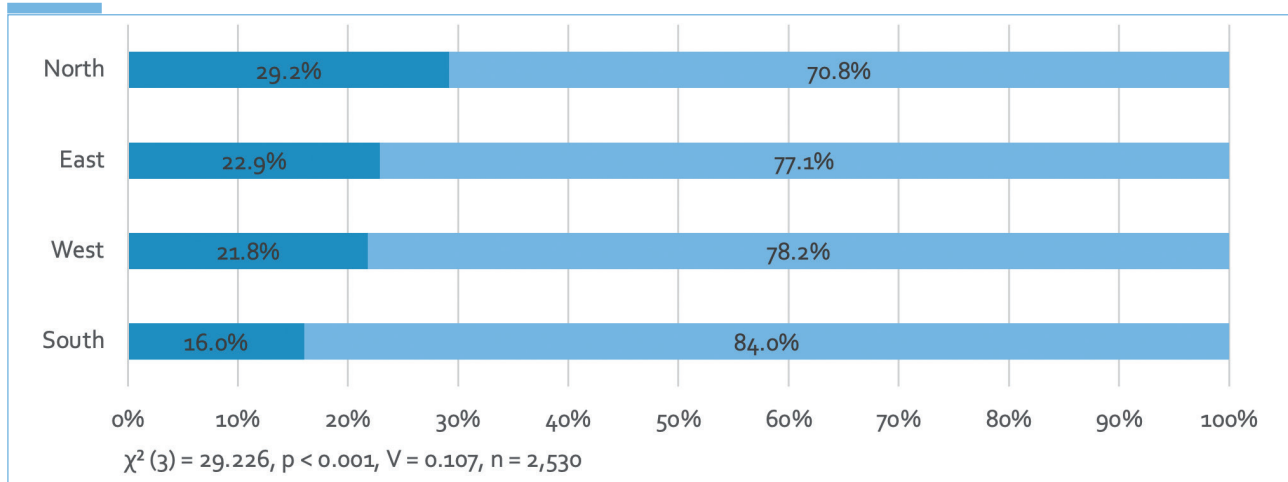


Figure 36: Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being blamed or humiliated“ according to household income in the survey year 2024/2025

With regard to the determinant **region**, it becomes clear that more respondents from northern Germany experienced emotional punishments such as „being shouted at“ (46.7%; $\chi^2(3) = 12.954$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.072$, $n = 2,530$) and „being locked in a room“ (29.2%; $\chi^2(3) = 29.226$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.107$, $n = 2,530$) in their upbringing than respondents from the east (shouting: 42.9%; locked in a room: 22.9%), the west (shouting: 41.0%; locked in a room: 21.8%) and the south of Germany (shouting: 36.5%; locked in a room: 16.0%). With regard to „being locked in a room“, these regional differences are statistically significant with a small effect size. In contrast, significantly more respondents from southern Germany stated that they had not experien-

ced emotional punishment in their upbringing (54.7%; $\chi^2(3) = 26.798$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.103$, $n = 2,530$) than respondents from western Germany (47.0%), respondents from eastern Germany (46.2%) and respondents from northern Germany (39.4%). The correlation between experiencing the emotional punishment of „being blamed or humiliated“ in one's own upbringing and region did not prove to be significant ($\chi^2(3) = 3.578$, $p = 0.311$, $n = 2,530$; 22.7% North, 20.3% East, 20.0% South, 18.1% West). A detailed presentation of the emotional punishments experienced in one's own upbringing by region (significant correlations and notable effect sizes (≥ 0.1)) can be found in Figure 37.

What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing? Being locked in a room



I did not experience any emotional punishment during my upbringing

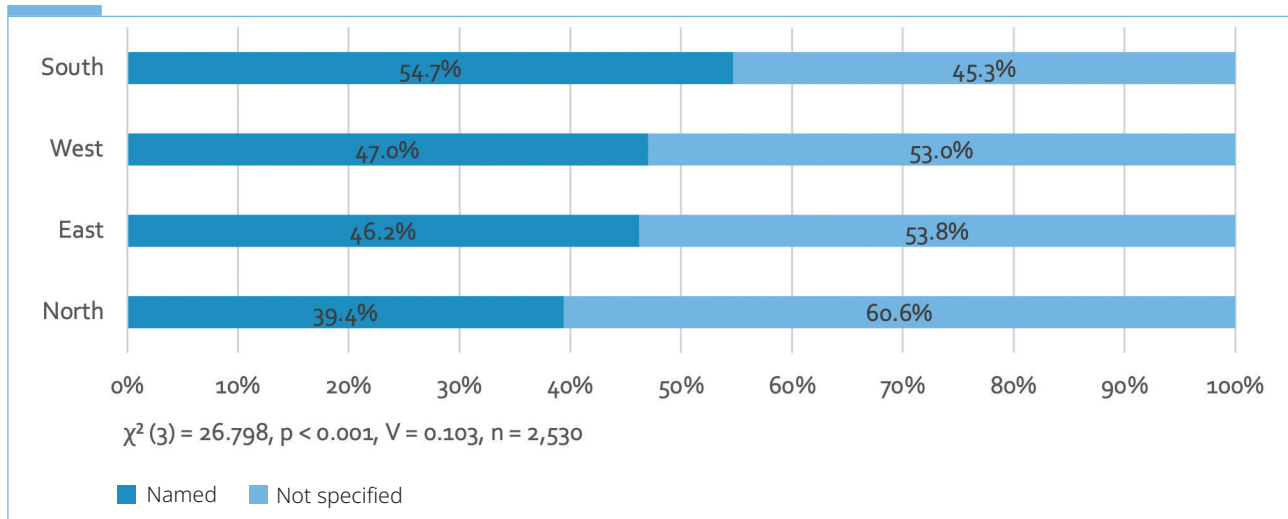


Figure 37: Personally experienced emotional punishment during one's own upbringing in the form of „being locked in a room“ and non-experiencing emotional punishment during one's own upbringing according to region in the survey year 2024/2025

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants and personally experienced emotional punishments in childhood.

The correlations found only show minor effects. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: when looking at the specific forms of emotional punishment asked about (excluding the answer „no emotional punishment experienced“), more respondents with higher age (especially 61 years and older), party preference for the AfD, a higher school leaving qualification (university entrance qualification/A-levels) or no school leaving certificate, a lower household income (especially < 1,500 euros) and residence in a northern German region experienced various forms of emotional punishment in their own upbringing.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT IN UPBRINGING AND THE PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF PARENTING METHODS

3.3.1

Correlation between emotional punishment not experienced vs. experienced emotional punishment and approval of emotional punishment vs. rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

Within the scope of the personally experienced parenting methods, a total of twelve different types of emotional punishment experienced in childhood

(see Chapter 3.2.2) were taken into account. Figure 38 illustrates the correlation between personally experienced emotional punishment and the perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in upbringing. In this regard, the group that did not experience emotional punishment in childhood ($n = 1,218$, 48.6%) is compared with the group that experienced at least one of these emotional punishments in childhood ($n = 1,288$, 51.4%).

Connection between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment

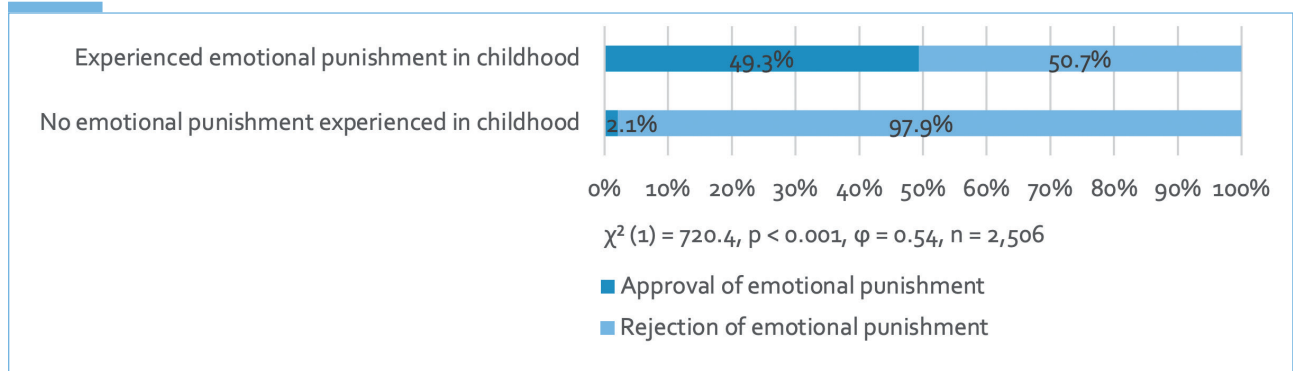


Figure 38: Relationship between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and perceived appropriateness of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

With a share of approximately 98%, the majority of respondents who did not report experiencing emotional punishment in childhood reject such measures of sanctioning in parenting. Among those who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood, however, only about half have a negative attitude towards emotional punishment. Conversely, this means that compared to the group that grew up without

emotional punishment in childhood, the group that grew up with emotional punishment in childhood considers emotional punishment in the upbringing of children to be appropriate to a significantly higher degree. This correlation is statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 720.4, p < 0.001, n = 2,506$) and has a **large effect size** ($\phi = 0.54$).

In summary, emotional punishment is rejected by the vast majority of participants who were not themselves affected by it in childhood. Conversely, about half of those who experienced emotional punishment in childhood approve of such punishment in upbringing. Based on the results, it can be concluded that emotional punishment experienced in childhood is associated with a significantly higher approval rate for emotional punishment.

3.3.2

Correlation between not experienced emotional punishment vs. experienced emotional punishment and approval of corporal punishment vs. rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

Figure 39 illustrates the correlation between experienced emotional punishment in childhood and the perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in upbringing.

Connection between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment

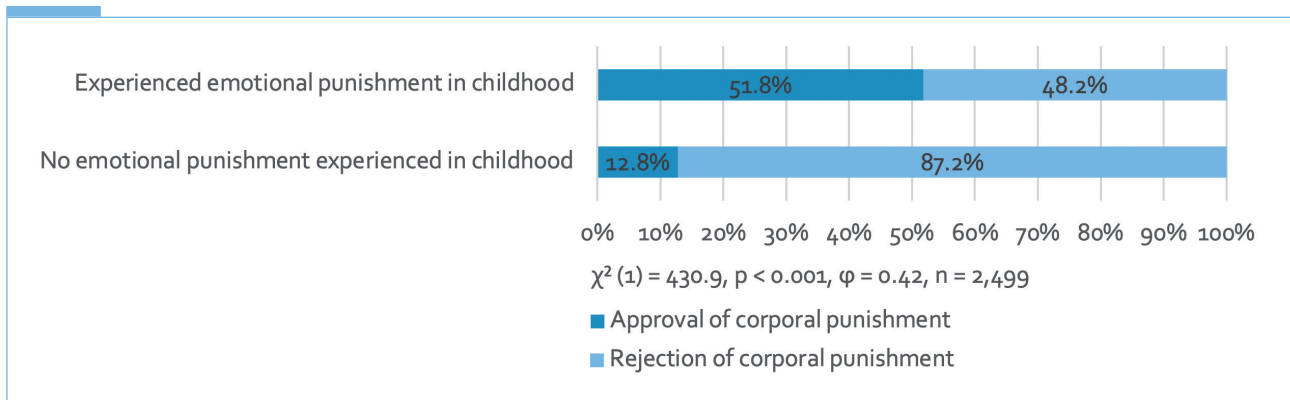


Figure 39: Correlation between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

Similar to the results in section 3.3.1, corporal punishment in upbringing is rejected by a clear majority of approximately 87% of respondents who did not experience emotional punishment in childhood ($n = 1,212$, 48.5%), while the rejection of corporal punishment is much lower among those who experienced emotional punishment in childhood ($n = 1,287$, 51.5%), at a rate of approximately 48%. Conversely, this means that

compared to the group that grew up without emotional punishment in childhood, the group that grew up with emotional punishment in childhood considers corporal punishment to be appropriate in the upbringing of children to a significantly higher degree. This correlation is statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 430.9$, $p < 0.001$, $n = 2,499$) and has a **medium effect size** ($\phi = 0.42$).

In summary, the results show that emotional punishment experienced in childhood is also associated with a significantly higher rate of approval of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

3.3.3

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personally experienced emotional punishment and rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood, a higher proportion of females than males reject emotional punishment as a parenting method (55% vs. 46%). However, due to the very small effect size (< 0.1), no statistically significant **gender-specific** correlation can be established (exact test according to Fisher = 10.5, $p < 0.01$, $\phi = 0.09$, $n = 1,288$).

Furthermore, categorised by **age group** within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood (rejection of emotional punishment: 16-30 years: 54%; 31-60 years: 51%; 61 years and older:

49%), there were no statistically significant differences in terms of rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children ($\chi^2(2) = 1.3$, $p = 0.52$, $n = 1,288$).

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood, approximately half of the respondents with a German citizenship (including 0.3% with self-reported dual citizenship) expressed rejection of such methods in upbringing, while the proportion of people without a German citizenship was lower, at just under a third. However, it should be noted that the statistically significant correlation between **nationality** and rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children within the group who experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood only has a small effect size (exact test according to Fisher = 13.6, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.10$, $n = 1,288$). The results are shown in Figure 40.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

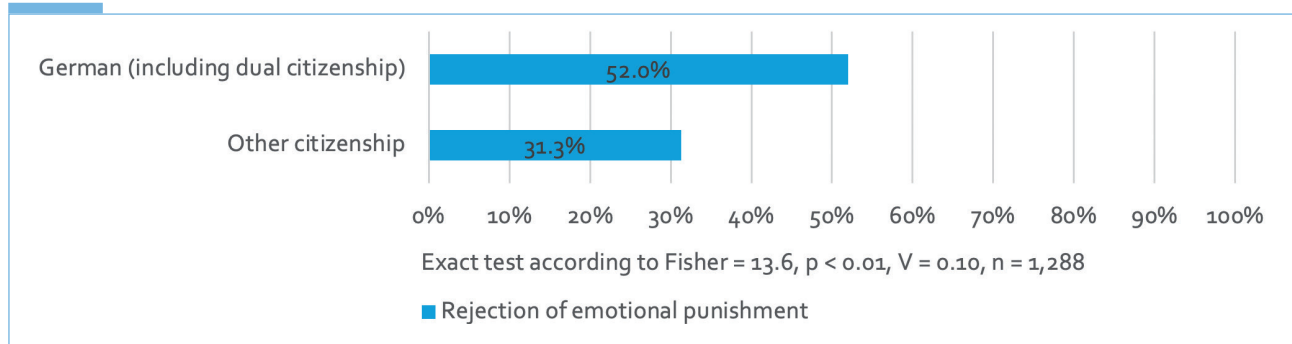


Figure 40: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to nationality among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

As illustrated in Figure 41, there is also a weak but significant correlation between **religious or denominational affiliation** and the rejection of emotional punishment within the group who experienced it themselves in childhood ($\chi^2(4) = 19.6$, $p < 0.001$, $V =$

0.12, $n = 1,286$). A significantly higher proportion of respondents who do not belong to any denomination reject emotional punishment compared to respondents with a religious or denominational affiliation.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

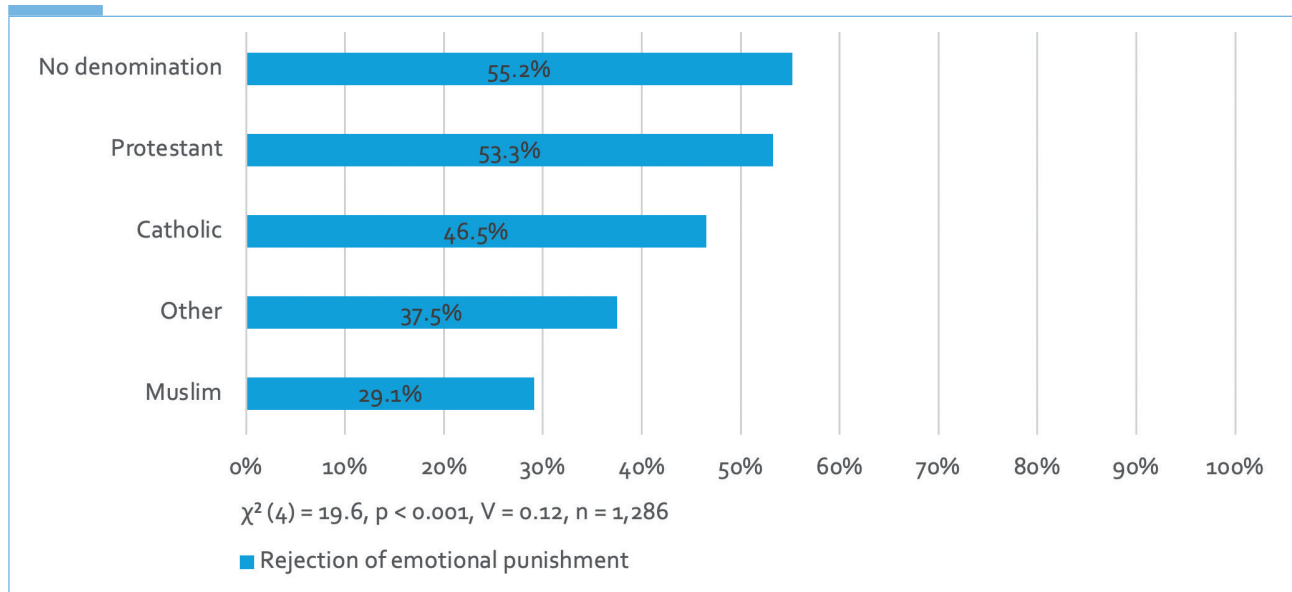


Figure 41: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to religious or denominational affiliation among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

In relation to **political party preference**, the results show that supporters of Die Linke (67%) have the significantly highest rejection rates within the group who themselves experienced emotional punishment in

their own childhood ($\chi^2(6) = 15.5, p < 0.05, V = 0.13, n = 867$) (see Figure 42), although the effect size must be interpreted as small.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

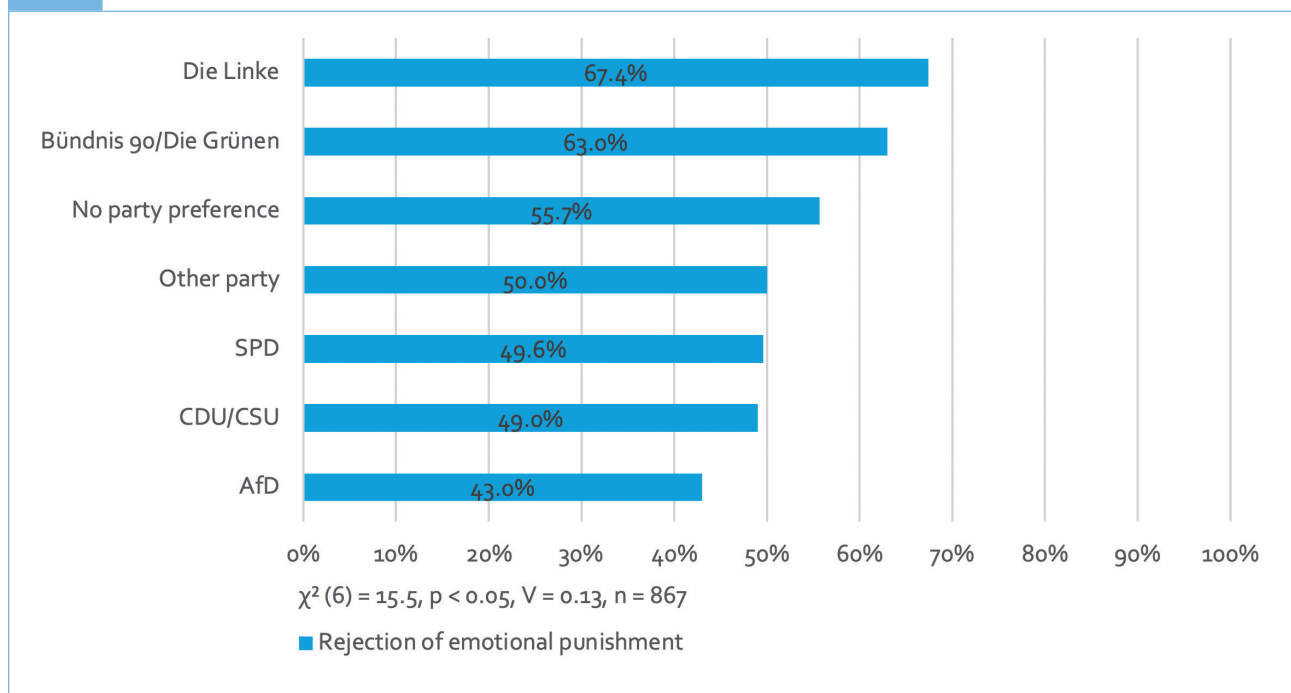


Figure 42: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to political party preference among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

The rejection of emotional punishment within the group who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood is significantly and positively correlated with the **highest school-leaving qualification** ($\chi^2(3) = 26.2, p < 0.001, n = 1,266$), but this only has a small effect size ($V = 0.14$). This means that a significantly higher proportion of respondents with a higher school qualification (university entrance qualification/A-levels) reject emotional punishment in the upbringing of children compared to respondents with a lower school qualification. The results are shown in Figure 43.

With regard to **household income** (rejection of emotional punishment: $\leq 1,500$ euros: 53%; 1,500 to under 2,500 euros: 45%; 2,500 to under 3,500 euros: 51%; $\geq 3,500$ euros: 54%), no statistically significant correlation could be established within the group that had experienced emotional punishment in childhood ($\chi^2(3) = 6.8, p = 0.08, n = 1,282$). However, purely descriptively, it can also be seen here that a higher proportion of those in the highest defined income category ($\geq 3,500$ euros) reject this than in the other, lower income categories.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

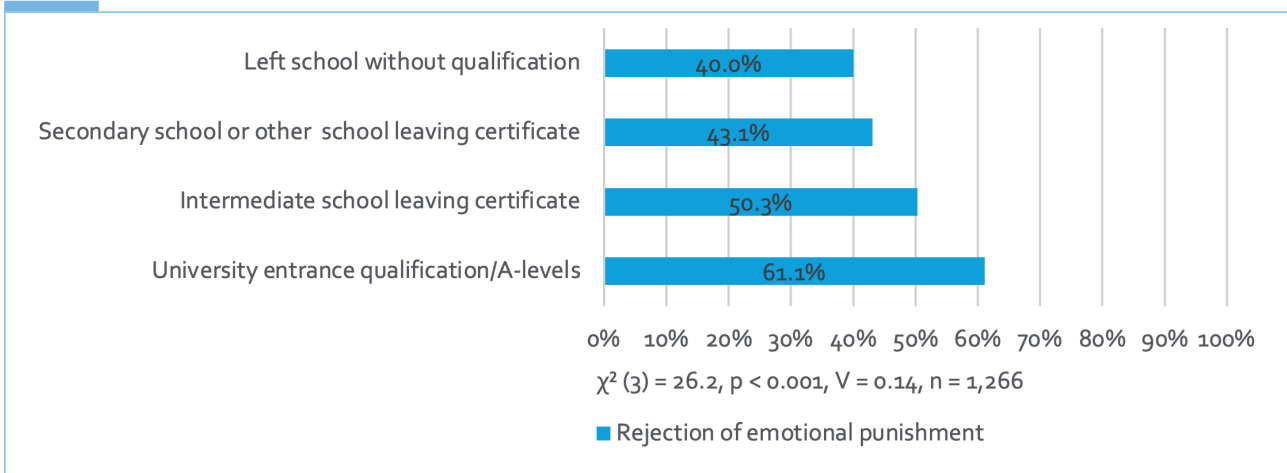


Figure 43: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of emotional punishment in upbringing according to highest school-leaving qualification among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood, respondents from the former new federal states show a higher rejection rate for such sanctions in upbringing than respondents from the old federal states, purely descriptively. However, no

statistical correlation could be established depending on the **region** (rejection of emotional punishment: South: 48%; West: 51%; East: 56%; North: 47%; $\chi^2 (3) = 5.1, p = 0.16, n = 1,288$).

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to the socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants in the relationship between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and its rejection in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found only have a low effect size. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: Within the group of respondents who experienced emotional punishment in their childhood, respondents with a higher school leaving qualification (university entrance qualification/A-levels), German (including dual) citizenship, no religious affiliation and a preference for Die Linke show a higher rejection rate of emotional punishment in parenting.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.3.4

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personal experience of emotional punishment and rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

As explained in section 3.3.2, emotional punishment in one's own childhood correlates with a significant increase in approval of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children. The following section discusses the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents who have experienced

emotional punishment themselves but reject corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood, a significantly higher proportion of **women** than men reject corporal punishment in the upbringing of children (53% vs. 43%), but the effect size is small (exact test according to Fisher = 14.9, $p < 0.001$, $\phi = 0.11$, $n = 1,287$). The results are presented in Figure 44.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

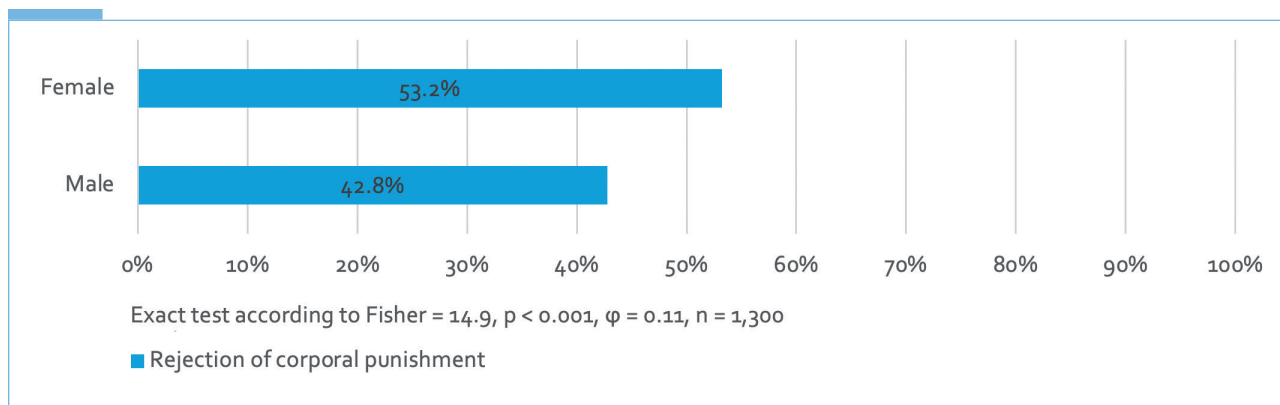


Figure 44: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to gender among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Unlike the rejection of emotional punishment, there is a statistically significant negative correlation between the rejection of corporal punishment in upbringing and **age groups**: Accordingly, the proportion of rejection of corporal punishment within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood decreases with a higher age category ($\chi^2(2) = 52.7$, $p < 0.001$, $n = 1,287$). This correlation has a small effect size ($V = 0.20$). Figure 45 presents the results.

However, no significant statistical correlation could be found between **nationality** and the rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children within the group that had experienced emotional punishment in childhood (rejection of corporal punishment: German (including dual citizenship): 49%; other citizenship: 32%; exact test according to Fisher = 10.6, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.09$, $n = 1,287$).

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

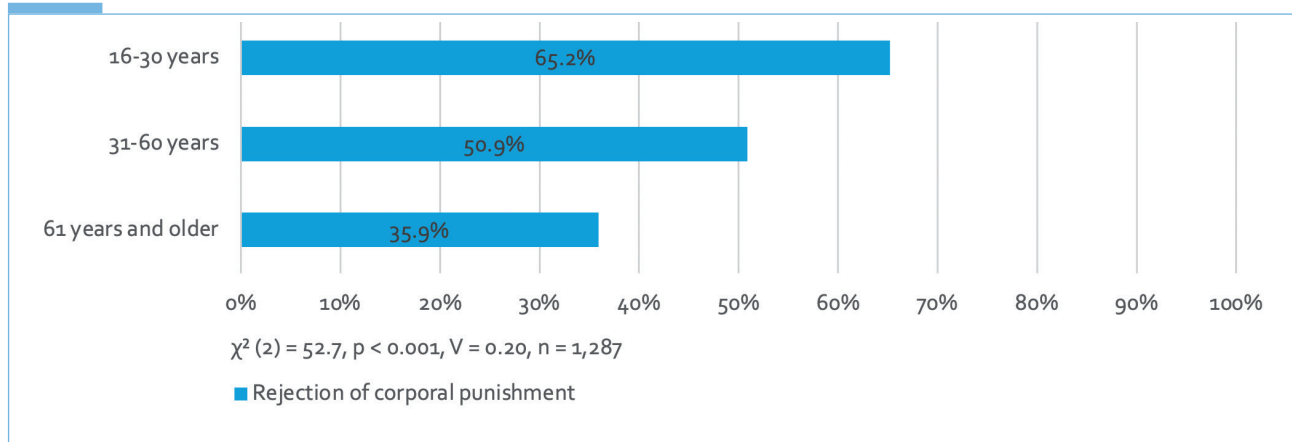


Figure 45: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to age group among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Similar to the results on the rejection of emotional punishment in upbringing, there is also a weak but statistically significant correlation between the rejection of corporal punishment and **religious or denominational affiliation** ($\chi^2 (4) = 28.4, p < 0.001, V = 0.15, n$

$= 1,285$). Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, a significantly higher proportion of people without religious affiliation reject corporal punishment (see Figure 46).

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

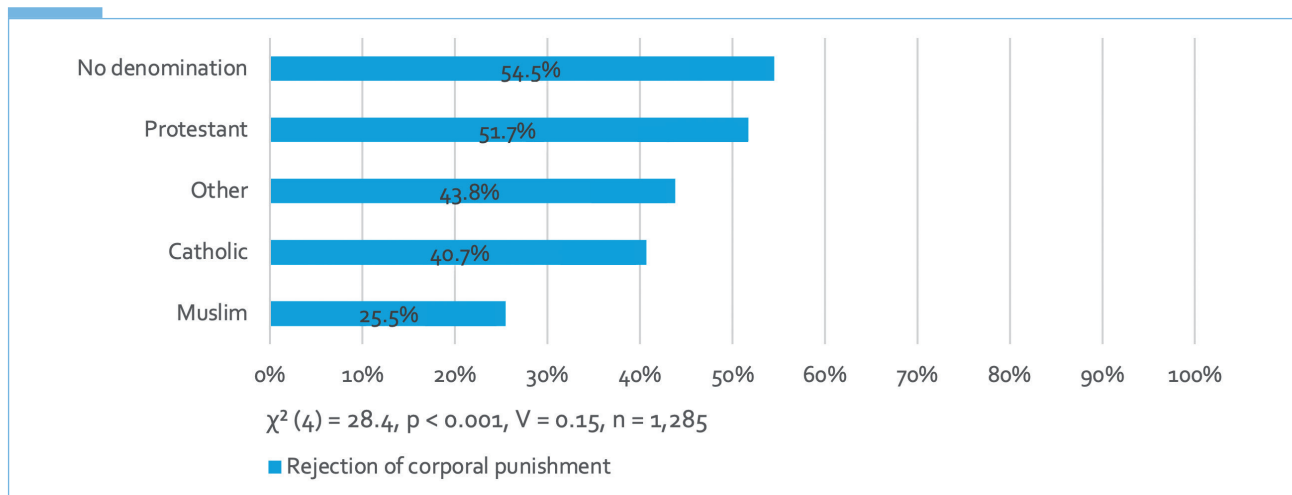


Figure 46: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to religious or denominational affiliation among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

In addition, **political party preferences** also appear to play a role ($\chi^2 (6) = 45.0, p < 0.001, V = 0.23, n = 867$), as shown in Figure 47. Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, it

can be seen that respondents with a party preference for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen are more likely to reject corporal punishment in upbringing.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

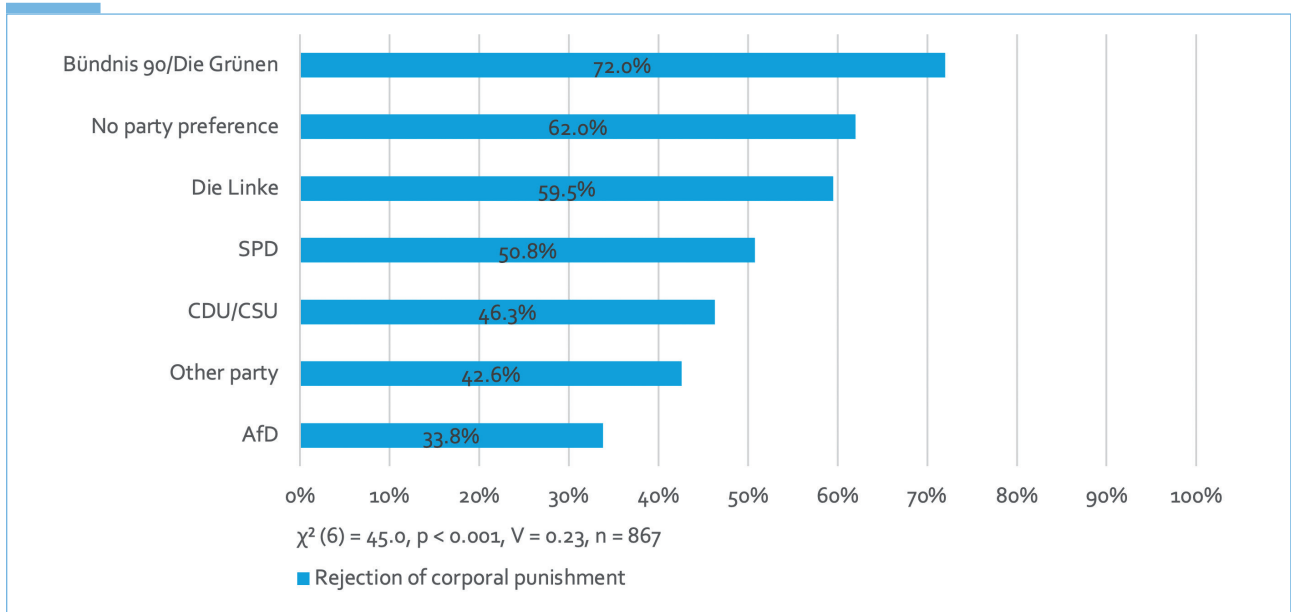


Figure 47: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to political party preference among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Furthermore, there is a statistically significant positive correlation between the **highest school-leaving qualification** and the rejection of corporal punishment within the group who themselves experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood ($\chi^2 (3) = 71.5, p < 0.001, n = 1,265$). However, the effect size

is small ($V = 0.24$) (see Figure 48). A higher proportion of respondents with a university entrance qualification/A-levels reject corporal punishment in the upbringing of children than respondents with a lower school-leaving qualification.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

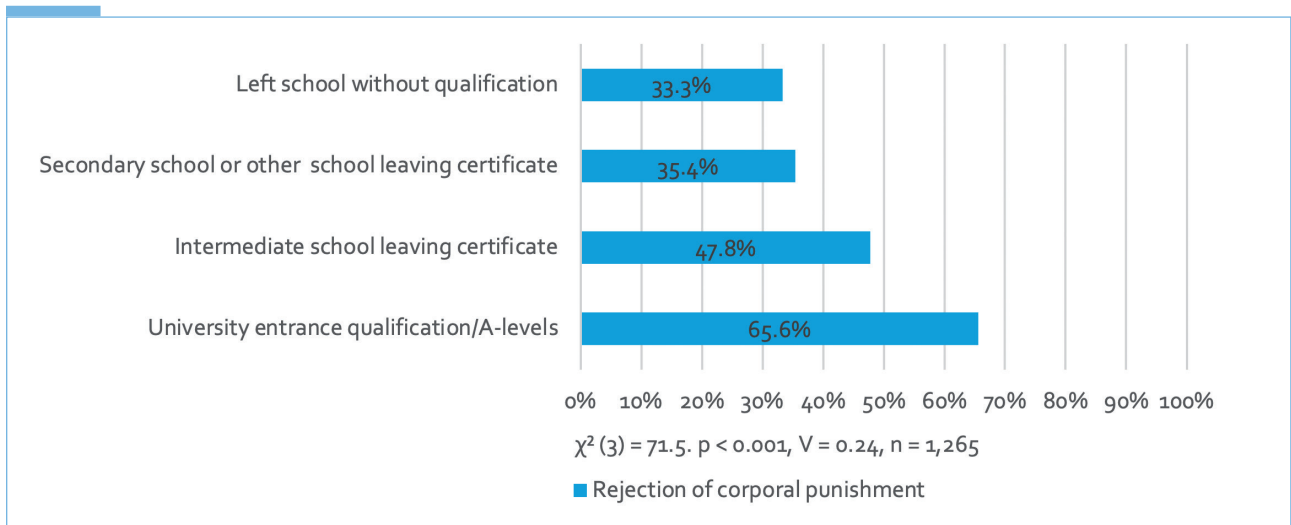


Figure 48: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to the highest school-leaving qualification among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

A statistically significant correlation between **household income** and rejection of corporal punishment was also found within the group who themselves experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood ($\chi^2(3) = 20.5, p < 0.001, V = 0.13, n = 1,281$) (see

Figure 49). It appears that respondents with a household income equal to or higher than 3,500 euros are more likely to reject corporal punishment in the upbringing of children than respondents with a lower household income.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment during their upbringing

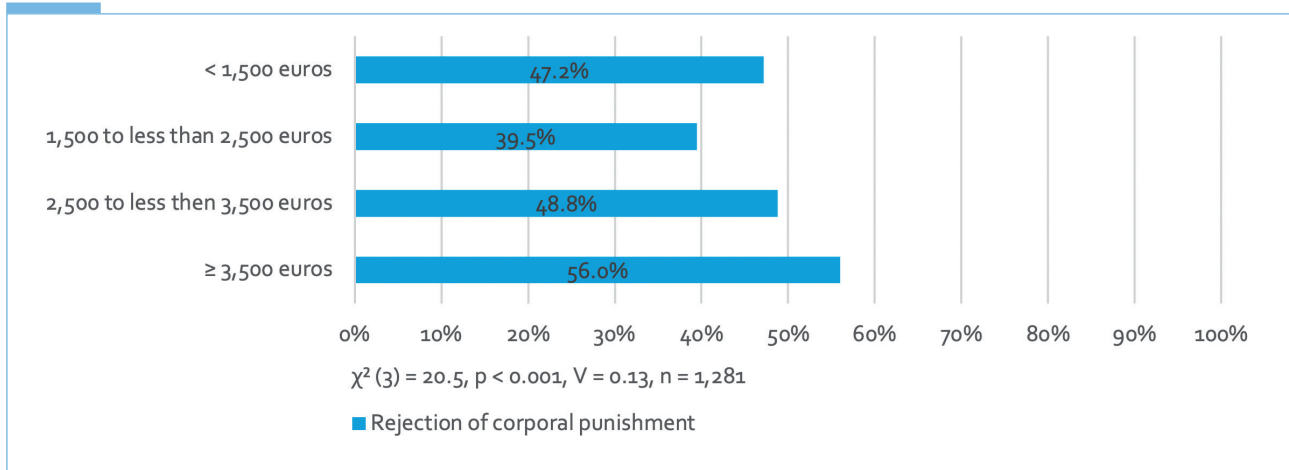


Figure 49: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to household income among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

No statistically significant correlation could be found between the **regional level** and the rejection of corporal punishment within the group that had experien-

ced emotional punishment in childhood (rejection of corporal punishment: South: 49%; West: 53%; East: 44%; North: 44%; $\chi^2(3) = 7.2, p = 0.07, n = 1,287$).

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to the socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants in the relationship between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and rejection of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found only show minor effects. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: within the group that experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, higher rates of rejection of corporal punishment were found among female respondents, younger respondents (especially those aged 16-30), respondents with no religious affiliation, a preference for the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen party, with higher school-leaving qualifications (university entrance qualification/A-levels) and a higher household income (especially ≥ 3,500 euros).

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.4 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT IN UPBRINGING AND THE USE OF PUNISHMENT IN UPBRINGING

The following section examines the correlation between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and the use of emotional and corporal punishment in the upbringing of children. It then goes on to investigate which socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics are associated with the use of emotional or corporal punishment in upbringing among individuals who have experienced emotional punishment themselves.

3.4.1 Correlation between not experienced emotional punishment vs. experienced emotional punishment and emotional punishment used vs. no emotional punishment used

Figure 50 highlights the correlation between having experienced emotional punishment in childhood and having used it in the upbringing of children. Compa-

red to the group that grew up without emotional punishment (n = 681, 44.8%), the group that grew up with emotional punishment (n = 838, 55.2%) shows a higher rate of using emotional punishment as a parenting method with children (5.4% vs. 64.4%). This correlation is statistically significant and has a **large effect size** ($\chi^2(1) = 555.3, p < 0.001, \phi = 0.61, n = 1,519$).

Correlation between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and the use of emotional punishment

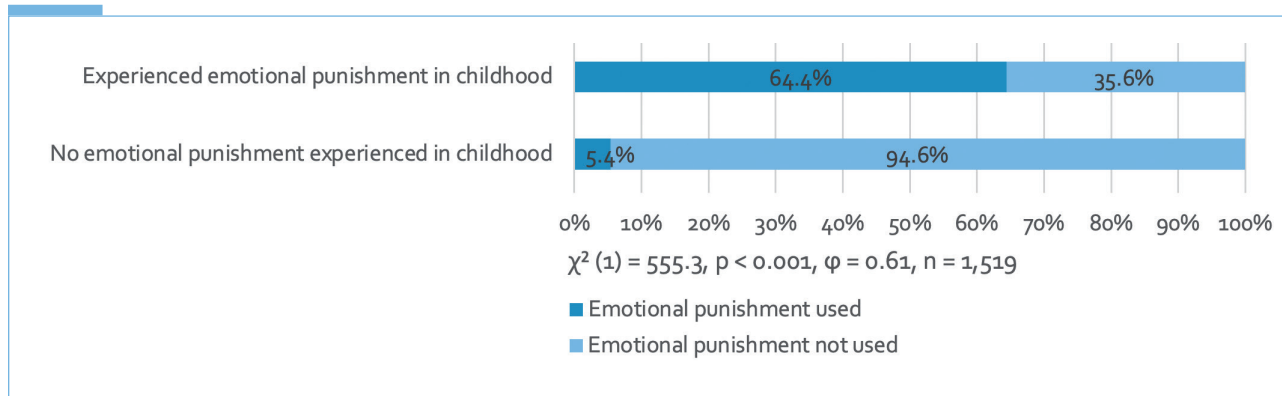


Figure 50: Correlation between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and the use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

In summary, there is a higher rate of use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood than among respondents who did not experience emotional punishment in childhood.

3.4.2

Correlation between no emotional punishment experienced vs. emotional punishment experienced and corporal punishment used vs. no corporal punishment used

Approximately three out of five, and thus the majority, of respondents who experienced emotional punishment in childhood (n = 831, 54.7%) reported having used corporal punishment in their parenting – among respondents who did not experience emotional punishment in their childhood (n = 689, 45.3%), it was

less than one in five. Compared to the group that grew up without emotional punishment, the group that grew up with emotional punishment thus shows a higher rate of using corporal punishment as a method in the upbringing of children (17.3% vs. 61.1%). This positive correlation between experiencing emotional punishment in childhood and the reported use of corporal punishment in parenting is statistically significant and has a **medium effect size** ($\chi^2(1) = 299.0$, $p < 0.001$, $\phi = 0.44$, $n = 1,520$) (see Figure 51).

Correlation between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and the use of corporal punishment

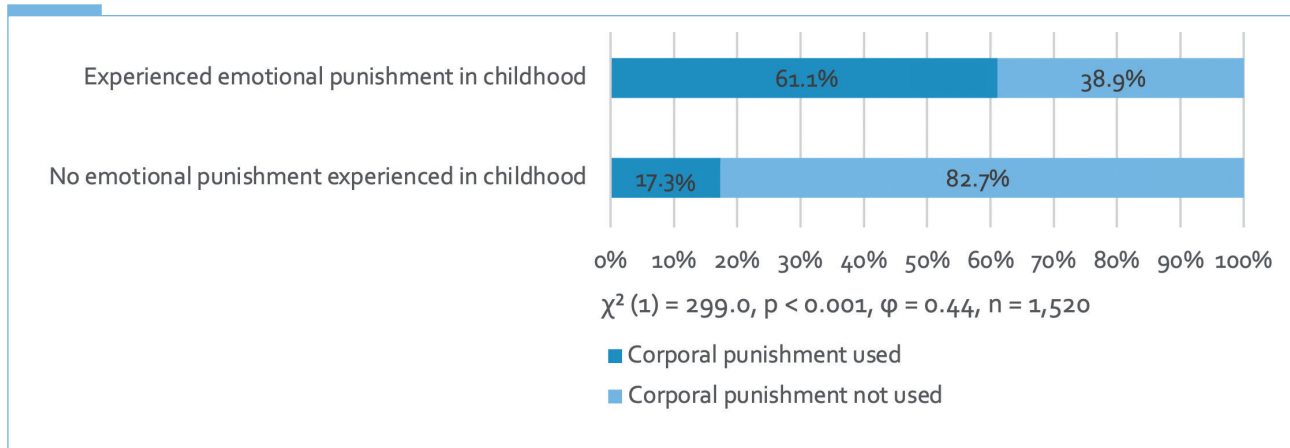


Figure 51: Relationship between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

In summary, there is a higher rate of use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children among respondents who experienced emotional punishment in childhood than among respondents who did not experience emotional punishment in childhood.

3.4.3

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personally experienced emotional punishment and non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children

No statistically (significant) **gender-** and **age-specific** correlations could be established between personally experienced emotional punishment in childhood and the use of corresponding parenting methods in children within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood. The results are very similar when comparing gender (no use of emotional punishment: female: 36% vs. male: 35%; $\chi^2(1) = 0.1, p = 0.79, n = 838$). Descriptively, it can be seen that the proportion of those who do not use emotional punishment despite their own childhood experiences is highest among younger respondents in the „16-30 years“ age category (no use of emotional punishment: 16-30 years: 55%; 31-60 years: 37%; 61 years and older: 32%; $\chi^2(2) = 7.7, p < 0.05, V = 0.096, n = 838$).

Furthermore, within the group that had experienced emotional punishment in childhood, no statistically

significant correlation could be found between **nationality** and the non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children (no use of emotional punishment: German citizenship (including dual citizenship): 37%; other citizenship: 23%; exact test according to Fisher = 4.9, $p = 0.050, n = 838$).

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood, there is a statistically significant correlation with regard to **religious affiliation or denomination**, although this correlation only has a small effect size ($\chi^2(4) = 15.0, p < 0.01, V = 0.13, n = 836$). As Figure 52 demonstrates, people of Muslim religious affiliation in particular – compared to members of other religions – are less likely to non-use emotional punishment in their own upbringing practices. However, it is also apparent that no consistent trend can be derived with regard to the rejection of emotional punishment depending on religious or denominational affiliation, i.e. none of the religious or denominational affiliations surveyed is clearly associated with the non-use of emotional punishment in cases where emotional punishment was experienced in childhood.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of emotional punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

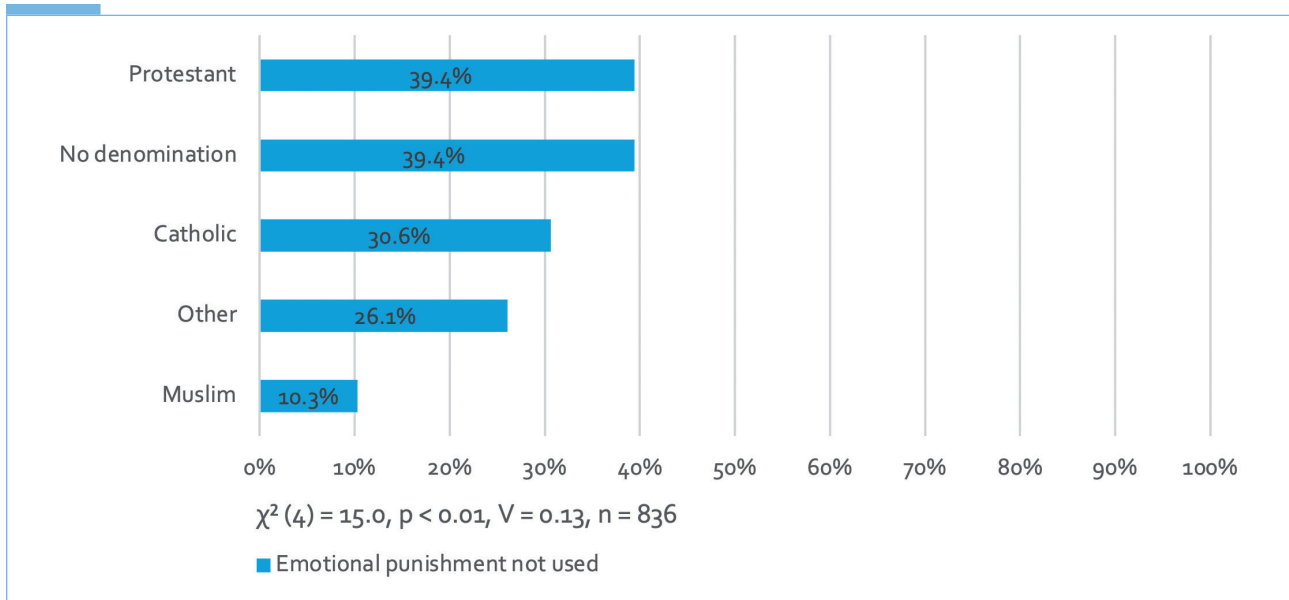


Figure 52: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to denomination or religious affiliation of respondents who experienced emotional punishment in childhood

With regard to **political party preferences**, it is striking that the weak statistical correlation observed between the rejection of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood (see section 3.3.3) cannot be transferred to the actual use of emotional punishment. This means that political party preference is not statistically correlated with the use of emotional punishment in upbringing (no use of emotional punishment: CDU/CSU: 33%; AfD: 38%; SPD: 32%; Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: 31%; Die Linke: 32%; other party: 36%; no preference: 35%; $\chi^2(6) = 1.5, p = 0.96, n = 583$).

Among respondents who had experienced emotional punishment themselves and who stated that they had not used such sanctions in their own parenting, the proportion of people with a university entrance qualification/A-levels (no use of emotional punishment: left school without a qualification: 29%; secondary school or other school leaving certificate: 32%; intermediate school leaving certificate: 38%; university entrance qualification/A-levels: 39%; $\chi^2(3) = 3.6, p = 0.31, n =$

836) and among those in the highest household income category surveyed (no use of emotional punishment: $\leq 1,500$ euros: 33%; 1,500 to under 2,500 euros: 31%; 2,500 to under 3,500 euros: 34%; $\geq 3,500$ euros: 41%; $\chi^2(3) = 5.4, p = 0.15, n = 833$) is slightly higher compared to respondents with lower school-leaving qualifications and household income categories. However, no statistically significant correlations were found between the **highest school-leaving qualification** and **household income** and the non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children.

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood and did not use emotional punishment in the upbringing of children, the proportion of respondents from the former new federal states is significantly higher than that of people from the rest of Germany (47.9% vs. 32.5%, $p < 0.05, V = 0.13, n = 838$). In Figure 53, the city-state of Berlin (32.2%) is additionally assigned to the eastern **region**, whereby a weak, statistically significant correlation remains ($\chi^2(3) = 10.2, p < 0.05, V = 0.11, n = 838$).

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of emotional punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

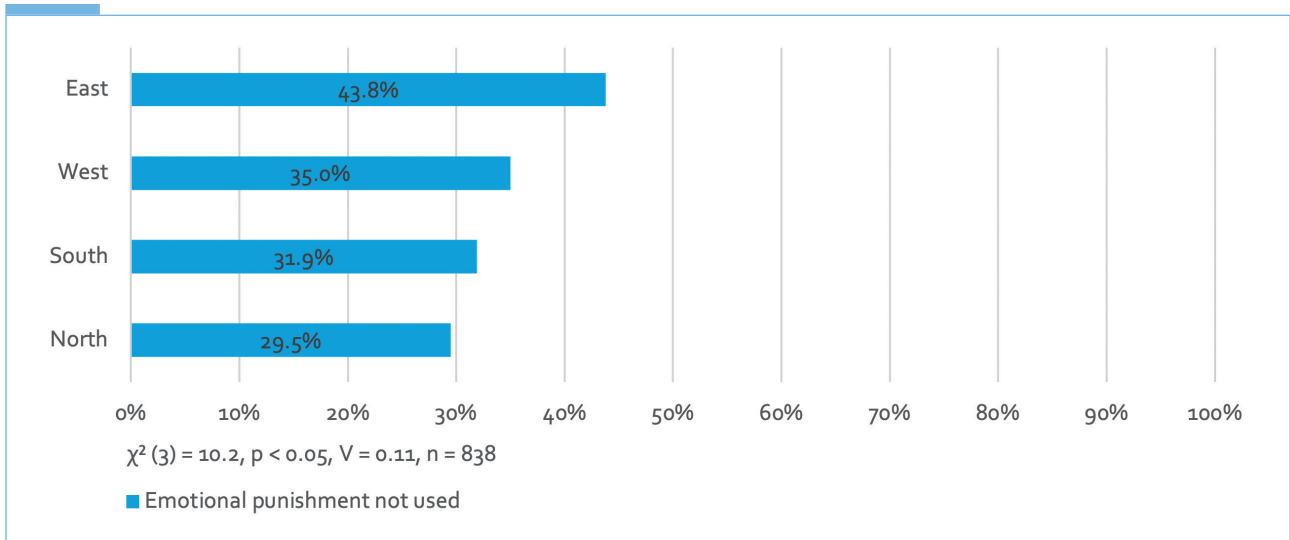


Figure 53: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of emotional punishment in the upbringing of children according to region among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to the socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants in the relationship between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and its use in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found only have a low effect size. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, significantly higher rates of respondents from the former new federal states and those with Protestant or no religious affiliation stated that they did not use emotional punishment in raising children.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

3.4.4

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Personally experienced emotional punishment and non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, similar rates of non-use of corporal punishment were found among female and male individuals (60% vs. 63%). Accordingly, there are no statistically significant **gender-specific** differences ($\chi^2(1) = 0.5, p = 0.48, n = 831$).

However, an **age-specific** positive correlation was found within the group that had experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, with the proportion of 16-30-year-olds not using corporal punishment in parenting being highest and decreasing significantly in the older age groups ($\chi^2(2) = 31.8, p < 0.001, n = 831$). The effect size here is small ($V = 0.20$). The results are shown in Figure 54.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

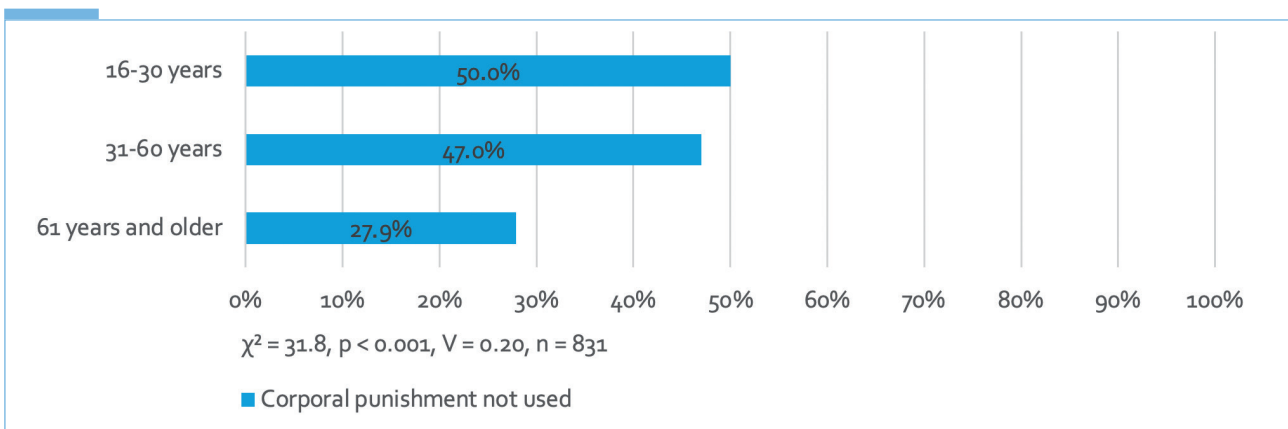


Figure 54: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to age group among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Again, no statistical correlation could be found with regard to **nationality** (German or other nationality) and the non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children within the group who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood (no use of corporal punishment: German (including dual citizenship): 40%; other citizenship: 31%; exact test according to Fisher = 3.0, $p = 0.16$, $n = 831$).

However, a statistically significant correlation with a small effect size can be found when considering the **religious or denominational affiliation** of respondents within the group who experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood ($\chi^2 (4) = 11.5$, $p < 0.05$, $V = 0.12$, $n = 829$). Respondents without religious affiliation show a significantly higher proportion of non-use of corporal punishment compared to respondents who belong to one of the religions surveyed. This is shown in Figure 55.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

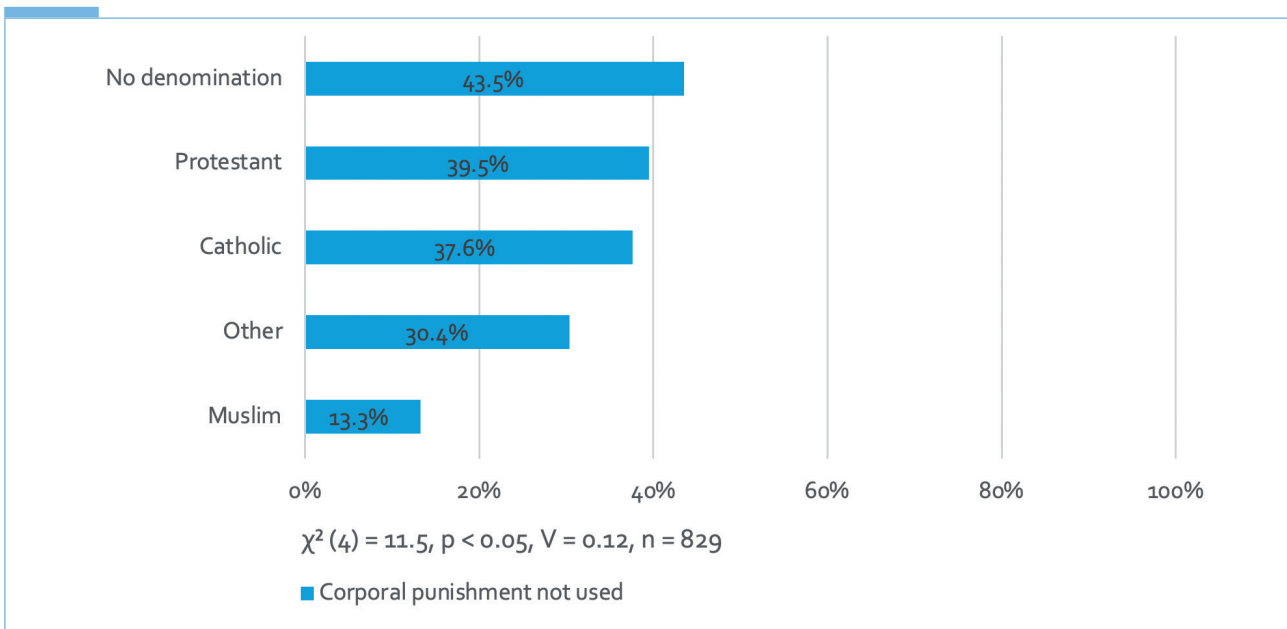


Figure 55: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to denomination or religious affiliation among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Within the group that experienced emotional punishment in childhood, no statistically significant correlation could be established between the non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children and **preference for a political party** (no use of corporal punishment: CDU/CSU: 36%; AfD: 38%; SPD: 41%; Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: 54%; Die Linke: 50%; other party: 34%; no preference: 46%; $\chi^2 (6) = 8.9$, $p = 0.18$, $n = 577$).

The results of the survey indicate statistically significant correlations between the non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children and the **highest school-leaving qualification** as well as **household income**. The proportion of people who did not use corporal punishment in the upbringing of children increases with both a higher school-leaving qualification ($\chi^2 (3) = 22.7$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.17$, $n = 828$) and higher household income ($\chi^2 (3) = 18.6$, $p < 0.001$, $V = 0.15$, $n = 826$). The correlations show a small effect size in each case. The results are reflected in Figure 56 and Figure 57.

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

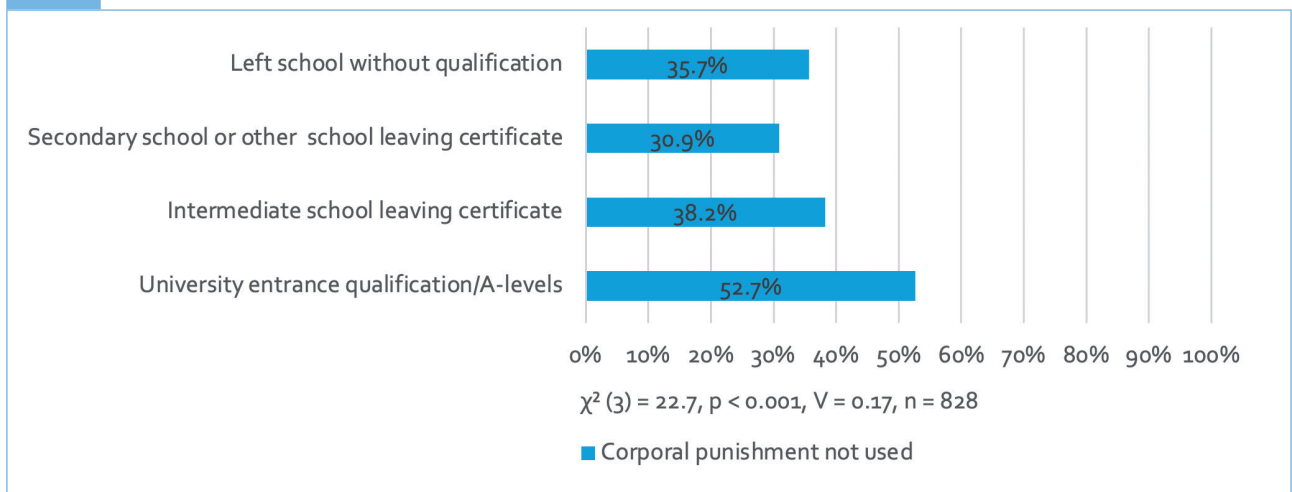


Figure 56: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to highest school-leaving qualification among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

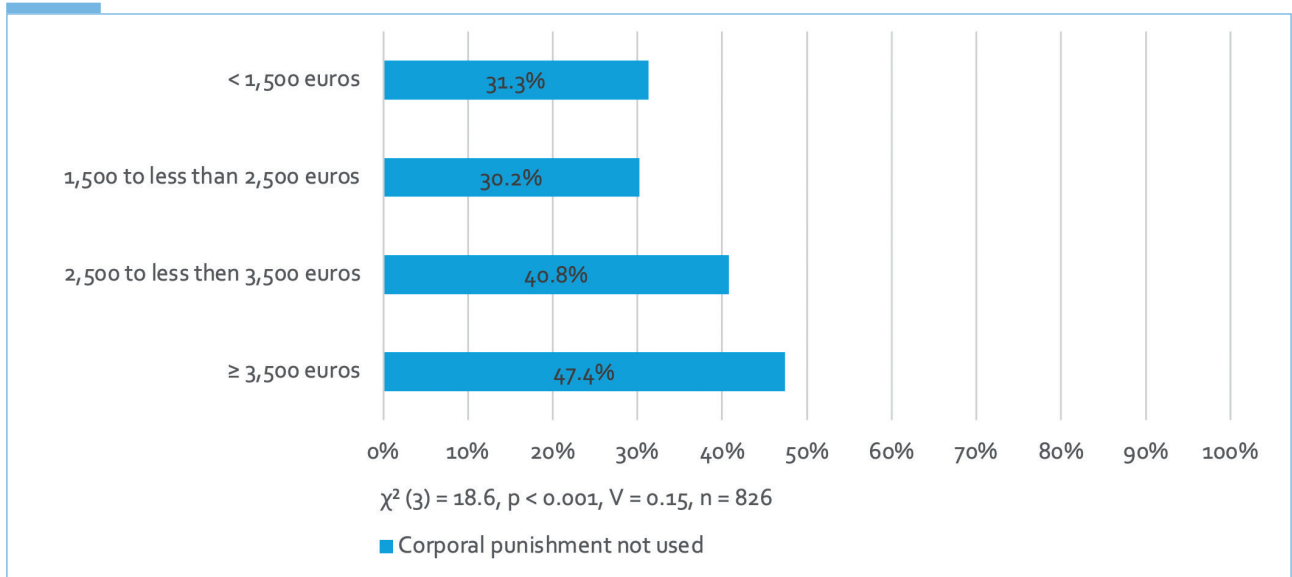


Figure 57: Who breaks the cycle of violence? Non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children according to household income among respondents who themselves experienced emotional punishment in childhood

Section 3.4.3 showed that within the group who themselves experienced emotional punishment in their own childhood, a significantly higher proportion of people from the former new federal states do not use such parenting methods compared to respondents from the

rest of Germany. However, there is no **regional** correlation with regard to the non-use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children (no use of corporal punishment: South: 39%; West: 43%; East: 40%; North: 31%; $\chi^2(3) = 5.8, p = 0.12, n = 831$).

In summary, no significant differences can be identified with regard to the socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants in the relationship between emotional punishment experienced in childhood and the use of corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

The correlations found show only minor effect sizes. Accordingly, the following trends can be described: Within the group of respondents who experienced emotional punishment in childhood, higher proportions of respondents who are younger (especially 16-30 years old), with a higher household income ($\geq 3,500$ euros), higher school-leaving qualifications (university entrance qualification/A-levels) and without religious affiliation reported not having used corporal punishment in the upbringing of children.

Due to the small effect sizes, the results should not be overinterpreted.

The findings presented in this report reinforce what Clemens et al. (2020) already noted on the 20th anniversary of the introduction of non-violent parenting into the German Civil Code (BGB):

The law outlawing violence in parenting was not merely symbolic politics, but has had an impressive effect on attitudes towards and the use of corporal punishment in parenting. Five years later, on the 25th anniversary of the introduction of non-violent parenting into the BGB, this development can be presented even more clearly.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN USED/ PERCEIVED APPROPRIATE FROM 2001 TO 2025

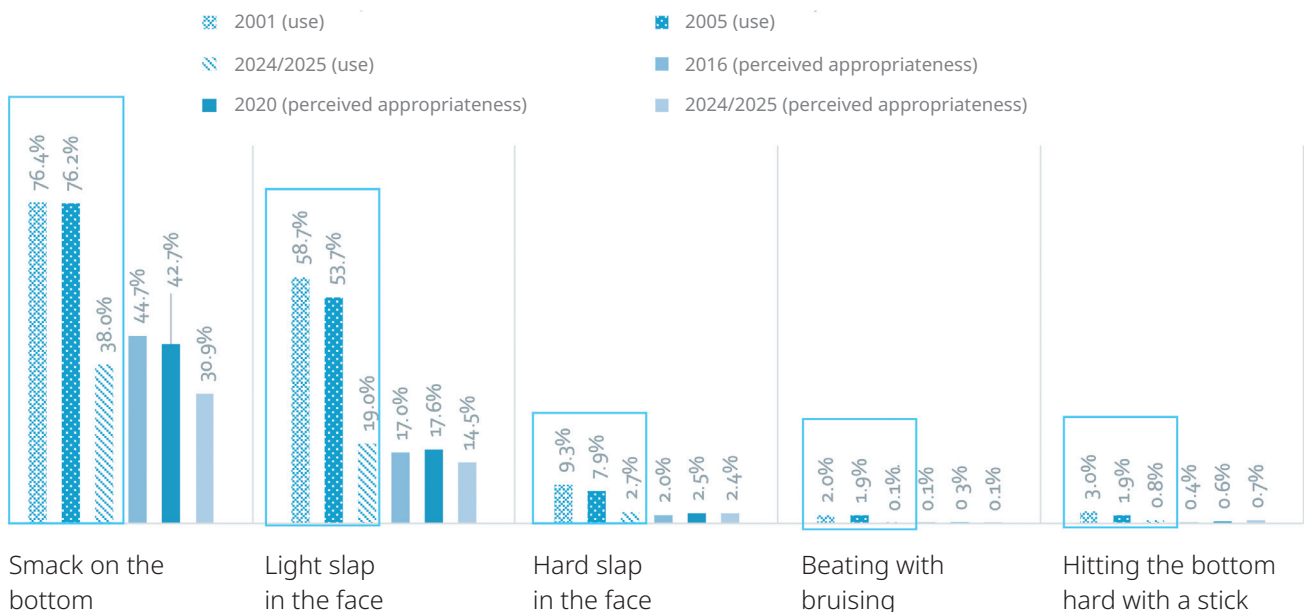


Figure 58: Trend in corporal punishment used/perceived appropriate from 2001 to 2024/2025

As shown in Figure 58, the results of the 2024/2025 survey allow us to dispel fears that the perceived appropriateness of corporal punishment is stagnating or remaining at a plateau (cf. Clemens et al., 2020). Compared to the survey years 2016 and 2020, we see a significant decline in 2024/2025 in the perceived appropriateness of a „smack on the bottom“ among the German population. We were also able to show that the general rejection of corporal punishment in upbringing has increased by more than 10% compared to 2020. As can be seen in Figure 58, in 2024/2025, even harsher forms of violence in upbringing, such as a hard slap in the face or a beating with bruising, remain at a low but consistent level. However, by once again asking about the corporal punishment actually used in the upbringing of children in the current survey, we can also show that this has decreased significantly over the last 20 to 25 years compared to the surveys in 2001 and 2005 (Bussmann, 2010) (see Figure 58). The use of corporal punishment such as „a smack on the bottom“ has halved today compared to 2001 and 2005, and in the case of „a light slap“, it has even fallen by almost three times. A decline can also be seen in the use of harsher forms of violence in upbringing („a hard slap in the face“, „a beating with bruising“, „hitting the bottom hard with a stick“). However, these forms of punishment have still not reached zero. **So, while the German population is becoming increasingly aware of the condemnation of corporal punishment, there seems to be a fairly stubborn section of the population, particularly when it comes to brutal forms of corporal punishment, which continues to adhere to such forms and which must be addressed through preventive and interventionist measures.**

In addition, a significant proportion of respondents in 2024/2025 stated that they would not support a law against corporal punishment or emotional punishment. In this respect, even 25 years after the introduction of non-violent parenting into the German Civil Code, parts of the German population seem unaware that there is a law prohibiting violence in parenting that includes both physical and emotional abuse. Compared to Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden, where the population became aware of the law very quickly after the introduction of non-violent parenting, **there still seems to be a need for education and information in Germany about the law prohibiting violence in parenting and its specific content.** It is interesting to note that in the current survey, we saw that physical violence against children in schools is re-

jected much more strongly by respondents. Whether this is due to the fact that the right to corporal punishment in schools has long been abolished, both in the history of the FRG and in that of the GDR, or whether the legal prohibition of violence in parenting is still associated with a certain degree of state intervention in private life – the family – remains open.

On a positive note, we have seen in the current survey that the proportion of people who stated that they had not experienced corporal punishment in their upbringing has more than doubled compared to the 2016 and 2020 surveys. This seems to support the assumption already expressed in 2020 that „generational changes over time will bring about positive changes“ (Clemens et al., 2020, p. 91). Based on the purely descriptive developments observed, it almost seems as if positive attitudes towards corporal punishment and its use are increasingly being „outgrown“ by the new generation of young adults. **In order to further promote this development, appropriate measures and campaigns are needed, particularly in this area, to continue to remind children, adolescents and young adults of the issue of non-violent parenting and to raise their awareness of it.**

But what is the situation regarding **emotional punishment in the upbringing of children in Germany?** This was the focus of our expertise on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the introduction of non-violent parenting into the German Civil Code (BGB).

The results are generally encouraging, and the suspicion that emotional punishment in upbringing is less frowned upon than corporal punishment (Clemens et al., 2020) can be dispelled. Almost three-quarters of respondents reject emotional punishment in upbringing. This is even more than the rejection of corporal punishment. **Thus, the law outlawing violence in the upbringing of children has also achieved impressive results with regard to emotional violence over the last 25 years.** However, it is difficult to trace developments here, as we do not have any comparative data from previous years, unlike for corporal punishment. We cannot therefore say when a change in thinking regarding emotional punishment took place among the population, or whether the current situation marks a historic low in terms of the acceptance of emotional punishment.

It is also important to note that the approval of individual forms of emotional punishment in upbringing

is sometimes higher than for corporal punishment, and a significant proportion of respondents agree that emotional punishment is not harmful to children. Furthermore, only half of the respondents stated that they had not experienced emotional punishment in their childhood, and the frequency of the individual forms experienced ranged from approximately 10% to 40%. **It therefore appears that the majority of the German population condemns emotional punishment or is aware that it is not considered an appropriate means of upbringing, but that the threshold for some forms of emotional punishment is not very high and that in some cases it is still not associated with the same consequences for children as corporal punishment.**

A key finding of this study is that no significant differences were found with regard to the individual socio-demographic and socio-economic determinants examined in relationship with corporal punishment and emotional punishment.

There are a number of possible factors that influence the acceptance, use and personal experience of corporal and emotional punishment in upbringing. However, when considered individually, each of these factors has only a minor influence. In summary, therefore, it is not possible to speak of a uniform trend in the determinants examined, nor should the results be overinterpreted.

Clear, pronounced correlations with medium and high effect sizes could only be observed in **the cycle of violence** in our study. This means that personal experiences of emotional punishment in childhood are associated with both a significantly higher level of approval of emotional and corporal punishment and the use of both forms of disciplinary punishment.

This illustrates once again that experiences of psychological violence in childhood and adolescence, such as humiliation, have the same consequences as traumatic childhood experiences of a physical nature. The latter has already been investigated and explained in detail in the previous report by Clemens et al. (2020).

Finally, it should be emphasised once again that even experiencing disciplinary punishment and forms of child maltreatment does not deterministically contribute to affected individuals using violence themselves in the upbringing of children. However, there appear to be correlations that increase or decrease this risk. Although our findings are based on a representative sample of the German population, they cannot be assumed to be universally valid, generalisable or causally related. Meanwhile, methodological limitations of the survey instruments used must also be mentioned. When asking questions about preferences for a particular political party, for example, it must generally be noted that the reliability of the results is significantly limited, as a large part of the population does not have a stable attachment to a political party, but instead has changing preferences. In particular, responses regarding experiences of violence in childhood or the use of punishment, as well as corresponding attitudes towards these issues, may be distorted by shame, social desirability and non-disclosure. In addition, our report focused in particular on correlations that show a significant statistical correlation, i.e. with an effect size equal to or greater than 0.1. However, other statistically significant correlations were also observed, but these are negligible due to their very small effects and were therefore not the focus of our discussion of the results. However, all results were presented in detail in the results section.

The aim of this report and our analysis was to understand where we stand on the issue of non-violent parenting a quarter of a century after its introduction into the German Civil Code (BGB) and where and in what areas we need to further intensify our efforts in child protection in the future. We see that the goal of achieving a complete change in society's awareness and the complete condemnation of violence in upbringing has still not been achieved, even 25 years after the law came into force.

**Finally, what can be deduced from the scientific results presented?
We consider the following recommendations for action to be central:**

Strengthen children's rights

The history of non-violent parenting in Germany shows how legal measures can lead to lasting positive social change. Furthermore, the demand already formulated in the 2020 report (Clemens et al., 2020) **to enshrine children's rights in the Basic Law as a right to support and as a prerequisite for the personal development of children** remains. After all, the law prohibiting violence in parenting means precisely that: children, as holders of fundamental rights, namely as persons with their own dignity and as bearers of their own rights and duties, can also demand respect for their personality from their parents. This is not about depriving parents of any possibility of sanctioning their child's misbehaviour, but rather about explicitly recognising that punishment through violence is inadmissible and not a pedagogically acceptable parenting measure. In addition to corporal punishment, this also includes emotional abuse, degradation and humiliation. **Including children's rights in the Basic Law would further strengthen the legal position of children and thus improve the framework conditions for effective child protection and the participation of children in all areas of life.**

Expanding the concept of non-violent parenting

The legal norm on the right to non-violent education, Section 1631 (2) of the German Civil Code (BGB), does not yet take into account the form of abuse known as neglect – i.e. violence by omission. While the rejection of physical violence and, increasingly, emotional violence is firmly anchored in social consciousness, **there is still a lack of widespread awareness of the consequences of neglect.** In addition to physical neglect, this also includes psychological and emotional neglect. **The concept of non-violent parenting should therefore be explicitly extended in the BGB to include this form of violence through neglect, and the condemnation of this form of violence should be enshrined in law – in accordance with international classification systems such as the International Classification of Violence Against Children (IC-VAC).** In 2021, the relevant section of the BGB was last revised. Since then, there has been explicit reference to the „right to care and upbringing without violence, corporal punishment, emotional abuse and other degrading measures“. However, it remains unclear whether this wording also represents an expansion of the legal definition of violence. Fortunately, violence through significant neglect is now treated as equivalent to other forms of violence in the new Social Compensation Act (SGB XIV), but in the context of „non-violent upbringing“, violence through omission, through the failure to meet basic needs, has not yet been adequately addressed.

Targeted prevention, awareness-raising and education

Targeted prevention is particularly important. Specifically, one's own experience of emotional punishment, but also of corporal punishment in childhood, as well as parents' experiences of child abuse and neglect, play a central role. As we have outlined in this report, it is not possible to use specific socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics to determine which population groups should be the general target of prevention and intervention in the context of non-violent parenting. Only trends can be identified. Risk factors can be diverse and cumulative, so that the overall picture of risks must be considered in targeted prevention and intervention.

Outdated definitions of prevention, e.g. Section 20 of the German Social Code, Book V (SGB V), which defines only primary prevention as a task of the health system alongside medical treatment and rehabilitation, prevent target group-specific approaches. **Both selective and indicated prevention must be made possible (e.g. in Section 20 of the German Social Code, Book V) in order to not only warn against violence in upbringing through primary prevention. The World Health Organisation's setting approach to prevention must also be expanded to include the „family“ prevention setting, at least in its application in Germany, thereby enabling selective and indicated prevention. Furthermore, the digital space must also be included as a new setting.** The rapid digital developments of recent years must be taken into account when protecting children from violence, as must the fact that the real lives and upbringing of children and adolescents in Germany today take place in the digital world. Current representative surveys show that the youngest generation in particular is comparatively strongly affected by sexualised violence on the internet (Chauviré-Geib et al., 2025; Dreßing et al., 2025). However, violence, including cyberbullying, i.e. insulting, threatening, exposing or harassing people via the internet, and exposure to violent content, must also be taken into account when protecting children and ensuring they grow up free from violence. **However, in addition to risks, the digital world also offers opportunities for child protection: in particular, to raise awareness of non-violent parenting, to educate and to offer appropriate support – both for children and for (expectant) parents, grandparents and the family as a whole.** It cannot be ruled out that the reach of social media has also made a significant contribution to the clear change in attitudes towards the rejection of corporal punishment that has taken place over the last five years, especially among the younger generation of young adults. In this respect, targeted campaigns on social media involving social role models can continue to make an important contribution in the future to anchoring prevention and non-violent parenting in a sustainable and socially comprehensive manner.

Improving the data on violence in parenting

The data on violence in upbringing in Germany remains incomplete. Systematic data collection is the foundation for effective prevention and targeted intervention. Otherwise, well-intentioned prevention becomes a blind flight in a world that is rapidly changing as a result of the digital revolution. Only with sound data can the extent and risk factors of violence against children in its specific forms and manifestations be identified. Based on this, solutions can be developed and political and social pressure for action can be generated in order to achieve the United Nations' global sustainability goal 16.2 „End abuse and exploitation of children, child trafficking, torture and all forms of violence against children“ (Federal Statistical Office, 2024a). As in 2020 (Clemens et al., 2020), we are now calling for **targeted monitoring of UN's Sustainable Development Goal 16.2 by the Federal Republic of Germany** on the 25th anniversary of the law prohibiting violence in parenting, **which regularly records all forms of violence in the upbringing of children, including physical and psychological violence as well as violence through neglect and omission.**

Despite the progress made so far and positive developments in protecting children from violence in parenting, there is still a great need for action and much remains to be done. Especially in view of the current mental health crisis among adolescents, which is reaching a tipping point, we must take the protection of children from violence more seriously than ever before and significantly strengthen it as a task for society as a whole. However, the findings presented here should also give us cause for optimism: the law outlawing violence in upbringing has had an enormous impact, and social acceptance of corporal punishment is lower than ever before. This shows that attitudes and actions can be changed through the right normative framework and legislation. **Now we must take the final step and enable all children to grow up without violence.**

REFERENCES

- Brassard, M. R., Hart, S. N., Baker, A. A. L., & Chiel, Z. (2019). *The APSAC Monograph on Psychological Maltreatment (PM)*. The American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (APSAC). <https://apsac.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/APSAC-PM-Monograph-Final-as-of-2019.12.16.pdf> [last accessed on 7 March 2025].
- Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz. (2025). *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (BGB). § 1631 Inhalt und Grenzen der Personensorge* [Civil Code (BGB). § 1631 Content and limits of personal care]. https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bgb/_1631.html [last accessed on 14 October 2025].
- Bussmann, K. D. (2010). *Familiengewaltreport* [Family Violence Report]. Universität-Halle. <https://wcms.itz.uni-halle.de/download.php?down=14704&elem=2282564>
- Chauviré-Geib, K., Gerke, J., Haag, A. C., Sachser, C., Finkelhor, D., Rassenhofer, M., & Fegert, J. M. (2025). The increase in online child sexual solicitation and abuse: Indicator 16.2.3 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) documents a hidden and growing pandemic. Population-based surveys fail to capture the full picture. *Child abuse & neglect*, *164*, 107452. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2025.107452>
- Clemens, V., Sachser, C., Weilemann, M. & Fegert, J. M. (2020). *20 Jahre gewaltfreie Erziehung im BGB. Aktuelle Einstellungen zu Körperstrafen und elterliches Erziehungsverhalten in Deutschland. Ein Blick auf Veränderungen seit der parlamentarischen Entscheidung von 2000* [20 years of non-violent parenting in the German Civil Code. Current attitudes towards corporal punishment and parental behaviour in Germany. A look at changes since the parliamentary decision of 2000]. Klinik für Kinder- und Jugendpsychiatrie / Psychotherapie, Universitätsklinikum Ulm. https://www.unicef.de/_cae/resource/blob/239474/ee770482a72a5f51bd3ece14c519a78c/aktuelle-einstellungen-zu-koerperstrafen-und-elterliches-erziehungsverhalten-in-deutschland-pdf-data.pdf [last accessed on 10 March 2025].
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203771587>
- Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. *Psychological Bulletin*, *112*(1), 155-159 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.112.1.155>
- Deutscher Kinderschutzbund Landesverband NRW e.V. (2025). *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (BGB). § 1631 Abs. 2: Recht auf gewaltfreie Erziehung* [Civil Code (BGB). Section 1631 (2): Right to non-violent upbringing]. Kinderschutz in NRW. <https://www.kinderschutz-in-nrw.de/fachinformationen/gesetzliche-grundlagen/recht-auf-gewaltfreie-erziehung/> [last accessed on 14 October 2025].
- Dreßing, H., Hoell, A., Scharmman, L., Simon, A. M., Haag, A.-C., Dölling, D., Meyer-Lindenberg, A., & Fegert, J. M. (2025). Sexualisierte Gewalt gegen Kinder und Jugendliche. Eine bundesweite, auf Repräsentativität ausgelegte Befragung zu Prävalenz, situativem Kontext und den Folgen. [Sexualised violence against children and adolescents. A nationwide, representative survey on prevalence, situational context and consequences]. *Deutsches Ärzteblatt International*, *122*(11), 285–291. <https://doi.org/10.3238/arztebl.m2025.0076>

REFERENCES

- Fleischer, T., Ulke, C., Ladwig, K.-H., Linkohr, B., Johar, H., Atasoy, S., ... & Schomerus, G. (2022). Geschlechts- und regionalspezifische Unterschiede von Kindesvernachlässigung und Gewalt vor der deutschen Wiedervereinigung Ergebnisse aus GESA, einem Multi-Kohorten Konsortium [Gender- and region-specific differences in child neglect and violence before German reunification. Results from GESA, a multi-cohort consortium]. *PPmP - Psychotherapie · Psychosomatik · Medizinische Psychologie*, 72(12), 550-557. <https://doi.org/10.1055/a-1926-7428>
- Gossmann, E., & Fegert, J. M. (2024). Emotionale Misshandlung von Kindern und Jugendlichen – Definitionen, Häufigkeiten, Risikofaktoren und psychische Folgen [Emotional abuse of children and adolescents – definitions, frequencies, risk factors and psychological consequences]. *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie und Kinderpsychiatrie* 73(1), 28–54. <https://doi.org/10.13109/prkk.2024.73.1.28>
- Graziano, A. M., Lindquist, C. M., Kuncie, L. J., & Munjal, K. (1992). Physical punishment in childhood and current attitudes: An exploratory comparison of college students in the United States and India. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7(2), 147-155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626092007002001>
- Hibbard, R., Barlow, J., Macmillan, H., the Committee on Child Abuse and Neglect and American Academy of Child And Adolescent Psychiatry, Child Maltreatment and Violence Committee, Chrisitan, C. W., Crawford-Jakubiak, J. E., Flaherty, E. G., Leventhal, J. M., Lukefahr, J. L., & Sege, R. D. (2012). Psychological maltreatment. *Pediatrics*, 130(2), 372–378. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2012-1552>
- Leeb, R. T., Paulozzi, L., Melanson, C., Simon, T., & Arias, I. (2008). *Child Maltreatment Surveillance: Uniform Definitions for Public Health and Recommended Data Elements*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. https://www.cdc.gov/child-abuse-neglect/communication-resources/CM_Surveillance-a.pdf [last accessed on 10 March 2025].
- Maiorino, M. J. L. (2003). *Elterliches Züchtigungsrecht und Strafrecht in rechtsvergleichender Sicht* [Parental right of chastisement and criminal law from a comparative law perspective] (Doctoral dissertation, Universität zu Köln). https://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/999/1/dissertation_komplett.pdf
- McGorry, P. D., Mei, C., Dalal, N., Alvarez-Jimenez, M., Blakemore, S. J., Browne, V., Dooley, B., Hickie, I. B., Jones, P. B., McDaid, D., Mihalopoulos, C., Wood, S. J., El Azzouzi, F. A., Fazio, J., Gow, E., Hanjabam, S., Hayes, A., Morris, A., Pang, E., Paramasivam, K., ... Killackey, E. (2024). The Lancet Psychiatry Commission on youth mental health. *The lancet. Psychiatry*, 11(9), 731–774. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366\(24\)00163-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(24)00163-9)

REFERENCES

- Ministerium für Soziales, Gesundheit und Integration Baden-Württemberg. (2025). *Gewaltfreie Erziehung* [Non-violent parenting]. <https://sozialministerium.baden-wuerttemberg.de/de/soziales/familie/rat-und-unterstuetzung/gewaltfreie-erziehung>
- Noak, T. (2002). Zur Abschaffung des elterlichen Züchtigungsrechts aus strafrechtlicher Sicht [On the abolition of parental rights of chastisement from a criminal law perspective]. *Juristische Rundschau*, 2002(10), 402-408. <https://doi.org/10.1515/juru.2002.012>
- Peschel-Gutzeit, L. M. (2001). Das Kind als Träger eigener Rechte. Der lange Weg zu einer gewaltfreien Erziehung [Children as holders of their own rights. The long road to non-violent parenting]. *Frühe Kindheit*, 2/01. Deutsche Liga für das Kind. <https://www.liga-kind.de/fk-201-peschel-gutzeit/>.
- Schaarschmidt, T., Süß, W., & Weiß, P. U. (2018). Gewaltabkehr als gesellschaftliches Projekt. Leitbilder und Ambivalenzen in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik [Abandoning violence as a social project. Models and ambivalences in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany]. *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, 15(2), 203–221. <https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.4.1180>.
- Schulz, A. C., Kasinger, C., Beutel, M., Fegert, J. M., Clemens, V., & Brähler, E. (2022). Adverse childhood experiences growing up in East or West Germany or abroad. *Frontiers in psychiatry*, 13, 908668. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2022.908668>
- Sitarski, E., Peter, L., Haag, A-C., Köhler-Dauner, F., Fegert, J. M. & Clemens, V. (under review). *Prevalence and Risk Factors for Parental Use of Emotional Punishment: Results from a Subsample of Parents in a German National Representative Study*.
- Slep, A. M., Heyman, R. E., Snarr, J. D., Foster, R. E., Linkh, D. J., & Whitworth, J. D. (2011). Child emotional aggression and abuse: definitions and prevalence. *Child abuse & neglect*, 35(10), 783–796. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2011.07.002>
- Spinazzola, J., Hodgdon, H., Liang, L.-J., Ford, J. D., Layne, C. M., Pynoos, R., Briggs, E. C., Stolbach, B., & Kisiel, C. (2014). Unseen wounds: The contribution of psychological maltreatment to child and adolescent mental health and risk outcomes. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 6, 18–28. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037766>
- Spitzer, C., Lübke, L., Müller, S., Knorr, S., & Flemming, E. (2023). Selbstberichtete Kindesmisshandlungen im Vergleich zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschland [Self-reported child abuse in East and West Germany]. *Psychiatrische Praxis*, 50(06), 308-315. <https://doi.org/10.1055/a-2042-2289>

REFERENCES

- Statistisches Bundesamt. (2024a). *Friedliche und inklusive Gesellschaften für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung fördern, allen Menschen Zugang zur Justiz ermöglichen und leistungsfähige, rechenschaftspflichtige und inklusive Institutionen auf allen Ebenen aufbauen* [Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels]. <https://sdg-indikatoren.de/16/> [last accessed on 14 October 2025].
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2024b). *Zahl der Kindeswohlgefährdungen im Jahr 2023 auf neuem Höchststand. Pressemitteilung Nr. 338 vom 6. September 2024* [Number of child welfare risks reaches new high in 2023. Press release no. 338 of 6 September 2024]. https://www.destatis.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2024/09/PD24_338_225.html [last accessed on 24 January 2025].
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2025a). *Kinderschutz: Rund 69500 Kinder und Jugendliche im Jahr 2024 vom Jugendamt in Obhut genommen. Pressemitteilung Nr. 273 vom 28. Juli 2025* [Child protection: Around 69,500 children and adolescents taken into care by youth welfare offices in 2024. Press release no. 273 of 28 July 2025]. https://www.destatis.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2025/07/PD25_273_225.html [last accessed on 22 October 2025].
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2025b). *Verfahren zur Einschätzung der Kindeswohlgefährdung: Deutschland, Jahre, Gefährdungseinschätzung, Art der Kindeswohlgefährdung. Stand 25.09.2025 / 17:39:57* [Procedure for assessing child welfare risks: Germany, years, risk assessment, type of child welfare risk. Status as of 25 September 2025 / 17:39:57]. <https://www-genesis.destatis.de/datenbank/online/statistic/22518/table/22518-0002> [last accessed on 24 January 2025].
- Strathearn, L., Giannotti, M., Mills, R., Kisely, S., Najman, J., & Abajobir, A. (2020). Long-term cognitive, psychological, and health outcomes associated with child abuse and neglect. *Pediatrics*, 146(4). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-0438>
- Taylor, C. A., Fleckman, J. M., & Lee, S. J. (2017). Attitudes, beliefs, and perceived norms about corporal punishment and related training needs among members of the „American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children“. *Child abuse & neglect*, 71, 56–68. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.04.009>
- Teicher, M. H., Samson, J. A., Polcari, A., & Mc Greenery, C. E. (2006). Sticks, stones, and hurtful words: relative effects of various forms of childhood maltreatment. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 163(6), 993–1000. <https://doi.org/10.1176/ajp.2006.163.6.993>

REFERENCES

Widom C. S. (1989). The cycle of violence. *Science (New York, N.Y.)*, 244(4901), 160–166.
<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.2704995>

Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages. (2022). *§ 1631 Abs. 2 BGB n. F. nach der Reform des Vormundschafts- und Betreuungsrechts (WD 7 – 3000 – 062/22)* [Section 1631 (2) BGB, as amended following the reform of guardianship and care law (WD 7 – 3000 – 062/22)]. Deutscher Bundestag.
<https://media.frag-den-staat.de/files/docs/47/a1/f6/47a1f625ce3348209a95e4a4249b6abd/5b7ba188e08d1838b1f765adc24fcf6b4ffcbdcd.pdf>

Witt, A., Brähler, E., & Fegert, J. M. (2021). Worte tun nicht weh? Folgen psychischer Misshandlung [Words don't hurt? Consequences of psychological abuse]. *Monatsschrift Kinderheilkunde*, 169(7), 613-621. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00112-021-01183-z>

APPENDIX: INSTRUMENTS USED

A1: ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

a) Approval/rejection of various statements on corporal punishment

E01. Please tick each box		Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
01	A smack on the bottom has never hurt any child.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
02	A slap in the face has never hurt any child.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
03	A beating has never hurt any child.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

b) Current attitudes towards disciplinary measures

E02.		Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	
		1	2	3	4	5		
01	Parents have a right to punish.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
02	Physical punishment is helpful to children.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
03	I intend to use physical punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
04	Physical punishment is a proper technique.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
05	Physical punishment is not harmful to children.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
06	Children don't resent physical punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
07	Children need physical punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
08	Parents don't need to punish less.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
09	Children benefit from physical punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
10	I would not support a law against physical punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
11	Physical punishment is not abusive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
12	Teachers/principals have right to use physical punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		

A2: PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

- E04.** What corporal punishments do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children?
(Multiple selections possible)

Pinching	<input type="radio"/>
A smack on the bottom	<input type="radio"/>
Light slap in the face	<input type="radio"/>
Hard slap in the face	<input type="radio"/>
Hitting the bottom hard with a stick	<input type="radio"/>
Beating until bleeding	<input type="radio"/>
Beating with objects (such as belts, bamboo canes)	<input type="radio"/>
Kicking	<input type="radio"/>
Strangulation	<input type="radio"/>
Other corporal punishment	<input type="radio"/>
I reject corporal punishment as a method of upbringing	<input type="radio"/>

A3: EXPECTED RESULTS OF THE USE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

- E03.** How often do you think that spanking or hitting a child with a hand or an object for disciplinary purposes leads to the child...

	Never				Always
	1	2	3	4	5
01 being better behaved in the short-term?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
02 being better behaved in the long-term?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
03 being more respectful of parents?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
04 learning correct behavior?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
05 having a better relationship with the parent?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
06 having a decreased chance of being delinquent or incarcerated later in life?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
07 having a better sense of self control?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
08 being physically injured?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
09 being more aggressive?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10 being physically abused?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11 experiencing long-term emotional upset?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12 having poorer cognitive abilities?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13 having poorer mental health?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14 having poorer physical health?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

A4: CORPORAL PUNISHMENT USED BY ONESELF IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

E06. What corporal punishments did you use when raising children?

(Multiple selections possible)

Pinching

A smack on the bottom

Light slap in the face

Hard slap in the face

Hitting the bottom hard with a stick

Beating until bleeding

Beating with objects (such as belts, bamboo canes)

Kicking

Strangulation

Other corporal punishment

I did not use corporal punishment in my parenting

I have never raised children

A5: CORPORAL PUNISHMENT EXPERIENCED BY ONESELF IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

E05. What corporal punishment(s) did you experience during your own upbringing?

(Multiple selections possible)

Being pinched

A smack on the bottom

Light slap in the face

Hard slap in the face

Being hit hard on the bottom with a stick

Being beaten until bleeding

Being beaten with objects (such as belts, bamboo canes)

Being kicked

Being strangled

Other corporal punishment

I did not experience corporal punishment during my upbringing

A6: ATTITUDES TOWARDS EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

E07.		Strongly disagree					Strongly agree				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
01	I would not support a law against emotional punishment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
02	Emotional punishment is not abusive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
03	Emotional punishment is not harmful to children.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

A7: PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

E08.	What emotional punishment(s) do you consider appropriate in the upbringing of children? <i>(Multiple selections possible)</i>	Shouting	<input type="radio"/>
		Blaming or shaming	<input type="radio"/>
		Belittling or disparaging	<input type="radio"/>
		Hurtful or insulting remarks ("stupid", "lazy" or "useless")	<input type="radio"/>
		Intimidation or threats (e.g. threatening physical violence, but not carrying it out)	<input type="radio"/>
		Locking the child in a room	<input type="radio"/>
		Skipping meals	<input type="radio"/>
		Leaving the child home alone without saying where you are going or when you will return	<input type="radio"/>
		Withholding attention and affection	<input type="radio"/>
		Isolation from family or friends	<input type="radio"/>
		No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate	<input type="radio"/>
		Other emotional punishment	<input type="radio"/>
I reject emotional punishment as a parenting method	<input type="radio"/>		

A8: USE OF EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT IN THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

<p>E10. What emotional punishment(s) did you use when raising children?</p> <p><i>(Multiple selections possible)</i></p>	Shouting	<input type="radio"/>
	Blaming or shaming	<input type="radio"/>
	Belittling or disparaging	<input type="radio"/>
	Hurtful or insulting remarks (“stupid”, “lazy” or “useless”)	<input type="radio"/>
	Intimidation or threats (e.g. threatening physical violence, but not carrying it out)	<input type="radio"/>
	Locking the child in a room	<input type="radio"/>
	Skipping meals	<input type="radio"/>
	Leaving the child home alone without saying where you are going or when you will return	<input type="radio"/>
	Withholding attention and affection	<input type="radio"/>
	Isolation from family or friends	<input type="radio"/>
	No longer speaking to the child/refusal to communicate	<input type="radio"/>
	Other emotional punishment	<input type="radio"/>
	I did not use any emotional punishments in my parenting	<input type="radio"/>
	I have never raised children	<input type="radio"/>

A9: EMOTIONAL PUNISHMENT EXPERIENCED BY ONESELF DURING OWN UPBRINGING

<p>E09. What emotional punishment(s) did you experience during your upbringing?</p> <p><i>(Multiple selections possible)</i></p>	Being shouted at	<input type="radio"/>
	Being blamed or humiliated	<input type="radio"/>
	Being belittled or disparaged	<input type="radio"/>
	Hurtful or insulting remarks ("stupid", "lazy" or "useless")	<input type="radio"/>
	Intimidation or threats (e.g. threatening physical violence, but not carrying it out)	<input type="radio"/>
	Being locked in a room	<input type="radio"/>
	Having meals skipped	<input type="radio"/>
	Being left home alone without being told where the caregiver was going or when they would return	<input type="radio"/>
	Having attention and affection withheld	<input type="radio"/>
	Isolation from family or friends	<input type="radio"/>
	No longer being spoken to/refusal to communicate	<input type="radio"/>
	Other emotional punishment	<input type="radio"/>
	I did not experience any emotional punishment during my upbringing	<input type="radio"/>

