Mother Tongue

Intergenerational negotiations over language and identity among Chinese immigrants in Berlin

Moedertaal *– Intergenerationele onderhandelingen*
over taal en identiteit onder Chinese immigranten in Berlijn
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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Abstract

The Chinese immigrants in Germany have a special story to tell. Due to the political turbulence in both China and Germany in the second half of the 20th century, migration from China to Germany did not fully take off until the reunification of Germany in 1990. The current community of Chinese immigrants in Germany has a short history, compared to those in the US and Southeast Asia. Chinese immigrant families mainly consist of the first and the second generations, with a high percentage of university graduates and young professionals who arrived in Germany with a student visa. This dissertation is an ethnographic study of Chinese immigrants in Berlin, focusing on the process of how the second generation loses and learns the Chinese language within the resources of the nuclear families, but without a sizable ethnic Chinese community.

This thesis mainly draws on and contributes to the scholarship in migration studies and language socialization. I conducted a 12-months fieldwork in the classrooms of one public primary school and several private Chinese language schools, the Sunday programs for children at Chinese Christian churches, and numerous Chinese immigrant households throughout the city of Berlin. Driven by the anxieties of acquiring decent education, wider career opportunities, upward mobility and eventually political power, the first-generation Chinese immigrants often focus on the fabrication of a German identity for their children, and put their Chinese origins aside. However, the loss of the Chinese language among the second generation can lead to the lack of communication between parents and children, as well as the increase of inter-generational conflicts. Especially for immigrant families with no other family member in Germany and with limited transnational connection to China, institutions like language schools and Christian churches in Berlin become important venues, not only for the second generation to obtain additional education, but also for the first generation to gain further resources and authorities for themselves to amend the challenges at home.

Based on extensive ethnographic materials, this thesis examines the interactions between the two generations of Chinese immigrant families in Berlin, and analyzes their ambivalent relation towards the Chinese language and their Chinese background. Following the literature on language socialization and its emphasis on children's agency, I investigate the scope and the content of this agency, and address the impact of parents on the formation of children's agency in learning their heritage language. Building on Bourdieu's concepts of "a relation to a language", "implicit" and "explicit socialization", I argue that parents' relation to their Chinese background constitutes

considerably children's relation to the Chinese language, and children's acknowledgement of their Chinese background.

Korte Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift gaat gaat over Chinese taalverwerving onder kinderen van voornamelijk hoog opgeleide Chinese families in Berlijn. Het is gebaseerd op 12 maanden veldwerk in een aantal locaties waar Chinese kinderen Chinees taal onderricht krijgen. De etnografische situatie is bijzonder vanwege het feit dat de Chinese gemeenschap in Berlijn klein is. Het proefschrift laat zien dat de onderzochte familes in eerste instantie willen dat hun kinderen Duits leren, maar in tweede instantie bang zijn contact met hun kinderen te verliezen als zij geen Chinees beheersen. In het proefschrift wordt aangetoond dat de relatie die de ouders hebben met hun Chinese achtergrond van doorslaggevende betekenis is voor de taalverwerving van hun kinderen.

Introduction

"Whom will you invite to your birthday party?" I asked Yanzi, a sweet girl who would turn ten years old this weekend. "Classmates, friends," she pronounced every Chinese word slowly and carefully with braces on her teeth, "some are (from) school; some are (from) language school; not many"[1].

Yanzi was born in Cologne, in North Rhine-Westphalia in Western Germany, in 2005. She moved to Berlin in 2010 together with her family. Her parents, both from a small town near Lishui of Zhejiang Province in South-East China, left their hometown in China at the end of 1999 to "fight for a better life"[2] in Europe. With the help of families and friends, their journey mainly followed the trailblazers from their hometown and their network across Europe. First in the Czech Republic, then half a year in a "black factory"[3] in Italy, a quick stopover in France, before they finally settled in Germany. After several years of hard work in Chinese restaurants and shops, the family finally owns a family business, running a logistic warehouse for Asian markets in Berlin.

Baobao, Yanzi's seven-year-old little brother, looked much more excited about this birthday party than Yanzi herself. "I will invite all from my class! All!"[4] He could not help shouting out aloud in German as we stood together in front of a Chinese Language School in Berlin Charlottenburg. Born and raised in Germany, Baobao speaks fluent German, but hardly any Chinese. To use the words of his mother, Baobao's Chinese is already "without any hope"[5]. While Yanzi still makes her share of efforts to show what she can say with her limited Chinese vocabulary twisted in problematic Chinese grammar, Baobao does not even bother to react, if anyone speaks to him in Chinese.

Yanzi and Baobao are two among the hundreds of second-generation Chinese immigrants I encountered in Berlin. Throughout my fieldwork at GaP Primary School, Yizhi Language School and Chinese Christian Church of Berlin over the course of 12 months, the lack of Chinese linguistic capacity among these children struck me constantly. Many children do not respond to questions as simple as "What's your name?" or "How old are you?" when they are asked in Chinese. However,

[1] Author's translation, "同学，朋友，有的是学校，有的是语言学校，不多。"

[2] Author's translation, "打拼更好的生活".

[3] Author's translation, "黑工厂", factories that do not meet all the legal requirements.

[4] Author's translation, "Ich will alle aus meiner Klasse einladen! Alle!"

[5] Author's translation, "一点儿希望都没有了".

the moment I stopped trying and switched to German, the conversation immediately took on a life of its own. Do they lack the interest and the motivation to speak Chinese? Are they literally not able to speak Chinese? When they grow up with two Chinese parents who speak Chinese as mother tongue, why do these children not speak the same language?

The second generation of Chinese immigrants hardly speaks Chinese. It puzzled me even more, when I started talking to their parents and hearing their anxiety about the loss of Chinese language capacity among their children. Just like the mother of Baobao and Yanzi, hundreds of Chinese immigrants in Berlin have turned their weekend into additional school days, when they bring their children to attend classes at private Chinese language schools or Chinese Sunday programs offered by Chinese Christian churches. What is the motivation among these parents to make the extra efforts? Why is learning and speaking the Chinese language so important to the parents? And when it is this important to them, how come their children are not able to learn Chinese at home? The term "mother tongue" itself implies the natural transmission of linguistic capacity from parents to children. Why does this natural transmission appear to be such a rocky journey among the Chinese immigrant families in Germany? It has become almost a platitude to criticize the immigrants for being reluctant to learn the language of the host society, then why does the case of Chinese immigrants in Germany appear to be different? What does such difference imply?

This research sets out to answer these questions. Despite of the growing literature of theories and models on migration, as well as the intense spotlight on the arrival of asylum seekers and the heated debates over migration policies of Germany and EU in recent years, we know very little about the everyday life of immigrants and the challenges they are facing, especially among the non-Muslim immigrants. Parents and children, family and school, language and identity. This thesis presents and analyzes the struggles of raising children among the first-generation Chinese immigrants in Berlin. By documenting the intergenerational conflicts and negotiations over language and identity, demonstrating the role of institutions like public schools, private language schools and Christian churches, this research aims to gain a fuller understanding of the experiences of immigrant families in Germany.

Part One: Context

> *But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. The Lord said, "If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other." – Genesis 11: 5-7 (NIV)*

When people speak the same language, they are able to accomplish remarkable achievements together. So remarkable, that even *the Lord* is taut and terrified, as he decides to "go down" and resets the future. By sharing the same language, people are able to exchange and communicate with each other, understand one another, and cooperate together "so that we may make a name for ourselves" (Genesis 11:4). In this biblical story, having a common language is the most effective way to unite people of different clans and nations, people across territories and across lines of descent. While today and every day, the proficiency of language is not only the condition for acquisition of information and knowledge, for the attainment in education and in career, but also for the establishment and enhancement of interpersonal relationships and social contacts.

As *the Lord* confused the language, the construction of the tower and the city terminated. Babel, the Hebrew word for "to confuse", becomes the birthplace of multilingualism and the first warning of what could go wrong, when people no longer share the same language. We might argue that this is where diversity of languages and cultures began. However, evidently, it is meant by *the Lord* (and whomever He was talking to) as a destructive move to jeopardize the enterprise of His people. When people could no longer understand each other, they are no longer able to work on the same project together. The absence of a shared language leads directly to the lack of communication, the decrease of interpersonal interactions, and the increase of physical and emotional distance among individuals and communities.

For modern immigrant families like Baobao and Yanzi's, the role of language is just as crucial as it was in Babel. It is highly important to share the same language with natives in the host society, so that immigrants and their children could have the opportunity to adapt into the local culture and gain access to the education system and the labor market. At the same time, to share the same language with their family members and with their ethnic community is indispensable, too.

Especially when language connects to culture and community, being able to speak the heritage language could be a principal identity marker of immigrants and their families.

The challenge of sharing two different languages with two different groups becomes particularly tough for the children of immigrants, the second generation. Born and raised in the land their parents set foot on after a long trek, the second generation often carries the hopes and dreams of their parents to improve the life condition of the whole family and move up to a higher social status through education and career. As important as it is to master the language of the host society to achieve these goals, the second generation also needs the knowledge of their heritage language dearly to keep up the communication with family members, especially when their heritage language is the only language most family members can speak fluently. Not only is the heritage language often the common language for parents and children within immigrant families to form the emotional bond, it is also the crucial tool for parents to fulfill their role in parenting and guiding the second generation through their growth and socialization.

Ideally, the most desired outcome would be bilingualism among the second generation of immigrants, especially when they grow up within a bilingual environment from an early age. However, as many scholars have found out, bilingual language development among children is a complex process. It is under the influence of various factors in the family structure and the daily social environment. In the migration context, it could easily be a troubling journey for migrant families to navigate between the host language and the heritage language. Portes and Hao point out that only 40% of second-generation immigrant adolescents in the US could speak their heritage language other than English (Portes and Hao 1998). De Houwer conducted his research among 2000 bilingual families, where at least one parent speaks the heritage language, and concludes that nearly 25% of the children do not speak the heritage language at all (De Houwer 2007). Results of similar kind are detected among immigrant families in Sweden (Sirén 1995), in Japan (Yamamoto 2001), in Canada (Thordardottir 2011) and in the UK (Cattani et al. 2014).

Most of these works either do not investigate the contributing factors of this phenomenon, or attribute it to various patterns of parental language input, such as the role of gender or the number of children. Variables like these can provide future parents in migrant families with valuable hints to improve the chance of success in the bilingual upbringing of their children. However, they do not fully explain the lack of bilingual capacity among the second-generation immigrants in the first place. Some scholars in the US have already noticed significant differences in bilingual fluency among

immigrant families of various ethnicities. For example, Portes and Hao have noted that the second-generation youths from Latin American countries share a much higher degree of proficiency in their heritage language, Spanish, compared to other groups of immigrant children. Asian youths in their study appear to be "precisely the opposite", "who, relative to their second-generation peers, are significantly more prone to abandon their parents' languages" (Portes and Hao 1998, 28).

Although the loss of heritage language occurs gradually among most immigrant families and communities, it requires further investigations and closer inspections into their migration trajectory and everyday family life to explain why this process takes place at different paces for different groups. When bilingualism is challenging to achieve, it poses a set of formidable questions to all the parents in migrant families: With whom shall we share a language? With whom shall our children share a language? Most parents probably have never asked a question like this to themselves. However, by getting to know families like Baobao and Yanzi's, it appears to me that many parents have answered the question already, without knowingly asking themselves in the first place.

Asian Americans: from "model minority" to "bamboo ceiling"

Like many researchers, Portes and Hao do not single Chinese Americans out in their research, but rather refer to "Asian Americans" as one category. Although there are scholars criticizing the homogeneous characterization of Asian immigrants by piling all the Asian groups of various ethnicities together, most scholarship from the US still uses this term, so that the findings could be more comparable to other works on "whites/white Americans", "black/African Americans" and "Latinos". In the American scholarly literature, as well as in American media, immigrants from Asia have gained a rather rosy reputation in the past decades. "Asian Americans" as a collective identity is often associated with outstanding academic performance at schools in the public eye, under popular labels like "high-achievers" or "model minorities".

Numerous works document the persistence of Asian immigrants in the US in pursuit of superior academic performance, typically among Chinese, Indian and Korean immigrants. The pressure the elder generation places on the younger generation and the determination of an entire family to reach the goals, are constantly the subjects of both scholarly research (i.e. Caplan, Choy, and Whitmore 1992; Byun and Park 2012; Kao and Tienda 1998; Kao and Thompson 2003) and the media. In 2013, Pew Research Center noted in their report *The Rise of Asian Americans* that "educational

attainment among Asian Americans is markedly higher than that of the U.S. population overall" (Pew Research Center 2013). Based on their findings, among Asian Americans above 25 years old, 49% hold at least a college degree (51% among Chinese Americans), which is significantly higher than the average 28% of the whole U.S. population (25). "Asian students, both foreign born and U.S. born, also are heavily overrepresented in the awarding of U.S. advanced degrees. In 2010, Asian students accounted for 25% of the 48,069 research doctorates granted at U.S. universities."(26)

Being the largest group among Asian Americans (23.2% of all Asian Americans, 19) and equipped with well-known personalities like "Tiger Mom", Chinese Americans and their success in education take up much attention in the academic debates as well as the public ones. Some scholars attribute the phenomenon to "cultural traits, values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns" (Lee and Zhou 2015, 3). Schneider and Lee believe that the explanations lie in the facts that "(1) the East-Asian cultural tradition which places a high value on education for self-improvement, self-esteem, and family honor, and (2) the determination by some East Asian families to overcome occupational discrimination by investing in education" (Schneider and Lee 1990, 368). And the Chinese immigrants in the US in particular come "from a culture that, for about three thousand years, has more or less worshipped education for its own sake and as the most powerful means for improving one's social status" (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009, 358).

While some scholars emphasize on "the East-Asian cultural tradition", others address the role of social structures. They point out that the ethnic and racial categorization of population in the US, as well as the resources and networks that come with it, has a profound impact on the scope of upward mobility among immigrants of various ethnic and racial groups (Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown 1992; Zhou 1997; Goyette and Xie 1999). Additionally, the educational background and the socioeconomic profile of the first-generation immigrants play a significant role in the academic performance of their children. When Chinese immigrants hold higher educational degrees and higher income than average Americans, the investment in educational resources for their children is higher than that of their "white" American counterparts (Kao 1995). This process of "hyper-selectivity" contributes to the academic achievement among Chinese Americans, as it "helps immigrants selectively import cultural practices from their countries of origin, fine-tune them, and then recreate those that are most useful for social mobility in their host society" (Zhou and Lee 2014, 8322).

Both the "culturalists" and "structuralists" have received their share of criticism. "While structuralists underscore social structure and have largely avoided discussions about culture, culturalists flagrantly tout values, traits, and behavior and have ignored a host of structural factors that affect educational achievement" (Lee and Zhou 2015, 3). Lee and Zhou aim to adopt an "emergent" approach in their work to explain the exceptional academic achievement among children of Asian immigrants by identifying their tool-kit. While at the same time, a growing body of literature is challenging this popular notion of Asian Americans being the "model minority" altogether. Researchers present the reality of Asian American oppression with examples of everyday racism and anti-Asian discrimination in public institutions like schools. Some even go one step further to challenge the "fact" of claiming Asian Americans to be model in the first place (Zia 2000; Chou and Feagin 2015). Behind the statistics of having a high percentage of bachelor-degree holders, some scholars argue that Asian Americans struggle to gain social recognition and career prospect nonetheless. From the highly contested protests and lawsuits against the racial-conscious admission policies among elite universities[6], to the unpronounced "bamboo ceiling" of promotion in the job market (Hyun 2005), the myth of Asian Americans as "model minority" is now increasingly under scrutiny.

Asian immigrants in Germany

To consider Asian Americans as the "model minority", there first needs to be a belief in the existence of a "model minority" among immigrants. In the US, it is a shared "American dream", that all immigrants, "no matter where you are from", could all achieve remarkable goals, as long as they work hard and believe in their dreams. The children of immigrants could perform just as well as the "white" Americans at schools, if not even better. And those youngsters, who could outperform their fellow Americans, would go on to be the game-changers and to reach upward mobility for their entire families.

This type of "Yes-We-Can" American narrative about immigrants and their children is not easy to find in Germany. When it comes to school performance of immigrant children, scholars state their

[6] Anemona Hartocollis and Ted Siefer, "On Eve of Harvard Bias Trial, Dueling Rallies Show Rifts Among Asian-Americans", *The New York Times*, October 18, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/14/us/harvard-protest-affirmative-action.html

opinion quite firmly, that "it is known since a long time, that youth with migration background in general reaches less success in education than youth without migration background"[7] (Walter 2011, 398). Research on school performance among children of immigrants focuses dominantly on the "disadvantages" of children and youth from migrant families in the German school system, and compare them to children without migrant background (Diefenbach 2010).

Scholars often find children, whose families come from Turkey, Italy, Spain, former Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union, falling short in tests and measurement of their studies based in Germany. Academically, children with migration background perform poorly compared to children without migration background at different levels of schools. Over the trajectory of advancing into secondary schools, scholars point out that children from immigrant families are much less likely to enter a Gymnasium compared to native German children without migration background, while much more likely to go to a vocational school. The same trend can be observed at secondary schools, too, where pupils and students with migration background have a higher rate of drop-out without any certificate or diploma, especially among children from Turkish and Italian families (Kristen 2002; Haug and Diehl 2005; Segeritz, Walter, and Stanat 2010; Diefenbach 2010).

In contrast to these "disadvantaged" children from migrant families, some researchers consider migrants and their children from Vietnam, the Philippines and South Korea to be positive examples and the "success" in education and integration in Germany. Children from Vietnamese immigrant families in particular, who are often the counterparts to compare with children from Turkish families in quantitative studies, have shown higher percentage of Gymnasium participation and higher scores in tests, sometimes even higher than native German children without migration background (Walter 2011; Nauck and Schnoor 2015).

As Vietnamese families in Germany have much lower average household income than native German families (1781€ among Vietnamese households compared to 3033€ among German households, and compared to 2216€ among Turkish households)[8] (Nauck and Schnoor 2015, 636), scholars tend to attribute the reasons of their academic success to the culture of origin

[7] Author's translation, "Es ist seit Längerem bekannt, dass Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund im Allgemeinen einen geringeren Bildungserfolg erziehen als Jugendliche ohne Migrationshintergrund."
[8] Author's translation, "Das durchschnittliche Einkommen in Haushalten mit Müttern mit mindestens einem Kind zwischen 4 und 17 Jahren beträgt 3033€ bei deutschen, 2216€ bei den türkischen und 1781€ bei vietnamesischen Haushalten."

(*Herkunftskultur*). Similar to the analysis of "model minority" in the US, researchers connect the academic achievement among Vietnamese pupils at German schools to their "conservative values", such as "diligence" and "obedience towards parents" (Walter 2011, 402)[9]. Without much explanation, these "values" are often automatically considered as parts of the "Confucian" tradition, which these children in Vietnamese families in Germany must have grown up with (Walter 2011).

Interestingly, Vietnamese Americans, with the same "conservative values" and "Confucian tradition", have slightly lower percentage of college graduation (26%) compared to the national average in the US (28%), much lower compared to the average among Asian Americans (49%). Meanwhile, Chinese immigrants, although regarded as the "model minority" in the US and often in the spotlight of migration research among American scholars, are living silently in Germany. In 2017, there are more than 30% more Chinese immigrants living in Germany than Vietnamese immigrants (136,460 Chinese and 92,485 Vietnamese[10]). However, hardly any research on migration in Germany has noticed the existence of Chinese immigrants, even less among the research on academic performance of immigrant children at German schools. These odd contrasts raise intriguing questions: if "cultures" and "values" can be reasons to explain the success of certain immigrant groups, why do the same groups perform differently in different societies? When Chinese immigrants are doing well in the US and children of Chinese immigrants are performing well at American schools, what about Chinese immigrants and their children in Germany? Do they share a positive reputation as Chinese immigrants in the US, or do they struggle and fall behind?

China has engaged in international migration for centuries, and has increasingly become one of the major countries of emigration in the 21st century. Chinese migrants overseas can serve as a valuable means of comparison in theoretical debates, and contribute to the understanding of the economic, geopolitical and social impact from migration at the global scale. Focusing on the issues of language and identity, my project aims to fill in the gap of the lack of research on Chinese immigrants in Germany, as well as to underpin the scarce literature on Chinese immigrants in Europe. By investigating the priorities and strategies of raising children among Chinese immigrant families, this

[9] Author's translation, "konservative Werte wie Fleiß und Gehorsam den Eltern gegenüber".
[10] Statistisches Bundesamt, "Anzahl der Ausländer in Deutschland nach Herkunftsland in den Jahren 2016 und 2017", https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1221/umfrage/anzahl-der-auslaender-in-deutschland-nach-herkunftsland/ (accessed on December 10, 2018)

thesis aims to present an up-to-date analysis of the educational prospect for migrant children in Germany and a fuller description of the Chinese immigrant experiences.

Germany: a country of immigration?

Alongside the turbulence over the arrival of asylum seekers since 2015, debates over German identity and the role of newcomers in society are particularly eye-catching in recent years. German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in June 2015, "We are essentially already a country of immigration"[11]. A determined response to the well-known slogan from the former Chancellor Helmut Kohl that "The Republic is not a country of immigration"[12]. Although many Germans still hesitate to agree with a judgement of this kind, especially in regions where the anti-immigration sentiment has grown stronger over the years, the statistics do not leave much space for ambivalence. Until the end of 2015, about 20% of the whole population living in Germany have migration background, roughly 16.6 million people. Among them, more than half (56%) have already obtained German citizenship (9.3 million), while 44% still hold the passports from their countries of origin and are technically living as "foreigners"(7.2 million) (Felfe, Saurer, and Fichtl 2015, 17).

The number of immigrants in Germany, as well as the diversity of ethnicities and religions they bring along, has been on a steady rise since the end of World War II. However, Germany is rather apt to consider itself as a homogeneous ethnic nation. When the massive volume of "guest workers"[13] arrived in West Germany in 1950s and 1960s, the West German state repeatedly emphasized that foreign workers were "sojourners", but not "settlers" (Brubaker 1992). "Guest workers" were considered as "guests" who would eventually "go home" after a temporary stay, an opinion widely shared by the public as well as by the researchers. Research on these labor migrants did not start until late 1960s, when it became evident that many of these "guests" were here to stay. In scholarly literature as well as in the mainstream media, guest workers are often portrayed as "guests" who have overstayed their welcome and become the cause of social problems for the country, while "the

[11] Deutsche Presse-Agentur, "Merkel: Deutschland ist ein Einwanderungsland", *FAZ NET,* June 1, 2015, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/europa/angela-merkel-sieht-deutschland-als-einwanderungsland-13623846.html Author's translation, "Wir sind im Grunde schon ein Einwanderungsland."
[12] Helmut Kohl, "Rede vor dem Deutschen Städtetag in Frankfurt", *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, June 14, 1983, https://www.helmut-kohl.de/index.php?menu_sel=17&menu_sel2=&menu_sel3=&menu_sel4=&msg=2272 Author's translation, "Die Bundesrepublik ist kein Einwanderungsland."
[13] "Gastarbeiter"

difficulties and constraints of the migrants themselves" (Münz and Ulrich 2003, 20) are not part of the stories.

Besides labor migrants coming from afar, millions of descendants from ethnic Germans returned to Germany after World War II, as they were expelled from Eastern European countries after living there for centuries. In 1950 alone, about 12.5 million[14] expellees[15] arrived in both West Germany and East Germany. Although scholars often question their familiarity with German language and culture, these expellees received immediate citizenship upon their arrival because of their bloodline, as the acquisition of German citizenship then was based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*. Ironically, while the government sought to return the guest workers back to their lands of origin, "it sought at the same time to facilitate the immigration of ethnic German from Eastern Europe" (Brubaker 1992, 176). Germany continued to accept refugees from conflicting war-zones in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the aftermath of the Cold War. In the mid-1990s, although one sixth of the whole population in Germany were of foreign birth (Münz and Ulrich 2003), the lack of recognition of immigrants in German society and the lack of scholarly attention among German researchers remained striking.

Such reluctance of acknowledgement has become the subject of much scrutiny, and it begs the attention from scholars outside Germany. Wimmer and Glick-Schiller criticize the phenomenon that "their main concern was the consequence for the national class system, more specifically, how elements of a caste-like stratification were introduced setting apart immigrant-aliens from the national population. Migrant distinctiveness and home ties were taken for granted. German scholars produced neither models nor measures of inevitable assimilation and political incorporation comparable to American sociology, which in the postwar years first produced increasingly refined measures and scales of assimilation and then models of cultural pluralism" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 320). Brubaker points out that the real objection to non-German immigration has not been economic or demographic, but cultural and political (Brubaker 1992). The profound impact from the ethnocultural inflection of German self-understanding leaves little space for a "legitimate" process of assimilation. Mandel further explores the ambition of Germany to have multicultural tolerance and cosmopolitanism, while the deeply rooted race-based ideologies of bloodline and

[14] Jochen Oltmer, "Zwangswanderungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg", *Bundeszentrales für politische Bildung*, March 15, 2005, http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration-ALT/56359/nach-dem-2-weltkrieg

[15] "Vertriebene"

belonging pose severe challenges to come into terms with the arrival of immigrants of other ethnicities (Mandel 2008).

The dominant narrative of national identity in the unified Germany has been depressingly far away from the reality of ethnical and cultural diversity in the everyday life of immigrants. However, a legal transformation of migration policies took place quietly under Chancellor Schröder after the federal election of 1998, when Social Democratic Party and Green Party formed the government. The growing threat of population ageing coincides with the alarming shortage of skilled professionals in the labor market. The magazine *Der Spiegel* predicted in 2000 that Germany would need more than 300,000 immigrants per year to keep up its population (R. D. Alba, Schmidt, and Wasmer 2003, 2). In February 2000, Chancellor Schröder surprised the nation, when he announced the "Green Card" policy to attract professionals to boost the tech-industries, a policy that attracted 17,931 high-skilled professionals within the first four years and half (till the end of 2004)[16]. Far more important than filling in the vacancies of the labor market efficiently, scholars like Herbert Brücker argue that the establishment of the Green-Card policy has modified the public opinion towards migrants in German society (Brücker 2013). For decades, the image of immigrants has been associated with low-skilled labor migrants, often depicted as cleaning ladies from Turkey or truck drivers from Poland. With the introduction of Green-Card policy and the categorization of skilled professionals, immigrants gained the image of being a valuable asset to the German society for the first time. This shift of public opinion was a crucial step stone for passing the first immigration law of Germany later in 2004.

Since the Union parties (Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union) returned to lead the government in 2005, Germany has continued the trajectory of highlighting immigration and integration as a priority policy (Hess and Green 2016). Especially under the chancellorship of Angela Merkel, Germany has become one of the principal destinations for immigrants and asylum seekers, especially since 2015. The OECD has marked Germany to be among the countries with the fewest restrictions over skilled labor migration in Europe (OECD 2013, 15). Today, German citizenship is acquired through a combination of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli,* providing children of immigrants the possibility to be German citizens upon birth. With 20 percent of the population having migration

[16] Sven Astheimer, "Als Einwanderung wieder als Gewinn galt", *FAZ NET*, March 1, 2010, http://www.faz.net/aktuell/technik-motor/cebit-2010/geburtsstunde-der-greencard-als-einwanderung-wieder-als-gewinn-galt-1941918.html

background, Germany is indeed "essentially already a country of immigration" as Chancellor Merkel stated.

Children of immigrants at German Schools

Among the 20 percent of inhabitants with migration background, more than half (56%) have already obtained German citizenship, and 15% of them are under the age of 20. Among the immigrants who still hold their original passports, 28.5% are in the same age bracket (Felfe, Saurer, and Fichtl 2015, 17). This significant young age of immigrants translates directly into the current demographic features at German schools: in 2015, one third of all pupils at German schools have migration background. Among these children, 25% do not have German citizenship.

The high percentage of children with immigrant background does not necessarily lead to changes in the classroom at schools. Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastoryano and Vertovec (Schiffauer et al. 2004) point out, that in comparison with the UK, France and the Netherlands, schools in Germany do not offer much adaptation to their student body of increasing diversity. Teachers share the default position, that pupils sitting in the classroom are all assimilated into the "German culture" already, regardless of their ethnic background or length of being in the country, and therefore require no special attention other than the native pupils. Mannitz (Mannitz 2002a) observes that day care for children[17] is regarded to be family business in Germany. Although education policies vary in each *Bundesland* in Germany, school curriculum typically ends around noon or early afternoon at primary schools, usually around 12 o'clock or 1 o'clock in the afternoon. It is then the task of parents or other family members to provide children with support and supervision for the rest hours of the day. For most parents, this means to spend time assisting children with their homework or accompanying them to take part in extracurricular activities. For parents who are immigrants themselves, the expectation also includes helping their children to be "better integrated" into German society (Mannitz 2002b, 171).

Needless to say, for families with migration background, especially for parents who speak limited German themselves, this expectation is challenging to live up to. Especially when we consider the long working hours of many labor migrants and the lack of further family members or social

[17] "Kinderbetreuung"

network, children of immigrants could have a considerable disadvantage to achieve positive academic results in the classroom. Crul and Schneider (Crul and Schneider 2012) also address the school structure to be a main reason for the unsatisfying educational outcome and limited access to the labor market among children of immigrants in Germany. When pupils are examined and separated into different schools at an early age (generally at the age of 10, while in a few *Bundesländer* like Berlin at the age of 12), the daily involvement of parents and the input from family could be crucial factors determining the future of their children.

For parents in Berlin in particular, the lack of public funding and the grim condition of public schools in the capital city only makes them more anxious about the well-being of their children. Back in March 2006, Rütli School in Neukölln, a district in the southeastern part of Berlin, shook the country with chilling images of physical violence and the records of verbal abuse, both of which took place at a daily basis among youngsters in their schoolyard. In school year 2006/2007, there were 139 cases of physical violence at schools reported to the police in the district of Neukölln alone. At the end of 2007, 13 schools in Neukölln started employing private security agencies to inspect their schoolyards and playgrounds[18]. In January 2009, 68 school directors of Berlin-Mitte (a district in central Berlin) wrote a public letter to the mayor of Berlin, Klaus Wowereit, to report the "disastrous condition" of their schools and warned the "ghettoization" of their schools, as well as the entire Mitte area. The letter stated that the percentage of migrants in this district is 90%, and the percentage of "socially disadvantaged families" is 65%. The school directors asked for more financial support in order to have more teachers dealing with the high rate of illiteracy and school-dropouts, as "good pupils are fleeing out of our district in droves"[19]. A similar letter was addressed to Jürgen Zöllner, the senator for education in the Berlin Senate, in February 2011. This time, the range of schools "crying for help" expanded from Berlin-Mitte to Berlin-Wedding[20].

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[18] Anna Reimann and Katrin Riegger, "Wir Lehrer können die Schule nicht nach außen verteidigen", *Spiegel Online*, December 10, 2007, http://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/wachdienste-an-schulen-wir-lehrer-koennen-die-schule-nicht-nach-aussen-verteidigen-a-522449.html

[19] Deutsche Presse-Agentur and Deutscher Depeschendienst, "Schulleiter warnen vor Bildungs-Bankrott", *Spiegel Online*, January 13, 2009, http://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/berliner-brandbrief-schulleiter-warnen-vor-bildungs-bankrott-a-601095.html Author's translation, "Darin beklagen die Leiter aller Schulen eine ´Ghettoisierung´ des Bezirks […]. Der Migrantenanteil liege bei 90 Prozent, der Anteil von ´sozial benachteiligten Familien´ bei 65 Prozent […]. ´Gute Schüler fliehen in Scharen aus dem Bezirk´, erklären die Schulleiter, viele wechseln demnach an Privatschulen."

[20] Deutsche Presse-Agentur, Deutscher Depeschendienst and dapd Nachrichtenagentur, "Uns fehlen Leute, Geld und Anerkennung", *Spiegel Online*, February 25, 2011, http://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/brief-von-berliner-schulleitern-uns-fehlen-leute-geld-und-anerkennung-a-747739.html

Glancing over the reports of school violence in Berlin and in Germany, the findings state straightforwardly that migrants and refugees are the ones to blame. The term "n.d.H." – "nicht deutscher Herkunft", "not of German origin" – appears frequently in these reports while analyzing the causes of violence and problems at school. In the case of Rütli School, the acting director, Ms. Eggebrecht, started the letter with "facts and figures" that the percentage of pupils with "Arabic migration background" is 34.9%, while the percentage of pupils with Turkish background is 26.1%. Altogether, "the total percentage of youngsters of non-German origin is 83.2%"[21].

The structural design of schools already does not play in the favor of migrant children, examples like these constitute further to a negative reputation against which they have to battle. In the letter from Berlin-Mitte in 2009 and from Berlin-Wedding in 2011, the school directors undisguisedly consider the high percentage of pupils with migration background as the cause of the "disastrous condition". The Berlin Senate expressed its agreement with this evaluation. Bettina Schubert, the speaker of violence-prevention department of Berlin, said in an interview in 2006, that it would be wrong to describe people of a specific ethnicity as particularly violent. However, she considered migration as "risk factor like the divorce of parents, because the children have to deal with the interruption". Ms. Schubert expressed in the same interview that children of the second-generation migrants tend to be more criminal than the earlier generations, "because they notice, that their parents have nothing to say here"[22].

Learning a new land

Children of immigrants have to face multiple challenges as they navigate their way through schools, especially when they are living in problematic neighborhoods of Berlin. Although there are vast differences in academic performance among second-generation immigrants of different ethnicities, the distinction between students with or without migrant background is a sharp marker among students at school (Diehl, Hunkler, and Kristen 2016). There is little expectation for students of

[21] Author's translation, "der Gesamtanteil der Jugendlichen n.d.H. beträgt 83.2%".
[22] Berg et. al., "Die verlorene Welt", *Der Spiegel*, 14/2006, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46502879.html Author's translation, "[A]ber Migration ist wie eine Scheidung der Eltern ein Risikofaktor, weil die Kinder Brüche verarbeiten müssen" und „weil sie merken, dass ihre Eltern hier nichts zu sagen haben".

"n.d.H" to succeed; instead, they often become the scapegoat for problems, especially problems that result from the lack of infrastructure to offer sufficient support for children of immigrants.

Scholars have pointed out the inability of integrating immigrants and their children into the mainstream society across Europe (R. Alba and Holdaway 2013). In many countries across Western Europe, children of immigrants have little chance to succeed through the academic channel to gain upward mobility. Instead, they often stagnate within a permanent underclass, marginalized and isolated. "Frustrated in their ambitions, without a place in the cultural narrative of the nation, locked out of adequate education and the most desirable jobs" (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009, 365). It is not surprising, that second-generation immigrants are strikingly over-represented in prisons across Western Europe (Wacquant 1999). Partridge proposes the term "becoming noncitizens" (Partridge 2012) to frame the process, during which public institutions like schools fail to integrate the immigrant youth of color, typically the second-generation immigrants. These groups of minorities have been the target of criticism in the German media for years, as they appear to live in parallel societies and "refuse" to conform to the "German norms". However, Partridge argues, that it is rather the social technologies of governance, representation and population construction have rejected immigrants and their children the opportunity to take part in the process of normalization in Germany.

Similar phenomena are examined in the US, especially among the second generation of Latino immigrants. While the socioeconomic condition and educational background of immigrant families undoubtedly play a key role in the school performance of their children, the interaction with classmates and teachers shape their identities and their aspiration considerably as well. Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002) point out, that children of Latino immigrants in their studies often arrive in schools "with very positive attitudes towards teachers and other school authorities" (125). However, through a combination of various factors, from segregation in the schoolyard to isolation in the neighborhood, from the engagement in the classroom to the involvement of parents and teachers, children of immigrants end up with a high rate of school dropouts and limited access to the labor market.

Both for children of immigrants as well as for children of native-born, school is the place to learn knowledge, develop skills and capacities, gain access and capital to enter future job market and to establish a career. Particularly for the children of immigrants, school is the place where they could "form perception of where they fit in the social reality and cultural imagination of their new nation"

(Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009, 3). During my research with Chinese immigrant families, the shared conviction of the importance of education is vividly present, as well as their concerns and anxieties about the challenges at schools. Especially in Berlin, where the reputation of public schools is less than ideal, many parents make the extra effort to send their children to private schools, although it is much more costly. Almost all the parents in my fieldwork strain every nerve to find, if not to create, the best circumstances for the education of their children.

Research on migration in Germany and Europe often relies on theories and analysis from American scholarship, where concepts as "race" and "ethnicity" are much more pronounced than they are in Germany. The current literature on immigrant youth at German schools dominantly focuses on children from Turkish and Arabic families. The second generation with Muslim background often has to face an additional chunk of social stigma of being "n.d.H", besides the challenges of being children from immigrant families (R. D. Alba, Schmidt, and Wasmer 2003; Ewing 2008; Yurdakul 2009). The migration policies in each country of destination, the demographic and ethno-cultural ratio of the local population, the history and channels of different migrant groups, the size of their community and the socioeconomic features all shape the trajectory of migration and the orientation of a new life in the new land. As I will argue in this thesis, each of these factors could define the experiences of immigrants and their aspirations for the next generation. The Chinese immigrants in Germany have a different story to tell, a story that is different from children of Turkish immigrants in Germany, different from children of Chinese immigrants in the US, because their past and present is different, and their future will be different, too.

Part Two: Theoretical framework

Life of immigrants: boundary and assimilation

As mentioned earlier, Bettina Schubert, the speaker of violence-prevention department of Berlin, stated that children of immigrants tend to be more troubling and more criminal at schools, since "they notice, that their parents have nothing to say here". This comment points to a fundamental challenge of German society: the integration of its migrant population, especially the migrant population from the Islamic world. Long before the arrival of asylum seekers from Northern Africa and the Middle East in recent years, discussions over migration and integration among German

scholars and journalists have dominantly focused on immigrants from Turkey and their offspring. From the over-stayed guests to the inscrutable Muslims, Turkish immigrants still struggle to gain a decent image in the German society today after being here for generations.

Zolberg and Woon famously compare the debate over Islam in Europe with the one about Spanish language in the US, and propose a more dialectical approach to examine the boundary that defines who we are and who we are not (Zolberg and Woon 1999). To understand Islam in Europe, we first need to reflect on the foundation on which the European identity rests. The European identity, Zolberg and Woon argue, remains deeply embedded in the Christian tradition despite national variations, in relation to which Muslim immigrants constitute a visible "other". Alba (Richard Alba 2005) among many others criticizes this comparison to be "not truly equivalent, for language is much more susceptible to a graduated, intergenerational process of assimilation" (17). Instead, he argues that the nature of the minority-majority boundary depends "on the way in which it has been institutionalized in different domains, some of them correlated with an ethnic distinction rather than constitutive of the distinction itself" (4). Immigrants often struggle to gain opportunities that are accessible and affordable among the majority, and the different nature of boundary determines the different challenges immigrants face in their attempts to integrate into the mainstream society. Alba proposes the concepts of "bright" and "blurred" boundaries in his writings (Alba 2005; 2006; Nee and Alba 2012) to examine the construction of boundaries within different majority-minority relationship in different societies.

Schulz and Leszczensky (Schulz and Leszczensky 2016) apply the theory of "bright" and "blurred" boundaries to their research with migrant youth in Germany. They conducted research among 15-years-old adolescents with migrant background, and analyzed the role of native-German friends in the identification with German society. While having native-German friends provides the second-generation immigrants from Southern Europe a strong sense of belonging to German society and "being German" themselves, it has little impact on the self-identification of migrant youth from Polish and Turkish families. In spite of the general positive association between social contacts and assimilation, the authors argue that the process of identification among second-generation immigrants differs across ethnic groups.

Findings like Schulz and Leszczensky's notably indicate the limits of concepts like "boundary" and "assimilation". The experience of immigrants, just like the experience of natives, is a combination of impacts from various factors. It is almost impossible to detect a clear-cut set of differences between

one ethnic community on the one side and the entire native population on the other, especially among the second generation of immigrants. There is no plausible way of drawing such a "boundary" without being reductionist about each population. To expect all immigrants to be "assimilated" into the German society, the German society would need to define and display their "boundary" first. Such a definition will not come easily, especially for a nation like Germany. Centuries of political fragmentation, centuries of religious and ethnic conflicts and confrontations, a few decades of tainted history at the beginning of the 20th century which most German are reluctant to remember, and the forty-five years of division between West Germany and East Germany that only ended less than thirty years ago.

Extended from the studies on boundaries and assimilation, the concept of "segmented assimilation" aims to describe the diverse outcomes when the second-generation immigrants seek adaptation in the host society. Instead of a single uniform mainstream, whose norms and guiding culture (*Leitkultur*) could dictate a common path of crossing the boundary, many researchers observe various forms of integration. Portes and Rumbaut summarize that immigrants in the 21st century differ along three fundamental dimensions: 1) their individual features, 2) the social environment that receives them and 3) their family structure (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Immigrants, especially children of immigrants, can easily find themselves confronting diametrically different barriers, and hence the course of their assimilation can lead to various consequences. Even within the same nationality and ethnicity, division may happen based on social status, time of the arrival, level of education or type of occupation.

Comparing research on assimilation and segmented assimilation in the US with the one in Europe, we could detect two different positions on each side of the Atlantic. Assimilation is mainly discussed as a matter of individual boundary-crossing experience in Europe, while the boundaries in the US are much more blurred and porous, and the boundary-crossing forms of assimilation have much broader social base. As Alba has argued, boundaries do not have the same nature or character in every society. The construction of majority-vs-minority, native-vs-migrant boundaries is "a path-dependent process that hinges on the materials available in the social-structural, cultural, legal and other institutional domains of the receiving society, as well as on characteristics and histories that the immigrants themselves present" (Alba 2005, 41). The ethno-cultural inflection of German self-understanding and the deeply rooted race-based ideologies of blood and belonging (Mandel 2008) leaves little space for a "legitimate" procedure of assimilation for immigrants in Germany. As I

intend to argue in this thesis, the ambiguity of boundaries in the German society and the relations between majority and minority have considerably shaped the experiences of Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork.

Life between two worlds: acculturation

The challenge of assimilation points to the other side of the immigrant experience: the connection with their countries of origin and the identification with the cultural heritage through this connection. Like the Chinese immigrants in my research, it is not enough to be somewhat "assimilated" into the German society, but the difficulty of learning and speaking Chinese language in Germany appears to be the pressing issue in many of the Chinese immigrant families I encountered. Both for the first generation, who has lived in Germany long enough to call it home, as well as for the second generation, who is born and raised in Germany, it could be a formidable task to come to terms with the Chinese and the German components in their experiences.

For scholars like John Berry, there are four different paths immigrants could follow, based on the maintenance of ties with their home countries of origin and their participation in the host society: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (Berry 1992; 1997; Berry et al. 2006). The most desired outcome among these four scenarios would be integration, which Berry defines as a situation, where immigrants maintain the interest in their heritage culture, but interact with other groups in the host society at the same time. This goal could be reached, when immigrants have the willingness to adopt the basic values of the host society, while keep "some degree of cultural integrity" of their own traditions. Most importantly, there need to be "a mutual accommodation", which involves the acceptance by both groups of the right to live as culturally different peoples (Berry 1997).

This Berrian model of acculturation has been well received and has an enormous impact on discussions of individual transformation among diasporic communities (Kwak and Berry 2001; C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002; Bornstein and Cote 2004; C. Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, and Milburn 2009), although it is also challenged by many over the years. Bhatia and Ram, for example, point out that the precondition of this model is the assumption of universality, without taking the historical and political aspects of migration into account (Bhatia and Ram 2001). The acculturation model first and foremost builds on the notion that each nation has a singular norm of homogeneous

culture. Here again we fall back into the same pitfall as "assimilation", where we first need a clean cut of a national or ethnic identity before we could place the immigrants on the "wrong" side of the line.

When we examine Chinese immigrants in Germany through the lens of Berry, it is almost impossible to place them on the acculturation diagram. For the second-generation immigrants who grow up in Germany, Chinese as well as others, adopting "the basic values" of the host society and having interaction with others in their daily life is inevitable, when they are obligated to attend schools. This would mean that most of the second-generation Chinese immigrants fall into the spectrum between "integration" and "assimilation". However, for migrant families and individuals, it is impracticable to define the extent to which they are keeping the Chinese "cultural integrity" during their encounters in Germany, which put a premature end to the application of Berry's model.

Many researchers have shown that the process of "integration" is not a linear development (Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1997; C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002; Pels and De Haan 2007). New aspirations and new social contacts are formed frequently among immigrant youth through the years. Instead of becoming increasingly adapted into a mainstream culture, immigrants and their children either show less adaptive behavior over time (C. Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, and Milburn 2009; C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009) or they develop new identities and cultural preferences which enhance their positions during the confrontation of different systems and structures (Waters 2009; De Haan 2011).

Long before the popular model of acculturation, scholars have examined the dual worlds of immigrants. Irvin Child famously tackled this question among the first-generation Italian Americans back in 1940s and the "apathetic" situation for their second generation. Analyzing the tension between being "tempted to assimilate" into American society and the fear of being "disloyal" towards their hometown fellows and losing their Italian ties, Child's description presents the risky choice and the identity crisis immigrants have to face in their dual worlds (Child 1943).

Fortunately, after a few decades of development, the dichotomy pattern of choosing one identity over the other is no longer the dominant perspective to examine immigrants in the US. Herbert Gans points out, that immigrants of the post-1960 generation no longer follow the same route of choices as their parents or grandparents did (Gans 1992). Although assimilation is still viewed as a necessary prerequisite for leading a decent life in the US, an increasing number of researchers start

focusing on the agency of social actors in "negotiating the incorporation process and stresses the influence of contextual factors" (Levitt and Waters 2002, 2). Scholars like Bhabha (Bhabha 1994) and Hall (Hall 2014) develop the concept of "hybridity" in the context of post-colonial nations, where power relations, particularly the boundaries between the dominant and the dominated cultures are confronted, blurred or negotiated. In recent years, "hybridity" frequently appears in writings of migration studies, addressing the mix-and-match between the presiding culture in the host society and the various traditions immigrants have brought in (Van der Veer 1997).

Deaux and Martin (Deaux and Martin 2003) offer a new perspective by differentiating two layers within the immigrant experience: the individual identification with a particular social category, and the participation in the interpersonal networks within this category. For the second generation of Chinese immigrants in Germany, this concept helps to understand the preference of heritage language and the acceptance of heritage culture. When the Chinese background is viewed negatively, either by themselves or by the host society, we may be able to observe their attempts of "re-defining" themselves and efforts to be associated closer with German social network rather than with Chinese ones, and vice versa.

These works and concepts provide valuable contributions to the analysis of migrant youth's social life. Surely, the theoretical "dilemma" of making a choice between two blocks of identities may not be visible, especially for children of young age. Nevertheless, it is crucial to get a glimpse into their social contacts and daily activities, in order to understand how they define themselves in their everyday life and the experience they make growing up within two worlds. The friends and classmates they socialize with at public schools and at private language schools, the extracurricular activities they take part outside the classroom, and their preference of language in different settings of social life. These key elements can all shed light on our understanding of the daily experiences of acculturation among the second generation of Chinese immigrants. To what extent are these children aware of the differences or boundaries between the German society and the heritage background of their parents? If they are, how do they make sense of the differences and boundaries, and does their awareness have any impact on their daily social life and on their preference of language?

Life between two worlds: transnationalism

In the writings of Child on the early Italian immigrants in the first half of the twentieth century (Child 1943), we see a norm of migration during the pre-war period from Europe to the US. Immigrants often move in the company of family and kinship through long-distance journeys. Once settled in the new land, many of them, especially senior members in the family, would not have an easy opportunity to visit their homeland again. However, this has changed gradually in the second half of the twentieth century up till today. Migrants, especially labor migrants and skilled professionals, have increasing mobility themselves, as well as the flexibility to travel between the country of their origin and the country of their settlement.

The substantial volume of research on "transnationalism" addresses this development in the past decades. The term "transnationalism" was introduced first by scholars of international relations in the early 1970s to describe the development of non-state institutions across boundaries. Anthropologists soon adopted it to describe how immigrants build social fields that could link together the two countries on each end of their journey. These "transmigrants" develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span across borders (Schiller et al. 1992). Challenging the conventional view, that migration happens in a one-way direction once and for all, this body of literature investigates the "transmigrants" who develop new identities within social networks that connect them with two societies simultaneously, and it provides a new framework to understand the migrant experiences in a new age.

The key theme in the literature of transnationalism is the impact of transnational ties on the identity building and awareness development among "transmigrants". Levitt (Levitt 2001) illustrates the formation and transformation of networks between two communities in the two countries, and the conditions under which these networks are established and developed. Derived from the term "economic remittances", Levitt proposes the concept of "social remittances", which she defines as "the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from host- to sending country communities" (54) to understand migration as a collective phenomenon and to rethink the diffusion of culture on a global scale. For many immigrants, the identification and connection with their home countries comes directly from social networks and personal contacts with friends, families or business partners who have stayed. To pin down their standpoint in the diagram of acculturation and to understand their position between two worlds, it is of great importance to examine their contacts and interactions with their home society first.

Different works have offered different portraits of "transmigrants" in the transnational networks. A few works on economic transnationalism describe them as victims of the "cold-blooded" global capitalist system or oppressive local political regimes (Basch, Schiller, and Blanc 1994; Schiller and Fouron 1999). Levitt and Waters (Levitt and Waters 2002) detect an opposite pattern in their research. Through the preservation of unique ethnic traits, the second-generation "transmigrants" are able to achieve rapid economic advancement and seize new opportunities to reach upward mobility in the host society. Ong (Ong 1999), embeds her analysis in the economic context as well, examines the business elites and the middle class in China who have benefited from global capitalism, and argues that transnational forces can strengthen, instead of weaken, nationalist projects and construct a new form of Chinese modernity. Like many interlocutors in my fieldwork, the Chinese "transmigrants" with growing prosperity often become the "players" in the transnational networks by switching identities based on different occasions and different needs. Aware of the value in these transnational networks, many "transmigrants" place their hope on their children, the second generation of "transmigrants", to continue on this path and to enhance the connections they have established.

Do the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany share the same transnational ties and connections like their parents? Examining the Chinese immigrants in my research through the lens of these works, I will explore the nature and the impact of transnational German-Sino networks established by these "transmigrants". Whom people want to share a language with is dependent on whom they are socializing and communicating with. The frequency of visiting China and the motivation to keep their Chinese contacts could be a vital factor in the preference of language among Chinese immigrant families. Transnational activities between Germany and China, as well as the lack of such transnational activities, are crucial landmarks for both the first and the second generations to navigate their life in Germany.

Chinese transnationalism and Chinese overseas

One of the first books on Chinese immigrants in Europe is Benton and Pieke (1998), where they bring together research from different parts of Europe to understand Chinese migration in the European context. As presented in many chapters (i.e. Thunø 1998; Carchedi and Ferri 1998), the Chinese immigrants across Europe share much in common, especially in terms of their

socioeconomic condition, linguistic capacity, and business model. As Pieke points out, "the ubiquity of the Chinese catering trade and links of kinship and place of origin that often span the entire continent" could call for "a Europe-wide approach to Chinese migration" (Benton and Pieke 1998, 9 – 10).

Benton continues his work on Chinese immigrants and, together with Gomez, traces down the history of Chinese immigrants in Britain back to the nineteenth century. They pay particular attention to the historical evolution of the Chinese economy in Britain (Benton and Gomez 2011). "From seafaring to laundering to catering", Chinese business has gone through generational transformation in the past two centuries in Britain. And now, a new style of Chinese entrepreneurship has emerged, which "has transcended the ethnic enclave and overcome the long-standing exclusion of Chinese traders from the mainstream" (147). The book focuses mainly on Chinese immigrants, who are originally from southern and southeastern coastal regions in China or Southeast Asia, who come to Britain through their ethnic network to join their family business or seek opportunities directly in Chinatowns. The authors mention briefly, that there are "new migrants" who "have a middle-class background and originally came to the United Kingdom to study" (139). But they also note, that these "new migrants" often join the ethnic-Chinese catering enterprises after education (139) and can "fall back if necessary on the financial support of family and friends in the 'home country' to bolster their enterprises" (147).

Based on these features of Chinese immigrants in Britain, it is not surprising to see the strong transnational ties the British Chinese community has established. Not only do Chinese in Britain have close ties to their homelands (mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong) and hometowns, they also remain in close contact with other diasporic Chinese communities in other countries, especially in countries in Southeast Asia (Benton and Gomez 2011, 202). To examine these transnational ties more closely, scholars have zoomed in on the Chinese "transmigrants" from Fujian Province – a province located on the southeastern coast of China – who are living in Europe while keeping up the transnational networks and activities with other Fujianese worldwide (Pieke et al. 2004). Compared to Chinatowns in North America and Southeast Asia, which are typically the outcome from residential segregation or ethnic division of labor, Chinatowns in Europe are often established with specific focuses on economic function and business networks. The Chinese immigrants in Italy, for example, who are mainly labor migrants coming from the same regions or even same towns in Fujian Province, reside densely in a few towns of textile industry. They gather closely for mainly

economic activities and cooperation, dominating textile production and trades in Italian townships like Prato. Although there is collective representation within local municipalities and chambers of commerce, Fujianese immigrants in Italy remain a cohesive unit among themselves with strong ties to Fujian Province, while keeping the gap between their economic enterprise and integration into the Italian society.

The phenomenon of transnational Chinese is further researched by scholars like Antonella Ceccagno (Ceccagno 2003), Julie Chu (Chu 2010) and Angela Chang (Chang 2012). Their writings examine the motivations of immigration overseas in spite of the well-off living condition in their hometowns. The southeastern coast of China – mainly the provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian – has benefitted tremendously from the economic reform and the advantageous coastal location in the past decades. Zhejiang and Fujian have experienced an economic miracle since the end of 1970s, which has transformed the life of people significantly and shaped their aspirations for the future. However, the booming economy does not necessarily make the local population in the region limit itself to its growing job market. Instead, the comparison of rich and poor, the personal experience of being in "prosperity" or "poverty", enhances people's ambition to reach for more outside of the region. "When desire meets potentiality" (Chu 2010, 5), Zhejiangnese and Fujianese, sometimes on the scale of an entire village, dedicate themselves to sending their family members abroad (Ceccagno 2009). Leung (Leung 2004) focuses on a similar demographic group, the Chinese migrant labors and small entrepreneurs in Germany, and explores the way they engage with the ethnic communities and networks across Europe to create a sense of home away from home. Analyzing the concept of "home" from economic, social and psychological aspects, Leung provides an ethnography of "transnationalism from below" (167).

Among the literature on the younger generation of Chinese immigrants in Europe, the majority focuses on children of restaurant workers, migrant labors and small entrepreneurs, often with strong transnational ties to their homeland. Parker (Parker 2005) bases his research in the community of Hong Kong migrants in Britain and explores the identity of the younger generation who grow up between Hong Kong and Britain. Through analysis of the popular TV series and poetry shared among his interlocutors, Parker points out the crucial impact of Hong Kong pop culture on these "British Chinese young people", and argues that their "Chinese identity cannot be understood simply by confining research to Britain" (Parker 2005, 79). Marsden (Marsden 2014) examines a very similar group of second-generation Chinese immigrants in Italy, most of whom are citizens of PR

China while working in the Chinese business and factories in Italy. She draws a similar conclusion as Parker, that the transnational ties with their homeland provide the younger generation with both opportunities and uncertainty. Different from the British Chinese youth who consider studying in Hong Kong as one potential option, the second generation of Chinese immigrants in Italy frequently drop out of school, abandoning their hopes and dreams quickly. Nyíri (Nyíri 2014) looks at the children of small entrepreneurs who migrated from China to Hungary in the 1990s, and argues that they "largely identified with the transitional fantasies that their parents dreamed up for them" (Nyíri 2014, 1258). Similar to transmigrants in other European countries in this body of literature, Nyíri notes, that the first-generation Chinese immigrants in Hungary share "largely unambiguous" (1254) identification with China, while their children share the lack of attachment to their place of residence with their parents. Growing up with the expectation to be transnational, these youngsters in Hungary either cling to their connection with mainland China through their families, or aspire to be a part of a global economy and to seek possibilities elsewhere.

Being an important platform to exchange information and to keep up the transnational ties, the Chinese-language media among Chinese diaspora is analyzed in the edited volume by Sun and Sinclair (Sun and Sinclair 2015), including chapters examining the Chinese-language media in in the Netherlands (Chong 2015), in France (Dai 2015) and in Italy and Spain (Gong 2015). The majority of Chinese communities presented in this book are either immigrants from Southeast Asia who could trace the ethnicity of their ancestors back to China, or descendants of early settlers from Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong provinces, many of whom are already citizens of the residence country. Tian Gong pins down the change of migration policies in Italy and Spain, which has granted permits to immigrants like Chinese not only work as migrant labors but also to open business of their own (Gong 2015, 70 – 71). Similar socioeconomic status could be find among Chinese immigrants in France and the Netherlands, too, as factory labors and restaurant workers take up a sizable proportion among the Chinese community. Most of the first-generation and some of the second-generation migrants could not speak or read the local language (Chong 2015, 110), which makes Chinese-language media not only necessary, but highly popular. With the expansion of the Chinese global economy and the rise of China's soft power on the world stage, the latest development of China is the center of great concern among the Chinese diaspora in many countries. They have a keen interest in keeping themselves informed about the latest news and policies from China that might have potential impact on their ethnic business. At the same time, a positive image

of China and the growth of its economy and international influence provides the Chinese diaspora with a source of satisfaction and fulfillment.

These works on Chinese immigrants in Europe share a few features that are pointedly different from my research. First, although echoing the development of early Chinese migrant communities in the US and in Southeast Asia, the shared trajectory of Chinese immigrants in Europe presented in this body of literature is significantly different from the one shared by interlocutors in my research. Scholars have mainly examined the transnational connections and activities between Europe and a number of Chinese counties like Longyan (Fujian), Putian (Fujian), Qingtian (Lishui, Zhejiang) and Wenzhou (Zhejiang) (Chu 2010; Pieke et al. 2004; Yow 2007; Zhang 2007). They document how these immigrants, who come from the same communities and belong to the same social circles in their hometowns, establish ties and networks both before and after they arrive in Europe. In my research, however, I focus on a different group of Chinese immigrants. The first-generation Chinese immigrants I encountered in Berlin commonly come to Germany with a student visa through the channel of education, and are now professionals with university degrees. When they decide to stay in Germany after graduation, they either work for German employers and German companies, or establish their own business without relying on the resources from China or their Chinese network. The only exception in the thesis is Family Wen (in Chapter Four), who are originally from Guangdong Province and run a family-owned Chinese restaurant in Hamburg. The rest and the absolute majority of my interlocutors share the experience of being a student at German university before founding a family and establishing a career.

Secondly, the term "Chinese" in my thesis specifically refers to people of Chinese nationality who still hold a Chinese passport. The term "Chinese" in the literature on Chinese transnationalism mentioned above includes immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and countries in Southeast Asia, as well as descendants from early settlers from China to Europe, who have already become citizens of the residence countries for more than one generation. Thirdly and most importantly, the Chinese immigrants in my research share a much looser connection to their homeland and hometowns. Most of them have hardly any connection to Chinese diaspora in other countries. Different from Chinese immigrants who come to Europe through their network of relatives or acquaintances, almost all interlocutors in my fieldwork come to Germany individually after their application is accepted by one of the German universities or educational institutions. Different from Chinese immigrants who work with their families or compatriots in Chinese restaurants, catering business or Chinese-owned

factories, most interlocutors in my research work for German employers with German colleagues. This is perhaps also the reason why there is no print media of Chinese language in Germany, nor Chinese-language radio or television programs.

These features, I would argue, are the reasons why my research is distinctive and valuable, as it offers new insights into the literature of transnationalism among Chinese diaspora. It provides a unique ethnography of the educated, middle-class Chinese immigrants who neither have strong transnational ties nor rely on their ethnic connections or transnational ties to make or improve their living overseas.

Outside of Europe, Kibria (Kibria 2002) has examined the homeland trips among the second-generation Chinese immigrants of middle-class Chinese migrant families in Boston and L.A. in the US. Echoing the concept of "flexible citizenship" (Ong 1999), Kibria argues that a "Chinese membership" can be understood as a strategically valuable way to reap rewards from the globalizing world economy. Fong (Fong 2011) raises a similar argument by analyzing the motivation of studying abroad among the young Chinese born after the one-child policy. These "transnational Chinese students", as Fong calls them in her book, choose to study in one of the "developed countries" (发达国家) with the hope that "such education would increase their access to social and cultural citizenship in the developed world – and sometimes to legal citizenship in developed countries – while also trying to maintain their social, cultural, and legal citizenship in China" (Fong 2011, 5). Through the eyes of Fong and her interlocutors, "developed countries" become a unified imagined community in itself. Becoming a citizen of this "developed world", no matter in which one of the developed countries exactly, appears to be a promised land where they could have "prestige, comfort, geographic mobility, and high standard of living" (Fong 2011, 14). And most importantly, at the end of this journey, these "citizens of developed world" expect to have earned college degrees in developed countries that could help them acquire high-paying jobs in China, or have earned enough money during their years abroad to start lucrative business in China (Fong 2011, 219). My fieldwork in Berlin shows a quite different pattern.

Compared to their counterparts in the US and in Southeast Asia, or the Fujianese network in Europe, the transnational ties among Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork seem thin and fractured. They do not remain socially, economically or politically embedded within two societies simultaneously as the concept "transnationalism" implies (Basch, Schiller, and Blanc 1994), neither

do they make use of their transnational connections to advance their status quo or enhance their socioeconomic capital in Germany. There is little agreement on the necessity of such transnational practices among my interlocutors, but rather visible hesitation and shared reluctance to make an effort. For many Chinese immigrants in Germany, the emphasis on economic and social remittances in the transnationalism literature has its limits to describe their connection and interaction with their contacts in China. Most second-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork maintain limited communication with other family members who still live in China today.

Compared to the transnational life among Chinese immigrants in other countries, what has "stopped" the Chinese immigrants in Berlin from visiting their home country regularly and building up ties and connections? In my research, I aim to identify both the factors that encourage Chinese immigrants and their children to strengthen their transnational interactions with China, as well as the factors that prevent them from doing so. Besides economic and social remittances, it is crucial to understand what a "Chinese membership" means to these Chinese immigrants in Germany. How do second-generation Chinese immigrants evaluate such ties and connections with the hometowns of their parents? Do their experiences and opinions of transnational interaction have any impact on their motivation to learn the Chinese language? As I have emphasized, my research reflects a different slice of the class stratification among the Chinese immigrants than highlighted in the existing transnationalism literature. Often with both spouses working full-time at the same time, these Chinese immigrant families are able to reach middle-class income and establish well-to-do households. The socioeconomic condition of migrants appears to have an impact on the establishment and maintenance of transnational ties and interactions.

The particular education background and socioeconomic condition of the first-generation Chinese immigrants in my research also determine the specific kind of "Chinese language" they are struggling with, when they raise children. As many other nation states, the standard Chinese language (putonghua) every child has to learn at school in China today is an outcome of the efforts from the governing political power to strengthen its legitimacy by imposing administrative and linguistic uniformity (De Francis 1972). Started in the early years of the Republic of China, finalized and standardized after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the standard Chinese is now the sole official language in Mainland China. In most case studies of Chinese labor migrants in Europe and in the US, the workers often have the same places of origin, and share the similar vernacular dialects. However, in my research, the university-educated Chinese immigrants in Germany mainly

rely on the standard Chinese to communicate with each other, as they rarely come from the same provinces or counties, and therefore are not able to understand the dialects of each other. Most of the first-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork have met their spouse(s) during their time at the university in China or in Germany, and speak the standard Chinese with one another. With the exception of two families in Chapter 4, where both parents come from the same hometown and share the same dialect (Wenzhounese dialect and Cantonese dialect), the very majority of my interlocutors speak their regional dialects neither with their spouses, nor with their children.

The question of language in acculturation and transnationalism

Coming back to the question that initiated the research in the first place: why do second-generation Chinese immigrants hardly speak Chinese? In relation to the literature on transnationalism and Chinese transmigrants, it is intriguing to investigate whether the lack of Chinese language capacity can be a reflection of a different transnational connection, compared to Chinese diaspora elsewhere. Can the frequency of transnational activities serve as an indicator for the relationship between immigrants and their countries of origin? While the majority of transnationalism literature focuses on the vitality and sustainability of social, cultural and economic ties formed across transnational space, this project aims to examine the simultaneous process of keeping-distances and highlighting-boundaries among Chinese immigrants in Germany, and to explore how such a process can shape the upbringing of their children.

Meanwhile, examining the same question through the lens of "acculturation", we could ask another set of questions: does the lack of Chinese language capacity imply that Chinese immigrants have somewhat successfully "assimilated" into the German society while being disconnected with their Chinese background? Most of the second-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork grow up with two ethnic Chinese parents, both of whom speak Chinese as mother tongue. Do these children lack the interest and the motivation to speak Chinese? Or, are they guided, or perhaps even encouraged, by their parents to give up their heritage language? When the second-generation Chinese immigrants no longer speak Chinese, how do they communicate with their parents? Does the lack of Chinese language capacity affect their communication and connection with their parents?

As I tried to argue with the case of Baobao and Yanzi, the first-generation Chinese immigrants are fully aware of their children's limits in Chinese language capacity. They make the extra effort to

bring their children to public and private institutions in their spare time to improve their language skills, an effort that the second-generation Chinese immigrants challenge and resist. The lack of Chinese language capacity among the second generation has clearly become a concern of their parents. It is therefore one key focus of this research to understand the upbringing of these children from the perspective of their parents, the first generation. Based on the literature of transnationalism, it is plausible to connect the lack of Chinese language capacity with the limited transnational activities; meanwhile, based on the literature of acculturation, it is also reasonable to take the lack of Chinese language capacity as an evidence of being well "assimilated" into German society. This research will explore these theoretical implications by examining the Chinese immigrants and their children in different social settings in Germany.

By conducting a 12-months fieldwork with the second-generation Chinese immigrants both inside and outside schools, this project also aims to take a closer look into their daily social life with friends and classmates, and their interaction with parents and other family members. How do these children comprehend and evaluate the differences and boundaries between the German culture surrounding them and the heritage culture of their parents? The answer to this question might be the key to understand how they define their own identity and develop their own aspirations between these two worlds. The capacity to speak the Chinese language reflects not only their communication and relationship with their parents, but it can also lead us to understand how the second generation identifies with their Chinese origin. When the Chinese immigrants in Germany lose the linguistic heritage within two generations, is the lack of language capacity a rejection of their Chinese background?

Part Three: Language, community and relationality

Language socialization

Scholars in the field of language socialization have long argued that by acquiring a new language, children and novices become members of a new community (B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a; Ochs and Schieffelin 2012). Researchers in migrant studies mainly focus on the process of emerging and estranging communities, forming and transforming identities in the context of mobility. Researchers in language socialization examine how children and novices "apprehend and enact the

'context of situation' in relation to the 'context of culture'" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 1) and how they "come to create multiple, fluid, sometimes conflicting 'webs of meaning', and the 'unconscious patterning of behavior' that underpin social connectivity" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 2).

This line of argument could be traced back to the scholarship on language relativity, where our conception of the world is regarded to be dependent on the structure and grammar of each language we are speaking. "Human beings […] are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society […]. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group" (Sapir 1958, 162). In the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, we are "parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language" (Whorf 1956, 213). Meanings are grammatically marked in each language, and the grammatical structures determinate the expressions we use while communicating with one another. To learn a new language, it takes much more than mastering vocabulary and grammar. Through speaking a new language, we form a new way of thinking; through the new way of thinking, we could join in the community where we share the same language. "Becoming speakers of cultures" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 7) requires children and novices to be embedded in the social condition during the process of learning, while at the same time provides children and novices with the opportunity to embed themselves into the social condition. Children and novices need to become a fluent communicator before they can become a part of any community. And the process of becoming a member of a community requires the capacity to process information and gain knowledge, to express opinions and emotions, to engage and perform in activities, and to establish and strengthen relationships.

As language learning goes hand-in-hand with community formation, we could also view the effort of Chinese immigrants in the light of this body of literature. By attending Chinese language classes at various institutions, are the second-generation Chinese immigrants on their way to join a "language community" (Silverstein 1998)? Are their learning process and communicative acts in the language classroom "guided by preferences, orientations, and dispositions that are social in origin and culturally specific in nature" (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002, 343 – 344)? In this project, I will analyze the motivation of the first-generation Chinese immigrants to bring their children to these institutions, and find out whether the Chinese language acquisition among their children has met the expectation of these parents.

Bildung and *Sprachsinn*: a Humboldtian Tradition

Discussions over the role of language have a long tradition in Germany. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, numerous German intellectuals started pondering over the nature of language and the relationship between language and thought, as the Enlightenment swept over the continent[23]. Especially after 1781, the publication of *Critique of Pure Reason* by Kant further stimulated new waves of debates. Kant's purist view on reason and thinking triggered many thinkers at the turn of the nineteenth century to investigate the mechanism and faculty of thinking and to define the role of language in this process. Some scholars frame this wave of debates as "the linguistic turn in hermeneutic philosophy" (Miller 2015; Lafont 1999). "Although Paris was in the 1740s the center of debates on language and mind, by the mid-eighteenth century the Berlin Academy had become an important node in this cross-European web", writes Lifschitz, "the topics of the contests and the Academy's decisions were vigorously discussed in pamphlets, books, and journals"(Lifschitz 2012, 10).

Lafont (Lafont 1999) and Taylor (Taylor 2016) refer to the new understanding of language among German idealism thinkers as the "Hamann-Herder-Humboldt" tradition. The dominant emphasis on reason from France to Germany in the eighteenth century, as well as the deep division between reason and nature, sets Wilhelm von Humboldt together with many other protagonists of German Romanticism onto the journey of searching for a united, connected new world order. An order of "wholeness and unification"[24], of the unity between "nature and spirit"[25], and, particularly for Humboldt, an accordance of sensuality and comprehension[26].

How to create such a new order? How to reach such a unity and an accordance? After witnessing the French Revolution and its bloody aftermath, Humboldt was determined to pursue a new order in the non-violent manner. As his contemporaries Hegel and Schleiermacher, he believed firmly and

[23] In 1759, the Berlin Academy of Sciences held an essay competition over the question "What is the reciprocal influence of the opinions of people on language and of language on opinions?" and called for public debate. In 1763, Leibniz's New Essays on Human Understanding, a chapter-by-chapter rebuttal on Locke's *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, was published for the first time, 60 years after Leibniz's death. In 1771, the Berlin Academy repeated the contest with the same attention to the function of language and asked the question "Supposing men abandoned to their natural faculties, are they in a position to invent language?" where Herder won the competition by his well-known essay "*On the origin of language*".

[24] "Ganzheit und Vereinigung"

[25] "Natur und Geist"

[26] "Übereinstimmung zwischen Sinnlichkeit und Verstand"

almost romantically in the possibility and ability of personal and social evolvement. In 1793, he proposed his concept of *Bildung* as a response to the new expectation of education and nation building. Instead of education (*Erziehung*) and training (*Ausbildung*) children and youth going through as preparation for their future occupation and profession, Humboldt and his proposal emphasized on a process of self-cultivation, of personal, intellectual and spiritual maturation.

In the center of Humboldt's theory on *Bildung* is his concept of *Einbildungskraft*, the ability to attain *Bildung*, to be in the process and be able to advance in the process of self-cultivation. To Humboldt, the key of such ability is language, which he repeatedly emphasizes as "the formative organ of thoughts"[27]: "The intellectual activity […] becomes expressive and perceivable for the senses through the sound. And receives an enduring body through writing" (Humboldt 1963, 191)[28]. Language is a part in the generation and formation of thoughts, a part in the process of thinking. The true importance of learning a language lies in the fact, that language contributes to the formation of our conception. He wrote metaphorically that "in language, like in the human chest, lies a poetic and philosophical aspiration, just like a not-yet-developed bud" (Humboldt 1963, 188)[29]. Schleiermacher, his colleague and friend in Berlin, framed this idea into transparent words that there is a "unity of speech and thought, language is the manner in which thought is real. For there is no thought without speech […] But no one can think without words. Without words the thought is not yet completed and clear" (Schleiermacher 1998, 77). Every speech presupposes a given language, and every speech depends upon the previous thinking, which means, to understand others is never merely to understand the words, but rather the thoughts and the ideas.

Humboldt coined the beautiful term "Sprachsinn" to capture this process. Trabant notes (Trabant 1986; 2016) that Humboldt proposed this term based on the Kantian concept of "Gemeinsinn", *sensus communis*, which is Kant's answer to "the necessary condition for the communicability of our awareness"[30] in *Critique of Judgement* (Kant 1790). By extending *Gemeinsinn* to *Sprachsinn*, Humboldt was stating that language and communication serve as the conditions of our awareness, which comes back to his concept of *Einbildungskraft*, the ability to attain *Bildung*, to gain the means of self-

[27] "das bildende Organ des Gedankens"
[28] Author's translation, "Die intellectuelle Thätigkeit […] wird durch den Ton in der Rede äusserlich und wahrnehmbar für die Sinne. Und erhält durch die Schrift einen bleibenden Körper."
[29] Author's translation, "In der Sprache, wie in der menschlichen Brust, liegt ein dichterisches, und wie in noch unerschlossener Knospe mit diesem verbunden, ein philosophisches Streben."
[30] Author's translation, "notwendige Bedingung der Mitteilbarkeit unserer Erkenntnis".

cultivation and personal maturation. Language begins immediately and instantly with the action of reflection (Humboldt 1908, 581)[31], and reflection and thinking begins with language and communication.

Humboldt, Boas and linguistic anthropology

In the writings of Humboldt, we could see an early form of linguistic relativism, and the essential ingredients of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Franz Boas, who defines his position in opposition to evolutionism and believes that each language deserves to be examined on its own terms, uses the concept of "inner form" from Humboldt in his characterization of Amerindian languages, and states that the diversity of languages contributes and conditions the varieties of worldviews. The argument of Boas, that language serves as the decisive condition for the variety of worldviews and cultures, reflects the character of Humboldt's philosophy of language. Humboldt believes that each language is equally capable of expressing any conceivable idea; similarly, Boas considers language to be an essential part that belongs to every human group. "The peculiar characteristics of languages are clearly reflected in the views and customs of the people of the world" (Boas 1911, 73), almost a translation from the Humboldtian writing that "language is the imprint of the spirit and the worldview of the speaker" (Humboldt 1828, 20)[32].

The tradition of linguistic anthropology in the US today results largely from Boas' efforts to institutionalize the discipline and its training for the first students in this field. Through students of his, especially Sapir, we can trace the continuity of Humboldtian ideas in 20th-century American linguistics (Koerner 1992). Sapir, together with Whorf, extends the Humboldtian tradition of *Weltanschauungshypothese* into the Sapir-Whorf-Hypothesis of their own, and preserves the Hamann-Herder-Humboldt line of linguistic thinking in the North American linguistic anthropology in the 20th century. Through the writings of Whitney, Brinton, Boas, Spair and Whorf, the Humboldtian approach to language and culture is still present in the linguistic anthropology today (Koerner 1992, 184).

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[31] In Humboldt's own words: „[D]ie Sprache beginnt daher unmittelbar und sogleich mit dem ersten Act der Reflexion, und so wie der Mensch aus der Dumpfheit der Begierde, in welcher das Subjekt das Objekt verschlingt, zum Selbstbewusstseyn erwacht, so ist auch das Wort da – gleichsam der erste Anstoss den sich der Mensch selbst giebt, plötzlich still zu stehen, sich umzusehen und zu orientieren."

[32] Author's translation, "[D]ie Sprache ist […] der Abdruck des Geistes und der Weltansicht des Redenden".

Echoing the Humboldtian view on language, the approach of language socialization in the US emphasizes on the social condition of language. This body of literature considers language as a formative factor that contributes to the generation of thoughts and social relations. Through language and communication, we are able to share a conversation to reflect and advance the *status quo*. Through the progress and self-cultivation of every individual, the collective body, be it a community or a nation, could reach social evolvement together. With language at the center of the focus, this research will look into the impact of Chinese language capacity on the social life of the second-generation Chinese immigrants and their view on their Chinese heritage. Can the improvement of Chinese language capacity lead to the advancement of knowledge about China and Chinese culture, and thus strengthen their Chinese identity?

Agency of children in language socialization

Parsons and Bales (Parsons 1951; Parsons, Bales, and Olds 1956) introduce the concept of "socialization" into the discussion of new features within the nuclear family. In the setting of a family, the transmission of knowledge and the reproduction of norms and values, they argue, determine the worldviews of children. Through selective reinforcement, the elder generation guides the younger generation into the life they have created and into the class and community they belong.

Bourdieu and Passeron (Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) address the same phenomenon, but in the setting of schools and universities, and with a much more critical gaze. Bourdieu and Passeron acknowledge educational institutions as important places of knowledge transmission, especially knowledge that is coded and standardized. However, in Bourdieu's opinion, "all pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 5). Through the implicit and explicit socialization, both the diffuse education at schools and the family education at home reproduce the cultural arbitrary of the dominant class, typically through the legitimate language (Bourdieu 1991).

Ochs and Schieffelin repeatedly criticize the concept of socialization in the writings of Parsons and Bourdieu (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984; B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a; 1986b; Ochs 1988; B. B. Schieffelin 1990). They criticize both Parsons and Bourdieu for depicting the learning process of children to be unidirectional and goal-oriented, and call for a new understanding of language socialization. Ochs and Schieffelin argue that language socialization is a lifelong undertaking. It is an

interactive process, that begins "at the moment of social contact in the life of a human being" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 164). A child in a family or a novice in a social group "is not a passive recipient of sociocultural knowledge but rather an active contributor to the meaning and outcome of interactions with other members of a social group" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 165). The roles of parents and children, teachers and pupils, are not marked as clearly as Parsons and Bourdieu believe to be. When parents and caregivers are socializing the children, they themselves may be socialized by the children at the same time (Ochs 1988).

Many scholars in the field of language socialization have followed this path and examined the process of learning language as a collaborative communication between parents and children within a family, between seniors and newcomers within a community (Heath 1983; Goodwin 1996; Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi 2001). These works not only address and highlight the agency of children and novices, in some cases, they also consider children to have "a better handle on the new ways of communication" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 4) especially when it comes to the fast changing technologies and the new development of social media. The agency of children enables them to be active participants in the process of socialization, they argue, as they "may guide their elders through the thickets of a brave new world" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 4).

Research in the US has illustrated the expertise among children of immigrants, when they can teach English to their parents, help them to solve problems with the computer and internet, and assist the parents with their paperwork as translators (Ochs and Capps 2001; C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009). Meanwhile, children's attitudes towards learning their ethnic language and culture also pose new challenges to their parents. The second generation often questions the definition and the boundaries of the ethnic identification among the first generation. In return, the first-generation immigrants are forced to rethink their understanding of the ethnic background, and reposition their expectation of the second generation.

Examining the case of Chinese immigrants through the lens of these findings, we could see another direction to explore the dilemma of learning the Chinese language between two generations. When the second-generation Chinese immigrants speak nothing but German, their German fluency could become a leverage of their position in the family, which changes their standpoint during communication with their parents. If this is the case among the Chinese immigrant families, the "assimilation" of the second generation into German society could alter the relationship with their parents. While at the same time, the efforts from the first-generation Chinese immigrants to bring

their children to language schools and Chinese classes can be viewed as efforts to highlight the Chinese background in the family while living in Germany.

Taking one step further from basic mechanism of language socialization, scholars like Hanks (Hanks 1996) argue that the ultimate aim of research of this kind is not merely about how a shared language is spoken , but to understand how a mutual agreement is achieved between two parties. "[T]o communicate, at whatever level of effectiveness, it is neither sufficient nor necessary that they 'share' the same grammar. What they must share, to a variable degree, is the ability to orient themselves verbally, perceptually, and physically to each other and to their social worlds" (Hanks 1996, 229). In other words, language is not the end, but rather the means to reach a common ground, to acquire a shared narrative, and to establish relationship between two speakers. Children and parents, novices and natives, through the action of speaking and communication, not only exchange words, but also exchange thoughts and opinions, feelings and emotions. Either reaching an agreement or ending up in dispute, the outcome of each communication is the interchange of ideas, and the strengthening or the parting of the relationship between two human beings.

In line with the argument of Hanks, we could expand the theories of language socialization further. When the acquisition of linguistic capacity is no longer the final destination, language socialization could be an on-going process. Both children and adults have to play different roles in different social contexts, and to learn the "language" of every role is crucial to their membership in different communities with different recipients (Mertz 1996; 1998; Wenger 1998; Duff, Wong, and Early 2000). Scholars like Ochs have pointed out, that when children and novices manage to use one specific language and become one part of the community, they gain the knowledge of dealing with problems in the conventional way within the community, and adapt into the culturally preferred ways of self-definition and life-orientation (Ochs 1988).

When we agree with the position of Ochs and Schieffelin, that the process of language socialization between parents and children is rather interactional instead of unidirectional, then we also need to address the impact of language socialization on parents. Works like Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi's (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi 2001) argue that both children and parents are active participants in the process of learning language, as both parties are dependent on each other for enacting their roles and engaging responsive communication. However, these works analyze neither the motivation of parents to initiate language socialization, nor the impact on parents after their interaction with children. How are parents "socialized" by their children, while they are socializing

their children? In my research, I would like to take the agency of children in language socialization under scrutiny. Children of Chinese immigrants might not be passive recipients sitting in the classroom of Chinese language schools. Nevertheless, in which ways are they actively contributing to the transmission of knowledge? How to examine and evaluate the interactional outcome in language socialization, when parents are native-speakers of Chinese but their children are learning the same language from basics?

Scope and content of language socialization

"In line with the notion that individuals comprise multiple selves as they move through life experiences, language socialization research holds that habitus is infused with fluidity across the life cycle as well as across generations" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 5). Ochs and Schieffelin criticize Bourdieu and Passeron for depicting children as passive recipients during the transmission of knowledge, where only the educators "inculcate" while learners "internalize" the implicit and explicit principles of practices, habitus, and cultural capital.

However, as Bourdieu has argued himself (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), our choice of language and practices of communication are already predesignated by our habitus. Social hierarchy determines the hierarchy of linguistic styles and genres, which are *inculcated* through family and education in the first place. Children are socialized into forms of cultural capital that privilege certain languages, dialects, genres and styles over others. And these forms of cultural and semiotic capital in return reinforce the access to power, and thus (re)produce the social and economic positions.

In this process, it becomes particularly crucial to acquire the appropriate manner of using language in order to gain "semiotic capital" to claim power and achieve upward mobility. For novices like Chinese immigrants in Germany, the first generation realizes the importance of mastering the legitimate language in the field, as "competence in the standard emerges as a form of symbolic capital, often rationalized as the intrinsic value of 'refined' or 'proper' speaking" (Hanks 2005, 77). When the recognition of value comes through measurement of linguistic acquisition, which is defined precisely by opposition in the field, the anxiety of Chinese parents to foster the proper speakers of German language is well justified by their ambition to upgrade the social status of their next generation.

However, when the next generation has successfully gained "semiotic capital", the power relation between children and parents might shift into a new balance, which is neither familiar nor comfortable for the first-generation Chinese immigrants. Such impact of language could sometimes create anxiety and fear for the first generation, when they realize that their children no longer live in the same world. With a smooth assimilation into German society but without sufficient transnational connection to China, the second-generation Chinese immigrants confront their parents with different claims to power from a different position. It is now the task of parents to answer this challenge and to find the right "inculcation" to (re)establish the right relationship.

When the aim of learning language goes beyond the linguistic capacity to communicate in the language, the exchange and interaction during language socialization must contain more than explaining vocabulary and grammar. When both parents and children are active participants in the transmission of knowledge and competence, we then need to investigate the exact content of such transmission. Bourdieu and Passeron (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) differentiate between learning within and without institutions, where explicit socialization and implicit socialization take place. The former transmits knowledge through school-based institutional channels, knowledge that is objected, coded and standardized. While the latter delivers knowledge through informal corporeal interaction with personal observations and experiences. Bourdieu has been very critical about the outcome of such implicit socialization, and considers pedagogical institutions to be violent on the individuals. In the case of Chinese immigrants, his concept of "implicit socialization" can be a very enlightening perspective to examine the content of language socialization. The first-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork have found different institutions for their children to learn the Chinese language. Are there different kinds of interaction between parents and children at different locations? Do different institutions offer different scopes of language socialization?

Relation, understanding and acknowledgement – beyond language socialization?

Humboldt has pointed out in his writings, that language exists only within the connection of speech and communication, and it serves as the social condition for ideas and relationships to form and to develop (Humboldt 1963, 186). In a very similar tone, Hanks (Hanks 1996; 2005a) argues that one key element of language socialization is a shared interest and emotional bonding. "The process of understanding" (Hanks 1996, 234) does not necessarily require a common language, but rather a

shared sense of "what's going on" and a mutual recognition of each other's presence. In this sense, the transmission of knowledge goes far beyond the linguistic capacity, as it rather aims for the mutual understanding between two parties.

For Chinese immigrants and their children, the importance of mutual understanding about their heritage language and culture stands out. Do these two generations share the same attitudes towards their Chinese background? Do they share the same acknowledgement of their heritage culture and the same appreciation for their family and their ethnic community? Bourdieu and Passeron (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) emphasize the acquisition of "a relation to language" before acquiring the linguistic features of a language. Before the second-generation Chinese immigrants start learning Chinese at Chinese language schools on Saturday, what kind of a relation do they have to the Chinese language? Is this relation similar to the one of their parents? And does this relation change during the course of their Chinese learning?

As I intend to argue in this thesis, the first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants in Berlin sometimes clash over identity and language, while at other times find a mutual understanding and reach a harmonious attachment. The first-generation Chinese immigrants search for the "most suitable" venue in their eyes for their children to learn the Chinese language. However, their effort does not always lead to progress of Chinese linguistic capacity in the classroom; sometimes it rather creates more confrontations and conflicts in the family. Why is speaking Chinese this important to the first-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany? Besides expecting their children to improve the Chinese language capacity, are they also hoping for improvement of intergenerational communication and relationship at the same time?

If children have agency of their own in the process of language socialization, how much of their agency is independent from their habitus? Can children contribute to the formation of their knowledge and semiotic capital in their own terms? If yes, how much of these "terms" are outside the terms of their parents? If the scope of language socialization exceeds beyond the transmission of linguistic capacity, we must ask, when does "language socialization" end and when does "communication" begin?

It is the aim of this thesis to answer these questions. Through the extensive fieldwork with Chinese immigrant families in Berlin, this research examines the agency of children, especially children of immigrants, in the process of learning a heritage language. I investigate the scope and the content of

language socialization taking place at a public school during the week, at private language schools during the weekend and at the Chinese Christian churches on Sunday. By providing a thick description of "what's going on", I examine the relation to the Chinese language from the perspective of both the first- and the second-generation Chinese immigrants, and seek to understand the relation they have with each other.

Part Four: Methodology

Who are "Chinese immigrants" and what is "Chinese language"?

In recent years, scholars like Shu-Mei Shih (Shih 2011; 2013) have called for the recognition of China and the Manchu Qing dynasty as "an inner Asian empire" (Shih 2011, 711) with "internal colonies" like Xinjiang and Tibet, and "settler colonies" like Taiwan and Southeast Asia. The term "Chinese" is therefore criticized for being a symbol of colonialism, and the term "Sinophone" is promoted instead.

In the case of the Chinese population outside China, Shih discredits terms like "overseas Chinese" and "Chinese diaspora". She argues, terms like these reflect the intention of the Chinese state, that these people "shall always remain loyal to China", "exploiting racist injuries to their feelings or other forms of alienation that can be easily transfigured into long-distance nationalism for the benefit of China" (Shih 2011, 710). In the case of the Chinese language, Shih questions terms like "Chinese language", "han yu/汉语" (language of the Han), and "putonghua/普通话" (common speech), as they embody "colonialist imposition" (Shih 2011, 710). She argues that the word "Chinese" has "disregarded and suppressed linguistic heterogeneity" (p. 715). Instead of the hegemony and homogeneity of "Chineseness", Shih calls for the application of "Sinophone" in the studies of Chinese immigrants and Chinese language, as the Sinophone "eschews monolingualism, ethnocentrism, and colonialism; it evinces the existential openness and porousness of linguistic communities; and it aims for the concrete universal" (Shih 2011, 717).

My research does not aim for "the concrete universal", but rather focuses specifically on the inter-generational relations within Chinese migrant families in Germany. I will not engage further with the "Sinophone" literature in this thesis, especially because of the problematic origin of the term "Sino" and the disparaging innuendo it carried during the Second World War between China and Japan.

The term "Chinese" indeed could indicate nationality, ethnicity and language. However, particularly because this research does not touch on issues of nation building or nationalism nor on other languages or on dialects used in China, I will keep using the term "Chinese" in this thesis.

In discussion over language, "Chinese" refers to the standardized form of Chinese used in mainland China, which is the official language of China, in the same way that the official language in Japan is called "Japanese" or the official language in Germany is called "German". I choose to use the term "Chinese language", mainly because the interlocutors in my fieldwork dominantly use the word "zhongwen/中文" (Chinese language) during our conversations. Although "Chinese language" in this thesis refers to the same language as "Mandarin" or "putonghua", I will not use these two terms. The Chinese translation of Mandarin would be "guanhua/官话" (speech of officials), a term that has never come up from the interlocutors in my fieldwork. Besides Family Wu from Wenzhou (in Chapter Four), where the mother only speaks the Wenzhou dialect, and a few senior members in Family Wen from Guangdong (in Chapter Four) who speak only Cantonese, all the first-generation Chinese immigrants in the ethnography speak the standardized form of Chinese language, although some of them are also fluent in their own dialects. Throughout my fieldwork, the term "putonghua" is only used once by Mr. Wu, when he explained that his wife did not speak "putonghua" but only the Wenzhou dialect.

In discussion over people, I mainly use the term "Chinese immigrants" while occasionally use "Chinese diaspora" and "Chinese overseas" as well. In the ethnography, "Chinese immigrants" refers to those who are of Chinese nationality, living outside China while still holding a Chinese passport. This means, neither citizens of Hong Kong and Taiwan, nor ethnic Chinese population from Southeast Asia, are included, particularly because they do not appear in the ethnography. I call the children of the first-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork "second-generation Chinese immigrants" or "children of the first-generation Chinese immigrants", although some of the second generation might have German citizenship. A brief history of Chinese immigrants in Germany is included in *Intermezzo,* where immigrants from Republic of China (1912 – 1949) and Qing Dynasty also appear in the story. I refer to them as "Chinese immigrants" as well, in accord with the way they are addressed in the main body literature on Chinese immigrants by other scholars (i.e. Benton and Pieke 1998; Benton and Gomez 2011).

Formation of the research and sites of fieldwork

The origin of this PhD project could date back to 2011, when I was conducting fieldwork for my master thesis over the impact of Chinese Christian churches on the life of Chinese immigrants in Berlin. For six months from December of 2011 to May of 2012, I visited the Sunday service at the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin, located at Hohenzollernplatz, and took part in the weekly Bible study sessions of different Bible groups. During the course of these six months, I was struck constantly by the lack of Chinese language capacity among the children who attended the Sunday service and the Bible sessions with their parents. These second-generation Chinese immigrants, mostly children of two Chinese native speakers, hardly speak any Chinese. While at the same time, almost every first-generation Chinese immigrant I encountered during these six months was eager to ensure the Chinese language capacity of his/her children.

This puzzle remained unsolved after the completion of my master thesis, and it eventually evolved into the theme of my dissertation after another six months of fermentation. I aimed to gain a fuller understanding of the immigrant experience among the Chinese immigrants in Berlin, both the first and the second generation, and I organized the fieldwork at these three following sites during the course of 12 months, from August 2015 to July 2016:

1) The first site of my fieldwork is GaP Primary School. GaP stands for Primary School at Planetarium, *Grundschule am Planetarium*. It is located in the district of Prenzlauer Berg, in the northeastern part of the city. This district was a part of East Berlin until the reunification in 1989. Since the mid of 1990s, Prenzlauer Berg gradually gathered a variety of trendy restaurants, cafes, galleries, bars and pubs, and became one of the most popular districts for young people. Consequently, the settlement of young residents brought a high birthrate into this quarter. Prenzlauer Berg gained a large number of new schools, kindergartens, daycare centers and playgrounds in the past 20 years, as well as the nickname "Pregnancy Hill". By the time I conducted my fieldwork in 2015 and 2016, the neighborhood of GaP School has already become one of the most gentrified areas in the city, with international residents of mainly middle-class families.

Chinese immigrants are one part of this international community. The very first Chinese-German bilingual kindergarten in Germany, founded in 2008, is located just a few blocks away from GaP School. In 2012, a second Chinese-German bilingual kindergarten was set up on the next parallel street, meeting the growing needs from the increasing number of Chinese families in this

neighborhood. Since 2013, a few active parents have worked hard to establish the first Chinese-German bilingual primary school at GaP School, to provide the second-generation Chinese immigrants a place to continue their bilingual education after the bilingual kindergartens. Partly because of this prospect of an upcoming bilingual school, partly because of the Chinese language programs offered as a part of the school curriculum, partly also because of the convenient location and the communicative circle of Chinese immigrants, GaP School has gathered a significant number of pupils over the years, who are children from Chinese immigrant families in Berlin. Since September 2011, GaP School has been offering Chinese language classes to children of different classes three times a week. It is now the only public primary school in Berlin to include Chinese as a part of the regular curriculum.

After a few weeks of communication and negotiation, I became a teaching assistant in the Chinese language classes at GaP School. I assisted the teaching in three classes of three different levels, two hours a day from Tuesday to Thursday, plus an extra hour of after-school care club (*Hort*) for those pupils whose parents are not able to pick them up earlier. Starting from the Spring Festival in February 2016, I founded a Chinese children's choir at GaP School, which added one more hour of rehearsal with these children every Thursday afternoon. All the pupils in the Chinese classes and choir are aged between seven to ten, most of whom are children of ethnic Chinese immigrants from mainland China.

2) The second site of my fieldwork is the private Chinese language schools in Berlin. I started in Huade Chinese School during the pilot month of the fieldwork. Founded in 1992, Huade School is the very first Chinese language school in Germany. Over the years, it has developed from a semi-private class of five people to the biggest Chinese language school in Europe, with more than 540 pupils in 35 classes in 2016. They have moved their classrooms around the city a couple of times in these 25 years. Currently they rent classrooms of Friedensburg High School in Charlottenburg in the western part of the city for their activities on Saturday.

For the main part of my fieldwork, I gained access to Yizhi Chinese Culture School, based in a vocational school in Tempelhof in the southern part of the city. Founded in 2007, they are currently the second largest Chinese language school in Berlin. In 2015, there are 13 classes with more than 200 pupils. Starting from November 2015, I first worked as a substitute teacher for three months, filling in for different classes when the class teacher was absent. Later, I became the class teacher of Class 12, teaching the class for three hours every Saturday morning until the summer break of 2016.

During Spring Festival and Easter holiday, I also visited two other smaller language schools in Berlin. The majority of interlocutors and interviews from Saturday language schools come from my time at Yizhi School.

3) The last site of my fieldwork is the Chinese Christian churches in Berlin. There are currently two Chinese Protestant churches in Berlin: Chinese Christian Church of Berlin (CCCB) and Chinese Alliance Church of Berlin (CACB). CCCB, renting the building of the Protestant Church at Hohenzollernplatz (*Evangelische Kirchengemeinde am Hohenzollernplatz)* in the southwestern part of Berlin, is the largest Chinese Protestant community in Germany. Starting from an informal Bible group of seven students in West Berlin in the 1980s, CCCB has about 250 members in 2015, and hosts about 200 members during every Sunday service. Besides the weekly Sunday service with Sunday school programs for children, CCCB also offers "an evening of worship" every Thursday evening in the church. Outside the church building, there are eleven Bible groups (in 2015), spreading out across different districts of the entire city, having weekly meeting for reading the Bible and worshipping.

The second Chinese Protestant church in Berlin, CACB, was founded in 2006 and currently has about 50 regular members. Since August 2012, CACB rents the building of Berlin City Mission (*Berliner Stadtmission*) right in the city center to be their meeting point for Sunday service and other activities.

I mainly conducted my fieldwork at CCCB. I joined one Bible group during the first three months of my fieldwork – before the teaching at Yizhi Chinese Language School started in November 2015 – and took part in their weekly meeting every Saturday morning. For the rest of my fieldwork, I regularly visited their Sunday service and Sunday school programs, while attended most of the special events on Christian holidays. I visited the Sunday service at CACB at intervals, and established contacts with a few active members and one church leader.

During the course of my field research, I applied a range of ethnographic methods: participant observation, semi-structured and biographical interviews, discourse analysis and photography. I conducted interviews with parents and teachers at GaP School, Huade and Yizhi Chinese Language Schools, with the pastor and church committee members at CCCB and CACB, as well as a number of Bible Group Captains and active church members in both churches. Additionally, I collected extensive field notes, and numerous sources and materials from these three sites.

Part Five: Outline and arrangement of chapters

Scholars of language socialization argue that the process of language socialization is rather interactional instead of unidirectional, and children have their agency to act on their own. Based on my fieldwork with Chinese immigrants in Berlin, I examine the scope and the content of language socialization among the second-generation Chinese immigrants while they are learning their heritage language. I document and argue in this thesis, how and why the first and second generations sometimes clash over identity and language, while at other times they reach a harmonious attachment. Through fieldwork at three different sites, I will analyze the role of different institutions, the interaction between children and parents at different locations, and the agency of both children and parents during the process of language socialization.

I have arranged my chapters in the following way:

In the *Intermezzo*, I offer a brief history of Chinese immigrants in Germany with the focus on the main channels of Chinese immigration to Germany in the past decades. I analyze the demographic features of the current Chinese immigrants residing in Germany in 2015. I also include examples of journalistic reports from German mainstream media across the political spectrum to show the character of their coverage on China and Chinese in the past years. Through an analysis of these reports, I present a contemporary *Chinabild* and the image of Chinese immigrants in the German media.

In Chapter 1, *Think like a German*, I present the portraits of a few middle-class Chinese immigrant families, and analyze their shared trajectory of migrating from China to Germany in the past 25 years. I show the challenges they are facing and their expectation of the next generation.

By documenting the reasons why these first-generation Chinese immigrants are determined to raise "native German" children who could speak German as "mother-tongue", this chapter focuses on the way how the first-generation Chinese immigrants create the "best" environment in their opinion for the second generation in order to fabricate a German identity. I argue that parents' belief in the importance of "environment" reflects their conviction of implicit socialization. "Think like a German" ("像德国人一样思考") and "listen to the tone while listen to the talks" ("听话听音") both indicate their strong desire to understand power and politics, and to gain access to power and politics through the enhancement of the semiotic capital in their children.

In Chapter 2, *Every weekend is a war*, I illustrate the stories of a few parents I met in different language schools. They notice that they start to "lose control" over their children, and want to bring the Chinese element back into their upbringing. Many of them wish to highlight the Chinese language and culture in their daily life with the hope to implement Chinese parenting concepts with their children, although such a wish could lead to unexpected outcomes.

Parents presented in this chapter share the same faith in implicit socialization as parents in Chapter 1, although they are making an effort from an opposite linguistic direction. They believe in the "environment" of Chinese language, and they consider the Chinese "style" as an ideal pattern of parent-child relationship at home. Instead of aiming for transformation of social status and political power, parents in Chapter 2 show their belief in the transformation of mentality and modification of behavior through learning a language.

Following the ethnography from the public primary school and the private language schools, Chapter 3, *Become Christian to remain Chinese*, examines the role of Chinese Christian churches. In previous chapters, I focus on the strong belief in implicit socialization as well as the impact of institutions among the first-generation Chinese immigrants. Here, the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin seizes the opportunity of this "belief", and provides their Sunday programs accordingly to attract more members. Such strategies of CCCB prove to be very effective, as the size and the income of their community grew rapidly in the past ten years.

Besides paying attention to the improvement of Chinese language capacity among their children, parents in this chapter particularly appreciate the "correct" behavior and the "proper" values the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin embodies, especially the emphasis on the importance of obedience to the "Heavenly Father" and to the parents. Such embodiment becomes a main attraction to the first-generation Chinese immigrants to bring their children every Sunday, although often against their "free will".

One central argument in language socialization is that children are able to influence the learning process as active participants with their agency, instead of being only the passive recipients. In Chapter 3, I explore the role of religious institutions in the integration process of migrants in Germany and in the US. I argue how parents set the standards of socialization based on their own beliefs and ideals, and how they seek the best location to transmit their orientation onto the next generation. I would like to point out that parents are often the ones who determine the standards of

such socialization based on the habitus of their own. Especially in a location like this church, where the program is designed to strengthen the agency of parents, the agency of children is very limited.

In the fourth and the final chapter, *True affection and real feelings*, I describe the different ways of intergenerational interaction when parents bring children to learn the Chinese language. I illustrate how parents' attitudes towards China and the attachment towards their children determine the Chinese linguistic capacity among the children as well as their own identification with the Chinese background.

Following the discussion of children's agency in language socialization, I purpose to investigate what constitutes their agency and how their agency in language socialization is constructed. By providing the perspectives from the second-generation Chinese immigrants, I address directly the role of parents in the formation of children's agency in learning the Chinese language, but also the impact of parents on children's attitudes towards China and their identification of being Chinese in Germany.

I will emphasize Bourdieu's concept of "a relation to language" and demonstrate how these children's attitudes of learning Chinese is constituted by their parents' attitudes towards China and their own Chinese identity. With these examples, I argue that although children have their own agency during language socialization, the first-generation Chinese immigrants' relation to their Chinese background can determine considerably their children's relation to the Chinese language and their self-identification as being Chinese.

Intermezzo –

A brief history of Chinese Immigrants in Germany

and the contemporary image of Chinese immigrants in German media

Part One:

A chronicle of Chinese in Germany and the trajectory of the contemporary immigrants

A theatrical beginning to the tragic end of World War II

The very first Chinese immigrants arrived in Germany in 1822, and Berlin was the first destination. Dagmar Yu-Dembski (Yu-Dembski 2007) offers a vivid portrait of the very first two Chinese in Germany, Feng Assing and Feng Haho, as they arrived in Berlin in 1822 through the organization of a merchant named Heinrich Lasthausen. Being the first and only Chinese in town, they immediately became an attraction that the Berliner were standing in line outside their residence and paying six "Groschen" to see them for five minutes (Yu-Dembski 2007, 7). The Prussian King funded the stay of these two Chinese at the beginning, with the expectation that they would be a great help to the ambitious plan of the Prussian court to expand in Asia. Assing and Haho were sent to the University of Halle for education, and eventually both came back to Berlin and converted to Christianity. They both translated religious texts from German to Chinese, and partly assisted the missionary work of German Protestant Church in the 19th century. Assing in particular translated "The Small Catechism"[33] of Martin Luther into Chinese and dedicated the book to the Prussian emperor of that time, Frederick William III. They both married German women and founded families around Berlin. Assing later returned to China after the death of his wife, while Haho settled down in Potsdam and lived there with his family until the end of his life.

Besides the exceptional premiere of Haho and Assing, the contact and communication between China and Germany (Qing Dynasty and Prussia at that time) did not really start until 1861, when they signed the Treaty of Commerce and Amity in Tianjin. In 1876, the first batch of Chinese

[33] "Der Kleine Katechismus"

students was sent to attend military schools in Prussia, followed by more and more government-sponsored students, mainly from prosperous families in the Qing Dynasty. A great number of them enrolled at the university in Berlin during their stay. In 1880, Chinese students in Berlin founded the "Chinese Student Association"[34] with 40 regular members, which later developed into the "Club of Chinese Students"[35] of increasingly bigger scale. At the 25th anniversary celebration of the club in 1927, there were already around 500 members (Yu-Dembski 2007, 27).

As Berlin became the capital city of the German Empire[36] in 1871, political, economic and cultural activities brought in new residents from both domestic and international origins. Chinese immigrants were one part of this wave. After the ban of overseas travel was lifted in Qing Dynasty in 1895, businessmen and crewmen from Zhejiang and Guangdong Province were among the first who made their journey from China to Germany, either with cargo ships over the sea, or with the newly-built trans-Siberian railway across the continent (Groeling-Che 2005, 59). In 1910, the national census of the German Empire recorded that there were 623 Chinese living in the country (Gütinger 1998, 201). Although many left during World War I, a bigger number of Chinese immigrants soon came back after the war ended. Berlin and Hamburg gradually became two main destinations for Chinese immigrants, each with a special profile.

Being the most important harbor of Germany, Hamburg attracted a significant number of crewmen from China. One of the earliest settlers, Chen Jilin, came to Germany as a crewman from his hometown Ningbo in Zhejiang Province, and later worked for the German/European cargo ship owners as an agent in Hamburg. He introduced more than 3000 young men from Zhejiang Province to Germany over the years[37]. These Chinese crewmen became an indispensable part of the shipping industry, and their popularity soon led to conflict between "white" and "yellow" labor at the end of the 19th century. On October 30, 1898, the German parliament banned the employment of Chinese crews on all shipping routes except the ones to China. There, Chinese crewmen were only allowed to work in the boiler room and the engine room, as the working condition was considered to be detrimental to the health of "white" crewmen (Gütinger 1998, 197). Many of these laid-off Chinese crewmen stayed in Hamburg, opening restaurants, laundries, small shops, as well as stylish cafés and

[34] "Verein chinesischer Studenten"
[35] "Club chinesischer Studenten"
[36] "Deutsches Reich"
[37] Guanzhong Gao, "德国最早的侨团 – 汉堡中华会馆", *新浪博客*, October 17, 2014, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_a065430e0102v7tp.html

ballrooms (Amenda 2011). A "Chinese Quarter"[38] gradually took shape since 1920 in the district of St. Pauli in Hamburg, and became the beginning of the Chinese community of Hamburg.

While Chinese in Hamburg remained within the working class, Chinese in Berlin were forming class clusters in the city. After World War I, many Chinese immigrants arrived in Berlin without job or income. They moved around in the city and looked for opportunities to make ends meet. Around East Train Station[39] of today, within the streets of Andreasstraße, Markusstraße, Lange Straße and Krautsraße, there was a Chinatown between two World Wars, or as German media called it, "yellow quarter"[40]. About 200 Chinese lived around this "yellow quarter"; many of them scraped a living by selling ceramic vases, paper flowers, or other traditional Chinese handicrafts to Germans from door to door. The center of their life was a local pub in the middle of the Chinatown, where at least 30 traders and dealers met every day, playing Ma-Jiang (Mah-Jongg) or the Chinese chess, eating or sometimes even cooking Chinese food among themselves (Yu-Dembski 2007, 20 - 26).

While the Chinese immigrants in the eastern part of Berlin were struggling to make a living, their fellow countrymen on the other side were having a very different life. Students, scholars and government officials, most of whom received generous funding from the Qing Empire or later the Republic of China, mainly lived in the western part of the city. The growing community of Chinese students and intellectuals gradually gained the reputation of "elegant young men"[41] by dressing themselves up tidily with suits and ties and renting stylish apartments in fashionable neighborhoods of the town. Before the National Socialist Party took power in 1933, the open and unpretentious atmosphere turned Berlin into an attraction among Chinese immigrants, including Zhang Shenfu, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De. Being one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, Zhang Shenfu introduced the Communist party to Zhou and Zhu during their time in Europe, both of whom became active members of communist networks in Germany and later became prominent political figures in the Chinese Communist Party. Besides the struggling merchants and the well-off students and officials, Berlin was also a meeting point for a number of Chinese young artists. Two of the most outstanding contemporary painters in China, Xu Beihong and Lin Fengmian, both spent a few years in Berlin and created numerous works during their stay.

[38] "Chinesenviertel"
[39] "Ostbahnhof" of today, „Schlesischer Bahnhof" at that time.
[40] "Gelbes Quartier"
[41] "elegante junge Herren"

More than 1600 Chinese lived in Germany by 1936 (Yu-Dembski 2005, 41), residing mainly in Berlin and Hamburg. This first wave of Chinese immigration came to an end hastily in 1938, when Nazi Germany established diplomatic relations with Manchukuo, a region in Northeast China seized by Japan in 1931. A pro-Japan government was established in 1932 with Puyi, the last Qing Emperor, as the nominal regent and later the emperor. The diplomatic relations between Germany and the Republic of China soon dissolved, and the majority of Chinese immigrants in Germany found their way back to their homeland.

Those who stayed had perhaps little idea at that time, what their fate would be under the regime of the Nazi Party. In 1933, the racist policies of Nazi Germany officially defined Chinese as "colored or yellow race"[42]. Soon enough, "in order to protect the German blood and the German honor", marriage between German and Chinese were no longer permitted (Yu-Dembski 2005). In 1944, Gestapo, the Secret State Police of Nazi Germany, arrested 165 Chinese in Hamburg and Bremen, on charges of espionage. These 165 Chinese were sent to Forced Labor Camp "Langer Morgen" in Wilhelmsburg, south of Hamburg, where 17 of them died under mistreatment and abuse. The rest were only released in 1945, when the Allies seized Hamburg at the end of the war. All of the survivors except one returned to China immediately afterwards. The only one who stayed in the city later opened the "Peace Restaurant"[43] in Hamburg (Gütinger 1998, 203). In Berlin, about 100 Chinese immigrants were arrested by Gestapo and sent to concentration camps, most of whom did not have a chance to survive (Liang 1978).

When the war ended in Europe in 1945, there were about 200 Chinese living in Berlin: 40 scholars and 160 merchants (Yu-Dembski 2007, 80). As travelling became possible again, many of them, together with their German spouses and children, went back to China, including most of the scholars whose funding was suspended due to the change of regime in China. In 1950, there were no more than 200 Chinese in Germany altogether. Around 180 of them lived in Berlin and 20 in Hamburg (Yu-Dembski 2007).

[42] "farbigen oder gelben Rasse"
[43] "和平饭店"

Post-war migration from China to Germany

Germany was divided after World War II, and so was Berlin. Although the German Democratic Republic (GDR) quickly established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in October 1949, not many Chinese were willing to stay in East Germany due to the limited opportunities of trading and private business. The only Chinese in GDR were students coming to German universities under a cultural-exchange program between the two countries in the 1950s. As the partnership between China and Soviet Union officially collapsed in the 1960s, most of these students were requested to return to China. In December 1990, shortly after reunification, there were only 40 Chinese in East Germany (Gütinger 1998, 203).

West Germany continued to host Chinese immigrants after 1949. In 1951, there were 800 Chinese in West Germany, 225 of whom living in West Berlin. The number stagnated for almost a decade, and gradually went down to 477 in the year of 1967 (Gütinger 1998, 204). As West Germany and China established diplomatic relations in 1972, the channels of travelling and migrating from China to West Germany began to develop again. Besides businessmen and restaurant-workers, Chinese students, both state- and self-sponsored, became the mainstream among Chinese immigrants in Germany. On October 1, 1980, one of the first groups of Chinese students arrived in Heidelberg, where they received a three-weeks "survival training" from a team of sinologists from Heidelberg University, with the theme "Life in a capitalist foreign land" (Yu-Dembski 2007, 99).

The number of Chinese students kept growing steadily ever since. Especially after the Tiananmen Square protests in June 1989 in Beijing, German politicians, who recently witnessed the transition of the Communist bloc and the fall of the Berlin Wall, showed sympathetic generosity towards visa applications from China, and "viewed it as their duty to support the political change in China by admitting ever higher numbers of students" (Giese 2003, 165). Not only did the number of applications for political asylum by Chinese rise from 86 in 1988 to 4396 in 1993, but also the whole number of Chinese immigrants in Germany trebled within these five years, from 10,761 in 1988 to 31,451 in 1993 (Giese 2003).

Scholars like Giese have expressed their doubt about the percentage of actual political asylum seekers from China, and the percentage of those who already lived in Germany without legal document before the political event in 1989 and took advantage of the policy to legalize their status. However, it is undeniable that the wave of Chinese immigrants started growing rapidly since 1989. A

number of factors had an impact on this development, including: the better relationship and closer cooperation between China and Germany in general, resulting in more channels of collaboration for Sino-German exchanges; the widening of commercial trades and business; and the increasing number of families in China who are able to finance their children to study overseas. When we examine the length of stay among Chinese immigrants in Germany, this phase also stands out: among the Chinese immigrants who still live in Germany by the end of 2015, 521 arrived in Germany between 1980 and 1985, while 2,509 arrived between 1985 and 1990 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016a)[44].

Chinese students in Germany

Since 2000, German universities went through a series of reforms, and started offering more studies and programs that meet the needs of international students. The increasing number of English courses and the separation of Bachelor and Master Studies, for example, both made it easier for foreigners outside Germany to become students at German universities. While at the same time, more "agents for education abroad"[45] opened for business in China, offering application service for Chinese students to find their way into German universities and colleges. These additional incentives enhance the popularity of Germany as a destination for Chinese students, who have become the biggest group of foreign students in Germany since 2004.

Until the end of 2015, 119,590 Chinese live in Germany. A significant percentage of them are students at German universities and colleges. In 2015, 30,259 Chinese students are registered at German higher education institutions[46], about 25% of all Chinese immigrants. If we examine the types of different residence permits among Chinese in Germany, the size of student body appears even bigger. There are 38,833 Chinese holding residence permits for educational purposes in 2015, which constitute about 32% of all Chinese immigrants in Germany. The difference between 38,833 and 30,259 indicates, that there are 8,574 students who either are attending language courses in order

[44]Statistisches Bundesamt, "Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Ausländische Bevölkerung – Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters 2015", March 29, 2016, https://www.destatis.de/GPStatistik/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/DEHeft_derivate_00023450/2010200157004_korr03082016.pdf

[45] "留学中介"

[46] "Deutsche Hochschulen"

to prepare for the upcoming college education, or have just finished (or dropped out) their higher education and are currently looking for jobs.

When we compare Chinese students with other foreign students at German universities, the distinction becomes more visible. Although the absolute number of Chinese immigrants is not among the highest in Germany, the number of Chinese students on German campuses has been dominant since 2004.

2005		**2010**		**2015**	
Country of Origin	**Number**	**Country of Origin**	**Number**	**Country of Origin**	**Number**
China	25 987	China	22 779	China	30 259
Bulgaria	12 467	Russia	9 764	India	11 655
Poland	12 209	Poland	8 467	Russia	11 534
Russia	9 594	Bulgaria	8 266	Austria	9 875
Morocco	6 986	Turkey	6 635	France	7 305
Source: "Wissenschaft weltoffen 2016" (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst and Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung 2016)					

Take the example of 2015: when we compare the number of students at German universities with the total number of immigrants in Germany from the same country, Chinese students take up 25% of all Chinese immigrants. Indian students are 14% of all 86,324 Indian immigrants, Russian students 5% (out of 230,994 Russian in Germany), Austrian students 5% (out of 181,756 Austrian) and French students 6% (out of 126,739 French). Among the major countries of origin among immigrants in Germany, 0.5% of Turkish immigrants (6,785 out of 1,506,113), 0.8% of Polish immigrants (6,165 out of 740,962) and 1% of Italian immigrants (7,169 out of 596,127) are affiliated to German universities and colleges[47].

[47] Data from "Wissenschaft weltoffen 2016" (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst and Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung 2016)

Besides the number of registered students on German university campuses, it is also worth noting that the majority of Chinese students aim to graduate with a German university degree. 72.2% of newly registered Chinese students in 2014 expressed this intention, while at the same time 68.1% of Russian students, 46.8% of Turkish students, 42.3% of Polish students, 38.7% of Italian students and 27.4% of American students share the same motivation. It is not a surprise that the percentage of Chinese students graduating from German universities and colleges is also significantly higher compared to other groups of foreign students[48]. This high percentage of graduation leads directly to the number of academic staff at German higher education institutions. In 2014, 2,568 Chinese immigrants hold academic positions in German education and research institutions, the second highest of all foreign countries (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst and Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung 2016).

There are several reasons why university education in Germany is particularly attractive for Chinese students. Besides the positive image of Germany in China and among Chinese, the good reputation of higher education in Germany and the low tuition, especially compared to university tuition in the US or UK, makes it an appealing combination. Moreover, the migration policies of Germany do not offer much opportunity of migration into Germany for non-EU citizens, other than through education. Under the current regulations of German migration laws, the chance to fill in a job vacancy in Germany while manage to obtain a working permit from the German Registration Central of Foreigners[49] from China is in practice extremely dim. Attending German colleges and universities is viewed and proved as the most realistic and reliable bridge towards a life in Germany. Besides a few restaurant workers, almost all my interlocutors during my fieldwork came to Germany first as students, and later found jobs and founded families. This trajectory has determined the life orientation, identity definition and future aspirations for both the first- and the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany.

[48] Among all foreign students who graduated from German universities or colleges in 2014, students from China take up 15.3%, while Russian 5.6%, Indian 4.8%, Austrian 4.5% and French 3.3%. Data from "Wissenschaft weltoffen 2016" (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst and Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung 2016)
[49] "Ausländerzentralregister"

Chinese immigrants in Germany

Until the end of 2015, there are 119,590 immigrants residing in Germany with Chinese passports. Besides the educational sector, there are 14,041 Chinese immigrants, who hold residence-permits for the purpose of economic activity. As analyzed earlier, most of them are graduates from German universities and colleges, who find jobs after graduation, but have not yet lived in Germany long enough to obtain a settlement permit. This group of immigrants is more or less in a transition period. They have steady income and basic social security, but only limited choice of occupations and location of residence. After living and working in Germany for five years with a secured condition, most Chinese immigrants have the chance to apply for the permanent residence permit, also known as the settlement permit. At the end of 2015, 24,986 Chinese have already obtained the settlement permit, which provides them with the freedom of selecting employers, or even becoming employers themselves, and the full benefits of German social security and health care. Most importantly, a settlement permit offers the opportunity to bring more family members into Germany. 17,308 Chinese in Germany in 2015 hold the resident permits for family reunion purposes, most of whom are family members of settlement permit holders.

As German-Chinese dual-citizenship is legally not possible, a settlement permit in Germany with a Chinese passport becomes an ideal option for many Chinese immigrants. Settlement permit holders are able to keep their Chinese citizenship and Chinese passports, which allows them to enter China freely without a visa. Especially when the cost of Chinese visa increases rapidly year by year, this kind of German "Green Card" has become the most desirable choice for the majority of first-generation Chinese immigrants I met during my fieldwork. In 2015, 477 Chinese took part in the process of naturalization and became German citizens, a very small percentage compared to the 31,581 Chinese immigrants who have lived in Germany for more than ten years and still hold the Chinese passports.

Besides these common types of immigrant status, there are also a few small groups with different channels of migration. 1,312 Chinese immigrants in Germany are granted to stay due to political reasons. 1,002 Chinese immigrants are granted the self-employment residence permit based on their investment (Block and Klingert 2012). Besides these documented Chinese immigrants, undocumented population from China, who either have entered Germany through irregular channels or have stayed longer than the legal permission, have also caught the attention of German officials and scholars. The human-trafficking route from Moscow to Prague not only smuggles

Chinese into Germany, but also to a number of EU countries as Italy and Spain. "Up to now, most of the irregular migrants from China were recruited in Zhejiang, with increasing proportions originating in Fujian and Guangdong" (Giese 2003, 172 - 173), many of whom find shelters in the thousands of Chinese restaurants across Europe.

Overall, we can observe the following features of the Chinese immigrants in Germany today. First, because of the political fallout in both Germany and China in the second half of the 20th century, the migration wave from China to Germany experienced a re-set at the end of World War II. After a few decades of stagnation, the number of Chinese immigrants started rising rapidly since 1989. This means, that the current community of Chinese immigrants in Germany has a relatively short history, compared to their counterparts in the US and Southeast Asia, and the Chinese families here mainly consist of the first and the second generations. Secondly, the migration policies and regulations in the labor market of Germany have determined the demographic facet of Chinese immigrants. Due to the affordability and accessibility of higher education at German universities, student visa becomes the main entrance for young Chinese to set foot in Germany. This has led to a high percentage of university graduates among the Chinese immigrants in Germany today.

These two features combined make Chinese immigrants in Germany distinguishable compared to Chinese immigrants in the US or Turkish immigrants in Germany. The short history of immigration and the dominant channel of education together determine the average age of Chinese immigrants, the education background and socioeconomic condition, and the size of their families. Because of migration policies in Germany, the absence of grandparents or secondary relatives is very common among the Chinese migrant families. As I aim to argue in this thesis, these characteristics have shaped the trajectories of the lives of Chinese immigrants in Germany and their aspirations for the second generation.

Part Two:

"The Chinese are coming": public image of Chinese immigrants in German media

With the rising number of Chinese immigrants in Germany, as well as the growing geopolitical impact of China on the global stage, reports on China and Chinese in the German mainstream

media have become increasingly frequent in the past decade. In the news coverage, two themes appear repeatedly in various media across political spectrum.

The first theme is an explicit criticism on the social and political climate in China in general and the governing political party in particular. For four decades, Germany was divided into two countries of two contrasting political ideologies. However, even with the wall built up in 1961, a modest degree of exchange survived between the two countries, especially from the West to the East. Families across the border maintained their connection, and plenty of academic and cultural contacts maintained. After the fall of the wall and the reunification of one Germany, the Communist regime crumbled down, the socialist structure was cast aside. Throughout four decades of living with contrasting worldviews, Germans and German media today, especially in the former West Germany, appear to share a deep conviction of suspicion about "the East".

Sometimes with sympathy, when they portray the "insignificant" ("unbedeutend") lives under the Communist regime[50]; sometimes with arrogance, when they call out bluntly the direction of development in China to be "the huge mistake" ("der große Irrtum")[51]. With the unchanging doubt and skepticism, reports on China often use keywords as "democracy" or "human rights" to amplify their cases[52]. Journalists, together with the politicians and scholars they interviewed and cited, issue regular warnings about China's inevitable "collapse" ("Zerfall")[53] and "downfall like former Soviet Union" ("Untergang à la UdSSR")[54]. The tenor of these common views on China could be heard particularly clearly in the words of then President Joachim Gauck, when he gave a speech at Tongji University in Shanghai during his visit in 2016. Quite undisguisedly, Gauck expressed his criticism

[50] Siegfried Kogelfranz, "Die Barbaren – unbedeutend und widerwärtig", *Der Spiegel*, 25/1989, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13494727.html

[51] Vanessa Steinmetz, "Ganz große Progaganda", *Spiegel Online*, December 16, 2018, http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/chinas-neue-seidenstrasse-deutsche-medien-bieten-propaganda-plattform-a-1239600.html

[52] Steffen Richter, "Der große Irrtum", *Zeit Online*, March 20, 2018, https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2018-03/china-nationaler-volkskongress-kommunistische-partei-diktatur-demokratie-usa-europa and Bernhard Zand, "Es wird schlimmer", *Spiegel Online*, December 14, 2015, http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/china-prozess-gegen-pu-zhiqiang-zeigt-rechtsstaat-probleme-a-1067635.html

[53] Thomas Schmid, "Chinas Angst vor dem Zerfall ist immer gegenwärtig", *Welt Online*, January 31, 2012, https://www.welt.de/dieweltbewegen/article13844427/Chinas-Angst-vor-dem-Zerfall-ist-immer-gegenwaertig.html

[54] Johnny Erling, "Chinas Angst vor einem Untergang à la UdSSR", *Welt Online*, October 12, 2014, https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article133195571/Chinas-Angst-vor-einem-Untergang-a-la-UdSSR.html

on China based on examples from Nazi Germany and East Germany, and stated that only after the reunification in 1989, "human longing for freedom" was finally answered.

The second theme in the German media coverage is their attention on the economic growth in China, often coupled with their concerns over the arrival of Chinese investment and business in Germany in recent years. With a suspicious and skeptical tone as well, many journalists like to use titles that express their judgement straightforwardly: "China: Have Money, Seek Influence" ("China: Habe Geld, Suche Einfluss")[55], or "Unfair competition: Amazon looks on, how China ruins German online trading" ("Unfairer Wettbewerb: Amazon sieht zu, wie China den deutschen Onlinehandel ruiniert")[56].

Back in 2003, when China and Germany reached the ADS-agreement (Approved Destination Status) that allows Chinese travelers to visit Germany in a tour group, dozens of media covered the arrival of the first Chinese tourist group in February 2003. Under the title "The Chinese are coming" ("Die Chinesen kommen")[57], journalists of *die Zeit* reported that the German National Tourist Board[58], one branch under the German federal government, made great efforts persistently since 1996 to reach this goal, with the expectation of "considerable business" ("ein erkleckliches Geschäft") for Germany. In the following years, the media continuously paid attention to the rapid growth of Chinese tourists in Germany as well as the significant business and investment pouring into the German economy. Some journalists were stunned by the popularity of German tourist sites among Chinese visitors like the historic center "Altstadt" of Frankfurt[59]. They reported that the city of Frankfurt would need to install "seven more garbage cans" to cope with the Chinese visitors, while still failed to find space for public toilets. Others examined the expenses among Chinese

[55] Ulrich Ladurner and Steffen Richter, "Habe Geld, suche Einfluss", *Die Zeit*, 39/2017, September 21, 2017, https://www.zeit.de/2017/39/china-investitionen-einfluss-europa

[56] David Böcking, "Amazon sieht zu, wie China den deutschen Onlinehandel ruiniert", *Spiegel Online*, December 13, 2018, http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/unternehmen/amazon-sieht-zu-wie-china-den-deutschen-onlinehandel-ruiniert-a-1242474.html

[57] Fabian von Poser, "Die Chinesen kommen", *Die Zeit*, 08/2003, February 13, 2003, https://www.zeit.de/2003/08/China

[58] "Die Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus"

[59] Claus-Jürgen Göpfert, "Tourismus in der Neuen Frankfurter Altstadt: 'da ist ein Geschrei, da geht es ab'", *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, December 15, 2018, https://www.fnp.de/frankfurt/geschrei-geht-10869779.html

visitors carefully, and reported that Chinese spent on average 513 Euro per day during their stay, "146 Euro more than the Arabic tourists"[60].

However, the growth in number and statistics of Chinese consumption and investment in Germany comes hand in hand with the growth of concerns and criticism from the German media. The "overtaking" and "involvement" in German companies by Chinese investors[61] no longer sound like positive news, when they are connected with titles like "The fear goes around" ("Die Angst geht um")[62]. Some journalists are convinced that Chinese investment follows one pattern, that "the People's Republic supports countries that are politically friendly to her" ("Die Volksrepublik unterstützt Länder, die ihr politisch freundlich gesinnt sind")[63]. Repeatedly under the same title "The Chinese are coming" ("Die Chinesen kommen")[64], media coverage on Chinese business and investment in Germany becomes increasingly vigilant and critical, alarming the public about the "risks and side effects" ("Risiken und Nebenwirkungen") of the "expanding power" of China.

Even Chinese in the classrooms have no chance to escape such a public image. Being the largest student body at German universities, Chinese students have also become the target of scrutiny by the German media in recent years. In August 2007, the magazine *Der Spiegel* published a front piece under the title "The yellow spies" ("Die gelben Spione")[65], where they cast doubt explicitly on the Chinese students on German campuses, especially doctoral students and lecturers. In November 2014, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* published an article about the 25,500 Chinese students at German universities, with interviews and examples of Chinese who were studying at TU Munich. After praising them for being diligent students, the journalist reminded the readers that the Federal Office

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[60] Franziska Gerlach, "Ein Foto vom Marienplatz und einkaufen", *Welt Online*, July 12, 2018, https://www.welt.de/regionales/bayern/article179228246/Touristen-aus-China-in-Muenchen-Ein-Foto-vom-Marienplatz-und-einkaufen.html

[61] Deutsche Presse-Agentur, "Chinesen in Deutschland weiter auf Einkaufstour", *Welt Online*, July 16, 2018, https://www.welt.de/newsticker/dpa_nt/infoline_nt/wirtschaft_nt/article179390866/Chinesen-in-Deutschland-weiter-auf-Einkaufstour.html

[62] Marc Beise and Christoph Giesen, "Bei Kuka geht die Angst um", *SZ.de*, December 17, 2018, https://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/chinesische-investoren-bei-kuka-geht-die-angst-um-1.4255117

[63] Ulrich Ladurner and Steffen Richter, "Habe Geld, suche Einfluss", *Die Zeit*, 39/2017, September 21 2017, https://www.zeit.de/2017/39/china-investitionen-einfluss-europa

[64] Thomas Schmid, "Chinas Angst vor dem Zerfall ist immer gegenwärtig", *Welt Online*, January 31, 2012, https://www.welt.de/dieweltbewegen/article13844427/Chinas-Angst-vor-dem-Zerfall-ist-immer-gegenwaertig.html and Theo Sommer, "Die Chinesen kommen – vom Reich der Mitte zum Zentrum der Welt", *Die Gazette*, Sommer 2017, https://www.gazette.de/die-gazette/archiv/gazette-54/die-chinesen-kommen.html

[65] Dahlkamp et. al., "Die gelben Spione: Wie China deutsche Technologie ausspäht", *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 35/2007, August 27, 2007, https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-52715129.html

for the Protection of the Constitution[66] "look at this development with worries instead" ("blicken dagegen mit Sorge auf die Entwicklung"), as they suspect some of these Chinese students are spying for their homeland[67].

The German media coverage of China and Chinese immigrants not only reflects the public opinion in the society, it constitutes the public opinion at the same time and influences directly how Germans perceive Chinese immigrants living in the German society. As I intend to show in this thesis from the perspective of Chinese immigrants, these public images and opinions shape their experiences in Germany, and have significant impacts on their choices and priorities when they are raising the next generation. Together, the history of Chinese immigrants in Germany, the demographic and socioeconomic features, and their public image and reputation in the mainstream media all have the capabilities to transform the life experiences of Chinese immigrants, and to modify the trajectories of both the first and the second generations.

[66] "Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz"
[67] Kevin Schrein, "Umworben und gefürchtet", *SZ.de*, November 3, 2014, http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bildung/chinesische-studenten-an-deutschen-unis-umworben-und-gefuerchtet-1.2195527

Chapter One – Think like a German

When I first met David in 2014, he was five years old. Both of his parents were ethnic Chinese who came to Germany first around 2002 as students, stayed and found jobs after graduation, and founded a family in Berlin with two adorable children. David was the younger one, born and raised in Berlin. He was in the last year of kindergarten when we met. After a big smile and a cheerful "Hallo" from him, I asked him in Chinese "What's your name?" The smile disappeared, the five-years-old suddenly put on a stern face, shook his head slowly and said to me "Deutsch, bitte" – "German, please".

What struck me first and foremost in my fieldwork were children like David, Baobao and Yanzi. The second generation of Chinese immigrants in Berlin hardly speaks any Chinese. Many children do not respond to questions as simple as "What's your name?" or "How old are you?" when they are asked in Chinese. Do they lack the interest and the motivation to speak Chinese? Are they literally not able to speak Chinese? When they grow up with two Chinese parents who speak Chinese as mother tongue, why do these children not speak the same language?

In this chapter, I will examine the trajectory of the first-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany, and illustrate the challenges they have to face during their journey of migration. I will illustrate a few Chinese immigrant families living in Berlin and Greifswald, and show their expectations from the life here in Germany and the expectations they have for the future of their children. I will demonstrate why the first generation feels determined to raise "native German" children who could speak German as native speakers, and why this appears to be the crucial factor of success from their perspective. The belief in the importance of speaking German among the first-generation Chinese immigrants meets seamlessly to the central function of semiotic capital in the construction of habitus in the theories of Bourdieu. I will show in this chapter, that the first-generation Chinese immigrants have realized that linguistic capacity and styles have a direct impact on the access to power and resources. While Bourdieu asserts that the habitus predesignates the choice of language and practices of communication, the first-generation Chinese immigrants believe that, with the extra

efforts they put in, they are able to alter the linguistic choice for their children and to change, if not to upgrade, their social position in the future.

The production of 100% pure German like mother tongue

Children like David puzzled me deeply. Why do the second-generation Chinese immigrants no longer speak any Chinese? How to explain the lack of capacity to speak Chinese while growing up with two Chinese native speakers? When I met Ms. WL and her friend Ms. WY, their stories shed a bright light on the answers I was looking for.

I first got to know Ms. WL through an online forum for Chinese parents in Germany, where she posted a question titled "How can children in Chinese-Chinese families speak German as mother tongue?"[68] The term "Chinese-Chinese families"[69] is frequently used by Chinese immigrants themselves to describe a family where both father and mother are first-generation immigrants from China, and, in most cases, speak Chinese language with each other and with their children at home.

This description fit precisely to the family of Ms. WL. Born and raised in Henan Province in China, Ms. WL interrupted her university education in Wuhan and came to Germany to study economics in 2005. After graduation, she married a fellow Chinese student from the same university, found a few "odd jobs"[70] to make some money for a while, and eventually became a full-time mother after the birth of her son four years ago. Since everyone in the family was speaking Chinese at home, Ms. WL believed that her son would pick up this language on a natural course. In her opinion, the real challenge was how to make sure the boy could also speak German: "This is the first time to bring up a bilingual child. I am terrified that I might make mistakes and ruin the future of my son once for all!"[71]

After a few messages and emails, Ms. WL sat down with me in the winter of 2015, when she shared her detailed plans for her son to "speak German as mother tongue"[72]: "I sent my son to nursery when he was ten months old! He did not have to go; I was at home the whole time. But I was

[68] Author's translation, "中中家庭的孩子如何能像母语一样说德语？"
[69] Author's translation, "中中家庭".
[70] Author's translation, "杂七杂八的工作".
[71] Author's translation, "第一次养双语的孩子，我很担心我要是犯了错误会彻底毁了我儿子的前途！"
[72] Author's translation, "像母语一样说德语".

hoping he could speak German as his mother tongue as early as possible!"[73] Ms. WL explained her strategy to me, a strategy to "create the best environment"[74] for her son to master German as a native.

Besides nursery and later kindergarten, she took her son to various types of extra classes and events for babies regularly, and arranged meetings and play-dates with German kids as often as possible. "I just hope he can be fully immersed in a German environment"[75], explained Ms. WL, after listing a routine weekly schedule of her son which is jammed with "opportunities of getting in contact with German language"[76]. She had also taken her son to see two different speech therapists since he was three years old. According to Ms. WL, all the therapists assured her that her son had no disability of speaking, and they gave her the guarantee that the German capacity of her son "would erupt sooner or later"[77].

Ms. WL was definitely not the only one who was longing for the "eruption" of German capacity in the next generation. She later introduced me to a friend of hers, Ms. WY, mother of a three-years-old girl, Lily. The two mothers met during an encounter at the playground with their children. Bonded through the unique concerns they shared together, they met regularly with one another and exchanged the progress on the linguistic development of their children. In many ways, Ms. WY was almost in an identical situation like Ms. WL when we met, except Ms. WY felt convinced that she was already running out of time. "Lily will already turn three years old next month. I really have no time no patience any more to discuss with those people, those who keep telling me this is normal, 'Oh, don't worry, it's still early!' […] Especially Germans, doctors and teachers at her kindergarten, they really don't get it!"[78] Ms. WY could hardly spar one second to take a breath when she was talking.

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[73] Author's translation, "他十个月的时候我就把他送去托班了！他其实都不用去的，我是一直在家里的。但是我就是希望他能越早开始像母语一样说德语越好啊！"

[74] Author's translation, "创造最好的环境".

[75] Author's translation, "我就是希望他能完全沉浸在一个德语的环境里".

[76] Author's translation, "接触德语的机会".

[77] Author's translation, "迟早会爆发".

[78] Author's translation, "Lily 下个月就三岁了。 我真的是没时间没耐心再去跟那些人讨论了，那些人总是跟我说这都是正常的，' 哦别担心啊，这还早呢！'[…] 尤其是德国人，医生还有他们幼儿园的老师，他们一点儿都不明白！"

Ms. WY never "dared to talk German"[79] to her daughter herself. Although she had a degree of "BWL", business economics, from a German university and appeared to have no problem communicating in German, she considered it "irresponsible" of her and her husband to speak German with Lily: "German is not our mother tongue, how can we pass our own mistakes to the child?"[80] What about reading German storybooks to Lily? I suggested. Then parents did not need to worry about making grammatical errors, while they offered German input to their children. "No way!" Ms. WY rejected without hesitation, "We Chinese all have an accent! My daughter, she hardly speaks German, but her pronunciation is like mother tongue, just 100% pure German!"[81] Ms. WY demonstrated a few examples of how her daughter would pronounce German words differently from those with a "Chinese accent". When I failed to tell the difference immediately, she was more than understanding. "You see, you see, this is exactly what I meant! We Chinese have such an accent, not only our mouths, but our ears, too! Our Chinese ears are not even able to recognize what the authentic German pronunciation is!"[82]

Scholars have noticed this lack of "loyalty" towards their heritage language among Asian and Chinese immigrants in the US, especially the second generation (Kim 1981; Zhou and Bankston 1994; Ang 2001). Only ten percent of the Asian-origin youth remain fluent in their parents' native language, while 50% of Latin-origin youth in the US remain fluent in Spanish (Portes and Hao 1998). I started my fieldwork with the aim to unpack this disloyalty, to analyze the lack of interest and motivation to speak Chinese among the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany. However, the further my fieldwork went on, the more parents like Ms. WL and Ms. WY I encountered. It became evident, that in order to understand why children of Chinese immigrants in Germany did not speak Chinese, it was crucial to understand their parents first.

Many first-generation Chinese immigrants share the expectation to raise children in Germany who can speak German as "mother tongue", especially among those with young children. This is not only a wish they talk about. Like Ms. WL and Ms. WY, many parents take action with firm determination

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[79] Author's translation, "不敢自己和女儿说德语".

[80] Author's translation, "德语不是我们的母语，我们怎么能把自己的错误传给孩子呢？这也太不负责任了吧！"

[81] Author's translation, "不行！我们中国人都是有口音的！我女儿，她还不怎么说德语，但是她的发音像母语一样，百分之百的纯德语！"

[82] Author's translation, "你看看，你看看，这就是我说的！我们中国人有口音，不仅仅是嘴上有，连耳朵上也有，我们中国人的耳朵都听不出来什么是纯正的德语发音！"

and steadfastness, and have become a powerful drive behind the language preference of their children. What has triggered this motivation of the first-generation Chinese immigrants? Why is speaking German as mother tongue such an important goal for them while raising children in Germany? This chapter examines the reasons behind the efforts of the first-generation Chinese immigrants when they steer the language preference of their children. I will analyze the trajectory of their journey from China to Germany, the challenge and frustration they encounter as Chinese immigrants in Germany, and most importantly, the vision of their future as well as the future of the second generation.

From Tianjin to Greifswald: the journey of Family Feng

Mr. Feng first came to Germany in January of 1989. As a doctoral student of physics from Nankai University (in Tianjin, China), he came to Heidelberg University as a part of a one-year exchange program. However, at the end of 1989, Mr. Feng did not see a clear way of returning to China. "We were all very confused, no idea at all whom to ask […]. One year, but when exactly should we go back? [...] Where to get a plane ticket? Whom to ask for the money to pay for the ticket? We were all students, did not have any money in our hands! Who was responsible for us? Nobody!"[83] As Mr. Feng recalled, all the exchange students in the same program decided to stay in Germany. "Nobody really knew what would happen; I just kept working hard at the university and hoped I could get my dissertation done soon"[84].

It is difficult to evaluate whether the political events of 1989 in China had any direct impact on the regulations of Heidelberg University concerning their exchange program with Chinese universities. Scholars like Giese (Giese 2003) observe an unconventional generosity of German officials towards visa applications from China in the months following June 1989. It is hard to judge whether Mr. Feng and his classmates had been the beneficiaries during this special period. At that time it was clear to Mr. Feng, that it was "much easier" to figure out how to extend his visa and to stay in

[83] Author's translation, "我们全都稀里糊涂的，也不知道该去问谁 […] 。说是来一年，但是究竟该什么时候回去？[…] 该去哪里买机票？该去找谁领钱去买机票？我们可都是学生啊，手里都是一点儿钱没有的！谁负责我们？没人负责！"

[84] Author's translation, "也没人知道会怎么样，我就继续在大学埋头苦干，就想赶紧完成我的博士论文。"

Germany, rather than to figure out how exactly to go back to China. He stayed. His wife, Ms. ZM, joined him in Heidelberg in the autumn of 1990 with their newborn baby daughter, Xixi.

By the time Mr. Feng finished his PhD in 1992, he started pondering about going back to China with his family and applying for a position at his *alma mater* in Tianjin. However, as he was inquiring about jobs, he accidentally found out through friends and relatives, that the local police station and registration office in Tianjin already annulled his "Hukou" (residence registration) shortly after he left the country back in 1989. The same annulment of "Hukou" happened to his wife and daughter as well, when they left China in 1990. Without "Hukou", the journey back to China became only more problematic. After a few failed attempts to solve the problems via mails, Mr. Feng finally "stopped thinking about this"[85], accepted a position at Max Planck Institute of Physics in Munich, and moved his whole family there.

During the ten years the Feng family stayed in Munich, Ms. ZM picked up her own expertise in physics and obtained a PhD degree at Technical University of Munich, and eventually became an employee of MPI Physics, too. In 2002, the department they both worked in decided to move to Greifswald (on the northern coast of Germany) and built a new research center there. The family moved again, including their newborn younger daughter, Vivi. This time, knowing "this is really the final stop of our career"[86], they purchased a piece of land and built a house of their own. The Feng family moved into their house in December 2004, and settled down in Greifswald ever since. By the time I visited them in Greifswald in December 2015, Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM were recounting stories from their move in the winter exactly eleven years ago. Their elder daughter, Xixi, just finished her PhD in Munich and was offered a job at one of the biggest pharmaceutical companies in Germany. Their younger daughter, Vivi, was in the final year of gymnasium and was making plans about choosing a university in Berlin.

Sitting in the beautiful winter garden of their home, the Feng family portrayed a somewhat "successful" story of immigration. By the end of 2015, Mr. Feng and his family had lived in Germany for 26 years. "Is there anything that you still can't get used to after living here for so many years?"[87] I asked them while we were having coffee on a Sunday afternoon, together with a typical

[85] Author's translation, "再也不去想了".

[86] Author's translation, "这真是我们事业的最后一站了".

[87] Author's translation, "都在这儿生活这么多年了，还有没有什么觉得一直没法适应的？"

German apple cake baked by Vivi. "Of course there is!"[88] Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM answered simultaneously. "Even if you give me a German passport right now, we are still foreigners in this country, and we always will be! There are too many things that we are not used to, and we could never be! [...] Are you asking us, whether we feel integrated? No! Absolutely not!"[89]

Our conversation took a sharp turn, when both Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM became very emotional over the topic of "integration", or even the word "integration" ("融入"). Both of them firmly rejected to be considered "integrated" in any way. Ms. ZM explained to me, that a few years ago a classmate of Vivi made an interview with their family and wrote an essay for a school project. In the essay, the young author referred to Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM as "integrated immigrants", which seemed to have touched a sore spot in the Feng family. "Nonsense! Such nonsense! Unless the Germans would actually treat us equally, equally and fairly, otherwise we can never be integrated!"[90] Mr. Feng was getting increasingly upset as he spoke. Ms. ZM tried to calm him down, while she offered another way of expressing their feelings.

"Little Yu, you have to know that your uncle Feng here is really the expert in his field. Everyone in the institute knows that, he is the top in the research. If he would be in China […]."[91] Ms. ZM went on to give me a number of examples. From former classmates of Mr. Feng back at Nankai University in Tianjin, to his collaborators of various projects and papers, by listing the prestigious positions they hold, Ms. ZM expressed her support for Mr. Feng's wish of being treated "equally and fairly". "Any university any institute anywhere, he would have become the director years ago! At the very least, a leader of a lab or a research team. But here, nothing! You have no idea how ridiculous this is […]. With his expertise, no title at all, this is a joke! [...] But this is Germany, this is what it is like to live in a foreign country, they just don't trust you. Only Germans can become leaders here, or at least Europeans, or Americans […]. We Chinese have no chance!"[92]

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[88] Author's translation, "当然有了！"

[89] Author's translation, "就算你现在给我本德国护照，我们在这个国家还是外国人，永远都是外国人！有太多的事儿我们没法适应，也永远不会适应了 […]。你是在问我们，我们有没有融入吗？没有！绝对没有！"

[90] Author's translation, "荒唐，真是荒唐！除非德国人能真的公平对待我们，公平公正地，不然我们永远都融入不了！"

[91] Author's translation, "小于，你要知道你冯叔叔真的是他们这个专业的专家。所里每个人都知道，他是科研的尖子，这要是在中国 […]。"

[92] Author's translation, "随便什么大学什么研究所，随便哪里，他怎么都该当院长所长好多年了！至少也该是个实验室的头儿，科研组组长。但是在这儿什么都没有，你真的不知道这是多可笑 […] 。他这样的专家，

"We don't have any choice in our hands, we can only be chosen by others", added Mr. Feng, "until the day Germans treat us like Germans, forget about 'integration'! […] We can't integrate, no chance to integrate, we don't get to choose! It's the Germans, who have to integrate us, they have to trust us […]. If they don't trust us, then they don't want to integrate us!"[93]

Comparison with Turkish immigrants in Germany

Germans have been very reluctant to consider themselves as a country of immigration, although facts and statistics suggest otherwise. As I have discussed in the introduction, about 20% of the whole population living in Germany in 2015 have migration background, roughly 16.6 million people. Before the recent arrival of asylum seekers from the Middle East and Northern Africa, Germany has witnessed two massive waves of immigration in the second half of the 20th century. Within five years after World War II, more than ten million ethnic Germans came to settle in both West Germany and East Germany, after they were expelled from Eastern European countries where they lived for generations. Between 1955 and 1973, millions of guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) came to fill in the vacancy in the job market in West Germany. They mainly came from Southern and Eastern Europe; Italy alone sent more than 4 million workers since 1955. Although the majority of them returned to their home countries after the program was suspended in 1973, a sequel "family reunion" program continued to bring further family members of guest workers into West Germany in the next decade. Up to the reunification of Germany in 1989, there were 26 million immigrants in the country, one third of the entire population at that time (Bauer 2013).

In spite of the significant number, migrants in German society were not a topic of public discussion. As I have discussed in the introduction, the expellees received German citizenship upon arrival because of their bloodline. They are not viewed as foreigners or immigrants, as they are ethnic Germans with German passports. Guest workers did not become the focus of research until late 1960s, since "guests" by definition are expected to stay only temporarily and return to their own

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什么头衔都没有，这就是个笑话！ […] 但是这就是德国，这就是生活在国外，他们就是不信任你。只有德国人能当领导，或者怎么也得是欧洲人，美国人 […]。我们中国人一点儿机会都没有！"

[93] Author's translation, "选择不在我们的手里，我们只能被别人选中，但是别人就是不选你，你有什么办法呢？除非哪天德国人能真正像对德国人一样对我们，就别想什么融入！我们没法融入，没机会融入，因为我们没法选择。是德国人得来融入我们，得信任我们 […] 。 如果他们对我们不信任，那就是他们不想融入我们！"

"homes" at some definite time. This peculiar blank in scholarship gradually dissolved itself in recent years by the increasing interest in this field from both native and foreign scholars. However, the focus of research as well as public discussions one-sidedly concentrates on Turkish immigrants and their religious background. Zolberg and Woon noted in 1999, although coming from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds with divergent political agenda, Muslims in Europe "share an essentialized negative identity as dangerous strangers" in the eyes of the hosts (Zolberg and Woon 1999, 7). As the European identity, they argue, remains deeply embedded in Christian tradition, in relation to which Muslim immigrants constitute a visible "other". Since the "refugee crisis" in 2015, asylum seekers from Muslim countries are the center of debates over migration policies in Germany as well as in Europe. Their religious identities and practices as "threats" and "dangers" to the German society catch much more attention than the threats and dangers they are fleeing from in the war zones in their homelands.

In the hype of the media, Muslim immigrants and refugees in Germany are still inspected as the "others", although many of them, especially among the Turkish community, have lived in Germany for decades and established families of multi-generations. Scholars have pointed out the ambivalent ambition of Germany to have multicultural tolerance and cosmopolitanism, while struggles to locate Turkish immigrants into the "right" category (Mandel 2008; Yurdakul 2009). The choice of wording has evolved from "guest workers" to "foreigners" and to "citizens", and yet the criticism on the "failure" to abandon their own distinctive traditions remains the same. Studies have shown that the social, cultural and economic gaps between the ethnic Turkish population and the ethnic German population are gradually closing in the past decades (Kogan 2003; Fertig 2004). The second- and the third-generation of Turkish guest workers mostly speak German, even when they are at home (Yalpn-Heckmann 1997). However, these findings do not shape the public opinion that Turkish immigrants have "failed" to integrate into German society, in spite of being here for decades.

As Ewing summarizes it:

"[A]nd there are always concerns, expressed both in the media and among scholars, about the 'problems' of integration and, especially during periods of high levels of immigration, an agonized search for an understanding of why integration has thus far 'failed', why the social segregation of Turks into ethnic enclaves is growing […] and ethnic self-identification is increasing […], and how social policy can be legislated and adjusted to fix the perceived problems. These concerns are often

manifested in firestorms of controversy around events and symbols that seem to crystallize the evidence for failure and make it visible to the public eye." (Ewing 2008, 18)

Compared to the overwhelming attention on Turkish immigrants and their Muslim background, Chinese immigrants live in Germany silently. The stigmatized reputation of Turkish community is so powerful, that it represents the general condition of all immigrants in the eyes of many Germans. When I first went to the GaP Primary School and introduced my research to the school headmaster, Mr. Urban, he could not understand what exactly I was talking about. "Children of Chinese migrants? Migrants? We don't have any of this kind here!"[94] Although GaP School was located in the middle of an international neighborhood in Prenzlauer Berg with a high percentage of second-generation Chinese immigrants in the classrooms, Mr. Urban repeatedly explained to me that there were no children of any "migrants" at their school, because all the parents could speak German and all the parents had jobs.

The response of Mr. Urban was the playbook of my encounter during fieldwork. Very few Germans seemed to understand what "Chinese migrants" could possibly mean. When I explained "Chinese migrants" by using the example of myself, pointing at my own face and saying "people like me", the response was surprisingly identical: "Like you? But you speak German and you have a job!"

This is why stories of Mr. Feng, Ms. WL and Ms. WY are important. These stories stand on the opposite side of the common German imagination about immigrants, and they provide an alternative perspective to examine the conditions of life as immigrants in Germany. The school headmaster was right: of all the Chinese parents I encountered here, almost all of them speak German well and have jobs. If this is the standard by which Turkish immigrants are measured and somehow "failed" to integrate in the eyes of Germans, does it mean these Chinese immigrants are already "well integrated" then?

GaP Primary School in Berlin

One of the three main sites of my fieldwork was GaP Primary School. As I mentioned in the introduction, GaP School was located in the district of Prenzlauer Berg of Berlin, in the northeastern part of the city. By the time I conducted my fieldwork in 2015 – 2016, the

[94] Author's translation, "Kinder der chinesischen Migranten? Migranten? So was haben wir hier nicht!"

neighborhood of GaP School had already become one of the most gentrified areas in the city, with international residents of mainly middle-class families. With two Chinese-German bilingual kindergartens in two parallel streets in the heart of the district, this neighborhood had become a popular hub among Chinese families with young children. Since 2013, a few active Chinese parents had worked hard to establish the first Chinese-German bilingual primary school at GaP School, so that their children could continue the bilingual education after kindergartens and keep up their friends and social circles.

With the prospect of an upcoming Chinese-German bilingual school and the unique offer of Chinese language programs as a part of additional curriculum, GaP School gathered a significant number of pupils who were children from Chinese immigrant families in Berlin over the years. Although the headmaster, Mr. Urban, could not name the exact number of ethnic Chinese pupils at GaP School, he told me proudly that even many Chinese diplomats sent their children here. It was quite a long ride to come to GaP School from the resident buildings of the Chinese embassy in Berlin, but they took the trouble to commute, because, as Mr. Urban proudly stated, GaP School was the only primary school in Berlin offering "Chinese language classes with real Chinese culture"[95].

Based on these reasons, I chose GaP School as one of my main fieldwork sites and became an assistant teacher in the Chinese language program in 2015. However, before the language program officially started, bad news came from the Berlin Senate of education: after almost two years of intensive preparation and various attempts to communicate with the Senate, it was brutally clear by summer 2015 that the application of establishing a Chinese-German bilingual school in the format of a "Europe School" ("Europaschule") was rejected. "This makes no sense", said the head teacher of the Chinese language program to me frustratedly on the day when we heard the news, "there are two Chinese-German kindergartens for ten years now, and so many private Chinese-German daycare centers – just another one opened in Wedding recently! [...] Look at the numbers of Chinese and Chinese children here! Look at this (pointing at the list of participants in the Chinese class this year) here! Of course there is a need for such a school!"[96]

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[95] Author's translation, "Chinesischer Sprachunterricht mit echter chinesischer Kultur".

[96] Author's translation, "这太不讲道理了，这两个中德双语幼儿园都开了十年了，那么多私人的中德托班，就前两天刚在 Wedding 又开了一个！ […] 就看看这里中国人的数量，中国孩子，就看看这个（指着中文班的报名表）当然有必要开一个这样的学校了！"

The establishment of a "Europe School" is an important and effective form to enhance language education at school in Germany. Up to 2017, 639 schools across 13 *Bundesländer* of the country have gained the recognition of being a Europe School[97]. As policies of education in Germany vary from *Bundesland* to *Bundesland*, the qualification of being a Europe School is different in different regions. Nonetheless, in all of these 13 *Bundesländer*, the criteria of becoming Europe Schools unanimously underline the importance of bilingual classes and foreign languages programs[98]. In Berlin, a "Europe School" is a form of state-supported bilingual school, offering classes in two languages covering all subjects. By the end of 2015, there were 32 "Europe Schools" in Berlin, teaching in nine different non-German languages, including languages spoken by small-sized migrant communities such as Greek and Portuguese, both of whom were about half the size of the Chinese community. It was certainly not easy for Chinese parents of GaP School to accept this disappointing result. At the first "Parents' Evening"[99] in the autumn term, although already a few months after the news first broke in the summer, the frustration was still fresh and vivid on the faces of all the parents.

Parent A: "We have jobs and incomes; we have houses and cars, but no power! No power at all!"[100]

Parent B: "We don't understand their politics! When we don't understand the politics, how can we have power?"[101]

Parent C: "The Germans know very well that the Chinese here have no decent school for children, but that's what this is! We have no power, then we can only watch them decide."[102]

Parent D: "Let's calm down; let's think about it what we can do [...]. Actually, this is sending us a message. […] We should not think about bilingualism, forget about Chinese, what is the point? Why should we learn Chinese? We should learn German! Really learn the language well; really understand German as our mother tongue!"[103]

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[97] http://www.bundesnetzwerk-europaschule.de/index.php/allgemeines.html

[98] http://www.bundesnetzwerk-europaschule.de/index.php/laenderuebergreifende-kriterien-fuer-europaschulen.html

[99] "Elternabend"

[100] Author's translation, "我们有工作有收入，有房有车，但是没有权力，一点儿权力都没有！"

[101] Author's translation, "我们不懂他们的政治！如果我们不懂政治，怎么能有权力呢？"

[102] Author's translation, "德国人知道得清清楚楚这里的中国人没有像样的学校给孩子，但就是这样啊，我们没权力就只能看着他们说了算！"

[103] Author's translation, "大家别激动，好好想想该怎么办 […] 。其实这是给我们的一个信号。 […] 我们就不该想什么双语，就别管中文了，有什么用啊？为什么要学中文？我们应该学德文！真正把语言学好，真正能像母语一样说德语！"

Parent B: "Yes, that's absolutely right! How many of us here really understand German? Really hear the tone, hear the hidden messages behind the words, all the politics behind it! We must speak like a German, so we can think like a German!"[104]

Parent E: "We have everything now, but we still don't understand politics here! It is not possible for our generation any more, but our children [...]. We have to take this as an opportunity. Forget about bilingualism, make sure our children learn German well, speak German well like mother tongue [...] then someday they can understand politics, someday they can have power to get a school for the Chinese here!"[105]

A bilingual school of 100% private effort

After the emotional outburst on "Parents' Evening", I sat down with Ms. JQ, the main initiator of the Chinese-German bilingual school blueprint. Ms. JQ grew up in Shanghai and first came to Berlin in 2002 to study economics at Humboldt University. After graduation, she tried different jobs, eventually became an entrepreneur and started running her own company of Internet marketing. By the time I met her in 2015, her son just turned ten years old, a pupil in the third class at GaP School. It was a Sunday afternoon in a café in Prenzlauer Berg. However, the way Ms. JQ dressed up, the posture of her sitting across the table, the tone in her voice, and the hand gesture when she was speaking were all far away from a relaxing Sunday "chat". Wearing a white shirt and a dark pantsuit, she looked impressively professional and competent, as she explained the procedure of the application, and the details of the communication with the Berlin Senate.

"They had nothing to pick in us; we were very well prepared"[106], Ms. JQ gave me a very clear judgement when I asked her about the preparation of the application. She and two other active parents together had already selected and contacted qualified teachers, compared and chosen Chinese teaching materials, and turned in the application. "They [Berlin Senate] could not find any problem, so they told us, 'Great, this looks very good, but why only have a bilingual primary school? How about planning a joined middle school, too? Then these children who go through Chinese-German bilingual primary school would have the opportunity to continue their education in the same bilingual

[104] Author's translation, "对，太对了！我们这里有几个人能真正听懂德语？真正听懂语调语气，听到背后的潜台词，背后的政治！我们得像德国人一样说德语，才能像德国人一样思考问题！"

[105] Author's translation, "我们现在什么都有了，但是对这里的政治还是一窍不通！我们这一代人是不可能了，但是我们的孩子可以 […] 。我们得把这个当成机会，别去想什么双语，让我们的孩子好好学好德语，像母语一样学好德语 […] 他们今后能懂政治，他们今后能有权力给这里的中国人搞个学校！"

[106] Author's translation, "他们什么毛病都挑不出来，我们准备得非常好。"

module'."[107] She paused for a moment, and gave a few examples of other bilingual schools in Berlin. From Polish to Portuguese, all the "Europe Schools" of nine foreign languages offer at least one type of secondary schools to link up after the bilingual primary schools. As this was the feedback from the Senate, Ms. JQ and her partners did not hesitate to dive into a new round of preparation.

After almost another year of hard work, a new application was prepared: this time a bilingual Chinese-German primary school with a secondary school as an extension. And this time, the response came very quickly and clearly: a firm No. "They asked me, 'How could you possibly plan two schools at the same time, when you have no experience even with one! You have no idea how the first primary school would turn out!'"[108] After the application was rejected, Ms. JQ was informed that none of the current bilingual secondary schools was planned together with the primary schools; each of them was established one after the other. "So they rejected us very firmly, because they have now a good reason to write in their evaluation, that our basic understanding of education, our concept of schools is clearly not sophisticated, not professional. […] That was it."[109]

Ms. JQ shared with me more details of their communication with the Berlin Senate on this Sunday afternoon, and the more she shared, the more frustrated she looked. Looking back, she saw things that she would have done differently, resources she could have utilized more. But the core of the whole problem, in her opinion and the opinions of many parents at GaP School who prepared the application together, lay in the lack of political power as Chinese immigrants. "We have nobody up there,"[110] said Ms. JQ repeatedly. "In our generation of Chinese, nobody is in politics. All immigrants from Asia, nobody is in politics, even Rösler[111] is out now! [...] Berlin is poor, not that much money for public education, everybody wants to have some, everybody wants to rob some

[107]Author's translation, "我们挑不出毛病，就告诉我们，'不错，看起来都很好，但是为什么只有小学呢？要不一起计划一所中学？这样的话这些孩子中德双语小学读完了可以有机会继续这样的双语教育'。"

[108]Author's translation, "他们问我,'你怎么能一次计划两所学校呢，你连一所学校的经验都没有！你都不知道第一所小学会变成什么样子！'"

[109] Author's translation, "他们现在拒绝地很干脆，因为他们有个很好的理由写他们的 Bewertung，说我们对教育的基本理解，对学校的基本概念不够成熟，不够专业。[…] 现在就这样了。"

[110] Author's translation, "我们上面没有人".

[111] Ms. JQ refers to Philipp Rösler, a German politician in the Free Democratic Party who was born in Vietnam.

[…]. Even the Germans are fighting among themselves, how can we have any chance? Why should they spend money on us?"[112]

From getting a promotion at Max Planck Institute to applying a bilingual school with the Berlin Senate, power and politics seemed to be on the mind of many first-generation Chinese immigrants. Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM both considered the lack of "trust" in Chinese immigrants and Chinese scientists to be one main reason of their staggering status. For Ms. JQ and the other frustrated Chinese parents, the lack of political power went beyond the absence of one single politician, but also the absence of organization or association for the Chinese immigrants in Germany. During my discussion with other parents at GaP School, many Chinese immigrants compared their situation with the Turkish immigrants. Although Turkish immigrants lived with much more social stigma in German society and deal with different challenges, the networks and various associations they had established in the past decades were something the Chinese immigrants could learn from. As one parent said to me at the "Parents' Evening": "Turks help each other. They have government and organizations. [Their] reputation is not good, but they get what they want, and that's what matters in the end."[113]

It is always easier to call the grass greener on the other side, and the Turkish immigrants in Germany certainly do not always "get what they want". However, the explanation "they have government and organizations" indeed points to a feature of the Turkish immigrants in Germany that is different from the Chinese ones. Compared to other established "Europe Schools" in Berlin, a major disadvantage during the application of Chinese immigrants is the fact that they need to apply as private citizens. "France, Italy, they get their schools through their embassies here. The embassies put pressure directly on Berlin government; of course, they get their schools! But we cannot even

[112] Author's translation, "我们这一代中国人，没有人搞政治，整个亚洲移民都没有人搞政治，连 Rösler 都不在了！ […] 柏林很穷，没什么钱给公共教育，每个人都想要，每个人都想抢 […] 。连德国人自己都在互相抢，我们能有什么机会？他们干什么要把钱花在我们身上？"

[113] Author's translation, "土人互相帮助啊，他们有政府有组织。名声不好，但是想要什么能搞到什么，这才是最重要的嘛！"

mention our government or embassy; once mentioned, it's over. We have to emphasize that we are 100% private effort."[114]

Besides the absence of support from the Chinese embassy, the lack of association among the Chinese immigrants in Germany could further reduce the chance of success, when they aim to establish a bilingual school. Li Minghuan (M. Li 1999) offers an analysis of the Chinese migrant associations in the Netherlands, and points out that the existence of associations alone indicates a collective effort of claiming political, social and cultural influence in the host society. Associations as a "non-governmental mid-point" (215) could provide representation of Chinese immigrants in the public sphere and serve their pursuits, without being directly connected with the Chinese government. In Berlin, Chinese immigrant associations are scarce, especially compared to the size of the Chinese community. As I have analyzed in the intermezzo, Chinese immigrants in Germany in general are a young community with a short history. The high percentage of university graduates not only translates to a well-to-do middle-class milieu, but also scattered individuals and individual families with loose connection and sparse network.

Ms. JQ vs. "the Yellow Spies"

Two months after our first interview, I talked to Ms. JQ again about her personal journey living in Germany and her experience of raising children between two languages. However, our conversation quickly circled back to the rejection of their "Europe School" application and the frustration of being a Chinese immigrant in Germany. This time, Ms. JQ started asking me questions: "Little Yu, were you here, when 'yellow spies' happened?"[115]

[114] Author's translation, "法国，意大利，他们都是使馆帮忙搞学校的。使馆直接给柏林政府点压力，他们当然能拿到学校啦！但是我们是绝对不能提什么政府使馆的，一提那就全完了。我们得强调我们是百分之百私人的。"

[115] Author's translation, "小于，'黄间谍'那个时候你在这儿吗？"

One of the best known German weekly news magazine, *Der Spiegel*, published its cover story on Aug. 27, 2007 with the title "The Yellow Spies – how China spies out German technologies". The story was triggered by the information that ministries of German federal government found hacking attempts from China. The report stated that Chinese hackers send Word documents and Powerpoint files regularly, and have already installed hacking programs on computers in a number of ministries. *Der Spiegel* claimed that these attempts came directly from the government of China, with the aim of acquiring "Know-How" of Germany. This article steered up not only a wave of media coverage, but also the public suspicion towards Chinese immigrants.

The "yellow spies" incident Ms. JQ referred to was a cover story in the German news magazine, *Der Spiegel*, in August 2007. A story that accused Chinese government for installing hacking software packages on computers at German ministries, and portrayed Chinese immigrants and students in Germany as potential spies from the Communist Party. For a country like Germany, with its vivid memory of state espionage in East Germany during the socialist era, the report, as well as the cover design, had a real impact on the lives of Chinese immigrants living Germany like Ms. JQ.

"I still remember that. It was 2007, I was just about to graduate from Humboldt and I was looking for jobs, and the magazine came out […]. Everybody was talking about it, all my German classmates; some even say that I look like that woman on the cover. […] They hold the magazine in my face and ask me 'Hey JQ, is that you?' They asked me about this even during job interview, you know? I still remember that […]. The way my years-long classmates and friends looked at me at that time, probably all thinking, 'Oh, so you were spying on us the whole time!' That is the feeling to be in a foreign country, to be discriminated. Germans do not trust Chinese. Deep in their heart, they are still so terrified by communism and their Stasi. They can't get over that, and they are very suspicious when it comes to Chinese and Chinese government."[116]

[116] Author's translation, "我一直都记得，那是 2007 年， 我刚从洪堡毕业，正在找工作，然后这杂志出来了 […] 。所有人都在讨论这个，我所有的德国同学，有人甚至说我长得就像封面上那个女的 […]。他们有人把

Ms. JQ recalled her troubling journey of getting a job in the IT industry in the aftermath of the "yellow spies", and the frustration of being questioned and discriminated after she finally had a position. The slim possibility of promotion and the bleak outlook of her career development made her eventually quit her job, and started up her own company of internet marketing. Now with the prospect of a Chinese-German bilingual school falling apart, Ms. JQ was making plans about a private Chinese school in Berlin and was asking for my advice. "Can we get any support from the Chinese embassy here?" I asked her, naively. "Absolutely not! The moment you mention any connection with the embassy, this is over. No German would ever trust you! We have to emphasize this is all by ourselves, private plan from individuals, nothing else, no government, no embassy, no China, we are not 'yellow spies'!"[117]

The account of Ms. JQ echoed with a similar incident in the city of Göttingen in recent years. In September 2013, University of Göttingen signed an agreement with the headquarter of Confucius Institute in Beijing, establishing a new institute in cooperation with Beijing Foreign Studies University and Nanjing University. Although setting up Confucius institutes in Germany was nothing new, the one in Göttingen was a unique exception, as it was planned to be the first of its kind, "an academic Confucius Institute". This meant, for the very first time, Confucius institutes would host chair(s) of university professors and take part in the regular teaching and research activities of the university.

Between the signing of agreement in 2013 and the official inauguration of the institute in July 2014, critics "hailed" over this decision[118]. Politicians of various parties and media from various positions found a shared opinion over this issue, and considered this institute as the establishment of Chinese Communist Party on German university campus. Critics brought out the repression of Tibetans and

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杂志举在我面前，说'JQ，这是你吗？'面试的时候都有人问我，你知道吗？我一直都记得，那么多年的同学朋友，他们看我的样子，说不定都在想，'哦，原来你一直在监视我们'[…] 那真的是一种身在异乡的感觉，就是受歧视。德国人就是不相信中国人的。他们一直都怕社会主义国家，怕 Stasi。他们自己过不了这道关，永远都会对中国人中国政府充满怀疑。"

[117] Author's translation, "绝对不行！你一提有什么使馆的联系，这事儿就完了！没有德国人会相信你了。我们一定要强调这就是我们自己的事儿，私人的计划，都是个人的，别的什么都没有，没有政府没有使馆，没有中国，我们不是'黄间谍'！"

[118] Katholische Nachrichten-Agentur, "Konfuzius-Institut unter Verdacht", *FAZ NET*, July 3, 2014, http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/uni-goettingen-konfuzius-institut-unter-verdacht-13025050.html

Uyghurs as examples to convince the public, that this institute would be a major threat to the independence of academic freedom at German universities.

Despite loud protest, the Confucius Institute at University of Göttingen started operating since July 2014, while the long overdue Chinese-German bilingual school was still just a dream. I asked Ms. JQ about the feedback from parents at the "Parents' Evening", and their conviction that "speaking German like mother tongue" could be the direction for the future. "I still think the main problem is that we don't have anyone in politics, but why is that?" Ms. JQ paused for a moment, and tried to answer the question herself. "When it comes to politics, there is a fundamental difference whether you are a native speaker of German or not. The tone, the signal, language suddenly becomes complicated; it's like […] a set of codes. Maybe you really need to be a native speaker to know what these codes really mean, then you can be in politics, then you can have some power to do something for the Chinese here."[119]

A German dilemma for the Chinese immigrants

Under the leadership of Chancellor Merkel, Germany has gained a worldwide reputation for welcoming asylum seekers and immigrants in recent years. The legal frameworks have been increasingly "pro-migration" over the last decade. However, the public discourse over migration in Germany and the principal understanding of German identity continue to stimulate a significant impact on the life of immigrants.

Up until 2000, citizenship in Germany is based on the *jus sanguinis* principle, attributing citizenship at birth and fortifying its status as the ethnic nation, which raises high barriers to integration (Brubaker 1992; Alba and Holdaway 2013). As Alba describes, Germany has been long characterized as "a country where the children and grandchildren of immigrants remain foreigners even though they are born and raised in this country, while ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe become instant citizens although they have never lived on this land and do not speak the language" (R. D. Alba, Schmidt, and Wasmer 2003, 3). In 2000, a new citizenship law was passed which enabled the process of naturalization and legally expanded the range of German *Volk* to include immigrants without

[119] Author's translation, "我还是觉得关键问题是我们没有人搞政治，但是为什么呢？一搞政治，你母语是不是德语确实有根本区别。语音语调啊，信号啊，语言一下子变得很复杂，就像是 […] 一套密码。可能你还真得说母语才能懂这些密码什么意思，然后你才能搞政治，才能有权力给这里的中国人干点什么。"

German ancestors. However, although "German blood" is no longer the dominant criterion to be a German citizen, the scope of access to political rights is still limited for most immigrants in the country, especially compared to other EU countries.

Yurdakul illustrates the distinctions between German citizens and immigrants living in Germany with the examples of the Turkish community (Yurdakul 2009). Although having full access to "social citizenship rights" such as education and health care, the non-EU immigrants in Germany cannot participate in elections and do not have the decision-making power to change the socioeconomic conditions that affect their lives. Yurdakul's conclusion speaks directly to the desires of Chinese immigrants like Mr. Feng and Ms. JQ. Behind the "failure of integration" of Turkish migrants in the public eye is their limited access to resources in the German educational system, legal system and occupational structure, and limited political power to make a change (Ewing 2008). A challenge, the Chinese immigrants in Germany are facing at the same time.

Other than the xenophobia towards Muslims, Chinese immigrants in Germany found themselves facing different kinds of stereotype and stigma in the German society, the *phantasma* of a Communist regime. While the disapproval of the Communist Party might have given Chinese immigrants like Mr. Feng a helping hand back in the beginning of 1990s, the political climate in the past decades and the public image of China in recent years had posed a severe challenge for the career development of Chinese immigrants with German university degrees. As Ms. JQ showed with her example, the distance from the Chinese government officials and the connection with Chinese embassy in Germany could be a delicate business. Having support from these state institutions, the social and cultural engagement of the ordinary Chinese immigrants could be easily associated with a suspicious political agenda in the eyes of their German partners; while having no support at all, the chance of success was not enhanced neither, in spite of all their efforts within their private resources.

Sharing the same frustration about the lack of political representation and the limited access and rights like the Turkish immigrants in Germany, Chinese immigrants searched for a "more realistic" path to change their *status quo* and aimed to form their own "social technologies" (Partridge 2012). Confronted with racism and xenophobia, many Chinese immigrants chose to place their hope on the next generation. "Let's be realistic, nobody likes to be considered as 'yellow spy', but what can we

do?" Ms. JQ asked me. "We can't change Germany, we can only try to change ourselves […] and most importantly, change the fate of our children!"[120]

"Change the fate of our children"

"Change the fate of our children" was also the goal of parents like Ms. WL and Ms. WY, as I presented at the beginning of this chapter. It required a powerful motivation to take children of three years old to speech therapists, and challenged the diagnosis when the therapists guaranteed the well-being of your own children. Unlike Ms. JQ and the frustrated parents at GaP School, many Chinese immigrants like Ms. WL and Ms. WY did not share any thought about politics. What they cared about the most is to make sure that their children speak German as their mother tongue, so that they could be better prepared for their education and all the endeavors after that. "They depend on German to make a living, a life here in Germany", explained Ms. WY, "from school to university to jobs, everything is dependent on how well you speak German. […] Lily is going to start school in less than two years; my priority now is to make sure her German would be ready by then. I can't let children lose already on the starting line!"[121]

The conviction of Chinese immigrants that "everything is dependent on how well you speak German" speaks directly to the emphasis of linguistic capital in the writings of Bourdieu. "Given that the informative efficiency of pedagogic communication is always a function of the receivers' linguistic competence, the unequal social-class distribution of educationally profitable linguistic capital constitutes one of the best-hidden mediations through which the relationship between social origin and scholastic achievement is set up" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 115). Bourdieu and Passeron argue that the cultural capital and class ethos (87) could predetermine the outcome of education. As linguistic sophistication is often transmitted within families and communities, by the time a child enters a social setting like school, their capacities in language could have an enormous impact on the performance of the child based on the standard of evaluation from the teachers. As

[120] Author's translation, "咱们得现实一点，谁都不喜欢被人当成黄间谍，但是我们能怎么办呢？我们改变不了德国，我们只能努力改变自己 […] 最关键的是，得改变我们孩子的前途！"

[121] Author's translation, "他们今后得靠德语生活，在德国生活，从小学到大学到今后工作，全都取决于你德语能说得多好。[…] Lily 还不到两年就要上学了，我得确保她的德语到时候能过关，我不能让孩子输在起跑线上！"

the parents at GaP School were anxious to make sure that their children could understand "the tone", "the hidden messages" and "all the politics behind it" when they spoke German, they were expressing the expectation of their children to gain linguistic capital for future advancement in education and in career. Advancement, which hopefully would lead to political influence in the public sphere one day.

But what about China? "China?" Ms. WY shrugged her shoulder and looked rather surprised when I first asked about her experiences of visiting families in her hometown with her daughter. "Do you take Lily back to China sometimes? Can she communicate with her own grandparents?" I asked. "This is not really a problem, we don't actually go back that much, […] because it's expensive! And everything is so polluted in China these days […]. My parents came here once to visit us. They are already so happy just to see their grandchild; they don't need to speak much Chinese with her!"[122] While teaching at GaP School, the head teacher of the Chinese program, Ms. Yan, also shared the same experience of not visiting China regularly. She explained to me that since she and her husband settled here in Germany, they no longer had a place to call home in China. Every time she and her family made visits in China, they had to stay with parents and relatives, and depended on their families and friends for help and support. "This is all debt! They will never come to Germany to visit, so we can never pay them back, you know? [...] The more we go back (to China), the more debt we own, the worse the relationship gets. […] This human relation (人情) has to be paid back someday, but we cannot afford it! It is all debt in the end."[123]

Compared to the substantial migration waves of workers from Fujian, Guangdong and Zhejiang Provinces to Southeast Asia, Eastern and Southern Europe, US and UK (Zhou 1992; Chan, Madsen, and Unger 1984; Nyíri 2003; Ong 1999; Pieke et al. 2004), these middle-class Chinese immigrants in Germany maintained much thinner transnational ties with China. Among all my interlocutors during fieldwork, hardly any family visited China once a year. Many families had grandparents visit them in Germany regularly. Some grandparents even preferred to be called "Oma" (grandmother) and "Opa" (grandfather) in German, because they did not want to give their grandchildren a hard time

[122] Author's translation, "这不是问题，我们其实不怎么回去的， […] 因为太贵了啊！而且中国现在什么都有污染 […] 。我爸妈来看过我们一次，他们看到孙女就高兴死了，根本都不用跟她说什么中文的！"
[123] Author's translation, "这些都是债啊！他们永远都不会来德国的，所以我们永远都还不了，你知道吗？ […] 我们越是回去，债就欠得越多，人际关系就越来越差。 […] 这些人情总有一天是要还的，但是我们还不起啊，到最后就都是债！"

to pronounce "grandmother" and "grandfather" properly in Chinese, which could be indeed challenging for the second-generation Chinese immigrants who could not speak Chinese any more.

With few contacts with China and Chinese relatives and full expectation from their parents to speak German like "mother tongue", these second-generation Chinese immigrants had gone on a different journey. Most of these families completely switched their daily language at home to German when the children started attending primary school, not to mention those early birds who already fabricated a German-speaking environment when their children were in kindergarten. It was hard to say whether the anxious parents had indeed changed the "fate" of their children into the direction they had wished for. Nonetheless, these first-generation Chinese immigrants certainly had already forged an identity for their children, which was constructed and located differently from their own. This divergence of identities determines a rocky road between the first and the second generation in Chinese migrant families in Germany, and I will discuss this in details in the next chapter.

The key to a better life

Back to the Feng Family in Greifswald. Although Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM shared the ingrained frustration, they did not plan to leave Germany. Besides the stable jobs and the life they had created in this country, the main reason for them to stay lay in the future of their children. "Our children are different from us, and that's our hope"[124], Ms. ZM said to me while we were taking a walk around the downtown of Greifswald. It was two weeks before Christmas, and we were standing together at one corner of the Christmas market. The festive scene in front of our eyes seemed to have stirred up Ms. ZM's memory, as she started telling a story of Xixi during Christmas time many years ago. "She asked me to drive her to a supermarket and she bought over 100 Santa Claus made of chocolate! I asked her, 'What are you doing? Why do you buy so many chocolate Santa?' Xixi said, 'Don't worry, mom! I am organizing a Christmas event at school! This is part of the plan!'" A brief expression of astonishment appeared in her eyes, and she paused for a minute while slightly shook her head. "Look at this, little Yu, even other German children trusted her, they let her organize a Christmas

[124] Author's translation, "我们的孩子跟我们不一样，这是我们的盼头。"

event at school! In Germany! This is just not possible for our generation! I still don't know what Christmas and Santa Claus really is!"[125]

Mr. Feng nodded, and he used a Chinese phrase "luo gu ting yin, ting hua ting sheng" ("锣鼓听音, 听话听声") in his comment: listen to the tone, when the drums are beating; listen to the sound, when people are talking. "Our generation just cannot get the sound! And if you don't get that sound, if you don't understand what their words really imply, you have no chance in the society."[126] "But our children are different!" Ms. ZM added immediately, "They speak German since they were babies and they understand the tone and the sound. Xixi is already active in so many different places, and Vivi, too! They will have a very different future than ours."[127]

This hope of the parents looked particularly promising, when I talked to the daughters. The younger one, Vivi, was 15 years old, one more year at Gymnasium before she would take part in the university entrance examination in Germany. She did not speak much Chinese, only some simple words and sentences at a very slow pace, and she had always spoken German with her parents and her sister as far as she could remember. For my visit in Greifswald, Vivi baked a beautiful apple cake. She proudly told me that she wanted to be a professional baker someday, when I praised her for the delicious cake. Vivi had been "obsessed" with baking ever since she was a little girl at primary school, and she believed that she had gained rich experiences and developed some real good techniques during the years. She planned to start her career as a baker first in the bakery of someone else, to observe and learn, then to open a bakery of her own.

As she passionately illustrated her future plan to me, her parents interrupted her. "Seriously, Vivi, this is not a good idea!" "But why?" she asked in Chinese, slowly but firmly. "We discussed this many times already. [...] Baking cakes is something every grandma can do; you don't even need any

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[125] Author's translation, "她让我开车带她去超市，她买了一百多个巧克力圣诞老人！我问她, '你这是干嘛啊？干嘛买这么多巧克力圣诞老人?' 西西说, '妈妈你别担心，我在组织学校的 Weihnachtsfeier，这都是计划好的'! […] 你看看， 小于，就连其他德国孩子都信任她，让她组织圣诞节的活动，在德国啊！我们这一代人，这是完全不可能的啊！我到现在都不知道圣诞节圣诞老人究竟是怎么回事啊！"

[126] Author's translation, "我们这一代人就是听不见声儿！你如果听不见声儿，就没法理解别人话背后的意思，你在社会上就没有机会。"

[127] Author's translation, "但是我们的孩子就不一样！他们从小就说德语，他们能听懂音听懂声儿。西西已经在各方面都这么活跃了，VV 也是。他们的前途会和我们的不一样。"

university education to be a baker!"[128] Mr. Feng explained to Vivi. "I can still go to university, and then be a baker, I already said, I can go and study chemistry, to create prettier colors on the cake"[129], protested Vivi. "My good girl, this is just not a well-thought plan," Ms. ZM joined in, "if you become a baker, everything is just in vain. You do not even need to speak German to be a baker in Germany! Aren't all our efforts wasted?"[130]

For families like Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM, Ms. WY and Ms. WL, one of the things they had in common was that they all started their journey in Germany through education. As many Chinese students at German universities, they arrived here first with a student visa, then established a life after graduation. "For my parents, education is the key; it's education that gives them a better life. If this is your key, then you have to be good in German", said Xixi, the elder daughter of Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM. "Not just talking, but reading and writing, too. They once said that they are fortunate to both major in physics. Lots of symbols and formulas are just universal, so they can go to labs to do experiments instead of reading and writing books. […] So if my sister and I could speak German well, then we can have more choices, we can do everything. We can be doctors, lawyers, professors and everything."[131] What about bakers? I asked Xixi. She laughed loudly, "Did Vivi tell you that?" Still a big smile on her face, but Xixi would not give me an answer on this one.

The linguistic capital embodied in the capacity of mastering the language determines the outcome of education and later the access to the labor market for the next generation (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Zolberg and Woon 1999). The trajectory these first-generation Chinese immigrants had shared taught them the fatal importance of German linguistic capacity. To do well at schools and universities, to get a good job and establish a decent career, and someday to understand politics and

[128] Author's translation, "说正经的，Vivi，这不是个好主意！我们已经讨论了好多次了。[…] 每个 Oma 都能烤蛋糕，你都不用上大学就能去烤蛋糕！"

[129] Author's translation, "我还是会去上大学，然后烤蛋糕，我说过，我可以去学 Chemie，就能在蛋糕上烤出更漂亮的颜色。"

[130] Author's translation, "我的好女儿，这不是个好办法，你如果去烤蛋糕，这不都浪费了吗。烤蛋糕你都不用说德语，咱们的努力不都浪费了吗？"

[131] Author's translation, "对我父母来说，教育是关键，是教育给他们更好的生活。既然教育是关键，你就得说好德语。不仅仅是对话，还有阅读和写作。他们有一次说自己很幸运学的是物理，有很多符号啊公式啊，全世界都是一样的，所以他们能去实验室做实验，不用看书写书。[…] 如果我和我妹妹能学好德语，那我们就能有更多的选择，我们什么都能做，医生，律师，教授，什么都行。"

to be treated equally. This was a shared vision of the first-generation Chinese immigrants, and the motivation for them to push their children to speak German like mother tongue.

Conclusion

Why do children of Chinese immigrants in Germany no longer speak Chinese? Because their parents do not want them to. Based on their shared trajectory from students to immigrants, these first-generation Chinese immigrants consider language as the key to a better life. The linguistic capacity of German language represents the possibilities of the advancement in education, career, income, social status, and ultimately, political power.

Parents like Ms. WL and Ms. WY want their children to speak German in order to be ready for schools and further education. Parents like Mr. Feng and Ms. ZM want their children to speak German, so that they can have unlimited opportunities of career, to be trusted by Germans and to be treated the same as Germans. Parents like Ms. JQ and those at GaP School want their children to speak German to understand politics, to have more access to economic, social and cultural resources, and someday eventually have the chance to gain political power. The controversial image of their homeland and the limited scope of transnational contacts give them more reasons to be convinced, that the key to a better future is to "speak like a German, and to think like a German".

Stories from these families demonstrate a different understanding of "assimilation" and a different expectation from "integration" from the perspective of immigrants themselves. In recent years, migration debates in the US tend to focus on the nature of boundary. New categories and theories are created continuously to describe the different types of boundaries during the course of assimilation as well as the different stages of integration. From "boundary crossing/blurring/shifting" (Zolberg and Woon 1999), to "bright boundary vs. blurry boundary" (Richard Alba 2005; Nee and Alba 2012), to the recent strategies of "boundary-drawing" (Wimmer 2008); from "porous boundary" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and DeWind 2007) to the vast body of research on "segmented assimilation" (Levitt and Waters 2002; Portes and Zhou 1993). The baseline of these theories is the premise that second-generation immigrants assimilate themselves into different segments of society through different strategies to overcome the boundaries, while still maintain their "share" within the home communities.

Frustrated by the variety of boundaries standing in the way, Chinese immigrants in Germany are willing to test a different approach: raise their children as "native Germans" who can speak German as "mother tongue". In this chapter, I argue that the first-generation Chinese immigrants have realized that linguistic capital holds a direct impact on the access to resources and power, which thus produces their social and political positions in the future. In their evaluation, the limits of their upward mobility lie in the limits of their German linguistic capacity and their comprehension of a higher-class habitus. As Bourdieu repeatedly states, the hierarchy of linguistic capacities and styles can reinforce the social hierarchy for the next generation (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bourdieu 1991). It is no longer troubling to see the efforts of these parents to enforce a German "identity" and fabricate a German "environment" for their children, when they believe that the choice of language and genres of linguistic character serve a higher purpose beyond the daily communication.

However, the paradox of raising children to speak German as "mother tongue", while mothers and fathers themselves do not speak the same language, predicts a challenging journey. Growing up with the expectation of being "native Germans", the identity of the second-generation Chinese immigrants has shifted dramatically from their parents. Not only have they lost the linguistic capacity to speak Chinese, but also the contacts and connections with China. This divergence of identities can quickly lead to confrontations and conflicts between the first and the second generation of Chinese immigrants. How do "native Chinese" and their "native German" children communicate at home and at school? How do they negotiate their different visions of life and future, and their different expectations of each other? I will discuss these questions in the next chapter.

Chapter Two – Every Saturday morning is a war

Children of Chinese immigrants in Germany hardly speak Chinese. They grow up with the expectation from their parents to become native Germans who could speak German as their mother tongue. Especially for families with limited transnational contacts to China, it seems to be far more important for the future of their children to master the German language instead of Chinese. Driven by the anxiety of acquiring a respectable education, gaining wider opportunities in the job market and becoming better integrated into the German society, many first-generation Chinese immigrants focus on the fabrication of a German identity for their children and put their Chinese origin aside.

However, the paradox of expecting children to speak German as "mother tongue", while mothers and fathers do not speak the same language themselves, predicts a challenging journey. Growing up in Germany, attending German kindergartens and German schools, children of Chinese immigrants have an instinctual difference in the perspective on many key issues at school as well as at home. The first and the second generation of Chinese immigrants have severely different understanding of "proper" behavior and "correct" manners, the relationship between teachers and pupils, between teachers and parents, and a fundamental divergence of identification with their Chinese background.

In this chapter, I will present a couple of first-generation Chinese immigrants who are struggling to find solutions to the confrontations and conflicts with their children. They highlight the importance of their shared Chinese background by bringing the second generation to learn Chinese at private language schools over the weekend. These parents display their belief in the power of institutions and the impact of implicit socialization to smooth their daily communication with their children. I also document the reaction from the second generation, who are exploring and enhancing their own agency to resist the expectation from their parents.

How Ms. Dong violated "Human Rights"

Ms. Dong grew up in Shenyang in Liaoning Province. She still had the cheerfully unique Northeastern accent (东北腔) in her tone when she spoke Chinese, even after living in Germany for 15 years. She and her husband were both graduates from Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics[132] and came to Germany first as students in 2000. Ms. Dong eventually became a freelance translator and editor, while her husband worked as an engineer in Berlin. At the beginning of my fieldwork, while I was checking the Chinese language schools in Berlin to choose a site for my participant observation, Ms. Dong was checking at the same time to choose a Chinese language school for her son, Lele.

When I met Ms. Dong in 2015, Lele was ten years old and in the fourth grade at primary school. Born and raised in Berlin, he never attended any Chinese class at any school. Having two parents who were both native speakers of Chinese, Lele grew up in a Chinese-speaking household and had been exposed to the Chinese language everyday ever since his birth. Like many parents in the previous chapter, Ms. Dong and her husband did not see the necessity of ensuring the Chinese linguistic capacity of Lele. As she recalled, ever since Lele started attending primary school four years ago, she and her husband gradually became used to speaking German with Lele, although the two parents still spoke Chinese with each other. As the outcome of this language setting in the family, Lele could more or less understand Chinese, when the topics of conversation did not overstep the familiar subjects of his daily life. Nevertheless, out of practice for a few years, it had already become a challenge for Lele to speak Chinese.

Why did Ms. Dong want to find a Chinese language school for her son, when the parents were already accustomed to communicating with him in German? "He has to learn some Chinese. I don't know how to deal with him anymore!" Ms. Dong explained her motivation to me. "Whatever I say, it is either no 'democracy', or no 'equality' or no 'freedom' […]. I don't know what exactly these children learn at school these days […]. In their world, all the rules are different!"[133]

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[132] 北京航空航天大学

[133] Author's translation, "他得学点儿中文了，我都不知道该怎么管他了！不管我说什么，要不不民主，不平等，不自由 […] 。我真不知道现在这些孩子整天在学校里学什么 […]。反正他们的世界里什么规矩都不一样了！"

Lele had been learning violin for almost four years, and yet "it still does not sound like music" as Ms. Dong described it. The violin teacher made the suggestion recently to play 15 minutes a day. However, there was no way Ms. Dong could put this suggestion into practice. "He only plays when I force him, when I am standing next to him and watching […] and even these few minutes do not come easily!"[134] The only leverage Ms. Dong had was to control his access to Internet, which she referred to as "digital punishment"[135]. "Once I start putting limits on his internet-surfing time, he realizes that I am serious and he is willing to negotiate with me."[136] Negotiate? What did that mean? "This is the problem with German education! Children learn to negotiate with parents from a very young age. It's like bargaining in a market! So, if I do this, then what do I get? If I play violin for 15 minutes, what is the reward? It has to be fair and clear! If not, then I am violating his human rights [...]. In China this is out of the question, right? But here, it is not easy to give children any pressure!"[137]

Could Chinese language schools give Lele the pressure to practice violin at home? "It is about discipline! These children need to learn some discipline in Germany!" Ms. Dong explained her motivation, "My friends told me they read classic Chinese texts at these Chinese schools, just like those texts we read when we were kids at school in China. He has to learn something like that; otherwise he will keep calling me violating his human rights!"[138]

Yizhi Chinese Culture School (Yizhi Chinesische Kulturschule)

Since the first Chinese language school was founded in 1992, Chinese immigrants in Berlin have become accustomed to taking their children to attend Chinese language classes over the weekend. By the end of 2016, there are four (five, including one for Taiwanese community) Chinese language schools established for the second generation in Berlin, besides more than a dozen smaller-sized

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[134] Author's translation, "我得逼他他才肯练，我得站在他旁边盯着他 […] 就这样能练上几分钟都不容易！"

[135] Author's translation, "数码惩罚".

[136] Author's translation, "每次我一控制他上网时间了，他就知道我是动真格了，就愿意和我谈判了。"

[137] Author's translation, "这就是德国教育的问题！小孩儿从小就学会了跟家长谈判，就像在菜市场讨价还价一样！好，我干这个，那我能得到什么？我拉 15 分钟琴，你给我什么奖励？都还得公平公正，不然就是我侵犯他人权！在国内这些事儿还有什么好商量的？但是在这儿给小孩儿点儿压力太不容易了！"

[138] Author's translation, "这都是做规矩！这些小孩儿在德国也得学点规矩！我朋友说他们在中文学校读中文经典，就像我们小时候在国内上学读的那些。他可得学学这些，不然他整天说我侵犯人权！"

private language classes and learning groups around the city. All the language schools are registered as non-profit associations at the Berlin government, and they finance themselves by collecting tuitions. Some schools, such as Huade School and Yizhi School, also receive support from state institutions like the Chinese Embassy in Berlin and the Chinese Cultural Center of Berlin concerning arrangement of space for classrooms and supplies of teaching facilities. Almost all these schools and learning groups receive teaching materials and Chinese textbooks from the Confucius Institute regularly. Out of custom, or perhaps out of competition with one another, all the Chinese language schools I have visited unexceptionally offer classes on Saturday.

The first Chinese language school in Berlin, Huade Chinese School[139], founded in 1992, is also the very first one in Germany. Over the years, it has developed from a semi-private class of five people to the biggest Chinese language school in Europe, with more than 540 pupils in 35 classes in 2016. Currently they rent classrooms at Friedensburg High School in Charlottenburg (in the western part of Berlin) for their activities on Saturday. The second biggest Chinese language school in Berlin, Yizhi Chinese Cultural School[140], is based in a vocational school in Tempelhof (in the southern part of Berlin). Founded in 2007, it was an outcome of a split from Huade School. The initiatives and first teachers of Yizhi School were at first participants at Huade School, who wanted something different from what Huade School offered at that time. One of the senior members of Yizhi School, Mr. FY, explained to me that for a long time in the past, Huade School was known for being the day care center for children of Chinese restaurant workers on Saturday. As the parents were often very busy on Saturday, they were very content to drop their children at Huade School for a whole day, while not paying much attention to what their children actually learnt.

With the purpose of offering proper Chinese language classes with qualified teachers, Yizhi School attracted many Chinese immigrants in the city. In 2015, there were 13 classes with more than 200 pupils. Eight years after the split, the differences between Huade School and Yizhi School, which drove these two schools apart at the beginning, no longer seemed to be visible to parents any more. Many parents at both schools talked about their choice in a very pragmatic way. Either because of the location, or because of certain friends with whom their children prefer to socialize with. One parent at Yizhi School, who recently switched from Huade School to Yizhi School, explained to me that they changed the school because of carpool-arrangements with other families. In her opinion,

[139] 华德中文学校

[140] 益智中华文化学校

Huade School also has improved its teaching quality over the years, especially since the split, and the classes and teachers are "more or less the same" these days.

During my fieldwork, I first attended classes at Huade School and Yizhi School at intervals for two months. After being qualified as a substitute teacher at Yizhi School, I spent about three months teaching at different classes with children of different age, before I became a member of their regular teaching staff in January 2016. Since then, I taught Class 12 continuously until the summer break in July 2016. Class 12 is the highest class at Yizhi School with the eldest pupils. Their age varies from 14 to 20. Four of the pupils are university students, while the rest, about 12 – 15 pupils, are still in high school. All the pupils are children of ethnic Chinese immigrants from mainland China.

Every Saturday morning is a war!

"They don't want to come, none of them wants to come! Thank Goodness they are still little, I can still force them in my way!"[141] Sitting together in the waiting room of Yizhi School, Ms. Wei was telling me about her struggle with her daughters earlier that morning. Like all the other parents in the waiting room, Ms. Wei brought her two daughters, 8 and 12 years old, to Yizhi School every Saturday. While all the children were having Chinese language classes from 9 o'clock to 12 o'clock in different classrooms, most parents waited in a big room on the ground floor, chatting with one another.

"Every Saturday morning is a war! They always want to fight with me on Saturday. [...] I always tell them, you are Chinese, and Chinese have to know how to speak Chinese! But they think that's ridiculous. They take their German passports out, 'We are Germans! We are not Chinese and we don't need Chinese!'"[142] Ms. Wei became increasingly upset as we spoke, and the outburst of her emotion attracted other parents to join the conversation. "That's normal! It happens to my family every Saturday, too!" Ms. GF put her hands around the shoulder of Ms. Wei, and tried to comfort her by sharing similar experiences. "We have to understand them. They are just children. Your girls

[141] Author's translation, "他们不想来，一个都不想来！还好他们还小，我还能逼着他们来！"

[142] Author's translation, "每个星期六早上都是打仗！他们每个星期六都跟我闹。[…] 我总是告诉他们，你们是中国人，中国人就得知道怎么说中文，但是他们就是觉得这很可笑。他们会把他们德国护照拿出来，'我们是德国人！我们不是中国人，我们也不用学中文！'"

are good girls! Good children! But all their classmates and friends are out there playing and playing over the weekend, having parties, going shopping, and they have to spend Saturday morning sitting here, classes and homework […]. Of course, they hate it![143]"

The "hate" among these children was not only addressed to their parents at home. Having been a teacher at Yizhi School, I witnessed children demonstrating their resentment about learning Chinese inside and outside the classroom. Besides the reluctant attitude towards learning Chinese, there was a shared resistance to be considered "Chinese" across different age groups. Like the daughters of Ms. Wei, the expression of "We are not Chinese! We are Germans!" could be heard in almost every corner of the school on Saturday. The teacher of the third grade at Yizhi School, Ms. Fan, once challenged this statement of the pupils in her class by asking further questions, "Why exactly do you think you are German?" and "Have you been to China?" As a response, children in the classroom spontaneously started chanting together "Deutschland! Deutschland! Deutschland!"

Scholars have noticed the struggle of identity among the second-generation Chinese immigrants. While Chinese immigrants overseas are usually referred to as Chinese diaspora or directly as *hua qiao* (华侨), some authors like Silke Berger prefer to frame the phenomenon as the "Banana Problem": children and youth from Asian migrant families who look like Asians and Chinese from the "outside", while their thinking and behavior is similar to the Germans "inside" (Silke Berg 2014). Yiu Fai Chow chooses the same epithet in his research with the young Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, "The Banana [Re]Public", as "parents accusing their children of being yellow on the outside and white on the inside and of forgetting their Chinese heritage" (Chow 2011, 68). Unlike their parents, the second-generation Chinese immigrants are born and raised in Germany, attending German schools with German classmates, forming a social life that is considerably different from their parents'. Especially for the Chinese migrant families with limited transnational ties, the lack of Chinese linguistic capacity of the second generation reflects their sparse connection and scarce identification with their Chinese background. The "yellow" part of their lives, if there were any, is rather the expectation from their Chinese parents.

[143] Author's translation, "这都是正常的，我们家每个星期六也这样！ […] 我们得理解他们，他们毕竟是孩子。你家姑娘是好姑娘，好孩子！但人家的同学朋友周末都在外面玩儿啊玩儿，开 Party，逛街，他们得星期六早上在这儿坐着，上课，作业 […]。他们肯定不乐意嘛！"

Besides a handful of children who actually enjoyed coming to language schools and having Chinese classes (more in the next chapter), most children I encountered during the fieldwork came to Chinese language schools unwillingly, both at Yizhi School and at Huade School. As Saturday becomes an additional school day for these Chinese families, it was not surprising to see the reluctance and resistance among young children. But how to understand the persistence among parents? Why did they insist on bringing their children to attend Chinese classes, when it directly led the family into "war" every Saturday morning? Like Ms. Wei, many first-generation Chinese parents shared the conviction that their children were "Chinese" just like them, and this argument alone shall be able to justify their participation in the Chinese language schools. However, as I will show in the following pages, for many parents like Ms. Dong and Ms. Wei, to "learn Chinese" implies much more than just learning the language.

Make-up, high heels, and salad diet

Ms. Xia came to me one Saturday morning in the waiting room of Yizhi School. She briefly introduced herself, right before she grabbed my arm and led me into a corner of the room. Like every Saturday morning, she was waiting and chatting with other parents here, while her children were having Chinese language classes upstairs. Overhearing that I was doing research about second-generation Chinese immigrants growing up in Germany, Ms. Xia felt convinced that I would be the one who could help her.

"You are also a young girl, little Yu, could you help me to talk to my daughter?"[144] asked Ms. Xia directly. Her daughter, Annie, was 12 years old and in the sixth grade of primary school. According to Ms. Xia, all the girls in Annie's class were wearing make-up, "thick, heavy make-up!"[145] Inevitably, Annie was determined to do the same. Ever since Ms. Xia rejected her wish a few days ago, Annie staged a protest by refusing to talk to her mother. Ms. Xia was agitated and upset about her daughter, as much as she was confused by other parents in the same class. "How come no German parent has any problem with that?"[146] Ms. Xia asked this question repeatedly during our conversation. What did you say to Annie about this? I asked her. "I tell her, again and again, that she

[144] Author's translation, "你也是个小姑娘，小于，能不能帮我和我女儿谈谈？"

[145] Author's translation, "一个个都浓妆艳抹的！"

[146] Author's translation, "为什么德国家长就没问题呢？"

is very beautiful just the way she is, without any make-up. Make-up will only cover up her real beauty. I tell her to believe in herself, and to believe she is beautiful the way she is!"[147]

"Oh, but she just does not believe it, right?"[148] asked Ms. Tang, another mother who was waiting for her children, while listening to our conversation. "No! Not a word!" responded Ms. Xia, almost burst into tears. "Every time I argue with my daughter, she just says that I am too Chinese to understand her, and she says this to me in German, you know?! Telling me that I am just not German enough to know what is right and wrong in this country! [...] What is this? What is going on? Is this really how Germans raise their children? Who exactly is right and wrong here?"[149]

Ms. Tang nodded along, as Ms. Xia was talking. She petted the back of Ms. Xia and started sharing her experiences with her 14-years-old daughter, SC. Not only did the classmates of SC wear heavy make-up, according to Ms. Tang, all the girls were wearing high heels while carrying handbags to school everyday. Ms. Tang considered herself already "compromised" to accept these trends at school, but she felt challenged again, when her daughter asked to have her hair dyed. "Make-up is just the beginning", Ms. Tang offered her prediction to Ms. Xia, "you have to make a decision now to agree with her or not"[150]. Ms. Xia looked more perplexed at the sight of what to come. "Annie says she wants to lose weight. She says she will just eat salad from now on because she is too fat […]." Ms. Xia was almost murmuring to herself, frustrated and confused. "She only has bones in her whole body! Do you even remember what it was like when we were little, how we looked like when we were in school? I never thought about losing weight until I was in my 40s! I don't know what to say to her; maybe I am just too Chinese to understand what's going on at German schools."[151]

During the course of my fieldwork and my stay at Yizhi School, I had a few more opportunities to talk to Ms. Xia about her challenges, as well as a few chats with Annie to listen to her perspective.

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[147] Author's translation, "我反反复复告诉她，她就这样不化妆也很美，化妆只会遮盖她的美，我叫她相信她自己，相信她自己这样就很美！"

[148] Author's translation, "唉，但是她就是不信，对吧？"

[149] Author's translation, "每次我和我女儿吵架，她都说我太中国了，不能理解她，她用德语跟我说这些你知道吗？说我不够德国，不懂这个国家什么是对的什么是错的！[…] 这还像话吗？这是怎么回事啊！德国人真的都是这么养孩子的吗？这里究竟是谁对谁错啊！"

[150] Author's translation, "化妆才是开头儿呢，你现在就得做个决定，到底要不要同意。"

[151] Author's translation, "安妮说她想要减肥，她说她从现在开始就只吃沙拉了，因为她太胖了 […] 。她浑身上下只有骨头！你还记不记得我们小时候，我们上学的时候都是什么样子？我是到了四十岁了才知道要减肥！我也不知道该跟她说什么，可能我真的就是太 chinesisch 了，不懂他们德国学校在干嘛。"

On the one hand, these intergenerational conflicts could be a common phenomenon to occur during adolescence. However, from the perspective of Ms. Xia and Ms. Tang, such conflicts indeed contained an underlying standoff between "Chinese mother" and "German daughter". Ms. Xia felt "heartbroken", when her daughter was talking to her in German and blaming her for being "too Chinese" to understand her. Meanwhile, her daughter Annie found it "embarrassing" ("peinlich") to hear her mother talking about China constantly. "When can she finally wake up, that we are not in China anymore? We are now in Germany! I don't care, how it was in China. She should learn how it works in Germany!"[152] Just like her confrontation with Ms. Xia, Annie also filed her complaint to me in German.

Annie constantly shrugged her shoulder as we spoke. Occasionally she fiddled with her long hair using her long fingernails, colorfully painted. I was not able to detect any makeup on her face. She acknowledged, that she had not got any make-up yet, because of the protest from Ms. Xia. She emphasized several times, that none of her friends had problems like this. All the other mothers were "cool" about this, "but my mother is not (cool); she is so embarrassing, she is so Chinese"[153].

Although Annie was only willing to communicate with me in German, she seemed to be able to understand Chinese very well and was able to speak fluently. As Ms. Xia recalled, Annie "used to be" a sweet daughter, who "used to" speak Chinese with her all the time. Why did you decide to bring Annie to a Chinese language school on Saturday, when she could speak the language already? "It is much more than learning the language", explained Ms. Xia, "to go to Chinese school is to tell her that she is Chinese! Together with hundreds of other Chinese children here, she has no excuse any more. She can see that this is normal, she is Chinese, just like everyone here as well"[154].

Language Socialization

When we speak a different language, we would perceive a different world, says Wittgenstein. Scholars of language socialization have focused on the dynamic role of language in the

[152] Author's translation, "Wann kann sie endlich aufwachen, dass wir nicht mehr in China sind? Wir sind jetzt in Deutchland! Es ist mir egal, wie es in China geht. Sie sollte lernen, wie es in Deutschland geht!"
[153] Author's translation, "[A]ber meine Mutter nicht [cool]! Sie ist so peinlich; sie ist so chinesisch."
[154] Author's translation, "这不仅仅是学语言，来中文学校就是要告诉她，她就是中国人！跟其他几百个中国孩子一起，她就没什么理由好找了。她就能看到这个其实很正常，她就是中国人，就和这里其他人都一样。"

transformation process of social integration, especially the experiences of young children who grow up between two languages and face negotiations between two speech communities (B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b; B. B. Schieffelin and Doucet 1994; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Garrett 2007; Duff, Wong, and Early 2000). Examining different migrant groups in different societies, the one consistent finding throughout these studies is that there is no linear trajectory in the course of linguistic integration. Children become members of communities in the course of acquiring a new language, and they do so by creating "multiple, fluid, sometimes conflicting 'webs of meaning' and the 'unconscious patterning of behavior' that underpin social connectivity" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 2).

For the first-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany, speaking the Chinese language indeed implies much more than knowing the grammar and vocabulary. In the previous chapter, the capacity of speaking German symbolizes a new world of opportunities and upward mobility. In this chapter, the knowledge of Chinese language represents the pedagogic ideas of Chinese parenting tradition, the continuity of Chinese culture and Chinese identity, and most importantly, it represents the inner connection between parents and children. Humboldt believes that our understanding of language rests upon the identity of our awareness (Humboldt 1908, 460)[155]. The Chinese immigrants in these stories seem to form a connection between the preference of language among their children and the standard of their behavior in everyday life. Take the example of Ms. Xia: she attributes all the "right" and "wrong" directly as cultural differences between China and Germany, especially after being accused by her own daughter to be "too Chinese" and "not German enough". Ascribing the different degrees of being "Chinese" to be the source of intergenerational conflicts at home, Ms. Xia brings Annie to a Chinese language school, although she is able to speak Chinese already. In the classroom at Yizhi School, Ms. Xia expects an improvement of Annie's Chinese linguistic capacity, as well as an enhancement of her Chinese identity. Especially when Annie is surrounded by hundreds of other Chinese children, Ms. Xia expects the environment of Yizhi School to provide Annie with the sense of being Chinese and having a shared ethnic background, and thus close the gap between two generations.

For the diasporic population around the world, it is indispensable to learn the language of the host society, in order to engage, to interact, and to succeed. In Germany, it is manifestly crucial to master

[155] Author's translation, "Das Verständnis der Sprache beruht auf der Identität des menschlichen Bewusstseins."

the German language to be capable of taking part in the educational system and eventually gaining access to the labor market. However, Fillmore points out, that the timing and the conditions under which immigrants come into contact with the new language "can profoundly affect the retention and continued use of their primary as well as the development of their second language" (Fillmore 1991, 323). When the primary language is not the dominant language in the society, children can lose their capacities in the primary language easily and quickly after they are required to learn a new one.

In the US, much effort has been made to enhance the language capacity of English among immigrants, so that they could assimilate into the society not only quickly, but also "successfully". The emphasis on language as the touchstone of integration and assimilation is steadily gaining ground over the past decades. Bilingual education has become the target to blame, as it "prevents" the children of immigrants from embracing the new language fully, and is therefore throttling integration. After "The No Child Left Behind Act" was signed into law under the Bush administration in 2002, renaming "The Bilingual Education Act" into "The English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act", bilingual education has gradually lost state support over the years.

In Germany, language as an essential element of a shared German identity is deeply rooted in history. Historically, the land that we call Germany today had been hundreds of mosaics of regional territories for the past centuries. It was only through a standardized and shared German language that the modern German identity came into being. A unified German language through Luther and the Grimm brothers played an important role in the formation of the national imagination of being a German. After Napoleon conquered the entire German-speaking territory by 1808, the then Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria emphasized the importance of speaking German as "the continued existence of a people" (MacGregor 2017, 161). In the contemporary debates over immigration in Germany, the capacity of mastering the German language is still a marker of identity and a criterion of assimilation. Especially in discussions concerning immigrants from Turkey and asylum seekers from the Middle East, the German linguistic proficiency is often considered as the decisive factor between the "success" and the "failure" of integration.

Public discourse like this together with the personal experiences of the first-generation Chinese immigrants could effectively shape their understanding of language and their relationship with language. Some parents develop a relation to the German language, and consider it as the key to integration in the society; while others develop a relation to the Chinese language, and consider it as

the key to harmony at home. The different relations to languages and the different expectations of parents play out in the language preference and linguistic proficiency among their children. Reflecting on stories from the previous chapter, where parents made extra efforts to push their children to "think like a German", the loss of Chinese language among the second-generation Chinese immigrants might be the outcome they were aiming for. But for the parents who insist on bringing their children to Chinese language schools every Saturday, the (re)gain of Chinese language among the second generation appears to be the cure of their problems.

Fillmore argues in her work, that the loss of a primary language, particularly when it is the only language spoken by parents, can be very costly to children, to parents, and to the entire family. "It does affect the social, emotional, cognitive and educational development of language-minority children, as well as the integrity of their families and the society they live in" (Fillmore 1991, 342). Intergenerational communication is crucial for everyone in a family. When family members no longer share the same language, parents and children both face great barriers to convey information, knowledge, opinion, emotion, value and belief to one another. It is not surprising to see parent-child relationship being altered, integrity and intimacy of families being damaged. Parents like Ms. Dong and Ms. Wei provide vivid examples that the loss of primary language leads directly to the loss of means for parents and children to talk to each other adequately. As Ms. Dong explains, she wants her son to read the same Chinese texts "just like those texts we read when we were kids at school in China". In other words, she considers reading the same texts a path to share the same ideas and opinions, a path that eventually leads them to live in the same world.

Language is "the formative organ of thoughts" (Humboldt 1963, 191) and language "signifies identity and social relations" (M. M. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Qin-Hilliard 2014, xii). For the parents in this chapter, "Chinese" as a language equals "Chinese" as a people, and all the social relations that come along. However, growing up in Germany with German passports, children of the first-generation Chinese immigrants have to explain to their parents, how it works in their world, and how it works in Germany.

How it works in Germany

Annie was certainly not the only one who considered her own parents "too Chinese", while Ms. Xia was also not the only one who noticed that "German parents" were somehow different. The second time I talked to Ms. Dong and asked her about the latest record of "human rights violation" in her family, she shared a story to give me an idea of "how it works in Germany".

A few weeks after being in the fourth grade, Lele started complaining about the teacher who was teaching German in his class. In the opinion of Lele, this teacher was too strict, too boring, and did not offer enough games to play in her class. While Lele was certain, that most pupils in his class felt the same way about this teacher as he did, Ms. Dong held a different opinion. After meeting the teacher personally during parents' meeting, Ms. Dong considered the teacher to be the right person to teach children German grammar and German literature. She shared her impression about the teacher with Lele, and explained to him about the value of having a "strict" teacher.

However, the discontent among pupils soon evolved into action. Lele came home one day and informed Ms. Dong that he and his friends wrote a letter to the school headmaster, complaining about their teacher being too strict, and demanding a new teacher. "I was shocked, really shocked! I told him not to be a part in this nonsense, stop immediately or at least erase his name from the letter, but he refused. […] He told me that he was doing the right thing and he had his reasons. Can you believe this? These are kids of nine years old! This teacher did not do anything wrong, but was just being strict! But my son said, 'mom, being strict is wrong already!'"[156]

Although this incident happened half a year ago, Ms. Dong still seemed to be in shock when she told me this story. A few pupils wrote this letter, many classmates signed their names, all by themselves. "Can you imagine what happened? They succeeded […]. Yes, they really did! The school switched this strict teacher to a different class, and Lele's class got a new teacher. Can you believe this? This is how it works in Germany, at least at German schools!"[157]

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[156] Author's translation, "我那个吓得啊，真的是惊呆了！我跟他说，别掺和这些乱七八糟的事儿，赶紧打住，至少也把他的名字从信里删了，但是他不肯。 […] 他说他这样做是对的，是有道理的。 你能相信吗？这帮孩子才 9 岁呐！这个老师什么错也没有，就是严格了一点而已！但是我儿子说，妈，这么严格就是错的！"

[157] Author's translation, "你能想象发生了什么吗？他们成功了 […] 。 对，真的成功了！学校把这个严格的老师换到别的班去了，乐乐班上来了个新老师。你能想象吗？这就是德国，至少在德国学校！"

Why aren't my parents Germans?

The fact that a group of nine-years-old pupils could manage to kick a strict teacher out of their class was already an astonishing episode. What surprised Ms. Dong even more was the reaction from other parents in the same class. In the following parents' meeting, she found out that most of the parents actually supported their children during this action. After talking to other parents, who took pride in the independent mind and the organizational skill of their children to take action on their own, Ms. Dong realized that she was perhaps the only parent who had protested and had attempted to prevent her son from taking part. "German parents really are different from us. They are very proud of their children, and they encouraged me to be proud of Lele!"[158]

If most of the parents supported the action of their children, how did Lele feel about the lack of parental support from his family? "He is already used to it", Ms. Dong was fully aware of Lele's feeling about her position. "He used to beg me to support him, many times, changing his score, or becoming a parent representative in some committee, so that I could fight for him. I never agreed. […] He is not happy, of course. But what I can do? Changing score is simply wrong!"[159]

To many Chinese immigrants like Ms. Dong, changing score was one of the unique customs at German schools that they struggled to come to terms with. When children and their parents were convinced that the score of a test was not "fair", parents would go to the responsible teacher to protest, asking him or her to change the score of the test. Based on my observation during fieldwork, teachers were often persuaded by such requests. Some of the common reasons included: the teacher did not grade the test fairly; the teacher did not formulate the questions clearly enough for the child to understand; the teacher did not teach the pupils well enough; and, most frequently within my encounter, the child was not present when one part of the test was taught, therefore it was not "fair" to give the child a lower score, because he or she was not able to have the knowledge to answer these questions correctly.

Mr. Peng, father of three children, shared his struggle with me while he was hanging out in the waiting room of Yizhi School one Saturday morning. His eldest son, Tiantian, recently had a test at

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[158] Author's translation, "德国家长真的是和我们不一样。他们都对自己孩子很骄傲，还使劲鼓动我也该为乐乐骄傲一下。"

[159] Author's translation, "他以前总让我去支持他，改成绩啊，去什么委员会当家长代表啊，他总觉得这样我就能给他撑腰了！我从来都没同意过。[…] 他肯定不高兴，但是我能怎么样，改成绩这种事儿就是错的！"

school and he didn't do very well. Tiantian didn't fail the test, something Mr. Peng deliberately emphasized on. In the evaluation of Mr. Peng, Tiantian was more or less doing "okay" at school, although he was not among the best in his class. However, within two days after the test was graded, Basti, a good friend of Tiantian who played football with him, managed to change his score. According to Mr. Peng, Basti's father went to the teacher and explained the reason behind his poor score: football. Football was something Basti had to spend his time on, so he didn't have that much time to prepare for the test. "Ridiculous, right?" Mr. Peng shook his head and paused for a moment. "But his father managed to convince the teacher and had his score changed. You have no idea, my son is nagging me endlessly everyday! [...] But Teacher Yu, what do you think? Isn't this wrong? If Tiantian doesn't do his test well, I will tell him to stop playing football and prepare for the test, right? That's the whole point of having a test! It has never occurred to me, that you can actually turn it the other way around!"[160]

It was hard to tell how frequently this happened at school, but frequently enough for all the children and parents to notice, and frequently enough for Chinese parents to call this "German culture". Interestingly, all the Chinese parents I talked to refused to do it themselves. However, when the first-generation Chinese immigrants unanimously considered changing scores "wrong", their children considered the attitude of these parents "too Chinese". When I asked Tiantian, a boy of eight years old, about this incident, he said to me bitterly, "My dad never helps me at school."[161] During my time at GaP School, several children from Chinese immigrant families complained to me that their parents refused to "help". YS, an eight-years-old boy in third grade, frustratedly told me that his parents never agree to challenge the teachers at school: "They are so Chinese, so embarrassing! They don't know anything about Germany! [...] Ach, why aren't they Germans!"[162]

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[160] Author's translation, "可笑吧？但是他爸爸就是把老师说服了把成绩改了。你真是不知道，我儿子现在每天没完没了地跟我念叨！ […] 于老师，你觉得呢？这就是不对啊！如果天天考试考不好，我肯定让他别踢足球，好好准备考试，对吧？考试不就是这个目的嘛！我从来没有想过，你居然还能把这事儿倒过来！"

[161] Author's translation, "我爸爸从来不在学校里帮我的。"

[162] Author's translation, "Sie sind so chinesisch, so peinlich! Sie haben keine Ahnung von Deutschland! [...] Ach, warum sind sie nicht Deutsche!"

Anti-authoritarian education at school and a new partnership at home

In the historic movement of New Humansim (Neuhumanismus), Wilhelm von Humboldt proposed his concept of *Bildung* in 1793 (Humboldt 1793) as a response to the new understanding and social expectation of education after the French Revolution. Different from education (Erziehung) or training (Ausbildung) children and youth need to go through as a preparation for their future occupation and profession, *Bildung* is a process of self-cultivation, of personal, intellectual and spiritual maturation. This is a life-long learning process, where no teacher instructs the pupils with knowledge or skill, but rather the individuals connect and interact with one another to form their individuality freely and independently (Michael and Schepp 1973).

Humboldt's concept set the corner stone of the development of German pedagogical philosophy since the end of 18th century. The emphasis on children growing up freely and naturally, exploring their own interests and expressing their own minds had been the dominant principle within the German pedagogical discourses and educational policies. From Key (Key 1902) to Gläser (Gläser 1961), the "good nature" of children and their rights to choose their own education and their own upbringing were discussed extensively at the turn of the century, together with criticism on schools as a potential threat towards the "Natürlichkeit" (naturalness) of children themselves.

After the Nazi regime ended in 1945, the importance of freedom was again strengthened in education, especially in West Germany. Scholars as Ahrbeck, Becker, Deiters, Klingberg and Winnefeld proposed blueprints for the post-war educational policies, which highlighted the anti-authoritarian free spirit of schools independent from any interference of the state power (Benner and Brüggen 2011). These perceptions were echoed in the writings of Arendt and the Frankfurt School, emphasizing the necessity of a modern education in a world that is "neither structured by authority, nor held up by tradition"[163] (Arendt 1958, 275). During the 1960s and the 1970s, "Anti-Authoritarian Education"[164] became an influential concept in the pedagogical theories in West Germany, which explicitly encouraged children to challenge authoritarian rhetoric and ideology. Assisted by the 68er-generation who became parents, this "German-style" education in the eyes of Chinese immigrants has been soaring in full swing since the end of the 20th century.

[163] Author's translation, "[O]bwohl sie in einer Welt vonstatten geht, die weder durch Autorität strukturiert noch durch Tradition gehalten ist."
[164] "Antiautoritäre Erziehung"

As Tenorth notes, familial and inter-generational relationship became increasingly intimate and emotional in German families, since the middle-class model gradually became the example of family forms during the second half of the 20th century. Parents today tend to form a partnership with their children, adopting an attitude of responsiveness and commitment to the younger generation, guided by empathy and friendship (Tenorth 2010, 313 - 315). Zinnecker concludes in his writing, that both children and parents ask for a kind of educational practice, which gives more freedom to children with less interfering from the parents. Less stress, more independence, less rules and supervision, but more understanding and trust. The traditional principles, such as obedience and subordination, orderliness and diligence, are no longer appreciated. Instead, independence, freedom of will, individual opinion and self-determination become more and more important, both at school and at home (Zinnecker 1985).

Alliance or Rivalry

What does it exactly mean, when parents and children talk about being "too Chinese" or "too German"? Through her experiences of consulting Chinese migrant families in Germany, Silke Berg summarizes a list of differences between two generations. Differences, that could easily lead to intergenerational conflicts at home: different needs of creating a harmonious environment; different understandings of children's role and position within the family, especially different expectations of children's contribution to parents and to the family in the long term; different preferences of communication across generations, including different attitudes of admitting a mistake or giving an apology (Silke Berg 2014). Contemplating through all the intergenerational confrontations I have observed during my fieldwork, I would like to point out, that in the setting of schools, the key distinction between the two generations of Chinese immigrants lies in the different understanding of power relations among children, parents and teachers.

One of the parents at GaP School once said to me: "It is all about whose side the parents stand on!"[165] In the school culture in China, especially during the time when the current first-generation immigrants in Germany were attending schools, the "rivalry" is between pupils on one side and their parents plus teachers together on the other side. When I recall my own experience in China, the

[165] Author's translation, "最后就是看家长站在谁那边".

most powerful thing a teacher could say to a pupil at my primary school was a warning like this: "If you don't behave, I will report it to your parents". However, at German schools today, parents stand firmly on the side of their children, while teachers stand on the other side alone.

This dynamic unfolds adequately at parent-teacher meetings at schools. During these meetings at GaP School, parents usually took this opportunity to express the discontent of their children and put pressure on teachers to improve the situation. "My son feels bored at your class, what is your plan to change this?" asked one parent affirmatively. "My daughter told me you gave them many tests, why is that?" asked another. Teachers, sometimes even with the help from the school headmaster, need to give satisfying answers to these questions and justify their decisions in the classrooms to the parents. While in China, parent-teacher meetings have an entirely different tone. It is rather an occasion where teachers give parents a report about the academic performance and the daily behavior of the children. The only question from parents is offering collaboration from their side: "Then what shall we do with him/her at home to assist you?" Back in my school days in China, most pupils tried to behave exceptionally well during the days prior to the meeting, so that the teachers would (hopefully) have a few good words to say to their parents.

The dramatic differences of understanding parent-teacher relations are reflected in the participation of Chinese parents at German schools. Many first-generation Chinese immigrants are reluctant to attend these meetings, mainly because they feel torn between the two options: either to join the German parents by questioning or even criticizing the teachers; or, to follow their own instinct by being cooperative with the teachers, but likely to be isolated by all the German parents. One parent, Mr. He, explained to me: "It is so complicated to be a parent in Germany! I do not want to go, sit there and blame the teachers for everything, or ask them tough questions […]. Why not? Because I just don't believe to piss off all the teachers is the best way to protect your kids!"[166] Ms. Liu gave me a similar answer: "You are more or less a teacher here, too. Let me ask you this: when you know a kid plus both parents all hate you, do you really want to try harder to help this kid in the future? Or will you start hating them, too? Let's be honest!"[167]

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[166] Author's translation, "在德国当家长实在是太麻烦了！我一点儿也不想去，坐在那儿，说什么都是老师的错，问各种问题 […] 。为什么不想问老师问题？我就是不相信，真的把所有老师惹火了就能保护你家孩子了！"

[167] Author's translation, "你也差不多是个这里的老师了。我就问你：如果你知道孩子加上两个家长都讨厌你，你真的会想今后更努力帮帮这孩子？还是你也会开始讨厌这一家子？咱们实话实说！"

Most first-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork indeed still believe in a cooperative relationship between parents and teachers, and they are more than willing to build an alliance. None of the Chinese parents I encountered was a member in the parents' committee, a committee of parents' representatives who meet regularly and communicate (or, "negotiate" as Chinese parents describe to me) with teachers and school leaders. Lele asked Ms. Dong to join the committee several times, and felt disappointed repeatedly that his mother was not willing to support him. "But I really don't want to pick a fight with the teachers!" said Ms. Dong, "What good can come out of this in the end, when you treat your teacher like an enemy?"[168]

Instead of treating teachers as enemies, the first-generation Chinese immigrants feel much more comfortable to form a friendly relationship with teachers and seek an alliance together. Several Chinese parents gave me their phone numbers and added me on their social media accounts, so that "you can tell me immediately", if anything went wrong with their children at school. Needless to say, the second generation surely did not appreciate such attempts. Xuan, a boy of seven years old at GaP School, told me that he found it embarrassing when his mother tried to be friends with teachers, instead of being on his side. After finding out that his mother had "friended" all the teachers in the Chinese language program on her social media, Xuan refused to come to the annual Spring Festival Party at GaP School in 2016. When I asked him about his absence in the following week, he explained to me that he couldn't understand why his mother wanted to help the teachers out with dumplings, but refused to help him out with his tests and homework. Yiyi, a girl of ten years old at GaP School, watched her mother adding me on her WeChat, when she came to pick Yiyi up after the Chinese class. As she followed her mother's footstep walking out of the classroom, Yiyi suddenly turned around and said to me: "From now on, you are the evil Ms. Yu!"[169]

Ascribing the Chinese membership

The first and the second generation of Chinese immigrants do not share the same understanding of the power relations at school. However, in many cases, we can observe the attempts of both generations to affirm their positions in the confrontation, instead of discussing or negotiating a compromising solution with each other. While the first-generation Chinese immigrants stand firmly

[168] Author's translation, "我真的不想去跟老师找事儿！你把老师当敌人一样，最后能有什么好？"

[169] Author's translation, "Ab jetzt sind Sie die böse Frau Yu!"

by their conviction of the "right" and "wrong" about German parents and German school culture, the second-generation Chinese immigrants are trying to draw the lines to distinguish themselves from their parents.

As we can recognize in the narratives of the Chinese parents and children, it seems rather natural for them to characterize the daily problems they have with each other as "too Chinese" or "too German". Although it is highly challenging for me as a researcher to place them on the Berry model of acculturation (Berry 1992; 1997), I have noticed that both generations of Chinese immigrants have adopted a "culturalist" approach in the analysis of their challenges. They view "German" and "Chinese" cultures as systematic and coherent mindsets, both having sharp boundaries of their own. In the eyes of the first-generation Chinese immigrants, their children have already absorbed the norms and values of German society while lost the "cultural integrity" from their Chinese background. In the eyes of the second-generation Chinese immigrants, their parents are holding on to their habits and customs from China, while being unwilling to accept the rules of the games in Germany to help their own children at German schools.

In the model of Berry, the most desired outcome is integration, which Berry defines as a situation when both groups reach a mutual accommodation to live as culturally different peoples, and have daily interactions with each other while maintaining the ethnic cultures of their origins (Berry 1997). However, the troubling mismatch between Chinese immigrants and the Berrian model is the disruptive confusion about culture and ethnicity. Having the same ethnicity by no means guarantees a shared culture or a shared understanding of culture, especially when the second-generation Chinese immigrants are born and raised in Germany, attending German schools and socialization with German friends and classmates. Although sharing the same ethnic background of being "ethnic Chinese", there is a visible departure of worldviews and orientations between the first and the second generations.

Baumann (G. Baumann 1996) offers an inspiring analysis of the case study in Southall, London, where he detects an alternative "demotic discourse" among the multi-ethnic, multi-religious immigrants during their discussion of culture and community. The dominant discourse often equates ethnic category with a reified culture, where all the social complexities are reduced to an astonishingly simple equation: "culture = community = ethnic identity = nature = culture" (17). A "demotic discourse" disarticulates the equation by offering the possibility to describe cultural contestation taking place within each community, Baumann argues, so that each group has the

chance to redefine or reaffirm the meaning of their culture and the boundaries of their community in order to distinguish themselves from selected others. Chinese parents come to Chinese language schools for solutions, because they still believe in the equation among culture, ethnicity and community, although the equation is already broken from the first generation to the second. In the particular setting of a school, there is clearly a distinction between the perceptions of two generations concerning the boundaries of their identities and the contestation of socialization. And both generations do not hesitate to reify their positions by emphasizing their differences.

Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco offer a similar perspective in their work, and argue that ethnicity is both ascribed and achieved (C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002). They base their analysis on the concepts of "ethnic identification" and "ethnic identity" from David Hayes-Bautista to differentiate the internal process where an individual comes to feel like a member of an ethnic group and the social process where an ethnic membership is ascribed to an individual based on the standards of others (119). Both generations of Chinese immigrants have an explicit judgement about with which membership they could identify themselves. However, when they clash into conflicts with each other, the first generation gets to grips with the challenge and endeavors to smoothen the intergenerational tension by ascribing an ethnic membership onto their children. Being the grown-ups with more access to power, authority and resources, the first-generation Chinese immigrants are able to bring their children to Chinese language classes at GaP School during the week and Chinese language schools over the weekend.

Backlash of implicit socialization

Compared to the previous chapter, Chinese parents presented in this chapter share the same belief in the power of linguistic capital and the same faith in the impact of implicit socialization, although they are making an effort from an opposite direction. The first-generation Chinese immigrants aim to alter the "ethnic identification" of their children by bringing them to attend Chinese language schools over the weekend, because they believe in the transformation of mentality and modification of behavior through being in a Chinese-speaking environment and learning the Chinese language. In their opinion, to sit in the same classroom with other second-generation Chinese immigrants every week already sends an affirmative message to the second generation to recognize their Chinese background. When these children are reading Chinese classic texts and learning Chinese grammar

and vocabulary at Chinese language schools, their parents see a path of creating a mutual understanding between two generations, which could potentially improve the intergenerational relationship at home.

However, while Chinese parents bring their children to institutions like Yizhi School to enhance their Chinese identity, they are providing them with a platform to share their experiences and bond with each other at the same time. Claiming themselves to be "German" and their parents "Chinese", the second-generation Chinese immigrants give themselves the justification of being different from their parents. While the parents are chatting together in the waiting room and exchanging ideas about parenting, their children are gaining a stronger sense of being "German" in the classrooms and reaffirming their positions to distinguish themselves from their parents.

Take this example of one dialogue between the pupils (about 14 pupils between eight to ten years old) and me in a classroom of Yizhi School:

Me: "The Southerners and the Northerners use this word (pointing at a Chinese character on the blackboard) differently…"[170]

Pupil A: "Teacher Yu, am I a Southerner or a Northerner?"[171]

(Pupils started discussing and guessing among themselves)

Me: "Very good question! Maybe you can ask your mom and dad about it later after school."[172]

Pupil A: "But my mom and dad are Chinese! How can they know whether I am a southern German or a northern German?"[173]

Pupil B: "Mine, too!" (Meine, auch!)

Pupil C: "Mine, too!" (Meine, auch!)

(A cantata of "Meine, auch!", "Mine, too!" in German, started in the classroom.)

[170] Author's translation, "南方人和北方人用这个词用得不一样[…]。"

[171] Author's translation, "于老师，我是南方人还是北方人？"

[172] Author's translation, "很好的问题！要不你一会儿放学之后可以问问你的爸爸妈妈。"

[173] Author's translation, "但是我爸爸妈妈是中国人，他们怎么能知道我是德国北方人还是德国南方人？"

Later when I asked some pupils in my class, why they were willing to come to the language school every Saturday, many answered with reasons like "I have to", "My parents force me to", and "I am used to it". One boy of twelve years old, whose mother was in the board committee of Yizhi School, answered, "I have friends here; they are just like me, none of us wants to come."[174]

After feeling disconnected from their children in the daily communication, Chinese parents bring them to Chinese language schools with the expectation of both explicit and implicit socialization. They are aiming at the improvement of Chinese language capacities, while at the same time hoping to see the enhancement of Chinese identity in their children by being together with other Chinese children. However, when the second-generation Chinese immigrants gather for more than three hours every Saturday, in a setting where they share not only Chinese language classes but also the same struggle against their "too Chinese" parents, implicit socialization takes place from the opposite direction.

Conclusion

Many studies have shown that the process of integration is not a linear development (Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1994; C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002; Pels and De Haan 2007). New aspirations are constructed and reconstructed among immigrants through the years, which shape their definition of themselves and their expectation from the next generation. Instead of becoming more and more "adapted" into the mainstream culture, immigrants either show "less adaptive" behavior over time (C. Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, and Milburn 2009; C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009), or they develop new identities and cultures, which could enhance their position in the confrontation between different systems and structures (Waters 2009; De Haan 2011).

Being "forced" to confront and to confirm their Chinese origin, the second-generation Chinese immigrants gain more awareness of the differences between their parents and themselves in the classrooms of Chinese language schools. They start to draw boundaries to distinguish themselves from their parents intentionally, not only based on the different levels of identification with their Chinese background, but also the different versions of aspirations into the future. Baumann finds

[174] Author's translation, "我在这里有朋友，他们都像我一样，不想来。"

out, that the only shared "culture" of the Southallians in his research is their shared wish to move out of Southall (G. Baumann 1996). Here in the case of Chinese immigrants in Berlin, the newly contested and collectively shared "culture" among the second-generation Chinese immigrants is their motivation to get rid of their Chinese "culture". Sitting together in the classroom of Chinese language schools, they find reassurance in the company of each other and form a strong anti-Chinese-parents determination among themselves. Feeling increasingly convinced of the unique identity they share, the children of Chinese immigrants become more empowered at the end of the Chinese language classes to keep the "war" going at home.

Margaret Mead has warned us that the older generations are often at loss in raising their children to meet the new challenges of the new era. Parents and teachers in her ethnography often turned out to be on "an escalator going backwards" (Mead 1951). The first-generation Chinese immigrants lack the confidence in their ability to hear the "tone" in the German language, especially when it comes to politics (see Chapter 1). They are reluctant to be involved in the politics at school, and resistant to support their children by entering into confrontations with teachers. Sensing the imbalance of the parent-child relationship, the first generation brings their children to Chinese language schools on Saturday to learn the Chinese language. Through learning the Chinese language, these parents cast hope on the impact of implicit socialization to reposition the ethnic identity of their children and to refine the pattern of intergenerational interactions at home.

In the field of language socialization, Ochs and Schieffelin (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984; B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b; 1986a; Ochs 1988; B. B. Schieffelin 1990) have repeatedly stated that learning a new language is not an unidirectional process. Children and novices in communicative practices have their own agency to contribute to the transmission of knowledge, instead of being the passive recipients. By presenting the resistance of the second generation, I share the acknowledgement of children's agency with Ochs and Schieffelin. However, the fact, that these second-generation Chinese immigrants have to participate in language school classes every Saturday in spite of their reluctance and protests, shows the limits of their agency. The agency of children to negotiate and modify the learning process takes action only after their parents have determined what to learn, when and where to learn it.

As I have shown in this chapter, both generations of Chinese immigrants are aware of their differences. Both generations try to redefine their identities and reaffirm their boundaries in order to justify their own position in the confrontation and to challenge the position of the other. However,

only the first-generation Chinese immigrants are able to have the power and the authority to take affirmative action. These parents do not necessarily prioritize the interest and motivation of their children, when they make decisions about attending Chinese language schools on Saturday morning. Children have the agency to resist, both at home and in the classroom. Nevertheless, the agency of parents enables them to steer the socialization of their children by ascribing an ethnic identity to them in spite of the disconnection with culture and community, and to navigate their interaction with the second generation into a direction that is more agreeable to the habits and preferences of the parents.

Chapter Three – Become Christians to remain Chinese

The second-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork hardly speak Chinese any more. They grow up with the expectation from their parents to become native Germans who could speak German as their mother tongue. Chapter 1 has examined the trajectory of migration among the first-generation Chinese, and illustrated their journey from students to immigrants. For them, the capacity of German language embodies the possibilities of advancement in education, career, income, social status and political power. The chapter has presented the stories of parents who focus on the fabrication of a German identity for their children, and put the Chinese origins aside.

However, the paradox of expecting children to speak German as "mother tongue", while mothers and fathers do not speak the same language themselves, predicts a challenging journey. The lack of knowledge to speak a shared language leads directly to the lack of communication between two generations. Chapter 2 has documented the intergenerational conflicts over language and identity at home and at school, and how the first-generation Chinese immigrants come to the conclusion that it is time for their children to learn the Chinese language and come "back" to their Chinese tradition.

Following ethnographic materials of Chinese classes at a public primary school and private Chinese language schools in previous chapters, this chapter analyzes the role of Chinese Christian churches during the language socialization of the second-generation Chinese immigrants. As I have presented earlier, many first-generation Chinese immigrants believe in the power of institutions and the importance of implicit socialization while raising the next generation. One of the Chinese Christian churches in Berlin seizes the opportunity of this belief, and designs its programs accordingly to attract more members. By providing the space and the occasion for over 200 Chinese immigrants to gather regularly, one Chinese Christian church in Berlin creates a new path for the second generation to strengthen the Chinese identity, and to enhance the connection between parents and children.

Chinese Protestant churches in Berlin

For many Chinese immigrants in Germany, one important part of their life is the Chinese Christian community. In the city of Berlin, there are two Chinese Protestant churches: Chinese Christian Church of Berlin (CCCB) and Chinese Alliance Church of Berlin (CACB).

CCCB started as an informal Bible group of seven people in West Berlin in the 1980s, most of whom were Chinese-speaking students at Free University Berlin. As the number of members reached 50, the community officially registered itself under the name "Chinesische Christliche Gemeinde Berlin e.V." in 1994 as a non-profit association in Berlin. In 1999, through a network of Chinese-speaking pastors and active church members from Taiwan and the US, "Rutgers Community Christian Church" (RCCC), a Chinese Christian community in New Jersey, became the backer for CCCB. Not only did RCCC provide CCCB with financial support, but also sent its senior members to preach in Berlin regularly. With the transnational support from New Jersey, the numbers of church members kept growing ever since. In 2006, 40 Chinese immigrants were baptized in CCCB, followed by 32 in 2007 and 23 in 2008. It is now the biggest Chinese Protestant congregation in Germany, with roughly 250 members. Since 2006, CCCB rents the church building of the Protestant Church at Hohenzollernplatz (Evangelische Kirchengemeinde am Hohenzollernplatz) in the southwestern part of the city, where they hold their weekly service every Sunday afternoon and "an evening of worship" every Thursday evening.

The current pastor of CCCB, Li Xu, found his way to Berlin through the RCCC in New Jersey. Born in Taiwan in 1952, Li Xu was baptized in Taipei City in 1978 shortly before he went to US to study Computer Science. He was very candid to talk about his own conversion. He shared with the congregation that his motivation to be baptized at that time was "to have someone to look after me once I am in the US, because our family didn't have any relatives in the US"[175]. After graduation and settling down in New Jersey, Li Xu and his wife became members of RCCC in 1987. At the age of 50 (in 2002), "at an opportunity which I considered as the best"[176], Mr. Xu resigned from his job at his company, sold his house, enrolled in the program of "Master of Divinity" at Biblical Theological Seminary in Hatfield, Pennsylvania. The program alone cost him $43,000. As soon as he enrolled in

[175] Author's translation, "假如我能受洗的话，我到了美国就有人可以管我，因为我们家没有任何亲戚在美国。"

[176] Author's translation, "一个我认为最好的机会".

the program in 2003, Li Xu started serving full-time at "The Jersey City Community Church" in Somerest County, New Jersey.

In 2006, Li Xu was introduced to CCCB through the elders of RCCC and started preaching in Berlin part-time. From 2006 to 2009, RCCC paid his salary, while CCCB covered the rent of his apartment in Berlin and the cost of flight tickets. On June 19, 2010, Li Xu was officially ordained as the pastor of CCCB, and became "Pastor Xu". CCCB took over the entire payment of his position ever since. Pastor Xu now spends nine months every year in Berlin to preach and serve in CCCB, and spends the rest of the year in his house in New Jersey and with the family of his wife in California.

Similar to CCCB, CACB (Chinesische Allianz Kirche Berlin) is also inextricably interwoven with American evangelical churches. In August 2004, Pastor Jianxun Li and his wife were sent to Berlin by "The Christian and Missionaries Alliance" (C&MA) from the US, a Protestant denomination founded in the US with more than six million members in 70 countries. After nearly two years of missionary work and preparation, Chinese Alliance Church Berlin was founded in June 2006. Since August 2012, CACB rents the building of Berlin City Mission (Berliner Stadtmission) right in the city center to be their meeting point for weekly services and events. The number of members stagnated around 50 in recent years[177]. Compared to CCCB, CACB cooperates more with other churches and church networks. Besides being a member of "Chinese Alliance Churches"[178] globally, a member of the European network among 16 Chinese Alliance Churches in Europa, CACB has also formed partnership with several German churches.

Oblau and Währisch-Oblau (Währisch-Oblau 2005; Oblau 2006; 2011) analyze the establishment of Chinese Protestant churches in Germany, and point out that most of these churches exist in the form of "Freikirchen" (free churches) within the German categorization of church institutions, and unreservedly focus on missionary work. Most Chinese Protestant churches in Germany, like CCCB and CACB, are founded and supported through mission societies or mission-orientated institutions from overseas. Behind the rapid growing number of Chinese Protestants in Germany is an influential network, "The circle of friends for mission among Chinese in Germany"[179] in Hannover

[177] The number of members was around 40-50 when I first visited CACB during my fieldwork in winter 2011, and it remained about 50 when I visited it in the summer of 2017.

[178] "Chinese Churches Association of Christian and Missionaries Alliance" is affiliated to "Christian and Missionaries Alliance" network, with a specific focus on missionary work and establishing churches for Chinese overseas. It has one more member church in Dortmund, Germany.

[179] Der Freundeskreis für Mission unter Chinesen in Deutschland, 德华福音会

coordinating Chinese Protestant communities across the country. The network organizes regular Christian training camps, theological seminars and workshops, and get-together meetings among all the Chinese Protestant churches in Germany. At the same time, this organization operates an online Chinese Library, where they offer a substantial number of Christian literature in Chinese language by post. Members of CCCB and CACB speak highly of the network and borrow books from its library regularly. Many families within CCCB take part in these Christian training camps as family vacations.

Chinese Christian Church of Berlin (CCCB)

Besides GaP School and Yizhi Chinese Language School, CCCB was the third site of my fieldwork in Berlin. I came across members of CCCB first in November 2010. Within one month after I arrived in Berlin as a Master's student at Humboldt University, three Chinese Christians approached me on university campus and in the students' dormitory. Two of them came up to me in the students' cafeteria, gave me pamphlets introducing Christianity and Jesus, and invited me to go to their church on Sunday. The third one was a friendly neighbor in the dorm, who invited me to join her and her friends for dinner later that Friday evening to "have some fun".

Allured by food and my own imagination of a fun Friday night, I went to dinner with her and her friends, which turned out to be a meeting of their Bible group. It took place in a Chinese acupuncture and massage house in Prenzlauer Berg, owned by two members in the group. There were 15 people present that evening, a few students like myself, but the majority of group members were between 30 to 40 years old, either employees of companies or running a business themselves. The meeting lasted five hours and a half, including Bible reading, general discussion and small-group discussion, gospel songs singing, praying and dinner, which all the members referred to as "feast of Love"(爱宴). At the end of the evening, all the members sat together in a circle, with closed eyes and firm grip on each other's hands, shouting my name together in their prayer. They called out my name and "Hallelujah" repeatedly, thanking God for leading me to this meeting tonight, asking God to have mercy on me, and begging God not to give up on me:

"God, Jingyang is an innocent child! She did not know she was a sinner!"[180]

[180] Author's translation, "主啊，静阳是个无辜的孩子，她不知道自己是个罪人！"

"She didn't know!"

"She did not know she has to go to hell!"[181]

"She didn't know!"

"Hallelujah!" several voices shouted together.

"Please forgive her ignorance and give her another chance! Please my Father in Heaven!"[182]

"Hallelujah!"

"Save Jingyang!", "Save Jingyang!"[183] almost everyone chanted together.

"Amen!"

A fun Friday night indeed.

Although all of these 15 members were Chinese citizens who all spoke Chinese as mother tongue, the meeting was stunningly exotic to me: *tremendum et fascinosum*. I started attending the Sunday service of CCCB at Hohenzollernplatz (in Wilmersdorf district of Berlin) since then and conducted fieldwork with three different Bible groups in different parts of the city.

From Students to Families

Being the biggest Chinese Christian congregation in Germany, CCCB had roughly 250 members in 2012, about 180 to 200 of whom attended church service on Sunday[184]. Compared to German *Landeskirchen*, CCCB had much less interest in acquiring the accurate data concerning its members. Neither the pastor nor the church committee was able to provide any precise demographic data of their community. During the Christmas service on December 24th, 2012, Pastor Xu made the announcement that "we have 250 members. […] Among all the members of our church, one third are under the age of 25". My encounter during participant observation matched roughly with this estimation. A regular Sunday service usually attracted around 100 to 120 adults and 60 to 80 children.

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[181] Author's translation, "她不知道自己会下地狱！"

[182] Author's translation, "求求你原谅她的无知，再给她一次机会吧！求求你，我的天父！"

[183] Author's translation, "救救静阳！"

[184] The number of members appearing on many publicity materials of CCCB is "around 200". Pastor Xu stated in his Blog on March 25th, 2010, that "at the moment there are 250 adults and children" in CCCB.

As analyzed in previous chapters, the number of Chinese students had been increasing at a rapid pace since the end of 1990s. From 1999 to 2004, Chinese students in Germany quintupled. Meanwhile, students had become a growing, if not dominant, power among Chinese Protestant communities across the country (Oblau 2006; Lüdde 2011). However, here at CCCB, young participants under 18 took up a significant part of the community, while the participation of students was gradually slipping. Back in 2003, CCCB had 14 Bible groups, six of which consisted entirely of students, and only one for "jobholders" (上班族). In 2012, CCCB had 11 Bible groups, and only one group was for students. Although there were students scattered among other groups as well, most Bible Group Captains[185] gave me a clear answer that they had mostly jobholders in the group.

In an article posted by Pastor Xu in his blog on March 25th 2010, he proudly discussed the increase of families from "3 families in 2006 to 14 families now". When I asked deacons of the church committee about this number, not only they confirmed that the participation of families and jobholders had been growing fast, but also that the number of families was "far more than 14"[186]. The rise of families was also reflected by the size of Sunday school classes. In 2012, CCCB had four classes for different age groups. Every class was taught and supervised by six to eight church members. This meant, that among the 100 to 120 adults who attended Sunday service, about 30 of them were responsible for organizing and teaching at Sunday school classes for the second generation. As the work of Sunday school became increasingly important, the church committee decided to add a new "department of children" into their agenda, held weekly meetings to organize Sunday school and offer special events for children during school holidays.

Throughout the years of my participant observation (2011 – 2012 and 2014 – 2015), there was a clear demographic shift among members of CCCB. The proportion of students had kept on declining since Pastor Xu started serving in 2006. Families had become the focus of CCCB and started playing the central role in its activities. By providing an extensive program for children, the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin was not only a place of worship, but also an additional school for the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Berlin.

[185] 查经小组小组长

[186] Author's translation, "远远不止 14 个！"

A "natural environment" of speaking Chinese

I have briefly introduced David in the first chapter, a five-years-old boy I met during a Sunday service at CCCB in 2014. Both of his parents were ethnic Chinese who came to Germany first around 2005 as students, stayed and found jobs after graduation, and founded a family in Berlin with two adorable children. He was in the last year of kindergarten when we met. After a big smile and a cheerful "Hallo" from him, I asked him in Chinese "What's your name?" The smile disappeared, the five-years-old David suddenly put on a stern face, shook his head slowly and said to me "Deutsch, bitte" – "German, please".

His parents were not at all surprised by his reaction. "Oh little Yu, don't take it seriously! He just doesn't like to react to Chinese!"[187] explained his mother. According to his parents, David was able to understand Chinese, because the parents spoke Chinese at home all the time. "Sometimes he suddenly responds with one Chinese word, or even a Chinese sentence, then you will feel a big surprise!"[188] His mother giggled cheerfully as she spoke. His father smiled at the comment of the mother, added, "You have to be patient, keep trying, sometimes he would say something in Chinese"[189].

During my fieldwork time at CCCB, I had never seen David speaking Chinese. Every time when his parents talked to him in Chinese, David stared at his parents with his big beautiful eyes without saying a word. "You have to be patient" as his father rightly summed up his belief. David responded only in German, when his parents finally ran out of patience and switched to German themselves.

This was the reason why David's parents considered it necessary to take him to the church every week, as David's father, Mr. Xie, explained to me. In his opinion, the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin was the best place to guide his children to learn and to speak Chinese, much better than any Chinese language school. "There [at language school] a teacher is teaching, children have to sit there and learn, it's all fake, and children know that!" Fake? "Yes, fake! It is all arranged, it's not natural, and children know that themselves! But here at church, this is a very natural environment […] real and authentic. We are not pretending that we are teaching Chinese, but we all are just speaking

[187] Author's translation, "哦小于你别太当真啊，他就是不喜欢回答中文！"

[188] Author's translation, "有时候他会突然蹦出一个中文词，甚至一个中文句子，你还觉得怪惊喜的呐！"

[189] Author's translation, "你就是得耐心，多试几次，有时候他会愿意说点中文。"

Chinese naturally, this is very real. Only here children can really be immersed in a Chinese environment"[190].

Ms. Meng, mother of three children and a teacher of Sunday school, agreed with Mr. Xie completely. "I tried different Chinese language schools before, it didn't work very well. My sons hate it when they have to go to 'school' over weekend. […] Then I slowly realized that it is much better to take them here! Actually, the most important thing is not to have Chinese classes, but rather the Chinese environment! Think about how we grow up, right? Which one of us learnt Chinese during Chinese class at Chinese language school? It is after all the environment!"[191]

Although the essential aim of CCCB was to strengthen the Christian faith of its congregation, the unwritten goal of cultivating Chinese language skill among children had become a priority for the community organizers as well. Not only to provide a Chinese-speaking environment, but also to introduce Chinese traditions and customs into their community life. The major Chinese traditional festivals were elaborately planned and earnestly celebrated at CCCB. Pastor Xu gave festive sermons and church leaders offered special programs echoing major Chinese holidays. Church committee and Bible Group Captains organized grand entertainment shows and a lavish banquet on Spring Festival. Among all these activities, the engagement of children always played a prominent role.

Parents spoke highly of the "Chinese-ness" in the setting of CCCB and these Chinese events. Ms. Ye, a mother of two daughters, expressed her motivation in this way: "When they are here, they can meet other Chinese children. Even if they do not always speak Chinese to each other, to hear Chinese everywhere is already very helpful. […] It is very important for us to have this environment, to bring our children here and let them be immersed in the Chinese culture"[192]. Ms. Ye was particularly pleased when she saw this "immersion" went beyond the church hall. During the course of my fieldwork, the elder daughter of Ms. Ye became good friends with two other girls of her age

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[190] Author's translation, "那里一个老师教，一帮孩子坐在那里学，全都是假的，孩子也都是知道的！[…] 对啊，假的！都是安排好的，不是自然的，孩子们自己也都是知道的。但是这里在教会，这是一个非常自然的环境 […] 很真实，很真诚。我们也不假装我们在教中文，我们就是很自然地说中文，这是很真实的。只有在这里孩子们能真正沉浸在一个中文环境里。"

[191] Author's translation, "我试过很多中文学校，都不管用，我儿子就是特别讨厌周末得去'上学'。[…] 我慢慢发现，其实来这里更好！其实最重要的不是有中文课，而是有中文的环境！想想我们怎么长大的，对吧？我们谁在在中文学校语文课学的中文啊，不全都是环境嘛！"

[192] Author's translation, "他们在这儿能认识其他中国孩子。哪怕他们互相不说中文，走到哪里都听到中文也是很有帮助的。[…] 能有这么一个环境太重要了，能把孩子带到这儿来让他们沉浸在中国文化里。"

from the same Sunday school class. The face of Ms. Ye lit up every time when she talked about this friendship of her daughter: "They will go to a birthday party together next weekend! [...] This is really good! [...] Ah, this is exactly why we insist on bringing them to church every Sunday! So that they can have Chinese kids as friends!"[193]

Although the private language schools on Saturday appeared to be "fake" in the eyes of some Chinese Christians, the parents who brought their children to attend these institutions on weekend did have something in common. Both groups of parents wanted to enhance the capacity of speaking Chinese language through these activities, and both groups believed in the importance of the "environment". Similar to parents at Yizhi and Huade language schools, the Chinese parents I encountered at CCCB also desired the potential circle of friends and the social life their children could cultivate during their participation at Sunday school, and enthusiastically arranged play-dates and other get-together possibilities to strengthen the contacts and relationship among the Chinese friends. As Bourdieu points out, institutional experiences like schools draw children into transformative practices that go far beyond what they learn from textbooks in the classrooms (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). These parents share the faith in the implicit socialization as a powerful medium to transmit knowledge and competence, and to transform habitus and practices of the next generation.

Not surprisingly, teachers supervising the Sunday school at CCCB were asked to speak Chinese in the classroom. "At least we try to do that", said one member from church committee to me. He explained that although it was the expectation from the parents to have their Sunday school in Chinese language, it could be a very challenging task in practice. Many children in the class did not speak any Chinese; some did not even understand any Chinese. If the teachers insisted on speaking nothing but Chinese, it was inevitable that the effect of teaching would be compromised. "Our aim here is to make sure that our children get to know God, have a relationship with God, this is the most important thing. So, teachers have to make the best decision according to what's going on in their classroom."[194] Several teachers expressed the same concern. They had to teach the classes in

[193] Author's translation, "他们周末还要一起去生日 party 呐！ […] 真是太好了 […] 每个周末坚持带他们来，现在他们终于有中国孩子当朋友了！"

[194] Author's translation, "至少我们努力去做 […] 。我们的目的是让孩子认识神，与神建立关系，这是最重要的。所以老师得根据教室里的情况做出最好的选择。"

Chinese, as all the parents expected them to do. However, when confronted by young children with little knowledge of Chinese language, teachers had to take a different approach.

Ms. Zheng, one of the teachers at the class of six to eight years old, considered it important to "set the rules straight"[195] with the young pupils in her class and to make sure they were in a Chinese-speaking environment as long as they were in the church. "We are the Chinese church, if we don't even speak Chinese here, where else?"[196] Ms. Zheng asked me rhetorically. But what if children could not understand? "We tell some stories, but mainly do handiwork and drawings. […] Children of course still would speak German among themselves, but we, teachers and parents, we have to set the examples to speak Chinese, not only in the classroom, but everywhere in the church, anytime on Sunday afternoon."[197]

Ms. Liang, an active member of CCCB for years and an experienced teacher of Sunday school, explained to me that she never considered teaching Chinese to be her job on Sunday. "This is a Sunday school at church, not a language school; I don't think there is anything wrong with speaking German."[198] Similar to Ms. Zheng, Ms. Liang also used the time of doing handiwork and playing games to speak Chinese with her pupils. However, different from Ms. Zheng, she had a clear priority and an explicit principle during her teaching at Sunday school. "Games and handicraft, it is okay to speak Chinese in those parts […]. But when I tell stories of Jesus, tell them who God is, what church is, what the Bible says to us, these important parts, if they don't understand Chinese, then I have to speak German. […] They have to understand, and learn the knowledge and the truth at our church. Sometimes I just use both languages to tell the stories twice!"[199]

Although it was challenging to guarantee a Chinese-only classroom during Sunday school, it was undeniable that CCCB provided Chinese immigrants in Berlin with a unique environment where Chinese was the dominant language. CCCB was not only a place of "getting to know God" and

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[195] Author's translation, "立好规矩".

[196] Author's translation, "我们是华人教会，要是我们这儿都不说中文了，还有哪里能说呢？"

[197] Author's translation, "我们讲一些故事，但是大部分在做手工和画画。[…] 孩子们自己当然还是在说德语，但是我们，老师和家长，我们得以身作则说中文，不仅仅是教室里，只要是在教会，只要是在周日下午。"

[198] Author's translation, "这是教会的周日主日学，不是什么语言学校，我觉得说德语没有什么不可以的。"

[199] Author's translation, "游戏啊手工啊，这些部分讲中文没问题 […] 。但是我讲主耶稣的故事，告诉他们神是谁，教会是什么，圣经告诉我们什么，这些重要的部分，如果他们听不懂中文，我就必须讲德文，[…] 他们必须得听懂，在我们教会学到知识，学到真理。有的时候我就必须用两种语言把故事讲两遍！"

strengthening Christian faith for the Chinese immigrants in Berlin, but also a "natural environment" of speaking and learning the Chinese language for the second generation. Based on the growing number of families and the significant proportion of young children, this strategy proved to be very effective, as CCCB became a popular place to go on Sunday afternoon among Chinese immigrants. Ms. JQ, the initiator of the Chinese-German bilingual school (see Chapter 1), once said to me, "I am just not a Christian! Otherwise I could simply take my son to the Chinese church and let him learn Chinese there, would be much easier than all my effort here by myself!"[200]

Voice from the other side

Parents at CCCB were clearly pleased to bring their children to church over the weekend, and spoke highly of the "best" Chinese-speaking environment they could find. However, at CACB, the smaller Chinese Christian church of 50 members, opinions were slightly different. Many members of CACB had taken part in the service at CCCB before they came to CACB, but "nobody cared! I was there for three hours, nobody talked to me. I felt I was just invisible to them"[201], said Ms. VT, a student at Humboldt university.

The second time Ms. VT visited the Sunday service at CCCB she walked into the church together with a mother and her daughter, whom she came across at the subway station. However, although with two companions, Ms. VT felt even more "invisible" than the first time. "We were all newcomers […] but when we walked in the church together, they [CCCB members] surrounded her immediately, inviting her and her daughter to this Bible group and that Sunday School, but nobody came up to me to say Hello, nobody! Here [CACB] is different, here anyone comes in, family or student, we all welcome them."[202]

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[200] Author's translation, "我就是不是基督徒！不然我直接把儿子带去华人教会让他在那儿学中文好了，可比我自己在这儿努力容易多了！"

[201] Author's translation, "他们无所谓！我在那里待了三个多小时，没有人上来跟我说话，我觉得自己在他们面前像是隐形的一样。"

[202] Author's translation, "我们都是新来的 […] 我们一起走进教会，他们马上都上来围住她，邀请她和她女儿去这个查经小组那个主日学，但是没人上来跟我打招呼，一个都没有！这里就不一样了，这里不管是谁进来，家庭还是学生，我们全都欢迎。"

"It's just money", commented Ms. LC, 28 years old, not a student any more, but did not have a family, neither. "Families here all have jobs, they just have more money than students, then they can donate more. […] They are very strict with their ten percent donation, do you know? Ten percent of your income has to go to the church. But students don't have much money. Without income, their donation is probably two euros every week, of course they [CCCB] like families better!"[203] Mr. XC, a previous member of CCCB and now an active member at CACB, agreed with Ms. LC: "That Pastor Xu always brags about he was some successful manager at some company before he became a pastor. Maybe he was actually right, just look how rich their church is now, they have so much money that they are planning to buy their own land and build their own church!"[204]

Ms. VT aimed to look at the positive side of the development. "I think it's not a problem. […] Since they focus on families, then more students will come to us, so we have a great student group here."[205] CACB also offered Sunday school for its members every week, two small groups of different ages, approximately 15 children altogether. Different from CCCB, Chinese language was not the priority at Sunday school of CACB. Instead, the church committee invited a German pastor for support. Peter Christian Lukas, a native German pastor who had extensive experiences with youth groups at different churches, was serving the children and youth groups at CACB. Besides Sunday school every Sunday afternoon, he also organized a Bible group meeting for the youth group every Saturday afternoon. All the programs and activities took place in German, and almost all participants were second-generation Chinese immigrants.

Both being a Chinese Christian church in Berlin, CCCB and CACB appealed to different groups. While CACB offered Bible groups in Cantonese and German besides Mandarin, CCCB focused solely on Mandarin speakers. This difference was also reflected on their websites. The website of CACB provided information in simplified Chinese, traditional Chinese and German, while the website of CCCB only had information in simplified Chinese. Besides a group of about 15 members coming from Hong Kong, a few members from Taiwan, there were also couples of Chinese-

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[203] Author's translation, "说到底就是钱 […] 。这里的家庭都是有工作的，他们就是比学生有钱，就能奉献更多。[…] 他们对十一奉献是很严格的，你知道吗？你收入的百分之十是必须交给教会的，但是学生没那么多钱啊，没有收入，他们每个星期大概就给个两欧，他们当然是更喜欢家庭嘛！"

[204] Author's translation, "那个徐牧师不是老是吹牛说自己当牧师之前是什么公司的成功经理人嘛，说不定还真是，就看看他们教会现在富成什么样子了，有那么多钱，都开始想自己买地自己建堂了！"

[205] Author's translation, "我觉得这也不是问题。[…] 既然他们重点关注家庭，那就会有更多的学生到我们这里来，我们的学生组就能做得更好。"

German intermarriage at CACB. While at CCCB, besides a handful of ethnic Chinese from Malaysia and Singapore, two students from Taiwan, the very majority were immigrants from mainland China.

A Confirmation of the "Confirmation"

Besides the abundant programs of Sunday School, CCCB had taken other measures to keep their children in the church. Although both Pastor Xu and the church committee insisted that CCCB is a non-denominational Christian community, much of their practices were influenced by the American Baptist tradition through the years-long patronage from the Chinese Baptist Church in Rutgers, New Jersey. Compared to Lutheran churches in Germany, one of the main features of CCCB was their refusal of infant baptism. Like many Baptist churches, CCCB only baptized adults, and accepted only full-immersion into water as the legitimate ritual. When I first visited their Sunday service in December 2010, Pastor Xu told me affirmatively that they would not offer any baptism, confirmation, or communion to anyone under the age of 18.

Interestingly, as the number of children within the congregation kept growing, the principle of adult-only baptism was changing silently. During my fieldwork in 2011 – 2012, the deacons and Bible Group Captains at CCCB were already discussing the possibility of offering certain rituals to children of their congregation. While many children in Germany celebrated confirmation of their Christian faith at the age of 14, the young members of CCCB could not take part in the same ritual with their classmates and friends, because they were not baptized yet. "Many children think this is unfair", one member of the church committee explained to me, "they come to church for years, come to Sunday school every week, but they can't have confirmation like all their friends. Then they don't want to come to church anymore, because they don't understand why"[206].

Confirmation (Konfirmation) is not only an important ritual to strengthen the Christian faith, but also a celebration of a new stage of life, from "child" to "grown-up". In Germany, young people at the age of 14 are legally allowed to work two hours per day, consume alcohol while adults present, have sexual intercourse, and make decisions about their own names and religions. The confirmation ceremony is celebrated by families and friends, and the "Konfirmanden" and their parents start

[206] Author's translation, "很多孩子觉得这不公平，他们来教会那么多年，每个星期都来主日学，但是他们不能像他们的朋友一样 Konfirmation，那他们当然就不想再来教会了啊，因为他们不理解为什么。"

making lists of gifts they wish to receive months prior of the big day. Needless to say, for teenagers of 14 years old, these bountiful presents alone are already reasons good enough to celebrate the occasion. It leads to the reluctance of going to church inevitably, when the second-generation Chinese immigrants have attended Sunday school for years, but are not allowed to enjoy the "benefits" as their German peers do.

At the end of 2012, members of the church committee told me that they found a solution to allow the young members of CCCB to take part in the confirmation ceremony at the age of 14. "We offer an exception, not to all the children of course, but only those who have behaved extremely well, who already are living their life as a real Christian", explained Mr. Xie. "They can have a baptism at 14, and then as long as they are baptized first, they can take part in the confirmation with their German classmates."[207] In 2015, when I started my second-round fieldwork at CCCB, the church committee had optimized its strategies concerning baptism. The age of baptism was lowered from 14 to 12, so that "when they attend confirmation at 14, they have already experiences of being a Christian, they have already been living like a real Christian for two years"[208], said Mr. Xie. To emphasize on the particularity of being the "exception", children between the ages of 12 – 14 were accepted to baptism in different patches, one patch every six months. The sequence of baptism had thus become a public display of how the church committee evaluated the behavior of each teenager and rated every one with different grades.

Instead of considering baptism as the unconditional love from God, CCCB was determined to transform the meaning of baptism into a price to win and a reward to gain. Teachers and parents were rather pleased to see this change of policies. Not only did it allow children to take part in the confirmation with their German peers when they reached the age of 14, but it also gave teachers and parents an extra scale to measure the performance of the second generation at church. This shift of confirmation policies showed how much CCCB valued the participation of families and children at their church. Deeply influenced by Baptist and Pentecostal traditions, CCCB's doctrines of

[207] Author's translation, "我们提供一个例外，当然不是给所有的孩子，只给那些表现特别好的，那些已经像真正基督徒一样生活的。[…] 他们可以在十四岁受洗，然后只要他们先受过洗了，他们就能跟他们德国同学一起参加坚信礼了。"

[208] Author's translation, "他们十四岁参加坚信礼的时候，他们已经有当基督徒的经验了， 他们已经像一个真正的基督徒一样生活了两年了。"

performing only full-immersion baptism for only adults had been the bedrock of their belief[209]. However, when their position on baptism led to the reluctance of children to take part in the church activities, the church committee efficiently started searching for solutions and eventually reset the ground of their theological belief.

"Noah's Ark" – a Bible group case study

It was Saturday. The Bible group "Noah's Ark" of CCCB was meeting in the parish house of Trinity Church in Charlottenburg (in the western part of Berlin) to have their Saturday gathering. The meeting began at 9:30 in the morning with a prayer. The group sang a few gospel songs together, before they proceeded the main session of Bible Reading, usually one or two paragraphs, interwoven with discussions and testimonies. The entire group of "Noah's Ark" consisted of about 20 adults and 15 children, while an average turnout was usually about 12 – 15 adults and 10 – 12 children.

"Noah's Ark" was only 500 meters to Huade Chinese Language School, the biggest Chinese language school in Berlin. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, "Huade", literally meaning "China and Germany", was founded in 1992 as the very first Chinese language school in Germany and attracted more than 500 pupils every Saturday in 2016. All the children in "Noah's Ark" were attending Huade School at the same time, which was why the timetable of the Bible group connected closely with the schedule of Chinese language school. Every Saturday morning, parents first brought their children to Huade School, where classes started at 9 a.m. While most parents gathered in the waiting room to chat after classes start, members of "Noah's Ark" walked together to their Bible group meeting.

The Bible group meeting started at 9:30, giving all the parents enough time to exchange pleasantries with each other and to settle down into a different mood. During the Bible reading session, "Noah's Ark" was divided into two sub-groups. The "upstairs group" used a small room with hardly any other furniture besides a big table surrounded by chairs. The participants of this sub-group were mainly parents whose children were old enough to attend Huade School on their own, so that the Bible reading session would not be interrupted. The "downstairs group" used the biggest room in

[209] There are numerous writings about the meaning and the importance of full-immersion adult baptism at CCCB, from their newsletters, magazines, brochures, to the blog of Pastor Xu and all the materials about "The Basic Truth about Christianity" church members circulate online.

the parish house, with a large area of indoor playfield and plenty of toys, and a back door facing directly the outdoor playground in the back yard. All the adult participants in this sub-group had children who were too young to attend Huade School. The young children, sometimes even babies, played with each other in the corner with toys while their parents kept an eye on them during the Bible reading session.

Both sub-groups of "Noah's Ark" ended their sessions at 11:45 punctually. A few parents from the downstairs group would walk to Huade School to pick up all the children, whose classes ended at 12:00 at the language school. The rest of the members would come together, set up the table in the big room and prepared lunch. As all the Chinese Christians of CCCB, members of "Noah's Ark" referred to their common lunch as "Feast of Love" as well. Each member brought one or two dishes from home. They put all the dishes on a long table and created a buffet, then shared all the food together.

The Bible discussion might have its ups and downs, but the quality of this lunch buffet had always been superb. This Saturday was no exception. I picked my share of buffet and sat down next to Mr. Song. He stared at my plate of goodies, and asked: "Do you know how to make a German potato salad?"

You want to have German potato salad? Come on, look at these golden-brown colored dumplings! "No, it's not for me! It's for my children!" Mr. Song pointed to a young boy and a young girl playing board game with others on a kids-table. "They don't like Chinese food so much; they like to have potato salad. Neither I nor my wife knows how to do it!"[210]

Both Mr. Song and his wife were born and raised in Fujian Province in South China. They came to Germany to study in 2000, then stayed and founded a family here. Mr. Song was working as a software-engineer in a small town near Frankfurt (am Main) as we met, while his wife and their children lived in Berlin. "Actually we could have moved. My wife stays at home anyway. But we decided to keep the family here and I commute every week. People all say that schools in Hessen are actually better, but that town [where I work] is too small! No Chinese church, no [Chinese] Bible groups, not to talk about a Chinese language school, not possible at all! How can my children learn any Chinese?" Mr. Song drove at least five hours a single way to commute, and I could almost see all

[210] Author's translation, "他们不太喜欢中餐，他们喜欢土豆沙拉，但是我和我老婆都不知道该怎么做！"

the miles on his face as we were speaking. "But it is not easy for my wife, neither. She has to take care of three children here, all by herself! Our youngest is only two years old!"[211]

In spite of the hardship to take care of three children by oneself, the exhaustion of driving more than five hours twice a week, and the fact that the public schools in Hessen had a better reputation, Mr. Song and his wife still preferred to keep the family in Berlin. The Chinese Church, Bible group and the Chinese language school were the reasons Mr. Song gave me, when I asked him about his motivation to stay in Berlin. "Advantages of living in a metropolis? No, not for me. My kids think it is cool to live in Berlin; they are not going to Hessen. But me and my wife, we come from the countryside, life in the city is too noisy and too stressful"[212].

The nine-years-old daughter of Mr. Song, SS, walked around the buffet table as I was talking to her father. "Look at her, she only has the face of a Chinese, everything inside is German!" commented Mr. Song. "All my kids are talking to each other in German, I and my wife sometimes don't know what they are talking about. I have to really catch up with my German to talk to them. […] They play these German games, watch German TV, we don't know anything about it."[213]

SS's best friend, QQ, was the youngest daughter of Ms. QD and Mr. WG, both active members of "Noah's Ark". Besides QQ, they had two more children, both of whom were already grown-ups. "My eldest one is your age", said Ms. QD, "he was born in China before I came here, I brought him when he was only three or four […]. He spoke some Chinese when he was little, we could not speak much German at the beginning, neither, but it was very quick for children, really quick! He went to kindergarten, went to school, and came back speaking German! [...] We were quite happy to see him speaking German […]. It took us a long time to learn, but he got that so quickly, so we wanted to practice our German and started speaking German with him as well. […] Then our second one was

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[211] Author's translation, "其实我们可以搬过去的，我老婆反正也是在家的，但是我们还是决定把家安在这里，我每周跑跑。人家都说其实黑森的学校还更好呢，但是那个镇子太小了！没有华人教会，没有查经小组，更别说中文学校了，一点儿都不可能！我小孩怎么能学中文？[…] 但是我老婆也不容易啊，她一个人得带三个小孩，全都是一个人！我们最小的才两岁啊！"

[212] Author's translation, "住大城市的好处？我一点也不觉得，我小孩觉得住在柏林很酷，他们是不想去黑森的，但是我跟我老婆，我们都是农村出来的，城市里生活真的是太吵太烦了。"

[213] Author's translation, "你看看她，也就还有一张中国人的脸，里面什么都是德国的！ […] 我所有小孩互相都是说德语的，我跟我老婆经常不知道他们在说什么，我得好好补补我的德语才能跟他们聊天。[…] 他们玩德国的游戏，看德国电视，我们什么都不懂啊。"

born, with him it was German from the very beginning, (because) our eldest one was speaking German to him from the beginning."[214]

The two elder sons of Ms. QD never came to church or Bible group. According to their mother, "none of them speaks Chinese any more" and "they only have German friends". Being the "late comer", QQ was 14 years younger than the younger son of Ms. QD. Since both of her elder brothers had already moved out of the house, her parents considered it important to make sure QQ had someone to play with. QQ's parents were very pleased to find SS as a regular play date. "They go to the language school together and sit in the same classroom," said Ms. QD, "here [pointing at the playground] they play together, and tomorrow [Sunday] they can be together at church for a whole afternoon."[215]

"It does not matter if they are speaking German among themselves, it matters that they make friends, make real Chinese friends", commented Mr. WG, the father of QQ, when I asked him about the language QQ was using. "Language learning has to happen naturally, you can't force them. We have three children, we both work, you just can't force things like this, you don't have the time! I say 'put on your shoes, you are late for school!', if it saves me time to tell them in German, then I will not speak Chinese, there is not so much to think about."[216]

Although Ms. QD and Mr. WG did not consider Chinese learning as the primary goal to bring her daughter to church activities, they were very proud to share QQ's improvement in Chinese language capacity. Ms. QD enthusiastically told me that QQ could speak much better Chinese than both of her brothers. She was also able to write some Chinese characters, something none of her brothers was ever able to do. QQ recently started attending Chinese calligraphy class at Huade School in the afternoon, which Ms. QD was clearly very excited about. However, she did not forget to emphasize

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[214] Author's translation, "我的老大跟你一样大，他是我来这里之前在中国生的，我带他过来的时候他才三四岁 […] 。他小时候还是说点中文的，我们那时候刚开始也说不了多少德语嘛，但是小孩子快啊，快得很！他去幼儿园，去上学，回来就说德语了！[…] 我们看他说德语还是满开心的[…]。我们花了很长时间学，他能学得这么快，所以我们也想练练我们的德语跟他说德语嘛。[…] 然后老二出生了，跟他我们是从一开始就是德语，我们老大从一开始就是跟他说德语啊。"

[215] Author's translation, "他们一起去中文学校，坐在一个班里，这里他们也能一起玩，明天又可以在教会待在一起一个下午。"

[216] Author's translation, "他们相互说德语不要紧，要紧的是他们交朋友，交真正的中国朋友。[…] 学语言得自然而然，你不能去逼他们，我们有三个孩子，我们俩都要上班，你没法特意强迫他们干这个，你没有时间啊！我说，'穿上鞋，你上学要迟到了'，如果用德语能省时间，我就不会说中文，没什么好想的！"

the importance of having her Chinese best friend, SS, who shared the credit of all the progress QQ was making. "For children it is important to have company, to do what their good friends are doing. If they don't have any Chinese friends, how can you convince them to go to Chinese classes?"[217]

The invisible hand of money

The combination of Huade School and a Bible group was the main attraction of "Noah's Ark", and all the members shared the same Saturday routine as Mr. Song or Ms. QD. Starting at 9:30 and ending at 11:45, each session of Bible reading at "Noah's Ark" lasted a maximum of 2 hours and 15 minutes, while other Bible groups usually had sessions for about 4 hours. During school breaks and holidays, when Huade School was not open for classes, the number of participants at "Noah's Ark" went down simultaneously.

Every member of CCCB was affiliated to one of the eleven Bible groups of the church, which met at least once a week. Besides the regular Bible reading and discussion, all the groups offered a variety of "group activities" (小组活动): sharing food, playing games, watching movies, and different types of group outings. Although "Noah's Ark" was the only one with continuous participation of children, members of other groups brought their spouses and children into these activities at a regular basis. During my fieldwork, I attended three Bible groups in different parts of the city with different demographic features. At all these three groups, the participants of group extra activities invariably outnumbered the participants of Bible studying sessions.

During Sunday service in the church, parents' interest in the sermon also did not seem to be as high as their interest in Sunday school. The service began in the main hall with all the members, adults and children, singing gospel songs and saying prayers together. Right before the pastor stepped to the altar and started preaching, children and teachers would leave the hall, crossed a conjunctive room called "Martin Luther Room", then headed into a row of smaller rooms where Sunday school took place. However, during every single service I had attended over the years, there was always a large number of parents leaving the main hall together with their children, walking them across the "Martin Luther Room", then staying in the room during the sermon to chat with each other.

[217] Author's translation, "对孩子来说最重要的就是要有个伴儿，跟好朋友一起干点儿什么。他们要是没有中国朋友，你怎么可能说服他们来上中文课呢？"

Frequently there were more adults chatting with each other in "Martin Luther Room" than listening to the sermon in the main hall.

Pastor Xu, the church committee and the Bible Group Captains did not seem to be bothered by this phenomenon. Pastor Xu praised "Noah's Ark" constantly during Sunday services, and considered this group "a great example of cultivating the heart and soul of our children". He came to "Feast of Love" to have lunch on Saturday from time to time, and spoke highly of the combination of Bible reading and Chinese language learning. When asked further about the children who attended both Huade Chinese Language School and "Noah's Ark" Bible group, Pastor Xu commented, "Oh, they are the best! They go to Chinese school, sitting together with other children, everyone sees immediately how great they are! […] They are different from other children, oh yes, completely different! They are children of Christian parents, they are children of our church, children of God, and they always behave much better than all other children do. Everyone can see and know right away, what a great church we are."[218]

As members of CACB pointed out, money played a silent but crucial role in the shift of strategies at CCCB. For members of German Protestant and Catholic Churches, their contribution to the church is 9% (8% in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg) of the income tax, plus the voluntary cash donation during the service. For members of CCCB, the rule of contribution is to donate 10% of the entire net income. The church committee of CCCB emphasized repeatedly that this was according to the biblical tradition of "Tithe Donation"[219], and a good Christian shall not bargain with God. To put these rules into perspective: The average monthly gross salary in Berlin in 2015 was 2953 euros. A person with this income would pay 38 euros a month being a member of German Protestant or Catholic Church, while pay 186 euros a month being a member of CCCB. In other words, it cost almost five times as much to be a Chinese Christian than to be a German one.

During interviews at Huade School and Yizhi School, several parents made comments like "Here you pay much less than at the church", or "Those classes at the church don't have real teachers".

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[218] Author's translation, "哦他们是最棒的！他们去中文学校，和其他小孩坐在一起，每个人一眼就能看出他们有多棒！ […] 他们跟其他小孩不一样啊，是的啊，完全不一样！他们是基督徒家长的小孩，他们是我们教会的小孩，他们是神的小孩，他们永远是比其他小孩表现好的。每个人都一眼就能看出来，我们教会有多棒！"

[219] "十一奉献", based on "The Book of Leviticus" 27: 30 – 34 and "The Book of Deuteronomy" 14: 22 – 29, according to the church committee of CCCB.

One parent at Yizhi School, Ms. Tian, even broke the number down for me once when we were chatting in the waiting room: "Here [at Yizhi School] every semester is about 100 euros, so 200 euros every year, right? But the difference is that it's 200 euros each child! At the church, it doesn't matter how many children you have, only the parents pay the donation, right? If just one parent goes to church, then you even make a bargain! (Laughing) So it really depends on how many children you have, you know? If you just have one [child], like me, then here it is definitely cheaper! But if you have many […]. I am not sure how much they have to give exactly, and they have to give every month! […] In the end, here you get real teachers, this matters, not just some pious Christians, right?"[220]

For many first-generation Chinese immigrants, the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin as a site of learning language was more or less a comparative alternative to Chinese language schools. For CCCB itself, providing Sunday school and a Chinese-speaking environment had become an effective way to bring in more families with children, and therefore bring in more donation. Meanwhile, it was also undeniable that a great number of members at CCCB came to church and Bible group meetings because of their Christian faith, including those families with children.

The Superiority of being a Christian

Why choose a Christian church to make Chinese friends and contacts, other than Chinese language schools? Compared to CACB in Berlin, CCCB shares more in common with Chinese evangelical communities in the US. Scholars (C. Chen 2006; 2008; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Yang 2010) have pointed out that immigrants in America, particularly Asian immigrants, hold the opinion that the public schools in the US do not offer any "moral education" to their children. Zhou and Bankston illustrate how Buddhist and Catholic institutions transmit the heritage language and culture to the younger generation. Chen and Yang both describe how Christian churches become very attractive

[220] Author's translation, "这里每个学期一百欧，那一年就是两百欧，对吧？但区别是这里是两百欧一个孩子！在教会，不管你有多少孩子，只有家长捐钱，对吧？如果你只有一个家长去教会，那你可真赚大便宜了啊！ [大笑] 所以最后就是看你有几个孩子，你知道吗？如果你像我一样只有一个，那肯定是这里便宜啊！但是如果你有好几个 […] 。我也不知道他们在教会究竟要捐多少，但是他们是每个月都要捐的。[…] 不过说到底，这里你有正经的老师，这个最要紧，不是什么虔诚的教徒，对吧？"

among the Chinese immigrants by framing children's obedience to parents with Christian vocabulary and invoking the authority of Jesus Christ to discipline the younger generation.

Carolyn Chen (C. Chen 2006) specifically analyzes the intergenerational conflicts among Chinese immigrants in the US. She argues that "Confucian notions of filial obligation" is the key difference between the first and the second generation. When the first generation can no longer apply their Confucian-based parenting practices on their children, they turn to evangelical Christianity for help. Johanna Lüdde (Lüdde 2011) makes a similar argument about Chinese students who have converted to Christianity in Germany. She considers the hierarchical structure at Chinese Christian churches and the emphasis on obedience and filial piety towards a "Heavenly Father" to be the main attractions for young Chinese overseas, as they provide the "Confucian traditions" that are familiar and trust-worthy for the members to rely on.

Both Chen and Lüdde refer to obedience and filial piety as Confucian traditions, without explaining what Confucian traditions exactly are. In Chen's work, Christianity is the replacement of Confucianism as parenting tools, while in Lüdde's, Christianity resembles Confucianism as a set of "coping-strategies". In the case of CCCB, narratives of "obedience", "duty" and "humility" were indeed present, and it was plausible that some parents might consider these concepts as helpful tools to enhance their position during the daily interaction with their children. Nevertheless, from Pastor Xu's sermons to Bible groups' discussions, members of CCCB also emphasized constantly and heavily the superiority of being Christians in general, besides being authoritative as elders over against the younger generation.

At CCCB, the positive impact of Christianity on the quality of family life was addressed publicly and frequently. Pastor Xu, church committee members and Bible Group Captains often talked about the importance of choosing the "correct spouse" to form a "sound family"[221], which meant, choosing a Christian partner was the only way to have a good family life. Among the members of CCCB, a "Christian life" was understood not only as one way of leading a good life, but it was the definition of a good life. During all the baptism ceremonies I attended, as the newly baptized member stood up from the water after the full-immerse ritual, the crowd unanimously expressed their happiness by shouting, "Now you can finally have a good life!"

[221] Author's translation, "正确的配偶"与"健全的家庭".

Such emphasis on "sound family" was passed on to the next generation as well. Although not yet to the extent of reframing obedience with Christian vocabulary, the preaching and teaching of leading a Christian life was the frequent theme at Sunday service and Sunday school. For many parents, it was also crucial to introduce their children to take part in more church activities to provide them with a sense of "how other Chinese Christians live", and "cultivate friendship with other Chinese Christian children".

In the sermons of Pastor Xu and in the publications and materials of CCCB, the superiority of being a Christian was emphasized proudly as well. In the fundamental doctrine of CCCB, "The Basic Truth", this issue was verified by stating these two following arguments:

"Only the Christian religion can show you the empty grave, and tell you, the Savior has resurrected from the dead. The ancestor of Jewish people, Abraham, died around 1900 BC and there was no resurrection… The founder of Buddhism, Gautama Buddha, also died. Muhammad died at the age of 62 in Medina […]. But only Jesus Christ resurrected from the dead and is still alive till this day, and that's why everyone who believes in him can live forever as well. […] Besides, only Jesus Christ has claimed to the world, that He is God, while none of the leaders of other religions has ever claimed himself to be God. Jesus Christ has the power to turn all the people into Christians and live as Christians, but other religions do not dare to say this. Other religions mostly talk about ethics, morality, or goodness, but only Christianity can provide us with the power of heart and soul, and turn everyone into a new person."[222]

Pastor Xu mentioned these points in his sermons and frequently reminded all the brothers and sisters in the church to be "confident about their choice to lead a better life". This self-awareness of being "better" was particularly visible during their missionary work. They approached non-Christian Chinese and asked questions like "Are you happy?" and "Do you have a meaningful life?" When the answers were "Yes", they asked the follow-up questions, "How can you possibly be happy, when you are not Christian?" and "How can you have a meaningful life, when you do not know God?"

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[222] Chinese Christian Church of Berlin, "The Basic Truth", http://home.inter.net/immanuel/jbzl.htm (accessed on December 1, 2018). Author's translation from *Part 10 – Why is Christianity superior than other religions?* in *Section Three – Religious Belief*, "只有基督教信仰把空的坟墓指给你看，告诉你，这一位救主早已从死里复活。犹太民族的始祖亚伯拉罕在主前一九 OO 年左右死了，没有复活 […] 。佛教创立人释迦牟尼也死了，罕穆德六十二岁时死于墨迪拉 […] 。但基督耶稣却从死里复活，现在仍活着，所以凡信祂的人也必得着永生。[…] 再有耶稣基督向世人宣布祂是神，而其他宗教领袖从没有说过自己是神。基督耶稣有权柄，使人过基督徒的生活，别的宗教也不敢说这个。其它宗教多讲伦理道德，教人为善。但基督能给人心灵的力量，使他变成全新的人。"

The missionaries at CCCB often reminded each other to be "friendly and polite, to show our Christian character", since in their opinions, these virtues were the unique qualities that only Christians could possess.

The superiority of being a Christian convinced many parents that church was the best place for children to grow up. "Why should I bring them to some language school, when they can be in the house of God?" asked one parent, while chatting with me in "Martin Luther Room" during the sermon of Pastor Xu. Besides the wish for the second generation to have a Chinese-speaking environment on weekend, the conviction of church being "a better place" and Christians being "better people" played an essential role as well to motivate the first-generation Chinese immigrants to bring their children to CCCB.

"More than 200 Chinese gathering together is itself the best environment for children"[223], said Ms. Huang. She and her husband had been active members of CCCB for almost ten years. Living in the outskirt of Berlin, the couple had to drive 50 minutes for a single ride every Sunday afternoon to attend church service with their two children. When I asked her about the motivation, she summed up her belief in this way: "Good values, good world view, and spiritual life orientation. Parents do not even need to guide children to learn anything here, they are already surrounded by the best education, all in Chinese, they can just watch, hear, and learn. For parents, there is no better place to bring your children to!"[224]

Site of Integration – or the other way around?

Researchers have examined the impact of religions and religious communities on immigrants' experiences in a new society (Kibria 1995; Zhou and Bankston 1998; C. Chen 2008). For immigrant communities living in the US, it appears to be particularly urgent for parents to protect their children from the "immoral" or "polluted" influences from their American peers and the American culture (C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995; Waters 2009) and many parents consider religious communities as safe shelters. Some US-based studies argue that religious practices and participation

[223] Author's translation, "两百多个中国人聚在一起就是对孩子最好的环境了".

[224] Author's translation, "好的价值观，好的世界观，属灵生活的指引。家长在这里都不需要引导孩子去学什么，他们已经被最好的教育环绕着，全部都是中文，他们可以看，可以听， 可以学。对家长来说，没有更好的地方能带你的孩子去了！"

in religious communities could contribute to the enhancement of traditional ethnic values among immigrants, especially to reproduce and to transform ethnic traditions to the younger generation (Zhou and Bankston 1998; C. Chen 2006)

In Germany, the discussion of migrant religious communities takes on a slightly different tone. Researchers frequently connect religious practices among immigrants with the question of integration, especially in research on Turkish immigrants and Islamic congregations (Fetzer and Soper 2005; Öztürk 2007; Ewing 2008). Studies on religious communities and religious practices of migrants rarely focus on the religious beliefs or rituals of these congregation, but rather measure the function and impact through the scale of integration. From Egyptian Christians to Buddhist Vietnamese, scholars have examined the communities of various religious and ethnic backgrounds, and analyze how the religious institutions have served as sites of communication, mediation and negotiation to integrate and assimilate these communities into the German society (M. Baumann 2004; Währisch-Oblau 2005; Dümling 2011). Lüdde has taken a step further to argue that Chinese Christian churches in Germany offer coping-strategies to palliate "the inner psychological problems" and to mollify "the outer difficulties", in order to be adaptable to the new life in Germany (Lüdde 2011; 2013).

At CCCB, however, members had a different view on the society they were living in. During my interview with members of the Church Committee, I asked them to share their experiences on how they managed to keep the second generation, especially teenagers, still come to church every single weekend with their parents. Mr. Xie answered:

"Actually, to tell you the truth, this has nothing to do with our church, nor with our children. This has everything to do with Germany and German society. Germans are xenophobic, right? I am not talking about discrimination; I am talking about their likes and dislikes. Germans like to hang out among themselves, but dislike hanging out with foreigners. […] During the week we work together, go to school together, but on weekends, at our leisure time, we all have our own social life. I do not think Germans like to be around with foreigners in their free time, neither do we! This is the case for our generation; this is the case for our children. Me and my wife don't have anywhere to go on weekends, and my kids, they don't have other places to go, neither." [225]

[225] Author's translation, "其实和你说实话，这跟我们教会没有什么关系，也跟我们的孩子没有什么关系。这都是因为德国，因为德国社会。德国人是很排外的，对吧？我不是说歧不歧视，我是说他们的喜好。德国

Compared to the children I encountered at Yizhi School, who were determinedly chanting "Deutschland!" and showing German passports to their parents, children at CCCB indeed had a more "obedient" manner. Upon answering my questions about other possible options of spending the weekend, almost all the children responded more or less the same as "but my mom/dad/parents ask me come here". Different from the efforts of parents at Yizhi School to understand their children's desires to go out with friends over the weekend, the first-generation Chinese immigrants at CCCB did not seem to have such concerns on their mind. Theories of language socialization argue that children become members of particular communities in the course of acquiring a language (B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a; 1986b; B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1996). By forming relationships and developing mutual interests, CCCB provided the second-generation Chinese immigrants a platform to establish a community among themselves by sharing a similar identity and experience. It was too soon to tell whether this community would become the continuation of the community their parents created, but the vision of the first-generation Chinese Christians to bring their children to "a natural environment" to speak Chinese, to meet Chinese friends and to make Chinese contacts was already taking shape at CCCB.

Conclusion

During the one year of my fieldwork, I was shuttling from Yizhi Chinese Language School to CCCB and its Bible groups over the weekend, and GaP Primary School during the week. The parents I encountered at these three sites shared one thing in common: their belief in the impact of "environment". Parents who pushed their children to learn German since kindergarten, parents who dragged their children to language schools on Saturday, and parents who convinced their children to attend Christian churches and Bible groups, all believed in the impact of being in a particular setting and being in constant contact with a particular group of people. The first-generation Chinese immigrants believed that, through this kind of "immersion", the second generation would speak the same language and share the same world with their parents.

喜欢跟自己人来往，不喜欢和外国人来往。[…] 平时我们一起上班，一起上学，但是到了周末，到了业余时间，我们都有自己的社交生活，我看德国人业余时间是不喜欢跟外国人来往的，我们也不喜欢啊！我们这一代人是这样，我们的孩子也是这样。我和我太太周末没什么地方可去，我的孩子也没什么地方可去。"

Bourdieu and Passeron have addressed the impact of implicit socialization, where the transmission of principles, habitus and cultural capital could be far more effective and formative than the explicit one written in the textbooks (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). While Bourdieu and Passeron criticized schools as institutions for the reproduction of legitimate cultures, the first-generation Chinese immigrants embraced institutions of this kind and believed in the impact of implicit socialization on the next generation. By bringing their children to Chinese Christian churches and Chinese language schools, the first-generation Chinese immigrants placed their children in the reproduction of a culture they approved of as parents, and counted on the informal, unscripted "diffuse education" to achieve the intimacy between generations they were not able to reach at home.

In previous chapters, I have presented many second-generation Chinese immigrants in Berlin, whose identity has shifted dramatically from their parents. Not only have they lost the capacity and motivation to speak Chinese, but the lack of communication has led to numerous conflicts between the two generations. In Chen's (C. Chen 2006; 2008) analysis of Evangelical Asian Americans, she draws the conclusion that applying Christian doctrines on the second-generation Chinese immigrants eventually creates new models of parenting at home and "consecrating the individuality and autonomy of children" (Chen 2006, 573). At CCCB, bringing children into Christian churches appears to create new paths for the second-generation immigrants to strengthen their Chinese identity, and to enhance the connection between parents and children.

In this chapter, I have documented how a Chinese Christian church in Berlin keenly detected the "faith" in implicit socialization among the first-generation Chinese parents, and how the pastor and church committee designed their church programs accordingly to attract more members and multiply the size and the income of their congregation. Scholars like Ochs and Schieffelin emphasize the agency of children and their active participation in the transmission of knowledge (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984; B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b; 1986a; Ochs 1988; B. B. Schieffelin 1990). In the case of Chinese immigrants in Berlin, the agency of parents is the dominant one that decides the content of learning and the location of learning. The agency of children to negotiate and modify the learning process takes action only after their parents have determined what to learn, when and where to learn it.

Together with other parents I have documented in previous chapters, I have shown that the "correct" behavior and "proper" values of children are not only important to their parents, but also are defined and interpreted by their parents. Children have their own agency during language

socialization. However, I would like to argue with the examples of Saturday language schools and Sunday Christian churches, that parents are able to apply various means and tools to set the standards of socialization based on their own beliefs and ideals, and to seek the best locations and institutions to transmit their orientation onto their children.

Chapter Four – True affections and real feelings

In previous chapters, I have shown how the first-generation Chinese immigrants set the standards of language socialization based on their own beliefs and values, and how they seek the best sites and settings to transmit their preferences and orientations onto the next generation. In this chapter, I will describe the different ways of intergenerational interaction when parents bring their children to learn the Chinese language. While many first-generation Chinese immigrants clash with their children over language and identity, others reach a harmonious attachment. While some parents wage "wars" with their children every Saturday morning, others consider going to Chinese language schools as a joyful family event. I will address the role these parents have played in the formation of the "Chinabild" in the eyes of their children, and present observations from the perspective of children.

The attitudes towards learning the Chinese language among the second-generation Chinese immigrants are dependent on the attitudes of their parents towards China and Chinese culture in everyday life. To many second-generation Chinese immigrants, the "true affection and real feelings"[226] their parents display at home every day speak louder than the specific verbal expressions they use, when they push the children to take Chinese classes over the weekend. Bourdieu and Passeron (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) frame it as the acquisition of "a relation to language" before acquiring the linguistic characters of the language. With the examples in this chapter, I will show the different components that constitute the "relation to language" among the second-generation Chinese immigrants. I will argue that although children have their own agency during the transmission of semiotic capital, parents' relation to their Chinese background considerably predesignates their children's relation to Chinese language and their Chinese identity.

[226] Author's translation, "真情实感".

The real Chinese children are those who are familiar with their Chinese parents

One week before the final test of Chinese language class at GaP School, Sebastian came to me at the end of the school day, and wanted to tell me why he considered the test "unfair". Sebastian was almost eight years old at that time. He was the only son of two native Chinese speakers. His father studied engineering at Tongji University in Shanghai before he came to Germany through an academic exchange program, and completed his study at Technical University of Berlin. His mother studied "German as foreign language" at Bayreuth University and planned to go back to her hometown, Chongqing, to be a German teacher. After meeting in Germany and both getting jobs in Berlin, they stayed and founded a family. Since both parents of Sebastian were working full-time, they were often unable to pick him up on time at the end of a regular school day. Sebastian was used to hanging around in different extracurricular classes and activities after school, before his babysitter Lena, a young German high school student of 16, came to pick him up.

Coming as no surprise, Sebastian's parents were the first to sign him up to be a member of the after-school Chinese children's choir I was organizing, although he had no interest in singing at all. Instead of being a part of the singing squad, Sebastian enjoyed sitting in the back of the classroom, watching the choir from across the room while eating his afternoon snacks, as if he was in the middle of a movie theater. Although being ethnic Chinese and living with two Chinese parents, Sebastian viewed the Chinese choir as an exotic event. He insisted that he never heard of any song among what we were singing, and his parents later confirmed that Chinese music, especially Chinese children's songs, was never a part of their household.

This afternoon Sebastian watched our Chinese singing session with amazement in his eyes and chocolate muffin in his hands. After the choir session was over and everyone else went home, he came up to me to discuss the upcoming test in the Chinese language class, and to share his thoughts on "how to make it a fair test". The main problem of this test, in Sebastian's opinion, was that "Chinese and Germans have to take the same test"[227]. Having a few ethnic German children in the class as well, his suggestion of "separating the Chinese classmates from the German ones"[228] and grading them separately did not sound too odd to me at first.

[227] Author's translation, "中国人和德国人考一样的考试".

[228] Author's translation, "中国同学要和德国同学分开考".

"That's a very interesting idea", I responded. I explained to him that all the teachers had evaluated the Chinese linguistic capacity of all the pupils at the beginning of the school year before separated them into three different classes accordingly. "If you are all in the same class, you are using the same book and learning the same lessons, then it shouldn't matter so much who is Chinese and who is German, right?"[229]

"But it matters! Those Chinese classmates, they are Chinese! They know Chinese from home already, it's not fair for us!"[230] Sebastian protested very determinedly.

"Wait a minute, do you mean, you are not one of the Chinese classmates in our class?"

"I am not, I am a German! And we should get a different score!"[231] Sebastian insisted.

"Wait, then tell me, who are the Chinese classmates in our class?"

"Those Chinese classmates, those real Chinese! Those who really speak Chinese with mom and dad!"[232]

"Like who? Give me a name."

"Hmm……" Sebastian fell into a brief moment of thinking, then answered "Yiyi! She is a real Chinese!"

"Yiyi is not very different from you. She has two Chinese parents, so do you, right? Her parents speak Chinese with her, your parents, too, right? If Yiyi is the real Chinese, you would be a real Chinese, too."

"No, no! This is not right! She is real, like a real Chinese. Her mom picks her up every day. They chat! They are very familiar!"[233]

"You are not familiar with your mom and dad?"[234]

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[229] Author's translation, "如果你们都是在一个班上，用的一样的课本，学的是一样的课程，那谁是中国人谁是德国人应该没有关系，对吧？"

[230] Author's translation, "但是是有关系的！那些中国同学，他们是中国人！他们在家里就会中文了，对我们不公平的！"

[231] Author's translation, "我不是，我是德国人，我们应该有个不一样的分数！"

[232] Author's translation, "那些中国同学，那些真正的中国人，他们和爸爸妈妈真的说中文的！"

[233] Author's translation, "不对，不对！不是这样的！她是真的，真的是中国人，她妈妈每天都来接她的，他们聊天的，他们很熟的！"

[234] Author's translation, "你和你爸爸妈妈不熟？"

"So so. I only see them at dinner sometimes. […] I am familiar with Lena, she is cool, and we often chat. I am also familiar with my grandma; she sleeps with me on my bed to keep me company."[235]

Later when I communicated with Sebastian's mother, she was shocked to hear about this conversation. She was particularly shocked about the grandma part, because, according to her, this happened many years ago, when Sebastian was only two or three years old. She took her cell phone out of her bag, scrolled down the hundreds of photos in her phone, and repeatedly emphasized that she and her husband took Sebastian to travel during every school break. "We've taken him to Spain and Iceland just this year! We always book the best hotels, just for him! […] We always rent a car when we travel, just to make sure he is happy, not to be too tired from walking."[236]

However, best hotels and cars in Spain and Iceland failed to impress Sebastian in Berlin. For the eight-years-old Sebastian, the "real Chinese" children were those who were "familiar" with their Chinese parents. The real Chinese children were those whose parents and caretakers would spend time chatting with them during the day and bringing them to bed in the night. From his perspective, the expensive holidays his parents arranged with the sole purpose of "making him happy" did not speak to him as gestures of affection.

Scholars have noticed that it is common among Chinese parents, in mainland China as well as in the diaspora, to entrust the education of their children entirely to schools and teachers, although the parents might still remain keen followers of the academic progress of their children (Stafford 2006; L. Chu 2017; Kuan 2015). Many Chinese parents like Sebastian's consider it as their primary task to create the best *tiaojian* (condition or circumstance) to enhance the chance of success for their children. "Creating the best *tiaojian*"[237] usually implies to gain a decent economic status to provide for their children. Satisfying housing conditions in a favorable neighborhood and a good school district, sufficient material support such as school supplies and IT equipment, and the financial capacity to pay for the expensive bills from private schools and after-school tutors, to name just a few. Meanwhile, the physical presence of parents and the time to spend with their children is not the priority for many Chinese parents, when it comes to childcare and education (Kuan 2015).

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[235] Author's translation, "还行吧，我只有吃饭的时候看到他们。[…] 我和 Lena 很熟，她很 cool， 我们经常聊天的。我跟我奶奶也很熟，她睡在我床上陪我的。"

[236] Author's translation, "就今年我们已经带他去了西班牙和冰岛了！我们总是订最好的酒店，都是为了他啊！ […] 我们到哪里旅行都会租车，就是希望他能开心，不要走路走累了。"

[237] Author's translation, "创造最好的条件".

Besides the numerous negative impacts on children from parents who are often physically absent, researchers of migration have also pointed out the troubling consequences for the immigrant youth, when they have to cope with the day-to-day interactions at school without the steady companionship from parents. Families, particularly parents, remain to be the most crucial factor to shape the self-identification of children until they enter adolescence. For children of immigrants, the presence and support from their parents provide them with a stable and cohesive set of references to mirror their own encounters and to reflect their experiences "between two worlds". While at the same time, the love, supervision, support and role modeling from parents help immigrant children and youth to foster hope for a better tomorrow and a stronger sense of self-awareness (C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995; 2002; C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009).

To a second-generation Chinese immigrant like Sebastian, concepts like "ethnicity" or "migration" are clearly of no significance. Instead, the time and interaction he experiences with the people who are actually around him speaks the volume to his identity. The childhood memory of being with grandmother and the regular after-school chats with his German caretaker give him the sense of familiarity and closeness. However, to spend a few hours a week learning Chinese language and singing Chinese songs together with 15 ethnic Chinese classmates, with whom he would otherwise only speak German in their daily communication, does not contribute much to his identification with his Chinese background.

The carpet that holds us all together

To parents like Sebastian's, Ms. NL, my colleague at Yizhi Chinese Language School, would simply say, "Children have eyes and ears!" During our discussion about why so few children could make progress in the Chinese language classes, Ms. NL shared her thoughts: "It's not the teachers nor the language school, but parents, just parents. How much motivation, how much determination parents have, and how much time and energies parents are willing to spend. Just this simple!"[238]

"Of course, every parent loves his/her own children. Of course, they would all say that they spend time and energies. But do you know, how many parents I have seen who are just unable to put their

[238] Author's translation, "不是老师不是语言学校，家长，就是家长。家长有多少动力，家长有多大决心，家长愿意花多少时间多少精力，就这么简单！"

cell-phones down, even during dinner time? How many parents enjoy watching TV and relax on the sofa, but do not use the time to actually engage with their children, do something together with their children?" Ms. NL asked indignantly. "Parents these days buy iPad for their kids and let iPad play with their kids and talk to their kids, but they themselves are busy playing with their phones. […] I always tell them, if you want your children to speak Chinese, then you have to spend the time to speak to your children first!"[239]

As one of the founding teachers of YiZhi School, Ms. NL had been teaching Chinese language to second-generation Chinese immigrants for over ten years. She repeated the same answer to every parent asking for advices on how to improve the Chinese capacity of their children, an answer that did not please the ears of many parents. "Parents do not like to hear [this]; I know that, I know nobody likes to hear that it is actually their own fault. But I am the teacher, I speak with my conscience. 'Good medicine tastes bitter', if you don't want to listen to me and put the phone down, then it is a waste of time to bring your children here every week."[240]

Ms. NL herself set an example for her opinions on parenting. She and her husband were parents of two daughters, 16 and 19 years old, both born and raised in Berlin. Both of them still came to Yizhi School on Saturday, and the elder one was in my class for half a year. A freshman at Free University of Berlin, Shishi was busy exploring different disciplines and classes at the university while at the same time being a volunteer in different projects at the university to help refugees in the beginning of 2016. She could speak Chinese fluently to communicate with me on these subjects, and for her the reason why she still came to Chinese language school every Saturday was that she really enjoyed it.

"My mother comes here every weekend, and so does my younger sister. We can take the bus together, take the subway together and walk here together. It is something we share as a family,

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[239] Author's translation, "当然了，每个家长都爱自己的孩子。 他们当然都会说自己花了时间花了精力。但是你知不知道我见过多少家长，放不下自己的手机，连吃饭的时候都放不下？多少家长喜欢在躺在沙发上放松，休息，看电视，不去用这些时间真正和孩子互动，一起做点什么？[…] 现在的家长，给孩子买 iPad，让 iPad 跟孩子玩儿跟孩子聊天，但是他们自己一个个都忙着看手机。[…] 我总是跟他们说，你如果想要你的孩子说中文，你得首先自己拿出时间和孩子说说话！"

[240] Author's translation, "家长都不爱听，我知道的，我知道没人喜欢听这其实是他们自己的错。 但是我是个老师，我得拿着自己良心说话，良药苦口，你要是不想听我的，不把手机放下，每个星期把孩子带这儿来就是浪费时间！"

almost like a family outing (giggling). Now that I am in university and my sister still in gymnasium, it is not often to have this shared time."[241] Shishi was always the first one to come in my class, and she usually brought a comic book to read while waiting for her classmates to arrive. The comic books were often in Japanese. Although drawings dominated most pages, Shishi had a good time guessing the meaning of the Japanese dialogues based on her knowledge of Chinese. "You see this character here, Ms. Yu? Doesn't it look just like the Chinese one we learnt last week?" She sometimes shared her discovery with me in the Japanese comic book before the class began, "but I am sure it means something very different here!"

For Shishi and her younger sister, it seemed perfectly natural to learn Chinese, to come to Chinese language school, and to join their mother for a family outing every Saturday. Perhaps because, as Shishi recalled her upbringing, she and her family were accustomed to having a shared experience and spending time together. "I remember we always sat together on the floor. […] There was a big carpet in the living room, and we all sat together. We did homework there, played games, did handiwork. Me and my sister, often with Mom and Dad […]. We still do lots of handiwork; make candles, notebooks, hand-made cards. We do these things together and then give them to friends, sometimes sell them in the flea market on Sunday"[242].

Ms. NL was not surprised when I asked her about the carpet and the handiwork. She told me rather proudly that the carpet was "something holding all of us together". She and her husband set up a rule in the family from the very beginning, that no matter how busy they were, at the end of each day, they would always sit down together with the girls on the carpet after dinner. "We talk about everything: what we have done during the day, whom we talked to or played with, what happened in your day and what happened in my day, at kindergarten or school or in office […]. Then we tell stories, from books, from friends, make up new stories ourselves […] anything! Then we play games.

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[241] Author's translation, "我妈妈每个周末都来，我妹妹也来。我们能一起坐公交车，一起坐地铁，一起走过来，这是我们一家人可以一起分享的，像是一家人一起出去玩一样。现在我在大学我妹妹在高中，难得还能有一起的时间。"

[242] Author's translation, "我记得我们总是一起坐在地上。[…] 客厅里有一张很大的地毯，我们总是坐在一起。我们一起做作业，玩游戏，做手工。我和我妹妹，我妈妈和爸爸也经常在 […]。我们到现在还做很多手工，做蜡烛，做本子，手工的卡片。我们一起做然后送给朋友，有时候周日去跳蚤市场卖。"

Later when the daughters got older, we started doing handiwork together. We did this every day, you know? Every single day."[243]

In the opinions of Ms. NL, to spend time with her children was the most important thing for her as a parent, but also the most decisive reason why her children were willing to learn Chinese and were able to speak Chinese well. "Bringing these children to Chinese school is one thing, but how they feel about it, whether they feel it or not, whether they want to learn it or not, is something completely different! You have to have true affections and real feelings. These parents, drag their children to Chinese classes, then curse the Communist Party over the dinner table, or badmouth their relatives in China – can this ever work? Children have eyes and ears, they know what you are doing, and they know what you think in your brain and how you feel in your heart. If parents do not have any true affection or real feeling towards China, neither would their children."[244]

Wilhelm von Humboldt has argued in his writings, that language exists within society and within people, and "language only develops socially" (Humboldt 1963, 429)[245]. Ms. NL repeatedly reminded the parents to spend time speaking to their children first, before bringing them to the language school for three hours of classes every week. Ms. NL considered it crucial for the parents to understand, that their children's linguistic capacity of Chinese language would not make any progress, without continuous engagement between parents and children. "Man speaks, even in the mind, only with an other" (Humboldt 1963, 137)[246]. However, compared to Ms. NL and her daughters, many children in my class at Yizhi Language School and GaP Primary School had little time and opportunity to interact with their parents. Scholars point out, that "[t]he formation of language is advanced by dialogues, sociability, and intersubjective experience with the support of sympathy and co-operation about shared interests" (Aarsleff and Logan 2016, 761). While many

[243] Author's translation, "我们什么都聊，白天都干了什么，跟谁聊了天，跟谁玩了什么，你今天过得怎么样，我今天过得怎么样，在幼儿园还是学校还是单位 […] 。然后我们讲故事，从书上看的，朋友那里听来的，自己编的新故事 […] 什么都行！然后我们玩游戏。后来女儿大了，我们开始一起做手工。我们每天都是这样过的，你知道吗？每一天都是！"

[244] Author's translation, "带孩子来中文学校是一回事，但是他们究竟是什么感受，有没有什么感受，想不想学，这些都是另外一回事啊！你得有真情实感才行。这些家长诶，拽着孩子来上中文课，然后回家餐桌上骂共产党，说国内什么亲戚的坏话，这能行吗？孩子都是有眼睛有耳朵的，他们知道你在干什么，他们知道你脑子里在想什么，心里是什么感觉。要是家长对中国没有什么真情实感，孩子也不会有的！"

[245] Author's translation, "[I]n der Erscheinung entwickelt sich jedoch die Sprache nur gesellschaftlich, und der Mensch versteht sich selbst nur, indem er die Verstehbarkeit seiner Worte an Andren versuchend geprüft hat".

[246] Author's translation, "Der Mensch spricht, sogar in Gedanken, nur mit einem Andren".

Chinese parents believed in the powerful impact of implicit socialization for the enhancement of linguistic capacity at different institutions, not all of them evaluated the importance of implicit socialization at home. Without sufficient conversation and interaction during the week, it was not surprising to see pupils in Chinese language classes could make little progress within the three hours of Chinese lessons on Saturday.

Tell the personality at three; tell the life trajectory at seven

I continued this discussion with another colleague at Yizhi School, Ms. Liu, after I attended a few classes of hers. Ms. Liu was teaching the first grade at YiZhi School, children who were between six to seven years old. The majority of her pupils were in the first grade of primary school, and three pupils were still in the last year of kindergarten. Because of their young age, most parents sat right next to their children and accompanied them during the entire morning. For Ms. Liu, to teach the parents in the classroom was as important as to teach the children, because the communication happened frequently between Ms. Liu and the parents first, before parents conveyed the information to their children.

During the classes I took part in, Ms. Liu was busy teaching the basics of *pinyin*, the romanization system of Chinese language. Particularly for classes like these, the presence of parents was of great help to Ms. Liu. She taught in a child-appropriate language, using simple words and short sentences, while changing her tones occasionally and mixing some baby talks intermediately. However, every time she stressed a key point or explained something new, she talked much more slowly, while left small breaks after every two or three sentences to give the parents some time to repeat the content in their own manners to their children. Moments like these were particularly interesting to observe, as it became immediately clear, which parents were sitting here to help their children learn and which parents were merely "keeping an eye" on them.

I was sitting between two parents during these classes, each with a young child on their side. On my left side was Mr. Wu and his son. Mr. Wu came to Berlin together with his wife from Wenzhou (in Zhejiang Province). After graduation, he became a freelance accountant working with Chinese small-business owners in Germany. On my right side was Ms. Chen, who resigned from her job after having children and became a full-time homemaker ever since. She was sitting next to her younger

daughter in the classroom, while her elder son "made a big fuss"[247] with her a few months ago and already quitted Chinese language class after attending Yizhi School for almost three years.

Mr. Wu stayed tuned during the whole class. He listened to Ms. Liu closely and attentively explained to his son in Wenzhou dialect, whenever he sensed that his son was having trouble understanding. He explained to me later that his wife only spoke Wenzhou dialect, although she was able understand the standard Chinese. As Mr. Wu often worked late during the week, his son spent more time talking to his mother and could understand Wenzhou dialect better than the standard Chinese. That was why it was important for Mr. Wu to accompany his son during Saturday language class to help him in the classroom. Meanwhile, Ms. Chen seemed to be much more relaxed with her daughter. She was busy with her cell phone during the entire morning, without much time or desire to communicate with her daughter or offer any help.

At one rare occasion, Ms. Liu stopped talking for almost five minutes and gave all the parents the time to explain a new theme she just introduced to their children. Ms. Chen noticed the sudden change of voices in the room. She looked around at other parents in the classroom, turned to her daughter, and asked, "Got it, right?"[248] The little girl nodded, and Ms. Chen switched her focus back to her cell phone. In the following minutes, Ms. Liu started walking around in the classroom and helping some parents and children to understand better. Ms. Chen raised her head up again, as she noticed the unusual length of silence from Ms. Liu. With a tad of insecurity, she looked around in the classroom and leaned over to Mr. Wu, to have a closer look at what other parents were doing. Mr. Wu, busy talking to his son, did not respond. Ms. Chen asked me instead, "What's going on? What to do now?"[249] After I briefly answered her, she took a look at her daughter, who was drawing random images on her Chinese textbook, Ms. Chen turned back to me and said "My daughter understood it already, she has no problem with that!"[250] and returned her attention back to her cell phone.

When I brought up these two parents with Ms. Liu, she laughed and nodded. In her opinion, these two parents could represent the two types of parents she had met throughout the years. "Some are here to help their children to learn. They communicate with their children here in the classroom, and

[247] Author's translation, "大闹了一场".

[248] Author's translation, "懂了吧？"

[249] Author's translation, "什么情况？现在该干什么？"

[250] Author's translation, "我女儿已经懂了，她什么问题都没有！"

later they will communicate with their children at home. And you have the another type of parents […]. What can I say, they are just like that! We say, 'san sui kan da, qi sui kan lao' ('三岁看大, 七岁看老')[251], very true about the parents! The children here in my class, you can see whose parents really care and whose parents do not. Those parents, who care, three years or five years later, just go and ask all the other teachers, all their children are the best in other classes!"[252]

Similarly to Ms. NL, Ms. Liu also drew a direct connection between the engagement of parents and the Chinese linguistic capacity of the children. By using the phrase "tell the personality at the age of three, tell the life trajectory at the age of seven", Ms. Liu did not intend to predict the future of these children based on their current performances in Chinese language class. She pointed out the importance of parental involvement and commitment in the journey of learning Chinese language among the second generation. As she shared with me on multiple occasions, she was convinced that the interaction between parents and their children displayed in her classroom was the microcosm of their daily interaction at home and elsewhere. Through her years-long experiences of teaching at Yizhi School, Ms. Liu believed that parents who "really care" in her classroom were the same parents who "really care" at home and at school.

Ms. Liu herself could be the testimony of her opinion. Having three children between the ages of 9 – 16, she was the only teacher at Yizhi School who did not bring any of her/his own children to school on Saturday. According to Ms. Liu, all of her children could speak Chinese fluently, that it would simply be a waste of time for them to attend Chinese language classes. I asked her, whether she being a teacher herself had been an advantage to help her children learn Chinese language better. She answered: "Maybe [it is], at least I know what learning language means, and I know how much time and energy this would cost. And I will make sure my children, every one of them, myself as well, we all invest the time and energy." However, Ms. Liu also pointed out the challenge in cultivating the Chinese linguistic capacity of her children in her family: her husband was German

[251] To translate "三岁看大，七岁看老" word for word, it means "at three years old (we) see big, at seven years old (we) see old". However, since numbers like "three" and "seven" as well as adjectives like "big" and "old" are usually used figuratively in ancient Chinese, this phrase can be translated as "tell the personality at the age of three; tell the life trajectory at the age of seven". The phrase implies that the future of a child is already predictable at a young age.

[252] Author's translation, "有些家长是来这儿帮孩子学习的。他们在教室里跟孩子交流，一会儿回家了也会跟孩子交流。然后你有另外一种家长[…]。我该怎么说呢，他们就是这样！我们说，三岁看大，七岁看老，放在他们身上真是太对了！我这儿的孩子，你一眼能看出来谁的家长上心，谁的家长一点儿不上心。那些上心的家长，三年，五年之后，你去问别的老师，他们的孩子全都是班里的尖子！"

and their household language was often German. "You have to know that only I can speak Chinese with my children; their father speaks German with them. But if my children can manage to speak Chinese well, those Chinese-Chinese families really have no excuse. […] I am not saying this is all easy, this is not easy. This is the outcome after lots of hard work! But you don't have to be a teacher yourself; parents can make it, as long as they invest the time and the energy."[253]

As I have illustrated in previous chapters, many first-generation Chinese immigrants share a strong faith in institutions and the implicit socialization at institutions. They believe in, if not rely on, the formative impact on their children from classes, schools and churches, while underestimating the daily influences they themselves have as parents. Pontecorvo, Fasulo and Sterponi (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi 2001) document the conversations between parents and children at dinner tables in Italian families, and point out that language socialization is an interactional process, where both parents and children contribute to the formation of linguistic competences. On the carpet of Ms. NL and in the classroom of Ms. Liu, we can see this particularly clearly. The capacity of Chinese language is the outcome of the interaction between parents and children, as well as the outcome of a shared interest and understanding between the two generations. The willingness of learning and speaking a language is the intention of communication and connection. If children have little chance to interact with their parents, then they would have little motivation to learn the language their parents speak. From there, it seems only natural that these children lack the interest to connect with their Chinese background, which leads to the lack of interest to learn their heritage language and culture voluntarily among the second-generation Chinese immigrants.

As I try to show through the conversation with Sebastian, not only does ethnically "being Chinese" fail to convince him to learn the Chinese language, this concept itself is abstract and insignificant to these second-generation immigrants. Ien Ang argues in her work that "being Chinese" is not a category with a fixed content, but it operates "as an open and indeterminate signifier whose meanings are constantly renegotiated and rearticulated"(Ang 1994, 73). Through their research on the language ideology among Chinese diaspora, Li and Zhu (Li and Zhu 2010) point out that "being

[253] Author's translation, "可能算（是优势）吧，至少我知道学语言意味着什么，我知道这得花多少时间多少精力。所以我要保证我的孩子，每一个孩子，包括我自己，我们全都花时间花精力。[…] 你得知道只有我能和我孩子说中文，他们的爸爸是和他们说德语的。但是如果连我的孩子都能把中文说好，那些中中家庭就没有什么借口好找。[…] 我不是说这很容易，这不容易。这都是很多努力才能换来的结果！但是你不是非要自己是老师，家长只要花时间花精力就是可以的。"

Chinese" does not necessarily carry the same meaning for different generations. Although most of the Chinese immigrants in their work agree on the "cultural significance of the Chinese language", the elder generation connects the knowledge of the Chinese language much more closely with the meaning of "being Chinese". Ang refers to this phenomenon as "an essentialist and absolute notion of Chineseness" (Ang 2001, 30), where the knowledge of the Chinese language is strongly associated as a symbol of "being Chinese" in her analysis of Chinese identity among diaspora. The younger generation, however, often adopts a much looser definition of "being Chinese", "a more dynamic and fluid definition of Chineseness" (Li and Zhu 2010, 166), which does not regard Chinese language to be an indispensable part of the Chinese identity.

Li and Zhu did research among the Chinese diaspora of multi-generation Chinese families in Britain, Australia and Singapore. As I have noted in the *Introduction*, the trajectory of migration and the socioeconomic status of Chinese diaspora in these communities are vastly different from the interlocutors in my fieldwork. The respondents in Li and Zhu's work commonly speak Cantonese, Hokkien or Hakka fluently at home. The younger generation values not only their Chinese heritage, but also the importance of Chinese language in the globalized world. As Li and Zhu summarize, they "want to be regarded as bilinguals and multilinguals… and they want to be so in a dynamic and creative way utilizing all the linguistic and cultural resources they have" (Li and Zhu 2010, 167). At GaP School and Yizhi School, however, children like Sebastian share little acknowledgement of their Chinese background. They do not see the value of learning the Chinese language, and have no intention to utilize the linguistic or cultural resource their Chinese heritage could bring. Follow the argument of Ang, Li and Zhu, the first-generation Chinese immigrants would need to create the meaning of "being Chinese" first, before they expect their children to learn and to speak the Chinese language. However, in practice, what could be the meaning of "being Chinese"? And how to create and cultivate such meaning of "being Chinese"? Ms. Wen's upbringing could provide some valuable insights.

Life in a floating bag

When the father of Ms. Wen decided to come to Germany back in the 1970s, he first laid down a fitness plan. A plan to train muscles and strengthen his physical endurance, so that he could swim from his hometown village in Guangdong Province to Hong Kong.

"You have to exercise your body well before you set out. It can take years of exercise. You have to be well prepared; it can be deadly dangerous if you are not. Try in the river a few times first, and only depart when you really feel certain"[254], said Ms. Wen about her father.

"You take a floating bag, put in some most important papers, some money. Then you swim for a while, rest for a while, until you reach Hong Kong. My father said it took him about ten hours, swim and float, swim and float. Nobody can keep swimming the whole way! [...] My father did not make it on his first try. He said the police saw him with their searchlight, not long after he left the shore. [...] They brought him back in the village. Later he tried again. On the second attempt, he succeeded."[255]

Ms. Wen was telling the story on behalf of her father, as it is "too painful", "heartbreaking", and "too upsetting" for her father to talk about it or even think about it again. As Ms. Wen explained to me, that her uncle, the brother of her father, died halfway during this journey, so did a few of his friends. "I was curious when I first heard about it, and I asked my father and grandfather to tell me more, this is all they said. They became so sad and upset when I asked about this, then my mom asked me to never speak about it again"[256].

Chen Village (Chan, Madsen, and Unger 2009) documents how the "escape to Hong Kong wind" caught the attention among the youth in Guangdong Province in the 1960s and 1970s. Particularly in rural areas, when the younger generation no longer shared the same enthusiasm in dedication to socialist construction and felt frustrated by the stagnating poor conditions of life and the limited prospect of a better future, fantasies about the British colony on the other side of the water became increasingly appealing day by day. The families of Ms. Wen, both on her father's side and on her mother's side, were a part of the "escape to Hong Kong wind". The attempts from her father and her uncle to search for a better life "on the other side", in spite of the risk of losing their own lives, reflected the life conditions in their hometown village in the 1960s and 1970s. Although having left

[254] Author's translation, "出发之前你必须把身体锻炼好。这是可以需要几年时间的。你必须要准备好啊，不然是有生命危险的。先在河里试几次，觉得有把握了再出发。"

[255] Author's translation, "你拿一个漂浮袋，里装上最重要的证件，装点钱。然后你游一会儿，休息一会儿，直到你到香港。我爸爸说他游了十个小时，游一会儿漂一会儿，游一会儿漂一会儿。没有人可以一口气游完！[…] 我爸爸第一次没有成功。他说他刚刚出发没多久警察就拿探照灯看到他了。[…] 他们把他带回到村子里。后来他又试了一次，第二次才成功的。"

[256] Author's translation, "我第一次听到的时候非常好奇啊，我就让我爸爸和外公再给我多讲讲，但是他们就讲了这么多。每次我问他们，他们都好伤心好难过，后来我妈妈就叫我不要再聊这个了。"

China half a century ago, family members of Ms. Wen still talked about the hardship "back in the old days" constantly, and took pride in the significant improvement of life conditions in their hometown village in the past decades.

"My parents go back to China to visit and sometimes they do not want to leave. So much to eat! Much more than in Germany! Many relatives and friends are still there, they understand the language, why even come back here [to Germany]?" Do they consider moving back to China someday? "I don't think they would. Their whole life is here now, children are here, and health insurance is here. The good air and clean water, you can notice the difference [...]. But they like to talk about it, how different it is. They said that they would have never left China if life were this good back then. […] They told me they had to leave back then, because life was really not good at that time, hardly anything to eat, everything became very chaotic because of the Revolution. They came out here, because they wanted to have a good life, a different life. But life is so attractive in China now! When I am in China, even I feel like I can't catch up anymore, my parents definitely can't, neither!"[257]

After Ms. Wen's father successfully reached the shores of Hong Kong, he worked "underground" for four years, until he earned the legal status in Hong Kong and thus the possibility to get on a plane to Europe. That were the worst four years of his life, as Ms. Wen told me. "Work, work, work, nothing but work."[258] He did many kinds of jobs, jobs that nobody else wanted to touch. But as he later told Ms. Wen, he just wanted to survive and to save some money to come to Europe. "He ate tons of bitterness those four years, all because he wanted to be together with my mother in Europe"[259].

While Ms. Wen's father was the lone wolf in his family to take this journey, her mother and her whole family were in the midst and the height of the "escape to Hong Kong wind". Ms. Wen's

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[257] Author's translation, "我爸爸妈妈回去中国探亲，经常都不想走。有那么多吃的啊！比德国多得多了！很多亲戚朋友还都在那里，他们语言能通，为什么还要回来呢？[…] 我觉得肯定是不能了。他们所有的生活都在这里了，孩子在这里，医疗保险在这里。这里确实是空气好，水干净，真的能感觉到不一样[…]。但是他们很喜欢谈生活有多不一样。他们总是说如果当时生活能这么好，他们是绝对不会离开中国的。[…] 他们告诉我当时他们必须得走，因为那时候生活真的不是很好，什么吃的都没有，因为大革命，什么都很混乱，他们出来了，因为他们想要一个好的生活，不一样的生活。但是现在生活在中国很棒啊！我在中国的时候都觉得自己跟不上呢，我爸爸妈妈肯定跟不上啊！"

[258] Author's translation, "干活，干活，干活，除了干活还是干活。"

[259] Author's translation, "他那些年吃了很多很多苦，都是为了能来欧洲和我妈妈团聚。"

maternal grandfather was the first in the family to swim to Hong Kong, followed by two of her uncles. They fled in the mid of 1960s, almost ten years earlier than Ms. Wen's father did, when it took only two years to gain a legal status in Hong Kong and to set on a further journey. These three men trekked their way from Hong Kong to Hamburg, and found jobs to work in kitchens of Chinese restaurants. After a few years of sorting out the paperwork, the female members of the family came to Hamburg by airplanes. The whole family of Ms. Wen's mother, all from a small village in the southern part of Guangdong Province, reunited in Germany at the end of the 1970s.

The "wind" blew in rural Guangdong throughout the 1960s and the 1970s. Chen Bing'an, the author of "The Great Flee to Hong Kong", estimated that more than one million people from mainland China attempted to cross this "Berlin Wall of China" (B. Chen 2010). There were three routes for the fugitives to choose to cross the "Berlin Wall": the central route (中线), the western route (西线) and the eastern route (东线). The central route was to climb over Hutong Hill at the southern border of Shenzhen, then swim across the Shenzhen River to reach Xinjie (the Northern part of Hong Kong). It was a relatively safe choice, which most people chose at the beginning of 1960s, until a wall was built in 1962 to cut off the route and a dense layer of guards were sent to secure the border. The western route developed later in 1960s after the central route was no longer an option. On this route, people first had to reach Shekou by foot, then to swim across the Shenzhen Bay. Although the distance of swimming was relatively short, Shekou was heavily guarded, as well, especially in the 1970s, and the swamp around Shenzhen Bay could be fatal for everyone. The most dangerous route was the eastern route, where people had to start from the shore of Shenzhen and then to swim across Dapeng Bay to reach the eastern coast of Hong Kong. The main challenges were the long distance of swimming and the sharks in the bay, which turned Dapeng Bay into "Death Bay" because of the countless lives lost in the water (B. Chen 2010).

We shall not forget

There were various speculative figures over the precise number of victims during the "Great Flee". However, for the family of Ms. Wen, there was no need for any speculation. They knew exactly, which brother drowned because of a cramp, which friend was shot by the guard while struggling with the swamp, and which son disappeared quietly in the wave before dawn and never surfaced again. Although not willing to talk about it, these painful memories remained parts of the family

narratives. Ms. Wen remembered her parents often referring themselves as the "lucky ones who cheated death"[260]. Both her parents and her grandparents enjoyed sharing their memories about their homeland: "They frequently say that they did not want to leave. They would have stayed, if there were something to eat, if there were some prospect of life. They really love the country, they love their hometown, love everything about it. They feel very proud to be Chinese, and they want to share all that with me and my sister"[261].

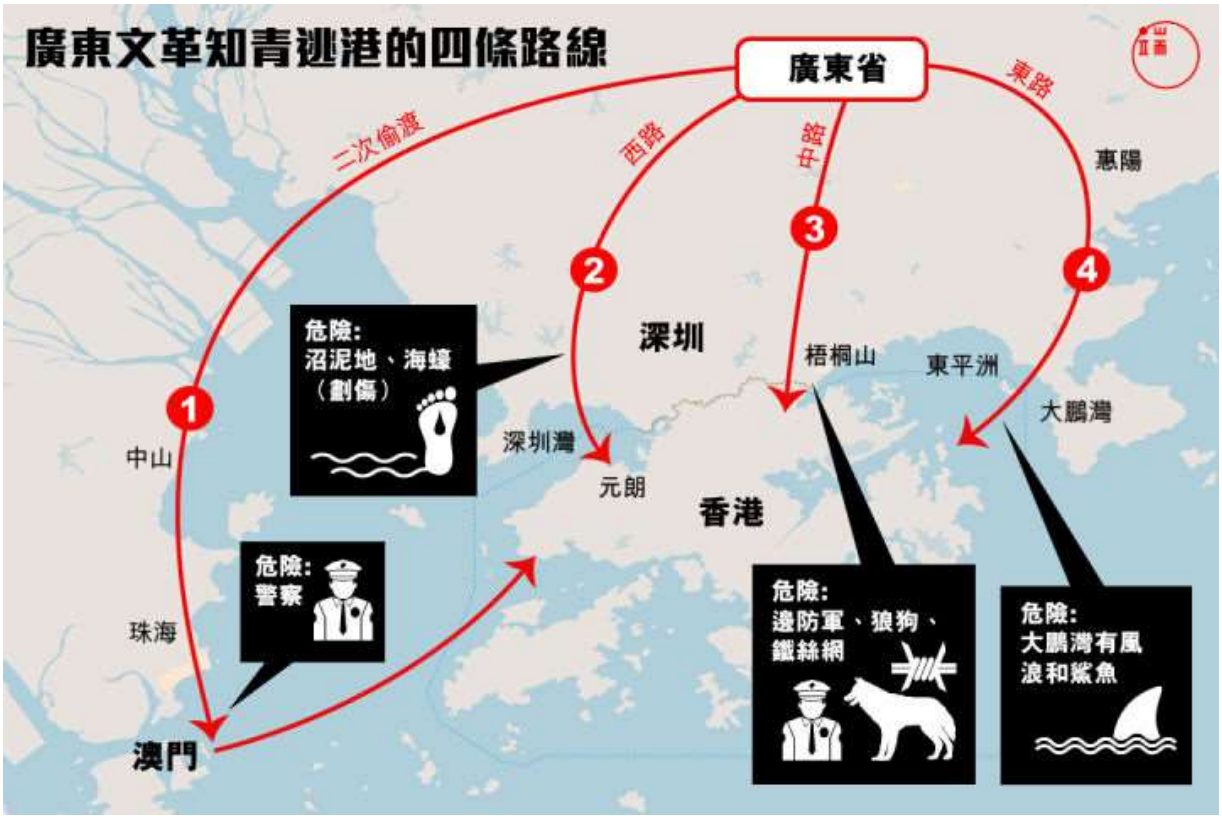

Image originally from: https://theinitium.com/article/20160519-mainland-crrunaway/

Ms. Wen and her younger sister were born and raised in Germany, grew up in a small town close to Kiel (in Northern Germany) and both could speak Cantonese fluently. Ms. Wen also could speak

[260] Author's translation, "捡回一条命的幸运儿".

[261] Author's translation, "他们经常说他们真的是不想走的。如果能有些吃的东西，如果能有一点生活的希望，他们肯定是会留下的。他们真的很爱那个国家，很爱他们的故乡，爱那里的一切。他们觉得当中国人是很自豪的，他们也想和我和我妹妹分享这一切。"

and write the standard Chinese very well, while her younger sister had some lessons but lacked the practice. Both girls went to a Chinese language school when they were of school age, although, it was probably "not exactly a real Chinese language school". A friend of Ms. Wen's mother decided to offer Chinese language classes in Kiel on Saturday, and the mother signed the girls up. From the little town where they were living, it took them a bus ride, a train ride, then another bus ride to get to the destination, which took them about 90 minutes a single trip. "She was the worst teacher, no competition! She has no experience, no idea how to teach, we learnt nothing! Made no progress after three years. All I remember is that song, 'e e e', that's all! [Laughing] It was such a long trip. Me and my sister stopped going after three years"[262].

Unlike most children I talked to at Yizhi Language School, both Ms. Wen and her sister didn't have any pressure from their parents to attend the Chinese language class. As Ms. Wen recalled, she herself and her sister found it "a great idea" to have some Chinese language classes, once their mother told them about the offer in Kiel. Ms. Wen said she had always wanted to learn the standard Chinese language, especially after she realized her Cantonese dialect was not comprehensible to the Chinese people living outside Guangdong Province. Ms. Wen still groaned about the lack of proper Chinese language schools in Kiel while she was growing up. To her, the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Berlin were quite fortunate to have different Chinese language schools to choose from, which was "completely incomparable to what we had in Kiel back then!"[263]

For Ms. Wen and her sister, to learn the Chinese language did not appear to be a task assigned by their parents, but rather a heritage from the whole family. "My parents left during the Revolution, but they have always loved the country." Ms. Wen repeatedly emphasized on this "love" during our conversations. "For them, China, Chinese civilization and Chinese culture, are all great things, make them feel proud. They always told us that these traditions are valuable, we shall not forget about them. They always tell us many stories, tell us how life in China was, what they did and played when they were little kids, what festivals they have, what they eat and what they do during these festivals. […] We have heard so many stories about dumplings, about Spring Festival, about Dragon Boat Festival […]. These are all very precious memories for them, so we also find these things very

[262] Author's translation, "她真是最糟糕的老师了，真是没得比！她也没有经验，不知道该怎么教，我们什么都没学到！三年下来什么进步都没有，我只记得我们唱那首歌，'鹅，鹅，鹅'，就学了这些！路上时间又那么长，我和我妹妹去了三年之后就放弃了。"

[263] Author's translation, "完全不能跟我们当时基尔的情况相比啊！"

precious. That is why I want to learn the standard Chinese, because I want to read books in Chinese, to read Chinese history. I want to talk to everyone when I go visit family members in China. I want to understand what's going on in China."[264]

While many children at Yizhi Language School and GaP Primary School saw neither the necessity nor the importance of learning Chinese, Ms. Wen and her sister had no hesitation to embrace the heritage language and culture from their parents. The life experiences and lifestyle of their family provided them with a comprehensive meaning and a strong sense of "being Chinese", which became a natural motivation for them to stay connected with the language and the culture. While many first-generation Chinese immigrants payed great attention to institutions and the impact of implicit socialization taking place at institutions, they often overlooked the importance of their own words and actions at home every day. Rather than the specific verbal expressions they used when they were pushing their children to learn Chinese at Chinese language schools and Chinese Christian churches, the attitudes of parents towards China and Chinese culture constituted significantly the attitudes of their children towards China and learning the Chinese language.

A trans-national and trans-generational family

Ms. Wen went to China every year to visit her family members in Guangdong Province, a regular practice she could recall from her early childhood. Not always with her parents, as it was difficult for them to have any holiday when they were working in kitchens of Chinese restaurants. She remembered going to China with her aunt a few times when she was still a little girl, with many other children in the family altogether. She jokingly called her aunt "the teacher of a Chinese class trip", and shared her memories about these trips fondly. When Ms. Wen was in her teens, her parents stopped working for Chinese restaurants of others and started working in the restaurant owned by their family. This change gave them the possibility to have a few days off during the school break of their daughters, so that they could go to China together. Just like Ms. Wen joined

[264] Author's translation, "对他们来说，中国，中华文明中国文化，都是很伟大的，让他们很骄傲。他们总是告诉我们这些传统都是很宝贵的，我们不应该忘掉。他们总是给我们讲故事，告诉我们中国的生活是怎么样的，他们小时候干什么玩什么，过什么节，过节的时候吃什么干什么。[…] 我们听了很多饺子的故事，春节，端午节的故事 […]。这些对他们来说都是很珍贵的记忆，所以我们也觉得这些很珍贵。所以我想学中文，因为我想读中文书，想读中国历史。我想去中国看亲戚的时候能跟所有人聊天。我想要理解中国在发生什么。"

her aunt when she was little, many children from various relatives and friends would join her parents as well. Often being the eldest of all the children, Ms. Wen had her turn to be "the teacher of Chinese class trips".

The paternal grandmother of Ms. Wen still lived in Guangdong Province. Ms. Wen frequently mentioned "*wo nainai*"[265] in Chinese during our conversation, and talked about her time staying with *nainai* affectionately. After graduating from high school in Kiel, Ms. Wen did not know what she wanted to study at university. "My dad and mom said, if you don't know what you want to study, why not go to China for a while, stay with *nainai*, and learn some Chinese?"[266] On her parents' advice, she went to Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong Province, enrolled in a Chinese-German translation study program at Guangzhou University. Her initial goal was to improve her standard Chinese. Soon enough, she came to realize how much she enjoyed swinging between German and Chinese, and she decided to come back to Germany to focus on Chinese studies. She applied to study "East Asian Studies" and "Chinese as a foreign language" at a German university, and began her education for a career as a Chinese teacher at German schools.

Epstein discusses the identification that develops between alternate generations among diasporas (Epstein 1978). As the second generation enters adolescence, tensions with their parents tend to mount and can eventually lead to conflicts and "increased questioning, even rejection, of the parents and the values they represent" (148). When parents are no longer the desired partners of communication, a warm and indulgent relation with the grandparents can play an important role of mediation in the family. Especially when it comes to the transmission of language and culture across generations, the presence of grandparents in the family provides children with a valuable source of knowledge and tradition, as in the case of Jewish communities in Epstein's description.

As I have analyzed in previous chapters, due to the history of Chinese immigrants in Germany and the specific migration policies, the current Chinese immigrants are mainly within the first two generations. Besides a small number of restaurant workers who came to Germany already before the reunification of Germany in 1990, the demographic features of Chinese immigrants lead to the absence of grandparents in the family. Unlike the fortunate case of Ms. Wen, relatives outside the

[265] "我奶奶", my paternal grandmother

[266] Author's translation, "我爸爸妈妈说，你如果不知道你想学什么，要不去中国跟奶奶待一会儿，学点中文？"

nuclear family, such as aunts and uncles, are usually not easy to find in Chinese immigrant households in Germany. Without any further family member, the daily tasks of raising children are loaded on the shoulders of the parents alone. The daily conflicts between the first and the second generation could become intensified quickly, and eventually escalate into rebellion of the younger generation against their heritage language and culture.

Without further members in a close family and community, the need to place their children in a "proper" environment with the "correct" peers appears to be more urgent in the eyes of many parents. Expectedly, many first-generation Chinese immigrants pay great attention to their choices of kindergartens and schools. Many studies have presented the challenges of immigrant children in the schoolyard (C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995; Schiffauer et al. 2004; C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009; R. Alba and Holdaway 2013). These researchers have shown that the lack of support from families and communities often reduces the chance of advancement in education among the second-generation immigrants, which leads to limited success in the labor market. Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco have repeatedly pointed out, that children of immigrants are constantly the victims of bullying and mobbing inside and outside the classroom. Particularly among the Latino youth in the US, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco illustrate how children of immigrants often enter schools with high motivation to achieve academic success, but gradually transform into early dropouts. Because of discrimination as well as assimilation into a negative local youth culture, the second-generation Latino immigrants likely end up becoming members of the neighborhood gangs (C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995; 2002).

The first-generation Chinese immigrants are fully aware of challenges like these. Their faith in institutions and their expectations from implicit socialization instigate a quest for the appropriate kindergartens and schools. However, as I have mentioned in the introduction, the record and reputation of public schools in Berlin have been less than ideal in the past decades. The mission of the first-generation Chinese immigrants to find the best environment for the upbringing of their children could lead to an unconventional journey.

We do not have to live like a minority

Many interlocutors who had lived in other parts of Germany before they moved to Berlin expressed their appreciation for the abundant choices of Chinese language schools and institutions in the capital city. From Chinese-German bilingual kindergartens to Saturday private language schools across the city, many parents considered it "pure luck" that they could manage to bring their children to a Chinese classroom without long-distance travelling. However, for Ms. JQ, this "pure luck" was the outcome from years of her efforts as an advocate to establish an infrastructure to support the younger generation of Chinese immigrants in Berlin.

Ms. JQ, whom I have introduced in Chapter 1, grew up in Shanghai and came to Berlin to study economics in 2002. After her son was born, she immediately saw the challenge she was facing: "My husband is German; Chinese is not the language at our home. If parents of the Chinese-Chinese families can't manage to make sure of their children [to speak Chinese], how can I possibly pull it off?"[267] She started searching for institutions where she could give her son, TT, more Chinese input. Soon enough, she realized that the best way to "pull it off" is to be the trailblazer herself: she established the very first Chinese-German bilingual kindergarten in Germany. After choosing a newly renovated apartment building in Prenzlauer Berg as the location, Ms. JQ recruited two teachers who were Chinese native-speakers with pedagogical background and teaching experiences. In summer 2008, "das China-Büro" opened its door. By the time when I started conducting my fieldwork in 2015, this kindergarten was accommodating 27 children between the ages of 1 – 6 years old. To meet the demand from the growing number of the second-generation Chinese immigrants in the city, a second Chinese-German bilingual kindergarten, "Berlin Panda Bears", opened in 2012 on the parallel street. This neighborhood had become the well-known zone of Chinese kindergartens among Chinese immigrants in Berlin ever since.

However, for Ms. JQ herself, none of this really counted as success, but rather a necessity. "I didn't want to do all this at all", she evaluated her efforts very frankly, "I wished there would have been some bilingual kindergarten I could just send my son to! There was none, what else could I do?"[268] As Ms. JQ recalled, shortly after her son started attending kindergarten, she began a new round of

[267] Author's translation, "我先生是德国人，中文不是家里的语言。如果连中中家庭的家长都没法保证他们孩子，我怎么能搞定呢？"

[268] Author's translation, "我是一点也不想干的，我是希望已经能有个幼儿园我能直接把我儿子送去就行！但是没有啊，那我还能怎么办？"

worries: What is next? Where should her son go, after a few years in a bilingual kindergarten? If he would go to a regular German primary school, then the bilingual capacities he acquired over the years from attending a bilingual kindergarten would be gone eventually.

Ms. JQ explained to me that she had witnessed numerous examples of second-generation Chinese immigrants learning and forgetting the Chinese language through the years. Children, who became fluent in both German and Chinese after attending the bilingual kindergartens, could lose the Chinese linguistic capacity rapidly once they started attending primary schools where German was the dominant language. She went on to list a number of children who attended the bilingual kindergarten with her son, "I watched them grow, watched them learn Chinese and speak Chinese for so many years, they are just like children of my own. They were so fluent already; we all thought this [Chinese linguistic capacity] must already be a part of their brains. Half a year at primary schools, everything was gone!"[269]

These examples gave Ms. JQ the motivation to carry on her mission, from establishing the first bilingual kindergarten to the very first bilingual primary school. I documented her years-long effort and struggle to establish a Chinese-German bilingual school at GaP Primary School in Prenzlauer Berg in Chapter 1. The plan to set up an "Europe School" failed in the end. However, throughout the years of negotiation and preparation to establish a Chinese-German bilingual school, GaP School already gained its reputation to be "bilingual" and attracted dozens of Chinese immigrant families to send their children, many of whom were "alumni" of the Chinese-German bilingual kindergartens in the same neighborhood. Although neither the official status of bilingual school nor the state funding to support its language programs was realized, Chinese parents did no shy away from calling it the "Chinese-German primary school"[270] among themselves and considered it a great asset to immerse their children in such an environment. An environment of having Chinese language classes in the school curriculum, but also an environment of having a sizeable number of Chinese children.

When I talked to Ms. JQ in 2015 and 2016, she was content with the outcome of the hard work she invested over the years, although her initial expectations did not come into reality. "At the beginning

[269] Author's translation, "我看着他们长大，看着他们学中文说中文这么多年，他们就像是我自己的孩子一样。他们已经那么流利啦，我们都觉得这肯定已经是他们大脑的一部分了，上小学半年，全没了！"
[270] "中德小学"

I was mainly worried about language, wanted to make sure that TT could still speak Chinese. After these years, it is really about creating an environment for these children. Be it primary school or kindergarten, the most important thing is to have a good environment for them, an environment to protect them, so that our children would not feel scared or worried, but feel safe and normal."[271]

To protect the children from what exactly? I asked Ms. JQ. "It's a protection of language, a protection of culture […]. In the end it is actually a protection of their mind"[272]. When I asked her further to elaborate her understanding of such "protection", she answered me by giving a few examples of well-known cases, where "foreign children" were mobbed and bullied at German schools. "Just look at Rütli! My goodness, have you seen those pictures?" Ms. JQ shook her head with a deep frown. "For parents, to these pictures, especially parents of Chinese children […]. Oh my, you have to do something, right? Our children are a minority here, you can't deny this fact. There are enough news about minorities getting bullied by German kids. […] School is a cruel place, cruel and brutal"[273].

During my fieldwork, I encountered a number of parents who were deeply worried and upset by how their children were bullied at school, and felt frustrated by how little they could actually do. One mother, who insisted to be completely anonymous, told me about her "heartbreak" when her seven-years-old daughter was called "du alte Scheiß-Chinesin" ("you old shit Chinese") by her classmates at school. A German girl, whose parents both worked as doctors in the neighborhood, was the alpha girl in her class, and she initiated the bullying by bringing her elder brother to the class and to "chase my daughter and beat her"[274]. Soon enough, "half of the class" started calling her daughter "Scheiß-Chinesin" while chasing and bullying her in the classroom and in the schoolyard.

Teachers of the class insisted that there was no such thing, and repeatedly reassured the parents that the alpha girl "comes from the best family" and was "the best in everything". The parents eventually

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[271] Author's translation, "开始的时候我主要是担心语言，想确保 TT 还能说好中文，这么多年了，其实最重要的还是给这些孩子创造一个环境。小学也好幼儿园也好，最重要的是给他们一个好的环境，一个能保护他们的环境，让我们的孩子不觉得害怕或者担心，而是觉得很安全，很正常。"

[272] Author's translation, "这是语言上的保护，也是文化上的保护 […] 。说到底其实也是心理的保护。"

[273] Author's translation, "你看看 Rütli，天呐，你看过那些照片吗？作为家长，看到这些照片，尤其是中国孩子的家长 […] 。 天呐，你必须得做点什么，对吧？我们的孩子在这儿就是少数群体，你没法否认这个事实。有那么多少数群体被德国孩子欺负的新闻。[…] 学校是个很残酷的地方，又残酷又残忍。"

[274] Author's translation, "追着我女儿打".

equipped their daughter with mini-recorder inside her jacket to tape evidence, while at the same time started taking the daughter to boxing classes to learn how to defend herself at school. After a few more months of frustration, the parents transferred the daughter to a private school, where she seemed to be more comfortable and more willing to go to school. However, her daughter still attended the boxing class every week and took it very seriously. The little girl once told her trainer that she wanted to learn everything in the boxing class well "to be prepared for school". When I met the mother in 2016, she was considering taking the girl to see child psychiatrists, while blaming herself for not taking her to a private school earlier.

Coming back to my conversation with Ms. JQ, I asked her whether her son TT ever had this kind of experience. To her knowledge, such mobbing never happened to TT. In her opinion, the reason might be that TT had always been very active in sports. But this didn't stop Ms. JQ from worrying about it, not only about TT, but about all the second-generation Chinese immigrants at school. "It already makes this school safer, just by having these Chinese children gather here. They are here in every grade, every class; having classes, eating, playing, you can see Chinese children everywhere. This makes them feel normal. Chinese children would feel normal to be at a German school; German children would feel normal, too, because they have Chinese classmates everywhere. Then there is nothing to make fun of, nothing to bully. Our children do not have to live like a minority here. They can be more confident about themselves, because it is normal to be a Chinese child here."[275]

How to buy the feeling of safety at school

As I was writing this chapter at the beginning of 2018, the media were discussing the latest reports of school mobbing and violence in Germany. First on Jan. 23, 2018, a 15-years-old boy fatally stabbed a 14-years-old schoolmate in the hall of Käthe-Kollwitz-Gesamtschule in Lünen, North

[275] Author's translation, "中国孩子能聚在这儿，就已经让这个学校更安全了。他们在每个年级，每个班，上课，吃饭，玩儿，到处都有中国孩子。这就让他们觉得很正常，中国孩子会觉得在德国学校是很正常的，德国孩子也会觉得很正常，因为他们在哪里都有中国同学啊。这样就没什么好起哄的，没什么好欺负的，我们的孩子就不需要像少数群体一样生活。他们能对自己更自信，因为在这儿当个中国孩子很正常！"

Rhine-Westphalia[276]. One month later, in February 2018, a primary school in Aue-Fallstein, a small town in the Harz Mountains in Saxony-Anhalt[277], stirred the discussion again by publishing an open letter to the parents. Eight teachers, including the school principal, addressed the "extreme physical violence and physical injury of other pupils", the "sabotage of classes through permanent disruption and affray" and the "developing callousness" of children towards each other.[278]

As I have mentioned in the introduction, violence at German schools is nothing new, especially at schools with a high percentage of pupils coming from immigrant families. For parents in Berlin, the grim conditions of public schools and the lack of public funding in the capital city only made them more anxious about the well-being of their children. Like my conversations with Ms. JQ, many of the first-generation Chinese immigrants I talked to mentioned Rütli School in Neukölln, when they expressed their concerns over the regular routines of bullying and mobbing at public schools in Berlin. Several Chinese parents complained to me about teachers and school directors they encountered, who, in their opinions, failed to protect children of migrant families.

Similar to the girl who attended weekly boxing class, some parents among my interlocutors also took the precaution and brought their children to sports classes of boxing, kung-fu, taekwondo or judo, in order to prepare them physically. While other parents, especially parents of young girls, bought expensive toys regularly and invited the whole class to parties or fun events to cultivate a reputation of being a well-to-do family to gain some authority at school. I encountered parents exchanging strategies like these frequently in the waiting room of Yizhi School and in "Martin Luther Room" at the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin.

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[276] Lukas Eberle, "Ich wurde als Mörder bezeichnet", *Spiegel Online*, March 23, 2018, https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/luenen-schulleiter-nach-messerattacke-ich-wurde-als-moerder-bezeichnet-a-1199546.html

[277] Simone Gaul, "Gewalt und Gefühlskälte in der Grundschule", *Zeit Online*, February 24, 2018, http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/schule/2018-02/sachsen-anhalt-gewalt-schulen-lehrer-brief-eltern and Armin Himmelrath, "Extreme körperliche Gewalt und Gefühlskälte", *Spiegel Online*, February, 23, 2018, http://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/osterwieck-grundschullehrer-senden-hilferuf-mit-offenem-brief-a-1195056.html

[278] Kathrin Spoerr, "Der Eindringling", *Welt Plus*, March 4, 2018, https://www.welt.de/vermischtes/plus174162797/Gewalt-an-Grundschule-Der-Eindringling.html
Author's translation based on quotation from the letter, "Die Probleme äußert sich im Unterrichts- und Pausengeschehen in extremer körperlicher Gewalt, Körperverletzungen anderer Schüler, dem Nichteinhalten bekannter Verhaltensregeln oder durch Nichtkenntnis von Regeln des zwischenmenschlichen Umgangs, Sabotage des Unterrichts durch permanente Störungen und Schlägereien, unerlaubtes Verlassen des Unterrichts, Sabotage des Unterrichts durch Nichterscheinen zum Unterricht oder durch Verstecken auf dem Schulgelände".

Out of worry and fear, many Chinese immigrants decided to send their children to private schools, although it could be far more costly. One of the favorites among Chinese parents in Berlin was the "Berlin Brandenburg International School", a private school located in a southwestern suburb of Berlin. The school labeled itself to be "celebrating diversity in a caring, internationally minded community", and its current pupils were of 68 different nationalities (in 2018). The annual tuition for pupils of primary school levels was between 13700 – 15400 euros, while it could go up to 16000 – 18200 euros for pupils of higher grades[279]. However, as one of the parents, Ms. Gao, explained to me, "if my son actually feels safe here, money is not the problem. We as parents can figure out the money. We can earn money, save money, borrow money, right? This is just money […]. But where can you borrow a sense of security for your children? Where can you earn the protection of not being bullied for your children?"[280]

Although there are many studies focusing on children of immigrants and their academic performance at schools, we know very little about how these children psychologically and emotionally adapt into the school culture in a host society. A few researchers have documented children of immigrants, particularly the 1.5-generation immigrants who arrive in a new country during school age, and their struggles of learning a new language while getting to know a new country and a new culture (C. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009; Gibson et al. 2013). For the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Germany, as well as the second-generation immigrants of other origins who live in other countries, the barrier to overcome is not only language, but rather the status of "being the minority". As Ms. JQ said, school can be a cruel place. During the course my fieldwork, I myself repeatedly witnessed children of darker skin being mobbed and bullied by their "white" German classmates in the schoolyard of GaP School and in the subway station next to the school. The brutality of such abuse makes Ms. JQ's efforts to create a space where Chinese pupils are no longer the minority understandable and well justified.

Researchers have pointed out the disadvantages of being an immigrant youth in the higher education system and later in the labor market in Europe. After comparing second-generation Turks in fifteen cities in Europe, Crul and Schneider conclude that "more than in any other country, second-

[279] Data from the homepage of the school: http://www.bbis.de/admissions/tuition-fees

[280] Author's translation, "如果我儿子觉得这里安全，那钱都不是问题。我们当家长的能把钱搞定。我们可以挣钱，省钱，借钱，是吧？这就是钱嘛[…]。但是你上哪儿给你的孩子借安全感呢？上哪儿能挣到让你孩子不受欺负的保证呢？"

generation Turks in Germany are penalized because their parents do not – or are unable to – support their school careers" (Crul and Schneider 2012, 380). In the UK, it is pointed out that "even the Chinese, who throughout all stages of the educational career appear to outperform the white majority in Britain, find that their advantage is smallest when it comes to access the elite universities" (Waters et al. 2013, 151). Together with the long-standing reputation in the US as the "model minority" (Lee and Zhou 2015; Chou and Feagin 2015), it is worth noting that Chinese parents in Berlin are not particularly concerned with the academic performance of their children, but rather their semiotic capital of speaking German and their self-identification of being Chinese.

Hayes-Bautista argues that ethnic identity can be both achieved and ascribed. While some immigrants struggle through an internal process to feel like a member of an ethnic group and to gain an ethnic identity, others receive the identification of ethnicity that is ascribed to them by the majority group in the society (Hayes-Bautista, Schink, and Chapa 1988; C. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002). Ms. JQ started her quest for a school where her son would lose neither the ethnic identity nor the Chinese language capacity. However, her journey led her to create a space where the Chinese identity of her son shall not be ascribed by others. While some parents aimed to strengthen the Chinese identity of their children, others considered GaP School a valuable place where the second-generation Chinese immigrants could be "normal". Many first-generation Chinese immigrants brought their children to GaP School for the prospect of a Chinese-German bilingual school and the unique offer of Chinese language programs. However, by gathering together at GaP School, the first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants had created a space where their Chinese ethnic background would not be eye-catching and where they were no longer the minority.

Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco summarize that identity, especially ethnic identity among children of immigrants, could go through a variety of permutations as these children explore different identity strategies. Typically, they go from an initial stage of ethnic/racial unawareness, to "exploration", and to "a final stage resulting in an 'achieved' sense of ethnic or racial identity" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002, 119). But what does it take to draw a youth into one identity style? Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco argue that among the variety of complex psychological, social, cultural, and economic factors, the "social mirror" is the key element for immigrant youth. By "social mirror", Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco refer to public perceptions, racial distortions, quality of day-to-day interactions and ascribed identity (120 – 121). For the first-generation Chinese immigrants like Ms. JQ, the "social mirror" about China and Chinese in German

society and at German schools is the motivation for them to engage in the identity formation of the next generation.

Conclusion

Compared to children of Turkish immigrants (R. D. Alba, Schmidt, and Wasmer 2003; Ewing 2008; Yurdakul 2009), the second-generation Chinese immigrants are fortunate enough to have less social stigma to fight against. Nevertheless, as I have illustrated in this chapter, being the minority at schools and in society still poses challenges for both the first and the second generations of Chinese immigrants in Germany. Parents like Ms. JQ strain every nerve to find, if not to create, the best conditions and circumstances (*tiaojian*) for their children. Not necessarily the best for their academic performance, but the best for their children to grow up in peace with their preference of language and orientation of identity, to have *true affection and real feelings* with their parents and their Chinese background.

The very last time I spoke with Ms. JQ, I asked her about her long-term expectation for her son. Instead of listing elite universities or prestigious occupations, she said, "I hope he can feel at home in Germany, but also at home in China". As we were speaking, her son TT was playing Lego with other children on the table next to us. We overheard TT bragging about flying with Hainan Airline, the only airline that offered direct flights to China from Berlin, every time when he went to China to visit. "What? You never heard of Hainan Airline?" TT asked one friend at the table, "That's because you never went to China!"[281] He sounded very proud to be the only one in this conversation with this exclusive feature, and this gave Ms. JQ a visible sense of joy. "This", pointing at the children's table shyly, "this is what I wish him to be".

When the first-generation Chinese immigrants bring their children to institutions like Chinese language schools and Chinese Christian churches, the goal these parents set their eyes on goes far beyond the linguistic capacity of the Chinese language. Not only does the Chinese language competence symbolize the recognition and appreciation of their Chinese heritage, more importantly, it could lead to a shared understanding and attachment between the first and the second generation of Chinese immigrants about their mutual relations. Hanks (Hanks 1996; 2005b) argues that one key

[281] Author's translation, "Was? Du hast nie von Hainan Air gehört? Weil du noch nie in China warst!"

element of language socialization is a shared interest and emotional bonding. "What they must share […] is the ability to orient themselves verbally, perceptually, and physically to each other and to their social worlds" (Hanks 1996, 229). In the case of the Chinese immigrants in Germany, when the parents make the struggling journey to bring their children to learn the Chinese language, they not only attempt to connect their children with their heritage language and culture. Much more importantly, they are trying to form a closer relationship and a better understanding between the two generations, and to reach the emotional bonding and the mutual attachment that could orient themselves in each other's world.

By presenting different ways of inter-generational interaction between parents and children while learning Chinese, I aimed to show in this chapter that parents' attitudes towards China could determine their children's attitudes towards learning the Chinese language as well as the children's identification with their Chinese background. The second generation's connection with China is the "relation to a language" they need to acquire, before they are able to acquire the linguistic capacity of the Chinese language (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). The *true affection and real feelings* of the first-generation Chinese immigrants and their relation to China predesignate their children's relation to China and the Chinese language. The determination of parents to cultivate the Chinese linguistic capacity of their children, the commitment of parents to spend enough time and energy to engage in the daily communication and interaction with their children. These elements together shape the process of language socialization, when children of immigrants are learning the heritage language in a host society, in spite of the agency they have during the acquisition of language and transmission of knowledge.

Conclusion

The Lord had said to Abram, "Go from your country, your people and your father's household to the land I will show you. I will make you into a great nation, and I will bless you; I will make your name great, and you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and whoever curses you I will curse; and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you." So Abram went, as the Lord had told him; and Lot went with him. Abram was seventy-five years old when he set out from Harran. He took his wife Sarai, his nephew Lot, all the possessions they had accumulated and the people they had acquired in Harran, and they set out for the land of Canaan, and they arrived there. – Genesis 12: 1 – 5 (NIV)

One of the remarkable things in this story is that the Lord did not tell Abram, where to go, as he and his whole family set off. He arrived in the land of Canaan and "traveled through the land as far as the site of the great tree of Moreh at Shechem" (Genesis 12: 6). He built an altar there, then went on "towards the hills east of Bethel" (Genesis 12: 8) and built another altar. "Then Abram set out and continued toward the Negev" (Genesis 12:9). The journey went on and on, eventually led him to Egypt and back, moving repeatedly across the land of Canaan for the rest of his life.

As ancient as this story appears to be, it captures the character of migration, even in the 21st century. Migrants are not only people who move from their hometowns to well-marked destinations on the map. Especially in the world we live today, migrants are often people who are on the move, not necessarily knowing where exactly they are heading towards or where they would eventually belong. Migrants settle down in one place, build an "altar" to celebrate their career and to value their family, before they receive a calling and move on to the next one. Some would return to the place of birth at the end of the journey, while others, like Abram and his family, could set off repeatedly to new destinations with new missions, transforming themselves from "Abram" (meaning "exalted father") to "Abraham" (meaning "father of many") along the way.

In my research, I focused on the Chinese immigrants who came to Germany as students, found jobs and stayed after graduation, and eventually launched their career and founded families. When I asked them "Why Berlin?", hardly anyone had foreseen the destination before their departure. Some had dreams about "going abroad to study" and "going out to have a look"[282]; some had fantasies about Europe and Germany; some had ambitions to "learn some real skills"[283] and to accomplish success in their careers. Many, many Chinese immigrants came to Germany and settled in Berlin because of jobs, spouses, children, opportunities and possibilities, and most of all, expectations to have "a better life"[284].

The journey of migration does not always unfold according to the plan, especially when the plan constantly shifts its direction along the journey. People move from place to place in search for a different scale of existence, not necessarily a better job with better pay, or a better neighborhood to settle a family, but also a different range of possibilities for the future. Julie Chu illustrates eloquently that "in a world where neither locality nor home could be assumed to be stable objects and points of anchorage" (Chu 2010, 11), the open end of the journey triggers the longings to be "on the move", and migration starts even before the journey begins. For some, the different range of possibilities translates into a future of new opportunities. They leave their hometowns, because they do not want to live the same life as their parents and grandparents, a life that they could already see through and predict the ending. The unknown is rather a drive for them, when the lack of certainty pronounces as prospects and adventures. For others, the different range of possibilities promises a different scope of hopes and dreams. Like artists moving to Paris in the 19th century, the value of what they value transcends by being in a different culture. A "better" life does not necessarily equal higher income or bigger houses, but rather to match their aspirations for their children and for the future.

Migrants, just like everyone else, long for a good life. However, what constitutes a "good" life to each person locates in the larger picture of ideas and orientations he or she has about life, about the past, the present and the future. It is in culture that ideas of the future, as much as of those about the past, are embedded and nurtured (Appadurai 2004). As I have presented in previous chapters, for the Chinese immigrants in Germany, the aspirations they place on their children depend essentially on the events and the characteristics of their own upbringings and the journey of

[282] Author's translation, "出国留学" and "出去看看".

[283] Author's translation, "学点真本事".

[284] Author's translation, "更好的生活".

migrating from China to Germany. As the first-generation Chinese immigrants encounter barriers in the advancement of their career and the lack of upward mobility in the social hierarchy, they seek new paths to move forward for themselves and for their children.

In this thesis, I first offered an introduction to the history of Chinese immigrants in Germany, especially the main channels of migration between China and Germany after World War II. By demonstrating the shared trajectory of migration, I highlighted the two features among the Chinese immigrants in Germany. First, the current community of Chinese immigrants has a short history living in Germany, and Chinese migrant families mainly consist of the first and the second generations. Secondly, as education has become the main entrance gate for young Chinese to set foot in Germany since 1990s, the average age of Chinese immigrants is relatively low compared to immigrants from other countries of origins, while the percentage of being German university graduates is disproportionately high. These two features not only have shaped the experiences of their lives in Germany, but also their expectations and ambitions for the second generation.

As I have argued throughout the thesis, the image of China is often tinted in the public eye under Germany's own *phantasma* (Lacan) of its history with a Communist regime. Many first-generation Chinese immigrants have experienced suspicion and discrimination at universities and workplaces, which gradually become obstacles and rejections during the development of their career. Some consider their Chinese background to be the source of the negative perception they are confronted with in German society. When they become parents, they are determined to alter the upbringing of their children and provide them with the best conditions and circumstances ("tiaojian").

Realizing the importance of speaking the legitimate language in the field, many first-generation Chinese immigrants emphasize the value of speaking German as native speakers, when they raise the next generation. They cast hope on their children to understand the German language thoroughly and intimately to advance their position in studies and careers, and later to advance their status in politics and in the society. As I have documented in Chapter 1, Chinese parents designate significant efforts to ensure the linguistic capital of their children. Many interlocutors in my fieldwork have gone the extra mile to fabricate a German-speaking environment for their children to foster the proper manners and styles of speaking German, while at the same time, consciously or unconsciously, have neglected the Chinese language and culture. Most of the second-generation Chinese immigrants I encountered speak hardly any Chinese. Not only do they lack the linguistic

capacity to speak the language, but also the interest and the motivation of getting to know their heritage background.

When the second generation has indeed gained the linguist capital in German, the power relation between parents and children could shift into a new balance. The second-generation Chinese immigrants no longer identify themselves with the habitus their parents embody. Instead, they are inclined to their peers at school, eager to assimilate into the social life with their friends and classmates, a social life that is sometimes outside the comfort zone of their parents. As illustrated in Chapter 2, the communication between two generations becomes increasingly confrontational. Unfamiliar with adolescence turmoil in the Western culture, many first-generation Chinese immigrants are unprepared to handle intergenerational conflicts in the cross-cultural context, and seek help from institutions like Chinese language schools or Chinese Christian churches. Learning the Chinese language becomes the solution in the eyes of these parents, when they try to find a mutual understanding and to modify the relation between two generations.

Through the examples of Yizhi Language School and the Chinese Christian Church of Berlin, I have illustrated in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, why and how the first-generation Chinese immigrants view public institutions as supplementary venues to mitigate the intergenerational conflicts and to strengthen relations across generations. Language schools and Christian churches are not only locations where the second generation could obtain additional education, but also opportunities for their parents to gain further resources and authority for themselves to amend the challenges at home. Parents believe in the impact of implicit socialization at institutions. They count on the power within the implicit transfer of principles, habitus and cultural capital, when hundreds of Chinese immigrants gather and the Chinese language is spoken and heard. The first-generation Chinese immigrants bring their children into the reproduction of a legitimate culture they approve of as parents, and place their hope on the formal and informal teaching and learning inside and outside the classroom to achieve the intimacy between generations that they are not able to reach at home.

However, while some parents are content with the prospect of their weekend education programs, others remain struggling with the resistance from their children to take part in these programs in the first place. As I have presented in these two chapters, the extracurricular activities on weekend could also lead towards more frictions between the two generations, or even trigger "war" every Saturday morning. While parents are waiting outside the classroom and exchanging strategies of parenting, their children find solidarity inside the classroom among each other. They quickly realize that not

only they share the discontent of sitting in the classroom on weekend, but also the lack of interest to learn the Chinese language and the reluctance to be associated with the Chinese background from their parents. I have illustrated in these two chapters, that the implicit socialization many parents anticipate has its potential backlash. The unique position of the second-generation Chinese immigrants could create a pathway for them to bond with each other and to empower themselves in the intergenerational conflicts at home.

In the first three chapters, I have documented the conditions, under which the second-generation Chinese immigrants no longer speak Chinese. I have described the urge and the effort from their parents to bring them to public institutions, and analyzed the reasons why these measures could hardly bring any change. However, this thesis by no means intends to suggest, that all the Chinese migrant families share the same problem. In Chapter 4, I have included a number of families, where the two generations of Chinese immigrants share a mutual understanding about their Chinese heritage and the importance of the Chinese language. The harmonious relationship between parents and children in these families is not necessarily any guarantee of the Chinese linguistic capacity among the younger generation. Nevertheless, the attitudes of parents towards China and their Chinese background could have a profound impact on the attitudes of their children towards China, as well as these children's identification with their Chinese background. By presenting different ways of intergenerational interaction between parents and children while learning Chinese, I emphasize the key importance of emotional bonding and relationality in language socialization.

When the first-generation Chinese immigrants wish their children could speak the same language, they are not merely longing for the improvement of Chinese linguistic capacity. Much more importantly, it is a wish to have better communication with their children, and to form a closer relationship between the two generations. To the first-generation Chinese immigrants in my fieldwork, the Chinese language capacity of their children symbolizes the recognition, if not appreciation, of their Chinese heritage, and at the same time the acknowledgement of their Chinese parents. Such recognition and acknowledgement, in their opinion, could lead to better understanding and closer relationship between the first and the second generation, and eventually cultivate a stronger attachment among the younger generation towards their parents and families, especially when they are in the age of adolescence.

Scholars like Ochs and Schieffelin have repeatedly challenged the concept of socialization in the writings of Parsons and Bourdieu (Ochs 1988; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984; B. B. Schieffelin and

Ochs 1986a; 1986b; B. B. Schieffelin 1990). They criticize both Parsons and Bourdieu for depicting the learning process of children to be unidirectional and goal-oriented, and argue that language socialization is an interactive process between two equal partners. In their works, they emphasize not only the active participation of children in the process of language learning, but also the agency of children that could give them the upper hand with new technologies of communication (B. B. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a; Ochs 1988; Ochs and Schieffelin 2012). Parents and children together establish a collaborative relationship, where both parties are able to contribute to and benefit from the interaction (Heath 1983; Goodwin 1996; Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi 2001).

In my research, I share the acknowledgement with Ochs and Schieffelin, that children do have their own agency during language socialization. Either within the setting of a family or a classroom, the transmission of linguistic capacity is far from a reproductive procedure of copy-and-paste. Both parents and children are active participants and both contribute in the process of learning a new language. However, I would like to argue that the agency of parents and children do not have the same weight. Parents and children do not share the same access to resources, neither the same amount of power. Children modify their acquisition of knowledge according to their own interest and aspiration; nevertheless, as I have shown in my ethnography, the interest and aspiration of parents play a determining role in the formation and transformation of their children's interest and aspiration.

Bourdieu and Passeron (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) emphasize the acquisition of "a relation to language" before acquiring the linguistic features of a language. As I have argued in my thesis, "a relation to language" can contain several components. The personal relations among members of a speech community can shape members' relation to the community, which can further shape their attitude towards the language. In the case of the second-generation immigrants, the interaction between parents and children, as well as the interaction among children themselves, both can be decisive in the construction of the "relation to language" among the second-generation immigrants.

Through my research with Chinese immigrant families in Berlin, I conclude that, although children have their own agency during the transmission of semiotic capital, parents' relation to their Chinese background considerably predesignates children's relation to the Chinese language. The formation of the relation to language plays a crucial role in the acquisition of language. Language socialization is not only a process of learning a language and acquiring membership in a speech community. Much more importantly, it is a path to build mutual understanding and shared attachment between

children and their parents or teachers. For immigrants and their children, learning the heritage language is ultimately gaining the recognition and acknowledgement of the migrant background in migrant families.

Further implications for immigrants with children

As I have listed in the introduction, about 20 percent of the population living in Germany have migration background and more than half (56%) of them have already obtained the German citizenship. In big cities with commercial and industrial zones like Frankfurt (49%) and Stuttgart (43%)[285], inhabitants with migration background constitute almost half of the population. Children of immigrants are the new faces of German schools, and to raise children in Germany has become a common task for more and more immigrants. However, as I have discussed in previous chapters, schools in Germany are rather reluctant to alter their curriculum in order to adapt to the student body of increasing diversity. The lack of bilingual programs at schools in most *Bundesländer* poses an enormous challenge for parents, who wish to keep their children embedded within their heritage languages and cultures.

Many researchers (i.e. Fillmore 1991; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009) have shown that children do not need to be in a monolingual environment to realize the importance of one particular language. Especially for children of immigrants, it does not require extra effort for them to realize that the host language – in the case of my research, German – is the most important tool they need to master in order to be a part of the society. Conversations they hear in the street, cartoons they watch on TV, or just the package of their favorite snacks. The latest by the time when children start attending kindergartens, the importance of speaking German in their everyday life speaks for itself. Different children may configure and perform their linguistic capacity in German at different paces, but there is no need for parents to further justify the legitimacy of the German language, nor to strengthen the motivation of their children to learn and to speak German.

The language that children of immigrants need encouragement and stimulation to keep up is their heritage language. Especially after the second generation starts attending schools and forming their

[285] Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, "Fast jeder dritte Berliner hat einen Migrationshintergrund", *Abendschau* at 19:30 on August 1, 2018, https://www.rbb24.de/panorama/beitrag/2018/08/fast-jeder-dritte-berliner-migrationshintergrund.html

social life outside homes, their interest and their capacity of speaking the heritage language fades rapidly. Like the Chinese families in my research, once the capacity of heritage language among the younger generation deteriorates, immigrant families of multi-generations will have to stop using their heritage language at home, and start speaking the local language instead. OECD reported in 2015, that Germany, France and the Netherlands are countries, where the highest percentage of migrant families speak the language of the host society at home. Meanwhile, US, UK, Ireland and Canada have the highest percentage of migrant families speaking their heritage languages at home (OECD and European Union 2015, 62). In Germany, nearly 50% of immigrant families speak German at home. It is a sharp contrast to the repeated depiction in the media over the incompetence of immigrants and their children in learning and speaking the German language, and a resolute counter-fact over against the social platitude in Germany of how reluctant immigrants are to integrate into the mainstream society. In spite of variations across countries of origin and the spectrum of occupations, immigrants and their children in Germany in the 21st century have exceeded the expectation from the native population to speak the same language.

Besides rendering a reminder for the first-generation immigrants to value their heritage languages and to vitalize the motivation of their children in the practical manner, this thesis also addresses language as the embodiment of communication and relationality. Language develops socially, as Wilhelm von Humboldt repeatedly emphasized. Language exists only within the connection of speech and communication, and it serves as the social condition for ideas and relationships to form and to develop (Humboldt 1963, 186). "The process of understanding" (Hanks 1996, 234) does not necessarily require a common language, but rather a shared sense of "what's going on" and a mutual recognition of each other's presence. For immigrants and their children, the importance of a shared understanding about their heritage language and culture stands out. As I have argued in this thesis, without a sense of appreciation for their migrant background, without an attachment to their family and their ethnic community, the efforts of the first-generation Chinese immigrants to bring their children to learn the Chinese language at institutions not only lead to little success, but also to intergenerational conflicts and confrontations in the family.

Further implications for educators and policy-makers

As I have analyzed in the introduction, the public surveillance of immigrants and their progress in assimilation into the local society is on the rise worldwide in the past decade. While multiculturalism and cultural pluralism are gaining ground within the liberal base, the policies of linguistic diversity are leaning towards the opposite direction in countries like US, Germany and China. Zolberg and Woon offered their observation back in the 1990s, that linguistic diversity is not welcomed in the US, while religious diversity is not appreciated in Europe (Zolberg and Woon 1999). 20 years later, as religious diversity is gradually securing legitimacy through legal framework within the European Union, linguistic diversity still struggles under the public scrutiny. Especially in the US, bilingual education and heritage language programs for children of immigrants have been on an unfortunate decline, losing its legal ground at both the federal and the state level of policies.

Being a proud nation of immigrants, the U.S. has a long tradition of bilingual education. Since the first of its kind, a Polish and English bilingual school for the children of Poles in the English settlement of Virginia in the 17th century (Seidner 1976), bilingual education has existed in one form or another throughout the American history. According to Goldenberg (Goldenberg 2015), by 1900 more than one million elementary-grade students were receiving bilingual education in English and one other language, roughly six percent of the 16 million elementary-grade students at that time. A remarkable number, especially compared to the three percent of the elementary-grades students, who could have bilingual education in the US in 2015. After "The Bilingual Education Act" was signed into a federal law in 1968, bilingual education in the US confirmed its legitimacy and financial support across the country (Kloss 1977).

However, the public opinion towards immigration in the US shifted dramatically since 1968, and the federal support for children of immigrants became the target and the victim of the political swings. In 2002, *The No Child Left Behind Act* was signed into law under the George W. Bush administration, renaming "The Bilingual Education Act" into "The English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act", renaming the previous "Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs" into "Office of English Language Acquisition" (Goldenberg 2015). The change of names sent an expressive signal of the shift of policies towards bilingual education, and the consequences in the past 15 years were plainly visible. According to the report of "Office of English Language Acquisition" in 2015, only five states currently have laws to secure bilingual education programs, while four states have implemented laws constraining the use

of bilingual education[286]. The state of California, for example, renounced its legal mandate for bilingual education in 1987, and several attempts to renew the mandate failed ever since (Fillmore 1991).

In Germany, the reception of bilingual education went through a similar path. During the prime flux of guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s, "mother-tongue class"[287] was offered at schools in a number of *Bundesländer* like Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, in areas where children of guest workers constituted a high percentage in the classroom. However, similar to the political tenor in the US, public opinion of immigrants has sharpened dramatically in Germany in the past decades as well. Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria both suspended their mother-tongue classes for children of immigrants in recent years. The mainstream media often quickly politicize and criticize the attempts from schools to cooperate with embassies and consulates to establish bilingual programs and heritage-language classes, calling such efforts "an invitation to have Erdogan in the classroom"[288].

To speak the German language as a testimony of being a "true" German has a long history in Germany. When Napoleon conquered the German-speaking territory in 1808, the Bavarian King Ludwig decided to build Walhalla, a temple of celebrating "German-ness" in the time of French occupation. "What decides the continued existence of a people is not the place of residence but the language", Ludwig wrote, declaring the capacity of speaking German as one of the key criteria to be selected into the temple (MacGregor 2017, 161). Speaking German as the essential standard of being a German remains true in the 21st century. Immigrants living in contemporary Germany are very familiar with the expectation to speak German, and it becomes more obtrusive than ever since the arrival of asylum seekers and the increasing percentage of immigrants in the country in recent years. The mainstream media tirelessly emphasize the importance of speaking German as both the precondition and the measurement for migrants to integrate into German society, often with examples of "failure" from Turkish and Arab communities. Meanwhile, the capacity of speaking the heritage language frequently raises questions about the existence of "parallel societies", which, as some scholars argue, can lead to "disintegration" and "ethnicization" (Heitmeyer et al. 1995; Anhut and Heitmeyer 2000) within the entire German society. The linguistic capacity of heritage languages

[286] U.S. Department of Education, Office of English Language Acquisition, *Dual Language Education Programs: Current State Policies and Practices*, http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oela/resources.html Washington, D.C., 2015
[287] "muttersprachlicher Unterricht"
[288] Heike Schmoll, "Erdogan im Klassenzimmer", *FAZ NET*, April 2, 2017, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/tuerkische-indoktrination-an-deutschen-schulen-14954483.html

among immigrants is often viewed as the great barrier that prevents them from a "successful" integration.

As I have shown in my ethnography, such public narratives have a direct impact on the parenting choices of immigrants, when they raise the next generation. Alarmed by these warnings, many interlocutors in my research see the future of their own children in threat and danger. Due to the short history of Chinese immigrants in Germany and the small size of immigrant families, the first-generation Chinese immigrants have no further relative to rely on, no experience to learn from, and no example of "success" to draw upon. Blindsided by the frightening prospect of "failing" to integrate, many parents intensely focus on cultivating their children's capacity to master the German language, while consciously or unconsciously putting the Chinese language and their Chinese background aside. The lack of senior members in a community results in the lack of experiences to navigate the challenges of raising children in a foreign country. While at the same time, the lack of grandparents and secondary relatives can lead to the intensification of conflicts between parents and children within the nuclear families. In many cases, by the time the first generation becomes aware of the importance of Chinese language and the cultural heritage of their Chinese origin, it is already too little too late.

It is an odd idea to hold the immigrants accountable for creating "parallel societies" within Germany. The Thirty Years' War (1618 – 1648) cut the land and its people into two realms of existence along religious lines. From schools to newspapers, the overriding differences and dissociation between the Protestant and the Catholic culture remain visible in Germany until today. The territorial fragmentation at the end of the Thirty Years' War created the unique German phenomenon of "small state-ery" ("Kleinstaaterei"), small sized principalities and "Free Imperial Cities" with their own political autonomy and religious affiliation within the Holy Roman Empire. During the 18th century, estimates of such independent states on the German soil ranged from 294 to 348 (Cussans 1994), all co-exiting within the Empire as a mottled multi-ethnic complex.

The Germany we know today has only existed since 1990, after 45 years of division between West Germany and East Germany. Until this day, the re-united Germany is still digesting the cultural, economic, political and ideological gaps between the western and the eastern parts of the country. SOEP – a long-term socio-economic study investigating the development in former East and West Germany since 1990 – reported in 2014, that "East and West Germans continue to show clear differences in their political preferences" 25 years after reunification, and there are "only limited

signs of unity in citizens' political attitudes and their participation in the political process"[289]. Between 1991 and 2006, 2.45 million East Germans migrated to the West (16.6% of the population in the former East Germany), while 1.45 million West Germans migrated to the East (Fuchs-Schündeln and Schündeln 2009). Interestingly, among all the married couples in Germany, only 1.7% are combinations of one East German and one West German (Lois 2014), while 7% are combinations of one German and one non-German (data by 2017)[290].

As Neil MacGregor illustrates elegantly in *Germany: memories of a nation*, "the long political fragmentation of Germany into autonomous states" leads to the lack of one coherent and coordinated national story. "In consequence, much of German history is a composite of different, sometimes conflicting, local narratives" (MacGregor 2017, xii). Such history has endowed Germany with the tradition of coexisting in spite of differences and the capacity of accommodating diversity, a particularly valuable heritage in the 21st century. "Parallel societies" not only have existed throughout the entire German history, it has formed and transformed Germany into the nation we know today.

[289]Berlin Institute for Economic Research, "25 years of German Unity: Political orientations still different in East Germany and West Germany", *Press Release*, September 9, 2015 https://www.diw.de/en/diw_01.c.513558.en/topics_news/25_years_of_german_unity_political_orientations_still_different_in_east_germany_and_west_germany.html

[290] Statistisches Bundesamt, "Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund - Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2017", August 1, 2018, https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/Publikationen/Downloads-Migration/migrationshintergrund-2010220177004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=4

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