

Jiayin Li-Gottwald



Chinese Migrant Parents and Complementary Schooling in Germany

A Sociolinguistic Ethnography

Jiayin Li-Gottwald
Chinese Migrant Parents and Complementary
Schooling in Germany

To Lily, Hope, Michel, Bobby and Marian

To my mom, for her unwavering and unconditional love, and for the endless support which made this book possible. I am deeply indebted to her.

Also, to my father, who I have not seen for many years but who provided the knowledge of my entire childhood world. He guided a young girl's curiosity in searching for the truth.

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Dedication

I dedicate this book to my family, to different kinds of migrants, to those who still dream of emigrating, to their spirit and courage.

Lily

Born in China, my mom Lily had never left her country to live elsewhere until she was in her fifties. In the year 2000, she left China in search of a different life. Having no linguistic skills or formal state education, she settled in California. While enjoying the sunshine and California spirit, life in the golden state has not been an easy challenge. I remember my trembled heart when I had to witness her everyday life in her new country.

Marian

My mother-in-law Marian was born in a village in former eastern Germany now a part of Poland. When the village where she was born became part of Poland at the end of the Second World War, she, at the age of six, fled on foot with her family to West Germany. To start living temporarily in some local people's house¹, engaging in any possible education which she had limited access to, she established her own family, built her own house, and eventually, became a senior nurse in a local hospital where she worked until she retired. Life is not easy but she has managed.

Hope

Born in Los Angeles, my daughter Hope is now growing up in Germany after spending three years in Beijing as a small child. At the age of 13, Hope speaks fluent German, Mandarin and English, while learning Latin and Russian, contributes her passion to learning the piano and cello, while attending a local elite German school. Her dream is to return to her birthplace and prepare for the future adventure.

Joe Joe

My brother Joe Joe is a successful entrepreneur, with his business empire in China and further success developing in California. Educated at the University of Cambridge, he is fluent in English and Chinese. His freedom of space is

¹ At first, her family lodged as refugees with a local family in West Germany, in line with the government's policy on re-settlement.

worldwide, his spirit of ambition is high. He is a different kind of immigrant, a kind of superiority beyond the most people's comprehensions.

Michel

My husband Michel, a middle-class German businessman, has been travelling around the whole world, but is dedicated to his life in Germany. Although he has dreamed of emigrating somewhere warm and sunny since his youth, life has so far kept him in his motherland. He still talks about emigrating here and there, just to make sure his dreams will not become an illusion.

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I am deeply indebted to my mom, who, from the start, has enabled me to have a life filled with experiences that lit the desire for this study; who encouraged me to carry on with my university studies and to begin this path of the PhD; who has endlessly supported every step of my life so far without any expectations; who is never disappointed when my life choices do not coincide with what she would have wished for me. Her unwavering and unconditional love has made this book possible. Her pleasure and pride in my achievement has touched me immensely. Her belief and courage for life has been the motivation of this book.

Words are not adequate to express my deepest and heartfelt thanks to my husband for his unbroken patience, support, encouragement and trust. I would like to express my appreciation for the enormous amount of time he invested in listening to my research progress, and the difficulties and disappointments I have encountered. I am humbled to recount his unfailing support during the most difficult time in his life. I am also grateful to his and his mother's terrific help with childcare, which made my study and trips to London possible.

Finally, I would especially like to thank my daughter Hope, who as a young child started this journey with me, who has been both a witness and the exceptional inspiration for this study, and who is the reason for my being.

Introduction

Like so many of today's Chinese in Germany, I am a relatively recent arrival to the country, having spent most of my life elsewhere. At the age of 30, I came to Germany with a dream of building my own family. Although I had no local, cultural, and linguistic knowledge of the country, I thought I was going to settle down. Born in Beijing, I spent much of my childhood in the old city of Beijing, investigating every corner of the Forbidden City and Qian Men Da Jie. My world was the inner two rings of modern Beijing, a world which was childish, fun, and safe. My teenage years saw me in Scotland, where I found myself alone in a small village, learning about Scottish weather and British education. In my memory it is cold, windy, and full of curiosities. I try to remember the time of my 20s, which unfolded in England where I received my Bachelor and Masters degrees. I recall a phase of colours and self-confidence.

Later, life has split into different parts: family life in Germany, PhD in London, and spending time with my mom and brother in California, in the States. While I was able to commute easily between London and California where I was familiar with the local cultural patterns and fluent in the language, I found that it was rather difficult to engage myself with my German environment. The world here was foreign; I had never felt so far away before. The most difficult thing was not becoming fluent in a third language, not making sense of the local customs, but creating my own friendship circle. On the one hand, it took me a long time to become friendly with the local Germans because of their different socialisation norms. On the other hand, I was out of reach from any Chinese communities in the country. Unlike most Chinese migrants in Germany, my path to the country had nothing to do with the classic Chinese settlements (see Chapter 1): I did not come to the country for higher education where one can forge solid friendship in universities; I did not have any companions from China with whom I could share my own confusions and vulnerabilities. Marrying a German does not help me to stay in touch with my own flesh and blood. Indeed, I was, for a while of the time, vulnerable in the country for which I had so much hope.

The impetus for this research arose from my own migrant experiences and life trajectories, and it would never have taken place, if my daughter had not been attending a Chinese complementary school in Germany prior to the research. It all began with my thrill at seeing one or two Chinese people every once in a while, at the very early stage of my life in Germany, sometimes later encountering them on a street, and hearing Mandarin on a bus, a train or in other public settings in the major city where I have settled. The curiosity about my own ethnic migrant group in Germany came to the fore some years prior to this study, when I registered my daughter to learn the Mandarin language in a local Chinese school. On that day, I entered a place where I was overwhelmed

by the memory deep inside of me. It had been a long time since I had seen a crowd of Chinese and greeted them by saying *nihao* 你好 (how are you). Many Chinese parents were there at the school, divided into different groups. They were chatting, joking, sharing food, playing mahjong and practising yoga. There were so many of them that I was not able to count them all. However, I was primarily interested in their stories.

Until recently there was a dearth of studies on Chinese communities and the lives of Chinese migrants in modern Germany. The need to investigate Chinese communities in modern Germany was widely ignored by the scholars of social sciences (Gütinger 2004). However, this absence has drawn increasing attention, in particular from scholars with ethnic Chinese minority backgrounds, and the topic of Chinese communities in Germany has slowly become an emerging theme in the field of sociology studies over the past few years. For instance, Maggie Leung, a Hong Kong-born researcher, has conducted a series of studies related to the important strategy of ethnic networking for Chinese-run business in Germany (Leung 2001, 2005b), the construction of Chinese migrants' identities in Germany (Leung 2006), and the question of how Chinese immigrant tourism business owners and related suppliers pursue their business opportunities in Germany and their practice of transnationalism and transculturalism (Leung 2005a, 2009). Silvia Van Ziegert, a second-generation Chinese-American of Hong Kong descent, studies the culture of diasporic Chinese communities in both the United States and Germany, suggesting that overseas Chinese are constantly reconstructing Chinese culture, forming transnational linkages (Ziegert 2007). In a later study, Qilan Shen, a Shanghai-born writer, portrays a detailed picture of the formation and diversity of an evangelical Chinese community in Leipzig, Germany, with the focus on the transnational mission and immigrant lifestyle of the community members (Shen 2010). Nevertheless, few of these studies have taken place in the domain of sociolinguistics. With an emphasis on Chinese migrants social-linguistic (oral) interactions, the current book intends to contribute to the legends of first-generation Chinese migrants and open up discussions on the phenomenon of *Chinesische Schule* (中文学校/Chinese school) in modern German society.

In this book, I focus on the parental social interactions established at a Chinese complementary school in a major city, in Germany, hoping to demonstrate the significance of the interactions for first-generation migrant parents. To be more specific, I investigate the empowerment and the constraints of such parental social interactions for the first-generation migrant parents. Here I am following the concept of social capital, which broadly refers to the value of the interactions of social groups. The three most influential notions of social capital are: the ways in which resources potentially and actually reside in durable social networks with an emphasis on the reproduction of social inequality (Bourdieu 1986, 1987, 2018); the ways in which certain social structures facilitate social actions which support youth education (Coleman 1988, 1990b); and

individual connections, trust, and norms of reciprocity with attention given to civic engagement (Putnam 1993b, 1995, 1996, 2000). My aim is to contribute to knowledge on ethnic Chinese minority studies in the field of sociolinguistic ethnography with a focus on the value of social interactions in relation to the concepts of social capital as well as including the notion of Guanxi 关系, which refers to the interpersonal relationship in Chinese society (Bian 2001; 2006; Chen and Chen 2004; Lin 2001; Qi 2012, 2013). This provides a Chinese perspective that adds to the anglophone literature.

The research for this book took place at Hua Hua School, a pseudonym for a Chinese complementary school in Germany. Hua Hua School has more than 500 students and is open one day each weekend. Over the whole day, parents and students come and go, and many parents remain at the school while their children take lessons. I conducted the research with the participants, namely, the parents who waited at the school. All the participants were China-born and came to Germany as first-generation migrants. Participants were between the ages of 30 and 50, and their origins were from across Mainland China. All my participants are multilingual. Their linguistic repertoires include more than one language; for example, many of them spoke varieties of Chinese, German and English.

My immediate concern was a desire to gain a deeper understanding of the social interactions of Chinese migrants in Germany. Given my own narratives and social background, inevitably I focused on parental interactions, in particular, parental social interactions among first-generation Chinese migrants in Germany. Sending my own child to a Chinese language school operated by a local ethnic Chinese community, I witnessed the intense social interactions at the school site and the resources that emerged from the parental group interactions. My own multilingual repertoire allows me to participate at the school site, listening to conversations, grasping meanings and collecting data which is most interesting. This impression formed the starting point for this book. As a researcher, I am informed by qualitative research, since the nature of the question posed for this research presumes the need for an exploratory and interpretive approach. I also see myself operating in a post-structuralist paradigm where the world is discursively constructed and truth is socially shaped. I therefore see the phenomenon of social capital as being discursively constructed through the social interactions among my participants in this study. Bearing in mind the material basis of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and the fact that the main social capital theorists in this study do not take a poststructuralist approach to the concept, I treat the data of this study as discursively constructed. Following Block (2014), I intend to reconcile the material world with the discursive social truth and draw attention to the interaction of social structure and human agency, which sees structures facilitate and constrain individual actions while individual actions serve to constantly reshape and reproduce the same structures (ibid). In other words, by looking into the spoken interactions among

my parental participants and how they construct social relations with each other, I intend to explore how social capital is generated and comes into being through their social interactions.

Considering ...language as a site for the construction and contestation of social meaning (Baxter 2003, pp.6), I place my special interest in the parental linguistic interactions taking place among my participants. In particular, I draw my attention to their spoken interactions since spoken interaction was the most intensive form of practice during their gatherings. Drawing on Michel Foucault's theory that social reality is discursively constructed and language is both deeply related to knowledge, power and truth, and the means through which the social world is created by individual subjectivities (Foucault 1991), I pay close attention to the parental spoken interactions and attempt to reflect on the discursive practices during their interactions in relation to the issues of social capital.

Three key parental groups emerged during the fieldwork at the school setting. As the parents met regularly in these three groups, I noticed their intensive interactions with one another through endless chatting, joking and gossiping. In studying their spoken interactions, I draw on Lemkes (1995) notion of social voice, which refers to the voices of our communities that are available to and used by people who speak in order to make the meaning comprehensible in the community in which they are embedded (pp.24-25). Thus, my interest in the three parental groups spoken interactions resides within the social voice of the participants and its interrelatedness to the value of their social interactions, as seen in informational exchanges, mutual support, emotional backup, social inclusion/exclusion, marginalization/elimination, both within and beyond the Chinese complementary school site.

Over time, the study has been shaped by a diverse body of literature focused on: firstly, social capital theories, such as the value of group networking related to personal profit, children education, community development, civic participation, bridging to host society, and the construction of social class and groups; secondly, the most related concept to social capital, Guanxi, in Chinese scholarship; and thirdly, poststructuralist questions, such as the discursive practices of social relations, individual self-positioning, and the discursive positioning of others within power relations. From initial readings in sociolinguistics and social capital theory, other texts have come to inform my approach. The most important of these come from: Bourdieu's work on the structure of society, habitus, and the accumulation of capital; Putnam's concepts of social capital, civic engagement, and society development; Coleman's ideas of community and parental engagement in young people's academic success; Foucault's knowledge of discursive practice within power relations; Chinese scholarship on Guanxi; migration studies, and sociology.

One of my intentions is to build on the body of work on complementary schooling in applied and sociolinguistics by examining the phenomenon of social capital in the setting of a Chinese complementary school in Germany with reference to the parents rather than their children. I aim to develop this by taking a post-structuralist perspective on the discursive practice of self-positioning, the availability of social space, marginalization, and the practice of resource inequality in the investigation of the accumulation of social capitals in three different parental groups. Taking a sociolinguistic approach, I explore the notion of social capital through an ethnographic study of social interactions among a group of first-generation Chinese migrants in Germany.

To explore these issues, I have structured the study around three overall questions, namely:

1. What is the nature of the social relationships among first-generation Chinese migrants in Germany in the setting of their children's complementary school?
2. In what ways do the parental groups and their interaction in the complementary school setting facilitate their social status in the Chinese migrant community and wider German society?
3. What do the findings suggest about social capital in complementary school settings and its significance for first-generation migrant parents?

The first part of Chapter 1 sets the scene by depicting a broad picture of the history of Chinese migration to Germany, dating back to the early 19th century. The second part introduces the concept of complementary schooling and current development of complementary schools with a focus on Germany. While it reviews the recent literature on complementary schooling and highlights the most significant studies, it also exposes the lack of attention given to the role of complementary schools as sites where ethnic migrant parents come together. The end of this chapter raises the question of the significance of Chinese complementary schools for first-generation migrant parents beyond the education of their children.

Chapter 2 explores the concept of social capital and the notion of Guanxi through various theoretical approaches and different cultural perspectives. From an Anglo-European perspective, I explore the three most significant notions of social capital. Following the review of his work on the symbolic, class-based and hierarchical modern social system (Bourdieu 1977a, 1984, 1987), I firstly consider Bourdieu's class-based nature of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). I then discuss Putnam's promotion of civic engagement and community development through social capital (Putnam 1993a, 1995, 1996, 2000). Finally, I examine Coleman's idea of family and community social capital which facilitate young people's educational achievement (Coleman and Hoffer 1987; Coleman 1988, 1990a). These are followed by a review of social capital from

a Chinese perspective, in which I explore the philosophical root of interpersonal relationships among Chinese people, dating back to Confucianism (Bian 2006; Bian and Zhang 2014; Confucius 2008; Oxnam and Bloom n.d.; Zhang et al. 2005). I conclude this part by explaining the most recent Chinese scholarship on the concept of Guanxi (Bian 2006; Chen and Chen 2004; Dunning and Kim 2007; Lin 2001b, 2012) which is related to the value of social relations. Following these, I contend that Guanxi, which is a significant social phenomenon in Chinese society, is a similar concept to the Anglo-European version of social capital.

Chapter 3 acts as a bridge between the theoretical concepts and the data. In this chapter, I discuss the design of the empirical study as a small-scale qualitative study with an ethnographic approach. I firstly describe the philosophical stance that leads to my choice of a qualitative study based on the nature of this research. I then present the framework of the ethnographic study and its key feature of participant observation, followed by a reflection on the methodology. This is followed by a detailed description of the data collection methods: the interviews, participant observations, and fieldnotes of this study. I then introduce discourse analysis as the analytical tool and demonstrate its value as the most appropriate for taking account of the social, cultural, and political contexts of the focus of this research. I conclude this chapter with a demonstration of my analytical steps.

As part of the analysis, Chapter 4 explores the data from the group of participants that I named the Networkers. I consider the topics and content of their spoken interactions. I focus on the way they formed the group, the features of their interactions, and the value of such spoken interactions for the members through analysing the discursive practice (Foucault 1991) of their social interaction. I apply different notions of social capital and various concepts of Guanxi to the data and review the relevance of these theoretical concepts in my empirical work. Chapter 5 mirrors Chapter 4 in that it considers similar matters in the data of the Cosmopolitans. Chapter 6 follows the same line of discussion and considers the data of the Marginalised. While there is substantial overlapping of the themes among the data of three groups, the topics and content differ related to talks, such as self-positioning, their circle of social associations, engagement with the local ethnic Chinese community, and so on.

Chapter 7 collates the main findings that have emerged in the previous three chapters. It discusses the discursive practice of parental interactions according to the conceptual and theoretical framework of Chapter 2 and relates my understanding of different practices of parental interactions in the school setting to the various notions of social capital, social inequality and social class. I argue that the Chinese complementary school offers a safe space for first-generation migrant parents to generate bonding social capital (Putnam 1993b, 1995), community and family social capital (Coleman 1988). However,

I contend that while the school provides a safe environment for its more socioeconomically privileged parents to access resources that emerge during their interactions, it offers little support and few resources to its disadvantaged parents. This seems to reconcile Bourdieu's point about the material basis of social capital and inequality in the structure of the material world (e.g. Bourdieu 1986, 1987, 1990, 2018).

In the concluding chapter, I draw together the main findings that have materialized in the course of my research and provide a space to reflect on experiences related to the study. I reflect on the questions of how my own positions, experiences and perceptions have shaped the research, as well as the strengths and limitations of this research. I conclude this chapter with an outline of the knowledge I have gained regarding the three main research questions.

1 A first glimpse of Chinese Migrants in Germany and Complementary Schools

1.1 Introduction

During the period of this PhD research being conducted, I have been a witness to a dramatic increase in Chinese migration to Germany. The most recent statistic in 2016 by the Federal Institute for Population Research (Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung² 2017) estimates that there were roughly 212,000 Chinese inhabitants in Germany. The Chinese constitute the third largest non-European foreign ethnic group in Germany, following those from Syria and the USA (see Table 1). At the final stage of this study, taking into account the people of Chinese descent and Chinese ethnicity from other countries in South-east Asia, it might be that the ethnic Chinese community in Germany consists of many more members than the official national statistics suggests.

Table 1: Non-European immigrants in Germany, 2015

(Herkunftsländer nichteuropäischer Zuwanderer nach Deutschland)

Country of Origin	Syrien (Syria)	USA (USA)	China (China)	Indien (India)	Brasilien (Brazil)
Population	440,000	324,000	212,000	161,000	94,000

Source: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung (2017)

In this chapter, I aim to set the scene for the study by considering the context in which it was conducted in order to demonstrate how the Chinese migrant community is moving from a modest number in Germany to a sizeable community. Drawing on Jordan and Düvell's (2003) definition of migration - the movement of people across borders, both by choice and under economic and political forces, which involves stays of over a year (pp.5) - when I refer to Chinese migrants in this book, I primarily speak of Chinese people who are long-term residents in Germany. Of the various categories of people moving across borders since the Second World War, such as political refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants (Block 2006), the majority of the Chinese migrants involved in this study can be considered as economic migrants. However, I assert that Chinese migrants are heterogeneous in terms of their origins, their linguistic repertoires, and their socioeconomic and cultural status. In particular, I emphasise the social, cultural and economic differences of mainland

² The Federal Institute of Population Research

Chinese migrants in Germany. Firstly, it is necessary to review the historical accounts of Chinese migration in Germany in order to trace the social and historical reasons for its existence. This is important to the context of the study as a means of understanding the trajectory of Chinese migrants in Germany and comprehending their relationship to both the host community and the local ethnic Chinese community. These are particularly related to the participants who will be introduced in the later chapters. I will first look at the beginning of Chinese migration in 18th-century Germany and reveal the reasons why such a phenomenon took place. I will present three historical periods of Chinese migration into Germany, and at the end, focus on the recent rapid increase in the Chinese population of Germany. Thus, I hope to sketch the waves of Chinese migration to Germany and to expose the key political, cultural and historical forces that have had significant influences on various groups of Chinese migrants during each wave. Secondly, it is of my interest to highlight the diversity of Chinese migrants in terms of their linguistic, social, economic and political standings in order to present the current ethnic persona of the Chinese community in Germany. This will later assist the readers understanding of the social, cultural and political backgrounds of the various groups of participants portrayed in the later chapters of this study. Finally, I will introduce the phenomenon of complementary schools since it was in one such school that the participants of this study regularly gathered and where the fieldwork took place. I will review recent studies related to complementary schooling and briefly introduce the history of Chinese complementary schools in Germany.

1.2 Chinese migration in Germany

1.2.1 The history of Chinese migration in Germany

In this section, I will demonstrate the trajectory of Chinese migration over the last two centuries in Germany. Following a chronological order, the discussion is based on four historical periods: the early settlement; World War II and the post-war period; the post-economic reform period in China; and the new wave. I hope these will provide insights into the historical, cultural and social backdrops of the Chinese community in Germany, and thus assist the reader in understanding the participants who are presented in the later chapters of this study.

1.2.1.1 The early settlement:

The early settlement of Chinese migrants was the result of colonization and can be defined as starting with the arrival of the very first two Chinese in Germany in 1822 (Gütinger 2004) and ending with the community of a few thousand Chinese living in Germany in the 1930s before the Nazis gained power (Amenda 2011; Benton 2007; Gütinger 2004). During the first wave of Chinese migration, Chinese migrant patterns aligned with Germany were composed of different groups of sailors, construction workers, merchants, students, and artists who came from various regions in and outside of China and spoke different Chinese languages (*ibid*).

One major group consisted of Cantonese-speaking sailors and small business owners. The members of the Cantonese-speaking community were mostly from the Canton province in China and Hong Kong. They established themselves in the early Chinese Quarter area of Hamburg and ran small businesses such as restaurants and shops with about 200 residents (Amenda 2011; Benton 2007).

Later, another Chinese migrant group settled and built up a Chinese Quarter in Berlin in the 1920s. Yu-Dembksi (2011) reveals that most of the Chinese who lived in the Chinese quarter in Berlin came from Zhejiang Province with a peasant family background and only spoke their own home dialects³. Most of the members of the Zhejiangnese community were merchants and construction labourers. In line with the development of early Chinese migration in Europe, Cantonese and Zhejiangnese were two of the major Chinese communities across Europe at the time (*ibid*).

On the one hand, these two groups of Chinese migrants in both Hamburg and Berlin had different origins, spoke different languages and worked in different industrial areas. On the other hand, they faced similar issues and problems in Germany. Amenda (2011) portrays the lives of Chinese sailors in Hamburg in the 1920s and partially explains the backgrounds that limited the development of the Chinese community in Germany at this time. He notes that politically, the local Hamburg authorities rigidly controlled the Chinese migrants and their population density. From a sociocultural standpoint, as reflected in books, news articles and general attitudes during that period, Chinese migrants were stereotyped and presented as unwelcome intruders, criminals and cultural strangers (*ibid*, pp.54). Meanwhile the similarly-sized and structured Chinese community in Berlin faced the same situation. The local Berlin government violated the Chinese migrants' residential and business rights, since it was believed that Chinese of lower status were not capable of 'adjusting to the local customs' and that they 'present a danger to society' (Yu-Dembksi 2011, pp. 66). Amenda (2011) describes the image of Chinese migrants in

³ Yu-dembksi states that many of these people were from Wenzhou and Qintian, which is significant relevant to some of my participants.

the 1920s in Germany by stating that ‘Chinese migrants embodied the racial and cultural other, and they were staged as a threat to German society...’ (pp.58). Under such suppression, Chinese migrants in the quarter kept their ‘modest existence’ (Yu-Dembski 2011, pp. 67). As will be discussed later, these Cantonese and Zhejianese Chinese migrant ancestors are particularly relevant to the backgrounds of several participants introduced in the later chapters of this study.

Another major group of early Chinese settlers in Germany was Chinese students in Berlin (Benton 2007). Around 1904, the first group arrived in Berlin, and by the 1920s, the Chinese had become the fourth-largest group of foreign students in Germany. Unlike the Chinese mentioned previously, who came from simple social backgrounds, Chinese students and artists were from prosperous families and were welcomed by the host society, enjoying a cosmopolitan lifestyle in Berlin in the 1920s (Yu-Dembski 2011). Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, a strong Communist movement emerged in Germany. During 1918-1933, many of the Chinese students were actively engaged in the Communist Party of Germany (Die Kommunistische Partei Deutschland), promoting Communist ideas among Chinese seamen and organising strikes among Chinese crews (Benton 2007). These students later returned to China and became elite members of the Communist Party of China (ibid). This elite group of Chinese migrants was rarely mentioned in any mainstream political debate and/or public discourse at the time. For the German public, Chinese migrants were associated with sailors, merchants and cheap labourers who lived in Chinese neighbourhoods. (Amenda 2011; Benton 2007). However, the account of elite migrant student predecessors sets the scene for the later Chinese students to study in Germany and is extremely relevant to a number of my participants presented in the analysis chapters.

1.2.1.2 World War II and the Post-war period

After Chinese migrants slowly settled in Germany in the early 1920s, the national political sphere in Germany disrupted their settlement. During the Third Reich, World War II and the Post-war period, the Chinese population dramatically decreased. According to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commissions statistics (cited in Benton 2007), in 1935 a total of 1,800 Chinese lived in Germany. More than 1,000 of them were students based in Berlin, and a few hundred were seamen based in Hamburg. During World War II, most Chinese left Germany; in particular, almost all the students left the country. According to Gütinger (1998), among the rest who stayed during the war, more than three hundred of those who lived in Berlin were arrested and sent to work camps (*Arbeitslager*) in 1942. The very few of them who survived World War II left the country in the late 1940s.

During the Post-war period and two decades afterwards, the number of Chinese remained under a few hundred (Giese 2003) and most of them were in the restaurant business (Leung 2006). The low immigration rate was partly caused by the national political sphere in China when the country had a closed-door policy during its various political movements including the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.

1.2.1.3 The post-economic reform period in China

China's economic reform starting in 1978 enhanced its trading relations with Western countries and increased the opportunities for its citizens to go abroad. Emigration trends especially started to go up at the second stage of the reform in the late 1980s and 1990s. This high wave of migration is partly evidenced by the significant increase in the Chinese population in Germany since the late 1980s. From 1978 to 2001, the numbers of Chinese increased 64-fold and the most significant increase happened between 1983-2001 (Giese 2003). In particular, the Chinese from mainland China have become the most dominant Chinese ethnic population since 1983 (Giese 2003; Leung 2006).

During this second wave of Chinese migration into Germany, the Chinese ethnic community developed into a more heterogeneous group. In particular, the migrants from mainland China were highly heterogeneous in terms of their sociocultural backgrounds and status and brought with them distinct local and regional heritages. By the end of 2001, various groups of Chinese lived in Germany with a total population count of 63,111. Of these, around 12,000 were students, which in terms of occupation, made up the largest group of Chinese in Germany at the time (Giese 2003). Giese (2003) also points out that even during the suppression of democracy movement of 1989 and the following years of repression and isolation, Chinese student numbers kept rising due to the political and financial support offered to Chinese students by the German government. The studentships offered during the period from the late 1980s to the end of the 1990s are particularly relevant to the early migration trajectories of a number of my participants, who came to Germany during the period following the 1989 incident and were sponsored by German government to pursue high education. Another consistent increase was from the 1990s to the end of 2000, when Chinese students became the largest foreign student body in Germany (Giese 2003). This followed the rapid growth in the numbers of Chinese students abroad since the economic reform in 1978 (Cheng and Miao 2010; China Education Online 2017), which was due to the lower cost of the tuition in Germany in comparison to the UK and the States, a high demand for higher education (Giese 2003; Xu and Küpper 2014), and opportunities to have courses taught in the English language in many German universities (Maeder-Qian 2018). Such examples can be found among some of my participants, who came to Germany to complete their higher education.