

# **IMMIGRANT HABITUS**

## **Intercultural Strategies of the Chinese Immigrants in Germany**

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We intend “to uncover the most profoundly buried structures of the various social worlds ... as well as ‘mechanisms’ which tend to ensure their reproduction or their transformation. This universe is peculiar in that its structures lead, as it were, a ‘double life’. They exist ‘twice’ in the ‘objectivity of the first order’ constituted by the *distribution of material* resources and means of appropriation of socially scarce goods and values (species of capital, in Bourdieu’s technical language); and in the “objectivity of the second order,” in the form of systems of classification, the mental and bodily schemata that function as symbolic templates for the practical activities – conduct, thoughts, feelings, and judgments – of social agents. Social facts are objects which are also the object of knowledge within reality itself because human beings make meaningful the world which makes them”.

Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 7

## Preface

I will take this opportunity to express my feeling at the moment after five years study and research on my thesis in three countries: China, Germany and Japan. Though my sample is chosen from Germany, the thoughts are rooted from the fieldwork on Chinese population from those three countries. It is hard, struggling and time-consuming work to establish the theoretical model and fieldwork on one hand, but on the other hand it is a feeling of harvest, wining from those thick data and hard work on research from those countries' fieldwork. It develops the experience to transform the thinking, thought in different fields into theories.

During the process of my research, my intimate supervisor Prof. Ingrid Gogolin always 'stands' actually and virturally beside me for discussing not only the thesis, but also the difficult time when I am back from the fieldwork, from different social spaces and from different countries again and again, and reenter into the research, to sit down and to restart to write once more. The progressing light shines before me continually after each time I meet her. Not just the theories I explored from her research's results, moreover benefited significantly from the discussion with her and from her unbelievable capability in intercultural communication between the western and the eastern culture. Her idea of "standing on the moon to research" helps me more objectively investigate the social system and establish the integration doxa model in a more broad and macro way. I am lucky to have the opportunity to employ the triangulation method in my thesis, and have learned how to combine the qualitative and quantitative method. Prof. Wilfred Bos helps greatly for the methods, especially the quantitative part. It is him who advocates me for employing the triangulation method and his knowledge on Chinese helps the understanding and the interpretation of the Chinese habitus, too. Prof. Ursula Neumann with her knowledge in immigrants helps me to think deeply about the outcomes from factor analysis and chi-square test and the analysis of integration for establishing the integration doxa model. The discussion with Prof. Gordon Mitchell enriched the theories of my thesis and particularly the understanding of the religious self-transformation of the Chinese immigrants; and my English version of the thesis is also improved to a great extent by him and Dr. Thaina, who also raises many good questions on the theoretical part of post modern sociology, gender studies and international migration issues. Prof. Meinert Meyer with his holistical thought perfects my structure of the thesis, which makes the thesis in well

ordered and easily to be read style. Prof. Hanschristoph Koller gives the comments in detail on each Chapter, particularly Chapter 3 and Chapter 5. Dr. Knut Schwippert made useful suggestions in Chapter 3, too.

My gratitude goes to Ms. Mecky, Ms. Poppendieker and Ms. Ptak for all those considerate assistance that I cannot forget, either. I also want to thank so many anonymous Chinese businessmen; owners, chefs and waiters and waitress in Chinese restaurants; students and academic researchers to help me finish the interview and the questionnaire. The discussion with them on the one side is information collecting and on the other side is idea generation. It is an incentive and encouraging process for my research. My gratitude also goes to those friends who offer valuable assistance for me sending and collecting the questionnaire; they are Ma MingFu, Sun SiJie, and Ma YiJun. Those officers, in Consulate Hamburg and in Embassy Berlin, i.e, Consular Yao Ya Zheng, Vice Consular Liu HongMei, Consular Liu JingHui and Consular Ma GuoQiang, do whatever they can to help me to find these interviewees in Hamburg and also accept my discussion with them for a thorough understanding the Chinese immigrants in Germany. Other academic friends have the proof reading of the early draft and also give helpful insights on my thesis about intercultural communication issues of the western and the eastern differences. They are Dr. Guan YuQian, Xie JinSha and Gao JingJing.

My thanks also go to my family, my husband Dr. CongFeng Qiao and my son Kai Dong Qiao; it is them to support me finishing my thesis.

*Farewell*

“Very quietly I take my leave,  
As quietly as I came here;  
Gently I flick my sleeves;  
Not even a wisp of cloud will I bring away.”

And what I can is what can be seen and what cannot be seen,  
Things of tangible and intangible forms of the world;  
But never can I bring away;  
The air, the surroundings and the atmosphere...

Very abundantly I take my leave,  
As much as intangible knowings I have gained;  
But not, a bit of picturesque ambiance;  
If not in a dream...



## Introduction

No matter what theories we use to discuss the migration, e.g., a historical–structural approach, push and pull theory, demand and supply factors, or micro/individual theory (Neoclassical) or macro/structural theories (New economics of labor migration) (Boyd, 1989, Piore, 1979, Stahl 1995 and Stark, 1991),<sup>1</sup> the research on migration cannot avoid studying the key variable, people who make the migration. People, from the sending to the receiving countries, play roles in the migratory process with their different political, economic, educational, cultural and historical backgrounds. On one hand, people from different countries embody their characters differently; on the other hand the receiving countries allow immigrants to *play roles* according to their policies and rules made by aboriginals' habitus within the host countries' fields.

In her book on teachers' habitus, Ingrid Gogolin (1994) analyzed and concluded that there was a monolingual habitus from teachers in the multilingual schools with all different cultural backgrounds of pupils in Germany. Her research inspired me to assume that an immigrant's habitus might exist, which can develop the strategies by immigrants to transform their social resources, *forms of capital* in a migratory process, and that would be a distinct immigrant's *habitus* because of their different possessions of forms of capital and their special practices during emigration and immigration processes in different societies<sup>2</sup>. Habitus is “a class-specific set of dispositions whose content is determined by ‘the relationships in a social field’ which serves primarily to mark out distinctions and boundaries between different social groups” (Jackson et al, 2001: 111). However these migrant groups interact with the sending and the receiving country, in different *fields* with their habitus and capital. The fields regulate the migrant's habitus to use her/his capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Here the important point is how the immigrants with their distinct habitus manage to transform their different forms of capital in different fields, i.e., how is the process of immigrants' integration in a host country proceeded?

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<sup>1</sup> See the detailed review on migration theories: Boyd, M, 1989, “Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas”, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 638-70; Stahl 1995, “Theories of international labor migration: An overview”, Special issue: Migration and the family, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 4, Nos. 2-3, pp. 211-32.).

<sup>2</sup> The second generation of immigrants also embodies differently from the aboriginals because their immigrating parents' habitus in a family field influences and regulates developing their habitus.

## **Glossary for this thesis**

Before starting, I will first bring in the terms with brief explanations that I am going to use in the thesis.

*Emigrants*: people migrate out from one country.

*Immigrants*: people migrate into one country.

*Push and pull factors*: people are pushed from the emigrating country and pulled by the immigrating country by different factors.

*Agents/actors*: both persons and institutions in a society.

*Sending country, export country, original country and home country*: they are used exchangeably as the emigrating country.

*Guest country, receiving country, import country, destination country and host country*: they are used exchangeably as the immigrating country.

## **Objective**

My primary interest is to discern how the social agents manage to invest and transform their social resources across boundaries with their different strategies by habitus. This leads to three theses:

What are the social resources named by Bourdieu as different forms of capital?

What are the immigrants' social resources as different forms of capital to migrate?

What are the relations of *capital*, *habitus*, *field* and *doxa* with immigration and integration?

The social resources as different forms of *capital* are investigated according to the theories of Marx (1986) and Bourdieu (1986, 1992), which explain different steps of the investment and the transformation of forms of capital. In describing the two steps of the investment and the transformation, I particularly emphasize the second transformation step of different forms of capital.

The immigrants' *habitus* is studied from two perspectives: from their roots in the original country and also from their integration into the host country by investing and

transforming their different forms of capital in different fields<sup>3</sup>. On the one hand immigrants in the original country possessing different forms of capital with their habitus which push or not push the emigration; on the other hand the aboriginals possessing different forms of capital with their habitus which also pull or not pull, i.e., accept or not accept immigrants to integrate into their country<sup>4</sup>. When immigrants compete or struggle for the conversion of forms of capital in the fields of a host country, the dominating group will hold privileges in legitimating capital in its own fields<sup>5</sup>. This requires the subordinate group of immigrants to create strategies to manage to achieve the transformation of their capital, which changes their habitus in order to adapt and integrate to the fields of the destination country. Thus it is assumed that, in this process of the discourse, immigrants learn, change and adapt to the new fields and recreate their habitus in order to facilitate their social resources, capital, in this rapidly changed, developed and transmitted world in a receiving country of the 21st century.

The questions I design to explore by a triangulation method are the followings:

1. What are the factors pushing and pulling immigrants to emigrate and immigrate?
2. Are there associations between the different groups of the Chinese community with the different factors?
3. Can we establish a model to understand the integration of the immigrants in a host country?

## **Hypothesis and theory**

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<sup>3</sup> Immigrants also include other immigrant groups as minorities; however the mainstream of the agents is the indigenous in the host country. Provided that I only take the Chinese immigrants as the investigating sample, thus here immigrants only mean Chinese immigrants.

<sup>4</sup> The integration in the host country is in different aspects of forms of capital (cf. the following chapters of Chapter 1. 2. 4. & 5).

<sup>5</sup> It needs to be assumed that all the nations are “equally” treated, without the intervention from other countries, such as no attack from other countries by war or colonization, which can force people in an original country losing the right to have the privileges to be the dominating group in its own social space. In this case the immigrants as colonizers will have more privileges in legitimating social resources and capital than these indigenous have. But when we treat the migration from a legal accepted policy for both sending and receiving countries, it can also result in different outcomes in legitimating/recognizing the investment and the transformation of immigrants’ capital by the receiving country from immigrants migrating from a developed country, a semi-developed country or an underdeveloped country.

The hypothesis is based on Karl Marx, (1976 [1884]), Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) and Ingrid Gogolin (1994)'s theories of "capital", "habitus", "field" and "doxa". It is expected to test whether the immigrants employ not only one form of capital, yet *forms of capital* as social resources to facilitate the migratory processes<sup>6</sup> with their habitus. Six hypotheses are put forward and they are explained in detail in Chapters 3 and 5.

A brief introduction of the fundamental concept is as follows, I will return to it in later chapters.

- *Capital*

One of the Bourdieu's contributions to the theory of capital is that he brings the non-economic forms of capital into the notion of (economic) capital by raising political, cultural, social and symbolic capital<sup>7</sup>, which, however, have the same properties as economic capital, i.e., the investment and the transformation character. One species of capital (Bourdieu's technical term) can be invested in and converted into other forms of capital<sup>8</sup>. Bourdieu defines forms of capital as social resources/power/energy that are managed by the agents' *habitus* that are embodied in them (cf. The Introduction by Wacquant in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). I will return to the concept of *capital* in detail in Chapter 2, Section 1, and to its application to migration research in Chapters 3 and Chapter 5.

- *Habitus*

Bourdieu defines habitus ---"[as] a durably installed set of dispositions, the habitus tends to generate practices and perceptions, works and appreciations, which concur with the conditions of existence of which the habitus is itself the product" (Thomas, 1991: 14). But when individuals act or practice, they always do so in specific social contexts or settings, i.e., *fields*. The concept of *habitus* will be explained in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2, and to its application to migration research in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.

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<sup>6</sup> The plural form of the migratory processes includes the objective to migrate, the interaction with the indigenous agents and the integration with the society of the host country.

<sup>7</sup> Social capital can be defined as non-economic capital; it is generally dedicated to Jane Jacobs (1961) as the first person to raise the concept. Bourdieu's concept of non-economic capital includes social capital (cf. Chapter 1.1.4. social capital).

<sup>8</sup> Forms of capital in this thesis include political capital, social capital, cultural capital (human capital, a subform of cultural capital), natural capital and symbolic capital, in Bourdieu's definition; a species of capital includes social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Detailed analysis of forms of capital can be found in Chapter 1.

- *Field*

- A *field* or a market may be seen as a structural space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or “capital” that agents possess and that can be exchanged. I will return to the concept of *field* in details in Chapter 2, Section 3, and its application to migration research in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.

- *Doxa*

- A *doxa* is a structured structure of the social order/system. It is mainly formed by these different forms of capital, the fields, and habitus of agents.

### **Process from theory to case study**

In this thesis, I will analyze forms of *capital* comprehensively, and show how they are utilized with the interrelation of *habitus* and field. Then I will apply the concept of capital as social resources to migration research by analyzing the migrants’ habitus in the *fields* of a host country. The characteristic of capital is its properties of the investment and transformation: without transformation, the investment value in different forms of capital cannot be realized in a society (cf. Marx, [1887] 1972, Chapter 2. section 1, economic capital). Therefore I will examine what form(s) of capital immigrants can bring to a host country, i.e., which form(s) of capital is(are) already *invested* in an original country and is (are) additionally invested and transformed in a host country<sup>9</sup>. To study how capital in a host country is converted, first we need to investigate the immigrants’ strategies created by their habitus to transfer capital in an objective field of a host country. In this thesis I take the Chinese immigrants as a case study to explore my research questions and test the hypothesis, i.e., how the Chinese citizens emigrate and immigrate by utilizing their different forms of capital and how the Chinese immigrants’ habitus emerges while transforming forms of capital during the emigration and immigration/integration from four Chinese Groups classified by me from the chosen sample in Hamburg. The relations and interactions of

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<sup>9</sup> The children of the second generation would be judged differently in their capital’s investment and conversion. They would absorb more forms of capital from the host country than from the original country. However they can gain intangible form of capital: social capital, cultural capital and

forms of capital, habitus, field and doxa are focused on the research by analyzing Chinese migration in Germany (2000-2004).

### **Expected Contributions to emigration and immigration (integration) research**

There is abundant research applying the theory of forms of capital to migration research, i.e., economic capital, by Massey (1993); social capital, by Bankston and Zhou (2002), Gold (2002), and Porter (1992); human capital by DeVoretz, Don J., John Ma, and Kenny Zhang (2003), and Stephen Yale-Loehr & Christoph Erhardt, (2000); cultural capital by Water (2000), Ong (1999), Hodkins (1999), Hannerz (1996), Farka (1996), Mitchell (1995), Mennell (1985), Hirabayashi (1993), Gogolin and Neumann (1991), Lutz, (1991), DiMaggio (1991, 1982), Mc Laren, (1989) and Lareau (1987), integration by Weil (2000), Though so many researchers have studied the push and pull factors of different forms of capital in migratory process, there lacks of the research analyzing them as a whole, which is what I am theorizing to study, i.e., all the different forms of capital as factors to push and pull in the migratory processes. First I intend to study how different forms of capital invested and transformed globally, which are attempted to understand the power driving people to move in this world. Secondly I intend to discuss *agents* who possess forms of capital and have their special subjective socialized systematic disposition, i.e., their habitus to manage forms of capital. Moreover, I intend to discuss forms of capital's connection to the *fields* in which capital can be *transformed* and *integrated*. It hopes not merely to make a better understanding in migration research, but also a better understanding in different social systems, which can help understand how the functions of capital(s) are managed in the migratory processes from different immigrants in different countries<sup>10</sup>. Finally it expects to understand the concepts and practices of integration and therefore to understand the

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symbolic capital from families distinct from the children who are born in aboriginal families. Cf. Nt. 2.

<sup>10</sup> It includes the cross-national movement of people from the industrialized countries to move among industrialized countries or of the agents in the developing countries to move to the industrialized countries, or of the agents in the industrialized countries to move to the developing countries or of the agents in the developing countries to move among the developing countries.

roots of causing conflicts; thus the process and dynamics of the change/transformation of a society.

### **Case study, Chinese migration and triangulation method**

There are about 80,000 Chinese in Germany, either holding passports delievered from China and Germany or from other countries in the European Union.

Regrettably, there are not many studies on Chinese immigrants in Germany, though there are books on political relations, cultural exchanges and economic relations between the two countries. To name just a few of them<sup>11</sup>: Djang (1937) outlines the diplomatic relation between China and Germany from 1898 to the First World War. Schramm (1949) describes German and Chinese businessmen traveling by ship doing businesses between the two countries of the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the historic documents in Hamburg. Che (1998) described the political relationship between Germany and China from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to 1993. Yuan (1997) investigated the Chinese students in Germany and accounted for the events of cultural communication between two countries during the Minguo period (1911-1949). Eberstein (1988), with vivid pictures in his book, described and documented a history of the Chinese in Hamburg, and the relationship between the sister cities of Hamburg and Shanghai in contemporary time. Although he records the very earliest and contemporary Chinese life in Hamburg, the only descriptive analysis of Chinese migration of the contemporary time is Gisea's (2000) dissertation on irregular Chinese migration in Germany and his report for the International Organization on Migration (IOM, 2002), describing the situation of the contemporary Chinese immigrants in Germany. Nevertheless, there is a lack of quantitative and qualitative research and theoretical analysis on the aspects of economy, education and culture. Moreover there is a total blank area on gender research concerning the Chinese immigrants in Germany.

Using the above research of literature, and explorative interviews and prequestionnaires as a foundation, the present study focuses on how the Chinese citizens emigrate from China and immigrate to Germany and how they adapt to the host country. In order to test the hypothesis, I employ the triangulation method and choose Hamburg

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<sup>11</sup> Eberstein (1991) listed books published in German, Chinese, and English on Chinese and German relation, which can be found in Chinese Department in the University of Hamburg. I am kindly permitted by him to use it.

as the sample field. The first reason to choose Hamburg is its geographical location: a harbor city, in which the first Chinese arrived with a business ship in 1792. The second is that since 1989, Hamburg has held the second highest number of Chinese population in Germany, but held the largest number of Chinese and Sino-German companies and German companies dealing with Chinese businesses in Germany and in the European countries. Additionally I myself belong to the sample of Chinese immigrants in Hamburg, which helps greatly for the data collection and for a deeper understanding of the Chinese in Hamburg.

### **Structure of the book**

The above-mentioned perspectives on Chinese immigrants are analyzed in the following sequence:

Chapter 1 addresses the theory of capital, habitus and field. The first part of this chapter explores forms of capital from the fundamental capital, economic capital to human, cultural, social, political, natural and symbolic capital, and will particularly analyze the characteristics of different forms of capital, their investment and their transformation properties. The second part of this chapter analyzes the concept of habitus and field, and furthermore develops the model of how and why habitus and field are employed in migration research, and their connection with capital. The third part of this chapter traces the history of the Chinese tradition to explore the development of the subjective structures of Chinese tradition and Chinese values to form the Chinese immigrant's habitus. The fourth part of this chapter explores the Chinese immigrants' habitus by a descriptive analysis of how different forms of capital are employed by Chinese when they migrate to Germany.

Chapter 2 studies the relationship of field, habitus and doxa, and also describes the interaction of capital, field, habitus and doxa in intercultural settings.

Chapter 3 presents the triangulation method, in which I introduce the method for testing the hypothesis. The quantitative and qualitative methods are employed according to their different functions in exploring what factors are managed by the Chinese with respect to emigration and immigration/integration, and how and why the Chinese migrants utilize them by their distinct habitus in Germany.



Chapter 4 studies the historical literature of the Chinese community in Hamburg as a special field to form *Chinese immigrants' habitus*. Gender differences of the contemporary Chinese migrants are explored simultaneously, in this chapter and the following chapter of the quantitative analysis.

Chapter 5, Section 1, documents the quantitative outcomes of statistic analysis on factors of Chinese immigrants managing forms of capital during their migratory process to Germany; in Section 2, I investigate and analyze how and why by expert interviews the Chinese immigrants produce these outcomes from the quantitative method. I hope to prove the reliability and validity of the hypothesis by the triangulation method from the Second, Fourth and the Fifth Chapter.

The last part presents the conclusion on a transformation dynamics of Integration Doxa Model that is expected to shed light on the theory and analysis of intercultural studies.

# **Part One: Theories of Capital, Field and Habitus**

## **Chapter 1. Capital, special properties of its investment and transformation**

“The modern history of capital dates from the creation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century of a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market”.

Marx and Engels<sup>12</sup>

Researchers originally (Smith, 1776 Marx, 1886, Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, 1959) studied capital concerned with a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market (Marx, 1886); this is about economic capital study, which distinguishes from the studies of other forms of capital that are going to be the focus of this thesis. It was after Schultz (1961) and Becker (1964) raised the issue of human capital, Jacob (1961) looked at social capital<sup>13</sup> and particularly after Bourdieu theorized and studied the intangible forms of cultural, political and symbolic capital, forms of capital were enlarged to include both material form and nonmaterial form. The investigation of transformation among the tangible and intangible forms allows greater understanding of people’s behavior in pursuing different goals spiritually and physically, and rationally and non-rationally which are the effects of their particular *habitus*. This is what I will examine: the different forms of capital on their investment in an original country and specifically on their conversion among each form in a destination country, i.e., in different *fields*, in order to discover how the investment and the transformation of different species of *capital* is employed by the immigrant’s *habitus*.

<sup>12</sup> The quotation is transcribed by [gimenez\\_m@cubldr.colorado.edu](mailto:gimenez_m@cubldr.colorado.edu), check website: <http://eserver.org/MARX/1867-capital/2-money.into.capital/general.formula.for.capital.txt>, 01 02, 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) contributed especially to the development of the concept of social capital, too.

## 1.1. Economic capital

### 1.1.1. The definition of capital

Economic capital, the basic form of all forms of capital, redefined as one form of capital. Capital related with all other forms of capital has following characteristics according to, not only economic capital described by the economists (Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, 1959; Marx, 1886; Smith, 1776) but also, the sociologists<sup>14</sup>, the political scientists, and the economists (Becker, 1964; Bourdieu, 1986, Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1990; Schultz, 1961):

- Circulation is the premise for investment and the conversion of capital.
- It can be invested in not only by its own form, but also by *other forms of capital*.
- It can be converted not only into its own form but also into *other forms of capital*.
- It can be converted into different outcomes after being circulated (*more/positive values, equal values, less/negative values and no values as zero*).

It is in this sense that I define capital<sup>15</sup> in its fundamental form, which, however, includes other subforms of capital, tangible or less tangible, as well as intangible, i.e., economic, human, cultural, social and symbolic capital, which furthermore includes their subforms.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Bourdieu defined that “capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated’ embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1997[1986], 46). Jon Beasley-Murray (2000:100-119) criticized Bourdieu’s definition for what he perceives to be the failure to distinguish between use value and exchange value, particularly [instead of the only] description of capital as only “accumulated labor”. See details in “Value and Capital in Bourdieu and Marx” in *Pierre Bourdieu: Field work in Culture*, ed. Nicholas Brown and Imre Szeman, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, which I find a brief yet brilliant exposition about the relationship between *capital* and *value*.

<sup>15</sup> Here the definition of capital is the root of all forms of capital, including the form of economic and non-economic forms of capital.

<sup>16</sup> “[C]apital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. To these we must add symbolic capital, which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 118, 119). To my understanding in Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, he includes human capital inside the embodied form and

Although, nowadays, the concept of *capital* is far beyond the scope of its primary definition, still *capital* possesses in some degree the economic root in its every extension. Therefore, it would be meaningful to review briefly the definition of economic *capital* (cf. Clark; Fisher, 1907; Lauderdale 1804; Marshall, 1906; Marx 1886<sup>17</sup>; Ricardo, 1962; Say; 1803; Smith, 1952 [1776]; Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk 1959)<sup>18</sup> for the purpose of my study on other forms of capital (cf. Chapter 1.1. Human capital, Chapter 1.2. Cultural capital, Chapter 1.3. Human capital, Chapter 1.4. Social capital and Chapter 1.5 Symbolic capital).

### 1.1.2. The development of (economic) capital

The word (economic) capital is derived from the Latin *capitale*, the adjective corresponding to the noun *caput* meaning, “head”. The Modern English word “capital”<sup>19</sup> has quite the same form as *capitale*. Though the original Latin word is used to designate the principal sum of a money loan, termed as the *capitalis pars debiti*, i.e., the head or chief part of the debt, distinguished from the interest; the latter is one of the senses employed later for economic capital. It becomes naturalized in mediaeval Latin and appears to have remained the only sense in which the word is used well into the modern era. Accordingly, the word denotes the equivalent of an interest – bearing sum of money, which represents special characteristics of (economic) capital and whose description of the meaning shows the connection, in some sense, with the modern Webster’s English dictionary (2000) definition:

- a: (1): a stock of accumulated goods esp. at a specified time and in contrast to income received during a specified period; also: the value of these accumulated goods (2): accumulated goods devoted to the production of other goods (3): accumulated possessions calculated to bring in income
- b: (1): net worth (2): capital stock

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institutionalized form of cultural capital (cf. Nt. and chapter 1. 1.2. Human capital and Cultural capital 1.3.), thus it is the subform of cultural capital.

<sup>17</sup> Because in Hamburg University I can only find the German version of Marx’s *Capital*, 1886, the citation is translated by me consulted with Virtual Library. <http://www.marxists.org/>.

<sup>18</sup> See Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk (1959[1881-1883]) in his book *Capital and Interest* in which he tracked the core word (economic) capital in detail.

<sup>19</sup> Here the word capital is the basic sense of economic capital.

c: persons holding capital

d: advantage, gain.

In a glossary published by The World Bank, capital<sup>20</sup> (capital assets) is defined as “a stock of wealth used to produce goods and services. Modern economists divide capital into physical capital (also called produced assets, natural capital and human capital) and financial capital” (Soubbotina and Sheram, 2000: 219)<sup>21</sup>.

For the elucidation of the concept of capital, “produced assets” or “accumulated goods” are the terms mentioned in the above definition. However, in order to account for the full meaning of capital<sup>22</sup>, another term “value” needs to be considered and one should particularly note that *capital producing more goods or more value* is in no way identical. To keep the two as distinct in name as they are in meaning, Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk (1959) designated the capacity of (economic) capital to produce more goods as its “Physical Productivity”, its capacity to produce more value as its “Value Productivity”. He summarized capital<sup>23</sup> in accordance to four outcomes:

1. Capital has the capacity of serving the production of *goods*.
2. Capital has the power of serving the production of *more goods* than could be produced without it.
3. Capital has the power of serving the production of *more value* than could be produced without it.
4. Capital has the power of producing *more value* than it has in itself. (2\*)<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Here, capital includes both the tangible and the intangible form.

<sup>21</sup> Modern economists and sociologists extend the meaning of capital to the intangible sense of human capital, and another semitangible form of capital, natural capital; however, Soubbotina and Sheram’s definition (2000: 219) still does not cover the intangible forms of cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital.

<sup>22</sup> Here, capital includes both tangible and intangible forms.

<sup>23</sup> His summarizing excludes other forms of capital, though the properties of his analysis on economic capital also fit for analyzing the properties of other forms of capital.

<sup>24</sup> This is the original Nt. 2 in Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk (1959): It would be very easy to extend the above list. Thus physical productivity might be shown to contain two varieties. The first, - the only one considered in the text, - is where the capitalist process of production on the whole (that is, the preparatory production of the capital itself, and the production by the aid of the capital when made) has led to the production of more goods. But it may also happen that the first phase of the total process, the formation of capital, shows so large a deficit that the total capitalist production ends by showing no surplus; while, all the same, the second phase taken by itself, the production by aid of the capital, produces a surplus in goods. Suppose, e.g. that the boat and net which last 100 days had required 2000 days for their production, then the fisher would receive for the use of boat and net which have cost in all 2100 days of labor, only  $100 \times 30 = 3000$  fish, while with the hand alone he could have caught in the same time  $2100 \times 30 = 6300$  fish. On the other hand, if we look at the second phase by itself, then the capital, now in existence, of course shows itself "productive"; with

Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk's explanation brings up the question: how does (economic) capital function to produce more value than it has in itself? I introduce the terms of the consumption/use value and the surplus-value/profit (cf. Marx, 1876) in clarifying the characteristics of the concept further. Von Bohm-Bawerk's (1959) "Physical Productivity", i.e. the idea of producing more goods is, in fact, quite similar to Marx's *consumption/use value*, defined as the immediate use of the goods. His explanation of "Value Productivity", i.e. to produce "more value than it has in itself" is similar to Marx's *exchange value* for surplus value.

Marx<sup>25</sup>, in his book *Capital* (1876), best explained the theory of (economic) capital after introducing (economic) capital's 'use value', 'exchange value', and 'circulation'. He examined the process of economic capital and its surplus-value/profit gained after the circulation. Capital can generate income or more returns (cf. Schultz, 1963, Becker, 1993 [1964], Woodhall, 1997), which, according to Marx, only through circulation, can yield surplus value. If the *use value* of capital proceeds in the process of circulation, then the procedure will be stopped by the immediate satisfaction of consumption; it cannot be advanced to realize the *exchange value* of capital, which can continue the circulation of capital.

Although the beginning of capital's formation is originated with the analysis of economic activities; the economists (cf. Schultz, 1961, Baker, 1964,) the sociologists (cf. Bourdieu, 1997 [1986], Coleman, 1988), and the political scientists (cf. Putnam, 1992, 1995) have extended its concept and developed the concepts of human, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Thus, the concept of capital has been enlarged to include intangible forms, non-economic, and symbolic forms of capital. Bourdieu (1997 [1986]) has not only further expanded the meaning of capital to include intangible forms, but most significantly, he has clarified that forms of capital were exchangeable among each

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its help in 300 days the fisher catches 3000 fish; without its help, only 300. If, on that account, we speak, even in this case, of a productive surplus result, and of a productive power of capital -- as, in fact, we usually do -- it is not without justification; only the expression has quite a different and a much weaker meaning. Further, with the recognition of the productive power of capital is often bound up the additional meaning, that capital is an independent productive power; not only the proximate cause of a productive effect, traceable in the last resort to the labor which produced the capital, but an element entirely independent of labor.... I have intentionally not gone into these varieties in the text, as I do not wish to burden the reader with distinctions of which, in the meantime at least, I do not intend to make any use.

<sup>25</sup> In 1767 Adam Smith explained the Productive Power of capital. He gave the definition of four capitals employment for exploring how the nation's wealth was formed. J.B. Say led the way in 1803. A year after Lord Lauderdale followed, but individually studied (cf. Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, 1959).

other. As Bourdieu points out: “in accordance with a principle, which is the equivalent of the principle of the conservation of energy... profits in one area are necessarily paid for by costs in another” (ibid: 54). Here, it is necessary to highlight one point: intangible forms of capital have their own nature, they grant status and privilege to a person (cf. 1.2. Cultural Capital and 1.3. Human Capital), through social structures and relations (cf. 1.4. Social Capital) or by other agents’ recognition, perception and legitimization (cf. 1.5. Symbolic capital), but are not located tangibly in a person’s “pocket” as economic capital. Therefore, intangible forms of capital cannot be consumed totally as tangible forms and their circulation cannot be terminated immediately after use value is achieved. They can continue to circulate even after the use value is realized, i.e., to advance its exchange value without the depreciation of its use value. For instance, the form of symbolic capital can be utilized unlimited times in different social spaces and at different time without losing its original value; indeed, its value may increase or decrease accordingly. Economic capital, however, can be utilized once as the consumption value.

In this first section, I am looking at the term (economic) capital to enable a basic understanding of the term ‘capital’. This thesis uses the term ‘economic capital’ instead of merely the term ‘capital.’ This is imperative because ‘capital’ has often been used in a reductive sense to signify the economy before the other intangible forms of capital were brought in for consideration. Capital, or fundamental capital, is utilized in this thesis to describe the properties of all forms of capital, including economic capital and non-economic capital.

#### **1.1.2.1. The definition of economic capital**

The definition of economic capital follows two forms: one being physical economic capital and the other, financial economic capital. However, both the two forms are embodied in wealth or assets. Physical economic capital includes properties and other material assets; the financial form includes money, whether in cash or other forms such as stocks, shares, bonds, securities, and so on. Both forms of economic capital can, in the end, be transformed into money. In order to analyze the other forms of capital, human, cultural, social and symbolic capital, I turn first to an analysis of Marx’s formula of economic capital to study its characteristics and then, in the following sections, extend its basic tenets to the investigation of other forms of capital.

According to Marx, the general formula of (economic) capital is:

$$M-C-M'$$

(2.1)

Given M is money first put into circulation as investment, M' is the accumulated value after the circulation of conversion. The formula can be explained as the following example:

The cotton bought for 100 is perhaps resold for 100 pound + 10 pound. The exact form of this process is therefore M-C-M', where  $M'=M + \Delta M$  = the original sum advanced, plus an increment. Marx calls this increment, or excess over the original value, 'surplus-value'. The value advanced, therefore, not only remains intact while in circulation, but also adds to itself a surplus value, and hence, expands itself. In Marx's general formula of economic capital, it is this movement that converts value into more value than itself, which is capital's basic characteristic explained by Marx (cf. Marx, 1886, Chapter 4).

In this light, without circulation from M to M', we cannot discuss capital as that which can bring the surplus value, i.e. the profit. The formula shows that the value is added after circulation, in which M' is the increment. What is invested and circulated is utilized to convert into more value than in the investment step. The conversion into more profits through circulation is realized after M', a positive outcome, is gained *as surplus value*. By applying Marx's general formula of economic capital to the analysis of other forms of capital, the formula will be redefined in order to extend the circulation to the investment step of other forms of capital, and in addition to investigate the different outcomes after the conversion step.

### **1.1.3. The Investment and the Conversion of Economic Capital**

At this point we have the different terms of value, but before interpreting value for an analysis of capital's accumulation, it is crucial to understand how the accumulation



of capital<sup>26</sup> develops. The World Bank defines the accumulation of capital as the ability to invest and to build capital assets (Soubotina and Sheram 2000: 219). Marx (1886) stated that (economic) capital must be put into circulation in order to accumulate its value (cf. 1.1.2.1.). Without circulation money cannot be transformed into commodity, moreover, it cannot be converted into surplus value/profit. In the course of circulation, the first step is investment. Merely preceding the investment step does not fulfill the accumulation of capital; it requires a further step to advance it. This further step is the conversion step, a key in realizing the accumulation of capital. Nonetheless, the accumulation of economic capital will be realized only on the condition that *economic capital* is utilized by its “value productivity” or “use value” capacity, and furthermore, that the outcome of the conversion is positive<sup>27</sup>.

### 1.1.3.1. The Investment of Economic Capital

In formula (2.1), M is the investment of money, a financial form of economic capital. If other forms of capital are accounted for in the investment in economic capital, then the investment factors will be enlarged not only in the economic sense, but also in the non-economic sense (cf. Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988 and Putnam, 1995). The non-economic sense of the investment<sup>28</sup>, for example, can be the investment of social capital in economic capital, such as the investment of social relations with other businessmen, or the investment in acquiring information for economic capital conversion. It can also be the investment of cultural capital in economic capital, such as the prestigious cultural background of a successful and promising business family that becomes a solid investment in the conversion of economic capital. It can, in addition, be the investment of human capital in economic capital, such as the educational credentials from an esteemed business college or school, which can provide the necessary qualifications and skills needed for success and can as well provide the social networks

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<sup>26</sup> Here capital means the fundamental form of capital, which includes all economic and non-economic forms of capital. In the following description, when the word capital is used, it means the fundamental form of it, otherwise it will be stated as economic capital, human capital, social capital, cultural capital, natural capital or symbolic capital.

<sup>27</sup> There exists a dialectic relationship of a positive outcome for the benefits of the society or for the individual. Sometimes it can benefit the individual but it does not mean it can benefit the society, e.g. the thief learns the skill to steal which can help the thief to accumulate his or her economic capital, however, it does not benefit, but makes harm to the society.

<sup>28</sup> The first part of Coleman’s study (1988) described the non-economic capital investment. He described in detail the examples of the non-economic capital investment in economic capital.

of the alumnus for the future conversion into the form of economic capital<sup>29</sup>. All these forms of capital, taken from the perspective of individual aspects, work through each other to the increment of economic capital or other forms of capital, too. Although money is the essential factor in economic capital investment, in the information society of today's globalization, other investment factors in a special field, namely the other forms of capital, are playing *unavoidable* roles<sup>30</sup>.

The cardinal investment of economic capital is the physical or financial tangible forms of capital; yet, time and effort/energy are the necessary investment factors in all forms of capital. All *physical and financial capital* investment can be converted into money, which is the basic form of economic capital investment. Money can be gained from other forms of capital, too, i.e., from human, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Cf. Schultz, 1961; Baker, 1664, Bourdieu, 1986, Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1990). *Time* is the necessity in the process of circulation, either for gaining use value or for gaining 'exchange value'. Apart from time, *effort/energy* is another factor of economic capital investment. Effort includes the social necessity of labor, but also emerges from the energy spent in socialization, which is part of people's everyday living and which, without labor's wage, has the possibility of direct gain for other forms of capital, e.g., cultural, social and symbolic capital. Physical and financial forms of economic capital, and other forms of capital, are the "resources of action" which can be invested by the individual, but also by the institution (the public)/group in economic capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1972, 1990) in a special field.

### 1.1.3.2. The Conversion of Economic Capital

The purpose of investment in economic capital analyzed by Marx (cf. Marx, 1886, Capital Volume II, Part I: The Metamorphoses of Capital and their Circuits, Chapter 5: The Time of Circulation) is to study the surplus value. After the investment, if money cannot further be put into circulation to convert into "surplus-value", it shows that merely the *use value* is realized, and then the course of the circulation of economic

<sup>29</sup> Research on the educational benefits from MBA degree, program has analyzed the benefits that the students can gain from a MBA degree, not only on the aspect of the skills learned in a business school, but also the social networks that they established in business school. The book, translated from its original Chinese, is called *What can we learn and gain from a MBA degree?* (X Cha, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> During the early period of a human's life, the basic need is to satisfy his or her living demands (cf. Maslow, 1964). Thus economic capital will play the key role, but with the development of economy and a more complicated society, these higher levels of demands *engage* more important *positions* in a human's life, such as entering school to be educated, to appreciate art, etc. (cf. Maslow, 1952).

capital will stop at this stage. If it can be further put into circulation to realize more value, it means that the exchange *value* is realized. The conversion step in a circulation is crucial in realizing the surplus value to continue the process of the movement. After introducing other intangible forms of capital, and particularly according to Bourdieu's "principle of the conservation of energy", one form of capital can be converted into other forms of capital. The investment in economic capital can be converted into other forms of capital (cf. 1.1.1). An agent can invest economic capital in acquiring social capital in transformation; such as to pay the fee to enter into a prestigious club or other society or to naturalize a nationality in a nation. The investment migrant is one of the typical examples where one pays money (economic capital) to be able to migrate to another country, not to a club, but to a society in order to share the benefits of the host country, such as social, cultural and symbolic capital. For example, the willingness to invest 400,000 Canadian \$ speeds an investment migrants process of obtaining Canadian citizenship so as to gain benefits from their investment<sup>31</sup>. An agent can invest economic capital to gain cultural capital in conversion; such as to pay in order to acquire the appearance; accrements, habits, and lifestyle of upper-class culture (cf. Light 2000). An agent can invest economic capital to gain human capital in conversion, such as to enter into the university to obtain educational qualifications, which are then negotiated as assets in the labor market to gain higher salaries through high-status careers. An agent can invest economic capital to gain symbolic capital, such as a person who owns a lot of money can be perceived, and then acknowledged, to "own his fame" as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1972; 51) in a social field (cf. Chapter 2.2.1.1). After the investment, an individual/institution possesses forms of capital from the investment, but it will be idly endowed. Only in the conversion step, does the investment have the *opportunity* to be realized into different outcomes.

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<sup>31</sup> In 2002, the economics Nobel Prize Winners described the theory of *non-rational choices*. Spending a big sum of money, an old couple bought a big cake, but could not finish eating it. They then called their children to return home to help eat it. The children rushed home to finish the cake. On one hand, the parent would not throw the cake away because they had spent money on it; on the other hand, their children would spend more money on the gasoline than the worth of the cake; however they would still come, which is a *non-rational choice*. Nonetheless, if it is analyzed by *the transformation among forms of capital*, it is evident that the children spent their money to gain social capital in the family, to gain emotional capital in the family. Thus it is explained that they would react to the choice, *not non-rationally, but reasonably and rationally* to the relations and structures they involve being a family member, which by the investment of their economic capital on gasoline would transform and increase their social capital in the family.

### 1.1.4. Different Outcomes after the Investment and the Conversion from Economic Capital

After analyzing the basic formula from Marx,

$$M-C-M' \quad (1.1)$$

At this point, we know that formula (2.1) is a positive outcome after the conversion from the investment. For the aim of analyzing different outcomes of investment and the conversion of economic capital, and for the following analysis, I reformulate the above formula (2.1) into

$$iEC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC(Cs) \quad (1.1.1)^{32}$$

Here,  $iEC$  represents the initial investment in or accumulation of an individual/institutional economic potency for making money in the future. It is economic capital, which is the function<sup>33</sup> of time,  $t$ ; energy/efforts,  $e$ ; and other forms of capital,  $Cs$ .  $C$  denotes the circulation process, which means the same as it did in formula (1.1).  $fEC$  is the final economic returns after transmutation, within some rounds of circulation. These returns will be in a simple financial or physical form, or within complicated functions<sup>34</sup> of other forms of capital.

(1.1) can result in four outcomes from  $fEC(Cs)$ :

- a.  $fEC'(Cs)$ , is gained, economic capital will be transformed into more returns. It means that economic capital is converted into a positive outcome,  $fEC'(Cs)$ . Marx named it as the surplus value, such as the benefits in the labor market with higher returns after exchange.  $M'$  is substituted by  $fEC'(Cs)$ , in this case, (1.1.1) is replaced by

<sup>32</sup> Formula (1.1) discusses the circulation movement of economic capital, which does not include the investigation of the primitive accumulation of economic capital, which will not be the research scope in this thesis.

<sup>33</sup> Here *function* represents the mathematical correspondence that assigns exactly one element of one set to each element of the same or another set or meaning of the relations of different variables, a variable that depends on and varies with another.

<sup>34</sup> See the note above.

$$iEC(t, e, Cs) - C - fEC'(Cs) \quad (1.1.1.a)$$

As one of the outcomes of original ( $M'$ ),  $fEC'(Cs)$  denotes the returns after the conversion from the economic capital investment.

b.  $fEC$  is gained, economic capital will be converted into no gaining/benefits. It represents that economic capital is not transformed into more returns, such as the returns of more money, but still remains the same as  $iEC$  after the investment step. In this case ( $M'$ ) will be replaced by  $iEC$ ,<sup>35</sup> (1.1.1) is replaced by

$$iEC(t, e, Cs) - C - iEC(m, Cs) \quad (1.1.1.b)$$

The transforming outcome  $fEC$  remains the same as what was gained from the investment as  $iEC$ , economic capital, the outcome, after the conversion, results in no more returns as expected, but no loss, either.

c.  $fEC^-$  is gained; it denotes that economic capital cannot be converted into benefits. However, the owner loses the economic capital invested in and moreover borrows debts, thus needs time, effort and economic capital to pay it back. In this case ( $M'$ ) is replaced by  $fEC^-$ , (1.2.1.1.) is replaced by.

$$iEC(t, e, Cs) - C - fEC^-(Cs) \quad (1.1.1.c)$$

$fEC^-$  is the devalued outcome from the conversion of economic capital investment, such as being burdened with debt and no outcomes from other forms of capital.

d. 0 outcome is gained, it means that economic capital is transformed into no outcome. It is lost completely. Economic capital is the tangible form of capital, which is different from other intangible forms of capital, in a short time, that

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<sup>35</sup> Here  $tEC$  is same as  $iEC$  in value.

can be lost completely as zero.  $fEC$  in this case is replaced by 0, (2.1) is replaced by

$$iEC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC(0) \quad (2.1.1.d)$$

0 represents that no outcome is resulted in, and no debt, either, while no conversion from the investment is eventuated by an agent.

### **1.1.5. The immigrant's economic capital and the focus of my research**

Immigrants can possess economic capital to invest for mobilization or for the purpose of converting it into more profits or other forms of capital during the migratory process. The differences are that the immigrants of the first generation and the second generation<sup>36</sup> have their roots in their original country; the gaining of the investment of their economic capital will connect with the original and the destination country. Immigrant's economic capital is what immigrants possess as financial and physical capital, which they would like to invest and transform into different forms of capital during the migration process, particularly in a destination country.

Immigrant's economic capital was the supportive part of the push and pull, supply and demand theory in migration (Bhagwati, 1983c, Massey, etc., 1993, Stark, 1991). In many cases, the fundamental motivation to migrate is to accumulate more economic capital in a destination country than in one's country of origin. However, this thesis analyzes the transformation of the different forms of capital. I look at how the *transformation* of different forms of capital allows the investment of economic capital to bring increased profits, not only in the form of economic capital, but also in other forms of capital. This will be investigated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 by a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of Chinese immigrants.

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<sup>36</sup> The Chinese immigrants of the first generation and the second generation are the sample that I explore in this thesis. The first generation in this thesis is defined as who were born and also educated in China, the second generation is defined as who were born in China or in Germany, but start their school in Germany.

## 1.2. Cultural Capital

### 1.2.1. The concept of cultural capital

The concept of cultural capital stands as one of the most applicable ones in social science, however, solely developed by Bourdieu with its shortest development history comparing with other forms of capital in this thesis (Cf. Grenfell and Michael Kelly, 1999). The motivation from Bourdieu in creating the concept of cultural capital is that he wanted to criticize functionalists' definition of human capital about its emphasizing merely on the economic part while concerned with education, such as the returns of the higher earnings (Becker, 1964, cf. Chapter 1, 1.1). According to Bourdieu, their concept of human capital misses the parts of cultural capital.

Their studies of the relationship between academic ability and academic investment show that they are unaware that ability or talent is the product of the investment of time and the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997[1986]: 47).

Bourdieu pointed out that the economists did not notice the relationship between “academic ability” and academic “investment” connected with the investment of “time and the cultural capital”. He explained: “when endeavoring to evaluate the profits of scholastic investment, they can only consider the profitability of educational expenditure for society as whole, the ‘social rate of return,’ or the “social gain of education as measured by its effects on national productivity” (Becker 1964b: 121, 155). He conceived that

[T]his typically functionalists' definition of the functions of education ignores the contribution that the educational system makes to the reproduction of the social structure by sanctioning the hereditary transmission of cultural capital. From the very beginning, a definition of human capital, despite its humanistic connotations does not move beyond economism and ignores, inter alia, the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family (Bourdieu, 1997[1986]: 48).

From these arguments and others (cf. Schultz, 1961, Becker, 1993[1964], Hawthorn, 1999 and 1.3. Human Capital), the difference between human and cultural capital is evident. Human capital discusses the agents' expectation to gain returns in

future by the expenditures on education, training, etc.. Cultural capital rooted in cultural heritage and transmission can bring a person certain legitimated competency in learning knowledge and skills and moreover can be sanctioned by “the educational system” “to the reproduction of the social structure” (Bourdieu, 1998[1986]: 53).

### 1.2.2. The definition of cultural capital

Bourdieu (1986) classified cultural capital in three forms: the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body with its distinctive value known as “habitus”, (cf. Jenkins 1992: 79)<sup>37</sup>; the objectified state, which is in the form of cultural goods, pictures, books, dictionaries, instrument, machines, etc., and as well as modern media, e.g., TV, internet, etc.; and last, in the institutionalized state, i.e. sanctioned by educational institutions.

**Table 1.1 Cultural Capital Existing in Three Forms**<sup>38</sup>

FORMS	MEANING
EMBODIED FORM	In the form of long/lasting dispositions of the mind and body as habitus
OBJECTIFIED FORM	In the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, electronic media, television, radio, internet, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories, problematics, etc.
INSTITUTIONALIZED FORM	A form of objectification, which is presumed to guarantee conferment of entirely original properties on the cultural capital.

Three forms of cultural capital are the core study from Bourdieu’s “Capital Theories”. Cultural capital does not only help to understand human capital greatly, but

<sup>37</sup>Details see Chapter 1.1.2. Cultural capital and 1.3. Human capital. Jenkins (1992) implied that human knowledge or what is learned in school, usually termed as human capital by economists, and was included in the embodied state of cultural capital as well. But in my perspective, habitus is the embodied form of different forms of capital that the agent holds. An agent does not only show differently from others by his/her cultural capital embodiment, but also with what he/she holds other forms of capital, the embodiment or the possession of other forms of capital also forms the development of habitus.



also from another perspective help to understand human being's different asset or possession transmitted from the traditions of a nation and particularly a family, i.e., the agent's cultural background. What I am interested in and further accounting on is the investment and the conversion of cultural capital, which, like other forms of capital, could be acquired, transmitted and converted. Based on the characteristics of capital concept (cf. Chapter 1.1. Economic Capital), cultural capital endows the same properties, which can be invested and converted into other forms of capital (cf. Bourdieu 1998[1986]: 48, 54)<sup>39</sup>. That is the key part in the following discussion.

### **1.2.3. The investment and the conversion of cultural capital**

Cultural capital like other forms of capital acquires the investment and the conversion in order to realize its value. The investment in it distinguishes from both the tangible form of economic capital, and the more or less tangible and intangible form of natural capital, political capital and social capital; nevertheless the conversion from cultural capital follows the same rules as other forms of capital. It can be, like other forms of capital's conversion properties, interchangeably transformed into other forms of capital.

#### **1.2.3.1. Investment**

The process of socialization can occur whenever an agent contacts the externals spiritually or materially, purposefully or not purposefully, i.e., the spare time can be additionally accounted as the investment in the form of cultural capital. The process of socialization can occur whenever an agent contacts the externals spiritually or materially, purposefully or not purposefully, i.e., the spare time can be additionally accounted as the investment in the form of cultural capital.

The best measure of cultural capital is undoubtedly the amount of time devoted to acquiring it; this is because the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital presupposes an expenditure of time that is made possible by possession of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1997[1986]: 54).

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<sup>38</sup> The table is constructed after Bourdieu (1986). See also V. Carrington & A. Luke's table of Bourdieu's three forms of cultural capital, 1999: 102.

<sup>39</sup> In this thesis, human capital as the institutionalized form is analyzed separately.

Time, an essential and a key investment factor in acquiring cultural capital, can be invested by both “labor time” and “spare time” “to increase cultural capital”. The *investment* in cultural capital is the amount of “time devoted to acquiring” it (Bourdieu, 1997[1986]) and the investment of time is the duration that an agent contributes to absorbing a certain kind of culture in a society.

It is possession of cultural capital that makes it possible to derive greater profit not only from labor-time, by securing a higher yield from the same time, but also from spare time, and so to increase both economic and cultural capital (ibid: 54).

To be noted that, cultural capital can be acquired without the direct economic investment, though it can be intentionally<sup>40</sup> acquired by the investment of economic capital, it can be rarely gained. According to Marx, as already explained in the section of economic capital, the purpose to invest in economic capital was to gain higher returns or more values. But the investment in cultural capital distinguishes from *the purposeful investment* to gain returns in economic capital.

Cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of *any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously*<sup>41</sup> (ibid: 48-49).

It requires time---“depending on the period”, social space---“the society”, and the social field---“the social class” to invest in cultural capital, which can be obtained when an agent proceeds the socialization to gain cultural capital without “deliberate inculcation”, but unintentionally---“quite unconsciously”. Another important investment in cultural capital acquires the *effort* investment that is the energy put into accumulating

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<sup>40</sup> This can be very expensive and sometimes it is hard to obtain a kind of culture, such as a common person from working class to acquire the cultural background from a king. However, if we define education being included in the embodied form as Bourdieu’s explanation of cultural capital, then human capital is included inside of cultural capital, and the investment of economic capital is part of human capital’s investment and so is cultural capital’s investment, see next section, Human Capital. However, cultural capital is hard to be directly invested from money, which is different from the investment in human capital; the investment in cultural capital has indirect *connection with the possession of economic capital*, which can *presuppose an expenditure of time* on acquiring cultural capital. “[T]he length of time for which a given individual can prolong his acquisition process depends on the length of time for which his family can provide him with the free time, i.e., time free from economic necessity, which is the precondition for the initial accumulation” (Bourdieu, 1997[1986]): 49, 50).

<sup>41</sup> The words are italicized by me.

a certain kind of culture through socialization<sup>42</sup>. The investment of cultural capital, like other forms of capital leads to no returns before it can be transformed. Although what is invested in cultural capital distinguishes from the other forms of capital, particularly in the sense of economic<sup>43</sup> investment, it has the basic properties as capital to be converted into different outcomes, i.e., into other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1998[1988]).

### **1.2.3.2 Conversion**

The *conversion* of cultural capital as argued by Bourdieu (1986) can be turned into other forms of capital. But a crucial point is that if it cannot be transformed into other forms of capital, then it cannot be recognized as returns.

Academic investment has no meaning unless a minimum degree reversibility of the conversion it implies is objectively guaranteed (Bourdieu 1997[1986]: 51)

Only when cultural capital can be converted into the future use, i.e. to make profit or to gain returns, we consider that the conversion from cultural capital is positive. The conversion from cultural capital can be resulted into other forms of capital i.e., as more economic capital, the buttress of cognitive learning processes to help to acquire human capital, the support to increase symbolic capital if well perceived, the help to establish social capital with the same cultural background, such as these backgrounds: with the family relationship, relative relationship or local relationship. Still a positive outcome is not the single outcome after the conversion; it can/may result in different outcomes, such as negative outcomes, equivalent or zero gaining of the returns.

### **1.2.4. The different outcomes from the investment and the conversion of cultural capital**

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<sup>42</sup> Robinson Crusoe is an exceptional example living outside the community or the society. But these immigrants who live inside of one's Town, like China Town or the Ghettos of the certain immigrants in the destination country, still involve and socialize in their original culture without changing too much of their "social space", they are no more than in "geographic space" change.

<sup>43</sup> The investment in economic capital includes both financial and physical capital purposefully invested in for gaining more values in returns; however, the investment of other forms of capital in

Cultural capital, one subform of capital, possessed capital's characteristics, owes the investment and conversion capability, which will be explored according to the basic formula of economic capital (1.1).

$$M-C-M' \quad (1.1)$$

In aim of analyzing different outcomes of investment and conversion from cultural capital, for convenience of following analysis, I reformulate the above formula (1.1) into

$$iCC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC(Cs) \quad (1.1.2)$$

Here,  $iCC$  is the initial cultural capital investment, which is the function<sup>45</sup> of time,  $t$ ; energy/efforts,  $e$ ; and other forms of capital,  $Cs$ .  $iCC$  represents the initial investment as accumulation of an individual/institutional cultural competency for gaining cultural capital in the future.  $C$  denotes the circulation process, same as it means in formula (1.1.2).  $fEC$  is the final returns after transformation within some rounds of circulation, which will be in a form of economic capital or as complicated functions of others<sup>46</sup>

$fEC (Cs)$  can exhibit in four kinds of outcomes:

- a. In formula (1.1.2.a)  $fEC'(Cs)$  is gained as one of the outcomes, cultural capital will be transformed into more returns. It means that cultural capital is converted into a positive outcome,  $fEC'$ , such as the benefits to support the learning knowledge to gain human capital, which then can be converted into economic capital as more salaries in the labor market and into the concerning forms of capital.  $fEC (Cs)$  is substituted by  $fEC'(Cs)$ , (1.1.2a) is replaced by

$$iCC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC'(Cs) \quad (1.1.2.a)$$

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economic capital can/may be neglected by the intended investment because of their disguised character (cf. Bourdieu, 1998[1986]: 54).

<sup>44</sup>  $Cs$  in  $tCC (Cs)$  is the functions of the conversion from the initial cultural capital,  $iCC$ , the outcomes can simultaneously result in different forms of capital as different returns, too. In the thesis I will not discuss other converting outcomes, but only one of the outcomes from the form of economic capital.

<sup>45</sup> Function is a mathematical variable. See Chapter 1, 1.1. Economic Capital.

<sup>46</sup> Cultural capital can be transformed into economic, social, human, and symbolic capital and their subforms. As explained by Bourdieu (1986), the last analysis of forms of capital can all be converted into economic capital. Here I will merely analyze the last analysis of cultural capital into the conversion of economic capital. See the above note 44.

fEC', as one of the outcomes, denotes the economic capital returns after the conversion from the cultural capital investment.

b. In formula (1.1.2b), fEC is gained; cultural capital will be converted into no more gaining/benefits. It represents that cultural capital is not transformed into more returns, such as the returns into any other forms of capital and lastly into more money as economic capital, but still remains same as iCC after the investment step. In this case fEC remains no gaining but no lose. fEC will be the same as before; (1.1.2) is replaced by

$$iCC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC(Cs) \quad (1.1.2b)$$

The transforming outcome fEC remains after the conversion, the outcome results in no more returns, but no loss, either.<sup>47</sup>

c. In formula (1.1.2c) fEC<sup>-</sup> is gained. It denotes the negative outcome that cultural capital cannot be converted into the benefits of economic capital. However it even needs time, effort to abolish it, such as the bad habit gained at home not fit in school or bad behavior embodied as cultural capital to harm people or the nature, etc., which cannot help to gain economic capital but make the loss of it. fEC<sup>-</sup> in this case is replaced by fEC<sup>-</sup>, (1.1.2) is replaced by

$$iCC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC^{-}(Cs) \quad (1.1.2c)$$

fEC<sup>-</sup> is the devalued outcome from the conversion of cultural capital.

d. 0 is gained as one of the outcomes; it means that cultural capital is transformed into no outcome, but is completely lost. This however can merely appear in the formula; cultural capital, same as human capital, endows not in the person's pocket, but in the person, so it is hard to lose or depreciate as economic capital in a short time completely as zero. Though cultural capital is

<sup>47</sup> This can be explained in formula, but difficult to be realized in practice.

very hard to be completely lost, in a long term run it can be lost to a certain degree<sup>48</sup>. fEC in formula (1.1.2) in this case is replaced by 0.

$$iCC(t, e, Cs,)-C-0 \quad (1.1.2.d)$$

0 represents that no outcome is resulted and an agent achieves no conversion from the investment of cultural capital.

## 1.2.5. Cultural capital and immigrants

### 1.2.4.1. Practices of Bourdieu's cultural capital

Up to date there are many followers and practitioners of Bourdieu's theory. We can easily, for example, make a list of the principal English users of the notion of cultural capital from the late 1970s to the early 1990s: Alvin Gouldner (1979); Randall Collins (1979 and 1987); Cookson and Persell (1985a); Ivan Szelenyi (1988); Paul DiMaggio (1982, 1991); Mike Featherstone (1987); John Urry (1990); Eyerman, Svensson and Soderqvist (1987); Lareau (1987); Lamb (1989); Farkas et al. (1990) and Beisel (1990).<sup>49</sup>

Since the late 1980s, it is noticeable that the concept of cultural capital has been exploited prosperously in the study of multiculturalism and migration. DiMaggio (1982, 1991), Lareau (1987) and Mc Laren (1989) are the pioneers of English researchers in applying Bourdieu's cultural capital to ethnic studies. They concluded that the discrepancy in minority achievement was related to the teacher and the school, consciously or unconsciously, valuing and rewarding the "cultural capital", that was most frequently associated with white, middle class families, thus advantaging children from backgrounds. In the 1990s, Light and Karageorgis (1994) explained that vocational capital meaning cultural traits as values, skills, attitudes, which should be

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<sup>48</sup> In some very special and extreme situations cultural capital can be eradicated rather close to "zero", such as in the time of the great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China, which is the greatest revolution to eradicate bourgeois' habitus of the Chinese. Some people as the "bourgeois"---"the exploiting class" tried their utmost effort in a very short time, i.e., even over a night to "become a new man" to be working class. It is called the brain wash.

added to migration research. Moreover they criticized that although Bourdieu (1979) and DiMaggio (1991) analyzed the high culture of the bourgeoisie, they neglected its vocational culture (Light and Karageorgis, 1994).<sup>50</sup> In Germany, Gogolin and Neuman (1991) applied cultural capital to the interpretation of a case study on a Hamburg Primary School with teachers and students including minorities. Extended to this, Gogolin (1994) developed the theory of monolingual habitus on the analysis of education and concluded that the multilingual society needs an educational system reform. Lutz (1991) utilized Bourdieu's cultural capital concept in analyzing particularly the Turkish group in Germany. Hirabayashi (1993) applied cultural capital to the studies in Mexican internal migration, using the concepts of both cultural and social capital in explaining why migrant associations were created and took different forms, citing regional variations in ethnicity, solidarity, occupational pursuits, and sociopolitical articulation to three places of Mexico. Though not termed in their concept as cultural capital, Hannerz (1996) and Mitchell (1995) also recognized the importance of cultural and social factors in migration researches, where the components of their arguments are similar to the concept of cultural capital. Nonetheless, the exciting thing on the concept of cultural capital is that Guillory (1995) in the United States wrote a book named *Cultural Capital*, in which the idea of cultural capital was employed in investigating how and why literary canons were formed. His book responded to remodel not only the argument about the literary curriculum but also the discussion over "multiculturalism". He argued that canon formation ought to be understood less as a question of representing social groups in the canon, than as a question of distributing "cultural capital" in the schools, which led the fashion to literacy, the practices of reading and writing. Exclusively, based on as long as 10 years studies with the help of colleagues in Dallas public schools involving comparative exploration of study habits, academic support and linguistic culture, Farka (1996) established a theoretical framework to examine the notion of cultural capital, which prepared children of different ethnicities for schooling by providing repertoires of cognitive skills, study habits, cultural dispositions and beliefs about self and learning. It draws, theoretically,

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<sup>49</sup> For details of more comprehensive references on cultural capital, see Lamont and Lareau's works (1988) and Waquant (1991).

<sup>50</sup> It seems to me that their vocational capital is similar as part of the embodied form of Bourdieu's cultural capital. Since the embodied form is "what is called culture, cultivation, Bildung" in the processes of accumulation of cultural capital, Light and Karageorgis's cultural traits as values and attitude are as same as Bourdieu's culture concept and their skills and knowledge are the same as Bildung's concept. Both are part of Bourdieu's concept of embodied form in cultural capital.

on the notion that experience at home and school creates a feedback loop by which the cultural capital of the students evolves over time and largely determines differential success. An interesting fact on the development of cultural capital was that Ong (1999) elaborated a type of cultural capital, which was compatible with the definition of Bourdieu's cultural capital in the embodied form, however he pointed out that language skill; educational qualification and the Euroamerican culture were in fact the core context in the embodied form of cultural capital. Water (2000) applied Ong's concept in analyzing Chinese "Satellite Kids", who studied alone, without the guidance of their parents in Vancouver in 1996, in high school and in university. As a result of her research, she epitomized that Chinese students intended to accumulate forms of capital, notably the form of cultural capital from their study in Canada.

#### **1.2.4.2. My focus of immigrants' cultural capital**

Though rich, cultural capital is applied to the practices in multiculturalism, migration researches and other concerning fields; fewer on its investment and conversion is studied. However Bourdieu with Passeron<sup>51</sup> as early as in 1973 illuminated its transformation capabilities, which shows its connection with other forms of capital, the main theme of the meaning of cultural capital.

My work focuses on the migrant's cultural capital deriving on cultural heritage, transmission and the reproduction that can be functioned as a kind of capital for studying in school and searching a job in a host country's labor market. "[B]ut this capital may not acquire from the formal school to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class," in which the immigrants involve (Bourdieu, 1999[1988]: 48).

It always remains marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition which, through the more or less visible marks they leave (such as the pronunciations, characteristic of a class or region); help to determine its distinctive value. It cannot be accumulated beyond the appropriating capacities of an individual agent (ibid: 51).

This is precisely my definition of the immigrant's hereditary transmission of cultural capital. In order to analyze the form of immigrant's cultural capital explicitly, I first elucidate the investment and the conversion of it.

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<sup>51</sup> cf. Bourdieu and Passeron, 1973 *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction*



### 1.2.4.3. The investment and the conversion of immigrants' cultural capital

The investment in immigrant's cultural capital pursues for future returns and can be converted into other forms of capital by migration. Immigrant's cultural capital is realized when it can be transformed into other forms of capital, particularly in the ethnic family as returns or not returns in the destination country.

As explained in 1.2.3.1., the investment in cultural capital requires time and effort. The immigrants' investment in cultural capital depends on time and particularly free time to obtain it in the original country or in the migration's family, e.g. the second generation, or even the third generation of the immigrants who gain it from his or her family's cultural background. It depends on the above analysis; I apply immigrant's cultural capital to Bourdieu's three forms.

*Immigrant's cultural capital in three forms:*

- a. Embodied in immigrants, as distinct habitus, which can be converted after the investment, such as the Chinese cultural value shows great respect to the education, the parents' supports the children to study in foreign country.<sup>52</sup>
- b. Objectified form: paintings and works, in the form of matters or products. People own the properties of it. The products and objects, which possess the immigrant's cultural attributes, exhibit special differences from the host country. Thus, if they are capable of making profits as exotic products, for example, its costumes, paintings, calligraphy, medicine, food, special products including the technical products or whatever with its special tradition or brand. If it can be turned into economic capital<sup>53</sup> or other forms of capital, it is a kind of objectified immigrant's cultural capital. e.g., the international trade for complementary goods exchange with different nations.

<sup>52</sup> Habitus in Carrington's explanation is the embodied form of Bourdieu's cultural capital. To me habitus is embodied as all forms of capital to an individual, cf. Nt. 69. The embodied form of cultural capital also shows the differences among the different immigrants who possess other different forms of capital.

<sup>53</sup> The easiest and ready converted form is economic capital. "... Economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs: others can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships (or social obligations) which cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment, unless they have established and maintained for a long time, as if for their own sake, and therefore outside their period of use, i.e., at the cost of an investment in sociability which is necessarily long-term because the time lag is one of the factors of the transmutation of a pure and simple debt into that recognition of nonspecific indebtedness which is called gratitude" (Bourdieu, 1997: 54).

c. Institutionalized Form: immigrant's cultural competency can be converted into cultural capital if it is acknowledged in a host country's labor market. Then it can be converted into economic capital, provided that a working position is obtained. In this case, the migrant's cultural competence is helpful. The immigrant can benefit from converting it into economic capital, or into other forms of capital in the migration's space or field. In this case cultural capital can be named on the condition that the immigrant's cultural competence is being sanctioned in the destination country, such as Chinese people working in the catering business by their competency of cooking. Moreover, in the thesis the institutionalized form of cultural capital is also studied separately as human capital, a subform of cultural capital, obtaining in China and in Germany. That is the investigation of the Chinese Student Group. Their higher educational certificates gained in China help them to emigrate from China when they get admitted from the German higher educational institutions. Their further purposes to stay in Germany aims at obtaining German higher educational degrees.

This will be investigated in Chapter 5. Cultural capital used by Chinese immigrants to migrate, which is analyzed by a qualitative and a quantitative method of a Chinese case study.

## 1.3. Human capital

### 1.3.1. The development of the human capital concept

The concept of human capital experienced a long history of development. From the early thought to its present form, the evolution of the theory is accompanied by the developing history of human economics. Woodhall notes that, “Traditionally, economic analysis of investment and capital tended to concentrate on physical capital, namely machinery, equipment, or buildings, which would generate income in the future by creating productive capacity” (1987: 221). However, human capital, which includes both tangible and intangible capital investment, is distinguished greatly from economic capital, physical and financial capital, and is expected to generate returns in the future by creating productive capacity both to a nation and to an individual person.

Adam Smith (1776), an economist, pointed out in his classic treatise, *The Wealth of Nations*, a crucial part of a nation’s wealth lies in its people. Kilbride explains that Smith “expanded the traditional value of ‘capital’ from ‘capital-money’ + ‘capital-goods’ to include ‘human capital’, the talent, education and training that individuals bring to the product of goods and services” (2001: 2). Smith’s analysis on labor<sup>54</sup> raises the idea of manpower<sup>55</sup>.

Woodhall notes that Smith’s work looked at the benefits of education for increasing the productive capacity of workers:

A number of classical economists, notably Adam Smith, pointed out that education helped to increase the productive capacity of workers, in the same way as the purchase of new machinery or other forms of physical capital, increased the productive capacity of a factory or other enterprise. He drew the analogy between the investment in physical and human capital (Woodhall, 1987: 219).

Smith’s aim in analyzing human capabilities is for increasing economic productivity. His analogy of the physical and human capital furthered the explanation

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<sup>54</sup> He pointed out four elements on producing productivity: land, capital, labor, and enterprise (building and machines), labor is one of his four elements.

that the capacity of a nation's productivity also depends on his/her labor that can be invested in the same way as other forms of physical capital.

100 years later in 1876, Karl Marx explicitly analyzed the accumulation of capital following Smith in his influential books *On Capital* (specifically looking at the economic)<sup>56</sup>. He pointed out that the capitalists exploited workers by prolonging their working hours instead of the socially necessary labour time (Marx, 1876) in order to make surplus-value. According to his theory, people are accounted for by numbers, which include the quantitative part of labor men/women, the quantitative part of working hours, and the quantitative outcome of the production from the economic capital investment (Lester M. Salamon, 1995). Notwithstanding, his analysis contributed to the discovery of the surplus value of capital. (cf. Marx, 1876, and Chapter1, 1.1. Economic Capital).

Blaug explains that in “the 1960s Jacob Mincer, Gary Becker and Theodore Schultz made the point that education is a process whereby individuals accumulate ‘human capital’. They do so on principles identical to the ways in which they accumulate physical capital, that is they sacrifice time and/or money in the present for the sake of a larger return in the future” (1992: xi). In 1961<sup>57</sup> Theodore Schultz (1961, 1963) announced the birth of the modern human-capital theory via the analysis of educational expenditure as a form of investment, as a gain for the future economic development of a nation.

### 1.3.2. The theory of human capital

However, it is Gary Becker, in his book *Human Capital* (which won him the Nobel Prize), who contributed to developing the theory of human capital in analyzing the rate of return to the investment in education, training and other concerning activities. He gave the definition of human capital as

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<sup>55</sup> Here labor power has no gender sensitivness. I want to point out that the research about gender differences is needed to be studied.

<sup>56</sup> His book *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Erster Band, Hamburg, Verlag von Otto Meissner published in 1867 in German. Since I only have the book from the Hamburg University in the German version, the citation I quote in English is consulted from the translation Georgetown University Virtual library.

<sup>57</sup> See Theodore Schultz 1964, and also Mark Blaug, 1992.

... the expenditures on education, training, medical care, etc., which improve health, raise earnings, or add to a person's appreciation of literature over much of his or her lifetime, in all which gain the benefits in the future (Becker, 1996, 1993 [1964]).

According to Gary Becker not only expenditures on education and training could increase human capital, but also expenditures on medical care. Therefore, the context of education, training and medical care becomes the influential factors in human capital investment. Nevertheless, at that period the focus of the human capital concept was concerned mainly with formal educational investment in school. During the 1960's, human capital theorists had the idea that schooling made people more productive, meaning that an increase in cognitive competence and knowledge and skills enhance a worker's productivity. The investment in education is expected to lead to a better job with higher earnings to be realized in the future. People with good education can improve the productivity and therefore give high return on the national economic development as well. Thus not only an individual but also an institution of the public/government should invest in human capital. That was carried out as a policy in the 1960s in the United States, in the 1970s in other industrialized western countries, including Japan in the east; in the early 1980s, in Australia, New Zealand and South Korea, and other eastern Asia countries and some of the developing countries during the middle of the 1980s. P.R.China, for example, after the end of the "Great Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976), gradually sailed the ship back to the traditional and modern educational route.<sup>58</sup> Based on surveys of the earnings from workers at different educational levels in 32 countries in 1973, and 44 countries in 1981, Psacharopoulos undertook many research projects certifying that there exist both the social and private returns to the educational investment (Psacharopoulos, G., 1973, 1975, 1981).

### **1.3.2.1. The screening hypothesis:**

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<sup>58</sup> During the ten years of the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution, China took the policy of *no examination* for students entering into the higher educational institution to study. Instead of judging the abilities, attitudes and aptitudes (3A) of the students, the judging shifted to the citizen's class. The working class as a worker or as a peasant or as a soldier, i.e., the proletarian, can have the chance leaping over the threshold of the higher institutions and stay inside, but not the "exploiting class", such as the bourgeois. The traditional Chinese educational system followed the strictest selection route of examinations, choosing the highest achieving scholars for officers, which started as early as the Han Dynasty and continued for nearly 2000 years, which, however, was completely eradicated during the Great Cultural Revolution.

Since the 1970's, Arrow (1972), Rosen (1987), and Spencer (1973, 1981) has begun to question the outcomes of the investment in education. The concept of human capital became a controversial issue. Attempts to measure the rate of return to the investment in education have been attacked by critics. They argued that

... education does not increase the productive capacity of workers, but simply acts as a 'screening device' which enables employers to identify individuals with higher innate ability or personal characteristics which make them more productive (Woodhall, 1987: 220).

Arrow (1973) and Spencer (1973) studied the different perspectives on education by an approach of the 'screening hypothesis'<sup>59</sup>. Both of their early investigations concluded that the screening approach did not entirely contradict the concept of human capital, as the screening or filtering concept "identify people with differential levels of productivity" (Spencer 1981: 243). Therefore it "allows employers to allocate workers to different jobs according to their different characteristics" (Arrow, 1973: 214). However, in 1980s, Arrow's argument (1981) became more critical than of the 70s. He remarked that the role of education in economic development merely identified people with and without particular traits, but did not produce these attributes. If screening hypothesis in economics is employed, people can only be classified for a suitable job in the labor market after procuring a particular education or undergoing training to gain specific marketable characteristics.

screening by employers in terms of educational credentials<sup>60</sup> creates an incentive on the part of employees to produce the 'signal' that maximizes the probability of being selected, namely, the possession of an educational qualification, and this signaling incentive is in fact conveyed by the private rate of return to educational investment (Blaug, 1992: 23).

Blaug's explanation implies private returns to education exist in screening theory, which suggests that education could be implicated in producing particular qualities in

<sup>59</sup> There are many terms in naming it, i.e., "the screening hypothesis", "filtering", "sheepskin", or "certification", see Woodhall (1987: 223-224). In the following accounts of its definition I prefer the screening hypothesis instead of others.

<sup>60</sup> Credentialism means to judge a person's ability by the cognitive achievement, the credential. "Screening operates by increasing the resources needed to attain the highest credentials in order to gain selection for a job" (Brown, Harlsey, Lauder and Wells, 1998: 9). It can be inflated, as the bid

people rather than as a sorting process of people. No matter what the critiques of investment in education, the screening hypothesis does fertilize the research of human capital theory, especially the empirical study of the screening hypothesis on social “environment factors”<sup>61</sup> which has greatly enlarged the variables utilized in analyzing both human capital and screening hypothesis. Furthermore, the debate between human capital and the screening approach brings about more factors for testing the influences on education and its concerning activities.

The reason why the screening hypothesis is important is that it has focused attention on the precise way in which education or other forms of investment in human capital influence productivity, and has served as a reminder that education does far more than impart knowledge and skills. The reason why employers continue to prefer educated workers is that not only does the possession of an educational qualification indicate that an individual has certain abilities, aptitudes and attitudes, but the educational process helps to shape and develop attributes. In other words, it is now increasingly recognized that other personal characteristics, as well as providing knowledge and skills (Woodhall, 1997 [1987]: 222)<sup>62</sup>.

The significance of the screening hypothesis lies in the discovery of different attributes of abilities, in aptitudes and attitudes after the investment in education and concerning capabilities, “the educational process helps to shape and develop attributes” and in the benefits to individuals directly after conversion. As Blaug (1976) stated in 1976, in time, *the screening hypothesis* will be seen to have marked a turning point in the ‘human investment revolution in economic thought’, a turning point to a richer, more comprehensive view of the sequential life cycle choices of individuals.

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for the highest educational credential in the labor market is demanded. For more on credentialism and education, see also Psacharopoulos 1979, 1981.

<sup>61</sup> In testing if human capital produces the capabilities of people or is a screening approach (theory), i.e. a sorting effect of them, research variables are extended to gender, age, marital status, parents’ education, religion, and the residential area of the individuals. Some of the researchers name all as the “environmental factors”. See Pedro Nuno Teixeira: “Do Economists take empirical testing seriously? The case of the human capital theory” in INEM- Vancouver, June 2000. Many have done research on activities (Blaug, 1992; Arrow, 1984), particularly Brittain (1977), who assumed a chain of effects from family background to the economic and the social status in society which influenced a child’s educational attainment. Coleman’s (1998 [1988]) research on social capital in creation of human capital supports this aspect, too.

<sup>62</sup> Here is important to clarify that the human capital concept, after further research by a screening hypothesis, added other factors in explaining the educational processes and its effects. While comparing to cultural capital (Bourdieu 1989, and Chapter 1.3. Cultural Capital), human capital is categorized into one part of cultural capital as its embodied form and institutionalized form. It is what one can gain from the formal education, but is not “in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously” acquired (Bourdieu, 1997[1984]: 49).

According to the economists' argument above, in the following I provide a table in which are listed the different categories in human capital. The table indicates that there exist four basic items for fundamental analysis at the outset of the theory of human capital. However, the categories are enlarged into 10 items after the discussion of the screening hypothesis.

**Table 1.2. Comparison of Formal Economists Research Context of Human Capital Theory and after the Enlarged Variables from the Screening-hypothesis**

<b>Human capital</b>	<b>The screening hypothesis</b>
Education	Education
Training	Training
Medical care	Medical care
	Work experience
	Ability
	Aptitude
	Attitude
	Environmental factor
	Information retrieval <sup>63</sup>
	Migration

The table shows evidently that more variables are involved in analyzing the investment in human capital after the screening hypothesis; it also shows that more so-called 'disconnected phenomena'<sup>64</sup> are linked together for features of the effect on education. The screening hypothesis suggests that the personal attributes and other environmental factors help to determine a person/worker's productivity, such as 3A, Ability, Aptitude, Attitude, the family backgrounds and the different class of a person, the economic income from the parents, etc. to influence the human capabilities.

For neoclassical economists, a focus on education is thus preferable to turning to other aspects of experience that might influence human capabilities, such as culture,

<sup>63</sup> Compare the survey by Blaug (1976: 829, 850) linking the research on human capital concept together with other activities.

<sup>64</sup>At the early period of the studies on human capital, the researchers did analysis on personal attributes and other environmental factors, which were not as the connected factors at the beginning of human capital concept research.



values, attitudes, and norms that would lead into sociological and institutional analysis along the lines of Clarence Ayres and Max Weber (Mitch, 1992: 396).

After the economists (Arrow, 1973, 1981; Blaug, 1992; Layard, and Psacharopoulos, 1974, 1979; Spencer, 1973) analyzed the screening hypothesis and expanded the variables of research in education, other sociologists (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988) became involved in the research of human capital theory and employed new forms of social and cultural capital in the creation of human capital. Bourdieu's critical analysis of the new concept of cultural capital greatly enriched the forms of capital, particularly in his analysis of habitus<sup>65</sup> in the embodied form of cultural capital. Nevertheless, human capital research program with the combination of screening hypothesis has extended to the variables of cultural background, particularly [the] family and social influences. It is similar to the influence from the habitus in cultural capital argued by Bourdieu (1997[1986]). Afterwards, Becker (1993 [1964], 1996) in the 1990s added new factors to human capital by discussing personal capital, which is quite similar to social capital as discussed by Coleman (1997[1988]). In this sense, the variables affecting human capital include economic, social and cultural factors and, from the perspective of the sociologist, are analyzed as forms of social and cultural capital in influencing human capital. Here I separate human capital from cultural capital to investigate its notion. The latter is defined by me as the legitimated cultural capital from one's family background and surroundings, as well as what people have learned from schooling (e.g. the knowledge and special skills purposefully invested in for the future returns) and defined as human capital, which is included in an embodied form of cultural capital (cf. the following section on cultural capital).

### **1.3.3. The investment and conversion of human capital**

Though the analysis of human capital and the screening hypothesis are important to understand the relation and influence of the involvement from other economic and social factors; what is important for study the process of human capital is the need of

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<sup>65</sup> See Gogolin's (1994) analysis of habitus embodied in cultural capital affecting the educational system in Germany, using the sample of Hamburg. This is the same field that I am employing in analyzing the Chinese migrant's forms of capital's transformation. See also Kilbride's (2001) detailed review of the literature on human capital as functioning with other forms of capital in the educational system. All the literature, however, is on North America.

two more terms - the investment and the conversion - to interpret it. If not eliciting the investment in human capital, we cannot discuss the transformation process of human capital, or what the different outcomes from the investment after the conversion would be.

### 1.3.3.1 The investment

When we describe the investment in human capital, "... education and training are the most important investment in human capital" (Becker, 1993 [1964]: 17). In other words, human capital can be increased by investing in education and job training (cf. Tatyana P. Soubbotina, Katherine Sheram, 2000: Glossary: human capital and investment)<sup>66</sup>.

[On]-the-job training and work experience and the process of job hunting, cost of it, as well as health care<sup>67</sup>, and all increase earning capacity, and can therefore be regarded as investment in human capital (Woodhall, 1992: 225).

Among all investment factors, education is an essential factor to increase earning capacity<sup>68</sup> as investment in human capital. However, the initial investment in education lies in other factors, i.e., time, effort, personal involvement and economic capital as the fundamental investment, which are needed to be purposefully invested in education for its future gains, with the support of other forms of capital, which can be intently or not intently invested in. In fact the change of space is one of the most important factors in discussing the investment and the conversion of human capital, i.e. the migration, as one of the factors in educational investment. Leister et al (1995) and Schultz (1961) also defined "migration" as one factor influencing the realization of human capital. Economic capital investment, in modern society's education, is the generating investment in human capital, which is not incurred for the current benefit, such as consumption expenditure, but designed for the future gains. Except for economic capital, other forms of capital, such as social, cultural and symbolic capital in the sense of possessed and embodied habitus, will be the necessary investment in education and in its other concerning activities in the creation of human capital. In my thesis I classify

<sup>66</sup> "Health care" is certainly one of the factors to increase the form of human capital; however, in my thesis I cannot further explore it.

<sup>67</sup> See the note above.

that the investment in education and its other concerning activities lies both in the individual and the public (institutional) investment in human capital.<sup>69</sup>

A necessity in *the individual investment* in human capital is personal involvement. A proxy can alternatively make the investment in economic capital, but in the process of learning or gaining skills<sup>70</sup> the personal involvement investment in human capital cannot be replaced by a third party. A person must participate through an individual personal involvement in the investment in human capital. *The institutional investment in human capital*, at the level of institutional involvement, is taking an important position in contemporary times. Without it, formal schooling is hard to achieve. The investment of economic capital, including both financial and physical capital, can be an essential investment in human capital by the public institution/government. But the amount of the economic capital investment financed, whether by a government or an individual, is diverse in different time and social spaces; in other words, investing in education either by an individual or by an institution varies greatly from place to place. For instance, individual and institutional investments manifest themselves in the difference of economic capital investment involved in studying at school or in the university. For instance the period of elementary and middle school education can be without tuition fee, but higher education, especially in the United States, Great Britain, Japan<sup>71</sup>, and China, requires expenditures of considerable amount, and is dependent on the status and ranking of the post-secondary institution. Investing in education can be done without paying tuition fees either in school or in university, such as in all Laender (states) in Germany today<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, it can be without the tuition fee to study at school and the

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<sup>68</sup> It would be better to express it as the increase of the living competence in a society.

<sup>69</sup> Schultz (1961) analyzed the personal/individual and governmental/institutional investment in education; he gave a detailed explanation of the institutional investment in 7 forms.

<sup>70</sup> So is the investment of social and cultural capital in human capital, however the investment of symbolic capital in human capital will be more complex because of the special characteristics of symbolic capital (see Chapter 1, 1.5 Symbolic capital).

<sup>71</sup> Japan took the different policy in paying tuition fee to the foreigners and the indigenous from 1998 till September 2002. The former could get the tuition fee from the different institutions, either private or public institutions as the “scholarship”, however, the latter should pay the fee, with fewer chances to obtain the “scholarship” comparing with the foreign students, who could, if they applied, then could obtain the scholarship. This may have the influence of the 1998’s Premier Minister’s statement to attract 100,000 foreign students to study in Japan till the year of 2000.

<sup>72</sup> Today means that some of the Laender (states) is demanding the students pay tuition fees from 2004.

university, however, with the “paid stipends”, like the welfare,<sup>73</sup> for study in the university, such as Sweden and the paid loans in Canada<sup>74</sup>.

Human capital theory is the economists’ approach in the analysis of labor quality by education through the aimed investment in it. Although people can invest in education and job training through personal involvement and expending economic, social and cultural capital, that does not mean that after the investment he or she can definitely and successfully gain higher returns as higher salaries from it, nor does an institution/government necessarily reap awards from an educated workforce, either<sup>75</sup>. After investment the returns can be resulted in different outcomes.

### **1.3.3.2 The transformation of the investment in education etc. as human capital into different outcomes**

*The conversion* is the most cardinal part in realizing the form of human capital<sup>76</sup>. As discussed above, e.g., an agent holds the form of human capital, which is institutionalized as an educational qualification, however, before a job is obtained, it cannot mean the returns in the sense of economic capital, and it may mean that human capital is endowed in that person as part of embodied form of cultural capital. Until human capital is recognized and transmuted into economic capital, such as the corresponding salaries and the concerning benefits, human capital can not be realized.

*The conversion to individual* can represent the investment or returns gained by the individual. It can mean a good job with the privilege of higher earnings an undesirable job yet also with higher earnings. When the conversion does not result in higher earnings, an agent still holds the endowment of the knowledge or skills and other concerning activities in that person. *The conversion to institution/government/nation* is the realization of the higher productivity to a nation’s social returns. A positive outcome

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<sup>73</sup> E.g. in Quebec in Canada, if a person is permitted to study in the university; he/she can get the stipends from the government of Quebec Province, if having no job.

<sup>74</sup> Most students have a debt load of Cdn. \$45,000 after a 3 yr. BA. Information from Taina, Canada, 2004.

<sup>75</sup> Without using the statistics we can have examples to show that a university graduate may not find a job in the labor market as a positive return of higher earnings. The investment in education and its concerning activities is the initial step in accumulation of human capital, however, it, in no sense, means that what has been invested can definitely be converted into more returns; the primary essence in realizing human capital is the conversion of it.

<sup>76</sup> The concept of human capital, when expounded by the process of the investment and the conversion, the part of the transformation is the cardinal part in developing the notion.

from a national investment is the conversion from both an individual and an institutional human capital gain. With this conversion, the investment in human capital can be classified as the return; but it be a positive outcome at all times.

Without being put into circulation, capital cannot be realized; the investment and the conversion are two steps in the circulation of human capital. Now that human capital is defined as capital, it shares some common properties with economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Light, 2001), and it can be extended by the previous study from the basic form of economic capital formula (1.1) (cf. Chapter 1.1.) to the form of human capital.

$$M-C-M' \quad (1.1)$$

For the aim of analyzing different outcomes of investment and conversion of human capital, and for convenience of the following analysis, I reformulate the above formula (1.1) into

$$iHC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC(Cs) \quad (1.1.3)$$

Here,  $iHC$  is the initial human capital investment, which is the function<sup>78</sup> of time,  $t$ ; energy/efforts,  $e$ ; and other forms of capital,  $Cs$ ;  $iHC$  represents the initial investment in the accumulation of an individual/institutional human capital.  $C$  denotes the circulation process, same as it means in formula (1.1).  $fEC$  is the final transformational returns, after within some rounds of circulation, which will be in a form of economic capital or as complicated functions of others<sup>79</sup>

$fEC (Cs)$  can exhibit in four kinds of outcomes:

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<sup>77</sup> In  $fEC(Cs)$ ,  $Cs$  is the functions of the conversion from the initial human capital as the transforming outcome of economic capital,  $fEC$ .  $Cs$  as the other forms of capital can simultaneously result in different outcomes as returns. In the thesis I will not discuss converting forms of capital into different outcomes  $Cs$  one by one, except take the example of the transforming form of economic capital  $fEC$  in formula (1.1.3).

<sup>78</sup> Function is utilized as a mathematical variable.

<sup>79</sup> Human capital can be transformed into economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital and respectively into their subforms. Here I will merely analyze the transforming outcome of human capital into economic capital to the individual formula (1.1.3), not the transforming outcome to the institution and others.

a.  $fEC'$  is gained as one of the outcomes, human capital will be transformed into more returns. It means that human capital is converted into a positive outcome,  $fEC'$ , such as the benefits to gain higher salaries as economic capital in the labor market and to gain the concerning forms of capital. It hints that an agent can transform his/her human capital into a good job.  $fEC'^{80}$  is greater than  $fEC$ ,  $fEC(Cs)$  is substituted by  $fEC'$ , (1.1.3) and is replaced by

$$iHC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC'(Cs) \quad (1.1.3a)$$

$fEC'$ , as one of the outcomes, denotes the economic capital returns after the conversion from the human capital investment.

b.  $fEC$  is gained, human capital will be converted into no more gaining/benefits. It represents that human capital is not transformed into more returns, such as the returns into more money as economic capital, but still remains same as  $iHC$  after the investment step. In this case  $fEC$  remains no gaining but no loss as  $fEC$  in the original investment form of an agent's economic capital,  $fEC$  remains the same in (1.1.3b) as in (1.1.3):

$$iHC(t, e, Cs,)-C-fEC(Cs) \quad (1.1.3b)$$

The transforming  $fEC$  outcome remains the same as what was gained from the investment after the functions of time, effort/energy for the education, etc., and other forms of capital with the initial human capital  $iHC(t,e,Cs)$ . After the conversion the outcome results in no more returns as economic capital, but no loss, either.

c. In formula (1.1.3c)  $fEC^-$  is gained, it denotes that human capital cannot be converted into the benefits as gaining economic capital, however transmuted to a bad job with lower earnings to an individual comparing with his/her human capital,  $fEC$  in this case is replaced by  $fEC^-$ , (1.1.3) is replaced by

$$iHC(t, e, Cs,)-C-tEC^-(Cs) \quad (1.1.3c)$$

<sup>80</sup> In fact it will result in more different outcomes after the conversion from human capital, if we

$tEC^-$  is the devalued outcome from the conversion of human capital.

d. 0 is gained as one of the outcomes; it means that human capital is transformed into no outcome, but completely lost. This however can merely appear in the formula; human capital endows not in the person's pocket, but in the person,<sup>81</sup> so it is hard to lose or depreciate in a short time to be completely to be zero as economic capital. Though human capital is very hard to be completely lost, in a long term run it can be, [in] more or less, [sense] lost to a certain degree<sup>82</sup>.  $fEC$  in formula (1.1.3) in this case is replaced by 0 as in (1.1.3d).

$$iHC(t, e, Cs,)-C- fEC(0) \quad (1.1.3d)$$

0 represents that no value outcome effects and an agent achieves no conversion from the investment, but loses it completely.

### 1.3.4. Human capital and immigrants

Many researchers have studied immigrants' human capital from the perspective of 'the brain drain,' i.e., the flow of human capital from the developing countries to the developed countries and on their earnings in the receiving countries (Antecol, Cobb-Clark and Trejo, 2003; Borjas, 1992, Chiswick & Miller, 2002, Hendricks, 1997; Kurien, 1999). My investigation focuses on an integrated study of the investment from other forms of capital in human capital and the conversion of the immigrants' human capital into other forms of capital. Here I want to point out that human capital is defined as the educational qualification gained from the formal institution after formal learning. It is one subform of cultural capital (cf. the following section on cultural capital).

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consider the returns to both the individual and the institution.

<sup>81</sup> Human capital resides in the owner's person, and it adds to the new properties to the habitus of the person to his/her already gained embodied cultural capital.

<sup>82</sup> In some very special and extreme situations human capital can be eradicated rather close to "zero" in a short time, such as the great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China, in which period Chinese

#### **1.3.4.1. My focus of the immigrant's human capital, the investment and the conversion**

Immigrants are generally categorized into two main groups. One group is composed of legal immigrants who are highly skilled, with high levels of education (including experience and training in the country of origin) and who bring with them a higher degree of other forms of capital. The other group is composed of illegal immigrants with low levels of education and who end up in lower-status jobs with lower incomes<sup>83</sup> (Marshall, 1991).

My analysis will first focus on what are the gains in the immigrants' human capital for the sending country and how it is or is not transformed into a job or higher earnings in a receiving country then will compare the conversion of different groups of Chinese immigrants to convert human capital in a receiving country. This will be investigated in Chapter 5 by a qualitative method and by a quantitative analysis of a Chinese case study.

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were not allowed to do scientific research nor learn knowledge, but forced to take up class struggle EVERYWHERE.

<sup>83</sup> The detailed analysis of the samples will be discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.



## 1.4. Social capital

### 1.4.1. The development of social capital

Social capital can be briefly explained as the relationship in social network, which can be benefited both by the individuals and the institutions.<sup>84</sup> World Bank tries to establish and to utilize social capital to eradicate the poverty in the world and defines that:

Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions ... Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together (The World Bank 1999).<sup>85</sup>

Social capital is not solely developed by Bourdieu as the form of cultural capital. Jacob as early as in 1961, deserved the authorship with the concept of social capital,<sup>86</sup> but Grannovett's (1985) "embeddedness" "in generating trust, in establishing expectation, and in creating and enforcing norms" contributed great influence on the concept of social capital (Coleman, 1988: 96). Due to Bourdieu's (1997 [1986]), Coleman's (1988, 1990), and Putnam's (1992, 1995) contributions, the term of social capital becomes widely spread in social science. In his *Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1997 [1986]) introduced social capital with the illumination of cultural capital, as the supportive factor to the latter. Coleman (1988) in his well-known article, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, established both theoretical and empirical framework of social capital in the development of human capital. Putnam in a series of books from 1990s demonstrated that the participation of people in social activities could render the growth of economy and improve the democracy of the society.

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<sup>84</sup> The institution defined here includes individual organization and public or government organization.

<sup>85</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/library/webgd1.htm>

<sup>86</sup> Putnam (2000) considered that Coleman (1988) deserves primary credit for developing the theoretical framework of social capital; however he believed that Jacob's concept (1961) of social capital is most close to the sense of the concept discussed by the researchers after her. As a matter of fact Boudieu's (1997 [1986]) work deserves the theoretical development of the concept on social capital as well.

As defined by Bourdieu:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (1997[1986]: 51).

Social capital needs to establish “a durable network,” not a short or a temporary network, “of more or less institutionalized relationship” as a more formal relation. “These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them” (ibid: 51). Bourdieu implied that social capital could not exist in an individual person without connecting with others, while an individual can benefit from “its members with the backing of the collectivity—owned capital.”

As defined by Coleman:

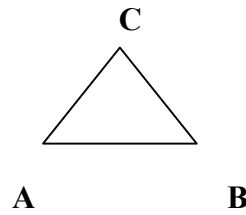
Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors---whether persons or corporate actors---within the structure (1997 [1988]: 81).

In his opinion the “social *structures*” that facilitate “certain actions”, come into being with some forms of social capital. “The *function* identified by the concept of ‘social capital’ is the value of these aspects of *social structure* to actors<sup>87</sup> as resources that they can use to achieve their interests” (ibid: 81). In explaining social structures, Coleman introduced the closure structures, in which an actor can have more contacts with other actors than in the non-closure structure. Thus actors can use the resources gaining from the closure structure to “facilitate certain actions” and “to achieve their interests” to realize some forms of social capital.

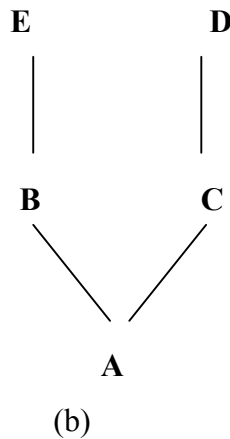
An actor gets social resources or capital in a valuable and effective way in closure structure (Figure 4.1), which is described by Coleman in the following Figure 4.2. with a non closure structure.

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<sup>87</sup> I use the two terms: actor and agent interchangeably in the thesis.

**Figure 1.4.1. the closure structure;**

Source: Coleman, 1997[1988]: 86

**Figure 1.4.2. the non closure structure by Coleman**

Source: Coleman, 1997[1988]: 86

In Figure 1.4.1 closure structure, **A** has the chance to directly contact **B** and **C**, meanwhile **B** and **C** have the same chance to directly contact with each other. However, in Figure 1.4.2 non closure structure, **A** has direct chance to contact **B** and **C**; but **B** and **C** have no direct contact with each other. Based on the same principle, Coleman also developed the structure of the “network involving parents and children without and with intergenerational closure” (1997[1988]: 86). If “with intergenerational closure” structure, the parents will have more chances to contact other children’s parents and exchange the information about the activities of the school and after the school.

While explaining the function of social structure as social capital, Coleman additionally mentioned the social relations that can facilitate action; it “can constitute useful capital resources for individuals” (ibid: 83, 84). However, he stressed the social relations on the individual gaining in social capital. “Social capital, however, comes about through changes in the relation among persons that facilitate action” (1997[1988]:

83, 84). The formation of social capital defined by Coleman constitutes social structure and social relations. Social capital helps person better benefit from their social relations.

Both the concept and terminology of social capital became widely accepted, especially in North America following the publication of R. D. Putnam's article "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" (Putnam, 1995). Putnam's researches on Italian (1993) and American communities (1995, 1996, 1998, 2000) indicated that social capital could contribute in a fundamental capacity to social and economic development, though in America it was declining. He understood that 'social capital' referred to features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.

... social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue." The difference is that "social capital" calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital (Putnam 2000: 19).

Putnam's concept of social capital, "embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations", is similar as Coleman's concept. In his framework "life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. ... dense networks of interaction probably broaden the participants' sense of self, developing the 'I' into the 'we', or (in the language of rational-choice theorists) enhancing the participants' 'taste' for collective benefits" (Putnam, 1995: 67). He considered that, individuals, if they did not integrate in the society, the society, even with "many virtuous", would not be "necessarily rich in social capital". His account of social capital is a cultural phenomenon, denoting the extent of civic mindedness of members of a society, the existence of social norms promoting collective action and the degree of trust in public institutions. To Putnam social capital has the properties of a public good (cf. Raiser, etc., 2001). In exploring the benefits from social capital, Putnam in vice versa emphasized that not only an individual, but also a society, could benefit from it. The following table gives a comparative summary of the development of social capital concepts from Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam.

**Table 1.3. The Comparison of the Concepts of Social Capital**

NAME	DEFINITION	FUNCTION/ METHOD	SIGNIFICANCE
Bourdieu	the aggregate of the actual or potential resources backing of <i>membership</i> in a group as the collectivity-owned capital	supporting cultural capital /theoretic	illumination of social capital's transformation as benefits to an individual
Coleman	<i>Closure structures, social relationship</i> of trust, obligation and worthiness, and norms; all facilitating certain actions of actors	facilitating human capital /empiric & theoretic	illumination of social capital's sanction to the individual's benefits
Putnam	interaction enabling people to build <i>communities</i> , to commit themselves to each other, and to knit the social fabric	improving economy and social activities, i.e. democracy civic participation and solidarity/ empiric	society benefits from social capital

#### **1.4.2. The comparison of Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's concept of the investment in social Capital**

To summarize the table above, differences aside, the gaining of the investment in social capital can be transformed into benefits or other forms of capital either argued by the theoretical framework or the empirical analysis of researchers.

Bourdieu (1997 [1986]) explained that the "membership", such as the kinship, the family relationship, and the background of one's history, could be the resources of human being's social capital. He accounted that the membership, as the "collectivity" functioned as social capital, which an individual could gain from the social relationship

in a group, stood as social resources. “The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of *the network* of connections he can effectively mobilize and on *the volume of the capital* (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of to whom he is connected” (Bourdieu, 1997 [1986]: 51). His concept of investment in social capital can be elucidated as the individual(s) participation in group(s) and on the deliberate construction of sociability for the purpose of creating this resource (Jeanette Pope, 2001),<sup>88</sup> which however, cannot avoid the integral part of capital an individual object as homogeneity endowed. Thus it is two aspects of Bourdieu’s concept of investment: membership and the volume of other forms of capital.

Coleman, draw rich “embeddedness” nourishment from Granovetter’s social network (1985) “as a structure with history and continuity that give it an independent effect on the functioning of economic systems” (Coleman, 1988[1998]: 86), which implies that social networks stemming from the transmission/heritage of history. Linked to Granovetter’s concept, “the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests” (ibid: 82), Coleman (1988, 1990) developed his theory on social capital resources as “rational action”. Some researchers (Torcal and Montero, 1998) called a rational-choice approach, in which an actor can rationally approach to social capital for making possible the achievement of certain ends from the embeddedness of an actor’s history. If “beginning with a theory of rational action, in which each actor has control over certain resources and interests in certain resources and events, then social capital constitutes a particular kind of resource available to an actor” (Coleman, 1988[1998]: 81). Thus, Coleman considered that the concrete personal relations and social structures, which generate the form of social capital, were the social resources for actors to gain rationally (cf. Coleman 1988, 1990). “A theory of rational action” assumes that people are rational and base their actions on what they perceive and reason to be the most effective means to their goals. Thus the basic investment in social capital defined by Coleman is the embeddedness of social structure and relation that can be reasonably chosen by actors for certain means.

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<sup>88</sup> This is the article compiled by Jeanette Pope for the important factor that social capital has been posited in the relationship between low socioeconomic status and ill health. She did a good review on the concept of social capital and gave an essential comparison of different definitions of social capital and the key articles describing the original definition of social capital. She raised some ultimate questions as whether social capital was residing in the actions of individuals or whether underpinned by economic conditions. Regrettably this is not a published article; contact Jeanette Pope at Public Health Information Development Unit, the University of Adelaide, Australia. Phone 08 8303 6446, Fax: 08 8303 6240.

Putnam's work further suggested that social capital be accumulated over long periods of history (Raiser, etc. 2001) as what Coleman conceptualized; and his empirical research work on American indicated that social capital could be acquired by the participation in social activities (cf. Putnam, 1992, 1995 and 2001). He stressed that social capital can help to establish the social norms, trustworthiness, and social networks.

#### **1.4.2.1. The intentional and unintentional investment of social capital**

To summarize Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, social capital can be originated from social relation, social network or the social structure. Therefore the accumulation of social capital can also be analyzed as the investment in social relation and the social network or social structure. However what is needed to explain is that there exist two forms of investment in social capital, which are constituted from the social relation and the social network. They are unintentional and intentional form of social capital.

Before we analyze the investment of social capital, we need to describe five basic forms of social networks according to Qiao (1992), Fei (1998), Sztompka (2000), and Wang (2004). They are the kinship group – the direct family relationship (KR); The relative-group– the relative relation with the indirect family relationship trust (RR); The local group – who coming from the same area (LR); The friendship group – the friends either from the same social space or not from (FR); The organizational group – from the same trade, business or other kinds of lines, NGOs and government organizations (OR).

One form of investment, embedded in history, is invested not by an agent's choices as “unintentional investment”; they are from a kinship direct blood relationship (BR), and a relative relationship (RR), local relationship (LR). Another form of investment is the intentional investment, constituted by relations, which can be invested intentionally by an agent, such as friend relationship (FR) and organizational relationship (OR).<sup>89</sup> A

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<sup>89</sup> Social capital can function in some senses as the intangible “legal law” instead of the tangible law in a different social space and in different time in society. The society with highly effective practices of law would give fewer chances of other forms of social relations such as the kinship (KR), relative (RR), the local relationship (LR), and friendship (FR) to function in social activities; in vice versa the society with less effective social capital to function in social activities such as the NGO and social organizations (OR) would make the legal law less practical. But this is not my study in this thesis, though it shines special interest to me about the comparison to the function of social capital and the legal law in society.

brief summary on intentional and unintentional accumulation of social capital resources is listed in the following table.

**Table 1.4. Intentional and Unintentional Investment on forms of social capital**

FORMS OF SOCIAL NETWORKS/RELATIONS	FORMS OF INVESTMENT
KR - direct family relationship-the kinship	Unintentional investment
RR-The relative-relationship – the relative relation with the indirect blood relationship trust	Unintentional investment
LR-The local relationship – who coming from the same area;	Unintentional investment
FR-The friendship– the friends either from the same social space or from different social space;	Intentional investment
OR- The organizational relationship – from the same trade, business or other kinds of lines, NGOs and government organizations.	Intentional investment

Both intentional and unintentional forms need time, effort/energy (Bourdieu 1986 and Putnam, 1995) and other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) to invest in. Social capital can be acquired, however, without economic capital; i.e., without money people could still own social capital by the investment of time, effort and social space. Thus, the social space, effort and time will be the most important factors in effecting the investment in social capital that however, shows differences from the investment in other forms of capital. The investment of economic capital is not the necessity in an unintentional form of social capital. To invest in an intentional form, however, economic capital can be, as an important and necessary investment factor as that in other forms of capital, for instance, to join clubs, associations or certain societies; the necessary fee should be paid. Besides owing symbolic or cultural capital can be the essential advantage in participation in certain organizations/groups as the investment in social capital<sup>90</sup>.



### 1.4.3. The conversion of social capital

Social capital, as one form of capital, shares the basic properties of capital; so is the same as other forms of capital. The principal means of obtaining social capital is the investment; and the key in realizing its value is the returns from the conversion (cf. 1.1. Economic Capital).

#### 1.4.3.1. The conversion

*The conversion of social capital:* The investment in social capital, same as the characteristics of economic capital and other forms of capital, can expect to gain benefits, and to incur of its own form and other forms of capital (Bourdieu 1997 [1986]). But the investment does not assure whether the social structures and relations can have the trust (norms) to facilitate social actions or not, i.e., can convert into returns or not.

According to Bourdieu, if actual and potential collectivity as the “credential” capital can be acknowledged in exchanges, i.e., transforming into benefits into other forms of capital, the conversion step of social capital is realized. The conversion of social capital, expounded by Bourdieu, turns into the support of cultural capital, however, Bourdieu further argued that one form of capital could be *converted into other forms of capital* (1997[1986]: 52. 57, 58). Coleman (1997[1986]) explained that an actor can use his/her “credit slip”<sup>91</sup> involving in the closure structure to gain more than outside it, i.e., in the non-closure structure, or than in the society in which no norms are sanctioned. Same as Bourdieu he also stated that social capital could convert into other form of capital, however, into the form “of human capital”.

... like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. (Coleman, 1997[1998]: 81).

Coleman considered social capital as “productive” in facilitating certain actions of actors to express its converting ability and noticeably stated that the conversion of certain actions of actor “in its absence would not be possible”; the conversion of social

<sup>90</sup> Such as the noble family’s clubs or the luxury clubs for earning exceeding one million US dollars annually, “the Rich People Club” etc., cf. Nt. 9.

<sup>91</sup> Credit slip: to gain from the help for others, see Coleman, 1988.

capital is the necessary step to realize its value in achieving certain ends. Putnam (1993, 1995, and 2001) tried to prove that the society can be benefited from the conversion of the intentional form of social capital--the civic engagement can form the civic community as the solidarity, trust and tolerance in case to lead to a strong rallied life in the society.

Yet, Coleman (1998 [1988]: 93) argued that because of its public-good character, “the actor or actors who generate social capital ordinarily capture only a small part of its benefits, a fact that leads to underinvestment in social capital.” Thus its conversion will not always show up as positive ratio as expected. “Like physical and human capital, social capital is not completely fungible but may be specific to certain activities. A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others” (Coleman, 1997[1988]: 98). The conversion of social capital can result in a positive value to certain activities or to certain individual and/or to the society, but may also in a negative or in other outcomes.

#### 1.4.4. The conversion into different outcomes from social capital

Followed is the analysis on the different outcomes of social capital according to the basic formula of economic capital (1.1) (cf. Chapter 1, 1.1. Economic Capital). For the convenience of the analysis, first I will reformulate M-C-M' (1.1) into formula (1.1.4):

$$iSC(t, e, Cs,)-C-tHC(C) \quad ^{92} \quad (1.1.4)$$

Here,  $iSC$  is the initial social capital investment, which is the function<sup>93</sup> of time,  $t$ ; energy/efforts,  $e$ ; and other forms of capital,  $Cs$ .  $iSC$  represents the initial investment in the accumulation of social resources to gain human capital or other forms of capital in

<sup>92</sup> In formula (1.1.4)  $tHC(Cs)$  is the conversion result(s) from the initial social capital,  $iSC$ ; the outcomes,  $fHC(Cs)$  can simultaneously result in different forms of capital as “returns”. Here I will discuss the final converting outcomes representing by one form of capital, human capital. As explained by Bourdieu social capital can be converted into cultural capital and other forms of capital. Such as holding the form of social capital by businessmen can help to gain economic capital. See examples in Coleman (1997[1988]: 82, 83), the Jewish in Brooklyn, New York, and the Kahn El Khalili market of Cairo, in which the actors utilize their social capital to gain more social relations or to involve in more connected structures. See Coleman's explanation of the social capital's information channels (1997[1988]: 85), or such as the special relationship with the premier minister in a country can help an agent to gain the form of symbolic capital in certain social space/field.

<sup>93</sup> Function is a mathematical variable.

future.  $C$  denotes the circulation process, same as it means in formula (1.1).  $tHC(Cs)$  is the transforming returns, within some rounds of circulation, which will be in a form of human capital or as complicated functions of other forms of capital,  $Cs$ <sup>94</sup>.

$tHC(Cs)$  can exhibit in four kinds of outcomes:

a. In formula (1.1.4a),  $tHC'$  is gained; social capital is transformed into returns as one form of human capital. It means that social capital is converted into a positive outcome in gaining human capital; such as the benefits gained from the unintentional form of investment of social capital in a family helping the child to learn in school contributed by the parents' time and effort at home, this is the case of the Chinese family; or the intentional form of social capital of the organizations of the society helping the child to learn after school. In this case,  $tHC(Cs)$  is substituted by  $tHC'(Cs)$ <sup>95</sup> and (1.1.4) is replaced by

$$iSC(t, e, Cs,)-C-tHC'(Cs) \quad (1.1.4a)$$

$tHC'$ , as one of the outcomes, denotes the returns gained after the conversion from the social capital investment.

b. In formula (1.1.4b)  $tHC$  is resulted as one of the outcomes. Social capital is converted as no more gaining/benefits into human capital. It means that it has no help to gain human capital or the agents do not utilize their social capital to gain human capital positively.  $iSC$  converts no benefits in obtaining the form of human capital as  $t(HC)$ ; (1.1.4) is replaced by

$$iSC(t, e, Cs,)-C-tHC(Cs) \quad (1.1.4b)$$

<sup>94</sup>  $Cs$  as the functions of  $tHC$  may result in different outcomes, here in each of the formula analyzed from the basic (1.1.4) may vary differently and can result in the complicated outcomes in formula 1.1.4a, 1.1.4b, 1.1.4c and 1.1.4d. I do not give the detailed analysis of different functions of other forms of capital one by one.

<sup>95</sup> It can result in other different concerning outcomes of other forms of capital, here is not analyzed, so is the other following formulae, See Nt. 15.

tHC, the initial social capital investment makes no transforming outcome in help to gain human capital; after conversion the outcome results in no more returns, but no loss, either.<sup>96</sup>

c. In this formula  $tHC^-$  is gained, it denotes that social capital cannot be converted into benefits to gain human capital. However it even needs time, effort to abolish it, such as the investment in the formal form of social capital in a family, in which father drinks all the day and additionally let his child drink and mother is away from home. Neither father nor mother cares his or her study or even let the child to spend time to study, but to drink or do the housework. Though much time and effort of the child are involved in this relationship, he/she scarcely benefits from it. The agent may need time, effort or money to isolate from such a social network for the future benefits in gaining human capital. In this sense the relationship with the form of social capital results negative effect in learning in school to gain human capital, etc. tHC in this case is replaced by  $tHC^-$ ; (1.1.4) is replaced by.

$$iSC(t, e, Cs,)-C-tHC^- (Cs) \quad (1.1.4c)$$

$tHC^-$  is the devalued outcome from the conversion of social capital's investment.

d. In this formula 0 is gained as one of the outcomes; it means that social capital is transformed into no outcome as obtaining human capital, but completely lost in help to gain human capital. This however can appear in the formula more than in reality; such as that a child growing up with a wolf learns nothing of the human knowledge and even cannot learn the language when taught.<sup>97</sup> tSC (Cs) in formula (1.1.4) in this case is replaced by 0.

<sup>96</sup> In practice can it be difficult to have *no effects* in human capital gaining from the transforming of social capital. It can be merely defined as more or less close to no effects, however hardly can it be defined as the exact amount as in the tangible form of economic capital.

<sup>97</sup> Though human capital is very hard to be completely lost if gained, in a long-term run it can be in more or less sense lost in certain degrees. In some very special and extreme situations human capital can be eradicated rather close to "zero", such as in many years the agents do not learn or use a kind

$$iSC(t, e, Cs, C) - 0 \quad (1.1.4d)$$

0 represents that no outcome is resulted and an agent achieves no returns from the initial investment of social capital in obtaining human capital.

### **1.4.5. The immigrant's social capital**

The research on immigrants' social capital is focused on analyzing social networks connecting the sending and the receiving country, the chain migration and immigrants' social networks which help each other in a receiving country for finding a job (Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Portes, 1995; Salt, 1989; Lin, 1991). The immigrant's social capital is what immigrants acquired and what they can convert in migratory process. They include both intentional and unintentional form of social capital. The analysis of the immigrant's investment in social capital can understand immigrants' social networks and social relations between the sending and the receiving countries. The analysis of its conversion can help to study how the investment in social capital being transformed by immigrants in a host country, which helps to understand the migratory process and particularly the immigrants' adaptation and integration to the destination country.

#### **1.4.5.1. My focus on immigrants' social capital analysis, investment and conversion, the strategies by their habitus**

As analyzed above, the investment of the immigrants' social capital can be classified as the intentional and unintentional investment. The unintentional investment is what immigrants acquire from their kinship (KR), relative relationship (RR), and local relationship (LR) involved both in the original and in the destination country. The intentional investment from friends' relationship (FR) and organizational relationship (OR) is what they acquire from the institutions or organizations in both the sending and the receiving countries. The conversion of the immigrant's social capital in this thesis

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of language or knowledge, thus the agents may forget the language and knowledge (cf. II.2. Human Capital).

will be explained as the transformation into not only one form of capital, but also into different forms of capital in helping the migration and the integration.<sup>98</sup> Chapter 5, a qualitative method and a quantitative method will investigate how the Chinese immigrants gain the intentional and unintentional social capital and how they, by their strategies, convert their social capital into other forms of capital to facilitate their migratory process by a case study of the Chinese immigrants.

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<sup>98</sup> There can be the transformation of social capital after return to the original country, the emigrants' conversion of social capital in their original country. However, in this thesis I cannot reach to that research scope.

## 1.5. Symbolic Capital

### 1.5.1. The Concept of Symbolic Capital

The concept of symbolic capital is one of the more complex ones developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Although the central theme of symbolic capital contained in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) and *the State Nobility* (1989), his whole work may be read as a hunt for its varied forms and effects.<sup>99</sup> After the publication of abundant research works, the notion of symbolic capital became rich in various senses. Bourdieu accounted that

[C]apital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital.<sup>100</sup> To these we must add symbolic capital, which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 118, 119).

Agents (individuals or institutions) cannot accumulate symbolic capital arbitrarily; they, rather more accurately, follow its rules. It is a kind of recognized legitimacy, for an agent within a field, his/her symbolic capital is acknowledged according to “its specific logic”. What agents possess and accumulate with forms of capital is not automatically symbolic capital. Self-defined symbolic capital does not exist in “a socially constituted cognitive capacity”. If a writer declares that “I am a famous writer”, but nobody recognizes or buys it, yet he/she can not be entitled and legitimated as a “famous writer”<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119 in note 72. See Bourdieu 1972: 227-43; 1977a: 171-83; 1990a: 112-21; 1989a: part5; and 1991e for successive elaborations, and furthermore his very late books 1994, 1997, 1998, 1999.

<sup>100</sup> In Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, he includes human capital inside the embodied form of cultural capital. Thus his concept of symbolic capital represents three main forms of capital: economic, cultural and social capital.

<sup>101</sup> So is a singer, a scientist, a professor, a businessman, a skilled worker, or any other agents, who declares that he/she is a famous one, it does not mean that he/she is a famous one without the

Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital - in whatever form - insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity (Bourdieu, 1997[1986]: 56, Nt. 3).

Symbolic capital is not what is gained and recognized internally, but what is perceived externally, such as the “prestige and renown attached to a family and a name” (Bourdieu, 1994: 174) recognized from the society. Symbolic capital is “the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1989: 17). It is accounted that various forms of capital come into being as symbolic capital, not by the agent’s self-recognition, but by other agents’ recognition and the recognition could be “misrecognition” depending on a different intervention of habitus.

It is by presenting the form of symbolic capital that Bourdieu prominently overcame and overpassed the economic and non/economic dichotomy.

... to abandon the dichotomy of the economic and non-economic which stands in the way of seeing the science of economic practices as a particular case of a general science of the economy of practices, capable of treating all practices, including purporting to be disinterested or gratuitous, and hence non-economic, as economic practices directed towards the maximizing of material or symbolic profit (Bourdieu, 1972: 183).

The form of symbolic capital is “capable of treating all practices, including purporting to be disinterested or gratuitous, and hence non-economic” practices “as economic practices”, i.e., the form of symbolic capital can be invested in and converted into other forms of capital economically and non-economically in its circulation/practices<sup>102</sup>. Connected the power of social networks, structures, relations, norms, economic materialized form, and human and cultural form, economic capital as “... [a] strictly [material] economic practice is simply a particular case of a general theory” (Bourdieu, 1972: 178). We need “...to extend economic calculation to all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction...” (ibid: 178). In the advent of the

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recognition by the society. Even if he/she holds forms of capital but before it can be perceived as the renown, it cannot be turned out into symbolic capital in a society.

<sup>102</sup> *Circulation* is utilized instead of practice in Marx’s account, but here I prefer the word *practice*, which is easier to be apprehended in the form of symbolic capital being recognized in the practices in Bourdieu’s account. Thus I use two terms *circulation* and *practice* interchangeably in the explanation of economic capital and symbolic capital.



form of symbolic capital, the non-materialized practices can be treated in a way of economic practices for pursuing the maximization of symbolic profit.

### **1.5.2. The investment and the conversion of symbolic capital**

Raising the form of cultural, social and symbolic capital can mark a cornerstone to the understanding of the non-materialized form of capital embodied and possessed by human being. However, the investment and the conversion of two former forms are distinguished from symbolic capital; particularly the conversion of symbolic capital is *perceived and recognized externally, not internally, or in other words, legitimated objectively from subjective perception of the other agents*. Symbolic capital, being a kind of capital, stresses the circulation in a social field to make it *being recognized and then realized* (cf. I.1. Economic Capital). Equally and importantly it can be invested and converted into other forms of capital --- economic and non-economic capital.

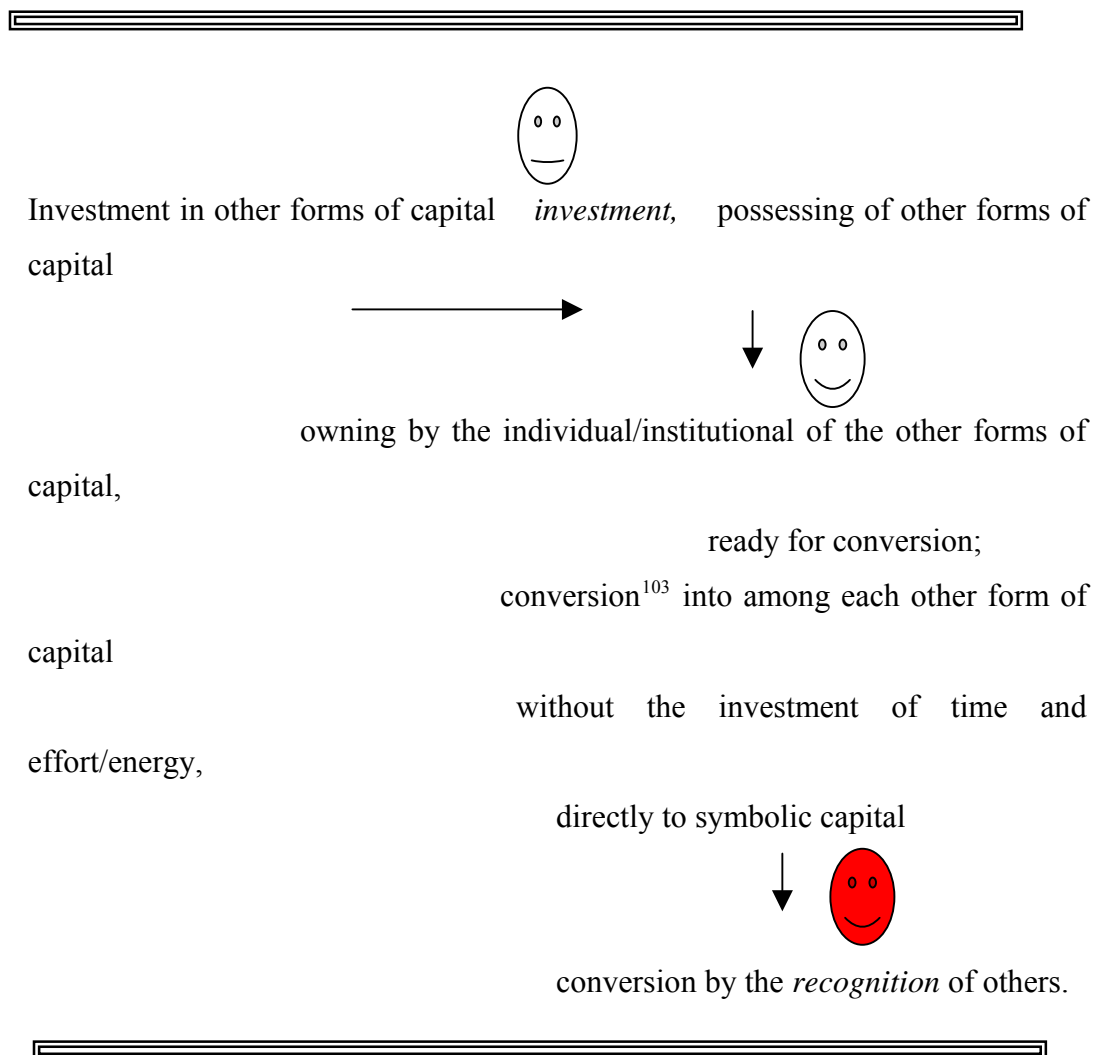
#### **1.5.2.1. The investment in symbolic capital**

The process of investment in symbolic capital is the process of accumulation of other forms of capital. It can directly be obtained from each different form of capital's investment and conversion, i.e., economic capital can be gained from economic capital. The investment and the conversion of symbolic capital are, however, as the investment in and the conversion from all other forms of capital that can be the accumulation or the investment in symbolic capital.

Agents can invest what they possess from other forms of capital as the investment in symbolic capital, but holding other forms of capital as the investment in symbolic capital does not mean the realization of it. The investment in it, like other forms of capital's investment, is the first step to precede the circulation/practice; the conversion, nonetheless, is the crucial step in the realization of it. After the investment in symbolic capital, it means however that no symbolic capital is achieved until they are "perceived and recognized as legitimate" by other agents in the field to realize the value of symbolic capital. This makes it distinct from other forms of capital, such as economic capital materially possessed by the agents or human capital endowed and institutionalized in agents or cultural capital embodied or objectified in the agents or social capital connected among the agents. The form of symbolic capital is converted by

the legitimacy of the other agent's habitus. The investment in symbolic capital means nothing or shows nothing as possession of it until it is recognized; otherwise it is still the other forms of capital acquired by the agents. Therefore even the different forms of capital are invested, and moreover converted among each other; it does not mean that symbolic capital can be converted (see the figure below).

**Figure 1.5.1 The Process of Investment in Symbolic Capital for Conversion**

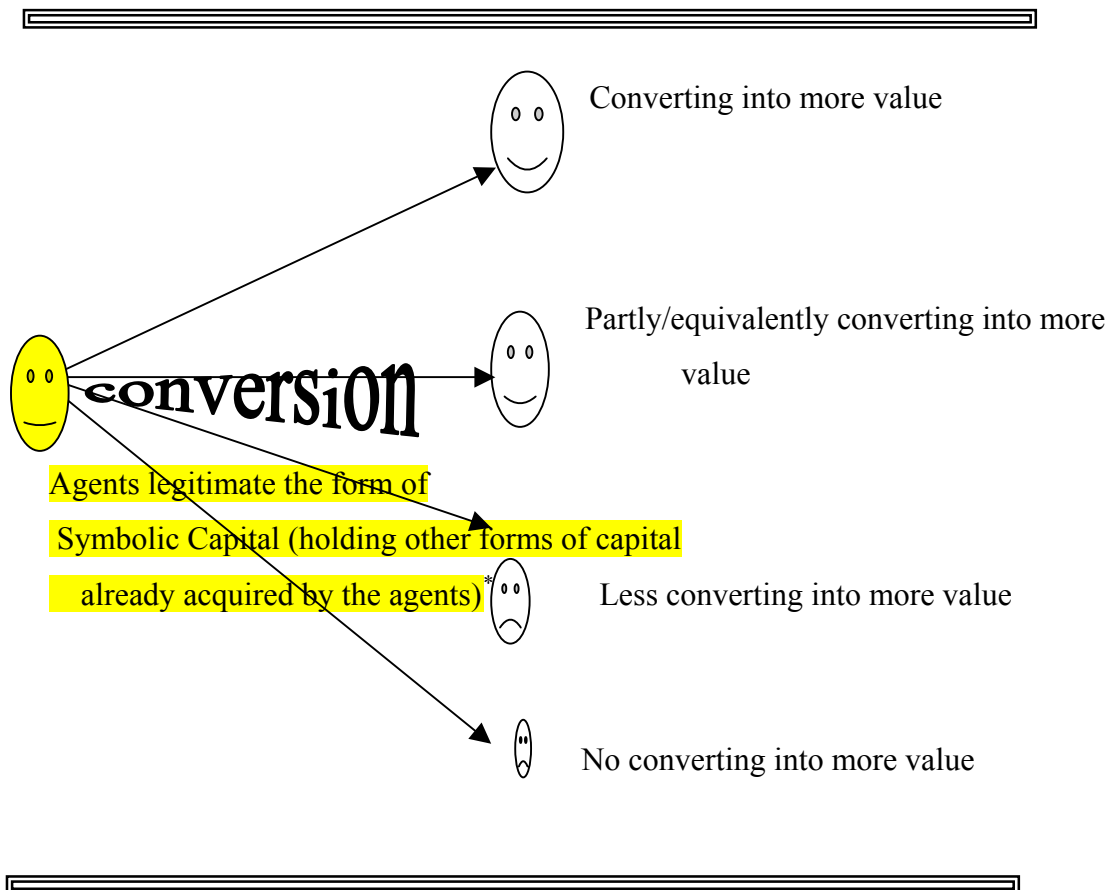


### 1.5.2.2. The conversion of symbolic capital

<sup>103</sup> If it is recognized by the other agents or perceivers, then it can be converted into other forms of capital; otherwise it can only be invested in the agents without recognition.

According to “the transformation laws” by Bourdieu’s “social physics” (cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 118), the accumulation of symbolic capital is obtained from other forms of capital, which can be “perceived and recognized” as symbolic capital and further translated into other forms of capital. It means that symbolic capital can be converted into the returns to maximize its symbolic profits or values, i.e., under the condition that other forms of capital are perceived/recognized authoritatively or legitimately, thereby they can be transformed into symbolic capital. This conversion step to realize symbolic capital is the key step in the process of practices. The conversion of symbolic capital can be transmuted into different outcomes shown in figure below 1.5.2.

**Figure 1.5.2. The Conversion into Symbolic Capital into 4 Outcomes**



The significance of symbolic capital is that when other forms of capital transformed into it, then, it can have the chance to be durable and lasting. The

materialized “wealth, the ultimate basis of power, can exert power, and exert it durably, only in the form of symbolic capital” (Bourdieu, 1977: 195). Its durable and lasting character makes it distinguished from other forms of capital.

### **1.5.3. The immigrant’s symbolic capital**

Fewer researchers have investigated immigrant’s symbolic capital. What I concentrate on the immigrant’s symbolic capital is to analyze what forms of capital that immigrants possess can be acknowledged in a host country from the immigrants’ aspect. This can help to understand the perspective of the indigenous’ perception on the forms of capital possessed by immigrants. The recognition of the immigrants’ forms of capital from the indigenous can be the catalyst in the process to transform the immigrant’s forms of capital. It is the key part of immigrants’ integration. Chapter 5 will use a qualitative method and a quantitative method to investigate how the immigrant’s forms of capital are perceived and converted into symbolic capital in a host country by a case study of the Chinese immigrants in Germany. A detailed analysis on the aspect of the Chinese integration in Germany is presented in Chapter 5. section 3, too.

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\* Other forms of capital are the function of symbolic capital as the initial investment in accumulating the form of symbolic capital.

## Chapter 2. Capital, field, & habitus and its practice in migration

We are made of compacted water, earth, light and air.  
The eye binds light; it is itself bound light.  
This binding is a reproductive synthesis, a Habitus.

James Flint<sup>104</sup>

### 2.1. Capital facilitated by field and habitus

An agent can possess capital<sup>105</sup>, this capital, however, cannot function without a connection to habitus and field. On one hand the investment and the transformation of capital depend on the *field* an agent is in; and on the other hand they depend on *habitus*, i.e., how an agent embodies their capital. Also, they depend on how other agents perceive and how other agents accept the capital that this agent has acquired for reproduction. The latter, habitus, forms an important bridge between capital and field. Capital as social resources<sup>106</sup>, field as objectively externalized structures and habitus as subjectively internalized structures, interact with each other to reproduce the social power<sup>107</sup>.

#### 2.1.1. Field, relation to capital and habitus

A *field*, or more easily understood, a market, may be seen as a *structured space* of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources, i.e., capital.

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<sup>104</sup> Habitus, 2000: 12 published by St. Martin's Press: Bedford, Dallas.

<sup>105</sup> In this chapter I employ the single form of capital as the social resources of all different forms of it.

<sup>106</sup> Bourdieu defines that capital is social resources or social power in social physics (in his technical term. cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, Introduction from Wacquant: The Structure and Logic of Bourdieu's Sociology). Cf. Introduction of this thesis on the concept of capital.

<sup>107</sup> The so-called internal and external are not, in fact, outside each other, but constituted through each other.

In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions, these positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97).

In a field, a game takes place involving an objective relationship between individuals who, or institutions that, are competing for the same stakes, stakes being the amassing of capital as social resources that are recognized and exchanged within that field (cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). “To think in terms of field is to think relationally. The relational (rather than more narrowly ‘structuralist’) mode of thinking is, as Cassirer (1923) demonstrated in *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff*, the hallmark of modern science” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). A field is a “relational mode”, in which the agents embody different habitus and possess different forms of capital to compete for<sup>108</sup> the maximization of social resources-capital symbolically and materially. The concept of ‘the field’ entails that human beings interact with objective structures in an external world. Nonetheless, the terms to “describe fields and their properties – ‘market’, ‘capital’, ‘profit’, etc. are not ‘economic’ in the narrow sense”<sup>109</sup>. The practices counted as ‘economic’, i.e. buying and selling commodities emerged early historically were analyzed theoretically as (economic) capital by academic researchers earlier than other forms of capital (cf. Chapter 1.1.1.). The economic field is one of the sub-categories of practices pertaining to a specific field or cluster of field like other cultural, social or symbolic fields.

Bourdieu characterizes social relations or social transformation relations in the context of “field”, and defines it as a competitive system of social relations which functions according to its own specific logic or rules. The field is the site of struggle for power/capital between the dominant and the subordinate group<sup>110</sup>. It is within the field that legitimacy of forms of capital, which is the key to defining the dominant or subordinate group, is conferred or withdrawn. However, that legitimacy, bestowed in

<sup>108</sup> Bourdieu utilized more often the term “struggle”, however, I prefer the word compete.

<sup>109</sup> This is the introduction from Thompson’s English translation of Bourdieu’s book (1991: 14).

<sup>110</sup> Group, defined by me in this thesis, includes agents from a same space or region with different classes. In this sense it is broader than a class as the immigrant’s groups include different classes inside each of its group; e.g. a football spectator group crosses local and national boundaries and includes different classes.

the form of symbolic capital, is not only recognized by the objective logic of the field; but is moreover facilitated and perceived by the subjective *habitus* from different agents in the field.

### 2.1.2. Habitus, relation to field and capital

Habitus<sup>111</sup>, a system of dispositions acquired through a relationship to a certain “field,” reflect the innate and the intuitive energy to the outside field (structure) and at the same time the habitus and the fields react with each other. It is “durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules” (Bourdieu, 1972: 72). “Strategies” of the habitus, i.e., predispositions and a reaction to “the game” in the social world, which the agents fall into, involve individual histories, group histories, and “fields” in which agents make an effort/“struggle”<sup>112</sup> for recognition, legitimization, and maximization of their capital.

The word habitus has its roots in Latin and Greek. The ancient Greeks used the term habitus to refer to permanent *dispositions* and their mediating effects on behavior and persona. In Latin it means the condition of the body; character, quality, i.e., style of dress, attire, disposition, *state of feeling*; and habit. The meaning of *disposition* is popularly utilized to describe habitus up to now, which represents what is *internal to* the subject of an agent. Furthermore, I wish to stress the meaning of *the state of feeling* in its Latin sense. It can describe what an agent perceives the outside object to be by his or her habitus. Habitus has a dual meaning: on one side, it explains dispositions of the subject itself embodied in its own persona and its state of feeling to perceive others; on the other side, it describes the state of feeling by which the subject *is perceived by* *another's* habitus. This thesis has its focus on how the immigrants embody their habitus to manage/facilitate particular forms of capital in the host country. A further focus is how the subject's symbolic capital is perceived as legitimate by the other object's habitus, i.e., the indigenous' recognition of the immigrants' capital to understand the transformation of forms of capital as the process of integration.

<sup>111</sup> All those different forms of capital also have their subform of capital, such as human capital is one of the subforms of cultural capital, and emotional capital is one of the subforms of social capital.

<sup>112</sup> Bourdieu's typical word (cf. 1977, 1992, etc.).

Though “[t]he notion of habitus has been used innumerable times in the past, by authors as diverse as Hegel, Husserl, Weber, Durkheim, and (Marcel) Mauss, all of whom used it in a more or less methodical way” (Bourdieu, 1990: 12), Bourdieu stated that he wanted to stress the notion of habitus on the following aspects:

I wanted to insist on the generative capacities of dispositions, it being understood that these are acquired, socially constituted dispositions. I wanted to emphasize that this “creative,” active, inventive capacity was not that of a transcendental subject in the idealist tradition, but that of an active agent. I wanted to insist on the “primacy of practical reason” that Fichte spoke of, and to clarify the specific categories of this reason. (ibid.:13)

It is in these aforementioned aspects that Bourdieu conceives habitus: a. *Generative capacity of socially constituted disposition*, b. *Creative, active, inventive capacity of active agent*, c. *Specific categories of the practical reason*. Gogolin clarifies that; “Bourdieu emphasizes the circularity between structure, habitus and practice. Habitus’ function as awareness matrix, action matrix and thought matrix, is acquired under certain social conditions, ‘objective structures’” (2002:132). Practice is the central theme of habitus, which is flexible. It is a shifting, relational system of disposition and of the state of feeling; while internally structured and externally developed.



## **2.2. The genesis of change --- the interaction of habitus, field and capital --- groups, social order and doxa**

Social actions and practices emerge between the internalized structures of the habitus and the objective structures, external to the subject as the field. Habitus is closely related to field, since the internalization of principles associated, in practice, with objective structures has the function of forming and constituting the habitus. Nonetheless, agents are not completely structurally constrained by predetermined social experiences of habitus, but additionally are subjective individuals and institutions, which make decisions, driven by different rules in different fields.

Habitus, together with field, has the effect of justifying what individuals and institutions have endowed as the legitimate form of capital.

One of the fundamental effects of the orchestration of habitus is the production of a commonsense world endowed with the objectivity secured by consensus on the meaning (sens) of practices and the world, in other words that each of them receives from the expression, individual and collective (in festivals, for example), improvised or programmed (commonplaces, sayings), of similar or identical experiences. The homogeneity of habitus is what – within the limits of the group of agents possessing the schemes (of production and interpretation) implied in their production – causes practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable and hence taken from granted (Bourdieu, 1972: 80).

“The production of a commonsense world” is one of the most important characteristics for analyzing a group of agents, who are “endowed with the objectivity secured by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world”, their “similar and identical experiences” make us possible to classify them and investigate them as a group, i.e., the study of the immigrants’ group of the Chinese. Habitus is shared yet embodied in different ways by agents who belong to their different groups accordingly. If an agent in one group wishes to realize the transformation of symbolic capital, this will be facilitated by his/her subjective habitus from one perspective, but it will also be perceived by other agents’ subjective habitus from another perspective in a social field. That social field constitutes an objective structure with its specific logic to restrain the realization of an agent’s symbolic capital and the perception of it from another agents’ habitus in this field as well.

The real significance of the interaction of capital, field and habitus is the role it plays in the reproduction of capital in the continuing competition or struggle between (the dominating and the subordinating) groups. Through the acquisition of capital and the use of symbolic capital to perpetrate symbolic system/power, agents in different groups ensure their own legitimacy and reproduction within their habitus. Bourdieu admits that habitus can be transformed; allowing agents to challenge the dominant structures of a field (cf. Bourdieu, 1992). However, what or how agents can change their habitus depends on the different fields in which originate from, such as the immigrants' habitus will be changed more in the fields of the host country than in which of the original country; but their willingness to adapt to the newly changed fields will play an important role. If one group of people, whether the dominant or the subdominant group, want to transform their different forms of capital, it will cause a change in society by their different habitus developed from other fields, which can result in the change of the social order<sup>113</sup>. Bourdieu refers to the social order as doxa, by which he means that which is unmentioned, unquestioned, and tacit:

[T]he natural and social world appears as self-evident. This is experience we shall call doxa, so as to distinguish it from an orthodox or heterodox belief implying awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs (Bourdieu 1977(1994): 160).

If new social resources of capital are perceived, recognized and legitimated as power, then the already established doxa is challenged and disputed as orthodox or heterodox. This requires the recognition of the agents who become involved in a field by this dispute. The original dominating agents who have the legitimation and the right to make the concerning laws and regulations by their habitus to fit into their fields in order to recognize or indeed not to recognize the changes to the already established positions, i.e., to allow or not to allow other subjects to transform their power, their forms of capital in the fields<sup>114</sup>. Habitus and structure of a field mutually create each

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<sup>113</sup> However, if one has more economic capital, social capital, cultural capital or symbolic capital, social status (such as belonging to the dominant group or moving into the habitus or field of dominant discourses and institutions, the impact, as well as the kind of change a group can effect, varies greatly. Not all members of a community have the same power to cause the change of the social order.

<sup>114</sup> This recognition or allowance can be obtained in different degrees with different social resources that the agents in their own field can possess and utilize.

other, and the dispositions and the social positions are mutually congruent when legitimating the new sources of power, the capital.

### **2.2.1 The connections of integration to capital, habitus, fields and doxa**

It is obvious that when immigrants want to integrate into the host country; they will invest and transform their different forms of capital in the fields of a doxa in a host country. Thus they will change the doxa by participating in the transformation of different forms of capital. Therefore when they want to invest (bring their forms of capital) and transform (integrate) forms of capital in the host country, they need the perception, recognition, and acceptance from the native people.

### **2.2.2. Immigrant's habitus to facilitate their forms of capital during migratory process**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, short-term and long-term (international) migration is unavoidable (Gogolin, 2002). Two communication channels, namely media communication and transportation communication, which can be employed as social capital are widely established and connected, enabling human beings to travel both spiritually (psychologically) and physically (bodily) faster than in any other time of the history of humankind.

After the introduction and the analysis of the relationship of social resources - capital, habitus and field, I will investigate the reasons to mobilize by the classical push and pull model<sup>115</sup> holistically as the agents to seek for the transformation/maximization of their different forms of capital internationally. Through the example of Chinese immigrants, I will explain the fundamental motivation to mobilize by analyzing, in detail, the relationship of their habitus, capital and field. How the immigrants facilitate

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<sup>115</sup> Push and pull factors here do not merely explain the economic demand and supply factors. They include political, cultural, social and natural (environmental) push and pull factors, which are specifically explained in this thesis as the motivation to mobilize in order to transform diverse forms of capital in a different field. The international trade of the complimentary products, international cultural exchanges and international politics are explained from the relationship of capital (social resources), habitus and field on the processes of migration and the processes of globalization. But above all the premise is that the agents in the original country are allowed to travel or move to other

their social resources in migratory processes depends on their habitus in relation to the habitus of the indigenous and to the field of the destination country. It relies not only on their social resources, but also more importantly on their habitus, which allows them to create empowering strategies, and on the habitus of the indigenous<sup>116</sup>, by which they are judged, recognized and legitimated in the field of a destination country. Through migration, immigrants transform their different forms of capital in the host country. The indigenous, the dominant group as a whole, are also involved; with their habitus they recognize/judge the immigrant's capital from the objective structure of the host country's field-policy. The immigrants then would adjust their habitus to adapt to this judgment accordingly, both actively and passively, to realize the transformation of their capital in the host country; thus, after the experience of migration a new form of the immigrant's habitus would appear to rise. For my analysis, I will first analyze Chinese traditions and their influence on forming Chinese character. Specifically, I look at Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism as influential cultural systems that shape the dispositions of Chinese immigrants, i.e., the habitus of the Chinese immigrants. I will then study how the Chinese immigrants' habitus surfaces in a destination country, by an example of the Chinese population in Hamburg, Germany. To do this, I examine how Chinese immigrants manage/facilitate their forms of capital in Germany, from the hypothesis that Chinese use different forms of capital as sources (Bourdieu, 1972, 1991)<sup>117</sup> to migrate by different Chinese groups and show their distinct habitus to adapt to living in the destination country.

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foreign spaces. In China during the great Cultural Revolution (around 1966-1976), the Chinese were not allowed to go abroad.

<sup>116</sup> There will be other groups of ethnic minorities involved in the recognition of the forms of capital facilitated by one of the immigrant groups. Moreover, the old and the new immigrants, even in a same group, can judge and recognize the different forms of capital differently. In my thesis I cannot expound on aspects, however, it would be an interesting research subject.

<sup>117</sup> The detailed explanation of the forms of capital as sources or social power can be found in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1991) in which Wacquant gave a clear illustration in the introduction.

### 2.3. The development of Chinese traditional civilization, Ru (儒), Shi (释) and Tao (道) --- Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism

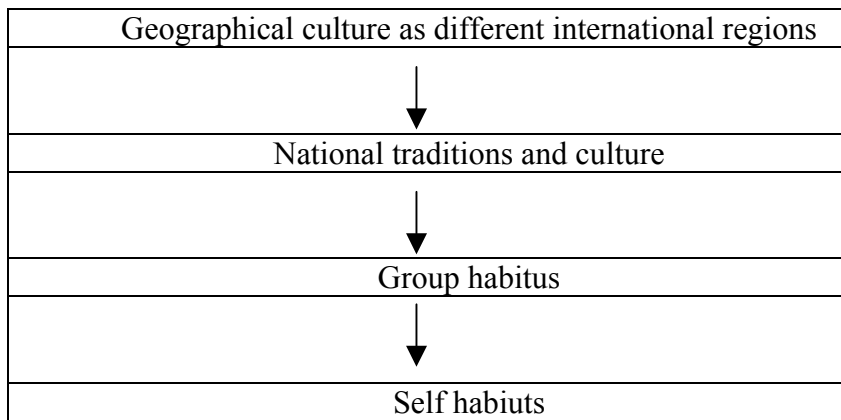
Chinese immigrants embody more or less the same Chinese traditional civilization embedded in Chinese culture, Ru (儒), Shi (释), Tao (道) - Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism - yet, they are influenced, on one hand, by modern and contemporary culture since 1911 and on the other hand, they embody their special character through their new migratory experiences. Hence, during the migratory process to a host country, Chinese immigrants show their distinct immigrants' habitus.

Als Produkt der Geschichte produziert der Habitus individuelle und kollektive Praktiken, also Geschichte, nach den von der Geschichte erzeugten Schemata; er gewahrt die aktive Präsenz früherer Erfahrungen, die sich in jedem Organismus in Gestalt von Wahrnehmungs- Denk- und Handlungsschemata niederschlagen und die Übereinstimmung und Konstanz der Praktiken im Zeitverlauf viel sicherer als alle formalen Regeln und expliziten Normen zu gewährleisten suchen (Bourdieu, 1987: 101).<sup>118</sup>

Since the “the product of the history produces the habitus”, the development of the Chinese immigrants' habitus involves “individual histories”, “group histories”, and “fields” in which the Chinese fall in. The Chinese continuous practice is the central theme of habitus from the history to the nowadays. It is influenced from the geographical, national and the group to intercultural interpersonal relationships (see table below).

<sup>118</sup> This is cited directly from Ingrid Gogolin (1994: 41), *Der Monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule*. Since this is the lecture presented by Bourdieu in German language in Frankfurt, Germany, I did the translation with the discussion of a native English speaker, Annamarie O' Berin.

**Table 2.1. The ladder form: The self-habitus influenced from the geographical, national and the group to intercultural interpersonal relationships**



Source: Special issues, THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNICATING ACROSS CULTURES, *Intercultural Comm. Studies (ICS)*, Volume XIII: 3, Winter 2004:48

In China, as Ru (儒), Shi (释), Tao (道) --- Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism -- did not require the exclusion of one or the other belief, these different faiths coexisted relatively peacefully with the development of Chinese history, and thus the Chinese could have felt some affinity with more than one of them. Ru (儒), Shi (释), Tao (道) in Chinese civilization gradually developed into a kind of Li (礼, 理)<sup>119</sup>. This Li, together with customs and law, guided the behavior of the Chinese in traditional Chinese society. Chinese society was controlled under Li, law and together with the Pan-China and Local cultural customs, combined to form some kind of folk religion (Qiao, 1992a, 1992b). In ancient and modern Chinese society, Li was supplementary regulations to the government law. Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism are considered to be merged as one, particularly after neo Confucianism was raised in the Song Dynasty. But the real official assimilation of these three is in Qing Dynasty (1914-1911) by Emperor Yong Zheng (1768\* —1735 + , reign time: 1723-1736).

<sup>119</sup> 礼, 理, the two Chinese words are both pronounced as Li. However, the formal word advocated by Confucianism is Li, more close to a ritual; I name it as ritual Li. The latter being what Neoconfucianism in the Song Dynasty rectified that Confucianism is right and advocated that people should follow Confucianism as Li, 理, it means natural law that serves to support the reasons for existence of different rituals or orders, which are the intensive embodiment of the natural or universal law, Li, 理; I name it as law Li. ZhuXi朱熹 wrote ritual Li, 礼, , "Family rituals", 《家礼》 in five-book series, 1. 《通礼》 *Tongli* General Principles of Ritual, 2. 《冠礼》 *Guanli* The Capping Ceremony, 3. 《昏 = 婚礼》 *Hunli* Wedding Ceremony, 4. 《丧礼》 *Sangli* Funerals, 5. 《祭礼》 *Jili* Sacrificial Rites. He regulated every day life's rituals in detail about what to do in following Confucianism *Three Lines of Law and The Five Constant Relationships*, the order of the society as Law Li.

The Chinese immigrants' habitus are typically linked with the Chinese traditional cultures, Ru (儒), Shi (释), Tao (道) - Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, they are the roots of the development of the Chinese immigrants' habitus.

### 2.3.1. Confucianism

#### *The roots of the Chinese traditions*

Chinese traditional civilization develops mainly from the influence of Confucian (551-479 BC) philosophy, which in some degrees shapes the eastern Asian culture. Confucius philosophy, founded on his *Analects*,<sup>120</sup> (《论语》 *Lun Yu*), is the *Teaching* to establish the social order,<sup>121</sup> and to place the society under the *sage's*<sup>122</sup> control. It is believed that anyone<sup>123</sup> in a society can follow the sage's saying and doing, i.e., follow the sage to cultivate the inner disposition of one's habitus (Wang, 2003). From Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. - 220 C.E.), around 140 B.C.E., Confucianism was under imperial sponsorship, and has since then dominated the Chinese educational system, which was partly changed in 1911, but has lasted for more than 2000 years. In 1911, the "May Fourth Movement" criticized traditional Confucian thought and in some parts and in some degrees changed Chinese culture and its educational system; however, deep and significant change did not take place until 1949 (see Lin, J. 1993a and 1993b). During the period from 1949 to 1977, the Chinese educational system fell under Mao's Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in education, which fundamentally changed the

<sup>120</sup> A series of Teaching of Confucius, not written by him but by his students after his death, were, for almost the whole duration of the Chinese feudalism system (140 BC-1911), advocated as the "Bible" to guide people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviors.

<sup>121</sup> The basic concept of social order mentioned by Confucian is that people should obey the already established social systems as Zhou dynasty (1100 BC- 250 BC), which is similar to the concept of *doxa* mentioned by Bourdieu.

<sup>122</sup> Confucian students edited his books after his death, the sage's saying gradually developed into what Confucius said. However, Confucian explanation of the sage is from the commander of the heaven, he stressed the unity of the human being and the nature. See the five Classics edited by him, *I Ching* or *the Book of Changes*; *Shu Ching* or *the Book of History*; *Shih Chin*, or *the Book of Odes*; *Li Ch*, or *The Book of Rites*; *Ch'un ch'iu* or *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. See also the sayings edited by Confucian students: *Lun Yu* or *Analects*; *DaXue* or *the Great Learning*; *ZhongYong* or *The Mean of the Doctrine*.

<sup>123</sup> Since Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. - 220 C.E.), China undertook an examination system to select the officers (rulers) for the government, with having the highest score on the sacred texts, i.e. the Confucian classics, being the ones who could fill positions. Even the lowest class had the chance to take the examination. The context of education or more correctly speaking, *the cultivation, but not education*, at that time was to learn *Li*, Ritual, written and explained by Confucian followers and served for the emperor's control of the society. To me, I strongly believe that the emphasis on poetry writing in the exam for obtaining a higher position in feudalism China damages the Chinese development on the natural sciences.

educational system to serve the needs of the working class. All the context of the curriculum and the staff of the school must invite the participation of the working class. Enrollment into school, mainly college and university, depended on a student's working class background as well. There was no examination to judge educational achievements during that period in China. It was not until 1977 the process of selecting students to enroll in universities and colleges changed back to the examination system; nonetheless, the context of the curriculum and the exam is not based on Confucianism any more. Under the educational system of Confucian cultural thought, the context of the examinations was selected from his classical text<sup>124</sup>. Passing the exams was indispensable to advancement for societal status: "These exams, one of the most characteristic institutions of the Chinese State, were usually the only gateway to officialdom, the only orthodox career for the gentry-literati" (Hay, 1994: 35). Common citizens took the exam, the best selected to be the leaders holding the highest government positions. They filled different levels of positions according to their academic standing and how well they behaved according to Confucianism.

*Two important concepts De 德 and Li. 礼 in Confucianism*

Two important concepts in Confucianism are De 德 and Li. 礼. Through self-cultivation people could reach the highest level, morally and virtually (德 [de]). People's interaction was shaped by ritual (礼 [li]). Who mastered it could teach other people to behave in accordance with it. Li could be explained as the "goodness" or altruism corresponding to one who has learned to regulate himself or herself. Li was what one ought to do; the "correct behavior" that people should follow. Confucian doctrine was best advocated in his "Guidelines" and "Constants". "The three Guidelines" explained the loyalty and piety between the emperor and his officers, the father and his son, the husband and his wife, with the former being the guideline for the latter. If the emperor ordered his officers to do something, they could not refuse. This can also be applied to the other two relations. The problem in this power relation is that not only is the latter subservient and should obey the former, but also, the self-cultivation of the subaltern position, i.e., taking up one's Ming Feng 名份, position and

<sup>124</sup> During the Tang government (618-907), writing poetry was included in civil service exams, which caused Chinese poetry to flourish (a collection of 49,000 *Complete Tang Poems* was later imperially commissioned in the year of 1705), and greatly influenced Chinese culture. This helped develop the literature as humanities in social science, but did not support the development of the natural sciences in traditional Chinese official examinations before 1911.



title (Gong, 1995), resulted in grievous self-sacrifice: officers committed suicide for the emperor or for the country; sons obeyed fathers or, for piety, after a father's death, a son had to live beside his father's tomb for a number of months, some to the extreme of years spent by the graveside; and wives submitted to husbands for their whole life, and after her husband died, a woman would rather die than marry again. These women's lives are written up in *Martyr Women* 《烈女传》 and other similar books commissioned by the region or the state particularly after the Song Dynasty, from 908 to 1499. The whole society praised who were loyal officers, piety sons or “virgin” women in a number of ways: immortalizing them in books; offering them official positions in the government (these, however, were only available to men); and sending them horizontal inscribed boards (occasionally with a silk banner embroidered in gold letters from the government (Qiao, 1991). The point is that everyone under this system of Neo-Confucianism from Song Dynasty (960-1279) tried to the very extreme to follow it to the utmost.

#### *The Five Constant Relationships*

“*The Five Constant Relationships*” explained five kinds of human relationships in light of the ethics that should uphold relationships among people: the child should show respect to the parent, the wife to the husband, the younger brother to the elder brother, the younger to the elder, whether friends or strangers, the subject to the ruler. Key to these relationships is hierarchy and self-obedience; these are inherent to the relationships. Li is the central theme of Confucianism. The highest value of people is Humanity, Goodness or Kindness (仁 [ren]), but to reach it, the best way is to follow Li.

The disciple Yen Yuan<sup>125</sup> asked the Master about human goodness (or humanity, jen or ren 仁). The master said: “Conquer yourself and return to Li: that is goodness. If one could for a single day conquer oneself and return to Li, *the entire world would respond to him with goodness*. Action by goodness issues *first from oneself*—could it issue first from others? If it is not Li, don't look at it; if it is not Li, don't listen to it; if it is not Li, don't say it; if it is not Li, don't do it (Analects, 12.1)<sup>126</sup> .

People's social behavior follows the already established Li; preserving ritual practices sustains the social order. “Action by goodness issues *first from oneself*”,

<sup>125</sup> The name of the questioner.

<sup>126</sup> This is translated by me.

implies that goodness is cultivated internally, and one should not seek to change the rules externally. “If it is not Li”, one should never listen, nor say, nor do it. Confucius’ argument requires people to follow the rules of the ritual passively by changing habitus subjectively to be in accordance with the external logic rules, but not on the interpretative part to challenge the already established rules, Li, which characterizes and constitutes one main form of the Chinese habitus (Wang, 2003). There are unaccountable numbers of intellectuals who followed Confucianism in the last 2000 years of Chinese history. Mencius (372- around 289 B.C.E.), an influential follower of Confucius, illuminated Confucian doctrine by stressing that a ruler should provide the environment to allow the subject to be morally self-cultivated. He described the dialectic relation between the ruler and the subject. In Song dynasty (960-1279) Confucianism or the so-called Neo-Confucianism was extremely advocated by Chen-Zhu Li Xu<sup>127</sup> (理学, Chen Zhu School), who stressed filial reverence and piety<sup>128</sup>. From the individual to the family, the community and society, Confucianism guided how people should act in a “good”, “humane” way, and dominated Chinese history for more than two thousand years.

*Confucianism, the social codes and the roots for the development of Chinese habitus*

Confucianism is not a religion, but it is practiced as a kind of social code in China. It forms the socially sanctioned “right” way of behaving. The social code for people to behave under Li in “Three Guidelines” and “Five Constant Laws” state clearly what people should do, which is neither religion nor law; however, they cultivate people from other perspectives. One primary form of their practices is found in the state examination, which regulates people to adopt particular ideas and to follow specific rituals and practices. The intellectuals and officials trained with Confucian doctrine who hold influential positions, re-cultivate people to follow the doctrine by writing books, formulating policy, and making laws in the process of the Chinese history for more than 2000 years.

<sup>127</sup> Cheng’s brother, Cheng Hao (1032-85), Cheng Yu (1033-1108) and Zhu Xi (1130-1200), Cheng Zhu School developed philosophical interpretations of Confucianism, i.e., perceptibility, reality and self-fulfillment through self-cultivation. After Song Dynasty, from Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), their school was the canon as the correct interpretation in Confucianism teaching and in state examinations, cf. Nt. 115.

<sup>128</sup> It was so strongly advocated that many tragedies happened during times, chastity lead women to sacrifice, loyalty and piety directed men to give up one’s life. See *Lie Nue Zhuan* <<烈女传>> and *Zhong Xiao Lian*. <<忠孝廉>>.

Confucianism calls particular attention to obeying the law from heaven, which is represented by the emperor, who is the son of the heaven, whereas the government officers and all the citizens are the servants to the emperor. By obeying the emperor, they thus follow the law of heaven. Hierarchy in ancient Chinese culture acquired special meaning in Confucianism, which is examined by Hofstede's (1984) cultural model and is still the model of contemporary Chinese culture (cf. Chapter 1. Section 3.). The "Five Constants" particularly emphasized the importance of the clan in Chinese traditional culture. Since Confucianism is not a religion, there was no temple or pagoda to pray his teachings. There were, however, temples belonging to clans, the most famous one, Confucianism Clan Temple, still exists in ShanDong Province, the birthplace of Confucius, and his descendants still live in their ancestor's house<sup>129</sup>. Another deep influence from Confucius is the Chinese Teacher's Day, sponsored by the Chinese government after the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). It is on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the September, the birthday of Confucius. The ancestors, the clan, and the family are the most important elements in people's living, which were regulated specifically in Neo-Confucianism, and bound men and women to an ethical code in which loyalty, filial and piety were the most important social codes in the society at that time (cf. Qiao, 1991). Societal harmony, virtuous interpersonal behavior, and personal and interpersonal harmony is the keystone of Confucianism (Kindel, 1983; Waley, 1938).

The long developed history dominated and practiced by Confucianism has gradually formed social codes, values, which have through its practice adapting to the different times people live in. Cultural dimensions from Confucianism have formed the essence of the Chinese habitus, and the Chinese immigrants' habitus<sup>130</sup> (cf. Chapter 5).

### 2.3.2. Buddhism

Confucianism, although sponsored by emperors and has a long history in China, is not a religion; it is a doctrine. Buddhism, on the other hand, is a kind of religion, which allows and requires people to pray daily at home or in a temple<sup>131</sup>. Therefore it can be

<sup>129</sup> One of the ancestors was honoured by the president of KuoMingDan (The party was in Taiwan now after 1949 the Chinese civil war.) who followed them to Taiwan now.

<sup>130</sup> Detailed analysis of the Chinese immigrants' habitus can be found in Chapter 5, part 1 and part 3.

<sup>131</sup> In the Chinese language, the Buddhist temple, Miao (庙), and the Taoist temple, Guan (观), are two different Chinese characters. The Chinese intonation of these two Chinese characters (guan \ ) is however the same. The fourth tone, the translation of Miao and Guan into English, is the [both] same word, [as] Temple.

practiced more easily as a kind of ritual in a tangible form of cultural capital in everyday life in China.

*The developing history*

Buddhism was introduced to China at the beginning of the first century. During Emperor Wu's reign (502-529 CE) the government supported it. Buddhism continued to develop on Chinese soil, particularly Zen<sup>132</sup>. During the Tang Dynasty (618-907), because several emperors advocated it, Buddhism became increasingly influential and integrated with Confucianism and Taoism. To understand Buddhist doctrine, one important philosophy to look at is the "Return System." The Return System counsels being kind and perseverant; doing good deeds and avoiding anything bad are expected of one in order to return to a good human being or a Buddhist after death in the ultimate happy world, Sukhavati, or Pure Land. Buddhism defines behavior as either good or evil, and using this measure to justify an ordinary person's and a saint's behavior. It stresses individual enlightenment and above all, it emphasizes benefiting all living beings; Buddhism puts great emphasis upon perfect enlightenment. It is only through such an awakening that genuine freedom can be obtained. The basic teachings of the Buddha for human to follow are the Four-Noble Truth and the right Noble-Eightfold Path.

*The essence of the Four Noble Truths is*

- Life is filled with suffering, so dissatisfaction is endemic to life.
- Suffering is caused by people's wants. The root of dissatisfaction is grasping.
- Suffering can be ended if people stop wanting things, like more pleasure or more power. Cessation of dissatisfaction is possible.

The way to stop wanting things or dissatisfaction is by following *The right Noble-Eightfold Path*:

- Right Understanding to know the truth.
- Right Motive to intend to resist evil.

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<sup>132</sup> An important figure in the development of Zen was Hui-neng (637- 713), who believed that we should not strive for enlightenment since "our own nature is fundamentally clear and pure." After the time of Hui-neng, Zen split into several different religious schools including the Lin-chi School and the Ts'ao-tung School. Zen advocates that the ability to achieve enlightenment is inherent within everyone but lies dormant because of ignorance. It holds that a sudden breaking through of the boundaries of common, everyday, logical thought is the right way.

- Right Speech, not to say anything to hurt others.
- Right Action to respect life, property and morality.
- Right Livelihood to work at a job that does not injure others.
- Right Concentration to try to free one's mind from evil.
- Right Awareness to be in control of one's emotions and thoughts.
- Right Meditation to practice appropriate forms of concentration.

The Four-Noble Rule and the right Noble-Eightfold Path can lead one to be released from the suffering of the worldly society.<sup>133</sup>

However, it is difficult for ordinary people to read Buddhist Scripture, comparing with Bible or Koran<sup>134</sup>. It is nonetheless spread in China with *Han Buddhism*, with the help of the deciphering and practicing from the Monks and Nuns, who living in the temples. Among them there are famous Buddhist Holy Mountains throughout China: Mt. Jiuhua; Mt. Emei; Mt. Putuo; and Mt. Wutai. Buddhism also spread with Tibetan Buddhism, which is also known as Lamaism, and has 6 main monasteries: Ganden Monastery, Ta'er Monastery, Drepung Monastery, Labrang Monastery, Sera Monastery and Tashilhunpo Monastery. Southern Buddhism is found mainly in the southern province of Yunan<sup>135</sup>. Buddhism Monasteries around China allow people to visit and pray, which shows that its doctrine is still popular in common people today. People nowadays pray in the temples for the safety, rich, learned, and all kinds of daily life wishes.

In China Buddhism and Chinese philosophy are acculturated with each other, the main theme is the development of the habit of mind (心性). Being kind and perseverant are required through the process of self-thinking and self-cultivating all the time from one's own heart (mind)<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>133</sup> See Ancient China Daily Life, <http://members.aol.com/Donnnclass/Chinalife.html> and the related books on Buddhism in bibliography.

<sup>134</sup> The question of the numerous translations of the Bible, and the various languages it is written up in, the various editions etc, can cause it to be not so easily deciphered, too. The Koran is poetic Arabic, and many scholars, throughout the years, interpret what the Koran says. Some Koranic scholars interpret the Hadiths to help them understand the Koran. Some would say that it is very difficult for the average person to understand the Koran, which is why Imams and others are so important.

<sup>135</sup> Though Yunan does not have famous monasteries, the ethnicity of Dai boys must spend a monastery life for some time to study their culture when they reach school age after they leave the formal official education.

<sup>136</sup> In Chinese words "mind" and "heart" are different; however, if we use "heart", it means more attention being paid in Chinese meaning, e.g., we say "to learn by heart" in English, it means

### 2.3.3. Taoism

#### *The essence of Tao*

Tao Te Jing (Tao Te King) is said to have been written by Lao-Zi<sup>137</sup> (571 B.C. – 471 B.C.). The first part (Chapter 1-37) is Tao; the second part (Chapter 38-81) is De or Te, Virtue<sup>138</sup>. The ultimate law in Tao Te Jing is Ta, 道.

Tao gives birth to the unified thing (One), the One splits itself into two opposite aspects (Two), the Two gives birth to another (Three), the newborn Third produces a myriad of things. The Myriad of things contains the Yin and Yang<sup>139</sup> (阴阳) within themselves as opposite forces, both of them (Yin and Yang) are, unified with harmony in the invisible breath. (道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物。万物负阴而抱阳，冲气以为和。)<sup>140</sup>


Lao Zi addresses that everything is unified as *One* from Tao to a Myriad of things and the opposite forces of Yin and Yang are contained in it; however, Yin and Yang are seen as “unified with harmony”, *not against* each other. Yin represents earth, cold, female, moon and passive; Yang represents heaven, warm, male, sun and active. YinYang symbol is also called Tai-Chi symbol. The Tai-Chi is from I-Ching<sup>141</sup>. The I-Ching is the greatest foundation of Chinese philosophy. “The Tao produces law. Law is what draws the line between gain and loss, and makes clear the curved and the straight, he who grasps the Tao, therefore, produces law and does not venture to transgress it, establishes law and does not venture to oppose it.” Tao shows that law is more or less passively accepted when Tao is not allowed to “venture to transgress” and not “venture to oppose” it. Against the law is a venture, i.e., danger. Wuwei (无为), one important theme of the Taoism, shows that that which is motionless or actionless is action: “Considering non-action as an action, having no trouble as an affair and flavorless as a flavor. No matter how hostile others are towards me, I always repay them with virtue”

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remember. In Chinese language it means not only to remember, but also to feel and think from one’s heart, with emotions.

<sup>137</sup> Lao Zi is spelled as Lao-tse as well.

<sup>138</sup> In the discovery of Ma Wang Dui, one of the Emperor’s mother’s graves in Han Dynasty, Tao Te Jin was also discovered [in addition], but Te is in the first part of the book and Dao, in the second part.

<sup>139</sup> 阴阳 YIN YANG, which can be shown as the diagram of Tai Ji Tu .

<sup>140</sup> Tao De Jing, the first chapter.

(为无为，事无为，味无为。大小多少，抱怨以德。). Non-action can be considered action. However, it (meaning?) expresses passively that “I always repay them with virtue”, “no matter how hostile others are towards me”. This non-action is in fact a passive reaction to what happens to “me”; “I” would always react kindly in socializing with others. Tao (cf. Meyer, 2000: 247) however, sees the Myriad as a whole, sees the universal as one or as from nothing to everything; sees its action as non-action and its moves in unison with formless. All this dialectic view can, but, in another perspective, free people to think in enormous ways to the limitless. Wuwei (无为, inaction) and Wuji (无极, none yet absolute), the fundamental concepts of Taoism, best express the limitlessness of the world. It is in this aspect that Wuwei and Wuji help to develop natural science without restriction in Chinese culture in ancient times, with this holistic way of thinking being consistent with Chinese medical treatment<sup>142</sup>. Taoism is the earliest influential Chinese religion and has no contradiction with Confucianism in the development of Chinese culture. Nowadays we can still find famous Taoist Holy Temples, in which people can have the religious worship: Baiyun Guan (White Cloud) Temple in Beijing, Baxian (Eight Immortals) Temple in Shaanxi, Daoyuan (Taoist Temple) in Shangdong, Louguan Terrace in Shaanxi, Zixiao (Purple Heaven) Temple on Mt. Wudang in Hubei, Qingyang Temple in Chengdu.

#### *Tao, law and actionless*

In Taoism, the theme Law or the Tao is main Road or the Way that people should follow, however, to reach it, the actionless is a kind of non-conflicts way. Taoism is in a very strong way of being mediation and non-fighting for what they want to do. This kind of philosophy as explained above influences greatly of the long Chinese traditions and culture. The development of the Chinese habitus as the actionless - the conflicts avoidance are practiced with its genesis and its progress, still today we can find that the Chinese political policies are very ationless, conflicts avoidance, such as dealing with the issues of the Japanese War with China.

### **2.3.4. Comparison of Ru, (儒), Shi (释), Tao (道), Confucianism,**

<sup>141</sup> One of the five classics edited by Confucius (551-479 BC), cf. Nt. 16.

<sup>142</sup> The Chinese medical treatment is a holistic treatment, e.g., the patient’s headache can be healed by treating the feet. The Chi (气) in Taoism is also a holistic movement in a whole universal, in nature and in body.

## Buddhism and Taoism

Confucianism is a self-cultivation philosophy as a process of developing shared incipient ethical inclinations; which is approached through good habits and self-discipline. Similarly, the self that Confucius wishes to cultivate in his own person and in his disciples is one that looks within and compares itself with the aesthetic, moral, and social canons of tradition. Aware of its source in *Tian, heaven*, it seeks to maximize *ren, humanity*, through apprenticeship to *li, ritual*, so as to exercise *de, virtues*, in a manner befitting a *junzi, a good and upright man*. Because Confucius and early Chinese thought in general do not suffer from the Cartesian “mind-body problem” (Crane and Patterson, 2001; Rosenthal, 2000; Kim, 2000), there is no dichotomy between inner and outer, self and whole, subjective and objective, and thus the cumulative effect of Confucian self-cultivation is not merely personal, but collectively social and even cosmic (Fingarette, 1998).

Buddhism is the religion; however, its basic philosophy is to be self-cultivated. In Buddhism, humankind can find the cultivation of body and mind, which is also the case in Confucianism and Taoism as well. Confucianism advocates doing the right thing according to Li. Its statements of the right way to do things regulate human behavior. In Buddhism, an important concept, Dhamma, means to search for truth, to follow the right path and to embrace ethical principles, or universal law. The way to reach Dhamma, is to follow the right path Buddha presented, that is, to do the right thing according to Buddha. Its statements for following the right path to do the right, not to do for the evil things, to stop the dissatisfaction of the human beings in order to stop the suffering of them. Taoism, I define as a religion, but also as a philosophy. Taoism stresses the right Tao (the way, 道), however; it is a Tao, a way of thinking about things in a spiritually proper and ethical way, which can lead to a happier life. Chinese religion or philosophy is related to the secular, when cultivating oneself, people would be far away from the “society” or refuse to participate in the normal social life. They would live far away from the families but live in the mountains. Temples, whether Buddhist or Taoist, are secluded, located at the top of mountains, away from the city or the village of the everyday social world.<sup>143</sup> Confucianism stressed that the way to behave is *the Mean*,<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> This shows the differences from Catholic and Protestant, or Islam; all of them have built their churches or mosques in the center of the city.



the middle way which one should pursue to behave in accordance to Confucian principles. *Middle Way* is what Buddhists call lives guided by the laws of the Eightfold Path, which was designed to guide people without making life either too strict or too easy. In guiding human behavior, the fundamental philosophy of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism involves taking a non-radical path, that is, moderation, which is the key to understand the Chinese habitus, and especially the Chinese immigrants' habitus when they migrate to different fields cross-culturally.

The product of internalization from the traditions of the Chinese Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism forms Chinese and Chinese immigrants' habitus with the process of the Chinese history. The Hofstede's five cultural dimensions of Chinese values<sup>145</sup> in the 20<sup>th</sup> century are all directly connected with the Chinese Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Their inculcation and influence are greatly shown in Chinese in China and abroad in *Power centered social structure*, i.e., the hierarchy (Confucianism and Buddhism influence and practice) *Collective relationship*, i.e., the nature and the man are in one Unity (Taoism influence and practice), the link that Chinese people care more about others' opinion; face importance (Confucianism influence and practice), *Feminism*, i.e., the connection with the influence from the harmony relations (Confucianism and Taoism emphasized); *Conflicts avoidance*, i.e., the humanity is the "highest value" for Confucianism, in order to reach it, the best way is to follow Li, ritual, to be self-cultivating to be human, good and kind and actionless (Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism influence and practice); *Long-term orientation*, i.e., the involvement in working and cultivation as hard as they can even without caring about the health (Confucianism and Buddhism influence and practice). They are the basic tangible form of the Chinese habitus, though we will find the transformation of the Chinese immigrants' habitus in different way in the following investigation about the Chinese immigrants in Germany.

In the above chapter, I traced back to the Chinese traditional cultures of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism to study the roots of the Chinese habitus. In the following section, I will examine the modern influences arising from the West and from the great Cultural Revolution as they impact on Chinese people up to the generations who migrate.

<sup>144</sup> This is one of the five books of Confucian. Its central theme is to clarify how to behave in the middle way. Balance and harmony are emphasized.

<sup>145</sup> The detailed explanation about Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions will be in the following section 3.1.2.

## 2.4. Diversity influence from the tradition and the western culture on Chinese

### 2.4.1. Modern Chinese civilization/culture

In 1911 China overthrew the feudalism system, learning the western culture made changes in value view, the impact of the West and/or modernization resulted in changes in traditional values in China (Qiao, 1991). The most famous ideological change is symbolized in the slogan “*Down with the Confucianism*” in the May Fourth Movement 1911. Since 1949, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were disparaged and discouraged. This ideological shift led to the extreme during the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)<sup>146</sup>. These traditions were defined as feudal culture and as such should be rooted out by the government through both education and media. Education changed dramatically under Mao’s ideology that hands-on practices bred the truth. All pupils and students should learn directly and in a practical fashion from the working-class, not at school or in university, but through *fieldwork*<sup>147</sup>, in a factory, or in a village. This ideology lasted until 1976 after the Great Cultural Revolution, i.e., after Mao’s death in 1976, when China was again reformed. It was like a thirsty man and a woman suddenly finding water to drink, Confucianism doctrine gradually revived again, mainly in education, and slowly in everyday practices. “Everything is lower than learning” (万般皆下品，唯有读书高)<sup>148</sup>, learning knowledge is respected and a formal pedagogy has been restored. The authority of teachers has been reestablished<sup>149</sup> and teachers’

<sup>146</sup> More bibliographies on the Great Cultural Revolution in China see East Asian history at the University of California, San Diego in fall 2002: <http://orpheus.ucsd.edu/chinesehistory/cr/cultrev.htm>, 01. 02. 03.

<sup>147</sup> I name it a *fieldwork*, since pupils in the cities in the primary school must go to work in a factory with workers or in a rural countryside with farmers for one to several semesters during the Great Cultural Revolution (1969-1977). When they were taught in school, the representatives of workers, farmers or soldiers would participate in their school activities, including formulating the curriculum. After graduating from the junior school or high school, students were sent directly to the countryside to work and live together with the peasants to be reeducated by them. There were the young generations who held class certifications from backgrounds of workers, peasants and soldiers being able to enter the university to study instead of taking higher educational entrance examination, but not from the backgrounds of the intellectuals or bourgeois who do not have the right to pass the class certification.

<sup>148</sup> This is said by Confucius in his Teachings and was popular in feudal society in China for more than two thousand years.

<sup>149</sup> The problem in China is from one extreme to another extreme in different periods of the Chinese history. For instance, during the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) Chinese teachers’ status was

position has been raised since the end of the Great Cultural Revolution (Lin, 1993, 1994).

*Value change on economy development*

Another very important change in value is the perception of the development of the economy. During the long history of the Chinese feudalist system, the agricultural economy was the main economic backbone of the society, and capitalism in China had long been ignored and hindered by the government policy. Weber (1958) argued that Confucianism emphasized ideas and self-cultivation over materialism; one was expected to accept one's material fate from heaven. Taoism emphasized the inner processes of thought and feeling, not the worldly materialism of mundane existence. His argument stated that neither Confucianism nor Taoism possessed a potential for appeal to the materialism and rationalization comparable to that of the Protestant ethic<sup>150</sup>. Since 1977, however, China has opened the door to the outside world, and has started to establish a market system that includes "Chinese characteristics" stemming from its socialist history. Due to the reform and the open policy in China, especially in the inner China of the rural places, with the development of the economy in China the change of the value perception is under way (cf. Han, 1998); Chinese value rooted in the traditions also shows its new special characteristics in the modern time. The Chinese immigrants' habitus is a complex mix of these different values.

#### **2.4.2. Traditional and modern culture selected in Chinese textbook**

Education is the most important and the most effective way to influence the human's habitus (Bourdieu, 1980, 1981, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1991, Gogolin, 1994a, 1994b, 1998, 2000). By factor analysis Bos (1988) investigated the five categories that are selected in the primary school of the Chinese Text book (1988). The five categories are analyzed with higher loadings: Traditional Chinese culture; Mao Zhe Dong thought; Scientific knowledge; National patriotism, and Heroic peoples in the world. We find that Traditional Chinese culture is taught from the very beginning when the Chinese

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so low that the students could beat them, but now it goes back to the teacher oriented pedagogy, the students are the passive receivers to listen, but without too much discussion and questioning what the teachers explained or said (Wang, 2003).

<sup>150</sup>The market system developed with "Chinese characteristics" after the 1980s can prove that Confucianism cannot initiate capitalism; however, can help to develop it after the government adopts the market system.

children enter into the primary school<sup>151</sup>. China has no religious class; China's Chinese language textbook functioned greatly to heritage the tradition and spread them to the younger generation on social codes and values.

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<sup>151</sup> Now more Confucianism teachings are required to recite by the Chinese primary school teachers, e.g., in No. 1 ZhongGuanCun Primary School, the pupils are demanded by the teachers to remember "SanZiJing" ("Tree Words classics") and "DiZiGui" ("The Apprentice Learning") in the Winter and Summer Semesters 2003 and 2004 of the Fourth and Fifth Grades.

## 2.5. The model of Hofstede's five dimensions

Hofstede (1984, 1991, 1996 and 2001) analyzed five dimensions of cultural value. He analyzed four dimensions by looking at 53 countries and regions, and for the fifth dimension, he looked at 23 countries. His research on China showed that the Chinese still inherited from past traditions, particularly from Confucianism. This was also supported by Bond's (1991) survey<sup>152</sup>. I introduce his model for a better understanding of the Chinese and the German habitus for further study how the Chinese manage to transform their forms of capital during the migratory processes in German fields.

Hofstede is an anthropologist and a psychologist and the founder of cultural value comparison from five dimensions in international social space<sup>153</sup>. When he worked at IBM in Europe, a multinational corporation, he did the IBM surveys (1967 to 1973) in 72 different countries, in 20 different languages. He developed and investigated the four dimensions of his early cultural model and of the 72 countries, the sample of 50 countries was utilized, another 14 countries were collapsed into 3 regions: East Africa, West Africa, and the Arab-speaking countries. The outcomes of his model showed more differences than similarities between the eastern and the western countries (Yang & Bond, 1990). In his early model he investigated the dimensions of Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism-collectivism, and Masculinity-femininity.

1. *Power Distance* examines the degree of equality in a society. A High Power Distance Index indicates that inequalities of power and wealth have been allowed to grow within the society. A Low Power Distance indicates that the society lays stress on the equalities, but not on the differences between citizen's power and wealth.

2. *Individualism-Collectivism* examines the degree the society reinforces individual or collective, achievement and interpersonal relationships. High Individualism indicates the importance of individuality and individual rights. Relationships between the individuals tend to be looser. Low Individualism

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<sup>152</sup> Bond's Confucian cultural patterns describe how cultures differ according to the dimensions of integration, human-heartedness, moral discipline, and Confucian work dynamism.

represents more collectivist character with close ties between individuals and social networks, the members of the families or of a group are strongly emphasized.<sup>154</sup>

3. *Masculinity-Femininity* examines the degree that society reinforces the masculine work role model of male achievement, control, and power. High Masculinity indicates that males dominate the society and the power structure. People value more their own goals to be achieved. Low Masculinity indicates that more equality exists in the society between genders. People tend to value a good working relationship with their supervisors.

4. *Uncertainty Avoidance* examines the level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity within the society. High Uncertainty Avoidance indicates that the country has a low tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. Cultures tend to perceive unknown situations as threatening, thus create a rule-oriented society. Low Uncertainty Avoidance indicates that the country has less concern about ambiguity and uncertainty and has more tolerance for a variety of opinions. This is reflected in a society that people tend to be more open to the unknown situations, innovations and risks. The society is less rule-oriented.

5. *A Long Term Orientation*. After Hofstede published his research of the four dimensions of cultural value, many have argued that he missed the part of the Confucianism on the eastern world. In 1990 he added the fifth dimension, Confucian dynamism after conducting an additional international study using a survey instrument developed with Chinese employees and managers. This sample collection is from 23 countries, but not from the IBM employees around the world, but the students of the different countries.

This dimension examines the degree the society embraces long-term devotion to traditional and forward thinking values. Long-term Orientation was defined as the fostering of virtues oriented towards future rewards, in particular perseverance and thrift, as opposed to the fostering of virtues related to the past and present, in particular respect for tradition, preservation of “face”, and fulfilling social obligations. Others also label

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<sup>153</sup> Hofstede's pioneering study of IBM affiliates, elaborated in his more than 100 articles and books, helped to form the foundation of the field of comparative management from the perspective of the management in the international social space.

<sup>154</sup> This is the unintentional investment in social capital, such as the members of the same religious group, the same clan, the same family or the same region. It emphasizes the responsibility among the members in a group (cf. 1.1.4. Social capital).

this dimension as Confucian dynamism, because some of values date back to the Chinese philosopher Confucius who lived around 550 before Christ.

High long-term Orientation indicates that the society shows respect for tradition and long-term commitments, such as a result of hard work. Persistence and perseverance, a hierarchy of the status of relationships, thrift, and a sense of shame, characterize it. A sense of security and stability, a protection of one's reputation, a respect for tradition and a reciprocation of greetings, favors and gifts typify it. Low long-term Orientation indicates that the society does not reinforce the concept of long-term and traditional orientation. In this culture, change can occur more rapidly as long-term traditions and commitments do not become impediments to change (cf. table 1 below). When this is explained by the investment and the conversion of forms of capital, it can offer another perspective to see the change. As some tangible forms of capital such as economic capital can be invested and converted more quickly than the intangible form such as cultural capital. Thus the change can occur rapidly from these *tangible forms of capital* no matter in the low or in the long term Orientation.

### **2.5.1. Hofstede's analysis of five dimensions for China and Germany**

In Hofstede's model, the Chinese are marked as being highly dominated and power centered, i.e., unequal power relations and the existence of hierarchy. This can be attributed primarily to China's traditional emphasis on hierarchy of the "Five constant relationships" from Confucianism and from its long history of central collective power. The Chinese are part of a collective rather than subscribing to individuality, Feminist rather than male-centered, and having higher scores of uncertainty avoidance than Germans. This can be best explained by the Chinese traditions from the Confucianism to pursuing the harmony, Buddhism to be preserving and Taoism to be the unity of different things together, such as including humans, nature and any other things in the universal collectively. Hofstede's analysis of China's Long-term Orientation shows it to be the highest-ranking factor among any other country. This is because of the influence from the self-cultivation from Confucianism and Buddhism. On the other hand, Hofstede's analysis for Germany shows an emphasis on individualism. Masculinity, men are more powerful in the society, and the Germans are the same as the Chinese in the dimension of uncertainty tendency (Chinese index 60, German index 65). The index

of Power distance and long-term orientation in Germany are both ranked considerably lower than is the case for China.

After studying five dimensions from Hofstede (1984, 1996) on China and Germany, I summarize below the low and high index of the two countries:

1. *Power Distance Index*: China is high; Germany is low.
2. *Individualism-Collectivism Index*: China is low in individual index; Germany is high in individual index.
3. *Masculinity-Femininity Index*: China is high in feminist index; Germany is low in masculinity
4. *Uncertainty Avoidance Index*: China is high in uncertainty avoidance index; Germany is high in uncertainty avoidance index.
5. *A Long Term Orientation Index*: China is high and Germany is low, but there are some factors, which both countries share, such as hard work and a reciprocation of greetings, which I will analyze in my following chapters through a case study from the perspective of Chinese immigrants.

**Table 2.2. Culture Dimension Index of China and Germany<sup>155</sup>**

COUNTRY DIMENSION	GERMANY	CHINA
PD	35 L	80* H
ID	67 H	20* L
MA	66 H	50* M
UA	65 H	60* M
LT	31 M	118 H

\* estimated

PD = Power Distance; ID = Individualism; MA Masculinity; UA = Uncertainty Avoidance; LT = Long-Term Orientation

H = Top third; M = Medium third; L = Bottom third -- among 53 countries and regions for the first four dimensions; among 23 countries for the fifth

<sup>155</sup> The table is summarized by me, but for more details of the analysis and comparison of the two countries, see Hofstede (1984, 1993 and 1996) and Hofstede and Bond (1984). For other countries' cultural dimensions index and an explanation of the differences of Germany and China, see paper presented by Hofstede, G. the Foundation for Administrative Research Distinguished International Scholar, at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Las Vegas, Nevada, August 11, 1992. For paper request, contact Academy of Management, P.O. Box 3020, Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510-8020.



Bourdieu's concept of habitus describes that different people can have different habitus legitimated from the traditions in a specific field in which people have experienced and socialized with others (cf. Chapter 2). Though there are arguments with Hofstede's index of cultural dimensions, his index is a tool to analyze the differences between the Chinese and German habitus, more specifically, to analyze how Chinese migrants transform their forms of capital, in a German field by their habitus.

## Chapter 3. A Triangulation Method

### 3.1. Method and Sampling

In this research a mixed method<sup>156</sup>, a triangulation method was adopted to develop, formulate, analyze and verify the hypothesis. The sample for a qualitative and quantitative data collection was based on the Chinese community in Hamburg, Germany<sup>157</sup>.

#### 3.1.1. A triangulation method

Since the last decade the triangulation method has received more attention than before. More researchers began to recognize the complimentary benefits from both the qualitative and the quantitative methods. Though some are still keen on one method, or still stereotyped as either qualitative or quantitative researchers, many have made a strong effort to read and understand both, and attempt to study how to combine both for the impact and reforming power of ideas expressed and theories altered by employing different methods to support the theoretical framework and to enhance the validity of the research. By employing the triangulation method, the inadequacies of individual methods are minimized and more threats to internal validity are realized and addressed.

Regarding “tranguation” as a metaphor, Kelle (2001) proceeds to identify the various meanings in which “triangulation” has come to be used and to determine which of these meanings is most appropriate for conceptualizing the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. He distinguishes three meanings or models of triangulation: (1) triangulation as the mutual validation of results obtained on the basis of different methods (the validity model), (2) triangulation as a means toward obtaining a larger, more complete picture of the phenomenon under study (the complementarity model), and (3) triangulation in its original trigonometrical sense, indicating that a combination

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<sup>156</sup> It is also mentioned as the sequential mixing method (cf. Ravallion, 2001; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2002).

of methods, is necessary in order to gain any (not necessarily a fuller) picture of the relevant phenomenon at all (the trigonometry model). These three models are in turn brought to bear upon the potential relationships between the results yielded by qualitative and quantitative methods employed in the same study. (cf. Nigel Fielding & Margrit Schreier, 2001)

The triangulation method is developed in different types (cf. Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Denzin, 1978; Jick, 1979; McGrath, 1982; Flick, 2002): the type of *investigation triangulation*, i.e., different investigation from the different researchers; the type of *data collection triangulation*, i.e., primary data and the secondary data, literatures, the observation, field notes, videos, etc.; the type of *method-triangulation*, i.e., *different qualitative and quantitative mixed method*, which has two subtypes. The first one (a) is the same method utilized by two or more different approaches, such as using the qualitative method by both a focus group interview and an expert interview (Flick, 1996). The second one (b) is to adopt two or more different methods in a mixed method such as a qualitative and a quantitative method both being employed in one research project.

My research was conducted as the last type of both the first (a) and the second (b) approaches combined with primary data research. The study started with the primary data study and ethnographic fieldwork. Meanwhile qualitative methods, i.e., the explorative pilot interviews with the open-structured questions were processed and a pretest questionnaire was designed then the focus groups interview with semi-structured questions were preceded after the categories condensed from the matrix of the focus group interview analyzed with the theoretical framework by the grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 1998). The last version of the questionnaire was reconstructed for a quantitative survey data to devise hypotheses consistent with these ideas and theories in a framework. Works, in turn, suggest issues for my last approach of the qualitative investigations by an expert interview for further analysis on the quantitative results (cf. Figure3.1 below).

### **3.1.2. The purpose to utilize the triangulation method in this research**

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<sup>157</sup> The detailed explanation of Chinese community is in Chapter 4, Chinese Diaspora in Hamburg.

In this research the triangulation method is particularly employed for the following purposes.

- a. the purpose to find a sound topic for the research;
- b. the purpose to avoid the weaknesses of qualitative methods in which the ideas and perspectives expressed by individual interviewees or focus group participants are not representative of a larger population;
- c. the purpose to base my hypothesis on the qualitative interview which generates innovative ideas and theories cooperated with the theoretical framework obtained from the primary data, to hope to be successful in eliminating confounding variables<sup>158</sup> within the study;
- d. the purpose to reconstruct the pretest questionnaire by re-conducting of the qualitative pilot and focus interview to improve the context validity of the quantitative questionnaires;
- e. the purpose to get both the quantitative statistic data in the targeted group of the Chinese community in Hamburg and investigate the variables correlation in the stratified sample from the targeted group;
- f. the purpose to get the analytical instrument by a qualitative (expert) interview from the representative sample chosen from the different Chinese group to further investigate and analyze why outcomes could be obtained from the quantitative data survey and to rectify the validity<sup>159</sup> of the results from quantitative data, i.e., a further analysis of why and how these outcomes can be gained by a qualitative data from expert interview analysis.

### **3.1.3. The interrelated triangulation method in this research**

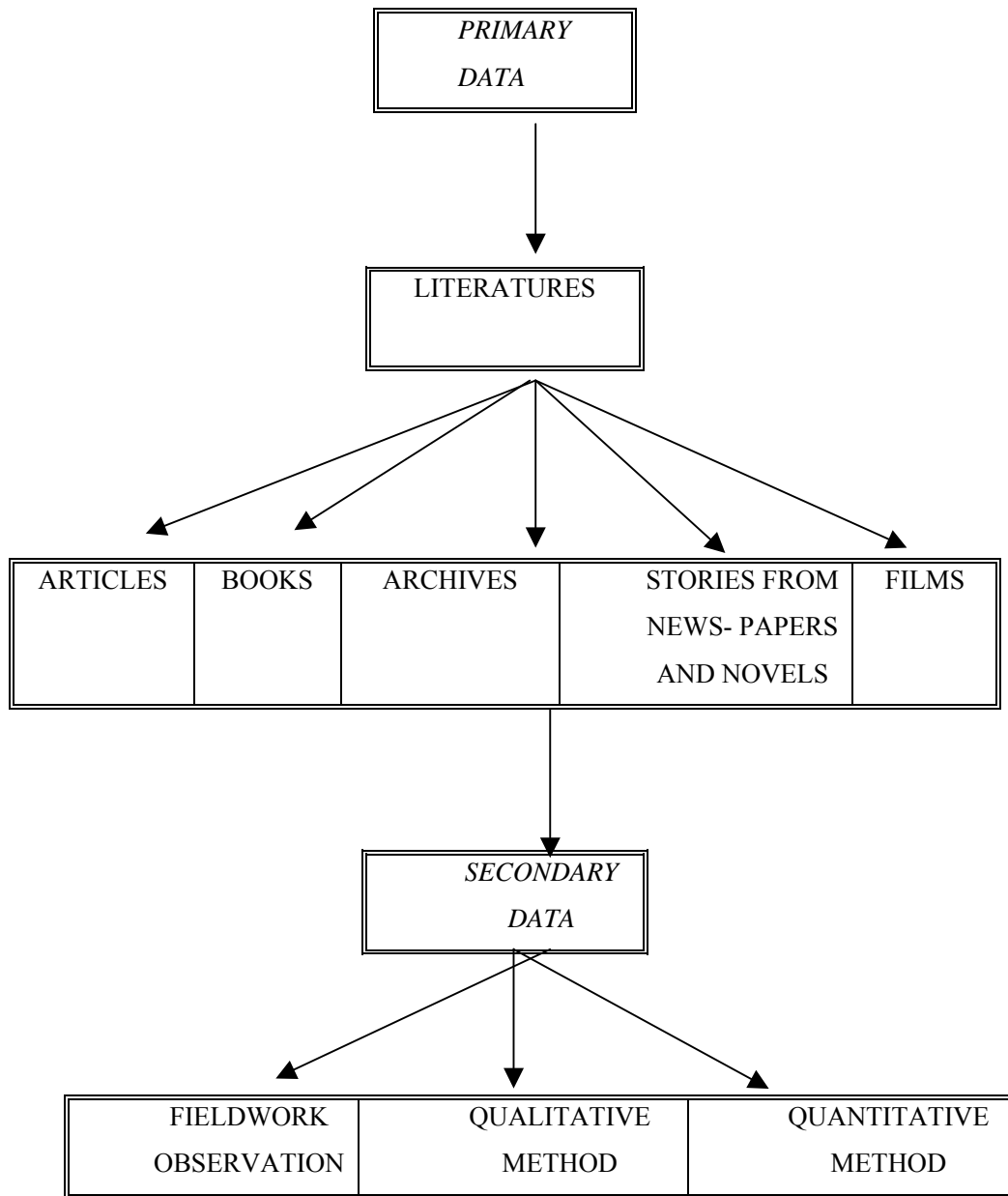
The evidence for study of the primary research question to verify the hypothesis was collected from four sources: (a) historical evidence from archives, published materials (journal articles, including online published journal articles, dissertations and books), (b) ethnographic study of the secondary data from a half and two years

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<sup>158</sup> The confounding variables suggest that the variables have no connection with the presupposed theoretical framework.

<sup>159</sup> The triangulation method tries to improve both the internal and external validity. That is to improve the internal validity and to improve the degree to which I can draw correct inferences about the relationship occurring within a study. Put differently, do alternative explanations for our results exist? To improve the external validity is to improve the degree to which I can draw the correct inferences when generalizing beyond a study (cf. Dye, 2003).

fieldwork, (c) the data collection from both the qualitative interview and (d) the quantitative data survey. This is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

**Figure. 3.1**

The triangulation method was processed as the followings. Initially the pilot interview (Erzberger, 1998; Flick, 1994 and Kaval, 1996) was conducted and a prequestionnaire was processed. The descriptive qualitative method was conducted for the explorative analysis of the theoretical framework. The key theme was focused on how Chinese employ different forms of capital as sources by their habitus during migratory processes. The quantitative method was conducted for classifying the variables of the categories by an exploratory factor analysis. Secondly the focus interview (Flick, 1994 & 2002) and the field notes were conducted and analyzed based

on the grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 1998; Young, 1996). Thirdly the quantitative data from the last reconstructed version of questionnaire (N=210) were recollected and was preceded in SPSS program for *t*-Test, factor analysis and chi-square *test*. Lastly the expert interview (Flick, 2002) was explored to verify the internal and external validity and it hopes to gain from the expert interview the hermeneutic analysis at why and how of Chinese immigrants utilizing their forms of capital in different sample groups by their distinct immigrants' habitus. The following is the detailed development of the different methods for research.

### 3.1.4. Ground Theory of Three Coding Procedures

In my qualitative analysis I use the Ground theory in coding the categories, which offers “systematic inductive guidelines for collecting and analyzing data to build middle-ground theoretical frameworks that explain the collected data”. (Charmaz, 2000: 509). Strauss and Corbin defined that a grounded theory is

... inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 23).

By using the grounded theory, they explained that the constant comparison, theoretical sampling, memoing, collaboration, number and type of categories, and coding procedures can help the generation of theory from data collected in the field (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In this research I employ the coding procedures. There are three steps in coding the categories: the first step is the open coding, which involves a close examination of the data to identify concepts and categories. The second step is the axial coding, in which a researcher looks for connections between categories. The third step is the selective coding, in which a researcher identifies a central category or concept and relates almost all other codes or categories to it in a research narrative (Strauss, 1990). During the first step in a grounded-theory analysis, I coded the interview transcripts according to categories “inductively derived” from the data, which is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon”. Coding is a means of generating

ideas and categories about the data; categories represent a theme or set of related ideas that the researcher identifies in the data. The following is the three steps of coding.

**Table 3.1. Three steps of coding in Grounded Theory<sup>160</sup>**

<i>Types of coding</i>	<i>Characters of codings</i>	<i>Purpose of codings</i>
Open coding	Developing concepts, categories and properties	Identifying and labelling the data
Axial coding	Developing connections between a category and its sub-categorie	Discover relationships among categories:
Selective coding	Integrating categories to build theoretical framework	Discover the 'core' category Develop theoretical framework

Selective coding is the most important step in the process of choosing one category to be the core category, and relating all other categories to that category. In this research I present the procedure of sampling coding and the selective coding in Table 3.2, 3.3 and Figure 3.1. below.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. HARWOOD, I. (2002) Developing Scenarios for Post-Merger and Acquisition Integration: A Grounded Theory of Risk Bartering. *School of Management*. Southampton, University of Southampton.



## 3.2. Exploratory Research

In the exploratory procedure, both qualitative and quantitative methods were preceded from the interviews and questionnaires. A qualitative method was followed by pilot interviews and focus group interviews; meanwhile a quantitative method was processed by a pretest questionnaire.

### 3.2.1. Pilot Interview

*2000-2001, Pilot Interview.* In the explorative pilot interview, the open-ended question was designed to gain as much information as it could. In order to cover the range of the representative pilot interview sample, different occupations from the Chinese in Germany as selective factors were analyzed. Cluster sampling was chosen to randomly select clusters of observations from the Chinese population under four patterns (cf. Chapter 4, Patterns of Chinese in Germany). In order to avoid problems that the individuals did not seek additional information (DeFleur and Bryce, 1995) and began to formulate a definite view on the issue based on ideas that are for one reason or another most immediately salient to the interviewee (Zaller, 1992), the questions were asked directly for their considerations.

In the pilot interview I conducted N=10 interviews from different groups in Hamburg and other cities in Germany. From ten interviews, N=1 Chinese who was from the Chinese governmental background, N=1 German who was from the German governmental background, N= 8 are from all walks of life: one scholar, one self-employed (wo)man, two business(wo)men (one male, one female), Two Students (one male, one female), two restaurant's owners (one female, one male). In the explorative pilot interview, the data for the categories was elected/condensed from the incidents (Gogolin, 1994, Kvale, 1994; Stauss & Corbin, 1998).

The incidents, events, happenings are taken as, or analyzed as, potential indicators of phenomena, which are thereby given conceptual labels... Only by comparing incidents and naming like phenomena with the same term can the theorist accumulate the basic units for theory (Corbin, J., & Strauss, A., 1990: 7).

Thus “by comparing the incidents”, the different categories fitted in the theoretical framework of the hypothesis for further categories were investigated<sup>161</sup>. This was approached by condensation and categorization analysis (Kvale, 1996) in the qualitative method. After obtaining a descriptive category, a pretest questionnaire was designed (see Appendix).

### **3.2.2. The focus interview**

The analysis of the exploratory factor analysis for the different categories was processed after the survey of the pretest questionnaire. Then based on the outcome of this analysis, the focus interview was conducted for a better improvement of the context validity of the questionnaire.

The focus interview allowed me the chance to encourage and induce the interviewees discussing among each other, which created innovative ideas for the theoretical framework (cf. Table 3.1 & Table 3.2 below) for further analysis of the categorical variables. The focus group method consisted of seven basic steps (cf. Wimmer and Dominick, 1991)<sup>162</sup>, which was processed in this research as follows:

- 1) Define the research problems and decide on research goals. This was progressed in a development of the theoretical framework from the primary data and the pilot interview in this research.
- 2) Select the sample from the target population of the Chinese community in Hamburg from four stratified sampling groups: businessmen/women, student, employer/ees in restaurant and academic (cf. Chapter 4). Nine groups of the focus interview were conducted from the group of Businessmen (N=2 groups), the group of the Students (N=3 groups), the group of the Chinese employer/ees in Restaurant (N=2 groups) and academic (N=2 groups) in four targeted groups (cf. Table 3.1 below).

<sup>161</sup> This is to say that not only the categories from the primary data which I analyzed were examined in the qualitative interview, but also the questionnaire analysis in the quantitative method.

<sup>162</sup> There are nine steps described in Wimmer and Dminick, 1991, but in this research seven steps were preceded in the focus group interview.

**Table 3.1.**  
**Focus Group Interview Conducted from the Four Stratified Sampling**  
**Groups**

4-GROUP CLASSIFICATION/STRA TIFICATION	NO. OF FOCUS INTERVIEW GROUPS	TOTAL (ACCUMULATED)
Businessmen	2	2
Students	3	5
Employer/ees in Restaurant	2	7
Academic	2	9

**Table 3.2. Nine Groups of the Focus Interview participants**

GROUP	PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS ACCUMULATED
1	2	2
2	3	5
3	3	8
4	3	11
5	4	15
6	4	19
7	4	23
8	4	27
9	6	33

3) Determine the number of focus group meetings on the four groups. Though generally a group of ten is a medium size (Wimmer and Dominick, 1991), to the Chinese group, if I had more than six participants in one group, it was hard to arouse every one to speak in a group<sup>163</sup>. It can be easier if a group holds fewer

<sup>163</sup> In Chinese educational system, teachers are the authority as the power in class, and students follow them. Since following what teachers have explained, students can obtain high scores in the school. Raising questions by students is not necessary in class, talking from a student in class is generally functioned when a student is asked by a teacher. Writing down what the teachers taught in class can be help for the Chinese examination (cf. Wang: 2003a and 2003b). This is from the traditional Confucianism influence of one of the five constant relationships that the students should respect the teachers.

than six, but more than two participants; in this case to encourage the Chinese participants to talk and to discuss certain questions by the interviewer is easier. I conducted nine groups of the focus interview after obtaining the outcomes from the pretest questionnaire. Nine groups of the focus interview consisted of participants from two to six interviewees in each group (see table 3.2 above).

4) Prepare the study mechanics, including recruiting participants, reserving the meeting place. When the group consisted of only the students (the Student Group), I participated in Chinese students' gatherings in Hamburg<sup>164</sup>. To the group of businessmen, and other professional workers (the Business Group and the Academic Group), generally I went to the working place of them and sometimes their homes. But the best place was the meeting or conference places of the Chinese Business Society, Chinese Computer Society, Chinese Physics Society, the Chinese Economics Society and the Chinese Students Unions, where I gave the presentation of the progress on my dissertation about them (my sample), meanwhile obtained the survey data from them<sup>165</sup>. Focus interviews and questionnaire conducted in different Chinese groups do not include Chinese working in catering business (Catering Group)<sup>166</sup>.

5) Prepare questions. In a focus interview, generally the Chinese participants would like to answer the questions, which would give no personal opinions concerning politics from them, especially the old Chinese generation<sup>167</sup> in Germany. It was hard for me to ask them questions frankly and to generalize their ideas directly, what I did was in a round about way to ask them in a reconstructed question based on the theoretical framework to encourage them to say something

<sup>164</sup> In this Student Group, I would provide Chinese students with JiaoZi, a typical Chinese food, which is delicious, however, needs several people to prepare and make it, it is a collective work. Thus a student alone can hardly do it, it is a good chance for me to gather them together and talk with me.

<sup>165</sup> The questionnaire was processed in meeting places, too.

<sup>166</sup> This group is hard for me to make an interview or let them to fill in questionnaires. I have to memorize all the questions developed in interviews and questionnaires in case that I can only have the chance to talk to them to know the answers and back home to write their answers down or fill in the questionnaires for them. If not clear, I have to be back to do it again, which is the most difficult and cost a lot of time in my research. Because of this I do feel that some groups of sample are hard to precede questionnaires.

<sup>167</sup> The earliest Chinese came to Germany in 1792, the following generation mainly came during the period between the First and the Second World War in Germany, and few came after the Second World War from the Mainland China. The old generation here means the Chinese came after the Second World War and before the end of the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

during the process of the interview. Therefore I prepared two questions before the interview. When the questions concerned about their personal opinions if they did not want to answer in a direct way, then I will ask in a round about way.

6) After conducting the focus group discussion, the first thing I did was to analyze the data immediately with the fresh ideas in mind gained from the interview for a better construction of the theoretical framework. In the interview, there were three languages: Chinese, German and English. What I did is to analyze the transcripts in original language and then chose the incidents for condensation and matrix of the categories. All the interpretation of the categories was first made in original language. This is to believe that language is the gateway to the different cultures (Fishman, 1936), thus analyzing the data in its original language can gain the deep meaning of its culture.<sup>168</sup>

7) To reanalyze the outcomes of the step 6), then I translated and analyzed parts of the transcripts from the Chinese language and the German language into the English language<sup>169</sup>. Therefore the translations were after the analysis of the transcripts and after the condensation of categories in a matrix (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below). The following example of the matrix helps to discover and to condense the categorical variables for constructing questionnaire (Gogolin, 1994; Cobin & Strauss, 1998). The categorical variables are gradually developed by the saturation from the integrative coding. I choose Ms. ShangHai and Ms. XiAn as one of the matrix samples to show the differences before and after the selective coding. In this part I employ the *Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1980, 1990 and 1999) for collecting and analyzing data to build middle-range theoretical frameworks that explain the collected data” (Charmaz, 2000: 509).

In table 3.2 we choose two informants to show the details in coding the categories in the first procedure. Ms. ShangHai and Mr. XiAn in this procedure followed categories that are coded from me in the questionnaire by the open coding and axial coding. In Table 3.3 after the qualitative analysis of focus interview from Ms. Shanghai and Mr. XiAn, we generate two more variables/categories: *nautal capital* and *political*

<sup>168</sup> Language is the key to understand the culture, cf. the classic article from Fishman, J. A. 1974[1960].

<sup>169</sup> I would like to thank Vanessa Hua and Linda Schneider from Hamburg for the help of the analysis in original language of German and the translation into English.

*capital* in *italicized* in the table, too. They are selected to integrate into the research of the hypothesis and theorizing the model as two more categories.

**Table 3.3. Procedure 1: A Sample of Propositions Generated by the Literature Case and Its Matrix Supported by a Pretest Questionnaire for the Cases (x represents the interviewees agree to the categories in the left column)**

SAMPLE CATEGORY	SAMPLE ANSWER FROM A PRETEST QUESTIONNAIRE					
	Ms. ShangHai			Mr. XiAn		
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Proposition Generated by the Historic Literature Materials						
Obtaining economic capital is one of the main reasons allows one to migrate.	x			x		
Gaining economic capital is one of the main attractive factors to migrate.		x				x
Obtaining human capital is one of the main reasons allows one to emigrate.		x		x		
To gain human capital in a host country is one of the main attractive factors to migrate.		x		x		
Cultural capital of Chinese traditions supports you to emigrate to Germany.			x		x	
Cultural capital supports to stay in Germany	x			x		
Social capital (networks) helps greatly in emigration.	x			x		
Social capital helps greatly in adaptation in a host country		x		x		
Symbolic capital can be realized in a host country.			x			x

A: Explicitly Supported, B: Implicitly Supported, C: Not Referred To, D: Explicitly Supported, E: Implicitly Supported, F: Not Referred To

**Table 3.4. Procedure 2: A Sample of Propositions Generated by the Focus Group Interview after Procedure 1 and Its Matrix Supported by the Saturation of the Selective (Integrative) Coding**

SAMPLE CATEGORY	FOCUS INTERVIEW					
	Ms. ShangHai			Mr. XiAn		
Proposition Generated by the Focus Interview after generated from the Historic Literature Materials and prequestionnaire	A	B	C	D	E	F
Gaining economic capital is one of the main attractive factors to migrate.	x			x		
Obtaining economic capital is one of the main reasons to live in Germany.			x			x
To gain human capital in a host country is one of the main attractive factors to migrate.	x			x		
Cultural capital supports in advanced studies in a host country.			x		x	
Cultural capital supports to find a job in a host country.		x		x		
Social capital (networks) helps greatly in migration.	x			x		
Social capital helps greatly in adaptation in a host country	x				x	
Symbolic capital can be realized in a host country.		x				x
<i>Natural capital as the better environment of the nature in a host country is one of the main reasons to migrate.</i>	x				x	
<i>Political capital of political reasons forced you to migrate</i>			x			x

A: Explicitly Supported, B: Implicitly Supported, C: Not Referred To,  
D: Explicitly Supported, E: Implicitly Supported, F: Not Referred To

### 3.2.3. New variables investigated from the qualitative method

After the analysis of the pilot and the focus interviews a new category natural capital<sup>170</sup> (cf. Tables 3.1 and 3.2) that was not put forward by Bourdieu was yielded as the sixth variable, which was brought out by the focus interview evidently after the condensation analysis of the categories. Moreover, this variable held more or less the same weight as the other variables after the analysis by a quantitative method that functioned as one of the factors to correlate with the purpose to migrate and the stay in the destination country (cf. Chapter 5).

Table 3.3 and table 3.4 above show the differences of the categories obtained first from the primary data and the secondary data. The sample interviewees chosen for both tables are Frau ShangHai and Frau XiAn<sup>171</sup>. Table 3 obtained the data from the literature generations for the pretest questionnaire. Table 4 obtained the data categories matrixed after the pilot interview analysis with selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). During the process of constructing the categories in a matrix, a new construct, natural capital was generated; this new form of natural capital was analyzed and coded with axial mode (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) after the focus interview. It demonstrated that the new construct had its significance and its relationship with other forms of capital in pushing and pulling people to move.

Till this step the open coding for developing concepts, categories and properties (cf. Miles & Huberman, 1994, Strausse & Corbin, 1980, 1999) and the use of selective coding for integrating categories to build theoretical framework were both done. All these steps explained above were expected to enhance internal validity, to extend and to sharpen theoretical framework. The last step of the theoretical saturation was chosen, it helps to saturate the categories during data analysis. That is no additional data which “are being found whereby the (researcher) can develop properties of the category, as he/she sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated” (Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. 1967: 65). From January to November 2000, the data was *reconstructed* and returned back to the step of the focus interview again, but not returned back to the pilot interview and not to the pretest questionnaire. After the year of 2001, the marginal improvement of the categories in the theoretical saturation became smaller enough to separate one

<sup>170</sup> The detailed explanation of the concept will be found in Chapter 2.



categorical variable<sup>172</sup> from others, they are mutually exclusive, i.e.; no two categories overlap each other. “[W]hen one category is saturated, nothing remains but to go to new groups for data on other categories, and attempt to saturate these categories also” (ibid: 65). There was one more category, natural capital was added to the analysis, and then the process of the first part of the qualitative analysis ended (see Figure. 3.2 below).

The first procedure of the analysis of the exploratory interview helped to generalize the propositions of the categories to develop the questionnaire. This was especially meaningful when the sixth variable was saturated from the integrative coding and added to the categories after focus interview. After the condensation of the categories, the design of the questionnaire consistent with the hypothesis is classified into *six* categories.

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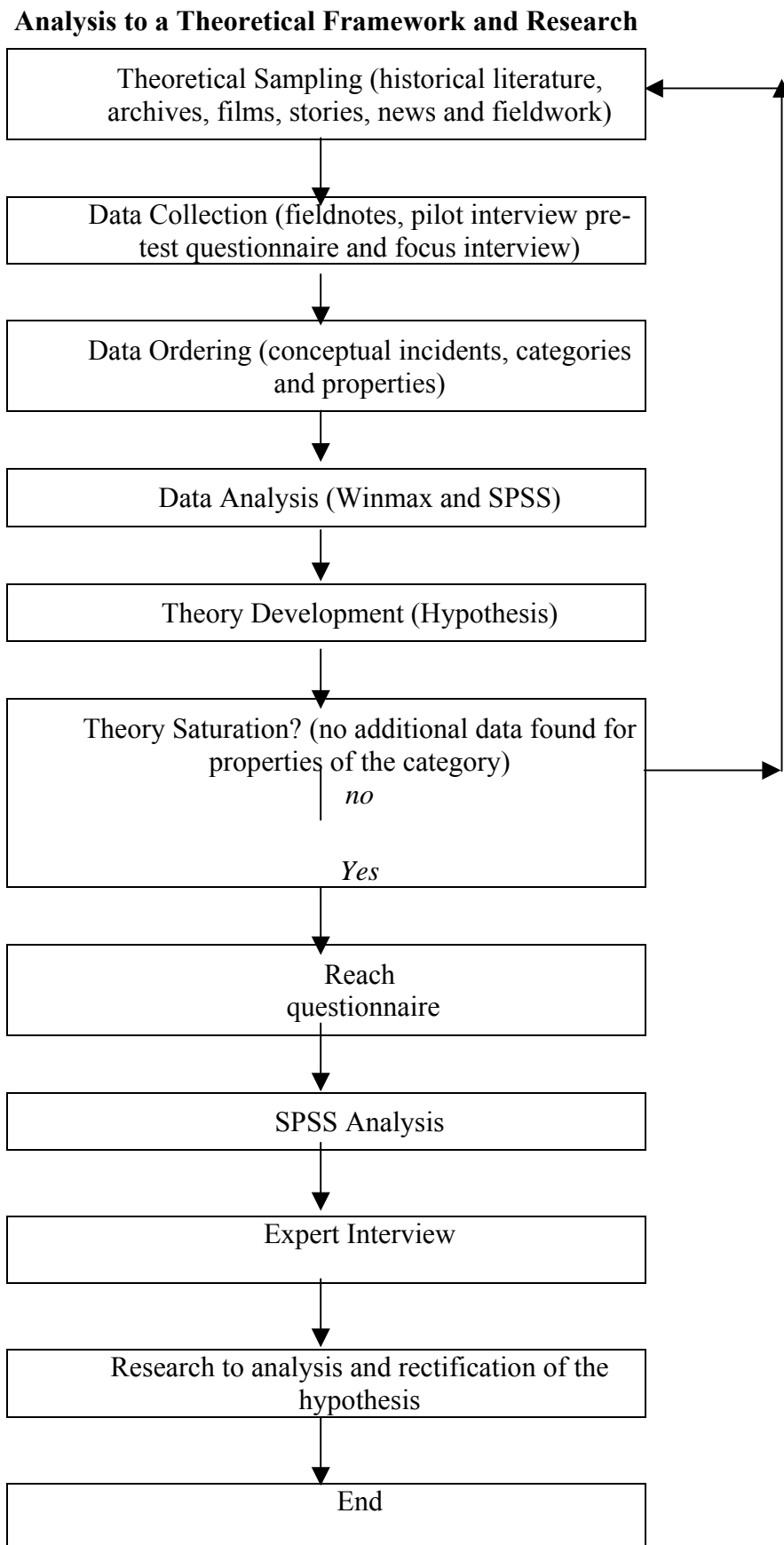
<sup>171</sup> ShangHai and XiAn are the pseudonyms named by me according to the places where the interviewees came from.

<sup>172</sup> Here I use variables, however, they are categories that are not measurable, and they are created only for the purposes of labeling and classifying data. The variables here are different from the variables analyzed in factor analysis and chi-square test, which are measurable.

### **3.3. Data collection and data analysis**

In this research the data was collected and analyzed both from the qualitative and the quantitative survey, which is not only for the development of the theoretical framework, but also for rectifying the hypothesis and moreover by employing different methods in order to be more valid and reliable to the research. Figure 3.2 (below) shows the interrelated processes of data collection.

**Figure 3. 2. The Interrelated Processes of Data Collection, Ordering and**



### 3.3.1. Sampling

Quantitative Sampling is to measure selected members of a population. In this research the selected population was from a Chinese community in Hamburg<sup>173</sup> (cf. Chapter 4). There are 210 questionnaires preceded and classified in four groups by the stratified sample.

The reasons to classify the Chinese population into four groups are due to the analysis of the archives, literatures, the analysis of the fieldwork and the consulting on the statistics resources of Chinese immigrants in Hamburg, *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, State Bureau of Statistics (2000-2001, cf. Table 1 above)*<sup>174</sup>. I have done one year's fieldwork on Chinese immigrant's studies by the exploratory pilot interview (2000). It took the first three-month interviews in the year of 2001 by the focus interview with Chinese staffs in Chinese Consulate in Hamburg and the prequestionnaire with the Chinese in all walks of life in Hamburg. It was discovered that four stratified groups represented Chinese immigrant's population in Hamburg and each group included more subgroups. For instance, businessmen could be classified as the employees worked in a German company and in a Chinese company. These who worked in a Chinese company could be further classified as in a branch of Chinese State Owned Enterprises (SOE), in a Chinese owned family business, and in a partnership company of the Sino-German Joint Ventures in Hamburg. Students could be classified as students from the northern part of China as the leading numbers from Beijing and from the southern part as the leading numbers of Shanghai. These students graduated from Chinese universities could be classified with the degrees earned as BA, MA, Ph.D., and BS, MS, Dr. on Science and on Medicine. These students graduated from China can also be classified according to the level of the schooling obtained in China: under graduation from high schools, from colleges, from universities. The majors they had learned in social sciences or natural sciences in China and in Germany.

Given that each group possessed different forms of "capital" when migrating and each group employed different interrelated "capital" by their distinctive habitus to migrate, i.e., to find different jobs or to (re)enter into universities. They had different

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<sup>173</sup> The defining of the stratified sample of the Chinese Community in Hamburg is analyzed in Chapter 4.

ways to adapt to indigenous habitus and the fields in the host country. I considered different forms of capital as dependant variables, which have caused the Chinese population to emigrate and immigrate. These variables have been managed/facilitated differently by their intercultural strategies distinctively in a different group. The hypothesis were formulated, investigated and analyzed by four sample groups: *a. Business b. Restaurants c. Students and d. Academics*

In a pretest of the questionnaire, it was conducted by convenience sample, i.e., choosing an easily obtainable sample. After the analysis of the pretest of the questionnaire and the focus interview in the pilot phase, the internal validity was improved by basic problem of quasi-experimental design. The external validity was improved from different time (January- September, 2001) and different places (Berlin, Bielefield, Boon, Cologne, Hamburg and Munich) by the procedure of the triangulation method --- pilot interview, quantitative pretest questionnaire and the focus group interview. The survey data of the final questionnaire was desired to improve with the context validity after the first procedure of the triangulation method.

### 3.3.2. Design of the Questionnaire

Before the formal questionnaire was conducted, a pretest questionnaire (N=30) had been conducted based on the explorative pilot interview (Berlin, Bielefield, Boon, Cologne, Hamburg and Munich, January 2000 - September 2001). The analysis of the pilot interviews and the pretest questionnaire helped to construct the succeeding semi-structured focus interviews and the questionnaire.

There are six aspects of categories. Before processing the questionnaire, the content validity of each category with the concerning subject was discussed with the professors in each concerning subject<sup>175</sup>. Ingrid Gogolin (Educational Department in Hamburg University), Wilfred Bos (Educational Department in Dortmund University), Hansmann (Economics Department in Hamburg University), Meinert A. Meyer (Educational Department in Hamburg University), Reitstiffs (Law Department in Hamburg University), Whilepert (Department of Sociology in the University of Free Berlin). Moreover the questionnaire got the feedback from the Post Doctorate, the Ph, D

<sup>174</sup> During the process of the research, 2002 statistics from *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, State Bureau of Statistics* was obtained to consult the further information on Chinese community in Hamburg.

<sup>175</sup> The sole responsibility of all defects for formulating categories is the author. The last category of natural capital was discussed in Chapter 5 by expert interview in details.

candidate Students and the MA students from the Colloquium of Professors: Bos, Gogolin and Meyer.

The design of the questionnaire was based on the category matrixes in its last proposition process. There are six categories, six forms of capital as social resources managed by Chinese immigrants<sup>176</sup> constructed as 147 items in the questionnaire to rectify the hypothesis, from which summarized 37 questions all together (see Appendix II). There are hypothesis developed according to the theoretical framework obtained from the primary and the secondary data. They are operationalized via the following more specific questions (cf. introduction).

1. What is the Chinese habitus in different groups by facilitating their different forms of capital in a host country, i.e., what are the factors pushing and pulling immigrants to emigrate and immigrate to show their habitus?
2. Can the Chinese adapt to the German society by transforming their forms of capital?
3. Can different forms of capital be managed as social resources to emigrate and immigrate to Germany?
4. What is the significant relationship between migratory processes and the possessions of different forms of capital from and in different doxas?
5. Are there associations between the different groups of the Chinese community with the different factors?

The statement of the hypothesis is in the null form (details see Chapter 5, 5.4. factor analysis, 5.5. *t*-Test and hypothesis, and 5.6. Chi-square analysis).

### **3.3.3. Procedures of statistical data analysis and results interpretation**

Since triangulation method has been employed, the analysis from the qualitative interview and the quantitative statistical analysis are both operated to interpret the results.

In the first procedure, as an instrumental tool for analyzing the chosen incidents from these interviews, computer's word repetition, simple categories analysis and the

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<sup>176</sup> Cf. the theoretical framework and hypothesis in Introduction.

summary of the transcripts of paragraphs were preceded by the help of Winmax<sup>177</sup>. In the second procedure the quantitative statistic data was analyzed by *t*-Test, factor analysis and Chi square test. In the last procedure the results investigated by the quantitative data were explored by the qualitative analysis from expert interview.

### **3.3.4. The expert interview**

After the analysis of the quantitative data survey, its outcomes were reconstructed into the expert interview questions (Flick, 1994, 2002). The open-ended question was chosen for understanding the essence of the outcomes from quantitative analysis. The experts in the interviews were selected from the Chinese population in four sample groups (cf. Chapter 5). It aims to discuss and to investigate the reasons of these coming results from the quantitative statistic data. The detailed interpretation of the results followed in the subsequent chapters.

## **3.4. Summary of the triangulation method in this research**

In this research the triangulation method is adopted. It is a mixed, also a very complicated method explored in one dissertation, however it offers rich and in-depth information on formulating categories and hypothesis, and most of all it improves the validity of the research results. During the process of different procedure of the mixed triangulation method, each step adds benefits for next steps development. The advantage of triangulation method helps to generate a new category in the theoretical model for hypothesis. The expert interviews offer more objective and enlightening explanations for quantitative results.

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<sup>177</sup> There are problems when the translations of the incidents could only be a sentence long, but not a whole paragraph; in this case the analysis by the program of Winmax appeared idle in analyzing one sentence for categories sometimes.

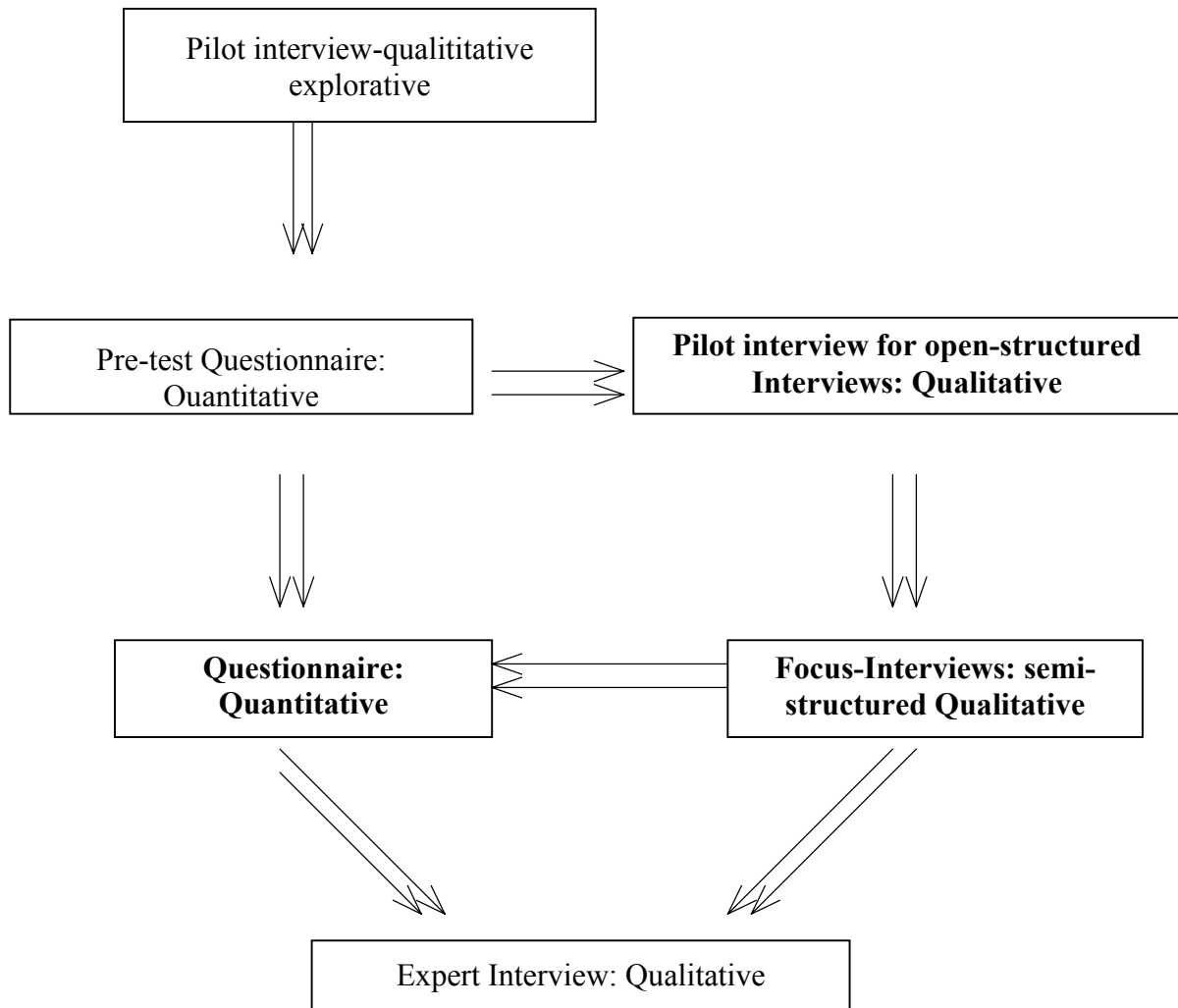
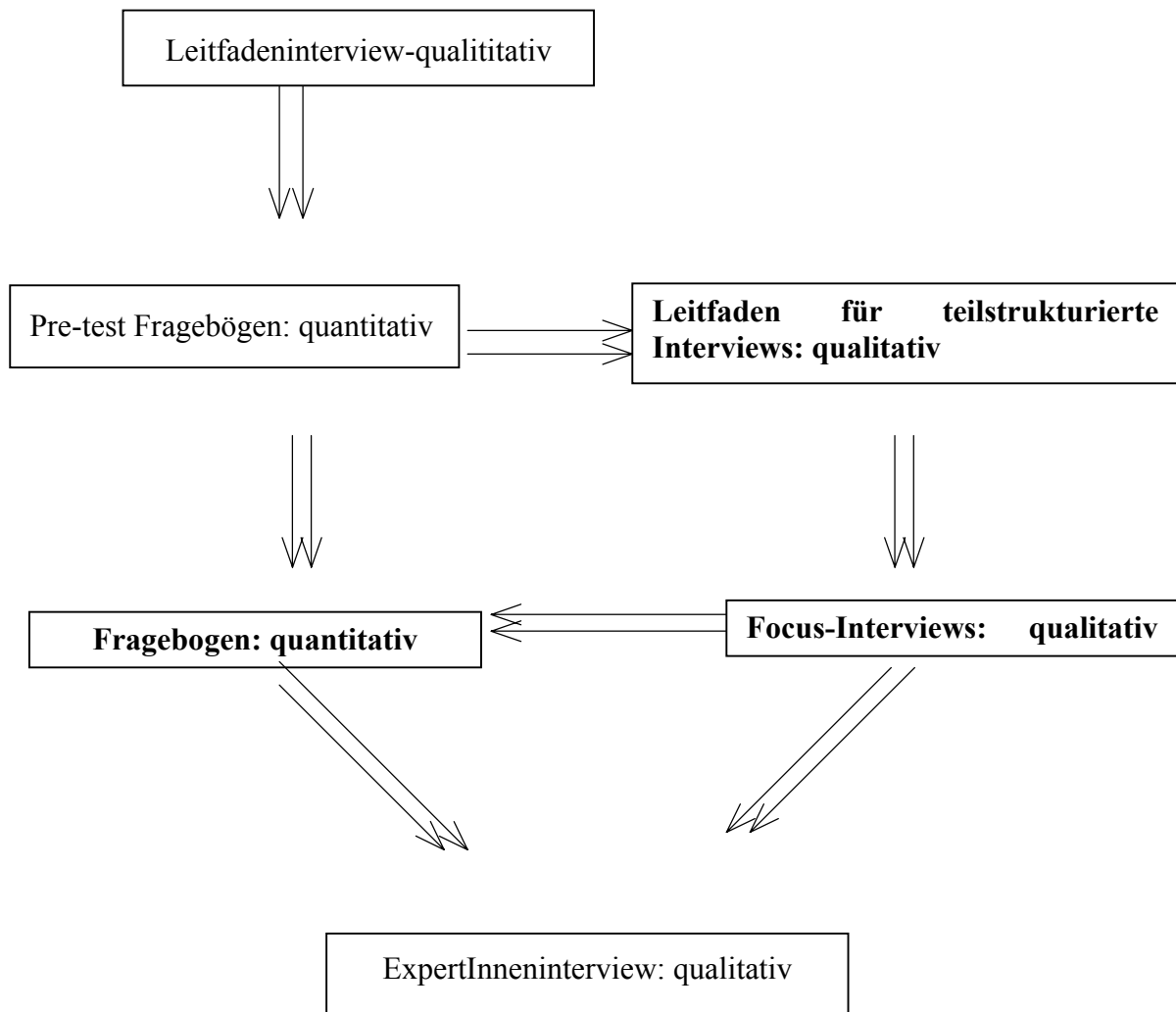
**Figure 3. 3. The triangulation research method**



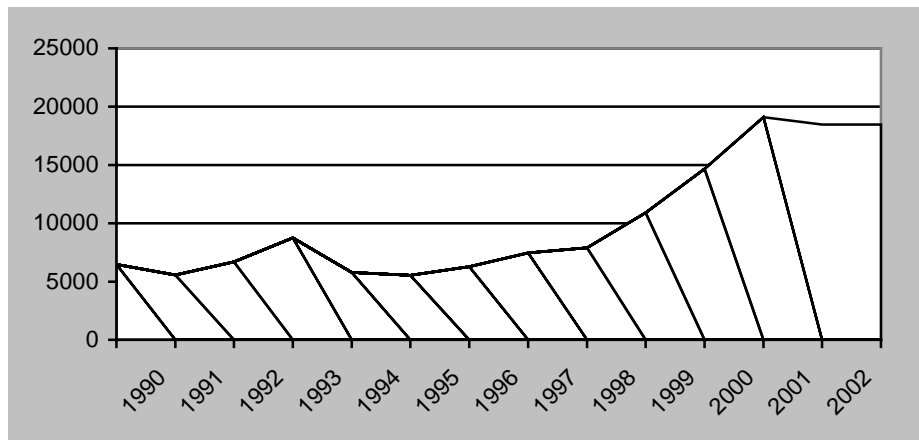
Abbildung 3. 4. Triangulation Methode<sup>178</sup>

<sup>178</sup> My research method has been greatly benefited from two supervisors, Ingrid Gogolin and Wilfred Bos, who all the time gave me the strong insight of the different qualitative and quantitative research method, I would also like to draw my research method in German to express my thanks.

## Chapter 4. Chinese Diaspora in Hamburg, Germany

Since 2001 China<sup>179</sup> has become one of the top ten sending countries of foreigners to Germany, the total population of the Chinese in Germany has grown up to 63,000 and moreover the students ranked the first place with foreign educational backgrounds in Germany in 2000 (3.451)<sup>180</sup> (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung fuer Migration, Fluechtlinge und Integration Daten & Fakten<sup>181</sup>, 26, Sept. 2004). The inflow of the Chinese population has been tripled from 1990 to 2001 (Figure. 1 below). In the following I will study the Chinese history in Germany in a perspective of history, politics, economy and culture.

**Figure. 4.1. Inflow of the Chinese Population to Germany from 1990 to 2002**



SOURCE: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office, 2004)<sup>182</sup>

Table 4.1 below shows the chronological population development of the Chinese citizens in Germany from 1792 to 2001. From the beginning of the two Chinese businessmen landed in Hamburg in 1792, the number of Chinese had a very slow grown to 124 in 1890 within almost one hundred years. Another more than fifty years passed;

<sup>179</sup> China means People's Republic of China (P.R. China), if not otherwise indicated.

<sup>180</sup> There are different numbers: Chinese students reached 12,000 in 2001 and around 13,000 in 2002. Chinese Embassy in Berlin, 01. 12. 04.

<sup>181</sup>

26

Sept.

2004:

[http://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/download/Modul\\_1\\_Migrationsgeschehen.pdf](http://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/download/Modul_1_Migrationsgeschehen.pdf), 02. 12. 04

<sup>182</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>, 02. 12. 04.

in 1967 (477) the number of Chinese in Germany did not grow to 500. Before the end of the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China, the Chinese population in Germany did not surpass 1,000 in 1978 (984). It was after the China's Open Door Policy that the number of Chinese jumped over 1,000 in 1979 (1,348) and over 2,000 in 1980 (2,146). Since then the Chinese population has increased steadily, in 2001 (63,111) China entered into the top ten sending countries with the inflow of 19,109. In 2002 (18,368) the inflow dropped off, 646 fewer than the number of 2001, but still within the top ten sending countries and the share in the foreign population kept growth with 0.12 percent in 2002 (72,094) more than in 2001.

**Table 4.1**<sup>183</sup>

**Chinese Citizens in Germany, 1792-2002**

YEAR	RESIDENTS	SHARE OF FOREIGN POPULATION	YEAR	INFLUX RESIDENTS	SHARE OF FOREIGN POPULATION	
1792	---		1986	8,112	0.18	
1890	124 <sup>184</sup>		1987	9,731	0.21	
1967	477		1988	10,761	0.24	
1970	700		1989	14,085	0.29	
1973	525	0.01	1990	6,476	18,376	0.34
1974	658	0.02	1991	5,560	22,098	0.38
1975	730	0.02	1992	6,698	25,479	0.39
1976	972	0.02	1993	8,745	31,451	0.46
1977	934	0.02	1994	5,787	32,316	0.46
1978	984	0.02	1995	5,530	33,172	0.46
1979	1,348	0.03	1996	6,264	34,621	0.47
1980	2,146	0.05	1997	7,450	36,723	0.50
1981	2,812	0.06	1998	7,888	38,726	0.53
1982	3,419	0.07	1999	10,913	42,925	0.58
1983	3,720	0.08	2000	14,676	50,885	0.70
1984	4,024	0.09	2001	19,109	63,111	0.86
1985	6,178	0.14	2002	18,463	72,094	0.98 <sup>185</sup>

SOURCE: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office, 2004)<sup>186</sup>; cf. Giese, 2003: 157; Gütinger, 1998: 204

<sup>183</sup> Giese (2003) calculated the number of the Chinese share of the foreign population from 1973 to 2001.

<sup>184</sup> Approximated by author.

<sup>185</sup> I calculate it.

<sup>186</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>

From the development of Chinese population in Germany, we find that there are variations in the development history. It is shaped in different time by different political, economic and cultural backgrounds both in China and in Germany. Accordingly the Chinese immigrants in Germany can be classified into four periods.

## 4.1. Chinese in Germany in four different periods

### 4.1.1. 1792-1900

The earliest formal official recording of the Chinese in Germany was in 1792<sup>187</sup> (Eberstein, 1988: 27). It was a business ship that carried both the Chinese citizens and the Chinese merchandise, such as tea and porcelain, from the port city of Guangzhou, China to the port city of Hamburg, Germany. It is said that later in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century some of these Chinese landing in Hamburg spread to other cities to trade their goods, and stayed in Germany. In 1876 Li Hong-Zhang<sup>188</sup> started sending the Chinese to study in Berlin, some scholars and children from rich families also followed to come after the government chose Germany as one of the destination countries (cf. Stoecker, 1958). Nevertheless the scale of the Chinese in Germany was not large. “According to the census of 1 December 1890, just three cities accounted for almost two-thirds of the Chinese population: Bremen with 30, Berlin with 41 and Hamburg with 22” (Güttinger, 1998: 200). The total number of the Chinese is calculated around 139 to 140 in 1890. Therefore the Chinese in Germany at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the early 20<sup>th</sup> century can be estimated not over two hundred (cf. Eberstein, 1988). The beginning of the Chinese citizens living as a group, not to say as a community in Germany, was after the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>189</sup>

### 4.1.2. 1900-1945

During the first boosting of the Chinese migration period from 1914 to 1945, some of the Chinese who worked as sailors and businessmen settled in Germany running small shops in cities. At the early and around middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the two world

<sup>187</sup> Information from China Botschaft in Berlin. 05 Sept, 2004. China and Germany made the first contact more than 700 years ago. It was about 400 years ago, the two countries have preceded the business activities and cultural exchange, such as the delegation of acrobats from China. <http://www.china-botschaft.de/det/zt/zdgg/t94043.htm>.

<sup>188</sup> Li HongZhang (1823-1901), Chinese military leader and statesman in Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), was born in Hefei (Ho-fei) in Anhui (Anhui) Province.

<sup>189</sup> As early as in 1876, Chinese government sent selected Chinese to study military techniques in Berlin to strengthen the military power of China. Li Hong-Zhang, the statesman and the leader in China's Army in Qing Government (1644-1911) advocates this. He was the first high-rank officer in Chinese history to visit Germany, including Hamburg and Berlin. Mr. Li met Chancellor Bismarck in his house in Hamburg. (Interview, No. MalayCh16; Eberstein, 1988; Güttinger, 1998 & Stoecker, 1958)

wars broke out; there were few Chinese migrating to Germany. But there were some small groups of Chinese from QingTian area, Zhejiang province traveling through Germany as peddlers trading small Chinese products, such as tie, little toys for children and other eating things, etc (cf. Ji, 1996). In the early 1900s many Chinese scholars studied in Germany either supported by the government or by the self-financed Chinese citizens. Most of them went back to China and became well known professors in the Universities and one of the most famous one, Cai Yuan Pei (1868-1940) from 1907 to 1911 registering in Leipzig University. After being back in China he was appointed as Minister of Education by the Republican government and Chancellor of Peking University, where he applied the German concept of education to this famous China's university. "Cai's devotion to independent thinking, innovative experimentation and encouragement of young talent helped to develop Beijing (Peking) University into the major institution of higher education in China. ... His practical reform has had great impact on China's education today" (Lizhong Zhang, 2000: 147).

#### **4.1.3. 1945-1978**

From 1945 to 1978 there are two different periods of contact from China to Germany.

From *1945 to 1972*, the bilateral exchange took place mainly between China and eastern Germany (DDR). Since 1949, China had established the socialism system; eastern Germany held the same ideological system, both Mainland China and the eastern Germany held a good relationship in cultural, business and trade exchange. However the most important exchange was cultural activities between China and the eastern Germany, such as arts, performances and sports exchange.

From *1972 to 1978*, the bilateral exchange between China and western Germany was greatly improved. It was on the 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1972, China established the formal (normal) diplomatic relation with western Germany (FRG). Contact with the western Germany on all different levels and aspects has been started since then. However, because the Chinese government did not carry out the "Open Policy" until 1978, the number of the Chinese in Germany increased slightly from 462 in 1972 to 984 in 1978 within six years (cf. Table 1 above). The Chinese government did not release the strict policy for going abroad and the applying procedure for traveling abroad remained complicated and difficult. The application for either the private or the government

passport<sup>190</sup> was in spite of everything hard. On the other side, starting new corporate programs needs time, the Chinese for more than twenty years without the contact with western countries found hard to have social networks, and who had relatives abroad also suspected to go abroad, especially persecuted during the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)<sup>191</sup>. Thus the emigration from China was still in a small scale; the number of the Chinese in total did not reach 1000 (984) in 1978.

#### 4.1.4. 1978-2002

The number of Chinese in Germany can be roughly classified into another two periods from 1978 to 1989 and from 1990 to 2002.

The Chinese citizens abruptly jumped from 984 in 1978 to 1,348 in 1979, the number increased 36 percent in one year. In 1989 Chinese population in Germany grew to 14,761, for ten years it increased tenfold. From 1990 to 2001 almost another ten years, reached to 63,111, 45 times increased. Table 4.2 below shows that in this year China became one of the top ten sending countries to Germany and directly jumped to the place of No. 8 consecutively in 2002 and 2003. However, the Chinese population in Germany was still far behind the No. 1 sending country of Poland (79,033 of the inflow) in 2001, the total number of Chinese (63,111) did not reach to 70,000. Same in the year of 2002, the total number of the Chinese (72,094) did not reach 80,000, but the inflow from Poland to Germany already reached 81,551 in one year.

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<sup>190</sup> There are two types of passports issued in China. One is the private type for doing private business abroad, such as students who want to come to study abroad by themselves must obtain a private type of passport which is very difficult at the early 1980s. Another type is the government type for doing government issues abroad, such as the student sent by the government to study abroad. This government type of passport at the early 1980s has the limited period to be issued by the Foreign Ministry in case the holder should on time to come back to China.

<sup>191</sup> The Chinese who have relatives abroad in the capitalism country would be treated as the traitors to their country or given other criminals' title being put into prisons or sent to rural places. If they were allowed to stay at home, they must be ready to be criticized around the clock.

**Table 4. 2.**  
**Top Ten Sending Countries from 2001 to 2002**

2001/TOTAL	977,701	2002/TOTAL	933,959
Poland	79,033	Poland	81,551
Turkey	54,695	Turkey	58,128
Russian Federation	35,930	Russian Federation	36,479
Italy	28,787	Romania	23,953
Yugoslavia	28,779	Italy	25,011
Ukraine	20,307	Yugoslavia	26,420
Romania	20,142	Ukraine	20,578
China (excluding Taiwan)	19,109	China (excluding Taiwan)	18,463
Iraq	17,675	Hungary	16,506
Hungary	17,039	United States	15,466

SOURCE: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office, 2004)<sup>192</sup>

The rapid increase in twenty-five years of the Chinese population from 1978 up to now was greatly impacted by China's politics and the development of economy with Germany. In 1978 Deng Xiao-Ping declared the "Open Policy"<sup>193</sup>, with the onset of the reform, Chinese citizens, if they would like to go abroad, were not treated as a traitor to their country as it had happened during the Great Cultural Revolution (cf. Xi & Jin, 1996)<sup>194</sup>. It has gradually become a good and even an honored event. The "Open Policy" has slowly and progressively made Chinese opportunities go abroad and contact foreign countries<sup>195</sup>. The emigration law of 1985 came into force; a completely new

<sup>192</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>, 02 Sept 2004.

<sup>193</sup> After Deng Xiao-Ping's reforms, the situation of overseas Chinese was improved who were believed to help China's development via their different forms of capital. More recently China's policy has strongly supported emigrated Chinese, who consist largely of Chinese seeking graduate education in the West after the 1978's reform. Among many programs for attracting return to China, the government and different universities established diverse research foundations, such as the "YangZi (the name from the biggest river in China) Scholar" offers 100,000 Chinese Yuan (10, 000 Euro) per year extra their salaries and other research funds, and "Hundred Scholars" of two million Chinese Yuan (Euro 200,000) to the returned distinguished scholars in fields of natural scientific sciences. <http://www.educhinaembassy.de/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=14>.

<sup>194</sup> Socialist Education Movement inaugurated in September 1962 at the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth National Party Congress Central Committee as a mass ideological campaign. It was intended to increase ideological "correctness" and consciousness on socialist education, especially in regard to reversing "capitalist" and "revisionist" tendencies perceived in social and economic life. The Socialist Education Movement, which continued at least until 1965, is considered a precursor of the Cultural Revolution. This reflected in education: when colleges closed and students were sent to factory and countryside to "learn from workers and peasants." It was impossible to even think about to study abroad during that period.

<sup>195</sup> In fact the Chinese migration has grown all over the world since 1978. At the early period the trend was in North America, Japan, Australia, former Soviet Union, the Western European Countries



emigration regime took shape in the overseas Chinese home areas and in Germany (Pieke, 2000). Before 1985, applying for a passport was still restricted within certain areas, especially for a private passport and since then it has become easier. As in 1984 the policy of the free application of self-financed students was preceded in China. In 1993 the State Education Commission announced a new application procedure for studying abroad, which allows individuals to apply for state support studies in other countries but requires a contract between the individual and the state. Nevertheless, the new regulation guarantees returning students to leave China freely<sup>196</sup>. In 2000, there was another change that the Chinese government in Shanghai started to issue the passport depending on the requirement of the application of the citizens.

After China's Open Policy was implemented, the Germany's government also made efforts to rebuild the relationship. Table 3 below shows that from 1982 to 1999 in 17 years there were forty partnership cities between the two countries established. The earliest one was in 1982 between Wuhan, a city in the southern middle part of China, and Duisburg in the southern middle part of Germany. The port cities of Shanghai and Hamburg in 1986<sup>197</sup>, the capital cities of Beijing and Berlin in 1994 were set up the relationship of sister cities.

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and some eastern European countries, now the educational regime for studying abroad focus mostly in North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia.

<sup>196</sup> In May 1995 State Council's Decision on "Accelerating the Pace of Scientific and Technological Progress" also emphasizes the individual right to leave again after returning to China. Now it has no problems to leave or stay based on a self-individual choice.

<sup>197</sup> The details on Chinese community in Hamburg will be explained in the next section.

**Table 4. 3. ÜBERBLICK REGIONALPARTNERSCHAFTEN DEUTSCHLAND – CHINA**

**Overview Regional partnership Germany - China**

PARTNERSCHAFT	ZWISCHEN	VEREINBART AM
Wuhan	Duisburg	08.10.1982
Anhui	Niedersachsen	06.09.1984
Shenyang	Düsseldorf	22.09.1984
Jiangxi	Hessen	03.04.1985
Dalian	Bremen	17.04.1985
Zhejiang	Schleswig-Holstein	20.04.1986
Shanghai	Hamburg	29.05.1986
Liaoning	Baden-Württemberg	20.06.1986
Ningbo	Aachen	25.10.1986
Shandong	Bayern	09.07.1987
Peking	Köln	14.09.1987
Zaozhuang	Sprockhoevel	15.10.1987
Weifang	Freising	18.10.1987
Kanton	Frankfurt am Main	11.04.1988
Dalian	Rostock	16.05.1988
Nanjing	Leipzig	21.05.1988
Sichuan	Nordrhein-Westfalen	07.07.1988
Yichun	Bad Wildungen	25.08.1988
Fushun	Gradbeck	31.08.1988
Fujian	Rheinland-Pfalz	24.05.1989
Xi'an	Dortmund	27.05.1991
Jiangsu	Nordrhein-Westfalen	08/1992
Changzhi	Marl	04.10.1993
Peking	Berlin	05.04.1994
Jiangsu	Baden-Württemberg	23.04.1994
Qianjiang	Heidenheim	05.07.1994
Xuzhou	Bochum	16.09.1994
Tianjin	Saarland	27.09.1994
Huangshi	Rottwell	25.10.1994
Yichang	Ludwigsburg	03.05.1995
Quanzhou	Neustadt	02.11.1995
Hubei	Saarland	17.05.1996
Deyang	Siegen Wittgenstein	04.08.1996
Nantong	Troisdorf	08.04.1997
Yangzhou	Offenbach	06.05.1997
Shenzhen	Nürnberg	27.05.1997
Shaanxi	Thüringen	19.11.1997
Tai'an	Schwaben	30.10.1998
Taiyuan	Chemnitz	17.05.1999
Wuxian	Riesa	16.08.1999

Source: China Contact<sup>198</sup>

The change of economy system from the planned to the market economy or so-called “with the Chinese characteristics of socialism market economy” opened China’s market to the outside world. From 1979 the import and export trade between China and other western countries began to grow and after the 1990s China’s import and export trade increased steadily with other countries, Germany is one of the top ten countries. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Germany’s trade has increased tremendously with the development of China’s reform toward market economy and the growth of industrial products in China. In 2001 and 2002, Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6 below show China's Top Trade Partners, Top Export Destinations and Top Import Suppliers, in all cross-national business trade; Germany holds No. 6, No. 5 and No. 5 respectively.

**Table 4. 4 China's Top 10 Trade Partners (\$ million)**

RANK 2002	ECONOMY	2002	% CHANGE	RANK 2001
1	Japan	101,905.4	16.2	1
2	United States	97,180.6	20.8	2
3	Hong Kong	69,206.7	23.7	3
4	Taiwan	44,649.0	38.1	5
5	South Korea	44,071.2	22.8	4
6	<i>Germany</i>	27,800.5	18.2	6
7	Malaysia	14,270.5	51.4	10
8	Singapore	14,018.1	28.4	7
9	Russia	11,927.5	11.8	8
10	United Kingdom	11,396.7	10.6	9

Source: PRC General Administration of Customs, China's Customs Statistics, 2004

**Table 4. 5. China's Top Export Destinations (\$ million)**

RANK 2002	ECONOMY	2002	% CHANGE	RANK 2001
1	United States	69,950.5	28.9	1
2	Hong Kong	58,465.4	25.6	2
3	Japan	48,437.5	7.8	3
4	South Korea	15,497.0	23.8	4
5	<i>Germany</i>	11,372.2	16.6	5
6	The Netherlands	9,108.1	25.1	6
7	United Kingdom	8,060.3	18.9	7
8	Singapore	6,965.7	20.3	8

<sup>198</sup> [http://www.china-contact.cc/index.php/chc/service\\_regionalpartner](http://www.china-contact.cc/index.php/chc/service_regionalpartner), 05 Sept, 2004

9	Taiwan	6,585.9	31.7	9
10	Malaysia	4,974.5	54.4	14

Source: PRC General Administration of Customs, China's Customs Statistics, 2004

**Table 4. 6. China's Top Import Suppliers (\$ million)**

RANK 2002	ECONOMY	2002	% CHANGE	RANK 2001
1	Japan	53,467.9	25	1
2	Taiwan	38,063.1	39.2	2
3	South Korea	28,574.2	22.2	4
4	United States	27,230.1	3.9	3
5	<i>Germany</i>	<i>16,428.3</i>	<i>19.3</i>	<i>5</i>
6	Hong Kong	10,741.3	14.0	6
7	Malaysia	9,296	49.8	8
8	Russia	8,406.8	5.6	7
9	Singapore	7,052.4	37.5	10
10	Australia	5,850.2	7.8	9

Source: P.R.China General Administration of Customs, China's Customs Statistics, 2004

Since the 21<sup>st</sup> century the German government has strongly supported the relationship between the two countries. Many important contracts signed. One of them was the contract signed in 2000: Germany as the first EU country allowing Chinese travel agencies in China to organize group Chinese to travel to Germany<sup>199</sup>. Additionally there is an increase of Chinese travel agencies in Germany to serve for Chinese to travel to Germany and to other European countries (cf. Chapter 5 & 6). The author estimates that there are around 20 Chinese travel service agencies in Germany after consulting with the Chinese Consulate in Hamburg and the embassy in Berlin.<sup>200</sup> Furthermore 200 officially authorized Chinese agencies in China can organize Chinese groups to travel to Germany since the year of 2000 (Chinese Tourist Bureau, Beijing,

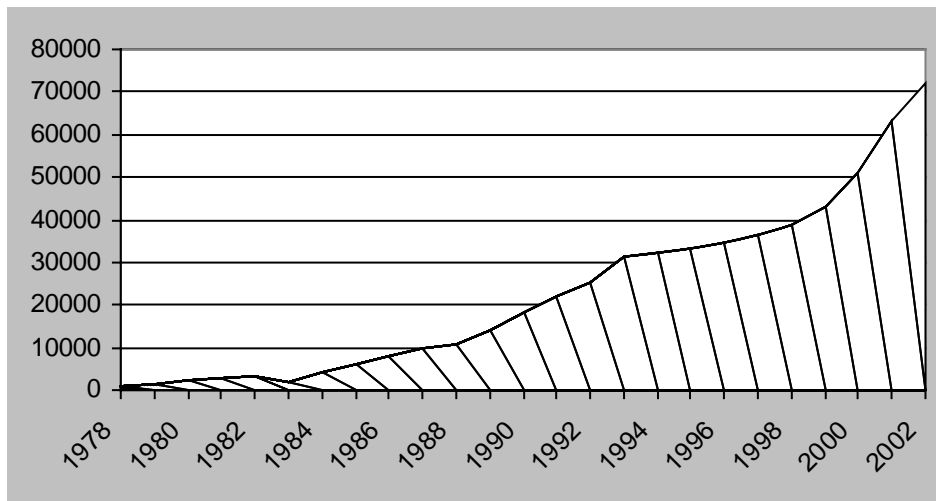
<sup>199</sup> In 2003 China further signed the group travel with other EU countries. In September 2004, the Chinese group travel to EU countries started their trips from 10 to 12 days with around 500 Chinese in total as the first round of the Chinese travelers organized by different travel agencies, which legislated as contract by EU countries. Different countries issued the visa to the Chinese required the travel agencies to send their travel group first in their country, thus the battle for the first destination country is important for different countries to attract the Chinese tourists.

<sup>200</sup> It is estimated from the fieldwork that only in Hamburg there are seven service agencies, which include three big shareholding travel agencies: Caissa, Dehua, and Panda (Since 2002 it has moved to Hanover.). There are also four private- solo-owned company ownership travel agencies in Hamburg. Berlin held a top number of Chinese tourists before 2003 and more than three fourth of the Chinese tourists also visited Frankfurt, Munich and Stuttgart besides Hamburg.

April 2004). The traveling provides a chance for Chinese not only to know the Germans and Germany, but also provides for further contact such as choosing Germany as the destination country to do business or to send the children to study in Germany. The most important outcome from the Chinese who once traveled to Germany is that they would like to go back to the country again (Chinese Scholars Abroad, 2002)<sup>201</sup>.

From Figure 2 below we can easily find out policies between China and Germany affect the increase of the inflow number of Chinese exceedingly in different periods. From 1978 to 2002 the number of the Chinese increased seven folds based on the both countries cooperative efforts to improve the relationship in politics, economy and cultural exchanges, including travel programs.

**Figure 4.2. Chinese in Germany, from 1978 (after the Open Policy) to 2002**



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office, 2004)<sup>202</sup>

Though many Chinese now hope to travel, to study or to do businesses in Germany, the group of Chinese (72,094)<sup>203</sup> compared to all foreigners in Germany (7,335,592)<sup>204</sup> is still very small in 2002, it holds 0.98 percent, not reach to 1 percent of total foreigners

<sup>201</sup> In my fieldwork, I also found that Chinese have more emotional tendency after they visited Germany or stayed in Germany for some time. Chinese newspaper 15 09 2004 Hua Shang Bao, reported that many Chinese parents wanted to travel to Germany, because they were investigating if Germany was good enough for their children to study when they wanted to send them to Germany in the future.

<sup>202</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>, 01 Oct. 2004. Migration Institute, Washington.

<sup>203</sup> See Nt. 2.

<sup>204</sup> See Nt. 2.

in Germany. Moreover Chinese in Germany are mostly from the first generation and hold short-term stay visas.

## 4.2. Different Categories of Chinese in Germany

From 1978 to 2002, though the number of the Chinese increased in Germany, from different types of the visa issued to the Chinese population (Aufenthaltsgenehmigung, the visa type to stay officially), we find that the majority Chinese do not acquired the German citizenship. Table 7 below reveals that in 2002 Chinese reached to its top number 72,094. However, the acquisition of citizenship was 1,336; it means that it occupies 1.85 percent of the total Chinese population and 0.85 percent of the total acquisition of citizenship of foreigners in Germany. Comparing to the total foreign acquisition of citizenship in Germany, the average number of foreign acquisition of citizenship reached 229,138 from 1995 to 2002. Nonetheless, the average number of the Chinese who acquired the citizenship was 912 from 1995 to 2002, i.e., holding out 0.3981 percent, not arriving to 0.4 percent in total average number of foreign acquisition of citizenship.

**Table 4.7. The acquisition of citizenship of Chinese in Germany from 1995 to 2002**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Inflow to Germany	5,530	6,264	7,450	7,888	10,913	14,676	19,109	18,463
Chinese acquisition of citizenship	515	602	510	667	644	1,467	1,556	1,336
Acquisition of citizenship, total of the foreigners in Germany (in thousands)	313.6	302.8	271.8	283.6	242.0	186.7	178.1	154.5
Total number	33,172	34,621	36,723	38,726	42,925	50,885	63,111	72,094 <sup>205</sup>

Source: [Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2004](#)<sup>206</sup>

Taking an example of 2001 on different types of visa holders of Chinese in Germany, Table 8 below indicates that only 10 percent of the approximately 63,111 Chinese in Germany had a permanent residence permit (Aufenthaltserlaubnis<sup>207</sup> or

<sup>205</sup> Among 72,094 there are 3,209 born in Germany.

<sup>206</sup> [http://www.destatis.de/allg/d/impr/d\\_impr.htm](http://www.destatis.de/allg/d/impr/d_impr.htm), 27, Sept., 2004

<sup>207</sup> Die *Aufenthaltserlaubnis* wird dem System der Aufenthaltsverfestigung nach zunächst zweckgebunden und befristet erteilt. Bei dem Erreichen von bestimmten Integrationsleistungen wird die Aufenthaltserlaubnis nach den Vorschriften der §§ 24 - 26 AuslG unbefristet verlängert. Ausländer, die rechtskräftig als Asylberechtigte anerkannt sind und Kontingentflüchtlinge erhalten sogleich nach der Einreise (Feststellung) eine unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis (§§ 68 AsylVfG, § 1 III HumHAG) *Aufenthaltserlaubnis (the residence permit after as lon*

Aufenthaltsberechtigung<sup>208</sup>, 5,452 and 1,020 cases, respectively) compared to 38 percent of all foreign nationals in Germany. The top number of Chinese who obtained the acquisition of citizenship in the history was in 2001, but only reached to 1,556; it occupies only 0.88 percent in acquisition of citizenship of total foreigners in Germany, not reach 1%. Only 2.50 percent of total Chinese in 2001 held German passports. The largest proportion of Chinese living in Germany – more than 17,000 in 2001 - held a temporary residence status with designated purpose of stay attached to it (Aufenthaltsbewilligung<sup>209</sup>). Almost 2,000 (1,951) have qualified for the status of de facto refugees (Aufenthaltsbefugnis), and 2,860 were granted temporary stay (Duldung) until voluntary departure or forced repatriation became possible. 2,665 Chinese nationals who had applied for political asylum in Germany were still awaiting a decision either by the responsible authorities, or from German courts (cf. Giese, 2003:159; Statistisches Bundesamt, German Federal Statistics Office, 2004<sup>210</sup>, Trends in International Migration, Rome: OECD; 2004 Migration Policy Institute<sup>211</sup>).

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*g as five years*) means that it may or may not be valid for a specific period of time. It is also not bound to a specific purpose. Some prerequisites for a resident permit include a stable income, appropriate accommodation or marriage. Usually, the residence permit is limited to one year, but it can be extended after that by two more years followed by another two. After holding a limited residence permit (*befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) for five years, it can be changed into an unlimited residence permit (*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) by the foreign registration office.

<sup>208</sup> Die *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* für Ausländer (§ 27 des deutschen Ausländergesetzes) ist zeitlich und räumlich unbeschränkt. Die *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* darf nicht mit Nebenbestimmungen versehen werden, außer mit Beschränkungen der politischen Betätigung (§ 37). Inhaber einer *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* haben die höchste Verfestigungsstufe des Aufenthalts erreicht. Inhaber der *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* verfügen über besonderen Schutz gegen Ausweisung. *Aufenthaltsberechtigung (residence permit after as long as five to eight years)* means that it may be valid for a specific period of time. Moreover it does not bound to a specific purpose to stay and it means that the holders can stay in Germany even if they have done something against the law in Germany, but the holders of the *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* must be sent back to the original country.

<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aufenthaltsgenehmigung>, 06 January, 05.

<sup>209</sup> Foreigners receive residence authorizations for a specific purpose and a specific length of time. Residence authorizations are granted to foreign students, guest scientists, business people, and seasonal workers or to people visiting family members. A residence authorization is granted for 2 years, but it can be extended as long as the purpose remains the same or has not been achieved

<sup>210</sup> German Federal Statistics Office, <http://www.facts-about-germany.de/804.0.html>, 26, Sept., 2004.

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>, 25 Sept, 2004.





**Table 4. 8. Chinese visa holders in different types in Germany, 2001**

TOTAL NUMBER	63,111
Number of asylum applications	1,532
Acquisition of citizenship	1,556
Acquisition of citizenship, total of the foreigners in Germany ( <i>in thousands</i> )	178.1
Aufenthaltserlaubnis	5452
Aufenthaltsberechtigung	1020
Aufenthaltsbewilligung	17,000
Aufenthaltsbefugnis	1,951
Duldung	2,860
Waiting for decision as an asylum seeker	2,665
Inflow to Germany in 2001	19,109

Source: [Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2004](#)<sup>212</sup>

#### 4.2.1. Chinese groups in Germany

Different Visa types held by the Chinese in Germany decide Chinese occupations and staying positions, and additionally decide different Chinese patterns in Germany.

In Wang's (1984) "Patterns of Chinese migration in historical perspective", he suggested four main patterns of the Chinese migrants around the world: a. The trader pattern, 华裔, hua shang. This refers to merchants and artisans, including miners and other skilled workers, who traveled around the country inside China and later to other parts of the world, having its basic roots as early as in Song Dynasty (907-1279). Some of them have established or once established large business or big enterprises in China or in other countries, particularly in Indonesia, Malaysia and in Singapore of countries in Southeast Asia.<sup>213</sup> b. The coolie pattern, 华工, hua gong. It derived from the migration of large numbers of coolie labor, normally men of peasant origins, landless labor and the urban poor, the unskilled workers. The best example is Chinese who built the American transcontinental railroad in the railway construction from the 1<sup>st</sup> of July

<sup>212</sup> [http://www.destatis.de/allg/d/impr/d\\_impr.htm](http://www.destatis.de/allg/d/impr/d_impr.htm), 27, Sept., 2004.

<sup>213</sup> Some of the Chinese from HongKong have established some influential businesses in Canada since the end of the last century as some rich people moved to invest in Canada fearing the stability in HongKong after 1997 (Water, 2001).

1862 to the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1869<sup>214</sup>. c. The sojourner pattern, 华侨, hua qiao. “It is quite different in nature from the terms for traders and coolies in that it is not descriptive of the occupations of migrants but refers broadly to all overseas Chinese” (1984: 36). d. The descent or re-migrant pattern, 华裔, hua yi. This pattern represents the foreign nationals of Chinese descent. They are different from hua qiao, the sojourner, temporarily resident abroad. They are these who would like to live permanently abroad, and they hold passports from the destination country.

Comparing to Wang’s pattern of Chinese migrants from a historical perspective in the world, there are two differences from Chinese patterns in Germany. Firstly the Chinese population in Germany has no definite pattern of Hua gong, 华工, as unskilled workers from the very beginning of the immigration history, and secondly there is no individual hua shang, 华商, who established very influential business or big enterprises (Wang, 1980). There were some small peddlers between the First and the Second World War. But they have never grown up to a big group or to be an influential group or to establish large enterprises in Germany like what they did in the Southeast Asia or even in England or in Italy (cf. Laczko, 2003) or in Canada (Water, 2001). The Chinese running restaurants and small shops are family business. There is a great change after the 1980s; particularly after 2003 China’s business and trade with Germany exceeded other countries of EU (cf. Table 3, 4 & 5 above). The import and export trade in Table 9 below shows that the first quarter of 2004 the Germany’s import from China comparing to that of 2003 has an absolute increase of 12,5 percent, and export to China has an absolute increase of 26,0 percent. Since 2003 Germany in EU has become the first largest investment nation in China<sup>215</sup>, also is China’s largest partner of the trade. China is the first Germany’s trade partner in Asia and the largest investment nation in EU. All have greatly enhanced the bilateral import and export trade between the two countries.

<sup>214</sup><http://www.google.de/search?q=cache:gcDVCfZuLMIJ:cpr.org/Museum/Chinese.html+american+continental+railway+construction+chinese&hl=de>

In his analysis, Wang (1984) concluded that the coolie pattern of the unskilled workers was almost stopped to migrate from China after 1850. This, however, can only mean the temporary stop. This pattern still exists in immigrated countries after 1978’s Open Policy, particularly from the irregular immigrants.

<sup>215</sup> [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2004-05/04/content\\_1453046.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2004-05/04/content_1453046.htm), 29 Oct. 2004. Berlin 3 May 2004, XinHua News: the following is what Wen noted when he visited Germany. Germany is China's largest trade partner in Europe while China is Germany's largest trade partner in Asia. Bilateral trade volume totaled 41.8 billion US dollars in 2003. The two countries should make joint efforts to double their bilateral trade by 2010.

**Table 4. 9**

Deutscher Aussenhandel mit Volksrep. China Germany's Foreign Trade with PR. China, 2004

DEUTSCHE IMPORTE/GERMANY IMPORT			
Jan. – Mar. 2004	Jan. – Mar. 2003	absolute	in %
6.658,	5.920,9	737,2	12,5
DEUTSCHE EXPORTE/GERMAN EXPORT			
Jan. - Mar. 2004	Jan. - Mar. 2003	absolute	in %
5.041, 6	4.002, 4	1.039,2	26,0

Quelle: Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden

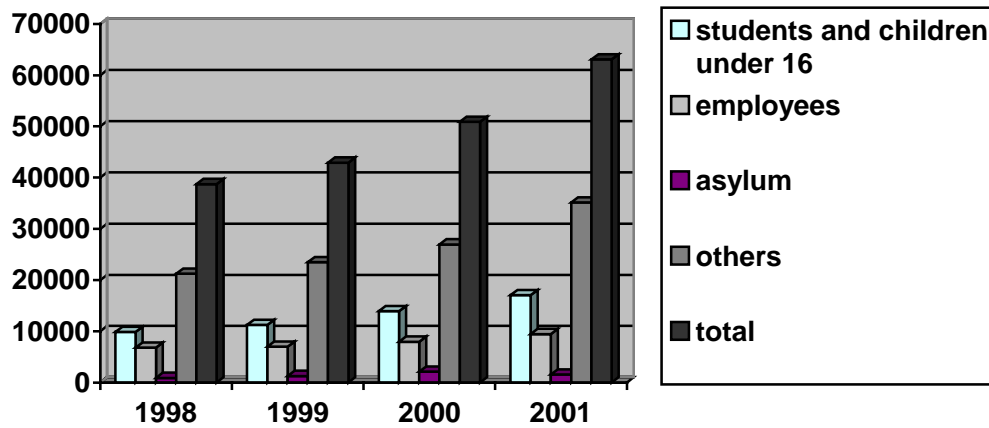
Source: Federal Statistic Office, Wiesbaden<sup>216</sup>

More Chinese are moving from China to Germany on business purpose and more business agencies have been established in Germany since the 1980s. Thirdly there is a large group of students studying in Germany, which have not been analyzed in Wang's pattern. "In sharp contrast to migrants from Poland or Turkey, Chinese have rarely worked in German steel mills or coal mines. Most ended up in the service sector, in education, and in trade. In recent years some have made their way into science" (Güttinger, 1998: 197). Chinese overseas in Germany gradually form their special pattern during their migration history from 1792 up to 2002.

Figure 3 below shows four groups of Chinese in Germany, which can be defined as employees, students/pupils, owners/workers of the restaurants or of the shops, and academic group. Among different categories, the pattern of Chinese students including Post-doctorates occupies the top number; the employees (working either in German owned companies or in Chinese owned companies or in restaurants), holds the second number; the restaurant owners and employees takes the third; the fourth is the academic group. Others left in many different small groups, including different types such as tourists or other short time visits or stays or asylum seekers of these irregular immigrants.

<sup>216</sup>[http://www.google.de/search?q=cache:ozPol3sVmmEJ:www.oav.de/content/aktuell/background/aussenhandel\\_jan\\_juni\\_2004.pdf+Deutscher+Aussenhandel+mit+Volksrep.+China&hl=de](http://www.google.de/search?q=cache:ozPol3sVmmEJ:www.oav.de/content/aktuell/background/aussenhandel_jan_juni_2004.pdf+Deutscher+Aussenhandel+mit+Volksrep.+China&hl=de), 23 Sept., 2004.

**Figure 3. The bar chart of the Chinese in Germany in different categories**



Source: The figure is adopted from Giese, 2003:165

#### 4.2.2. The Students/pupils group

These dispatched to study by the government and financed by themselves to come to Germany form the Student Group. There are four development phases according to the change of different governments with their different systems in China and Germany. The early contact period between the two countries is Qing dynasty (1644-1911) in China and the Prussia government in Germany. The second period is from 1911 to 1949, China's Republic government with the Germany's period between the First and the Second World War. And the third period is from 1949 to 1974, which can be split into two periods: from 1974 to 1978 and from 1978 to 2003.

The Student Group in Germany was developed as early as in the Qing dynasty (1614-1911). The government sent the first group of Chinese students to study in order to "strengthen the nation" (Harnisch, 1999: 48). In 1876 four students were selected from the government officials after Li Hong-Zhang visited Germany. Students returned to China after their duty to learn the new technology in Germany as military students in Berlin (Harnisch, 1999 & Stoecker, 1958). Since then students had been sent either by the government or had come by themselves successively till the Second World War. In 1978, after the "Open Door Policy" was taken, the Chinese government allowed self-financed students to study abroad. However, students were arranged to Germany earlier than other countries, it was in 1974 that the Chinese government restarted to organize and support the government officials to study in Germany. Ever since the 1980s, the

relationship in education between the two countries has been deeply improved. The number of Chinese students has been increased dramatically. It grows faster than any other groups of the Chinese in Germany as Table 10 shows below. Comparing to 1998, in 2001 employees/workers increased 38 percent; asylum seekers, 76 percent; children under 16, increased 12 percent; but students increased 125 percent.

**Table 4. 10.**

**Chinese Populations of different groups in Germany from 1998 to 2002**

CATEGORY	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	GROWTH FROM 1998 TO 2001, %
Students	5,355	6,526	9,109	12,000	13,000	125
Employees/Workers	6,760	6,958	7,944	9,432	--	38
Asylum seekers	869	1,236	2,072	1,532	1,625	76
Children under 16	4,500	4,700	4,800	5,040	--	12
Others	21,236	23,505	26,960	35,108	--	64
Total	38,726	42,925	50,885	63,111	72,094	61

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 31. 12. 2002 (Federal Statistical Office)<sup>217</sup> & Giese, 2003:165

My data ends in 2002, as different statistics data from Germany and China show different number of Chinese students in 2003, e.g., the Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK), 28 November 2003<sup>218</sup> stated that around 20,000 Chinese students are currently enrolled at German higher education institutions. Ministry of Foreign Affairs in China, 22 October 2003 stated that “there are about 30,000 Chinese students of various faculties studying in Germany”<sup>219</sup>. DAAD when introduce China Education Expo 2004

<sup>217</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>, 05 Aug. 2004.

<sup>218</sup> 28 November 2003 - *Chinese and German rectors in favor of cooperating in quality assurance*, from the Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK), the voluntary association of state and state-recognized universities and other higher education institutions in Germany, <http://www.hrk.de/e/825.htm>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, Aug. 2004.

<sup>219</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjzb/zzjg/xos/gjlb/3296/default.htm>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, Aug. 2004. Bilateral Relations, 10/22 2003.

stated that there are “more than 14,000 Chinese citizens studying and researching already in Germany”<sup>220</sup>.

Since most Chinese students have learned English, not German in schools and universities/colleges, but they still want to study in Germany. Many German higher education institutions devised new international courses. In total there are more than 1,800 new courses opened till 2002 culminating in Bachelor’s or Master’s degrees, most of them are in English or bilingual courses in both English and German languages<sup>221</sup>. Between 1993 and 2002, the number of new foreign students at higher education institutions in Germany almost doubled, rising from 35,000 to 68,000. Chinese students in 1993 was no more than 500, holding no more than one percent in new foreign students in Germany, increased to 13,000 in 2002, the number grows more than ten times and holds 29 percent.

Since 2002 China has become the world’s largest students export country. Since 2002, the universities of the United States have held the first rank of Chinese students in the world; there were 66,000 Chinese students registered in 2002 in American higher educational institutions, comparing to Great Britain 18,000; Germany 12,000; the US holds the biggest number<sup>222</sup>. In April 2002, China and Germany signed the “Agreement on Mutual Acknowledgement of Equivalence of Higher Education”. There are 340 university partnerships established, which make China the largest cooperation partner in Asia of German higher education institutions. Germany is also one of the biggest partners in cooperation of professional education with China<sup>223</sup>.

As the biggest student export nations for Germany, in 2002, 13,000 (80% from self-financed)<sup>224</sup> Chinese students deposited at least 72.4 million Euros in German Banks for issuing the visa to Germany. To study in Germany every Chinese self-financed student is required to show at least 6,000 Euro in his or her fixed account in

<sup>220</sup> <http://www.studieren-in-deutschland.de/german/5.354.1177.html>, 3 Nov. 2004. Dr. Liu, Jing-Hui, Leader of Educational Department in China Embassy, Berlin, indicated that: “China since 2001 has been the top number of students sending country, besides China is also at the top number of obtaining different degrees in higher education in Germany.” 30 Oct, 2004.

<sup>221</sup> Facts about Germany, Federal foreign Office, [http://www.facts-about-germany.de/522.0.html?&no\\_cache=1&sword\\_list\[\]=foreigner](http://www.facts-about-germany.de/522.0.html?&no_cache=1&sword_list[]=foreigner), 26 Sept. 2004.

<sup>222</sup> Australia was not the top imported country for foreign students before 2003; its wool product originally ranked first in its revenue, from last year its revenue value of import students has passed over it. The total number of international students in Australia at April 2004 was 237,235, an increase of 7.7 per cent over the previous year. The Education Australia, International Development Program (IDP) stated that students come from USA, Europe and Asia, mainly from England, India, China to study in Australia, which ranked third behind the large, populous United States and Britain. <http://students.idp.com/english/aboutaustralia/default.asp>, 01 Oct. 2004, Education Australia (IDP).

<sup>223</sup> See Nt. 2.

<sup>224</sup> The Ministry of Education, P.R.China, 01. 12. 05.

Deutsche Bank. This excludes the fee for intermediary organizations for helping them to come to Germany (from around 1,500 to 7,000 Euro)<sup>225</sup>, the travel ticket and the living cost for four to six years studying in Germany. Even it is ten times expensive to send and support their children to study in Germany, Chinese parents still want to do that. It can be forecasted that the Student Group will continue to grow with the development of China's economy and the influence from China's traditional culture (cf. the detailed analysis Chapter 5).

### 4.2.3. Business Group

Chinese who work either in Chinese or German companies in Germany forms the business group. The number in this group has kept increasing after the formal relationship was established in 1972. This group is greatly influenced by the relationship of the politics, the business and the trade between the two countries.

As early as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Qing Dynasty (1614-1911), China started trade with Germany, but centered on strategic goods and war material because of Germany's military renown from 1871 and China's need for a modern army (Stoecker, 1958). Since 1972, Germany has gradually become the China's largest economic and trade partner in Europe, the bilateral trade volume jumped to US\$27.8 billion in 2002 from US\$273 million in 1972. In between January-April 2003, the bilateral trade volume reached US\$11.95 billion, an increase of 50.5%, in which its import from Germany accounted for US\$6.98 billion, an increase of 46.7%, whereas its export came to as high as US\$497 million, an increase of 56.1%. The main products imported from Germany to China are electromechanical equipment, vehicles, ships, transportation equipment, chemicals, optical instruments and medical instruments. The main products exported to Germany are electrical equipment, mechanical equipment, textile raw materials and goods, chemical products and toys.

More Chinese are establishing new privately invested companies, besides Chinese State-Owned Enterprises opened more agencies and branches in Germany. In 2002, one of the larger Chinese shareholder companies, *TCL*<sup>226</sup>, producing CD, Television, mobile phone, air-conditioner and other electronic products, acquired *Schneider GmbH* in

<sup>225</sup> The great number of Chinese students paying for intermediary companies to help them emigrate to study in Germany is 120,000 Euro (Fieldwork note, January 2000, Nt. No. 203).

<sup>226</sup> <http://www.tcl.com/english/group/brief.jsp>, TCL, an enterprise with annual sales exceeded 30 billion in 2003, holds 40,000 employees in China and around the world. Annual production of TV 7 million and mobile phone 4 million.



Bavaria. The investment from Chinese enterprises in Germany is seeing growth with the development of China's economy; more Chinese companies are seeking for investment in other countries. Germany can be one of the countries expected to be chosen because the well-developed relationship as social capital for more than 30 years, which will help the further contact. Moreover the development history between China and Germany has no war shadow<sup>227</sup> and at the moment both have no radical competition, however, cooperation. Up to 2004, China's big banks such as Bank of China, China Industrial and Commercial Bank, and China Construction Bank, all have set up their branches in Germany. It is reported that there are 600 Chinese enterprises invested in Germany<sup>228</sup>.

#### 4.2.4. Catering Group

There is a different workers 'group of Chinese from Turkish, Italian or Greece workers' group such as the 'Gastarbeiter' to work in Germany with contracts. Most of the Chinese are in the catering business<sup>229</sup> that is established over thousands of Chinese restaurants<sup>230</sup> in Germany in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. About one third of the Chinese in catering business is meanwhile owners of restaurants and is self-employed. They hire chefs from China. Generally there are two to four workers working in the restaurant including the owner. There are three basic reasons of so many Chinese restaurants in Germany. The first is that Chinese restaurants are self-employed small enterprise; they can support themselves. The second is that they can in the meantime hire other workers and particularly after 2002, they are required by the Labor Office in Germany to hire at least one worker from non-Chinese citizens in Germany<sup>231</sup>, which can increase the chances of employment for the German labor market. The third is that Chinese food can be exotic special, but tastes good to most of the Germans, as many Chinese restaurants have conservatively changed Chinese flavor of their food to cater to local ones.

#### 4.2.5. Academic Group

<sup>227</sup> China and Japan, e.g., have heavy, burdensome and unsettling war shadow for the development of the relationship between the two countries.

<sup>228</sup> <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/wjb/zwjg/zwbd/t160498.htm>. 2004/09/23, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China.

<sup>229</sup> It is hard to have definite numbers of the Chinese restaurants, since some of them have been out of the market, but the new restaurants will be in the market soon. At the beginning of the early 1990s, there was a boom of the Chinese catering business. Since the 21<sup>st</sup> century it has been saturated in Germany in most of the cities, according to the addresses found in Telephone book in 2003, there are 1881 Chinese restaurants, this does not include the restaurants in small cities whose addresses I cannot reach.

<sup>230</sup> It is estimated by me from the numbers of the Chinese restaurants in big cities in Germany.

There are growing numbers of the Chinese who are working in academic areas either in a short term or in a long term. These Chinese includes these post doctorates, researchers and professors. Most post doctorates are working the natural sciences. There were 158 post doctorates supported by Humboldt foundation, among them 111 are in natural sciences, 39 in engineering, only 8 in social sciences that holds 5.1% of the total numbers.<sup>232</sup> Same is the situation of other foundations, such as DAAD that also supports jointly with Chinese Natural Scientific Foundation to more programs on natural sciences than other fields<sup>233</sup>.

#### **4.2.6. Others of tourists, short time visitors and irregular immigrants**

On the 2nd July 2002, “Understanding Memorandum on Implementation of Touring to Germany by Groups of Chinese Citizens” was signed between China and Germany. Since then the number of Chinese tourist groups organized by the Chinese tourist agencies has been increased, the number of Chinese tourists already ranks the third biggest group in 2003 in Germany (Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus, DZT)<sup>234</sup>. The number of Chinese tourists expects to overpass the two countries, USA and Japan within a few years. The simple reason is that China holds one-fourth population of the world, if 10% of rich persons in the population of China can afford and would like to visit Germany as tourists, it will be the biggest number of tourists comparing with any other countries in the world, and the number will be as great as 130 million populations<sup>235</sup>.

These who come from irregular channels and who overstay their regular period issued in their visa form the irregular immigrants. Some of the Chinese are through some smugglers or other irregular ways to migrate to Germany and some of them are through formal ways to be allowed to come to Germany in a fixed time, but they overstay the time they are allowed and also become irregular immigrants. Irregular

<sup>231</sup> Interview from the Chairman, the Association of the Chinese Restaurants in Germany, May, 2002.

<sup>232</sup> [http://www.avh.de/en/stiftung/zahlen/pic/leporello\\_2003.pdf](http://www.avh.de/en/stiftung/zahlen/pic/leporello_2003.pdf), 12. 11 04.

<sup>233</sup> [http://www.daad.org.cn/China\\_Info.htm](http://www.daad.org.cn/China_Info.htm), 02, 12 04.

<sup>234</sup> [http://www.chinapur.de/html/chinesen\\_bln\\_20034.html](http://www.chinapur.de/html/chinesen_bln_20034.html) 03. Oct. 2004; Deutschen Zentrale fuer Tourismus (DZT), more than 600.000 Chinese stay overnight in hotels in Deutschland in 2003.

<sup>235</sup> For this group of Chinese there will be very little worries about their becoming irregular immigrants. Rich persons in China have relative high positions. They earn higher income and lead a moderate life. It will be hard for them to give up all of their symbolic capital in China and become irregular immigrants in Germany.

immigrants from China will still be the trend in the migration pattern in Germany as the gap between the poor and the rich is still enlarged in China.

Before 1983 there is no official statistic data to indicate officially Chinese asylum seekers in Germany, but in 1984 there were only 23 asylum seekers. Table 11 below indicates that from the first great surge of Chinese asylum seekers in 1993, Chinese asylum seekers increased 191 times, the total asylum seekers increased around ten times from 1984 to 1993 before the 1993 Act was applied in 1994<sup>236</sup>. In the year following the introduction of these measures in 1994, asylum applications to Germany fell by 66%<sup>237</sup>, Chinese asylum seekers fell by 14 %.

**Table 4. 11.Chinese Asylum Seekers in Germany from 1980 to 2001**

Year	1 <sup>st</sup> Application of Asylum seekers	Total 1st Application of Asylum seekers in Germany	Year	1 <sup>st</sup> Application of Asylum seekers	Total First Application of Asylum seekers in Germany
1983	--		1994	628	127,210
1984	23	35,278	1995	890	166,951
1985	28	73,832	1996	1,370	149,157
1986	51	99,649	1997	1,843	151,700
1987	89	57,379	1998	869	98,644
1988	86	103,076	1999	1,236	95,113
1989	209	121,318	2000	2,072	78,564
1990	574	193,063	2001	1,532	88,287
1991	784	256,112	2002	1,625	71,127
1992	2,564	438,191	2003	2,387 <sup>238</sup>	50,563
1993	4,396	322,614	2004 (JAN-AUG)	853	24,501

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office, 2004)<sup>239</sup>

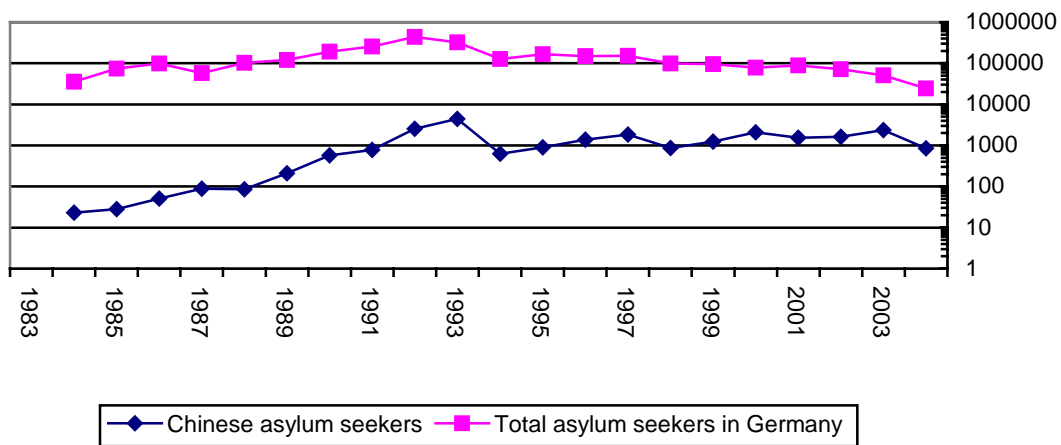
<sup>236</sup>The German constitution was amended to limit the right to asylum. Under the new system, individuals who arrive by land and travel through a 'safe third country' can be refused entry, and returned immediately to that country if it is willing to receive them. There is a system of 'non-suspensive appeals', so individuals can be removed despite a legal challenge. The effect is that all asylum seekers arriving by land are excluded from refugee status, as they must have arrived via an EU country or another country deemed by Germany to be safe. The German government also maintains a list of 'safe countries of origin'; asylum seekers from these countries are subject to an accelerated procedure and are liable to rapid removal.

<sup>237</sup> JUSTICE, Asylum: changing policy and practice in the UK, EU and selected countries (2002), pp. 93-94. "It will be noted that Germany ... —in its case in the early 1990s—of a dramatic surge in the number of asylum applications. This surge appears to have been caused by a combination of factors including the end of the Cold War, the conflict in the Balkans, historic links with Turkish 'guest-workers' and the fact that Germany shares a land border with nine other countries. Germany responded to the surge by taking restrictive measures".

<sup>238</sup> "Neu unter den Top 10 der Herkunftsstaaten war China, dass mit einer Steigerung von 37,3 Prozent (+649 Antragsteller) im Jahr 2003 Rang 5 belegte". [http://www.bafl.de/template/index\\_asylstatistik\\_herkunftslander.htm](http://www.bafl.de/template/index_asylstatistik_herkunftslander.htm), 3 Nov. 2004, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge. "New top 10 original country includes China, which increase 37,3 percent (+649 applicators) in 2003, rank No. 5". The author translates the German language into the English language.

As Figure 4 below shows that two lines on Chinese asylum seekers and total asylum seekers in Germany indicate relative same growth and fall in general. But investigating in details the number of Chinese asylum seekers in Germany and the total number of asylum seekers after 1999 up to 2003, the difference is distinctive in Figure 5 below.

**Figure 4. Comparison of Chinese Asylum Seekers and Total Asylum seekers in Germany from 1983 to 2004(Jan-Aug)**



Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge<sup>240</sup>

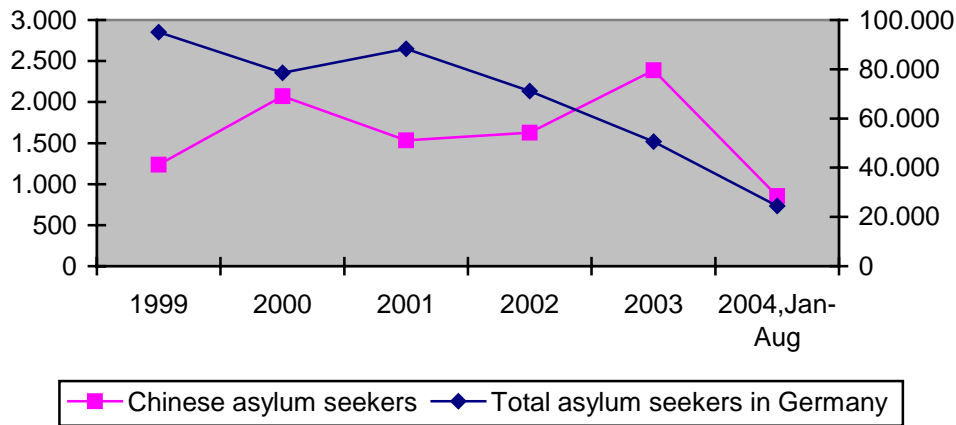
After making a separate data analysis from 1999 to 2004 (Figure 5), it can be found out there is the growing of Chinese asylum seekers in spite of the falling of total asylum seekers in 2000. Additionally in this year top ten original countries of asylum seekers include China, which ranked in No. 10. In 2003 the number of Chinese asylum seekers grew, it overpassed the total asylum seekers, rose again in top ten original country and ranked in No. 5. However, it has been falling down since 2004 (January-August)<sup>241</sup>. The great increase in 2003 can be concluded that the disease, SARS, pushed some Chinese to seek for asylum positions in Germany in this special year.

<sup>239</sup> [http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm&http://www.bafl.de/template/index\\_asylstatistik\\_herkunftslaender.htm](http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm&http://www.bafl.de/template/index_asylstatistik_herkunftslaender.htm) 26, Oct. 2004

<sup>240</sup> [http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm&http://www.bafl.de/template/index\\_asylstatistik\\_herkunftslaender.htm](http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm&http://www.bafl.de/template/index_asylstatistik_herkunftslaender.htm) 26, Oct. 2004

<sup>241</sup> [http://www.bafl.de/template/asylstatistik/anlagen/torte\\_2004\\_08\\_monat.pdf](http://www.bafl.de/template/asylstatistik/anlagen/torte_2004_08_monat.pdf) and [http://www.bafl.de/template/asylstatistik/content\\_herkunftsland\\_tabelle\\_25\\_2002.htm](http://www.bafl.de/template/asylstatistik/content_herkunftsland_tabelle_25_2002.htm) 3 Nov. 2004.

**Figure 5. Chinese Asylum Seekers and Total Asylum Seekers in Germany,  
A Comparison from 1999 to 2004**



Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge<sup>242</sup>

There are two fundamental reasons of irregular immigrants from China. from old areas with migration background in the history, such as in Fujian, Zhejiang, Guangdong will continue to look for chances to move (cf. Pieke, 1998). Since they have better social capital in connecting with Germany, they will keep on moving into Germany by different means. The other relatively developed rural parts of China will also be sources for irregular migrants.<sup>243</sup>

Nevertheless, the total number of Chinese asylum seekers is very small comparing to the large number of asylum seekers from other countries in Germany. For example in 1998, there were only 869 Chinese asylum seekers comparing to the total of 98,644, and in 2001, it only reached to 1532. The top number of Chinese asylum seekers in the history only reached to 4,396 in 1993, the other higher numbers of Chinese asylum seekers do not overpass 3000: 2,564 in 1992 2,072 in 2000, holding 2.64 percent in total asylum seekers; 2,387 in 2003, holding 4.72 percent in total asylum seekers. It is also the smallest group of Chinese comparing to other Chinese groups in Germany. “In the first half of 2002, less than 7 percent of Chinese asylum seekers in Germany were

<sup>242</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>&[http://www.bafli.de/temp/late/index\\_asylstatistik\\_herkunftslaender.htm](http://www.bafli.de/temp/late/index_asylstatistik_herkunftslaender.htm) 26, Oct. 2004

<sup>243</sup> Though the Chinese government has paid strong efforts to eliminate snakeheads, but it is hard in the near future to root them out as there are enough suppliers who want to pay snakeheads and thus directly support their existence.

granted asylum” (Laczko, 2002)<sup>244</sup>. The special characteristic of Chinese asylum seekers is that most of them are from the group of irregular immigrants or the stateless or illegal immigrants, but not from political refugee seekers (cf. Giese, 2003).

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<sup>244</sup> “Europe Attracts More Migrants from China”, Frank Laczko, International Organization for Migration,  
<http://www.google.de/search?q=cache:bor3mN08nSsJ:www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm%3FID%3D144+Chinese+asylum+applications+in+germany&hl=de>.

### 4.3. Chinese in Hamburg

The sample to testify the theoretical hypothesis was chosen from the Chinese population in Hamburg. It is on one hand because Hamburg and China have preceded longer history with well-developed relations, on the other hand because I am one of the sample in living and studying in Hamburg. Furthermore, Hamburg is one of the three most condensed cities with Chinese populations in Germany and is in the highest increase proportion among other areas in Germany. In Table 12 below, it shows that in 1890 Hamburg (22), however, was the fewest condensed city with Chinese among three state cities. However some one hundred years later in 2001, though Berlin still held 1,676 more Chinese than Hamburg did, Hamburg, growing 191 fold from 1890 to 2001, 48 times more than Berlin and 154 times more than Bremen, the top increasing number among three.

**Table 4. 12**

**Chinese population in Hamburg, Berlin and Bremen, 1890, comparing to 2001**

<i>THREE STATE CITIES</i>	<i>CHINESE POPULATION IN</i>		<i>GROWTH IN FOLD</i>
	<i>1890</i>	<i>2001</i>	
Berlin	<i>41</i>	<i>5,887</i>	<i>143</i>
Bremen	<i>30</i>	<i>1,117</i>	<i>37</i>
Hamburg	<i>22</i>	<i>4,211<sup>245</sup></i>	<i>191</i>

Data sources: Giese, 2003:161; Guetinger, 1998: 200

Comparing to the total population in three state cities in table 13 below, Chinese population held 0.25 percent in total population in Hamburg, 0.08 percent more than in Berlin and 0.23 percent more than in Bremen. Comparing to the foreigners' percentage in three state cities the Chinese in Hamburg held 1.66 percent, 0.36 percent more than Berlin; 1.50 percent more than Bremen. The reason of the highest development of Chinese population in Hamburg is because of its important port city as the door to European countries. It connects the west to the east; more Chinese arrive to do business in Hamburg and it finally becomes the largest investment places for Chinese at the 21<sup>st</sup>

century (cf. Table 14 below). Moreover with more Chinese businessmen arrived in Hamburg, their families accompanied to come, more children arrive to study in Hamburg after more social capital is invested and transformed.

**Table 13. Chinese population in Hamburg, Berlin and Bremen comparing to other foreigners in Germany, 2001**

STATE CITIES	POPULATION IN TOTAL	FOREIGNERS IN TOTAL	FOREIGNERS IN TOTAL POPULATION %	CHINESE	CHINESE IN TOTAL POPULATION %	CHINESE IN TOTAL FOREIGNERS %
Berlin	3.388.434	440.777	13,0	5,887	0.17	1.30
Bremen	659.651	80.097	12,1	1,117	0.02	0.16
<i>Hamburg</i>	<i>1.726.363</i>	<i>261.108</i>	<i>15.1</i>	<i>4,211</i>	<i>0.25</i>	<i>1.66</i>

Source: Beauftragte der Bundesregierung fuer Migration, Fluechtlinge und Integration Daten & Fakten<sup>246</sup>, 26, Sept. 2004; Giese, 2003:161 & Guetinger, 1998: 200

#### 4.3.1. Brief history of the Chinese in Hamburg

In 1792 the earliest Chinese chose Hamburg as the first place to arrive in Germany (Eberstein, 1988) because of its port city. This transportation contact by ship from China to Germany continued at times. But at the 18<sup>th</sup> century we cannot find a large number of Chinese who want to migrate to Hamburg as a permanent residence. It was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that some of the Chinese settled down in Hamburg, who lived relatively intensively in St. Pauli and Landungsbruecken after directly coming from the ship, running small shops and laundry (Eberstein, 1988). Later some of them did catering business near Landungsbruecken. Therefore some called this area a small China Town (Eberstein, 1988: 266). Nonetheless, it is so small that it cannot be recognized even as a Chinese street, such as the one in Amsterdam, Holland now. If we track back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century of the Chinese in Hamburg and run up to now, there are four periods of Chinese migrating to Hamburg.

<sup>245</sup> The number is drawn from Giese, 2003:161, which is different from the number I obtain from Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, January 2004, Sept 2004, see Table 14.

<sup>246</sup> 26, Sept., 2004: <http://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/gra/daten/daten.php>, <http://www.learn-line.nrw.de/angebote/agenda21/daten/bevolk.htm> &



*1800-1900*

From 1800 to 1900, the working class pattern of the Chinese group in Hamburg was developed. During this period, Chinese who stayed in Hamburg were sailors, owners and workers who ran small shops, additionally owners and employees of the restaurants. There were few other groups, such as students, skilled workers or even workers working in the factories.

*1900-1949*

From 1900 to 1949, other patterns of Chinese were developed. Among them students and businessmen were particularly included. In 1911 China threw away the last Emperor of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the western culture was gradually accepted by Chinese scholars and politicians<sup>247</sup> (An & Zhou, 2001; Harnisch, 1999 & Wang, 1992). More Chinese intended to study abroad in order to learn from other western countries to strengthen the nation of China (Stoecker, 1958). One of the famous students during that time registered in Hamburg university was Cheng-Zhi Liao (cf. Eberstein, 1988), who was the leader in the branch of the Chinese Communist Party in Hamburg and after 1949 became vice Prime Minister and in charge of Foreign Affairs in China. Chen XingSheng (1911-2004), a very famous Chinese American professor in the Mathematics Institute of Princeton University and NanKai University in China. He won several world-known mathematics prizes and got his PhD in Mathematics Department of Hamburg University.

*1949-1972*

From 1949 to 1972 China mainly kept business contact with Hamburg, such as COSCO, (China of Shipping Company, the biggest Chinese shipping co.), running its business between Hamburg and China. After the formal political relationship was established in 1972 between China and Germany, other aspects of the contact have been gradually established; however the actual development started later in 1978.

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<http://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/download/datentab12.pdf>, Auslaenderbevoelkerung am 31. Dezember 2001 nach Bundesländern.

<sup>247</sup><http://www.google.de/search?hl=de&q=%E8%A5%BF%E5%AD%A6%E4%B8%9C&meta=> and <http://www.china.org.cn/chinese/ch-yuwai/216313.htm> 20 Oct. 2004. The two websites are in Chinese language on Chinese students studying abroad from the late Qing Dynasty up to now, the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*1972-up to now (2004)*

In 1978 China sent the first government delegation to Hamburg to establish the relationship of the corporation in economy and scientific technology led by the president of the Chinese Academy of Science, Fang Yi. He established the early contact of Desy (Deutsche Electronic Synchrony) in Hamburg, the biggest laboratory in Germany, with China Academy of Science. In 1980, Shanghai and Hamburg established partner cities<sup>248</sup>. However in 1986 one important event took place in the history of the development of Hamburg and China, which caused great influence on today's business and development and dealings. The Ministry of Foreign Trade sent one Chinese delegation to initiate to establish Chinese import and export business branches and officers in Hamburg. Li DeHua, carrying the official letter from China's vice Foreign Trade Minister to the first Mayor of Hamburg, started to build up the bridge between China and Germany on import and export businesses. Meanwhile this contact also set up China's business door to other European countries. This first step of the government business connections started the fundamental contact in Hamburg on one side, and on the other side it offers chances for Chinese to move from China to Germany by working in agencies. Some of them later invested and established their own businesses in Hamburg, where has developed up to now the largest number of the Chinese private investment. "Hamburg ist das China-Zentrum Europas: 300 chinesische Unternehmen haben hier ihren Sitz - und staendig werden es mehr. Die vielfaeltigen Beziehungen zwischen Hamburg und China in Wirtschaft, Kultur und Gesellschaft werden auch in Zukunft weiter vertieft"---Hamburg is the European Center for China: 300 Chinese enterprises sit in Hamburg – and more will be coming. The different relationships between Hamburg and China in economic, cultural and social level will also in the future be strengthened (Hamburgs Erster Buergermeister, Ole von Beust, China Aktuell 26.09.2003)<sup>249</sup>. There are 320 Chinese firm headquarters in Hamburg on the first half-year in 2004<sup>250</sup> (cf. Table 15). Besides these private companies, there are also State

<sup>248</sup> "Seit fast 20 Jahren verbindet Hamburg eine erfolgreiche Staedtepartnerschaft mit Chinas Wirtschaftsmetropole Shanghai. Die dortige Repraesentanz Hamburgs wurde im April 2003 ausgebaut." Since almost twenty years, Hamburg has connected with the China's economic metropolitan City Shanghai with successful partnership. The Hamburg representative will be established there in 2004. (Hamburgs Erster Buergermeister, Ole von Beust, China Aktuell, 26.09.2003).

<sup>249</sup> Speech from Hamburg's first Mayor, Ole von Beust, *China Aktuell* 26. 09. 2003. <http://fhh.hamburg.de/stadt/Aktuell/senat/bund/landesvertretung/veranstaltungen/mondfest/mondfest2003.html>,

<sup>250</sup> Mr. Bernd Riegerl, Project Director of Hamburg Business Development, [http://www.china.ahk.de/gic/biznews/investment/040420\\_HWFPR1.htm](http://www.china.ahk.de/gic/biznews/investment/040420_HWFPR1.htm).

Owned Enterprises from China such as COSCO mentioned above, Bao Still Group, Sinotrans, China Shipping and four Chinese Banks in Hamburg.

Twenty-five city and provincial level representatives from China have set up their offices in Hamburg, all together; more than 700 Hamburg firms are doing business with China. No other European port handles as much imports and exports from and to China as the one in Hamburg. Port officials plan to expand cooperation with Chinese ports in the future even further<sup>251</sup>.

In 2003, 1.3 million standard containers from and to China passed through Hamburg port, up almost 15 percent from 2002. That is about one sixth of the port's business, making China the city-state's most important trade partner<sup>252</sup>. Both sides expect double-digit growth rates in the future. Shipping companies are already setting up new systems to deal with the increasing demand.

#### 4.3.1.1. Chinese groups in Hamburg

The relationship between Hamburg and China has fully-developed since 1980. Table 14 and Figure 6 below show the sharp growth from 1990 and continue to increase till now in 2003. The population of 1990 is 15 percent increased than in 1980. The number of Chinese in Hamburg grows fast from 316 in 1980 to 3,359 in 2003. In twenty-three years, it increases more than ten times.

**Table 4.14. Population Development 1890-2003 in Hamburg**

YEAR	NO.	YEAR	NO.
1890	43	1997	1,909
1927	150	1998	2,089
1980	316	1999	2,309

<sup>251</sup> "For China, we are the gateway to the emerging markets of central, southern and eastern Europe, where many Chinese products go." said Manfred Reuter, who works for Hamburg's economic and labor agency UTC [http://www.dw-world.de/english/0,3367,1431\\_A\\_1204311,00.html+chinese+in+hamburg&hl=de](http://www.dw-world.de/english/0,3367,1431_A_1204311,00.html+chinese+in+hamburg&hl=de) 27.08.04 | 16:22

<sup>252</sup> Die drei größten chinesischen Reedereien Cosco, Sinotrans und China Shipping betreiben von hier aus ihr Europageschäft... [J]ährlich kommen 50 bis 60 dazu. Zum Vergleich: In London sitzen nur 190 Firmen aus dem ostasiatischen Staat. "Hamburg ist der größte chinesische Standort in Europa." sagt Nienstedt Leiterin des Geschäftsbereichs International der Handelskammer. "Das Problem ist nur, dass dieses vielen politischen Entscheidungsträgern in Berlin, London, Paris oder New York noch zu wenig bewusst ist." Ausgabe vom *Sonntag*, den 29.08.2004 "Hamburg - Tor zum Reich der Mitte" Von Martin Kopp. ("Three biggest transport companies, Chinese Cosco, Sinotrans und China Shipping all start their transport businesses from Hamburg to other European countries... Every year there are 50 to 60 to come. Comparing to London, there are only 190 firms from the Eastasian countries. "Hamburg is the biggest Chinese location in Europe", says Nienstedt Leiterin des Geschäftsbereichs International der Handelskammer. "The problem is only that many policy makers in Berlin, London, Paris or New York still know too little.") <http://www.wams.de/data/2004/08/29/325342.html>. 23 Sept, 2004.

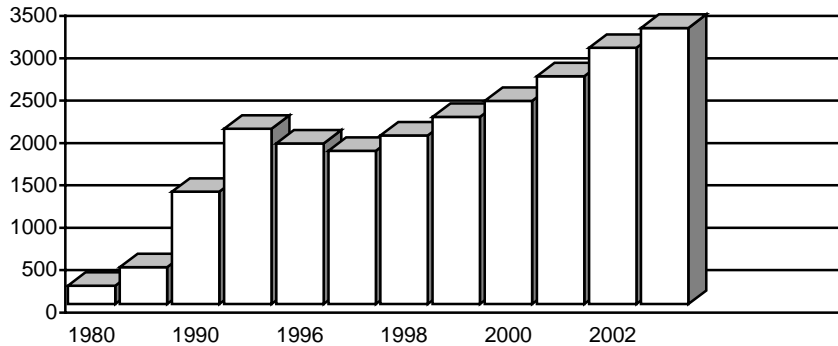
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1985	536	2000	2,496
1990	1,426	2001	2,788
1995	2,170	2002	3,122
1996	1,994	2003	3,359

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, January 2004, Sept  
2004<sup>253</sup>

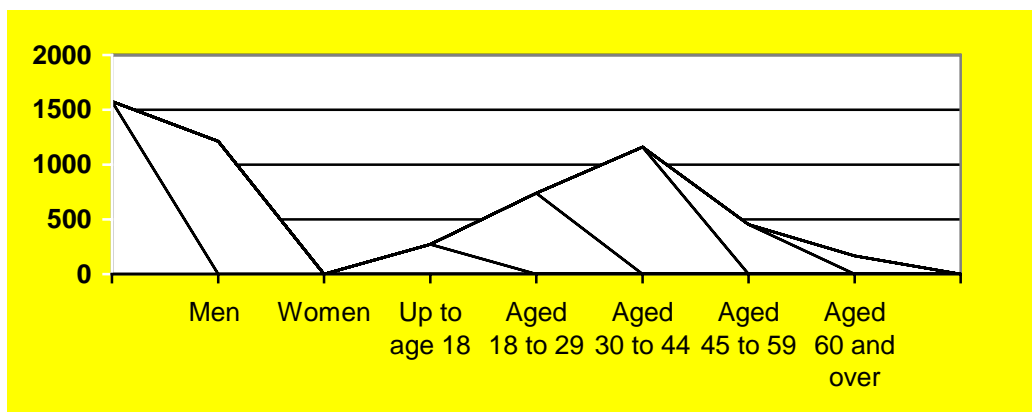
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<sup>253</sup> [www.staistik-hamburg.de](http://www.staistik-hamburg.de), My thanks go to Farhad Yasseri for the detailed information on the statistic data in Hamburg, Bureau of Statistic Hamburg.

**Figure. 6****Population Development of the Chinese in Hamburg from 1980 to 2003**

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, January 2003, Sept 2004

From the age differences of Chinese in Hamburg in Figure 7 below and Table 15 below, it is found that these at the age of thirty to forty-four hold 77 percent, which falls in the youth group in Hamburg. Investigating the whole population, 0.6 percent is older than sixty. The majority of Chinese populations are from the age of eighteen to fifty-nine. Comparing to the gender differences, there are more Chinese men than women in Hamburg, 13 percent higher of Chinese men than women.

**Figure 7.****Chinese Citizens with Gender and Age Differences in Hamburg in 2001**

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, Januar 2004, Sept 2004

**Table 4.15.****Chinese Citizens with Gender and Age Differences in Hamburg**

	NO.	%
TOTAL POPULATION	2,788	100
Men	1,576	56.5
Women	1,212	43.5
Up to age 18	271	9.7
Aged 18 to 29	740	26.5
Aged 30 to 44	1,158	41.6
Aged 45 to 59	454	16.3
Aged 60 and over	165	5.9

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, January 2004, and Sept 2004

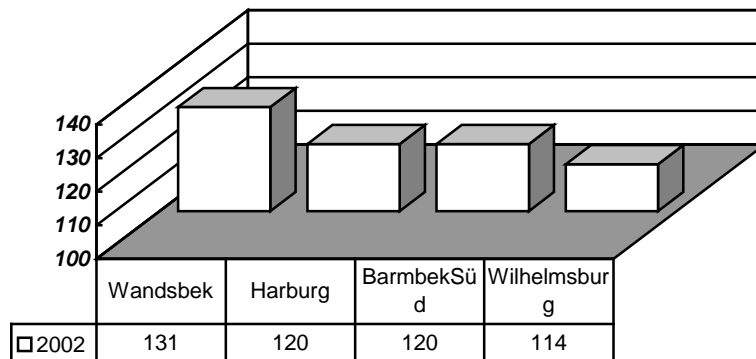
The Chinese populations in Hamburg in 2001, though registered with different types of visa issued by Germany were 2,788. Also in the same year the Chinese Consulate in Hamburg estimates the number of the total Chinese staying in Hamburg as many as around 25,000. Over night stay in Hamburg hotels were 21,000 in 2001 (Statistics from Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, State Bureau of Statistics, August 2002). This number does not include short visits of relatives or friends who stay by the family's or in the friend's house or in the house rented from a business trip organized by business partners.

255,119 foreigners at the end of 2002 registered in Hamburg – there were almost 6,000 people decreased comparing to 2001<sup>254</sup>. However the Chinese population in Hamburg grew to 3122 at the end of 2002, there was a growth of 334 Chinese comparing to 2001. This is because the boom of the Chinese businessmen who invested in privately owned companies with the family accompanied by. Further it is because the increase of students who choose Hamburg to study either in higher education institutions or in language institutes or schools in Hamburg from 2002.

<sup>254</sup> Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2003 in German language: Hamburgs auslaendische Bevoelkerung: Ende 2002 waren in Hamburg 255 119 Auslaenderinnen und Auslaender gemeldet – gegenueber dem Vorjahr ein Rueckgang um fast 6 000 Personen. Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2003.

Since the earliest China's branches and agencies have established most of their business companies in Wandsbek, Harburg, Barmbek and Wilhelmsburg as Figure 8 shows below, the four areas have become the most condensed Chinese population in Hamburg. In 2002 these four areas hold 15 percent of Chinese in total Chinese inhabitants in Hamburg.

**Figure 8. Districts with High Numbers of the Chinese Inhabitants in Hamburg**

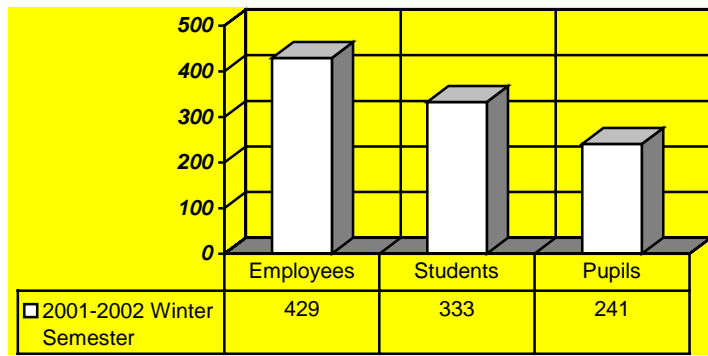


Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002

### 4.3.2. Four Groups of the Chinese population in Hamburg

Chinese in Hamburg show same patterns as Chinese in Germany. The first group is businessmen, HuaShang in Chinese, in 2002 the Chinese businessmen registered 429, the second is the Chinese who work in the catering business, estimated around 900 by the author and the third is the Student Group enrolled 333 in higher education and pupils are around 241 in 2002 (see Figure 9 below), and the fourth is the group with other different occupations in academics and irregular immigrants the last is tourists.

**Figure 9. Chinese Pupils, Students, Employees in Hamburg**



Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, January 2004, and Sept 2004



### ***Business group***

As early as in 1792 when the first Chinese ship landed in Hamburg, it aimed at business exchange. After 300 years Hamburg stands out its top business place with China in Europe. Since 1986 China (Foreign Trade Department) and Hamburg, later Shanghai and Hamburg have established business relationship, as a consequence the privately owned Chinese companies have also been gradually established in Hamburg. Table 16 shows below in 2000, there were 198 Chinese private companies in Hamburg and it grew one third to 300 in 2003, and by now 320 in a first half year of 2004.<sup>255</sup> There has been a rapid development since 2003. From 1988 to the first half-year of 2004, Chinese Companies in Hamburg increased 47 percent.

**Table 4.16. Chinese Private Companies and State Owned Enterprises in Hamburg, 1988 -2004<sup>256</sup>**

YEAR	PRIVATE COMPANIES AND STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES	GROWTH PERCENT
1988	170	---
1999	---	
2000	198	16.00 than the year of 1988
2001	---	---
2002	230	16.00 than the year of 2000
2003	300	30.00 than the year of 2002
2004 (first six months)	320	07.00 than the year of 2003

Source: Güinger, 1998: 199-200, Chinese Consulate, 2003 & Hamburg  
 Handelskammer Newsletter<sup>257</sup>

Hamburg, as a port city in the middle of Europe, links with other parts of the European countries. This is why Chinese establish more companies in Hamburg than

<sup>255</sup> Statistic data from Chinese Consulate in Hamburg, calculated by the author. 19. 02.04.

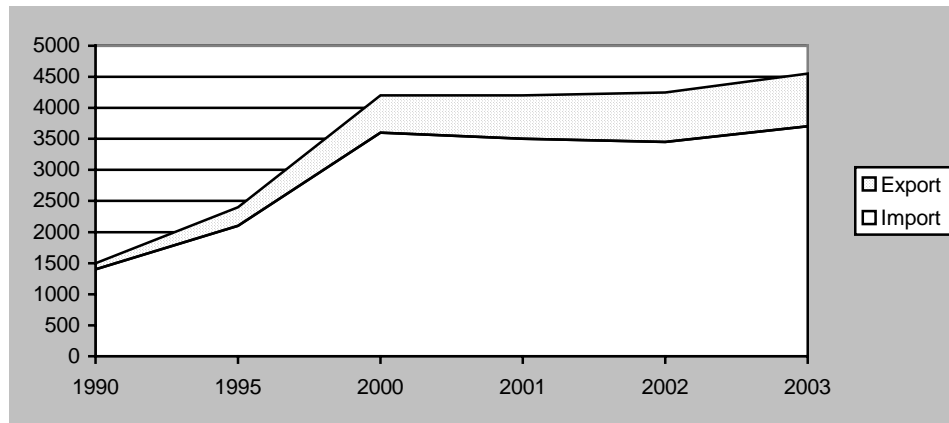
<sup>256</sup> This number includes only the companies from PR.China, but not Taiwan, for example in 1988 Eberstein, (1988) investigated 170 Chinese companies invested from the background of PR. China and 150 from Taiwan.

<sup>257</sup> The data is calculated by the author after obtain companies' names.

any other parts of Germany and Europe countries; it holds more Chinese businessmen than any other cities in Germany and in Europe.<sup>258</sup>

Figure 10 and Table 17 below illustrate that the import and the export trade between Hamburg and China has increased since the early 1990s, but massively increased after 2000, in which the import trade increased 51 times more than in 1990, there was a growth of the export trade as 75 times more than in 1990. From the trade development of partner importance in Hamburg, we find that the place of China has moved to No. 3 since 2002.

**Figure 10. Foreign Trade of Hamburg with China (Millionen Euro)**



Source: Statistisches Amt fuer Hamburg und Schweswig-Holstein, Aug. 2004

<sup>258</sup> Business information on China can be consulted in many websites from different business associations or departments in Germany: (German Asia-Pacific Business Association, 20-7-2004, <http://www.oav.de/>)  
<http://www.handelskammer.de/> the Commerce of German  
<http://www.oav.de/> German Asia-Pacific Business Association.  
<http://www.duei.de/ifa/show.php>.

**Table 17. Germany and China import and export trade from 1999 to 2003 by means of Hamburg Port**

DEUTSCHE IMPORTE/GERMANY IMPORT FROM CHINA(IN TAUSANDS)		
Year	Mrd.	Partner Importance In Hamburg
1999	5,3(DM)	---
2000	7,3(DM)	---
2001	3,6 (ERO)	4 <sup>th</sup>
2002	3,5 (EURO)	3 <sup>rd</sup>
2003	3.8(EURO)	3 <sup>rd</sup>
DEUTSCHE EXPORTE/GERMANY EXPORT TO CHINA(IN TAUSANDS)		
Year	Mrd.	
1999	0,6 (DM)	---
2000	1,3(DM)	---
2001	6,1(EURO)	---
2002	6.6(EURO)	---
2003	7,3(EURO)	---

Sources: Handelskammer Hamburg, Mai, 2002<sup>259</sup>; Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, January 2004, Sept 2004

### ***Employers and employees working in catering business***

Chinese in Hamburg working in self-employed Chinese restaurants are separated in the group of Chinese employees in German and Chinese companies in my sample. They are investigated as one independent group since it holds almost one sixth Chinese in Hamburg. "The first Chinese restaurants in Hamburg were already prospering in the 1920s ... Though Hamburg's first Chinese restaurant after the Second World War started in 1960s" (Gütinger, 1998: 199-200). There is no definite numbers of Chinese

<sup>259</sup> Geschäftsbereich International Außenhandelsförderung, Martina Seidel, Email: [martina.seidel@hk24.de](mailto:martina.seidel@hk24.de). Länderbericht, Eine Brücke nach China- die Aktivitäten Hamburger Firmen in der Volksrepublik.

who work in Chinese restaurants, but the estimation from around 300<sup>260</sup> Chinese restaurants in 2004 is around 900 to 1,200. While one restaurant at least consists of more than two Chinese employees, generally there are three to four or more Chinese in one restaurant.<sup>261</sup>

### *Students/pupils group*

Since 1876 Chinese statesman Li Hong-Zhang has started to send the first group of Chinese to study in Germany that is still one of the destination six countries<sup>262</sup> for Chinese students now. After the “Open door policy” was taken in China in 1980, Chinese students/pupils and scholars have chances to come to Hamburg either supported by the government or financed by themselves. Since 1996 more Chinese students have chosen Hamburg as their advanced study center, because the money required to deposit in German banks for self-financed Chinese students has been dropped from 42,000 to 12,000 DM. With the development of more business and employee groups working in Hamburg, more children accompany their parents to Hamburg either learning in the school or studying at universities<sup>263</sup>. There is a German and Chinese Middle School Gymnasium Marienantha in Hamburg; in 2003/2004 school year it started with the bilingual study of both Chinese and German languages in the fifth class<sup>264</sup>. There were 241 pupils in 2001 and 258 in 2003/2004 with Chinese cultural and educational backgrounds studying in Hamburg schools.

Figure 11 shows below students enrolled in Hamburg higher educational institutes grew 47 percent from 2001 (336) to 2003 (644), in three years the number is doubled. In 2001, there were 333 Chinese students in Hamburg. Among Chinese, there were 90 Chinese students in Hamburg University, 103 student registered in Harburg

<sup>260</sup> It is also hard to give the definite number since some of the old restaurants go out of the market, but very quickly others fill in. My thanks for data provider go to Stefan Kreieren, Asien Referenten Wirtschaftliche Behörde, Hamburg, 06 Oct. 2004.

<sup>261</sup> In Germany and China Net in Chinese, editor, “Quelle” has edited the Chinese restaurants in Hamburg. There were 77 Chinese restaurants, and Berlin had more as 154 in 2002. But “Quelle”’s analysis failed many restaurants that already existed in 2002 in Hamburg, to name one of them, *China restaurant* in Grindehof 1.

<http://www.csuchen.org/article.php/497>.

<sup>262</sup> The other five countries are USA, Great Britain, Australia, Japan and Canada.

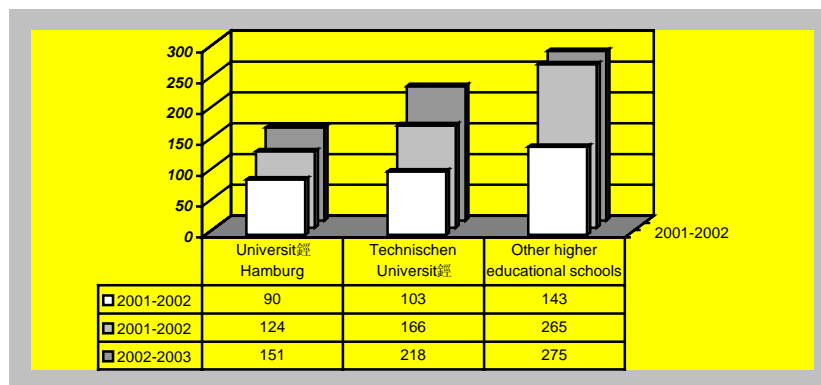
<sup>263</sup> Even the friends’ children come to study in Hamburg under the help of the Chinese friend by sharing the apartment and providing the livings (Interview, No 110/03, Hausfrau).

<sup>264</sup> Chinesische und deutsche Kinder werden beginnend mit dem Schuljahr 2003/2004 am Gymnasium Marienthal zweisprachig unterrichtet. Meldungen der Behörden vom 20.09.2002 -- Bildungssenator Lange richtet deutsch-chinesischen Schulzweig ein. <http://fhh.hamburg.de/stadt/Aktuell/pressemeldungen/2002/september/20/pressemeldung-2002-09-20-bbs-01.html>, 30 Sept, 2004

Technical University, 140 students registered in other higher educational institutions in Hamburg. Technical university in Harburg holds the highest growing number of Chinese students. It grows 50 percent from 2001 to 2003, which indicates that more Chinese students choose applied sciences. This can be explained that subjects are more easily to find a job after graduation<sup>265</sup>.

**Figure 11.**

**Students Enrolled in Different Higher Educational Institutions in Hamburg**



Source: Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, Januar 2004, Sept 2004

**Academic group**

The post doctorates, research followers and professors form Chinese the Academic Group in Hamburg. Desy is one of the institutions most condensed by this group with both permanent and short-term researchers. Other professors are in the University of Hamburg, Chinese Department, Asia Africa Institute, Information Department, Theology Department, and Chemistry Department. More Chinese post doctorates and visiting scholars are studying in the University of Hamburg and the Technical University, Harburg.

**Others**

There are other Chinese groups in Hamburg, such as housewives (housemen are very few) who accompany their spouse to Germany. Most pupils study in Hamburg by following their families, among them there are also some pupils sent by their parents to study in the middle school accompanied by one of their parents, but not so many as in

<sup>265</sup> This needs a follow-up investigation. In my interview, I find most of the Chinese holding their degrees from Technical University Harburg can get a job after graduation.

the USA, the Great Britain, Australia and particularly in Canada (Water, 2001). There are also Chinese who came to Hamburg as irregular workers (cf. Giease, 2003) or stateless Chinese who came from rural places or from old emigrants' places such as in Fujian or QingTian (Zhejinag Province).

#### **4.4. Summary of the Chinese sample**

It can be predicted that the Chinese population will continue to increase to migrate to Germany. Two groups will still be the mainstream: one is the student's group<sup>266</sup>; the other is the employee's group who works either in German based or Chinese based companies. The Student Group purposefully pursues human capital by paying their economic capital. The latter employee group aims to pursue economic capital by employing their human capital. The number of owners and workers of restaurants will remain comparatively stable from the analysis of the Hamburg Chinese catering business, which is a saturated market since 2000 it has been kept around 300 Chinese restaurants in Hamburg. The academic group will increase with more Chinese students graduated from the German universities and other higher educational institutions. Irregular Chinese however will keep growing, but slowly, with the rapid economy growth in China.

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<sup>266</sup> After the Studiegebüre (tuition fee) is required in most of the German Universities and colleges, it will influence the growth of the Chinese students to choose Germany as one of the destination countries to come in some degrees.

## **Chapter 5. Statistical Analysis, from Empirical Interpretation back to the Theory**

We have now discussed the theory and the method, and are ready to move on to the core part of the analysis and interpretation by means of a method of triangulation. The quantitative and qualitative results will be analyzed and interpreted according to the chosen sample in the quantitative investigation and further by an expert interview, after obtaining the outcomes from factor analysis, chi-square test and *t*-Test. This chapter describes how the results of the triangulation study reflect and modify the theoretical composition and assumptions. In the first part I will study the reliability, validity and *t*-Test in the questionnaire sample from the Chinese immigrants in Hamburg, and in the second part I will analyze the statistic data to verify the hypothesis by factor analysis and the chi-square Test. Finally, I will attempt to establish a communication model based on the above analysis by analyzing relations of capital, habitus, field, people and doxa.

### **5.1. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis and Interpretation**

#### **5.1.1. Results and Interpretation**

In the empirical analysis the emigration and immigration factors of the Chinese immigrants are analyzed by *t*-Test<sup>267</sup> and factor analysis. In the chosen sample all four groups: the Business group, the Student group, the Catering Group, and the Academic group, are focally compared by chi-square analysis to their responses to the final categories of migrating factors generalized from the theoretical analysis and factor analysis. Investigations and the results from the comparison of four groups are further interpreted by the expert interview (cf. Chapter 3. Triangulation Method).

## **5.2. Categories and factor analysis**

The validity of temporary categories (cf. Chapter 1. 2. 3) of the questionnaire have been firstly established after discussion on Bourdieu's and others' concepts of capital(s) and habitus (cf. Chapter 2 and Gogolin, 1994), further following an investigation of pilot interview (cf. Chapter 3), pre-test of the questionnaire and focus interview. It was after these procedures that the final categorical variables were chosen for factor analysis.

### **5.2.1. Reliability, validity, and sample analysis**

In this section I will study the reliability and validity of the sample. The *t*-Test from the sample is attached in the appendix.

#### **5.2.1.1. Reliability and validity**

Reliabel ist die Messung, wenn keine zufälligen Fehler vorkommen, valide, wenn gemessen wird, was gemessen werden soll ( cf. Bos, 1988: 120<sup>268</sup>). In this research the reliability is controlled by the conceptual categories chosen by a triangulation method. Alternative processes to reliability-inspection involve the repetition in coding the categories through methods of qualitative to quantitative, and also in reverse. The categories are finally set after processing different procedures of the methods (cf. Chapter 3: 105; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Glaser & Strauss: 1967: 65). The predictive validity and context validity show no problem in changing repeatedly the categories of the questionnaire for discovering the factors, after investigating the outcomes from the quantitative and qualitative analyses. The constructive validity is re-examined again in comparison with the theoretical concept in Part I, after obtaining the results from the quantitative and qualitative analysis. Particularly the last step of the triangulation method is processed after the factor analysis and chi-square analysis; the subsequent expert interview on interpreting the quantitative results strongly enhances the validity of research into the inference process.

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<sup>267</sup> The table of the concerning *t*-Test on the Mean and Standard Deviation of the chosen sample is attached in the appendix.



### 5.3. Sample Analysis

#### 5.3.1. General information from Questionnaire survey

Choice of what sample for testing the hypothesis of the theoretical model is one of the most imperative issues to ensure that the research is reliable and valid. In the research, the sample tested for the hypothesis was chosen from the Chinese immigrants in Hamburg from 2001 to 2003. I sent 1000 questionnaire to the Chinese in Hamburg, and got back 289 questionnaires from the Chinese who responded. However the valid responses for questionnaires which can be captured in the SPSS program for analysis are 210, which are divided into five groups, according to the analysis of the Chinese immigrants' occupations in Hamburg (Table 5.1; cf. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). The following is a brief description of the four groups in the chosen sample in Hamburg: the Business Group, the Chinese immigrants who work either in their own business companies or in German companies; the Catering Group, including the owners who run the restaurants and also the chefs who work in the restaurants; the Student Group, all the students who study in higher educational institutions and in language schools of the private or the public higher educational schools, not including the pupils; and the Academic Group, the Chinese academic scholars who work in universities and institutes, also including the post doctorates (Questionnaire Personal Information 1).

**Table 5. 1. Frequencies and Cumulative Percentage in Different Groups**

	Reference Group	Frequency	Percentage	Validity Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Business group	81	38.6	38.6	38.6
	Catering Group	21	10.0	10.0	48.6
	Student group	53	25.2	25.2	73.8
	Academic group	22	10.5	10.5	84.3
	Others <sup>269</sup>	33	15.7	15.7	100.0

<sup>268</sup> Friedrichs, 1978: 100ff.; Lisch, 1978: 84ff.

<sup>269</sup> "Others" (cf. Table. 5.1) is from other occupations after analyzing the Business Group, the Catering Group, the Student group and the Academic Group. They are not chosen as one representative group.

Total	5 groups	210	100.0	100.0	
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Source: the chosen sample from SPSS

In analyzing the outcomes from the quantitative study in the chosen sample, an expert interview is employed for further investigations as to why and how the outcomes from the quantitative research are. Qualitative research expands the range of knowledge and often helps us to see why something is, why people act or think as they do; and by its nature, it can account for the complexity of group behaviors, reveal interrelationships among multifaceted dimensions of group interactions, and provide contexts for behaviors. It helps to avoid the disadvantage that the concluding theory often fails to take account of the unique characteristics of individual cases (Edwards, 1998).

The following is the quantitative comparison of the chosen sample and the real sample (2002 and 2003) conceiving the aspects of gender, the relative rate of the population of Student Group and Business Group, age differences, major changes and the description of the chosen sample on major changes, study adaptation, Chinese-weekend-school participation, economic capital support to migration, remittance, and social capital support to migration.

### 5.3.2. The Chosen Sample in Hamburg Compared to the Real Sample

The chosen sample means the sample obtained from the questionnaire answered by the Chinese immigrants in Hamburg. The total number of the chosen sample is 210, which includes Chinese with diverse residence permits; the students are also included in. The real sample means the official data on Chinese citizens in Hamburg. There were 3948 Chinese in Hamburg in 2003, which do not include 589 (winter semester 2003-2004) Chinese students studying in Hamburg higher educational institutions (Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, Sept 2004, cf. the questionnaire of personal details and item 31). The analysis of the chosen sample and the real sample can help us to find the reliability and validity of the chosen sample and its comparative outcomes with the real sample in Hamburg. It also gives us a distribution of the chosen sample.

*Gender Differences:* The Sample on gender differences show that a female proportion in the chosen sample is 56.2%, which is 13.2% more than that in the real sample analyzed in Chapter 4, male is 56.3%, and female is 43.7%. From this it can be assumed that more women had more time and motivation to answer my questionnaire.

*Population Differences:* sample compared to the Business Group and the Student Group, in both samples there is a higher population in The Business Group than in Student Group in a relative rate. There are 4% more of The Business Group in the chosen sample than that in the real sample in Hamburg.

*Age differences:* The distribution of age differences in the chosen sample mainly focuses on the age from 20 to 40 years and from the birth year of 1964 to 1984, and the Chinese citizens in Hamburg in the real sample also concentrated on the age of 18 to 44 (Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg, August 2002, Statistic Bureau, Hamburg, 2002).

The following is the data comparison obtained from the chosen sample and the real data both in Germany and in China<sup>270</sup>.

*Visa Types*<sup>271</sup>: In 5.2 below we find that around 52% of the visa type holders are in the *Bewilligung* status, which means that they have students' status, and holders with short term visit visa types<sup>272</sup>. There are around 19% of the permanent (Unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis) visa type holders, and around 16% as Chinese immigrants in the chosen sample have German passports. The types of visa holders of permanent residence (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis* and *Aufenthaltsberechtigung*), and tolerance (*Befugnis*) all together reach 13%.

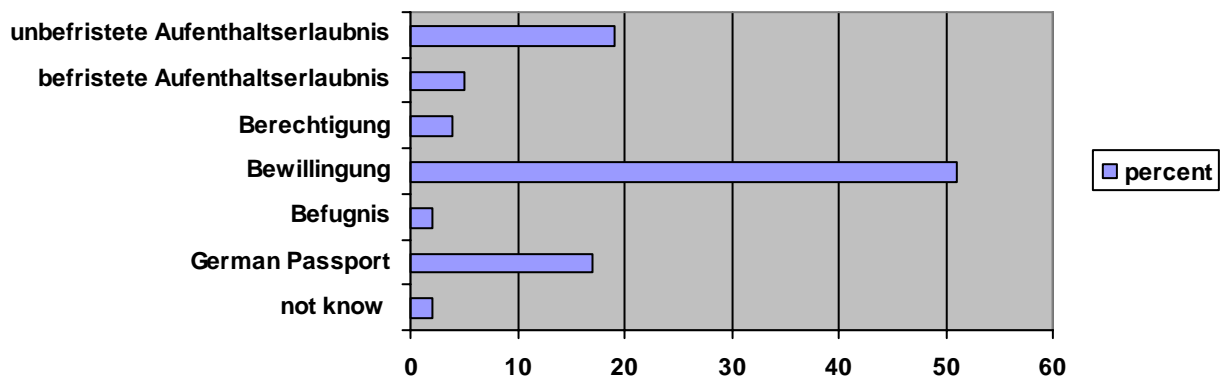
We compare the Chinese immigrants in the chosen sample with the Chinese citizens in Germany<sup>273</sup> and find that the majority of the Chinese immigrants in Germany do not hold the permanent visa types, either (cf. Chapter 4). There are 12% have the *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* and *unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*; there are 23% of the Chinese hold the *befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*, and 8% hold *Aufenthaltsbefugnis* and *Duldung*. The majority of the Chinese has the *Bewilligung* status (57%).

<sup>270</sup> There has been a new immigrant's law since 01.01.05, which allows the foreign student to stay for no more than one year in Germany to look for jobs after they graduated.

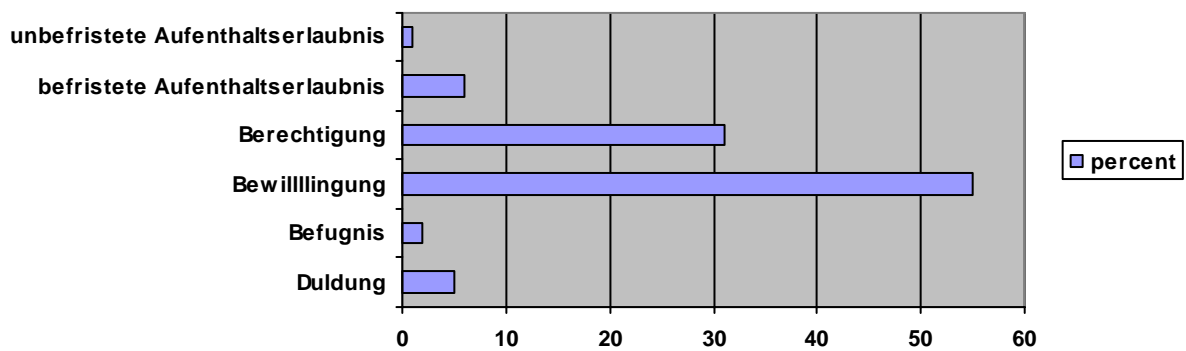
<sup>271</sup> Cf. Chapter 4, page 132: Nts: 202, 203, and 204 on the detailed explanation of different visa types in Germany.

<sup>272</sup> Foreigners receive residence authorizations for a specific purpose and a specific length of time. Residence authorizations are granted to foreign students, guest scientists, business people, and seasonal workers or to people visiting family members. A residence authorization is granted for 2 years, but it can be extended as long as the purpose remains the same or has not been achieved.

<sup>273</sup> I do not have the total numbers of visa types of Chinese population in Hamburg for comparison in 2003.

**Table 5.2. Visa types in the chosen sample from Hamburg**

Source: chosen sample from the questionnaire

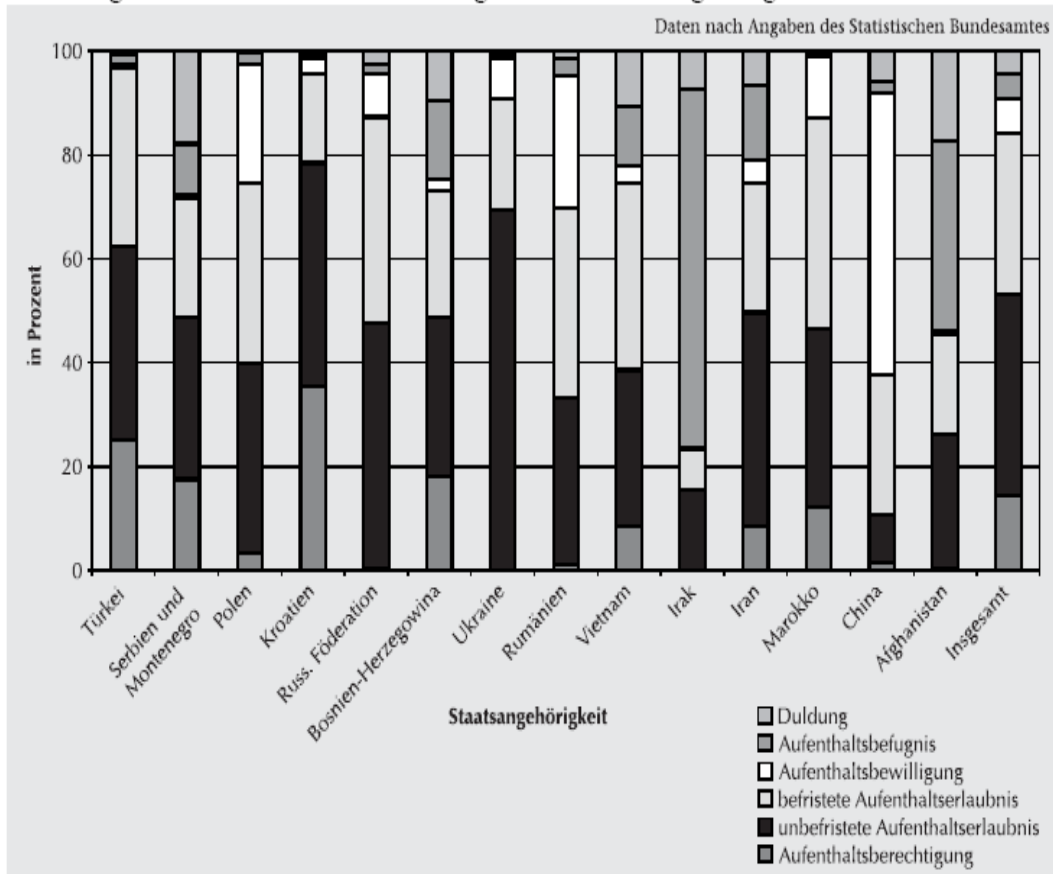
**Table 5.3. The residence status of the Chinese population in Germany, 2003**

Source: Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, 2004<sup>274</sup>

<sup>274</sup> Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration: <http://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/download/Strukturdaten.pdf>, 12. 2004.

**Table 5.4. The residence status of the Chinese population comparing with other countries in Germany, in the year of 2003<sup>275</sup>**

Abbildung 10: Aufenthaltsstatus nach ausgewählten Staatsangehörigkeiten im Jahr 2003



Source: Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, 2004<sup>276</sup>

*Major changes:* Compared to majors in social sciences, natural and technical sciences, in the chosen sample more students chose the natural and the technical sciences, but fewer did the social sciences. Compared to the Chinese students choosing Hamburg University and Harburg Technical University in 2002-2003 (Chapter 4), there are 34% of total Chinese students who chose a technical university and 23% (11% less than the students from Technical University) who chose a comprehensive university, Hamburg university. Moreover, those Chinese students who chose social sciences as majors in Hamburg University prefer to study “job oriented majors”, which they believe

<sup>275</sup> The different categories of visa types in the right corner of the table is explained in Chapter 4. The visa categories has been changed since 01 01 2005, one of the visa types of Aufenthaltsberechtigung will not be given any more. (Eine [Aufenthaltsgenehmigung](#) in der Form der Aufenthaltsberechtigung wird es dann nicht mehr geben).

<sup>276</sup> See Nt. 7.

to make it easier to find jobs after graduation, such as the majors of Business, Economics and Management.

The chosen sample shows that Chinese students in the chosen sample changed majors when they migrated to Germany. In China the majors the Chinese students chose comprised social sciences, natural sciences, and technical sciences in wide range; before they emigrated none of the majors were over 7% of the chosen majors by the Chinese students in Chinese language in China. In the chosen sample however in Germany they switched to choose majors focusing on natural sciences and technical sciences when they were studying. There are three majors chosen by the Chinese students in Germany, which are over ten percent, in which two majors (BWL and Information) reach 10%, and one major (Maschinenbau) exceeds 20%. Changing the social space offers the Chinese students to change the major, as they believe to be a useful major for having a job easily in future.

*Sending cities in China:* Most of the Chinese populations in the chosen sample are from these big cities from the eastern part of China. More than 50% are from Beijing and Shanghai, then the Eastern Northern part of China and southern part of China. More developed economic areas sent more Chinese immigrants to Hamburg.

### **5.3.3. Sample descriptive analysis on forms of capital transformation**

There are two aspects of economic capital analysis for Chinese immigrants: one is that the immigrants get support from the Chinese in China and the other is that the Chinese immigrants' remittances to China (cf. Questionnaire items: 17, 18, and 19).

#### ***Economic Capital Support***

Among these four Chinese groups in the chosen sample, three groups can earn their own livings in Germany. They are the Business Group, the Catering Group and the Academic Group. These groups do not need the support from their parents in China. However the Student Group in the chosen sample is different. The figure below shows that 33% of the students do not need the parents support. 67% (of the students) get the economic support from their parents in China for their living cost, among which 21% get 1%-25% support from the parents, 18% get 25%-50% support from the parents; 21% get 50%-75% support from the parents, and 7% get 75%-100%<sup>277</sup> from the parents.

<sup>277</sup> All the percentage figures are calculated according to the chosen sample of the Student Group.

### **Remittance**

Generally, immigrants from developing countries remit their earnings to their country of origin (Herrera, 2003; Samuels, 2003). The case of the Chinese immigrants in Germany is different.

**Table 5.5. Remittances to China**

VALID	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID	CUMULATIVE PERCENT <sup>278</sup>
Every month	1	5	5	5
Every year	11	5.2	5.2	5.7
Seldom	27	12.9	12.9	18.6
As gifts	12	5.7	5.7	60.0
Not at all	87	41.4	41.4	95.0
Getting remittances from parents in China <sup>279</sup>	72	34.3	34.3	
Total	210	100	100	

In the chosen sample (cf. table 5.5 above), 41.4% of the Chinese immigrants do not send money back to China at all; 34.3% “get money from parents”; 12.9% seldom remit; and 5.2% remit money to China every year. A small number (5.7%) may send or bring back gifts to China. Though 12.9% of the Chinese populations remit to China, it does not signify whether the remittance is small or big<sup>280</sup>. The remittance can also be a single large sum of money, though this may be a rare case.

*Hong*: In my family my parents have enough pensions, they have never asked me to remit money for their livings, and however, I helped my parents to buy an apartment...

<sup>278</sup> Since each group falls into not only one of the categories, the percentage of the cumulative is not 100%.

<sup>279</sup> They are in the Student Group. However these students also fall into the group of those of who do not remit at all as those who send gifts.

<sup>280</sup> I do not ask the exact number of the remittances in a questionnaire, as I know from prequestionnaire that it will be hard to get answers. It is an interesting question to be investigated in future.

Hong helped his parents once, but with a large sum of money. One of the reasons is that the Chinese immigrants often fly back to China (cf. table 5.6. below), and they will bring gifts to the families and friends, which is more accepted by the Chinese culture.

*Stu:* I do not have money to remit, thus I buy simple presents, which means that I am thinking about my parents. And I should not buy expensive gifts because my parents give me money. I spend their money.

In the Catering Group, Mr. Chef Restau explains the situation of the remittance differently from the Business Group and the Student Group.

*Restau:* I do not need to remit since my contract here is only for three years.

Different groups have different reasons to remit or not to remit. The Business Group may remit for derating tax<sup>281</sup>, but it also depends on the family's situation in China. Those families in rural places may get the remittance more than those in urban cities. In the Student Group for the families who can afford to support their children's study abroad, the parents themselves give or remit to their children in Germany. In the Catering Group the owners will not remit if all the members of their families have already been living with them, and this is generally the case of the Chinese owners in the Catering Group in Germany. A chef working in a restaurant generally stays for a three-year contract in Germany, then they will be back in China, thus they do not need to remit, either. But they bring what they earn in Germany back to China<sup>282</sup>. Thus I categorize them as the highest "remittance Chinese immigrants" in Germany.

### ***Human capital transformation***

*Complexity Study adaptation in the Universities and colleges (cf. questionnaire item 9):* More than 37% students feel that the first semester's study is very hard in German universities in the chosen sample, 33% feel hard, and 18% feel not very hard, only 12% feel not hard.

<sup>281</sup> If an employee remits to the family abroad in Germany, he or she will gain the benefit from paying less tax.

<sup>282</sup> Generally a chef can earn around 1000 Euro. But they do not need to pay for the food and for renting the apartment, they live and eat in the restaurant without paying the owner of the restaurant, however they work longer hours.



The expert interview indicates that those 12% who do not have difficulties already experienced their hardest time in the Studienkollegs (Precollege) in Germany, thus they feel it not so difficult for them to adapt to university life. Most of the students who can study in Studienkollegs (Precollege) had already passed tough entrance examinations in China or studied less than two years in universities in China. In this situation their learning levels are above that of other students from other countries in the Studienkollegs and also above that of the courses taught in the Studienkollegs. Qing Lu is one of the examples demonstrating that her study in the Studienkollegs is easy; she got all her scores from 1 to 2.

*Qing:* Most of the courses I learned in Studienkollegs were taught in China in High School and in the university, even if I cannot understand the German, I can manage to understand the meaning of them, particularly those courses on natural sciences. The formulas are all the same. And now I do not feel that hard while studying in the university.

But it did not mean that the Chinese students did not feel it hard at all after studying in the Studienkollegs, Ms. Mong Mong was an example to illustrate the extreme difficulty in understanding the German language in the first semester in Studienkollegs and later in the first semester at the university.

*Mong Mong:* In China we only learned the standard pronunciation from teachers, cassettes, films or radios. In Studienkollegs it was so hard at the beginning to understand the language of the foreign students (All the students are foreigners, there were no German students in Studienkollegs). Now I can understand German language's pronunciation of the foreign students in Germany, but it is so hard for me to understand the German students' pronunciation in the university now. This first semester study is not easy for me.

Those enrolled directly in the university found it more difficult in the first semester and some even in the second semester than those who had studied in the Studienkollegs. Miss Ret Dao, after entering the university, found that all the teachers spoke terribly fast.

*Ret Dao:* I just couldn't understand what the teachers said in class. They spoke very quickly and I just couldn't catch up. I was very tired.

*Wang:* How can you finish your homework if you couldn't understand in class?

*Ret Dao:* I have to read before and after class and I find that I read so slowly that it takes a lot of time for me to read. Anyhow we can take the exam for three times. I hope that I can pass it for the second or the third time.

The Chinese students also experienced difficulty in group discussion with German and other international students at the beginning of the university study. The group discussion is hard for Chinese students since they are not used to participating in the group talk and to expressing their own ideas in class and moreover to communicating with other students in China (Wang, 2003). They are more or less used to listening to and following the teachers.

*Chinese citizens' educational backgrounds in the chosen sample*

The Chinese immigrants in the chosen sample (Questionnaire item 1 and 2) have a surprisingly high percentage in obtaining higher educational degrees. It indicates that more than 85% of the Chinese immigrants have already obtained or are about to gain higher educational degrees in China, and 60.1% of the Chinese immigrants have already obtained or are about to gain higher educational degrees in Germany. The table 5.6 below shows the different groups in the chosen sample holding educational degrees.

**Table 5.6. Groups holding higher educational degrees**

GROUP	PERCENTAGE
Student group	95% <sup>283</sup>
Business group	80%
Catering Group	15.7%
Academic group	100%

*Source: from the chosen sample*

*German language proficiency acquired*

In the questionnaire, items 13-16 investigate the language proficiency of the Chinese immigrants in Germany.

30% and 45% of the Chinese immigrants believe their German listening comprehension is excellent and good correspondingly, around 11% feel fair, and 14% feel poor. 10 % and 48% of the Chinese immigrants believe their German speaking is excellent and good corresponding, 18% feel fair; and 24% feel poor. 32% and 43% of

<sup>283</sup> Students studying the language course are also included in the student group, but the language course students include these middle school pupils, vocational school pupils and any others learning German language in Hamburg. Therefore 5% of the student group do not hold higher educational degree.

Chinese immigrants believe their German reading to be excellent and good correspondingly, and around 8% feel it to be fair and 17% feel it to be poor. 6% and 51% of the Chinese immigrants believe their German writing to be excellent and good correspondingly, and around 18% feel it to be fair; and 25% feel it to be poor.

Comparing the German language proficiency of the Chinese immigrants in listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, we find that listening comprehension and reading comprehension of the Chinese immigrants are better than speaking and writing in the German language. However, when the Chinese learn foreign languages, most of them master a better grammar than in their spoken language. If the students study the German language in China, they will learn more grammar from teachers, who pay more attention to the grammar in teaching, i.e., to ask students to memorize the rules of the grammar and than to write it. If the students learn the German language in Germany, they will focus more on the grammar themselves, too<sup>284</sup>. This is not only because Chinese pronunciation is vastly different from the German, but also because China has a more teacher-oriented pedagogy, which enhances automatically the listening comprehension and grammar in teaching (cf. Wang, 2003). The students listen more than they speak or ask questions in class, which partially cause the outcomes of being better at listening comprehension, reading and memorizing grammar, but poorer in speaking. Therefore in the examination of listening, reading and especially of grammar, the students can have a good score, but in practice their German language competency is not as high as their scores. Zhao Lin, a second year student in Hamburg University has explained in the interview.

Zhao Lin: I can get a full score in German language test, but when I sit in the classroom, it is very hard for me to understand the German teacher and hard to write good sentences in German when I do my homework.

Zhao Lin is not one special case, most of the Chinese students have the same problems, this is not only in learning German language, but also in English learning. It is often called in China as “higher score in learning in school, but lower practical ability in working”.

### ***Social capital support for emigration***

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<sup>284</sup> Transcripts from United Nation’s Conference, Wang, Intercultural Educational Communication,

### *Cities of Emigration in China*

Most of the Chinese in the chosen sample (cf. Questionnaire: Personal details) emigrated from two big cities: Beijing, 11%, and Shanghai, around 13%. The majority of the Chinese immigrants are from the well-developed cities in the eastern part of China (map fig from Son, 2000 in appendix). It can be predicted that more Chinese students will emigrate from these areas than from other parts of China in the following years. Since 2003 more than 327 Chinese intermediary agencies have been set up<sup>285</sup>, among which 50% are from the eastern coast in the northern part of China. These intermediary agencies are privately owned companies that help the Chinese students study abroad if they pay the agencies a certain amount of money (cf. Chapter 4). Generally they have collaborations with German intermediaries in Germany, thus the Chinese intermediaries send and the German intermediaries receive.

### *Employing different forms of social capital to emigrate*

Those four groups of Chinese immigrants (questionnaire: item 23) employ different personal and institutional forms of social capital to emigrate. Each group had its own specialties; moreover all the four groups had their commonalties. The Business Group emigrated from China by means of China's government dispatch and by means of private personal contact to Germany for emigration. The Catering Group generally emigrated by employing three forms of social capital: one was by the Chinese intermediary companies, the other was through Chinese relatives, and the last was through Chinese friends. The Academic Group emigrated by self-contact directly to the professors in German higher educational institutions. The Student Group is more complicated than other groups. The following (Table 5.7) is the detailed analysis of this group.

**Table 5.7. Forms of social capital chosen by Student Group to emigrate**

DIFFERENT FORMS	PERCENTAGE
Chinese friends	16%
German friends	3%

proceedings, 15-18 June 2003, Jyväskylä, Finland, UNESCO Conference.

<sup>285</sup> <http://www.edu.cn/20030318/3080154.shtml>, Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, December 30, 2004.

Chinese relatives	18%
German relatives	1%
Chinese intermediary	20%
German intermediary	5%
Spouse union	21%
Others <sup>286</sup>	16%
Total	100%
<i>With the help of the parents finding the above ways</i>	<i>30%<sup>287</sup></i>

Source: Chosen sample in Hamburg

In the table above we can see that the Chinese students emigrate via family reunion by 21% and via their Chinese relatives by 18% and via German relatives by 1%. The total is 40% using direct and indirect relative relationship for help to emigrate. 20% and 5% respectively choose either German or Chinese intermediary companies to help them to come to Germany. It means that altogether 25% choose the institutional organizational relationship to support their emigration. This institutionalized form of social capital has no connection with kinship or personal friendship. 16% and 3% respectively choose the relationship of the Chinese friends and the German friends to help them to emigrate, which are established at personal or indirect kinship relationships. By employing the kinship and interpersonal relationships to emigrate, the Chinese immigrants do not need to pay economic capital directly, and moreover, some of the Chinese immigrants feel it important that they will not be taken in and cheated by intermediary companies or pay intermediary companies more money, which may not be fair to them.

Mrs. Han Zhong explained the conditions surrounding her coming to Germany by means of the intermediary companies organized by a Chinese and a German company cooperatively.

*Han Zhong:* I paid 50, 000 Yun (5,000 Euro) in Beijing to an intermediary company. They told us that the intermediary fee included the tuition to learn the German language. However, when we came to Berlin to study the German language, the intermediary company of the German part told us that we must pay

<sup>286</sup> Others include Internet and writing letters, asking information from the Goethe Institut in the branches of Beijing, Shanghai and GuangDong. A student coming to Germany may use several channels.

<sup>287</sup> This percentage is mainly obtained from the student group.

them the fee for learning the German language. We should pay another 1, 500 Euro. We did not want to pay, however, they explained that if we did not pay we couldn't get our visa extended. Since we had the short time visiting visa, all of us paid the extra fee again.

An intermediary company, as a formal institutional organization, is capable of being utilized by Chinese immigrants to emigrate and help those without the kinship or personal friend relationships with Germany. With the development of the Chinese economy, more students will study abroad; the Chinese government<sup>288</sup> announced that 80% of the self-financed Chinese students employ social capital to emigrate by the intermediary companies. The percentage of intermediary companies that support the Chinese students in emigrating has increased. But, if not legally controlled, some intermediary companies may easily cheat the customers (most of them being students). That is why in the sample, the blood relationship still has a strong function during the migratory process to the Student Group.

Because the Chinese and German intermediary companies are still needed to be more regulated, in addition Chinese forms of social relationships (关系 GuanXi) are strongly supported by the Chinese blood and relative relationships. The Student Group in the table above find all those means of private individual social relations as friendship and intermediary companies, mentioned above, being helped by their parents (36%), which indicates that the connection with the kinship relationship plays a key role in the emigration of the Student Group.

#### *The social connection with the countries of origin*

In the chosen sample (Questionnaire item 20) the Chinese immigrants in Germany have a great deal of contact with China; we find that more than 70% of the Chinese immigrants flew to China every one to two years. Almost 20% visited China every year. All together more than 20% flew back to China every three to four years, very fewer flew back to China every five to six years (3%) or not flew at all (2%).

#### *Parents' and Children's participation in Chinese School*

The two Chinese schools (2003) in Hamburg are places not only for children to learn Chinese but also for their parents to gather together at the weekends (cf. Questionnaire 10).

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<sup>288</sup> See Nt. 19.

More than 50% of the Chinese parents sent their children to a Chinese school or let their children learn Chinese at home (24.3%).

There is an important phenomenon of the adult Chinese immigrants' participation in the Chinese school in Germany. Chinese immigrants want to obtain emotional capital and informational capital; both are subforms of social capital, in joining in all kinds of activities in Chinese schools, where they can exchange information about their living in the host country and their links to their country of origin. The Chinese school, as a social gathering space for them to talk and to express their feelings in Chinese, is a link to foster an intercultural communication in Germany. This in some senses bridges the gap of the Chinese who do not participate in religious activities in Hamburg in a weekly gathering.

Above is the detailed analysis from chosen sample of Chinese immigrants classified into four groups with their related social resources as forms of capital they employed during the migration process, i.e., economic capital, human capital, a subform of cultural capital, and social capital. In the next part I will investigate what forms of capital utilized by the Chinese citizens to emigrate and immigrate by factor analysis and further to understand their different employment of different factors among four groups by chi-square test.

## 5.4. Factor analysis

Factor analysis<sup>289</sup> is a method for analyzing multiple measurements and looking for underlying causes for any relationships between the measurements. A multivariate statistical technique assesses the degree of variation between artifact types, and is based on a matrix of correlation coefficients which measure the relative association between any two variables. *Factor analysis*, “a statistical technique used to (1) estimate factors or latent variables, or (2) reduce the dimensionality of a large number of variables to a

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<sup>289</sup> The relationship between classical physics and quantum theory, (or between Cartesian analysis and Hilbertian analysis) as related to factor analysis, is discussed by Ahmavaara (Ahmavaara and Markkanen, 1958, pp. 48-63). This analysis is the most refreshing and provocative that I have ever read on the subject. I want to thank Qiao, C. F., a physicist on quantum theory, who has spent great deal of time discussing it with me.

fewer number of factors".<sup>290</sup> The analysis of the real value is greater than 1 and here only the factors loaded greater than .50 are interpreted (cf. Bos, 1988: 85).

#### 5.4.1. Factor analysis on reasons of emigration from China:

Following are the tables of the Total Variance Explained (table 5.8.) and Component Matrix table 5.9.) obtained from the Chinese population in Hamburg. There are two pushing factors indicating the reasons of Chinese emigration.

**Table 5.8.**

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.278	25.568	25.568	1.278	25.568	25.568
2	1.168	23.359	48.927	1.168	23.359	48.927
3	.926	18.516	67.443			
4	.850	17.006	84.449			
5	.778	15.551	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

<sup>290</sup> There are abundances of definitions on factor analysis. What I chose is what I find precise to the point expounded by John T. Pohlmann <mailto:johnp@siu.edu>, Department of Educational, Psychology and Special Education, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois. For German language explanations on factor analysis see Bos (1988: 63).



**Table 5.9. Component Matrix a**

Factors Variables	Component	
	1	2
v31b	,712	,168
v31c	-,653	,350
v31d	,022	,719
v31e	,298	-,515
v31f	,507	,485

Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis.

a . 2 components extracted

The following (Table 5.10) is a short description on the context dimension of the categorical variables related to the quantitative research (questionnaire from item 31B to 31F).

**Table. 5.9. Translate symbolic labels into descriptive labels**

CATEGORICAL VARIABES	NAME OF CATEGORIES
V31B	EC=Economic Capital
V31C	HC=Human Capital
V31D	CC=Traditional Chinese Cultural values <sup>291</sup>
V31E	SC=Social Capital <sup>292</sup>
V31F	PC=Political Capital

V31B *Economic capital* in the quantitative research is defined as money, which people pursue to gain in order to transform in future into other forms of capital (cf. Chapter 1). For immigrants economic capital means what they pursue to gain in the migratory process.

V31C *Human capital* (cf. Chapter 2) in the quantitative research is defined as the educational qualification that people can earn from formal educational institutions. It is part of cultural capital (cf. Chapter 2) in the institutionalized form and can be embodied in one's habitus. For immigrants human capital means what they seek to gain in the migratory process.

V31D *Chinese cultural value* is what people gain unconsciously with the experience of the daily life from the Chinese family and the Chinese society (cf. Chapter 3), and is

<sup>291</sup> See questionnaire Nt.1.

<sup>292</sup> See questionnaire Nt.2.

also embodied in one's habitus as part of cultural capital. Cultural value as part of cultural capital means that which immigrants embody to push and pull them to migrate.

V31E *Social capital* in the quantitative analysis is defined as the relationship that people can employ to transform into other forms of capital. Those forms include family, relatives, and friends, such as personal relationships on one side and also include intermediary organizations, such as institutional relationships (the definition and the detailed explanations, cf. Chapter 2 and Chapter 1. 3. and Chapter 4). Social capital of immigrants means what relationship and information they can employ to emigrate and immigrate.

V31F PC = Political Capital<sup>293</sup>

*Political capital* refers to the political orientation and attitudes toward the political system. Immigrants' political capital means their attitudes towards the social status they hold in a society.

*In factor 1*, economic capital, V31b, (. 712) and human capital, V31c, (. -653) are the categorical variables to push the Chinese to emigrate; *in factor 2*, cultural value, v31d, (.719) and social capital, V31e, (-.515), those two categorical variables are loaded as one factor to push the Chinese to emigrate.

The categorical variable of political capital, V31f, (.507) is extracted in factor 1, but the discrimination ratio is small, and the frequency of answering "yes" (N=8 in 210) is also small in the sample population. Therefore the variable of political capital is excluded in factor 1. The reason for the small discrimination can probably be that the respondents answer the questions according to the social desirability<sup>294</sup> (Nancarrow &

<sup>293</sup> <http://www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/2000/schugurenskyd1-web.htm>, 27 Nov. 04. Those two forms of capital are generated in the process of the triangulation method. Political capital is a form of symbolic capital, credit founded on credence or belief and recognition or, more precisely, on the innumerable operations of credit by which agents confer on a person (or on an object) the very powers that they recognize in him (or it). (Bourdieu, 1981: 192). Due to the multiple mechanisms of "conversion," those with high political capital are likely to have also high levels of other forms of capital (economic, natural, social and cultural capital). In this regard, the dominants and the subdominants in a society of an original country can have the unequal distribution of political capital that play in the acquisition and activation in transformation different forma of capital. Moreover the immigrants and the aboriginals discussion on the unequal distribution of political capital must be put into the context of broader structures of domination and subordination when conversion of forms of capital in the host field, which also play in the acquisition and activation of political capital. <http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/archive/00000221/00/birnerr041300.pdf>, Nov. 2004. For more detailed description of development on political capital concept see Birner, R and Wittmer, H (2003).

<sup>294</sup> How we change what others think, believe, feel and do. When we know that other people are watching us, we will tend to behave in a way we believe socially acceptable and desirable. In some circumstances, respondents may be tempted to give the socially desirable response rather than

Brace, 2000; Phillips & Clancy 1972). The Chinese immigrants may expect to respond the answers according to the social desires, but not to their own real situation.

***Factor 1: economic capital versus human capital***

As one emigrating categorical variable increases or decreases in factor 1, so does not the other one (but decreases or increases another one). A measure of economic capital as one emigrating variable increases, but human capital, another emigrating variable, decreases or vice versa. Though both are in one factor, they are two different orientations. When Chinese people want to increase their human capital, they need to spend their economic capital. Otherwise when they want to increase their economic capital, they need to employ human capital, i.e., to employ what knowledge they have learned, what skills they have mastered, and to employ the health they owe.

***Factor 2: cultural value versus social capital***

V31d and v31e, is a measure of cultural value, and social capital. As one of the categorical variables of cultural value or social capital increases or decreases, another social capital or cultural value decreases or increases in the opposite direction. Though both variables are in one factor, they are two different orientations. Since cultural value is an intangible form which is not to find a way in practice for people to emigrate. It is an ideological aspect of their attitudes on considering migration positively, and the categorical variable of social capital is social relationships they can employ to emigrate, which is an actual and practical “tool” for people to utilize. It is a more tangible form than cultural value, the subform of cultural capital.

Below (table 5.10) is the summary of the two factors that pushed the Chinese citizens to emigrate.

**Table 5.10. Factors pushing Chinese Emigration**

<b>Factor 1</b>			<b>Factor 2</b>		
Categorical variables	<i>Variable Value</i>	<i>Variance</i>	Categorical variables	<i>Variable Value</i>	<b>Variance</b>

describe what they actually think, believe or do. This has typically been assumed to be a function of two factors, the general strength of need for approval felt by an individual (personality trait) and the demands of a particular situation (cf. Phillips and Clancy 1972). This is often found in the Chinese community in Germany when I do my fieldwork.

<i>Economic capital</i>	,712	1.278	<i>Cultural capital</i> <sup>295</sup>	,719	1.168
<i>Human capital</i>	,-653		<i>Social capital</i>	,-515	

### *Imperative vice versa outcomes of emigrating factors*

In the above factor analysis we find two emigrating factors and discover that people emigrate by one pushing variable (capital), and will not emigrate by another pushing variable, both in factor 1 and factor 2. When people choose one factor to emigrate and in that case they will employ one categorical variable to invest for pursuing another; i.e, they must have expectations to pursue one kind of capital and also have some kinds of capital to invest in for the transformation of the expected desired capital.

### **5.4.2. Factor analysis on reasons of staying factors in Germany: immigrating factors**

Below are the tables of the total Variance Explained (table 5.11) and Component Matrix (table 5.12), showing three factors which are pulling the Chinese to immigrate to Germany.

**Table 5.11. Total Variance Explained**

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,270	28,374	28,374	2,270	28,374	28,374
2	1,419	17,742	46,116	1,419	17,742	46,116
3	1,135	14,187	60,303	1,135	14,187	60,303
4	,964	12,046	72,348			
5	,696	8,702	81,051			
6	,652	8,147	89,198			
7	,565	7,065	96,262			
8	,299	3,738	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

**Table 5.12. Component Matrix a**

	Component		
	1	2	3

<sup>295</sup> Cultural capital is in the embodied form from the traditional Chinese cultural value. (cf. Nt. 331).

v32A	,708	,360	,056
v32B	,861	,181	,108
v32C	,732	,020	,137
v32D	,619	-,315	-,267
v32E	,150	-784	-,104
v32F	,204	,185	-,447
v32G	-,209	,705	-,305
v32H	-,029	,105	,853

Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis.

a . 3 components extracted

The following is a short description of the context dimension of the categorical variables (Table 5.14) related to the quantitative research (questionnaire from item 32A to 32H).

**Table 5.13. Translate symbolic labels into descriptive labels**

CATEGORICAL VARIABLES	NAME OF CATEGORIES
V32A	Child=For the children's future
V32B	EcG= Economic capital in Germany
V32C	EcCh=Economic capital in China
V32D	Nc=Natural capital in Germany
V32E	Hc=Human capital on education
V32F	Pc=Political capital
V32G	Reuni=Family reunion
V32H	Sc=Social capital

### **V32A Children's future**

Children's future means that parents believe a better future life of their children to stay in Germany rather than to return to China<sup>296</sup>. It is the subform of cultural capital.

### **V32B + V32C Economic capital**

Economic capital is defined as money that people to pursue to gain either in Germany or in China (cf. Chapter 1).

V32D *Natural capital* is defined as the natural environment, such as the fresh air, the green trees, the beautiful orderly constructed cities, the tidy and the clean state of circumstances<sup>297</sup>.

<sup>296</sup> Some of the children already started their middle school in Germany, and then it is hard to go back to China for the sake of the children's education explained by the parents in the focus interview (2003).

V32E *Human capital* (cf. Chapter 2)

Human capital is defined as the educational qualification, which people can earn from formal educational institutions in the origin and destination countries. It is embodied in one's habits and is the subform of cultural capital.

V32F PC = *Political Capital*<sup>298</sup>

Political capital refers to the political orientation and attitudes toward the political system (cf. Table above on V31F= PC, political capital).

V32G = family reunion: because of the family reunion, people would like to stay in the destination country. It is a subform of social capital.

V32H *Social capital* (cf. Chapter 4)

Social capital in Germany is measured as social relations with the rules of simple social relationship, such as with the legislations, regulations and rules, which are more on the institutional relationships. Social capital in Germany is different from Chinese social relationship as Guanxi (关系), which is connected more with the personal family relationship, the relative blood relationship, the friends, and the local relationships, such as the Chinese social relationships as GuanXi (关系) that is lost during the migration.

In analyzing the factors for Chinese immigrants to stay in Germany, we find that three factors are extracted: *factor 1*, category v32a of children's future (.708), v32b of gaining economic capital in Germany (.861), v32c of gaining economic capital in China (.732), v32d obtaining natural capital in Germany (.619), *factor 2*, human capital (, -784) and family reunion (social capital) (, 705) and *factor 3*, social capital (.853) obtained in Germany.

Table (5.14) below is the summary of three factors pulling Chinese immigrants to immigrate.

**Table 5.14. Pulling Factors of Immigration**

<sup>297</sup> Natural capital cannot be obtained by a short time; it is a long run form of tangible capital. Compared with other forms of capital, intangible form is generally a long-run form of capital, and tangible form is a short term of capital. In the quantitative research it is defined as the natural environment, such as the fresh air, the green trees, the beautiful orderly constructed cities, the tidy and the clean state of a city as mentioned above.

<sup>298</sup> <http://www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/2000/schugurenskyd1-web.htm>, 27 Nov. 04.

<b>Factor 1</b>			<b>Factor 2</b>			<b>Factor 3</b>		
<i>Categorical variables</i>	<i>Variable Value</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>Categorical variables</i>	<i>Variable Value</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>Categorical variables</i>	<i>Variable Value</i>	<i>Variance</i>
Children's future	,708	2,270	Human capital	,-784	1,419	Social capital	,853	14,187
Economic capital in Germany	,861		Family reunion	,705				
Economic capital in China	,732							
Natural capital	,619							

*Factor 1* shows that Chinese immigrants pay special attention to the future of their children's education and life, and they care about the earnings of economic capital both in Germany and in China for immigration. More important, it specifies that Chinese immigrants choose natural capital, a better environment in Germany to immigrate.

*Factor 2* shows that one categorical variable increases, so does not the other one (but decreases the other one); the Chinese immigrants who immigrate for the reason of human capital will not immigrate for the reason of family reunion, and vice versa.

*Factor 3* reveals that the "simple" social relationship in Germany is the pull factor for the Chinese to immigrate to Germany. In China the social relationship is called GuanXi 关系 as studied in Chapter 2.2., which is very complicated and also very important. How to get good social relationship both at home and at work is as important as to show your other abilities such as working competencies. If an employee does not have a good relationship with a leader, it is hard for her or him to be promoted. This is gradually changing now, but it will take time with the transformation of China's reform.

### ***Different outcomes of immigrating factors from emigrating factors***

We find three pulling factors for Chinese people to immigrate; the first one demonstrates that children's future, economic capital obtaining importance in China and Germany, and natural capital obtaining in Germany are the most important factors to immigrate. In factor 2, pursuing human capital and family reunion are pulling factors, but they are vice versa variables to immigrate. If they stay in Germany for pursuing human capital, they will not care about their family reunion in China, but if they care about family reunion they will give up what they have learned in China to immigrate to

Germany for the family reunion. Social capital for the Chinese to choose as one immigrating factor is because that they want to have a different kind of social relationship in Germany.

### **5.4.3. Qualitative interpretation, some explanations on emigration factors**

#### *Economic capital and human capital (Factor 1)*

Zhao Lin, a Chinese student in a German university, studying International Management expresses his opinion on pursuing his human capital in Germany and he wishes to transform it into economic capital in future in China.

*Zhao Lin:* "...in China there are so many graduate students, who cannot find jobs, if I did not come to Germany to advance my study; it will be very competitive to pass the entrance examination for Master degree. And finding a good job is not that easy at all. I hope that after my graduation from Germany, I can have a better chance in China. (ShangJing, Interview: November 2004, Hamburg).

To Zhaolin, "finding a good job," means one with good payment. She believes that a degree earned in Germany can have a better chance in China. China is now a very energetic market for the development of economy. Since China embracing market economy in 1978, its average rate of GDP's growth has been 9.4%, and last year (2004) was 9.5%<sup>299</sup>. Entering WTO offers China more chances, but meanwhile demand more employees with cross cultural education and working experience. Those having studied (the Student Group), researched (Academic Group) and especially worked (Business Group) in Germany have the possibility to have a good job when they return to China.

Chao, a post doctorate researcher, is one of the Chinese scholars who wanted to return to China. In the Academic Group, those post doctoral students and short time visiting scholars would like to seek a job either in Germany or in China. But generally those who can get a vacancy in China at a senior professor level would like to stay in China.

*Chao:* If a job found in Germany is not as good as I have in China, I will not choose to stay here [in Germany] and lose my job as a senior researcher and full

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<sup>299</sup> From The Economist Global Agenda, <http://www.yannan.cn/forum/viewthread.php?tid=39421&sid=oYYyNV40>, Jan 25th 2005. It estimates that 0.1% increase of GDP can offer one million job opportunities.



professor in China's academy. China is changing very fast, you can find great changes everywhere and it develops toward a better situation now.

Chao is one of the representatives in The Academic Group who wanted to return to China for a better position. But others who have already had senior positions in German universities or institutions, it is hard for them to return after many years working in Germany. Moreover to find a good position in China now is also difficult. Since the 1978's Open Door Policy has been taken into effect in China, 700,020 Chinese have studied abroad, and 170,280 have returned and already occupied good positions in China. The possibility is that now that many kinds of foundations are attracting more people to cooperate to work in both Germany and China raised by Chinese government. Most populations from the Student Group would like to return to China to seek for better chances and contracted chefs in the Catering Group who indicated their earnings at around 500 Euro (questionnaire, item 19) monthly with food and accommodation free, would like to leave after fulfilling their three-year contracts. Thus the re-emigrating group from Germany to China came mostly from the Student Group and the Academic Group with high human capital and contracted chefs in the Catering Group with special skills. According to the statistics from China's Ministry of Commerce (MOC, 2004), Germany has been China's biggest trading partner in Europe in the past 30 consecutive years. The two sides maintained a double-digit trade growth in recent years. The German Chamber of Commerce in China (GCCC) expects to see the China-Germany trade volume to be doubled by 2010<sup>300</sup>. Therefore it requires more people to be involved in the Sino-German trade. The number of business people can be expected to continue to grow in Germany, especially with their work linked to the German Chinese trade. This international trade was explained by Smith (1776) in his book 'The Wealth of the Nation' as the pushing factor of the world into an unprecedented globalization, which is also stated by Weber (1886) and Durkheim (1933).

#### **5.4.4. Qualitative interpretation, some reasons to explain the immigrating factors**

##### ***Human capital and social capital (Factor 2)***

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<sup>300</sup> [http://english.people.com.cn/200412/06/eng20041206\\_166230.html](http://english.people.com.cn/200412/06/eng20041206_166230.html), People's Daily Online German Chamber of Commerce hopeful for China-Germany future business relations, December 06, 2004.

In factor 2, the two components, human capital (.-784, v32e) and family reunion (.705, v32g), show that people who are interested in pursuing human capital to stay in Germany, do not care about the family union, and vice versa if they concern about family reunion, they will not care about pursuing human capital. XiBei just married for one month and left China for Germany in order to study in a German university. From this case we find that Chinese want to pursue human capital, and even give up her social relations with the family. XiBei explained her situation.

*Xi Bei:* Meine Schwiegereltern (my parents-in-law) supported me, they gave us the money for marriage...my husband is very good and lets me use all our money. He doesn't want to be abroad, however does not stop me; moreover he supports me.

Tian Jing is doing his Post doctorate research in Hamburg now. Her wife is staying in China.

*Tian Jing:* My wife has her job in China and she does not want to give up hers, however she hopes that I can do this two-year research project and at the moment we are separated, she did come to visit, but she wanted to go back to work in Beijing.

Xi Bei (female) and Tian Jing (male) are studying in Hamburg, however, both of their spouses are in China, and both support them to study and to do research. These are examples of how the families support their spouses to study in Germany, there are also examples that those who insist on studying abroad and their partners in China do not want to come to Germany and sue for a divorce. DaoDao's husband did not want to come to Germany and knew that Dao Dao want to stay to finish her study, consequently her husband and she divorced. DaoDao does not want to return to China. She wants to finish her study and find a job in Germany. She wants to stay in Germany and to marry either a German or a Chinese who has a job in Germany.

The loading of social capital is v32h (.853) on the categorical variable. People wanted to stay in Germany for the sake of simple social relationships different from the relationship (GuanXi 关系 in Chinese) in China. The social relationship here means they feel free from the relationship they had in China strongly by those forms: Kinship relationship (BR), Relative relationship (RR), and Local relationship (LR). Since they immigrated to Germany, in a different field, the rules of keeping the social relationship

are simple, as they prefer; thus they think that they are free from the complicated relationships in China. This is what Bei felt.

*Wang:* How do you think social relationships GuanXi 关系 here in Germany, and how does it become one of the reasons for the Chinese citizens wanting to stay here?

*Bei:* The relationship here is simple, you do not need to establish the social relationship as you did in China, but you still do well in your job. If you have the real ability, I mean the real ability in doing your job. You will not have troubles if not to fawn on the leaders or someone else, such as to praise the leaders, say good things to the leaders, or give great presents to the leaders.

*Wang:* Do you think that you lose some kinds of social relationships that you sometimes still need, such as the relationship from your parents, relatives or local Chinese friends?

*Bei:* Yes, I do feel sometimes that I lose the social relationships in China, but you own the simple relationship here. My child can go to a good school if she wants to study, I do not need to give presents to the teachers, and do feel that teachers are good to my daughter. Owing on one side must have the lost on the other side. But I prefer what I have now.

In my other analysis (2003) I define the form of social relationships based on regulations and laws as an Organizational Relationship (OR) (cf. Fukayama, 2000, and Chapter 3, social capital and Wang, 2004), in which people can save more time when compared to other forms of relationship, such as Kinship Relationship (KR), Relative Relationship (RR), and Local Relationship (LR). Living in the fast changing modern society, more people adapt more quickly to the Organization Relationship (OR), i.e., more according to the regulations to solve the issues they confront every day without extensive time contributing to establish those personal relationships (KR, RR, and LR).

Above is a content analysis of those factors pushing and pulling the Chinese to emigrate and immigrate. But different groups are concerned with different significance to different factors; the details will now be analyzed by a chi-square test and followed by a qualitative interpretation.

## 5.5. *t*-Test and hypothesis

Student's *t*-test or simply *t*-test (cf. Pearson, 1990) evaluates if two groups are significantly different according to their means. It deals with the problems associated with inference based on “small” samples: the calculated mean ( $X_{avg}$ ) and standard deviation ( $\sigma$ ) may by chance deviate from the “real” mean and standard deviation.

The null hypothesis of a *t*-test always proposes that the two groups do not differ significantly, whilst the hypothesis of a *t*-test always proposes that there is a difference.

### 5.5.1. Hypothesis of Emigration factors

In the following *t*-Test I am going to testify the hypothesis in the null form of the significance of the factors for the *emigration* of the Chinese populations to Germany first. As we already know that there are two factors for the emigration of Chinese populations. They are factor 1 of the variables of economic capital and human capital; factor 2 of the variables of cultural capital and social capital. They are put in statistic hypothesis in  $H_0$ :  $\mu_1 = \mu_2$  via the statements asked below:

- The Business Group has no significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.
- The Business Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) for emigration.
- The Catering Group has no significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.
- The Catering Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) of emigration.
- The Student Group has no significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.
- The Student Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) for emigration.
- The Academic Group has no significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.
- The Academic Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) of emigration.

### Group Statistics and Independent Samples Test (Business Group and Emigration Factors)

	The Business Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1 (economic capital and human capital)	Non-business	129	-.0829902	.98928363	-1.522	208	.129
	Business group	81	.1321697	1.00886845			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1 (cultural capital and social capital)	Non-business	129	.0754148	.99717494	1.382	208	.168
	Business group	81	-.1201051	.99887483			

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the two emigrating factors with the Student Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation and can find that there is a big difference in the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, but little difference in the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (economic capital and human capital)  $t = -1.522$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.129 > 0.05$ , therefore fail to reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Business Group has no significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) for emigration.

In factor 2 of (cultural and social capital),  $t = 1.382$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.168 > 0.05$ ; thus fail to reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Business Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) for emigration.

### Group Statistics and Independent Samples Test (Catering Group and Emigration Factors)

	The Catering Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1 (economic capital and human capital)	Non-Catering Group	189	-.1509858	.85778616	-7.349	208	.000
	Catering Group	21	1.3588719	1.17440148			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1 (cultural capital and social capital)	Non-Catering Group	189	-.0732993	.92281444	-3.259	208	.001
	Catering Group	21	.6596936	1.39189033			

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the two emigrating factors with the Catering Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and

Standard Deviation. We can find that there is a big difference in the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, but little difference in the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (economic capital and human capital)  $t = -7.349$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = .000 < 0.05$ .

Therefore we should reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Catering Group has significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.

In factor 2 of (cultural and social capital),  $t = -3.259$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = .001 < 0.05$ . Therefore we

should reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Catering Group has significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) for emigration.

#### **Group Statistics and Independent Samples Test (Student Group and Emigration Factors)**

	The Student Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1 (economic capital and human capital)	Non-student group	177	.0959480	1.04728257			
	Student group	33	-.5146301	.41809624	.000	3.295	.208
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1 (cultural capital and social capital)	Non-student group	177	-.0228258	1.01561671			
	Student group	33	.1224292	.91639822	-.765	208	.445

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the two emigrating factors with the Student Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation. We can find that there is a big difference between the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, and big difference between the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (economic capital and human capital)  $t = 3.295$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = .001 < 0.05$ .

Therefore we should reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Student Group has significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.

In factor 2 of (cultural and social capital),  $t = 1.765$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = .445 > 0.05$ . Therefore we

should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Student Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) for emigration.

#### **Group Statistics and Independent Samples Test (Academic Group and Emigration Factors)**

	The Academic Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1 (economic capital and human capital)	Non-academic group	168	.0886993	1.04120280	2.606	208	.010
	Academic group	42	-.3547970	.72154991			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1 (cultural capital and social capital)	Non-academic group	168	.0006816	1.08271417	.020	208	.984
	Academic group	42	-.0027265	.56806315			

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the two emigrating factors with the Academic Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation. We can find that there is a big difference in the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, but not so big difference in the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (economic capital and human capital)  $t=2.606$ ,  $df=208$ ,  $p=.010 < 0.05$ . Therefore we should reject  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Academic Group has significance with factor 1 (economic capital and human capital) of emigration.

In factor 2 of (cultural and social capital),  $t= .020$ ,  $df=208$ ,  $p=.984 > 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Academic Group has no significance with factor 2 (cultural capital and social capital) of emigration.

### 5.5.2. Hypothesis of Immigration factors

In the following *t-Test* I am going to testify the hypothesis in the null form of the significance of the factors for the *immigration* of Chinese populations to Germany first. As we already know that there are three factors for the emigration of Chinese populations. They are factor 1 of the variables of Children's future Economic capital Natural capital; factor 2 of the variables of Human capital and Family reunion; factor 3 of the variables of social capital. They are put in statistic hypothesis in  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$  via the statements asked below:

- The Business Group has no significance with factor 1 (Children's future, Economic capital and Natural capital) of emigration.
- The Business Group has no significance with factor 2 (Human capital and Family reunion) for emigration.

- The Business Group has no significance with factor 3 (social capital) for emigration.
- The Catering Group has no significance with factor 1 (Children's future, Economic capital and Natural capital) of emigration.
- The Catering Group has no significance with factor 2 (Human capital and Family reunion) for emigration.
- The Catering Group has no significance with factor 3 (social capital) for emigration.
- The Student Group has no significance with factor 1(Children's future, Economic capital and Natural capital) of emigration.
- The Student Group has no significance with factor 2 (Human capital and Family reunion) for emigration.
- The Student Group has no significance with factor 3 (social capital) for emigration.
- The Academic Group has no significance with factor 1(Children's future, Economic capital and Natural capital) of emigration.
- The Academic Group has no significance with factor 2 (Human capital and Family reunion) for emigration.
- The Academic Group has no significance with factor 3 (social capital) for emigration.

**Group Statistics and the independent Samples Test (The Catering Group and the immigrating factors)**

	Business Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis (Children's future Economic capital Natural capital)	Non-business group	129	-.1013525	1.04297724			
	<i>Business group</i>	81	.1614132	.91053476	-1.864	208	.064
REGR factor score 2 for analysis (Human capital and Family reunion)	Non-business group	129	-.1140971	.95558823			
	<i>Business group</i>	81	.1817102	1.04739616	-2.104	208	.037
REGR factor score 3 for analysis (Social capital)	Non-business group	129	.0278578	1.04257454			
	<i>Business group</i>	81	-.0443661	.93280062	.509	208	.612

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the three immigrating factors with the Business Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation. We can find that there is a big difference in the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, but little difference in the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.



In factor 1 of (children's future, economic capital and natural capital)  $t = -1.864$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.0064 > 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Business Group has no significance with factor 1 (children's future, economic capital and natural capital) for immigration.

In factor 2 of (human capital and family reunion),  $t = -2.104$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.037 < 0.05$ . Therefore we should reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Business Group has significance with factor 2 (human capital and family reunion) for immigration.

In factor 3 of (social capital),  $t = 0.522$ ,  $df = 183.977$ ,  $p = 0.603 > 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Business Group has no significance with factor 3 (social capital) for immigration.

**Group Statistics and the independent Samples Test (The Catering Group and the immigrating factors)**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis (Children's future Economic capital Natural capital)	Catering Group	189	-.0841418	.96839142	-3.772	208	.000
	Non-Catering Group						
REGR factor score 2 for analysis (Human capital and Family reunion)	Catering Group	189	.7572765	.98275335	-3.127	208	.002
	Non-Catering Group						
REGR factor score 3 for analysis (Social capital)	Catering Group	189	.6341812	.95609467	-.215	208	.830
	Non-Catering Group						
	Catering Group	21	.0446122	1.44627177			

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the three immigrating factors with the Business Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation. We can find that there is a very small difference in the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, but factor 3 has big difference from factor 1 and factor 2. This is same in the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (children's future, economic capital and natural capital)  $t = -3.772$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.000 < 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Catering Group has significance with factor 1 (children's future, economic capital and natural capital) for immigration.

In factor 2 of (human capital and family reunion),  $t = -3.127$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.002 < 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Catering Group has significance with factor 2 (human capital and family reunion) for immigration.

In factor 3 of (social capital),  $t = -2.15$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.830 > 0.05$ . Therefore we should reject  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Catering Group has no significance with factor 2 (human capital and family reunion) for immigration.

**Group Statistics and the independent Samples Test (The Student Group and immigration factors)**

	The Student Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis (Children's future Economic capital Natural capital)	Non-student group	177	.0996497	.99772208			
	Student group	33	-.5344846	.84068537	3.429	208	.001
REGR factor score 2 for analysis (Human capital and Family reunion)	Non-student group	177	.1062814	1.03521631			
	Student group	33	-.5700545	.48933918	3.672	208	.000
REGR factor score 3 for analysis (Social capital)	Non-student group	177	.0082247	1.02580128			
	Student group	33	-.0441141	.86104212	.275	208	.783

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the three immigrating factors with the Student Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation. We can find that there is a very small difference in the values of Mean both in factors 1 and 2, but factor 3 has a big difference from factor 1 and 2. There is very small difference between factor 1 and factor 3, but factor 2 has big difference from factor 1 and factor 3. This is the same in the values of Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (children's future, economic capital and natural capital)  $t = 3.429$ ,  $df = 208$ ,  $p = 0.001 < 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Student Group has significance with factor 1 (children's future, economic capital and natural capital) for immigration.

In factor 2 of (human capital and family reunion),  $t=3.672$ ,  $df=208$ ,  $p=0.00<0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Student Group has significance with factor 2 (human capital and family reunion) for immigration.

In factor 3 of (social capital),  $t=0.275$ ,  $df=208$ ,  $p=0.783>0.05$ . Therefore we should reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Catering Group has no significance with factor 3 (social capital) for immigration.

**Group Statistics and the independent Samples Test (Academic Group and immigration factor)**

	The academic group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
REGR factor score 1 for analysis (Children's future Economic capital Natural capital)	Non-academic group	168	.0016206	.98983625	.047	208	.963
	Academic group	42	-.0064825	1.05200428			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis (Human capital and Family reunion)	Non-academic group	168	.0505537	1.04221670	1.469	208	.143
	Academic group	42	-.2022146	.78794613			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis (Social capital)	Non-academic group	168	-.0503180	1.01262475	-1.462	208	.145
	Academic group	42	.2012720	.93221372			

In the above table, it gives the descriptive statistic values of the three immigrating factors with the Academic Group. We can see the numbers of the sample N, Mean and Standard Deviation. We can find that there are differences in the values of Mean in factors 1, 2 and 3. There is a small difference from factor 1 and factor 3, but factor 2 has a difference between factor 1 and factor 3 in Standard Deviation.

In the above table it also gives the results of Independent Samples Test.

In factor 1 of (children's future, economic capital and natural capital)  $t=0.047$ ,  $df=208$ ,  $p=0.963>0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Academic Group has no significance with factor 1(children's future, economic capital and natural capital) for immigration.

In factor 2 of (human capital and family reunion),  $t=1.469$ ,  $df=208$ ,  $p=0.143>0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Academic Group has significance with factor 2 (human capital and family reunion) for immigration.

In factor 3 of (social capital),  $t = -1.462$ ,  $df = 0.208$ ,  $p = 0.145 > 0.05$ . Therefore we should not reject  $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ . That is the Academic Group has significance with factor 3 (social capital) for immigration.

## 5.6. Chi-square analysis

### 5.6.1. Chi-Square statistical analysis and empirical content interpretation

#### *Comparing the observed and expected value of chi-square*

The chi-square test of significance is useful as a tool to determine whether or not it is worth the researcher's effort to interpret a contingency table. A significant result of this test means that the cells of a contingency table should be interpreted. A non-significant test means that no effects were discovered and no chance could explain the observed differences in the cells. In this case, an interpretation of the cell frequencies is not useful.

The interpretation of the cell frequencies may be guided by the amount each cell contributes to the chi-squared statistic, as seen in the  $(O-E)^2/E$ <sup>301</sup> value. In general, the larger the difference between the observed and expected values is, the greater this value is. Given the same degrees of freedom<sup>302</sup>, the larger the chi-square value is, the more ‘significant’ it is. The entries in the chi-square table for a given chi-square are matched with ‘alpha’ levels at a specified level of significance in this study as .05.

While the issue of theoretical or practical importance of a statistically significant result cannot be quantified, the relative magnitude of a statistically significant relationship can be measured. The Chi-square allows a researcher to make decisions about whether there is a relationship between two or more variables; if the null hypothesis is rejected, we conclude that there is a statistically significance (Bos, 1995). Statistically significance between categorical variables and four groups of the Chinese immigrants are analyzed as followed.

<sup>301</sup> O=Observed numbers, E=Expected numbers.

<sup>302</sup> Since all our contingency tables are 2x2 cross tables, all  $df=1$ , i.e.,  $(2-1)(2-1)$ .

The following chi-square test is used to look at the statistical significance between a categorical variable from the factor analysis and four groups from the chosen sample. When running the cross-tab, an option is available to test the significance using chi-square. According to SPSS Version, Chi-Square (Cross tables) tests the hypothesis that the row and column variables are independent, without indicating strength or direction of the relationship. The followings display Pearson chi-square, likelihood-ratio chi-square, and linear-by-linear association chi-square. For 2x2 tables, Fisher's exact test is computed when a table that does not result from missing rows or columns in a larger table has a cell with an expected frequency of less than 5.

### 5.6.2. Categorical Variables, Factors to Push Emigration of Four Chinese Groups

#### *Business Group, economic capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table below people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of economic capital are the members of Business Group. In the fourth cell, you see that people who answered questions with YES are over represented (22) in the comparison to the expected number of people (16.2).

There was significance between economic capital variable and the business Group ( $X^2 = 4.226$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Pursuing economic capital is one of the reasons for the Chinese Business Group to emigrate.

**Crosstable 1 of economic capital category and business group**<sup>303</sup>

	BUSINESS GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO			
Observed count	109	59	168
Expected count	103.2	64.8	168.0
% within economic capital	64.9%	35.1%	100%
% within business	84.5%	72.8%	80.0%
% of total	51.9%	28.1%	80.0%

<sup>303</sup> I have chosen 1 crosstables in the text; the other crosstables are attached in the appendix II. The numbers of the Crosstables are correspondingly ordered in the appendix.

	YES		
Observed count	20	22	42
Expected count	25.8	16.2	42.0
% within economic capital	47.6%	52.4%	100%
% within business	15.5%	27.2%	20.0%
% of total	9.5%	10.5%	20.0%
Total	129	81	210
	61.4%	38.6%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.226 <sup>b</sup>	1	.040		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	3.528	1	.060		
Likelihood Ratio	4.135	1	.042		
Fisher's Exact Test				.051	.031
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.205	1	.040		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.20.

*Catering Group, economic capital and Chinese emigration*

In the crosstable 2 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of economic capital are the members of Catering Group. In the fourth cell, we can learn that people who answered both questions with YES are over represented (18), in the comparison to the expected number of people (4.2).

There was significance between the categorical variable of ECONOMIC CAPITAL and the Catering Group ( $X^2 = 62.976$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The Chinese citizens in the Catering Group pursued to increase economic capital for emigration.

*Student Group, economic capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 3 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of ECONOMIC CAPITAL are the members of the Student Group. In the fourth cell, we see that people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (0), in the comparison to the expected number of people (10.6). The Chinese immigrants who come and stay in Germany by the reasons of economic capital are poor.

There was significance between economic capital variable and the Student Group ( $X^2 = 17.723$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). However it is not easy to explain that the Student Group will emigrate for the purpose to pursue ECONOMIC CAPITAL directly, in my

qualitative analysis I find that it can only be explained indirectly. 67% of the students in the Student Group need economic capital support from the parents for their studies. They pursue human capital not only for learning more knowledge in Germany but also for transforming more economic capital after graduation.

*Academic Group, economic capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 4 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of ECONOMIC CAPITAL are the members of the Academic Group. In the fourth cell, we can find that people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (2), in the comparison to the expected number of people (8.4). The Chinese immigrants of the Academic Group who come to Germany for reasons of economic capital are poor.

Though there was significance between economic capital variable and the Academic Group ( $X^2 = 7.619$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ), it is easy to explain that the Academic Group would emigrate for the purpose to pursue ECONOMIC CAPITAL some years ago, but not now in 2004. In my qualitative analysis I find that The Academic Group from the early 1980s to the end of last century, there were Chinese scholars who wanted to emigrate from China to Germany in order to earn more, which has changed over recent years. Chinese scholars can earn more in China and some scholars in some majors such as Management, Account, Marketing, Law, and IT can earn the same wages in Euro also in China, after its exchange into Chinese Yuan, it will be a great deal more of money to spend in China now (Interview in Beijing, China, December, 2004). Furthermore the crosstable shows that the observed number is only 2.

*The Academic Group, human capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 5 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of HUMAN CAPITAL are of the Academic Group. In the fourth cell, we can find that people who answered questions with YES are over represented (39), in the comparison to the expected number of people (35.4). The Chinese immigrants of the Academic Group who come to Germany for the reason of human capital are high.

There was significance between categorical variable of HUMAN CAPITAL and the Academic Group ( $X^2 = 2.912$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Catering Group, human capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 6 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on HUMAN CAPITAL are the members of Catering Group. In the fourth cell, we can find that people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (13), in the comparison to the expected number of people (17).

There was significance between categorical variable of HUMAN CAPITAL and the Catering Group ( $X^2 = 8.824$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). From the qualitative interview we find out that the reason of the Catering Group pursuing human capital is that those who came from the early 1980s to the late 1990s had been students studying in German universities before they ran restaurants.

ShangShang and her husband TeWu are students graduated from Harburg Technical University, both have earned Diploma. At the middle of the 1990s both of them graduated, but at that time to find a suitable job was very difficult for a foreigner<sup>304</sup>. Thus they started to run a Chinese restaurant. In the following interview, it reveals that the graduated couples do not want to spend more time to look for jobs or return to China to seek jobs appropriate to their educational qualifications.

*Wang:* How did you think to run a restaurant after obtaining a Bachelor degree in China and a Diploma in Germany?

*Te Wu:* Nothing more than making a living. A better living at that time... Of course, students now will not stay here to run a restaurant and our children do not want to run the restaurant in the future. We will not let them to run either. At that time the gap between China and Germany was so great that you cannot imagine.

Many of those Chinese students left China for Germany at the early 1980s pursued human capital in Germany, however many of them ended up in the catering business. It is not surprising that in my interview sample I even can find a Ph.D. graduate. His answer for the meaning of having earned the Ph.D. title is that what he has experienced during the study was important for him.<sup>305</sup>

*The Student Group, human capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 7 in the Appendix II, You'll find that people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of HUMAN CAPITAL are the members

<sup>304</sup> During that time the German government was repatriating the foreigners, especially those foreigners from Turkey.

<sup>305</sup> This sample is from the city of Bielefeld, not from Hamburg and is not included in the quantitative sample analyzed in Hamburg.



of the Student Group. In the fourth cell, you see that people who answered questions with YES are over represented (50), in the comparison to the expected number of people (44.7).

There was significance between the categorical variable of HUMAN CAPITAL and the Student Group ( $X^2 = 5.401$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). To the Student Group, the key motivation for them to emigrate is to pursue the knowledge and to gain the German education certificates, which is wished to benefit to the future job seeking in both Germany and China.

*The Business Group, social capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 8 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of social capital are the members of Business Group. In the fourth cell, you see that people who answered questions with YES are over represented (15), in the comparison to the expected number of people (10.4).

There was significance between social capital and the Business Group ( $X^2 = 3.772$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The category of social capital in factor 1 is one of the variables, which can push the business group emigrating out of China.

*The Catering Group and social capital and Chinese emigration*

In the cross table 9 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of Social Capital are the members of Catering Group. In the fourth cell, we see that people answered questions with YES are not over represented (0), in the comparison to the expected number of people (2.7).

There was significance between the Catering Group and social capital ( $X^2 = 3.443$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As it is very hard asking those who work in the restaurant to answer the questionnaire, the majority do not want to answer<sup>306</sup>, even if I got the answers from them, it might be answered by their “social desirability”, i.e., it might not show their real meaning when they explained it, they did not want to inform what they thought.

*The Student Group and social capital and Chinese emigration*

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<sup>306</sup> To obtain the data from the Catering Group, I had to get to know them and made friends with them, then had to remember my questionnaire and talked to them, and remembered their answers to fill in afterwards when I was back home. If I asked them to fill in the questionnaire directly, they would not do it.

In the cross table 10 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the variable of SOCIAL CAPITAL are the members of the Student Group. In the fourth cell, we see that people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (1), in the comparison to the expected number of people (6.8).

There was significance between social capital and the Student Group ( $X^2 = 7.615$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

### **5.6.3. Four Chinese Groups with Pulling Factors to Immigrate**

#### *Business Group, children's future education and life, and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 11 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of children's future of education and life are the members of Business Group. In the fourth cell we can find that people who answered questions with YES are over represented (41), in the comparison to the expected number of people (30.1).

There was significance between the categorical variable of children's future and a Business Group ( $X^2 = 10.254$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Not only from the traditional Chinese culture, but also nowadays culture, it can be discovered that the Chinese family is a very strong social unit in the society, which does not have the responsibility of the children to respect and support the parents, but more strongly has the responsibility from the parents to the children, too, especially a one-child family. There was significance between the Business Group and the category of the Children's Future education and life in Germany. The category of the children's future in factor 2 is one of the variables, which can pull the business group staying in Germany.

#### *Restaurant Group, children's future education and life in Germany, and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 12 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of children's future are the members of Restaurant Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (16), in the comparison to the expected number of people (7.8).

There was significance between the categorical variable of children's future and a Restaurant Group ( $X^2 = 15.238$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Student Group, children's future education and life in Germany, and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 13 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of children's future are the members of Student Group. In the fourth cell we find that people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (8), in the comparison to the expected number of people (19.7). Parts of the reasons, in this group, are not that all the students have married and have children. But there was significance between the categorical variable of Children's Future and a Student Group ( $X^2 = 14.761$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The Children's Future is one of the variables, which can pull this group staying in Germany.

*Business Group, economic capital earning in Germany, and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 14 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Economic Capital are the members of Business Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (48), in the comparison to the expected number of people (39.7). There was significance between the categorical variable of Economic Capital and a Business Group ( $X^2 = 5.502$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Earning money is one of the categorical variables for Business Group to stay in Germany.

*Restaurant Group, economic capital earning in Germany and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 15 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Economic Capital are the members of Restaurant Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (17), in the comparison to the expected number of people (10.3).

There was significance between the categorical variable of Economic Capital and a Restaurant Group ( $X^2 = 9.504$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The category of earning Economic Capital in Germany has significance with the Restaurant Group for staying in Germany.

*Student Group, economic capital and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 16 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Economic Capital are the members of Student Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (18), in the comparison to the expected number of people (26.3). Same as explained in the emigration of a Student Group that does not immigrate to Germany

directly for pursuing economic capital, but indirectly. There was significance between the categorical variable of Economic Capital earning in Germany and a Student Group ( $X^2 = 6.455$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Restaurant Group, economic capital earnings in China and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 17 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Economic Capital are the members of a Restaurant Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (48), in the comparison to the expected number of people (39.7).

There was significance between the categorical variable of Economic Capital earning in China and a Restaurant Group ( $X^2 = 16,025$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Most of people working in the restaurant are short-term contract for three years and then they should return back to China, thus for them the importance of working in Germany is for the future having economic capital in China. What they are paid in Germany, though not much (around 500-1000 EURO); the exchange rate is c.a.1 Euro to 10 Yuan. It can be converted into more money in China, not in Germany.

*Business Group, natural capital in Germany and immigration*

In the cross table 18 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Natural Capital are the members of Business Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (74), in the comparison to the expected number of people (67.5).

There was significance between the categorical variable of Natural Capital and a Business Group ( $X^2 = 6.114$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Choosing a better environment in Germany to live and work is one of the reasons for the Business Group to stay in Germany.

*Academic Group, natural capital in Germany and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 19 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Natural Capital are the members of Academic Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (13), in the comparison to the expected number of people (18.3).

There was significance between the categorical variable of Natural Capital and Academic Group ( $X^2 = 10.398$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Choosing a better environment to live

and work in Germany is one of the reasons for the Academic Group to immigrate in Germany.

*Restaurant Group, human capital earning in Germany and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 20 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Human Capital are the members of Restaurant Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (13), in the comparison to the expected number of people (17.6).

There was significance between the categorical variable of Human Capital and a Restaurant Group ( $X^2 = 8.251$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

This phenomenon is interesting. Since those working in the restaurant will not pursue human capital for a better education to immigration by running restaurants. In the following expert interview we can find that those Chinese want to pursue human capital for their children, but not for themselves.

*Yue Dian:* I did not have time to study further, however I hope that my children can learn. Nothing is important than studying. My son is already in the last semester in the university, I hope that he can go on studying. If he has that kind of ability, I should support him all the time.

The traditional Chinese culture such as Confucianism embodies in Restaurant Group of Chinese immigrants. Everything is lower than learning. People earn money for transforming better education. If a person who cannot gain a better education themselves, they will try to realize it by their children. The percentage of answering *Yes* for obtaining human capital in Germany within Restaurant Group is as high as 61.9%.

*Student Group, Human Capital earning in Germany and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 21 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Human Capital are the members of Student Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (51), in the comparison to the expected number of people (44).

There was significance between the categorical variable of Human Capital and a Student Group ( $X^2 = 8.055$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The percentage of answering it within Student Group is as high as 96.2%.

*Business Group, Family Reunion and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 22 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Family Reunion are the members of Business Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (16), in the comparison to the expected number of people (10.8). There was significance between the categorical variable of Family Reunion and a Business Group ( $X^2 = 4.703$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Student Group, Family Reunion and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 23 in the Appendix II, people who answered the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Family Reunion are the members of Student Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (1), in the comparison to the expected number of people (7.1). There was significance between the categorical variable of Family Reunion and a Student Group ( $X^2 = 8.038$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). However the value falls in the yes cell is very low, only 1.9% within the student group.

*Academic Group, children's future of education category and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 24 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of *Children's Future of Education* are the members of Academic Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are not over represented (10), in the comparison to the expected number of people (15.6).

There was significance between the Academic Group and the categorical variable of Economic Capital earning in China ( $X^2 = 3.998$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Academic Group, economic capital earning in China and Chinese immigration*

In the cross table 25 in the Appendix II, people who answered in the questionnaire with YES or NO on the categorical variable of Economic Capital are the members of Academic Group. In the fourth cell people who answered questions with YES are over represented (28), in the comparison to the expected number of people (20.6).

There was significance between the Academic Group and the categorical variable of Economic Capital earning in China ( $X^2 = 6.521$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

#### 5.6.4. Summing up of different groups pursuing different factors to emigrate and immigrate in Germany

##### *Four Chinese immigrants groups and their related emigrating and immigrating factors*

We find the following characteristics after analyzing the pushing and the pulling factors of the four groups of Chinese immigrants.

*Business Group* We discover that this group is significantly *pushed* by the categorical variables of *Economic Capital and Social Capital* for emigration. We also discover that the *Business Group* is significantly *pulled* for immigration by the categorical variables in factor 2 *Children's future education and life in Germany, economic capital earning in Germany, natural capital obtained in Germany, family reunion in Germany, and a new form of social capital gained in Germany.*

*Student Group* We discover that this group is significantly pushed by the categorical variables of *economic capital earning and human capital obtaining and social capital owing* for emigration. We also discover that the Student Group is significantly pulled for immigration by the categorical variables of *a new form of social capital obtained in Germany, the children's future education and life in Germany, economic capital earnings in Germany, human capital obtaining in Germany and family reunion in Germany.*

*Catering Group* We discover that this group is significantly pushed by the categorical variables of *economic capital, human capital and social capital* for emigration. We also discover that the Catering Group is significantly pulled for immigration by the categorical variables for the sake of the *children's future, economic capital (earning in Germany), economic capital (obtaining in China) and human capital obtaining (for their children) in Germany.*

*Academic Group* We discover that this group is significantly pushed by the categorical variables of *economic and human capital pursuing* for emigration. We also discover that the Academic Group is significantly pulled for immigration by the

categorical variables for the sake of *the children's future education and life in Germany, economic capital earning in China and natural capital obtained in Germany.*

### **5.6.5. Pursuing economic capital is only one of the most important factors for the Chinese to emigrate and immigrate**

After investigating factor analysis, *t*-Test and Chi-square test, we find that Chinese immigrants emigrate and immigrate not only to pursue economic capital; moreover they also pursue human capital, social capital and cultural capital.

When they pursue other forms of capital, they invest their economic capital, they do not earn economic capital, but they pay it for transforming other forms of capital. This is against the (economic) *Capital* pushing factor analyzed by Adam Smith (1776), Marx (1864), Weber (1881), Durkheim (1933) and many others. The Chinese immigrants represent a new trend of emigrating and immigrating motivation to move, to obtain human capital in an institutionalized form and cultural value and religion in an embodied form in cultural capital in Germany, moreover to possess social capital and natural capital in Germany are also the pulling factors for them to immigrate.

However in the Business Group and the Catering Group we can find that the Chinese immigrants are pursuing economic capital as their main factor to immigrate and integrate into the German labour market. In the chosen sample these two groups occupy 38.6%, 10.0% respectively. They still show their strong pushing and pulling factor in the migratory process. What is significant is that the Chinese immigrants hold 25.2%, 10.5% respectively in the Student Group and the Academic Group (except others as 15.7%) want to and already invested in economic capital for transforming human capital. The Chinese Student group does not only hold the largest group in Germany, but also the largest group to invest economic capital in a world, such as in Great Britain, in USA, in Australia and in Japan (cf. Chapter 3. 2.). China has been the first sending countries of students in Germany since 2000 (3.451), 2001 (6.180), 2002 (6.985), 2003 (6.676), till 2003 the Chinese students increases three times more than in 1999. They hold 33.2% more than the foreign students from the second sending countries of Poland (4.028) in 2003. The Chinese Student Group and the Academic Group are pursuing human capital to emigrate and immigrate. With the development of China's economy, traditional



Chinese culture that everything is low than learning (cf. Chapter 3. 2) and particularly China's one child policy, more parents will have financial power to support their children to study abroad. Within at least 10 years this group will not only changing the migration pushing and pulling factors from China, but also will lead a new trend in studying emigration and immigration process.

## 5.7. Transformation and Integration

Transformation of different forms of capital by immigrants can make them integrate into different parts of the destination country. For instance, a job obtained in the destination country can be transformed into economic capital; learning and studying in German academic universities and schools can be transformed into human capital. Social capital can be gained or transformed by participating in different cross cultural activities. Cultural capital can be gained by cross cultural marriage and can also be gained by learning the others on purpose. Symbolic capital can be gained or transformed in case that the society accepts other minorities or foreigners. The transformation of different forms of capital means different aspects of integration in the destination country.

### 5.7.1. The outcomes of the Chinese immigrants on integration

#### 5.7.1.1. The degree of integrate into the host country

From the above analysis we find that different groups of Chinese immigrants participate in different fields of the society by investing and transforming different forms of capital. These different groups integrate in different fields, but moreover they integrate in different periods of time. Gogolin and Pries analyzed four ideal immigration types:

Versteht man internationale Migration als dauerhaften Wechsel des Wohnsitzes von einem Land in ein anderes' in dem Sinne, dass ein einmaliger Wechsel für längere Zeit oder gar permanent Gültigkeit hat, so lassen sich idealtypisch drei Formen internationaler Migration unterscheiden: Emigration/Immigration, Rückkehr-migration und Diaspora-Migration. Soll aber mit, dauerhafter Wechsel des Wohnsitzes von einem Land in ein anderes' ausgedrückt werden, dass das Wechseln des Wohnsitzes dauerhaft im Sinne von häufig bzw. auf Dauer gestellt ist. So ergibt sich ein neuer Idealtypus internationaler Migration Transmigration (Gogolin/Pries 2004:9).

The four groups of the Chinese immigrants can be investigated accordingly. These four types of Emigration/Immigration (Emigration/Immigration), Return-Migration

(Rückkehr-migration), Diaspora-Migration (Diaspora-Migration) and Transmigration (Transmigration) help to understand the degree to which the Chinese immigrants groups integrate into the German society from their purpose to stay and different time they are allowed to stay from their visa types. Gogolin and Pries (2004) analyzed the four ideal types of the migrants to associate/integrate with the original and the receiving countries and the reasons and the time span of migration. The reasons for people to migrate are the main factors to oblige them to integrate. The permitted time to stay in the host country is also important, if a group of immigrants wants to integrate, but within a short time or a longer time, they can be different in a degree to integrate in a receiving country.

#### *Integration of Business Group*

The business group has a very strong contact with the original and the receiving country as they must do their businesses with both the original and the receiving country. Because over 90% of these 336 Chinese business companies in Hamburg (cf. Chapter 4) are doing international business, focusing on Sino-German bilateral trade. Their reasons for emigrating and immigrating reasons are to pursue economic capital. This helps and makes them to integrate into the economic fields in Germany. As politics are important for them to understand the policies of doing business in the receiving country, this group also pays more attention to the political issues than other groups. Because the policies with regard to the Chinese businessmen in Hamburg, they can have the 'Green Channel' to issue the visa after they do business for five years by paying taxes. Most of them hold the long time residence permission or permanent permission. Their integration into German society in other parts is also expected to a deeper degree than the Student Group and the Catering Group.

#### *Integration of Student Group*

The Student Group also has a very strong contact with the original and the receiving country. The main reason is that the majority of them get economic support from their parents in the original country. They however very much integrate into the German educational system when they migrate to Germany for pursuing human capital. Because all the students hold the Bewillingung, a short time visa in Germany of no more than two years, their integration into the German society show their special character: thus may not integrate into the German society, they will be back in China after graduation if

they do not find a job in Germany; otherwise if they can find a job in Germany they can more easily integrate into the German society than any other groups. Though they are the first generation, but with higher degrees in education and they also become familiar with the German society during the study years. They are at the youth ages and more easily accept new things and transform their old to the new ways.

#### *The integration of Catering Group*

The owners in the Catering Group do not have a strong contact with the original country; they have their families of the second generation in Germany. They want to integrate into the German society, however, their working area is quite fixed in the restaurants, and they have little time and chances to integrate into other parts of the society. Almost all of them are with permanent visa types to be permitted to stay as long as they can or with the German visa. The chefs in the restaurant have a strong contact with the original country. They will be back after three years contract. Thus the permission to stay is short term and fixed. Their integration into the German society is very limited. Moreover they all work in the kitchen and seldom have the chance to meet others, even other groups of Chinese

#### *The integration of Academic Group*

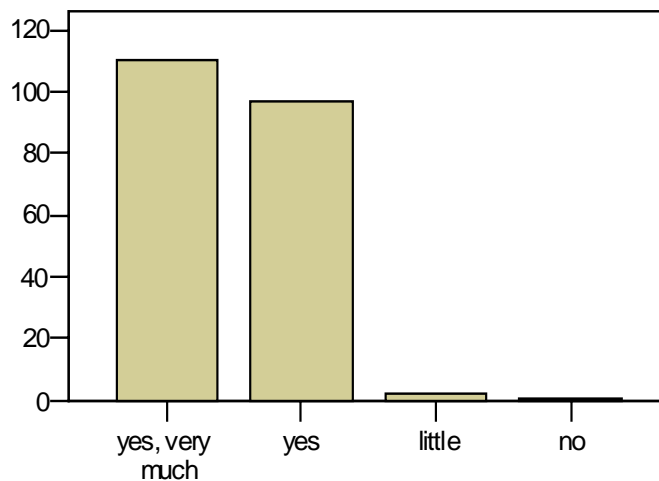
This group can also have the contact with the original country, since China is developing and implementing many policies to attract this group to return to China. The Chinese in this group can be easily integrated. As a majority of them hold the German higher educational degrees before they had found an academic job in Germany. This group is developed from the Student Group, but they have a job and permanent residence. They are the group to stay in Germany not only for pursuing economic capital, but human capital and social capital, and have a better contact with other organizations in academic area in Germany and other countries.

There are two different questions investigated by the triangulation method in order to gain an understanding of the Chinese immigrants' integration based on the theory of field, capital, habitus and doxa. One is the question on "wanting to integrate"; the other is the question on "feeling to be integrated" (items 32, 33 in the questionnaire).

#### ***Wanting to integrate***

The table below (Table 5.16.) shows that all together 98.6% of Chinese immigrants want to integrate into the German society. 52.4% and 46.2% respectively answered “want very much” to integrate, and “want” to integrate into the German society; 1.5% and 0.5% respectively answered “want little” and “does not want” to integrate. The Chinese immigrants answered in the questionnaire on the item of “wanting to integrate” by as many as 98%. It implies that there is a strong tendency of Chinese immigrants wishing to integrate into the German society from their sides, their own interests.

**Table 5.15. Frequencies of Chinese immigrants “wanting to integrate”**



**Table 5.16. Percentage of Chinese immigrants “wanting to integrate”**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes, very much	110	52.4	52.4	52.4
yes	97	46.2	46.2	98.6
little	2	1.0	1.0	99.5
no	1	.5	.5	100.0
Total	210	100.0	100.0	

***Feeling being integrated***

Though the four groups all specified that they wanted to integrate into German society, not all of them felt being integrated into German society (cf. Table 5.17. Table 5.18. Table 5.19. Table 5.20, and Table 5.21.).

After processing the chi-square analysis, there was no significance between the four groups and the categorical variables of feeling the integration into the German society.

There are differences in answering from difficult to easy distribution of four groups; however, it shows no differences among groups when they perceive being integrated into the German society. The similarity of all four groups' answers is that it is difficult being integrated. In answering "very difficult", the Business Group, the Student Group and the Academic Group had a close percentage respectively as 17.3% and 18.2% and 21.4%. However the Catering Group felt more difficult (38.1%) being integrated, 19.2% higher than the average percent of those three groups in answering "very difficult". Except The Student Group answered "difficult" as high as 72.7%; the answers of "difficult" from other three groups were around 45%. The Business Group and the Academic Group answered "not very difficult" respectively as 38.3% and 33.3%; the Catering Group and the Student Group answered a bit lower as 14.3% and 9.1% respectively. Except The Business Group had 2.5% answered "easy"; no other three groups indicated that they felt easy being integrated.

**Table 5.17. Feeling being integrated (Business group)**

		feel can integrate				Total
		very difficult	difficult	not very difficult	easy	
Business	No	Count 29	68	31	1	129
		% within business 22.5%	52.7%	24.0%	.8%	100.0%
	Yes	Count 14	34	31	2	81
		% within business 17.3%	42.0%	38.3%	2.5%	100.0%
Total		Count 43	102	62	3	210
		% within business 20.5%	48.6%	29.5%	1.4%	100.0%

**Table 5.18. Feeling being integrated (Catering Group)**

		feel can integrate	Total

			very difficult	difficult	not very difficult	easy	
Restaurant	No	Count	35	92	59	3	189
		% within restaurant	18.5%	48.7%	31.2%	1.6%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	8	10	3	0	21
		% within restaurant	38.1%	47.6%	14.3%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	43	102	62	3	210
		% within restaurant	20.5%	48.6%	29.5%	1.4%	100.0%

**Table 5.19. Feeling being integrated (Student group)**

			feel can integrate				Total
			very difficult	difficult	not very difficult	easy	
Student	No	Count	37	78	59	3	177
		% within student	20.9%	44.1%	33.3%	1.7%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	6	24	3	0	33
		% within student	18.2%	72.7%	9.1%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	43	102	62	3	210
		% within student	20.5%	48.6%	29.5%	1.4%	100.0%

**Table 5.20. Feeling being integrated (Academic group)**

			feel can integrate				Total
			very difficult	difficult	not very difficult	easy	
Academic	No	Count	34	83	48	3	168
		% within academic	20.2%	49.4%	28.6%	1.8%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	9	19	14	0	42
		% within academic	21.4%	45.2%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	43	102	62	3	210
		% within academic	20.5%	48.6%	29.5%	1.4%	100.0%

Among those four groups, the Business Group is the only group that answered easy being integrated, however only 2.5%. One of the reasons of the Business Group feeling

a little better being integrated in Hamburg is that when they do businesses they contact people from different nationalities and all the businessmen wanted to make the most of the conversion of economic capital. Therefore they try to make better communication with others and this helps the business group of the Chinese immigrants feel easier to be integrated. The Academic Group felt also difficult but not as difficult as the Student Group and Catering Group. The Chinese in The Academic Group worked in the academic fields exchange their academic/human capital - the subform of cultural capital, they and their integrated groups with another habitus wanted to make the best from exchanging and increasing of human capital, therefore this group feels also a bit better. The Catering Group felt more difficult being integrated, this may be because of the chefs in the Catering Group not having time and chances to contact any other persons, even no time to contact Chinese persons, except working in the kitchen. The Student Group also felt it hard to be integrated. They felt lost, especially in the first semester study. They suddenly left the home country and live alone in the host country without the family and old Chinese friends. Nonetheless all four groups (Table 5.21) felt hard being integrated. Among valid answers, only 1% felt “easy”, 30% felt “not very difficult”, all 5% felt difficult and 21% very difficult.

**Table 5.21. The frequencies of four Groups on “feeling being integrated”**

	Feel can integrate				Total
	Very difficult	Difficult	Not very difficult	Easy	
Count	43	96	61	2	202
% within sample	21.3%	47.5%	30.2%	1.0%	100.0%

### **Gender differences on integration**

There are big differences between the female group and the male group in answering distribution of “*wanting to integrate*”. In the table 5.22. below we can find that the group of female had 20% more than that of the male answering in “yes, very much want to integrate”. It shows that in Chinese immigrants of the female group from the self-side want to integrate into the German society more than the male Chinese immigrants do.



**Table 5.22. Gender differences of “wanting to integrate”**

		Wanting to integrate				Total	
		yes, very much	yes	little	no		
gender	female	Count	66	50	1	1	118
		% within gender	55.9%	42.4%	.8%	.8%	100.0%
		% within want integrate	60.0%	51.5%	50.0%	100.0%	56.2%
		% of Total	31.4%	23.8%	.5%	.5%	56.2%
	male	Count	44	47	1	0	92
		% within gender	47.8%	51.1%	1.1%	.0%	100.0%
		% within want integrate	40.0%	48.5%	50.0%	.0%	43.8%
		% of Total	21.0%	22.4%	.5%	.0%	43.8%
Total		Count	110	97	2	1	210
		% within gender	52.4%	46.2%	1.0%	.5%	100.0%
		% within want integrate	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	52.4%	46.2%	1.0%	.5%	100.0%

There were differences between the female and the male groups in answering distribution of “*feeling being integrated*”, but in the table below (Table 5.23.) we can find that the group of female have 22% fewer than that of the male group answering not “very difficult of feeling being integrated.” There were 14% more of the male group answering “difficult” and 12% fewer answering “very difficult”.<sup>307</sup> There is 1.4% with 3 persons answered “easy” to be integrated in a female group. There is no male group answering “easy”. 7% more female Chinese answered that they felt “not difficult” than the male group. There are 2% fewer Chinese female answered “very difficult” being integrated. There are two reasons discovered in the expert interviews why more Chinese females married than men (four times more Chinese women married a German man), Statistic from Hansastadt Hamburg, 2004<sup>308</sup>

<sup>307</sup> I conducted focus interview and expert interview on gender problems of the Chinese immigrants, because of the limitation of pages; I cannot give a further analysis here. A separate study needs to be .  
<sup>308</sup> Tel.: 040/42863-2953 / -2843, [Nimla.Heplevent@bsf.hamburg.de](mailto:Nimla.Heplevent@bsf.hamburg.de),  
[www.zuwanderung.hamburg.de](http://www.zuwanderung.hamburg.de))

Table 5.23. Gender differences of “feeling being integrated”

		Feeling being integrated				Total	
		very difficul t	difficul t	not very difficul t	easy		
gender	female	Count	19	58	38	3	118
		% within gender	16.1%	49.2%	32.2%	2.5%	100.0 %
		% <i>within feel can integrate</i>	44.2%	56.9%	61.3%	100. 0%	56.2%
		% of Total	9.0%	27.6%	18.1%	1.4%	56.2%
male		Count	24	44	24	0	92
		% within gender	26.1%	47.8%	26.1%	.0%	100.0 %
		% <i>within feel can integrate</i>	55.8%	43.1%	38.7%	.0%	43.8%
		% of Total	11.4%	21.0%	11.4%	.0%	43.8%
Total		Count	43	102	62	3	210
		% within gender	20.5%	48.6%	29.5%	1.4%	100.0 %
		% <i>within feel can integrate</i>	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100. 0%	100.0 %
		% of Total	20.5%	48.6%	29.5%	1.4%	100.0 %

### 5.7.2. The Chinese immigrants’ transformation on cultural value perception after migration

To further analyze the Chinese immigrants’ integration in Germany, we find that the original country plays as important a role as the receiving country. Firstly the original country pushes these Chinese immigrants to emigrate by the factors/capital they do not have, which they believe that Germany has; moreover precisely what different groups of Chinese citizens seek may vary. The Chinese business group predominantly seeks economic capital, which is the main trend of the globalization of the (economic) capital market. However, the Student Group seeks essentially human capital, which is not much defined as a pushing factor of emigration and of globalization, and which is also contrary to the classic pushing and pulling factors for pursuing economic capital. They do not emigrate and immigrate to earn the money, but to pay it.

The following is the description of cultural value’s perception of transformation after migration.

We study those Chinese immigrants' cultural value based on what we have explained in Chapter 3 on Hofstede's five index of cultural dimensions<sup>309</sup>: the preference of Power Centered society or not, the preference of individualism or collectivism, the preference of harmony or not; the preference of change or not and the preference of hard work or not (questionnaire 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d and 8e).

Almost 60% Chinese immigrants have changed to preferring not to have the power-centered society, but still 40% hope to have the power-centered society. This is more or less in agreement with Hofstede's investigation. But the percentage of not preferring the power-centered society is higher than Hofstede's score among the Chinese immigrants.

According to Hofstede, the Chinese culture value had a high score in collectivism, but not in individualism. In questionnaire, item 8b asked "Individualism preference or Collectivism preference"; only 5% answered "Collectivism preference". When the Chinese migrated to Germany, it demonstrated the contrary to Hofstede's score (cf. Chapter 4) on this category, i.e., the Chinese immigrants had changed their preference from collectivism to individualism.

In "conflicts acceptance score", the Chinese population in Hofstede's investigation has higher score in "conflicts avoidance". In the outcome of my quantitative research, it showed that almost all the Chinese immigrants preferred to have harmony. This was in agreement with Hofstede's score that the Chinese avoided conflicts even if they changed their social space cross-national boundaries.

Although the Chinese immigrants preferred harmony, they also preferred change; the percentage was very high, over 90%. This is indicated by more than 720,000 Chinese students having studied abroad since 1978, and almost 73 million Chinese immigrants had lived outside China since 1800s (cf. Chapter 1 and Chapter 4). On one hand it proved the transformation of the traditional Chinese culture, Confucianism and Buddhism. On the other hand it also showed the legitimating of the traditional culture from Taoism; the TaiJi figure demonstrated the harmony that was, however, pursued by means of the change inside of the harmony (cf. Chapter 1). Preferring the change has made Chinese more easily accept the new things and migrate to another social space nationally and internationally since 1978's "open door policy".

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<sup>309</sup> This study on Chinese cultural value perception transformation after migration is only testing the Chinese immigrants' preference to Hofstede's five cultural dimensions.

The Chinese emigrants rose from 22,000 in 1980 to 22 million in 2004; it has increased 100 times more than 25 years before. But the deep structure of the Chinese cultural value remained the same (Sun, 1983), strongly unchanged, such as the preference of the power-centered society by the Chinese in China and the Chinese immigrants abroad.

Almost 90% answered “yes” on the item of preferring hard work (8e). This result indicated why the Chinese immigrants could work after the regular office hours without being paid, and they still wanted to do it. Doing so would cost their health capital in the subform of cultural capital though they might increase their social capital in the sense of the Chinese social relationship (关系, *guanxi*). This can explain the reasons of the problems of causing human’s health and human rights amongs Chinese immigrants<sup>310</sup>.

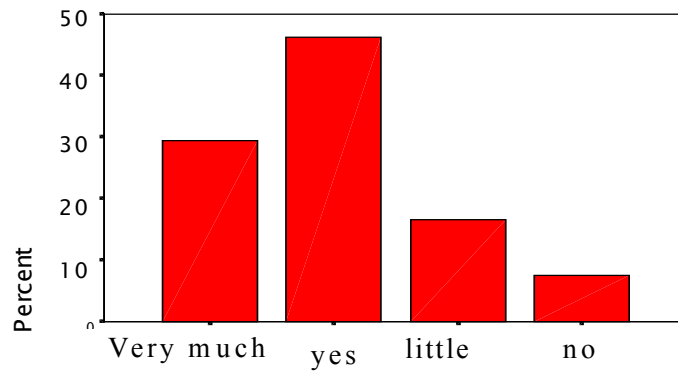
In summary of the Chinese immigrants’ value compared with Hofstede’s value dimension<sup>311</sup>, changes took place during the migratory process: the tendency “to be individualism” and to face and to accept the change. Nevertheless some traditional cultural values, such as the preference of harmony and hard work, are strongly represented.

To analyze the perception of the societal integration of different Chinese immigrant groups living in Germany, we use three sets of questions: a). Integration in the worksite, b). Participation in political activities, c). Involvement in daily activities, and other subcategories, i.e., transformation of forms of capital (cf. Pang CL. 1998).

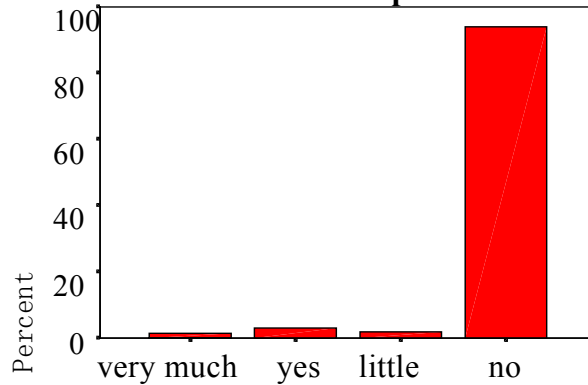
The table below (5.24) shows that the Chinese immigrants in the chosen sample can be involved in German society mainly in the worksite. 92.5% answered that they can have access to the German worksite with the answer of “yes, very much” and “yes” correspondingly.

<sup>310</sup> So do the problems of causing human’s health and human rights in China.

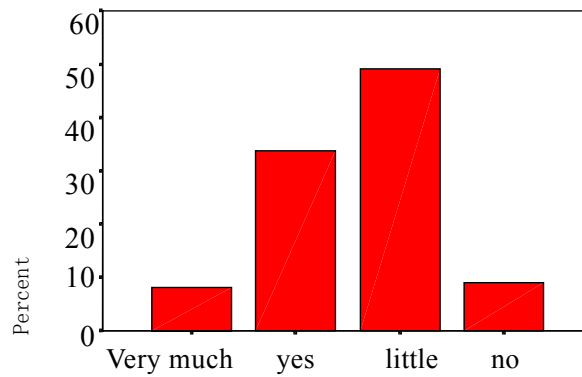
<sup>311</sup> The questions are based on Hofstede’s five dimensions of cultural value, but they are not the same as the research process Hofstede used.

**Table 5.24. Involvement in worksite**

In the table (5.25) below, there is an astonishingly lower percentage of political participation of the Chinese immigrants in German society, 6% answered that they participated in political activities, with as high as 94% answered “no”. The distribution is concentrated on one side.

**Table 5.25. Involvement in politic activities**

As to the participation of the daily life in Germany in the table below (table 5.26.), 8% answered “very much”, 34% answered “yes”, 48% answered “little”, and 10% answered, “cannot.” It is rather close to the normal distribution compared to that of the involvements of worksite activities and political activities.

**Table 5.26. Involvement in daily activities**

*Participation in social activities on weekends*

In the table (5.27) above from the chosen sample of the Chinese population, it shows more than 40% of the Chinese on weekends stay at home either doing housework or studying, 21% meet Chinese friends, 21% go to the Chinese school. The majority (87%) of the Chinese population in the chosen sample still stays in their Chinese circle. 13% joined other activities, however among them 7% are involved in activities with other minorities in Germany. The expert interviews indicate that the Chinese immigrants feel good to have something to do on weekends. They believe that learning is one of the good things to do on weekends, especially for the Student Group.

**Table 5.27. Chinese Immigrants Activities on Weekends**

ACTIVITIES	PERCENTAGE
At home (house work or study)	40%
Chinese friends	21%
German friends	1%
Evangelic church	5%
Social program	5%
Chinese school	21%
Others	7%
Total	100%

Though 21% go to the Chinese school, not all of them go to the Chinese School for their children's study. This is the case of Mr. Te Wu.

Te Wu: I do not come to the Chinese school for my child, my son is small, only two years old.... the reason for me to come is [that I want] to play basketball with others and my wife comes for having the chance to talk with others [in Chinese].

The Association of the Chinese school organized the physical training programs; people could come and join in different programs when the children participated in Chinese courses, which also attracted some parents to come with little children who were not old enough to learn. The parents went to the Chinese school to “talk” and exchange information with other Chinese immigrants. The Chinese schools in Hamburg are not only places for younger Chinese to study the Chinese language, but also the places to gather together for those Chinese seeking to increase social capital, particularly emotional capital as the subform of social capital in a foreign social space.

There are 5% of the Chinese immigrants participating in social activities organized by the German society. It indicates that some fewer Chinese immigrants did spend their weekends in the German circles, but the number is small.

### **5.7.3. The identity after migration to Germany**

To investigate the identification of the Chinese in Germany, the question on “which side of the sport team do you support?” is asked (item 32 in questionnaire). It intends to evaluate the Chinese immigrants' attitude to support the Chinese or the

German teams or both. There are still 56.7% of the Chinese immigrants who support only Chinese team to win, and 1.4% who support only German part to win. But there is a very high percentage of the Chinese population answered (41.9%) that they support both when the Chinese team and the German team compete with each other in a sport match. In the research it finds that more Chinese women show their identities differently as men do. 20% more women show their support to both teams from the two countries. It reveals that the identification of the Chinese immigrants is transforming in some sense. This investigation is very limited; Ng (1999) and others (cf. Li, & Findlay 1996; Lieber, Chin, Nihira, & Mink, 2001) have done a great deal of research. Ng suggested convincingly in his book that attention to immigration patterns, demographic variables, ethnic institutions, and the influence of China and the host country is useful to understand the construction of identity in other Chinese Diasporas around the world.

Even if the Chinese immigrants want to integrate and are approaching to the index of integration both by Germany and by EU, it is hard for them to feel that they are integrated. Comparing the index of integration of the Business Group, the Student Group, and the Academic Group, their resident rights are legal, their educational levels (human capital) are high; some of the immigrants in the Catering Group also have a high level of education. Some of the owners and chefs of the later 1980s and earlier 1990s hold higher educational degrees either in China or in Germany, such as Bachelor degree, Master degree or Diploma, or Diploma candidates or even PhD candidates<sup>312</sup>. As to the employment and earnings (economic capital), the Business Group, the Catering Group and the Academic Group have either permanent or short-term contract jobs, their earnings are above 1000 Euro. The Student Group does not owe too much, generally around 500 Euro, and is partly or mostly supported by their parents from China. Since the majority population of the Chinese immigrants (cf. Figure 5.2) is from the age 20 to 40, they are the younger immigrants in good health needed for hard work Germany. Their language proficiencies are generally sufficient to deal with the daily life (cf. (Table 5.13. Table 5.14, Table 5.15 and Table 5.16 in Chapter 5.1.2), excluding the chefs in the Catering Group. However the Chinese immigrants in all those four groups did not choose the answer that they feel integrated into German society.

#### **5.7.4 Tangible and intangible forms of capital integration**

<sup>312</sup> The sample of this Ph, D is not in Hamburg, but in Bielefeld.



Why do the Chinese immigrants still not feel integrated into the German society? Those indexes of “integration of legal rights (social capital), education (human capital), employment (economic capital), health (human capital), and living conditions (social and economic capital),” are already better integrated in those four Chinese groups. The key is that the tangible forms on integration (cf. Chapter 2) can be transformed according to the laws and regulations in the fields of the host country. When transforming different forms of capital according to the rules and regulations of the fields in the destination country, those tangible forms may easily be converted, i.e., the money (economic capital) in different currency forms can be easily exchanged, the language (subform of cultural capital) can be transformed by learning, the education can be improved by obtaining the host country’s education. Other forms of capital, such as cultural capital - what they bring from their own cultural backgrounds, such as cultural values and other cultural dimensions (cf. Hofstede, 2001 and Chapter 3); social capital - their social networks and symbolic capital - their social positions, are difficult to transform only according to the laws and regulations, they are intangible forms of capital for integration. Moreover civic participation (political capital) is a problem for the Chinese immigrants to participate in the civic movements. The recognition and acceptance from the aboriginals’ habitus play more important roles. *“The most important is the need for a holistic approach which takes into account not only the economic and social aspects of integration but also issues related to cultural and religious diversity, citizenship, participation and political rights”*<sup>313</sup>. But cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital that embody in the habitus cannot be transformed easily and changed in a short time (cf. Chapter 3). For instance, the second generation of the Chinese would also like to seek for help from families and friends circles but not the lawyers in order to solve the problems (Fei, 1994).

## **5.7.5. Self-Religious Conversion and Integration**

### **5.7.5.1. Chinese immigrants’ religious backgrounds**

When investigating the integration of the Chinese immigrants into the German society, it is important having discovered that Chinese immigrants integrate into German society

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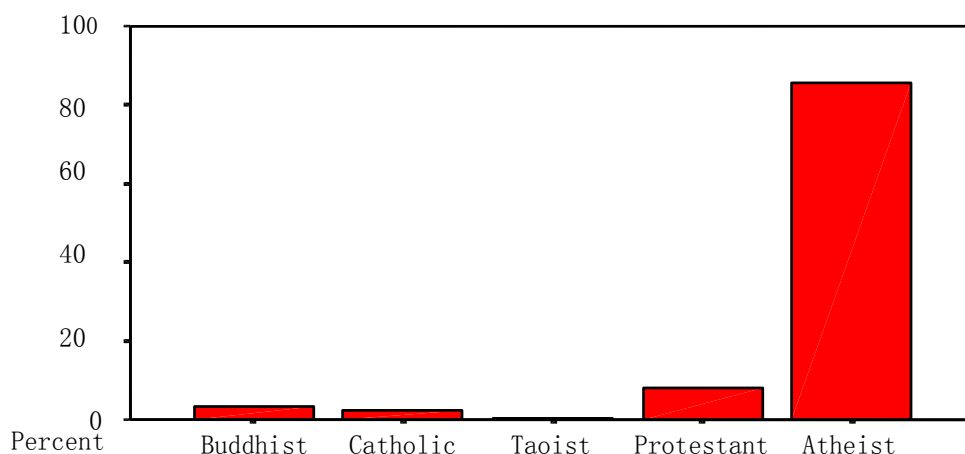
<sup>313</sup> Policy on integration by EU Commission. cf. 5.2.1.

by their own alteration on the aspect of religious belief, a subform of cultural capital. Some Chinese immigrants convert their religious belief from Atheist into Protestant or Catholic in Germany.

### *Chinese religious groups in China and in Germany*

Compared to the different religious groups in China <sup>314</sup>(table 5.28), the majority religious group is Atheist, around 90%. And the rest are the Muslim group, 1%-2%; the Christian group, 1%-2%; the Taoism group, 1%-2%; and the Buddhism group, 6%<sup>315</sup> (cf. Lu, 1989). In the chosen sample in Hamburg we find in the table below that more than 84.5% of the Chinese immigrants are Atheist, 10% are Protestant, around 3% are Buddhist, around 2% are Catholic, and 0.5% is Taoist.

**Table 5.28. Religious Groups in China**



#### **5.7.5.2. Chinese immigrants Self-Religious Conversion and Integration**

The Chinese immigrants explained that participating in religion in the host country could help adaptation and integration in the host country. There were 87.5% of the Chinese immigrants not participating in the religious activities in the chosen sample; 12.5% participating in religious activities and all of them responded that the participation of religious activities helped them to adapt to the life in Germany, in which 99% were Protestants or Catholic and 1% was Buddhist.

<sup>314</sup> From "China, People", [http://www.immigration-usa.com/wfb2004/china/china\\_people.html](http://www.immigration-usa.com/wfb2004/china/china_people.html), 2 December 2004.

<sup>315</sup> cf. <http://www.atlapedia.com/online/countries/china.htm>, 2 December 2004.

From qualitative analysis we may draw out two aspects on the reasons of the Chinese immigrants being Atheist in China but converting to Protestant and Catholic Christianity in Germany.

On the one hand, the Chinese immigrants have been socialized by the Marxism concept which admits that materialized form decides the upper structure of the ideology, it is the foundation of a society, and there is no God. It was strongly advocated after China has established itself as a socialist country since 1949. Mr. Guan explained his mother's example in China.

*Guan:* My mother converted her Catholics belief into Atheist on one night after the People's Liberating Army took over Shanghai in 1949. We were told there was no God according to Marxism, and we were our own rescuers. It was during one night that we changed our beliefs. We don't go to church any more.

From Guan's mother we realized that some of the Chinese before 1949 had been Catholics and after that they changed into Atheists. This might help those Chinese immigrants whose parents were Catholics and Protestants to convert more easily to Catholics or Protestants when they had the chance to immigrate into Germany. Some of the Chinese immigrants in Hamburg were Catholics or Protestants before their emigration from China<sup>316</sup>.

On the other hand, most of the Chinese are embedded in the traditional Confucius philosophical thinking, which is not a kind of religion, either (cf. Chapter 3). Mr. Chao expressed his opinion on the "belief" of the Chinese in Confucius.

*Chao:* The Chinese Confucius philosophical thinking is not developed as a ritual and has no religious belief in God. Though there is the heaven being mentioned by him, but it is not a clear definition as God.

Confucius declared that the emperor was the son of heaven, and common people should listen to him, but it is different from a religious belief and there is no doctrine about it. Confucius is also a real human being; he has not been mentioned as the heaven or God, either. It has no religious ritual and practices when people think about Confucianism. In Chinese culture, there is no particular God mentioned in Confucianism. In legitimating the Chinese religion, Chinese immigrants have no strong backgrounds in religious belief

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<sup>316</sup> In one expert interview, I noticed that one Chinese woman had converted to Catholicism from Atheism before emigrating from China. When I was doing my expert interview in China (January to February, 2005), I found many youths were converting from Atheism into Catholicism or Protestantism in Beijing.

developed with its almost 5000-year long history. Chinese immigrants lack of religious roots; it is easy for them to accept any form or any kind of religion<sup>317</sup>. Another reason is that Chinese culture is an assimilated culture, which can last so long time in such a big country; it is partly because of a society open to new culture. Learning and converting religion from other culture can be traced back as early as the Han Dynasty (BC. 202-220 AD.). Furthermore, in the Tang Dynasty (618-907), after advocating from the emperor Li Shi-Min (626-649) many Chinese converted their religious belief to Buddhism, which had been developed into many branches with Chinese characteristics. The Chinese daily life has mostly obeyed Confucian thought mixed with Taoism and Buddhism in daily practices without converting to a particular type of religion, which is a kind of mixed like social practices. Since the emperor of Qian Long in Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), announced, “Confucianism (Ru, 儒), Buddhism (Shi释), and Taoism (Dao 道) are in one family”, which has been transformed and unified by the practice of the Chinese population since then. But it has been changed since 1949 by the government and the Atheists have been the main trend of the Chinese citizens’ religious belief in China. This helps understand that the majority of Chinese are Atheists (90%) in China<sup>318</sup>.

All those changes from the history of the transformation of the “Chinese religion” make the Chinese immigrants open to accept the change and make the self-religious conversion in Germany. All this may explain that the Chinese can themselves convert the intangible form of capital, i.e., the self-religious conversion from the Chinese immigrants in the host country and also partly can illustrate the reasons of Chinese immigrants as a non-problem Asia foreign group in Germany (cf. Kiese, 2003) by the self habitus adaptation and integration.

When discussing on the topic of immigrants’ integration, habitus is one of the key terms to understand the difficulties of the immigrants’ integration. Habitus (cf. Chapter 2) is built up by the possession of different forms of capital and its interrelation with fields in different time and space in a doxa. Habitus can be embodied in an agent. Agent(s) always includes two parts: human and institution. A person can possess

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<sup>317</sup> It needs to write a separate paper about the religious conversion of Chinese immigrants from the perspective of its development in Hamburg, its characteristics of its ritual, language, its food, its activities, its members (sisters and brothers), and its social connections within the church and outside the church, particularly on the conversion of those Chinese from Atheists into Protestants in a Chinese Evangelic church. However detailed investigation still needs to be done.

<sup>318</sup> However this is changing now. Chinese are converting into Buddhism, Protest and Catholics, particularly of these Chinese immigrants abroad, the details of the Chinese immigrants’ religion conversion are explained in this section above.

different forms of capital and embody their habitus; an institution can also have. Since an institution cannot be born without people, its history and its forms of capital must be developed with human's thinking. It can also have the state of feeling the same as a person's habitus. We can often hear that this institution has no humanity, or that institution is very humane. Though a person's habitus shows more flexibility with strong human's emotion than an institution, an institution is founded and united for a specific purpose by people, consequently it also has the same characteristics of people's habitus as institution's habitus with capital, field and doxa backgrounds.

When immigrants migrate to another country, they hold different forms of capital, immigrants as 'others' are to be perceived by the aboriginals' habitus with their forms of capital. Fields in the host country are legitimated from the history of the host country and dominated by the aboriginals' habitus. Fields are developed in the doxa, the already structured structure of the host country; the change of it must be abided by it. For instance,

As in France, the national self-conceptualisation goes against the image of multiculturalism; yet while in France this is due to a universalist motivation to remain indifferent when faced with particularities in order to assimilate them, in Germany the rationale consists of an ethno-tropic homogeneity that does not involve any proposal for the integration of others. Thus, the dominant discourse differentiates between Germans and foreigners, and constructs the latter as a residual category. Immigrants are defined by deficits and discrepancies, and are not expected to have anything remarkable to contribute. In this taxonomy, it is almost impossible to describe the presumed cultural differences in positive terms. Immigrant cultures are hardly symbolised – in a sense, they are empty spaces (Sabine Mannitz and Werner Schiffauer 2004: 84).

Anyhow Germany does have its proposal to integrate foreigners in its society, the issue is how different its proposal or policy from these of other countries. Each country has its own structured structure of doxa, the policy each country makes has to recognize its doxa, habitus, and different forms of capital each individual country has, otherwise the proposal or policy cannot be carried out.

### **5.7.6. Doxa transformation in a receiving country by Integration**

As newcomers immigrate into the German society, the relatively "stable" structure of the host country's doxa will be changed; the aboriginals can have resistance or recognition with regard to the newcomers' transformation of different forms of capital from their different habitus. If the aboriginals in the fields of the host country do not

want to recognize or accept the foreigners or immigrants, then it is hard for immigrants from one side, which embodies different habitus in the destination fields, to transform their capital and integrate into the fields of the host country. During the process of integration, it is also a process of doxa transformation in a host country, which will be changed and cannot be the same as before<sup>319</sup>. A respect for diversity may lead to acceptance of the differences, not only from one side, but also from both sides. All agents with different habitus have to respect and recognize each others' habitus, not only the aboriginal's, but also the immigrant's, which can make the transformation of different forms of capital and the doxa a benefits for both sides in the host country. Making more transformation of capital means making more profits in fields, it is a dual winning.

Forms of capital are the fundamental factors to push and pull the actor to emigrate and immigrate/integrate. These main forms of capital in different times and in different situations represent different degrees of push and pull factors in a migratory process.

Economic capital is the very fundamental form if we understand it following Maslow's (1963) analysis on basic needs of human beings. It is the essential and the most powerful pushing and pulling factors for immigrants to emigrate and immigrate/integrate.

Cultural capital in modern society shows to a more powerful degree a push and pull for people to emigrate and immigrate/integrate. Human capital, the institutionalized subform of it, is one of the main pushing and pulling factors for people from the developing country to move to the developed country.

Social capital in the modern technological communicational society greatly helps people, who want to migrate internationally, to obtain information. Modern transportation is another aspect which helps people more easily to move internationally.

Symbolic capital is an instrumental tool helping to understand whether the immigrants can adapt or not adapt to the new receiving society after migration. Yet this understanding is based on an understanding of fields, habitus and doxas of both receiving country and sending country<sup>320</sup>.

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<sup>319</sup> It is especially difficult when the immigrants have already owned different religious belief before emigration from the original country.

<sup>320</sup> No matter how many generations an immigrant is in the receiving country, only if he or she keeps on having their marriage inside people from the sending country, i.e. his or her family background is always inside the circle of the sending country; and he or she will have a great influence from his sending country. Because Bourdieu explained that habitus developed basically from one's family (1981).

## Conclusion

*In part one, the theoretical part;* I discuss the theoretical concepts based on Bourdieu's and Gogolin's theories: capital, habitus, fields, and their relationships with doxa for the analysis of immigrants (cf. Chapter 1 and 2). I take the case of Chinese immigrants in Germany to study the development of Chinese immigrants' habitus from the perspective of Chinese traditions and contemporary civilizations in China and their different cultural dimensions (cf. Hofstede, 2001 and Chapter 2) within the host country, Germany. Moreover I explore the different concepts of integration held by scholars, from western researchers to Chinese researchers, from the ancient time to the present, in order to understand the pushing and pulling factors for integrating agents in our social world. *In part two, the empirical part,* I have investigated the triangulation method for exploring the four groups of Chinese immigrants in Germany and have obtained key factors for emigration and immigration/integration from the results of a factor analysis, *t*-Test and a Chi-square test. Furthermore the quantitative results are investigated and interpreted by means of expert interviews (cf. Chapter 3 and 5).

The research is aimed to understand what forms of capital are pushing and pulling factors for immigrants to emigrate, immigrate or integrate, and what relationship of capital, habitus, field and doxa with the agents is (cf. Introduction, Chapters 2 and 5).

## Results

### *New findings on pushing and pulling factors to emigrate and immigrate/integrate*

The most important results of the dissertation are the findings of factors as all different forms of capital that Chinese immigrants invest and transform during the migration, and different groups invest and transform different forms of capital to emigrate and immigrate/integrate distinctively in the company of their habitus embedded with different forms of capital. The immigrants' integration in different fields

of the host country demonstrates the process of the integration of forms of capital (in integration index<sup>321</sup>).

***Character among different forms of capital, the investment and the transformation***

Forms of capital can be invested, but can also be transformed. Moreover a form of capital cannot only be invested and transformed into its own form of capital, but can also be invested in and transformed into other forms of capital. This is evidently shown by the Student Group (cf. Chapter 5), which invests economic capital in order to transform it into human capital, the subform of the institutionalized form of cultural capital in Germany. The students hope to transform their human capital after graduation into a good job, i.e., a better salary (economic capital), partly embodied German culture and western culture (embodied form of cultural capital), a higher position in a society (symbolic capital) and meanwhile the social networks when they stay in German schools and universities (social capital). Their different forms of capital are investable and transformable.

***Both sides' Integration, not merely immigrants but also aboriginals***

The key research discovery is that the integration is not from one side of immigrants, but also from aboriginals by transforming forms of capital when analyzing the Chinese immigrants' integration into Germany. It finds out that the Chinese immigrants want to integrate into the German society, but do not feel to be integrated into, i.e., the integration of the immigrants is the adaptation from two sides, the immigrants' side to integrate and the aboriginal side to accept their integration. What is more, when immigrants transform their different forms of capital on the one hand, the aboriginals also need to adapt and to transform theirs on the other hand. Though it can have different degrees of transformation between the immigrants and the aboriginals, both have been changed. One side can only do one aspect of the integration, such as the Chinese Academic Group has a very high level of education, above the Doctorate degree, leads a moderate life (earnings are at least above 2000 Euro, cf. Chapter 5.) with

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<sup>321</sup> Cf. Chapter 5, the integration indexes and their related forms of capital.



good jobs, and their German language skills are good to do their jobs<sup>322</sup>. They do have political capital (legal rights<sup>323</sup>), economic capital (job and accommodation), human capital (language skills, working experiences, and higher educational degrees). However, they still do not feel that they have been integrated into the German society (cf. Chapter 5.2.). The integration into the host country also needs the recognition and the acceptance from the host country, i.e., the integration of symbolic capital is hard, which are constituted by other forms of capital and demanded to be recognized by others<sup>324</sup>.

***Easier to transform or integrate tangible forms of capital than intangible forms***

Intangible forms of capital's integration such as religious capital (if they have strong religious backgrounds), a subform of cultural capital<sup>325</sup>, political capital (the attitude and satisfaction of the political system) and social capital (to establish the relationship with the aboriginals) are not so easy to be integrated as those tangible forms, such as economic capital and human capital. Intangible forms of capital need longer time to be transformed, and they require recognition and acceptance from others, such as the aboriginals in the host country. Moreover the recognition and acceptance are intangible and flexible, too, which are not easy to be measured. Therefore it is also hard to make the concerning policies about the integration of these intangible forms of capital.

***'Self-conversion' of intangible form of religious capital***

Yet there is a significant discovery that the outcome I did not expect to make at the beginning of the thesis: the intangible form of capital transformation. It is the self-conversion of Chinese immigrants in Germany in the aspects of religious capital, i.e., subform of cultural capital in embodied form. This is to state that Chinese immigrants who convert their belief from Atheist to the Protestant or Catholic. This self-adaptation greatly helps those Chinese immigrants to integrate into German society on the

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<sup>322</sup> There are around 15% Chinese being Post doctorates in the Academic Group using English doing their research and dealing with their daily life in Hamburg in my focus interview sample. In the expert interview, it indicates that these speaking better German feel better integrated in Germany, and those Chinese speaking English with colloques from Germany and other countries also feel better integrated in the working sites (cf. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

<sup>323</sup> It means the legal right to stay in Germany (cf. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

<sup>324</sup> The objectified form of cultural capital has distinctions from regions. Bourdieu does not make the differences of the matter objectified form from human's objectified form of cultural capital, he does not mention human's physical objectified form, which I find very important. Human's physical form of capital as the subform of cultural capital has great influence when people's symbolic capital is recognized or accepted by others.

<sup>325</sup> But there are no problems raised in religious involvement of the Chinese immigrants, see the part of the Self-Conversion on Chinese immigrants' religion (Chapter 5, part 3).

transformation of intangible form of cultural capital. It reveals that those of the Chinese immigrants who have no religious belief as Atheists are easily to convert to a new religious belief which is popular in their host country. This self-conversion of religion has not been reported in relation to other immigrant groups, as far as I know.

### *Non participation in politic activities*

There is, however, a finding that the Chinese immigrants scarcely involve themselves in political activities. They have put little time and little attention to participate in the politic activities in the host country, Germany. Moreover, they even do not show their attitudes and satisfaction about the political issues of the host country. In politic and civic participation their indifference is obvious. They simply want to devote to their job at their greatest efforts, which is all. None of the Chinese I interviewed in all walks of life have joined any German parties<sup>326</sup>.

## **Prognosis of Chinese immigrants**

### *Different outlooks for four groups*

With the development of the bilateral trade more Chinese are taking this opportunity to do business in Germany. Hamburg will be an important place to develop their businesses. The chances for both of the Chinese and their German partners remain optimism tie with regard to future business cooperation. The integration of business and trade is a great help for the Business Group to make the transformation of economic capital. The Catering Group will continue to stay as one form of Chinese immigrants in Germany, however after almost 25 years since this launching, it is now saturated, and to launch new Chinese restaurants is too competitive. The Academic Group will continue to have programs exchanged between both countries. But more Chinese from the mainland will come for a short visit and leave for China again. Therefore more short-term visiting exchange programs will be attractive for them. The relative higher educational standard of Germany which is recognized by the Chinese population will continue to attract the Student Group to study in Germany, with the ongoing influence of Chinese cultural capital (Learning is the highest thing, cf. Chapter 2, 2.3 and Chapter 4 and 5), social capital (the close relationship of family) and economic capital (the

development of economy in China). Since 2001 Chinese students have held first place amongst foreign students studying in Germany (cf. Chapter 5). More Chinese students even now are allowed one more year visa extension to look for jobs in Germany after graduation from German higher educational institutions, and will take the chance to find jobs either in Germany or in China. This has been a great change since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### *A Non-problem group of immigrants*

The Chinese immigrants' characteristics of self-religious conversion and doing best of own jobs, partly explains the reason that they fall into a non-problem group of immigrants, as one of the top ten sending countries (2001, 2002, 2003) in Germany (cf. Chapter 4). Their Chinese traditions and civilizations embodied in their habitus make them apathetic to argue for their 'rights' in a host country<sup>327</sup>.

## **Further research and thought**

### *Purpose and time, four ideal types of immigrants for understanding integration*

In the analysis of the Chinese immigrants, different groups with different purposes and different durations of stay in Germany show different attitudes to and make different ways in integration. The premise of understanding integration is what political capital immigrants can have, the legal rights, the citizenship in different types of permission to stay in a host country, without analyzing this it is hard to discuss integration. Those four ideal types of immigrants Emigration/Immigration, Return-Migration, Diaspora-Migration and Transmigration (cf. Gogolin and Pries, 2004: 9) can help to understand the integration by analyzing the purpose and time the immigrants stay in the host country (Chapter 5).

### *Different integration policies to different immigrants' groups*

<sup>326</sup> My interviews were conducted before 2003, and it has been reported in Chinese Newspaper (European Business and Life Style in Hamburg, 01 08, 2005) some changes on attention paid to political activities on the part of Chinese immigrants in Berlin.

<sup>327</sup> In October 2000, there was a parade organized by foreign immigrants in Hamburg appealing for having different rights to live in the receiving country. Around hundreds were gathered, I was the only Chinese on the site. However I went there for the purpose of fieldwork of interviewing the Chinese population for my dissertation and not for participation in the parade, either.

Since immigrants' habitus formed by different forms of capital have been dissimilar and been in consequence diverse, if aboriginals know the habitus of the immigrants, they can first understand and further recognize the immigrants' way of transforming forms of capital more easily. Besides if aboriginals do not want to do so, even if a group of immigrants learns or accepts the habitus of the aboriginals who, however, do not have the chance to learn or know the habitus of the immigrants' group, it is hard for immigrants to be integrated and the aboriginals can also feel excluded and uncomfortable. Therefore we suggest that the government make different policies for understanding different immigrants from different countries in a host country when discussing about integration.

In this research, Chinese immigrant's habitus as one group are analyzed when they transform their forms of capital in Germany. Other immigrants' nations, such as other top ten sending countries in Germany: Turkey, Poland, Russian Federation, Italy, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, Romania, (China), Iraq and Hungary (2001); Turkey, Poland, Russian Federation, Italy, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, Romania, (China), Hungary and USA (2002) are desired to be investigated separately by the model above in order to understand their different habitus for their strategies to transform/integrate forms of capital in Germany, such as in the process of legal rights recognition from aboriginals and attitudes towards the German political system from the immigrants (politic capital), educational integration (human capital), employment and earnings assimilation (economic capital), religious capital integration (cultural capital) and civic participation (social capital), thus to make the relating policies in the process of integration.

***Not only (economic) capital, but all forms of capital being pushing and pulling factors in migration***

As analyzed in Chapter 1 and 2, Smith, Marx, Weber, Durkheim all claimed that (economic) capital can be the form to push and pull agents in the world to migrate, i.e., to make the world in a process of globalization. Weber also stated that bureaucracies and organizations (social capital) in modern industrialized society push and pull (economic) capital to mobilize. To spread religious capital (cultural capital) in a different doxa is another kind of pushing and pulling factor for people to migrate, too. To spread one's ideology, such as capitalism, socialism, democracy (political capital), is another kind of pushing and pulling factor for people to migrate. To gain knowledge (human capital) is another kind of pushing and pulling factor for people to migrate, too. All these main forms of capital push and pull agents to migrate globally. In consequence

maximizing all these different forms of capital by agents in this world pushes and pulls people's living, interaction, socialization, migration and thus is a process of globalization.

### ***Understanding of Conflicts***

While providing answers to the original questions posed, the study has raised more questions for further research on the reasons for causing conflicts. The integration of "wanting to integrate" is the self-side, i.e., from the immigrants' aspect, and the integration of "feeling being integrated" into the host country is the recognition from the other side, i.e., from the aboriginal aspect. When the policies made by aboriginals do not allow the immigrants to transform their capital by their immigrants' habitus in the host fields, conflicts can easily arise. Any agents would like to transform and maximize their different forms of capital by their habitus. It is hard to imagine that humankind will cease to maximize all these different forms of capital in the world. But when all want to compete to transform their own different forms of capital by their own habitus, conflicts can be engendered. It is an unlimited process of a human history of conflicts, struggles or fights; balanced, cooperation or harmony. This new model shown in the chart above anticipates supporting for researchers and policy makers to find out the reasons for causing conflicts among people and for helping to discover ways of resolution.

### ***Conflicts and dynamics of the social transformation and integration***

The transformation of forms of capital can cause conflicts on the one hand, but the transformation of different forms of capital can cause the change, i.e., can make dynamics of the world on the other hand. The maximization of the social resources in the world makes the change and transformation of the world, it is the energy to push and pull the world to progress. However the dynamics is simultaneously progressed through the struggling and conflicts among each agent. When analyzing the relationship of capital, field, agents' habitus and doxa, it is hard to understand that the dynamics of a society can be processed without conflicts.

Though we know habitus can be changed (cf. Chapter 2, 2; Bourdieu, 1991, Gogolin, 1994) with the new experience, this change needs time to adapt in different social space, and different immigrants with different habitus may also need different time in different social space to change. Intangible forms of capital need longer time to

change, particularly symbolic capital. However the discovery of the Chinese Atheists' self-conversion to the Christianity is meaningful as a key aspect of integration into the host country without conflict. The self change of an intangible form of capital in the social process helps understand the subjective change of the inner habitus of a person. The subjective reaction of a person to the outside world can be restricted in a field, but also can be stimulated in a field when agents want to participate/integrate in it subjectively.

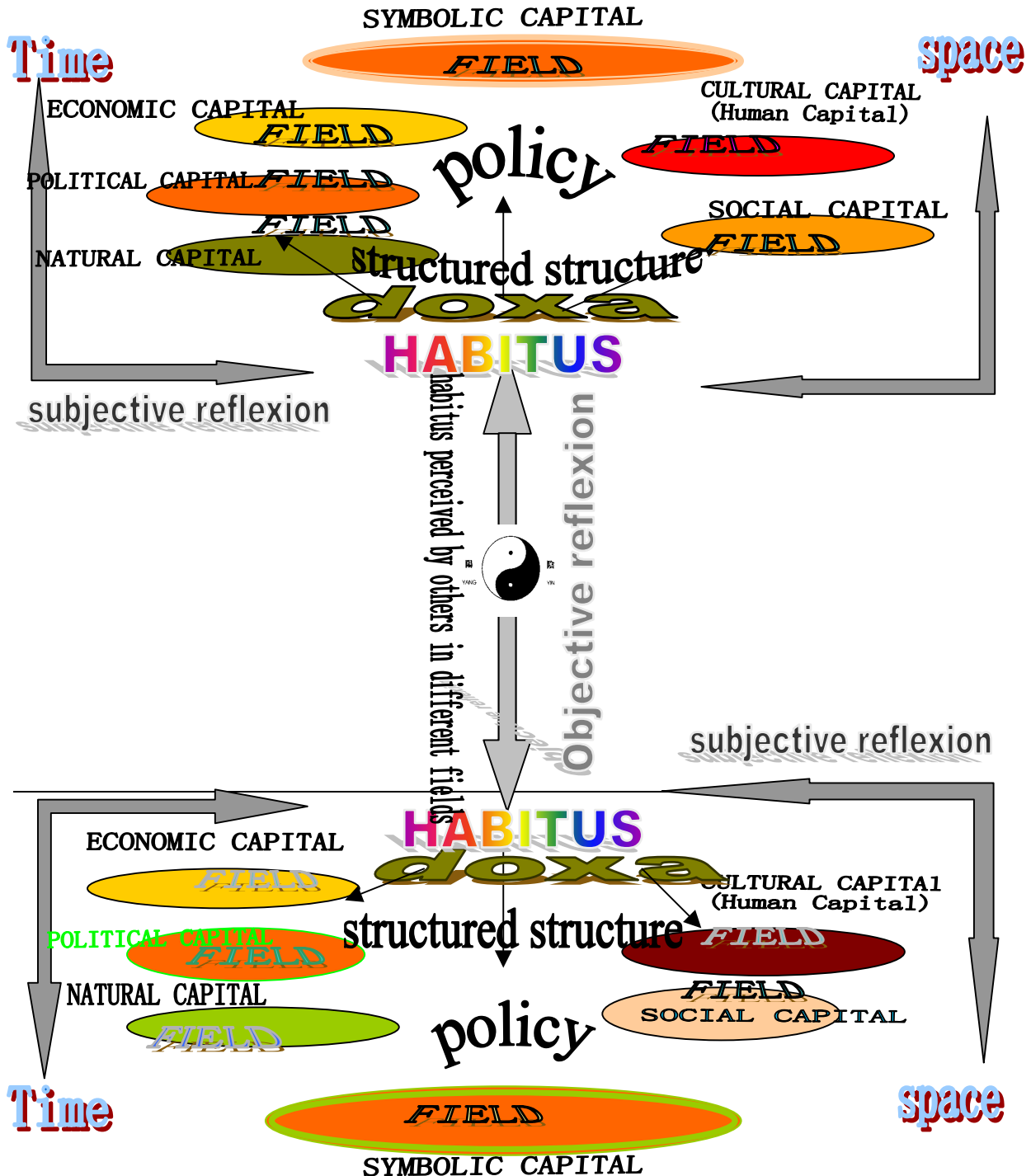
*The doxa transformation and the society transformation*

The research demonstrates theoretically and empirically that doxa, a structured structure, which is a relative stable society without immigration in the host country, could be changed when immigrants participate in the exchange of forms of capital with their different habitus. When immigrants adapt to the law and the regulations in the fields of the host country to transform their forms of capital, simultaneously their habitus can be changed on the one side; the aboriginals' habitus on the other side can be changed additionally when they perceive, recognize and accept the immigrants' habitus. The structured structure of the host country will be changed. Firstly when they want to, for example, invest and convert economic capital in a host country, they will bring their different other forms of capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital embedded with them, which will participate in the process of converting their economic capital by their habitus. This involvement of different habitus to invest and transform their capital(s) will definitely influence the original doxa in the host country structurally, institutionally and socially. Thus the question is, to what degree the doxa in the host country can allow each form of capital to be invested and transformed by different others' habitus or the aboriginals with their habitus in what degree can allow the doxa to shift? That is, how much the investment and transformation of the immigrants' different forms of capital are allowed in the host country to shift their doxa.

**Towards a model established: The relationship of capital, field, habitus, and doxa**

After we draw a conclusion about the theoretical framework and the empirical work, the relationship of capital(s), field, habitus and doxa is more easily explained by the following chart. I name it the Integration Doxa Model.

Chart 1. DOXA MODEL - The Relations of Policy, Habitus, Capital, Field, and Doxa <sup>328</sup>



<sup>328</sup> All those different forms of capital also have their subforms of capital, such as human capital is one of the subforms of cultural capital; emotional capital is one of the subforms of social capital. However these subforms are not drawn in the chart.

In the above chart of the doxa model, the upper part is a doxa in one society; the lower part is another doxa in another society.

*Doxa*, the biggest word I draw in the chart either in the upper part and in the lower part, is a *structured structure* of a society that is a kind of “harmony” or a kind of “balanced” structure when it is *relatively* stable in some special *time* and *space* (But it is hard to be realized in a society, cf. Chapter 3, a society can never stop progressing or stop changing. Human life cannot stop transforming and maximizing some forms of capital by their habitus in different fields in a doxa and meanwhile to change the doxa sometimes in a balanced structure and sometimes in a conflicted structure in the process of investment and transformation of capital.

*Capital*, forms of capital either in the upper part or in the lower part in the chart 1 as social resources, are mainly formed by economic capital, political capital, cultural capital, natural capital and social capital; and each of the main form of capital has its own subforms of capital. For instance, economic capital has its subforms of financial capital of shares, and stocks; of physical capital of money, and assets; cultural capital has its subforms of human capital in institutionalized form, religious capital in embodied form, art capital in objectified form; social capital has its subforms of kinship form, friendship form, local form and organizational form (cf. Chapter 1.3). An agent can hold different forms of capital. An agent means either a person or an institution; the latter can be an organization, a city or a nation. Agents hold these forms of capital as power or social resources to associate, interact, communicate, exchange and integrate into different fields in a doxa, a society. In the chart above we can see forms of capital in the upper part and the lower part have different colors, it means that all forms of capital an agent holds cannot be the same in principal.

*Field*, when agents want to invest or transform different forms of capital, they must do it according to the game theory in a *field*. Thus fields in the chart are put under different forms of capital linked for them to invest and transform. Agents should obey the rules, regulations or laws in different fields either in an original country or in a destination country to invest and transform forms of capital. Besides each field has its own rules, economic capital field has its rule differently from other fields. But the rules in economic capital field have more similarities all over the world even than other different fields in a same doxa. The economic field in the upper part of the doxa has more similarities with the economic field in the lower part in a doxa in the chart ; likewise social capital field in the upper part has more similar rules as in the social



capital field in the lower part and this is same with other forms of capital. The different colors of different fields mean the rules are different, the more similar colors of either economic fields or other fields in the upper and lower parts mean they have more similarities even in different doxas. But they are not exactly the same of the same economic fields in both the upper and the lower parts. Therefore all the colors are similar but not same in same fields in upper and lower parts.

In a field agents in specific time and in a specific space can share more common rules to transform one form of capital, no matter what other forms of capital agents hold. For instance, in a business field, the rule is how to obey the maximization of the profits between the agents who care less about other forms of capital the other agents own, i.e., people share different values or social codes can do businesses together.

In a field of teaching and learning for pursuing human capital of learners, pupils or students and teachers obey the rules how to teach and how to learn in a specific educational field. They in teaching/learning time pay efforts to be integrated with each other, they temporarily seek for harmony, not conflicts when they want to teach and learn. But this does not mean other forms of capital do not exist in institutions and in people, both teachers and pupils or students in school in order to achieve directly economic capital (teachers) and directly human capital (pupils or students)<sup>329</sup>, they allow the diversity. Here diversity means the differences among people with different habitus possessed with different forms of capital, i.e., teachers and students study in a field either from the same or not the same doxa. Therefore they must recognize and accept the differences among each other, and also know if not so it can make them more easily cause difficulties (conflicts) in teaching and learning. Diversity can bring different thinking in fields and make a society accumulated with more forms of capital, but diversity can also bring the difficulties to live in differences.

*Habitus*, in the middle of the upper and the lower parts of the chart, the multicolored word indicates that habitus are diverse. An agent which means a person and an institution can have habitus. Because when we look at an institution, it can also have a history, the development of an institution's habitus is originated from its history, like a person. A person embodies habitus with all kinds of capital he or she possesses; and the same applies to an institution or an organization. An organization, such as a school, must possess some economic capital, for instance, financial and physical form; social capital, for instance, social connections to the society, to other organizations and

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<sup>329</sup> Both teachers and pupils or students will (transform) achieve other forms of capital indirectly, too.

persons (members or non members); cultural capital, for instance, a). embodied form of cultural values, codes and norms, characteristics of the school, b). objectified form of school's names, badge, c). institutionalized form of the school certificate; political capital, for instance, legal rights of the school, school's policy to accept the members, policy to negotiate in the community or society, school's influence to others; natural capital, the places of school's buildings, the outside environment, the embodied pattern of learning equipments and the inner atmosphere to learn; and symbolic capital of its social positions, fame in the society.

An agent cannot hold only one form of capital, such as just economic capital. It is confirmed by the factor analysis in our research: when a person emigrates or immigrates, he or she holds different amounts of different forms of capital (cf. Chapter 5.1). Habitus is formed by all these different forms of capital, or put it in another way; habitus is embodied by various forms of capital an agent possesses. Persons embody and possess different forms of capital. The difference can be the state of feeling a person's habitus embodies or an institution's habitus embodies. A person's habitus can perceive and be perceived by these five senses: listening, seeing, touching, smelling and feeling directly. A person can have the state of feeling; an institution can, but the degree can be very different. It is often said such an organization is very humanlike or in an opposite way, it has no humanity. Nevertheless an institution can never be as human as humankind when expressing feelings and moreover cannot show as strong a gender difference as humankind. An agent can perceive others and self differently when he/she express/reflects different kinds of habitus. We can state that no two persons in this world can embody and possess exactly the same kinds of and the same amount of capital; thus no two persons can embody or show the identical habitus. Persons' or institutions' perception, acceptance and recognition of others cannot be the same, but may to different degrees be the same. In the same doxa in a society, people or institutions may show more or less the same habitus. But in the same fields, an agent can show a very different habitus, for example, an agent can possess different cultural capital, different values, but can exchange economic capital in an economic field, as mentioned above.

Forms of capital as social resources are the power that the agents possess; fields are consisted of rules, regulations and laws for exchange forms of capital; habitus are embodied strategies for agents to invest and transfer forms of capital. A society processes under all these interactions and relationships of capital(s), habitus and fields

to function in a doxa. The dynamics of impulse to the society to progress and to change is agents' pursuit of different forms of capital, to invest, to transform and to maximize them in our human society. But after all, capital cannot be exchanged without considering the different fields regulated for capital to be invested and converted by their habitus. Therefore the pivot is which strategies the agents can explore from their own and other' habitus to adapt and transform their different forms of capital in different fields.

*Time and space* However, the fields in different time and different social spaces in a doxa, are regulated and legitimated differently and can be generally different for outside agents from the inside agents to invest and transform their forms of capital. Thus we can find that in the upper part and the lower part of the chart above, time and spaces are shown in both doxas. A doxa demonstrates different structured structure in different time and different social spaces differently.

*Subjective and objective* In the middle part of the chart, we can see that habitus perceive others and also are perceived by others' habitus in different fields. They have subjective perception to others' objective habitus and to the objective fields in a doxa. But their subjective reaction to the objective world is also restricted and regulated by the objective world of forms of capital, fields, and others' subjective habitus in a doxa in different time and different social spaces.

During the process of perception, acceptance and recognition from both subjective and objective agents' habitus, fields and doxa, as shown in Chinese YINYAN (cf. Chapter 1.3 for detailed analysis) diagram in the middle heart of the chart, if the balance was found, then the transformation of different forms of capital will be processed, otherwise conflicts will be aroused for different agents to maximize different forms of capital.

*Policy* in the middle of each doxa in the upper and the lower part we can find the term of policy. When take an example of the Chinese immigrants to explain the above model; we have studied two aspects in the research on different factors which push and pull Chinese to migrate. One aspect is the pushing and pulling factors for Chinese citizens to emigrate from China, in which people obey different rules, attitudes and values to transform forms of capital. Another aspect is an investigation into these factors that push and pull the Chinese to immigrate to Germany, in which the Chinese immigrants follow the rules, customs, regulations and laws in German fields to transform forms of capital by their different habitus recognized and or not recognized in

German fields by aboriginals' habitus. No matter which kind of capital is transformed, other forms of tangible or intangible forms of capital are accompanied (embedded) with immigrants or embodied in immigrants' habitus to influence the transformation. The transformation of one form of capital in a field will bring other forms of capital into the field with an agent's habitus (cf. Chapter 2-5); and the study of immigrants' transformation of one kind of capital is impossible to understand their overall strategies from their habitus to transform the specific one form of capital. Moreover the communication is always from two sides, the immigrants and the aboriginals. When making policies, it is a holistic process to study the relationship of capital(s), habitus from both immigrants and aboriginals, different exchanging fields of the original and the host countries in different doxas.

### ***Doxa Integration Model***

According to the index of integration, the different indexes can be transferred into forms of capital (cf. Chapter 5.3): cultural capital (i.e., religion, language, social behaviors, those cultural values legitimated from their families and home country<sup>330</sup>), human capital - subform of cultural capital (i.e., education and language), social capital (i.e., civic participation), political capital (i.e., legal rights, political involvement, attitudes and satisfaction), and economic capital (i.e., employment, earnings), and other subforms of capital. As explained above, to discuss the integration of forms of capital, it demands a holistic study of capital, habitus and field in doxas, thus the model summarized in the chart above is called integration doxa model which is developed to understand the integration process.

### **Method logical outlook**

Based on the theoretical part and the processing of a triangulation method, the fundamental variables and propositions central to understand forms of capital to push and pull migration are determined. Categorical variables developed through factor analysis have been proposed to explain the complex variety and interconnections of forms of capital, immigrants' habitus, different fields and doxas in a migratory process. The triangulation method takes quantitative measurements and qualitative investigation and resolves categorical variables into distinct patterns of occurrence. It makes explicit

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<sup>330</sup> Particularly for the first generation.

and more precise the building of a new model to understand the migratory process and particularly the immigrants' integration into the host country.

### ***Special characteristics of the Quantitative method***

Quantitative method is like a mathematical inducting process to draw inferences based on the calculating outcomes. Descriptions of quantitative research typically discern a cycle of successive phases of hypothesis formulation, data collection, analysis and interpretation. Using a deductive approach, quantitative research seeks to establish facts, make predictions, and test hypotheses that have already been stated. Quantitative research treats their objects of study as having an existence independent of themselves and without any intrinsic meaning (cf. Huysamen, 1997; Gay & Airasian, 1999).

### ***Special characteristics of the Qualitative method***

Qualitative method is like showing a holistic art work developed in the research study to induct the theory. The meaning is developed by interpreting exegesis [exegesis that interprets, not to interpret exegesis]. The qualitative analysis of subject matter does not wish to pause at the manifest subject matter; it wants to comprehend the essential latent meaning (Mayring, 1983: 16 ff.). In doing so the restriction to studies of individual cases is absolutely allowed, because the essence can be generalized from individual cases as well. For this purpose it uses basically hermeneutical methods. The term hermeneutic, which comes from the Greek, means: to interpret, to explain, and to construe. It originally means the art of interpreting texts (Bos, 1988: 115).<sup>331</sup> This is best employed in my research, at first through *focus interviews* to generate categorical variables on pushing and pulling factors, and then through *expert interviews* for analyzing the quantitative outcomes.

### ***Combination of both quantitative and qualitative characteristics***

Quantitative research seeks to find evidence, which supports or does not support an existing hypothesis. The qualitative design allows the hypotheses to emerge from patterns of recurring events (Huysamen, 1997). Quantitative research defines when and what people act or think as they do; qualitative research is appropriate for learning why

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<sup>331</sup> Der sinn wird durch interpretierende Auslegung entwickelt. Die qualitative Inhaltsanalyse will nicht beim manifesten Inhalt stehen bleiben, sie will wesentliche latente Sinngehalte verstehen (Mayring, 1983:16ff). Dabei sei die Beschränkung auf Einzelfallstudien durchaus legitim, da sich Wesentliches auch aus dem Einzelfall verallgemeinern liesse. Sie bedient sich dazu hauptsächlich hermeneutischer Verfahren. Der aus dem griechischen stammende Begriff "Hermeneutik" bedeutet: auslegen, erklären, deuten. Ursprünglich ist darunter die Kunst des Auslegens von Texten zu verstehen (Bos, 1988: 115). Thanks for the help of Vanessa for the translation.

people act or think as they do. Quantitative research is confirmatory and deductive in nature; qualitative research is exploratory and inductive in nature. A triangulation method compensates for the shortcomings of qualitative research and quantitative research.

### ***Time and energy consuming***

The results of this research display that a triangulation method is one of the most valid and reliable methods available. However, as a one-person research project, it is a time-consuming and energy-consuming method. One person should be very cautious about choosing the triangulation method to do one project<sup>332</sup>. Nonetheless, a triangulation method is the best-recommended method, particularly as a team research project. It is through the triangulation method that the theoretical model is incessantly enhanced. It does not only improve the validity and reliability of the research; but moreover, it greatly enriches the theoretical generalizations.

## **Questions answered and new perspectives**

Three questions have been posed to investigate in the introduction:

1. What are the factors pushing and pulling immigrants to emigrate and immigrate?
2. Are there associations between the different groups of the Chinese community with the different factors?
3. What a model can we establish to understand the integration of the immigrants in a host country?

These three questions asked in the introduction are investigated and answered.

The first question is answered that the pushing and pulling factors for immigrants to emigrate and immigrate are these forms of capital.

The second question is answered that different groups associate with different factors to emigrate and immigrate/integrate, i.e., not only economic capital, but also different forms of capital are pushing and pulling people to migrate around the world.

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<sup>332</sup> It can become too long and too big as two or more projects if employing the triangulation method.

The third question is answered that a model is established for understanding integration, which is the Integration Doxa Model in the chart.

### ***Holistic understanding of Integration***

This dissertation has stressed the need for the research into migratory processes of emigration and immigration from the aspects of relation with capital, field, habitus and doxa. Furthermore it has also stressed the need for research on immigrants' integration from two sides, from the aspect of immigrants' and from the aspect of aboriginals' doxas. Any one side of the participation or adaptation or integration cannot be realized into the genuine integration into the host doxas. Aboriginals inside the doxa must also be influenced and changed in order to adapt to the new changed "doxa". In order to understand the change of the doxa, it demands the study of the relative object and relative subject from both sides. For instance, to the conversion of the self-religious belief, it is necessary for the German government and aboriginals to participate in Chinese immigrants religious activities in case to formulate the appropriate policies, and to organize more activities for both immigrants and aboriginals to transform and integrate cultural capital for the benefits of both sides.

### ***Win-win policies***

Too many development policies in the past have failed because of a lack of policies accompanying structural change in a host country. What is not to be lost sight of is the well-established nature of the change-growth-orientation paradigm. When any new groups of immigrants enter into the host country's doxa, they must adapt to the new structure, the rules and the regulations in the fields, and habitus of the aboriginals as well. Nevertheless, the immigrants will also change the basic structure of the host country's doxa. This not only hopes the host country to adapt to the new change from the governmental policies but also the change of aboriginals' habitus when allowing and recognizing the transformation of capital from immigrants' habitus. In this way we can try, to different degrees, to find ways to avoid conflicts by changing both objective and subjective aspects, to keep diversities, to more make more transformation of different forms of capital for a society, and make more immigrants' be integrated, finally to make the benefits from a "win-win principle" of both sides.

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## Appendix I.

### 问卷 (Questionnaire)



各位海外在德华人，你们好！

本问卷是为学术研究而设计，旨在为撰写学术论文提供统计数字。海外华人遍布全球，他们主要生活在北美，东南亚，日本，欧洲，澳洲，南非以及拉丁美洲。目前以学术研究为目的，在理论上系统完整地研究德国华人的发展，德国华人的社会经济结构，德国华人的生活和就业，德国华人的文化适应及文化认知，远不如美国，加拿大，英国及法国的华人研究。该学术论文将从华人1792年乘第一艘轮船从广东启航到汉堡港上岸至今，描写，阐述并从理论上分析整个华人在德国的发展模式。样本选汉堡华人，因为在移民研究中（汉堡20,000华人，包括持EU护照者）可以按社区的模式进行研究。此问卷设计长达一年零八个月，三次全德境内预测，整个过程得到问卷设计分析专家 W. BOS 教授和I. GOGOLIN教授的指导。德国华人的历史与现状是每个在德华人共同写出的篇章，为能写好汉堡华人，收集各方面的资料，为汉堡华人的发展写出有价值的一页，望能得到大家的支持与合作。

谢谢！



## 个人信息

++ + - -- 表示从好到坏，从高到低，从多到少，顺序为渐次递减

性别:	男	女
出生	19	德国/中国
在德国生活-----年	在中国生活-----年	
婚姻	未婚/已婚	配偶是中国人/德国人
职业	请在下面的选项中选择	
在中国的工作，如是学生，在□处划勾。 海员1 餐馆老板2 餐馆服务员3 餐馆厨师4 中资公司雇员5 合资公司雇员6 学者/教师7 德国公司雇员8 中国个人企业主9 中国个人企业雇员10 家庭主妇(夫)11 秘书12 工人13 清洁工14 无工作15 其它16	在德国的工作，如是学生，在□处划勾。 海员1 餐馆老板2 餐馆服务员3 餐馆厨师4 中资公司雇员5 合资公司雇员6 学者/教师7 德国公司雇员8 中国个人企业主9 中国个人企业雇员10 家庭主妇(夫)11 秘书12 工人13 清洁工14 无工作15 其它16	
1. 您在中国的最后学历:	2. 您在德国的最后学历:	
未在中国受过教育 1	未在德国受过教育 1	
小学 毕业 2	Grundschuleabschluss 2	
初中 毕业 3	Hauptschuleabschluss 3	
高中毕业 4	Realschuleabschluss 4	
大学 本科毕业 (文科) 5	Gesamtschuleabschluss 5	
大学 本科毕业 (理科) 6	Gemnasialabschluss 6	
硕士 (文科) 7	Hochschuleabschluss 7	
硕士 (理科) 8	Diploma (文科) 8	
博士 (文科) 9	Diploma (理科) 9	
博士 (理科) 10	博士 (文科) 10	
博士 (医学) 11	博士 (理科) 11	
文学本科生 12	博士 (医学) 12	
理学本科生 13	文学本科生 13	
硕士生 (文科) 14	理学本科生 14	
硕士生 (理科) 15	硕士生 (文科) 15	
博士生 (文科) 16	硕士生 (理科) 16	
博士生 (理科) 17	博士生 (文科) 17	
博士生 (医学) 18	博士生 (理科) 18	
其它学历, 请填出----- 19	博士生 (医学) 19	
	其它学历, 请填出----- 20	

3. 去德国的原因:		8. 您在家讲什么语言:	
	是 / 否	中文	
3.1 获得经济资本	a / b	德文	
3.2 获得德国学位	a / b	中德文	
3.3 大家都出国的影响	a / b	其它, (请写出) -----	
3.4 有提供帮助的社会网络	a / b	9. 您喜欢:	是 / 否
3.5 政治原因	a / b	9. 1 中央集权的快速决策	a / b
4. 留在德国居住的原因:		9. 2 更自我个性而非集体化	a / b
4.1 孩子的未来	a / b	9. 3 趋向和谐避免冲突	a / b
4.2 高收入 (在德国)	a / b	9. 4 期待变化革新	a / b
4.3 高收入 (在中国)	a / b	9. 5 拼命工作	a / b
4.4 自然环境好	a / b	10. 第一学期学习难吗?	
4.5 教育水平好	a / b	难	a
4.6 政治原因	a / b	不难	b
4.7 家庭团聚	a / b	11. 您的孩子在周末上汉语中文学校吗?	
4.8 社会关系帮忙	a / b	(若无孩子, 请做下一题)	
5. 您在德国获得找工作的信息来自		上	a
5.1 报纸/杂志	a	不上	b
5.2 英特网 (INTERNET)	b	12. 您在德国的经济来源主要靠:	
5.3 朋友	c	1-25% 25-50% 50-75% 75-100%	
5.4 亲戚	d	自己打工	a b c d
5.5 正式职业介绍机构	e	父母	a b c d
5.6 自己	f	配偶	a b c d
5.7 德国中介	g	借亲戚朋友的钱	a b c d
5.8 中国中介	h	自己在中国攒的钱	a b c d
5.9 其它	i	德方奖学金	a b c d
6. 您的个性:	是 / 否	中方奖学金	a b c d
6.1 服从领导	a / b	其它, 请写出-----	
6.2 随群	a / b	13. 中国人在德国找工作的有利条件是什么?	
6.3 不喜冲突	a / b	++ + - --	
6.4 勤奋苦干	a / b	13.1 中国学历	a b c d
6.5 爱面子	a / b	13.2 德国学历	a b c d
6.6 其它 (请写出) -----		13.3 语言	a b c d
7. 您的宗教信仰是:		13.4 中国文化	a b c d
天主教	a	13.5 其它, (请写出) -----	
基督教	b	-----	
佛教	c	14 您认为您的德语水平:	
道教	d	++ + - --	
伊斯兰教	e	14.1 听	a b c d
无宗教信仰	f	14.2 说	a b c d
其它宗教信仰	g	14.3 读	a b c d
(请写出) -----		14.4 写	a b c d

15. 您认为您的德语水平:	24. 您通过何种方式来德国?
15.1 听 a b c d	中国朋友 a
15.2 说 a b c d	德国亲戚 b
15.3 读 a b c d	德国朋友 c
15.4 写 a b c d	中国亲戚 d
若不会德汉双语, 请做第 4 题	中国中介结构 e
16. 您认为会德汉双语对找工作有益吗?	德国中介结构 f
++ + --	父母 g
a b c d	配偶 h
17. 您的德语在工作中够用吗?	自己 i
++ + --	中资公司 j
a b c d	中国政府派遣 k
18. 您要给中国的家人寄钱吗?	德国政府邀请 l
每月 a.	25. 您认为能参与到以下的德国社会吗?
每年 b.	++ + --
很少 c.	25.1 工作 a b c d
不寄 d.	25.2 政治 a b c d
家人给我钱 e	25.3 日常生活 a b c d
我寄礼物给家人 f	26. 您对现在在德国的生活状况满意吗?
19. 您认为您在中国可以挣相对多的钱吗?	++ + --
绝对 a. 更多 b. 并不多 c. 根本不多 d	26.1 自己 a b c d
20. 对税后收入的一种分析方法为下面所列: 您认为您属于哪种(货币单位: 马克)	26.2 配偶 a b c d
少于 1000 = 福利救济 a	27. 与您的学历相等, 在哪儿您有更多的工作机会: ++ + --
1000 至 2000 = 低于一般水平 b	27.1 在中国 a b c d
2000 至 4000 = 一般水平 c	27.1 在德国 a b c d
超过 4000 = 高于一般水平 d	28. 作为中国女性, 您认为在德国找工作?
21. 您经常回国吗?	很容易 a. 容易 b. 困难 c. 非常困难 d
a. 半年内 b. 1 年 c. 2 年 d. 3 年	29. 您认为参与宗教活动对适应德国社会有帮助吗?
22. 您在德国怎样渡周末? :	很容易 a. 容易 b. 困难 c. 非常困难 d
中国朋友聚会 22a	30. 若有机会得到德国护照, 您愿意换吗?
参加德国的社会活动 22b	++ + --
参加晚会 22c	a b c d
去教堂 22d	31. 若中德两国体育比赛, 如足球赛等, 您会支持哪一方? (可选一项)
体育活动 22e	中国
找德国朋友聚会 22f	德国
待在家中 22g	中德两国
同自己的男/女朋友相聚 22h	不知道
工作 22i	32. 您知道您的护照类型吗?
其它(请写出)-----	Unbefristetaufenthalt a
23. 做为父母平均每天帮助孩子辅导功课:	Aufenthaltserlaubnis b
1 小时以上 1-0.5 小时 5-30 分钟 从不	
a b c d	

Aufenthaltberechtigung	c	33. 您想参与到德国社会吗?
Aufenthaltsbewilligung	d	++ + --
Aufenthaltsbefugnis	e	a b c d
Duldung	f	34. 您认为您参与到德国社会了吗?
德国护照	g	++ + --
不知道	h	a b c d

您若有任何建议, 请写出或EMAIL 联系: [wangyh1998@hotmail.com](mailto:wangyh1998@hotmail.com)

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

此问卷是在三次预测样卷的基础上完成的。在此过程中, 曾得到全德物理协会部分会员, 全德经济联合会部分会员, 德国华商联合总会部分会员, 全德华侨华人联合会部分会员, 全德华联中餐业工委部分会员, 汉堡高等院校大学学生会部分会员及众多个人(见序言)的支持, 使问卷效度和信度不断提高, 日臻完善, 在此表示感谢。

若希望您的企业或公司(包括各种类型的机构, 如学校等, 但一定要位于汉堡, 包括大汉堡)被本论文收入《汉堡公司, 餐馆, 商店, 团体, 机构等附录》, 请写出:

企业或机构始建于一九——年, 属于哪类: (请圈出) 公司, 餐馆, 商店, 团体, 或其它类型, 请写出: \_\_\_\_\_

名称: \_\_\_\_\_

负责人: \_\_\_\_\_

业务联系地址: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_电话: \_\_\_\_\_ 传真: \_\_\_\_\_

及其它您认为需要写出的内容 \_\_\_\_\_

谢谢您的参与。

请务必返回问卷, 成为有效问卷。

返回处与地址:

1. 汉堡中文学校 (A. KONIGSTRASSE B. HAMBURGER STRASSE)
2. 每月第二个星期六 14: 00-16: 00 时放映中国电影处, 前厅桌子上 (KINO DAMMTORSTRASSE)
3. WANG YIHONG  
ARBEITSSTELLE INTERCULTURELLE BILDUNG  
(SITZ: BINDERSTRASSE 22)  
VON-MELLE-PARK 8  
UNIVERSITAET HAMBURG, 20146 HAMBURG

## Questionnaire

### I. Personal details

Sex: (please cross one)	Male	Female
Born in (please write the year in the column)	19-----	Germany/China(please cross one country or elsewhere please indicate--- ----) city/town -----
Years lived in : (please write in the column)	In Germany:-----	
Marital Status: (please cross in the column)	Single / Married	If married, your spouse is from China, Germany or --- -
Occupations:(please cross: permanent or temporary, then choose the number from the following, and write it in the column)	In China-----	In Germany-----

*You may cross one answer.*

**If you are a student, choose the student first , what job do you have in China?**

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| Sailor   | 1  |
| Restaurant boss  | 2  |
| Restaurant waiter(ess)/chef                              | 3  |
| Businessman (woman) in Chinese-State Owned Co            | 4  |
| Employee in joint ventures except the German Chinese one | 5  |
| Scholar/Teacher  | 6  |
| Businessman (woman) in German invested Co                | 7  |
| Businessman (woman) in German Chinese Joint-Venture      | 8  |
| Business Owner in Chinese self employed Co               | 9  |
| Businessman (woman) in Chinese self employed Co          | 10 |
| Housewife (man)  | 11 |
| Secretary/employee of the units, such as officer, etc.   | 12 |
| Worker in a factory                                      | 13 |
| House helper/cleaner                                     | 14 |
| No job   | 15 |
| Others (please specify)-----                             | 16 |

**If you are a student, choose the student first , what is your current job in Germany?**

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| Sailor   | 1  |
| Restaurant boss  | 2  |
| Restaurant waiter(ess)/chef                            | 3  |
| Businessman (woman) in Chinese-State Owned Co.         | 4  |
| Employee in Taiwan self employed Co.                   | 5  |
| Scholar/Teacher/Postdoctorate                          | 6  |
| Employee in German invested Co.                        | 7  |
| Employee in German Chinese Joint-Venture               | 8  |
| Business Owner in Chinese self employed Co.            | 9  |
| Housewife/husband                                      | 10 |
| Employee in Chinese self employed Co.                  | 11 |
| Secretary/employee of the units, such as officer, etc. | 12 |

Worker in a factory or Co.	13
Hauseworker/cleaner	14
Housewife	15
No job	16
Others (please specify)-----	17

*You may cross one answer*

1. What is the highest school-leaving qualification you have in China?

No school	1
Primary school-leaving certificate	2
Secondary school-leaving certificate	3
Middle school-leaving certificate	4
Vocational school	5
College Certificate	6
B.S.	7
B.A.	8
M.S.	9
M.A.	10
Ph.D Philosophy	11
Ph. D Science	12
Ph, D, Med.	13
BA, not finished	14
BS, not finished	15
MA, not finished	16
MS, not finished	17
Diploma not finished	18
Other school-leaving qualification: (please specify)-----	19

*You may cross more than one answer.*

2. What is the highest school-leaving qualification do you have in Germany? (if you are a student, then choose the one you will own.)

No German school attendance	0
Grundschulabschluss	1
Hauptschulabschluss	2
Realschulabschluss	3
Gesamtschulabschluss	4
Gymnasialabschluss	5
Fachhochschulreife	6
Diploma (Master of Art of Science)	7
Diploma (Master of Science)	8
Ph. D, Philosophy	9
Ph. D, Science	10
Ph. D, Med.	11
BA, not finished	12
BS, not finished	13
MA, not finished	14
MS, not finished	15
Diploma not finished	16
Ph.D Philosophy not finished	17
Ph. D Science not finished	18
Ph, D, Med. not finished	19

Other school-leaving qualification: (please specify)-----20

**You may choose yes or no in every item.**

3. The reason to choose to come to Germany

- |   | yes/no |
|---|--------|
| 3.1 child(ren)'s future                       | a/b    |
| 3.2 better income                             | a/b    |
| 3.3 better education                          | a/b    |
| 3.4 Chinese cultural influence <sup>333</sup> | a/b    |
| 3.5 social relation <sup>334</sup>            | a/b    |
| 3.6 political reason                          | a/b    |

4. The reason to choose to stay in Germany

- |  | yes/no |
|--|--------|
| 4.1 child(ren)'s future                | a/b    |
| 4.2 better income in Germany           | a/b    |
| 4.3 better income in China             | a/b    |
| 4.4 natural environment <sup>335</sup> | a/b    |
| 4.5 better education                   | a/b    |
| 4.6 political reason                   | a/b    |
| 4.7 family union                       | a/b    |
| 4.8 social relation <sup>336</sup>     | a/b    |

5. From which of the following(s) did you get the information for seeking your current job in Germany? If you have no job, please go to the next question.

family/advertisement/relatives/friends/organizations/no job/internet/self established

company a/ b/ c/ d / e / f/ g/  
h/

others, please specify -----

i

6. What characteristics do you think that you have?

obeying/ following others /conflicts dislike /hard work /face importance/others, please write---

a b c d e f

7. What is your religious belief?

Buddhist Catholics Taoist Islam Protestant atheist others, please write--

-

a b c d e f g

8. What languages do you speak at home?

Chinese a

German b

<sup>333</sup> Such as the influence from family and society of the traditional and modern culture.

<sup>334</sup> The social relation that you can find to come to Germany, such as friends, relatives or other social organizations, etc.

<sup>335</sup> Such as more fresh air, more green trees, more orderly constructed buildings, and more tidy and clean cities.

<sup>336</sup> The social relation means that one deals simple social relationship with others emphasizing not on Guanxi (different nets of relationship in China), but on different rules or laws in the society.



Both c  
Others d

9. What is your prefer?

Central control by a power directly and quickly 9a yes/no  
More individual oriented, but not the collective oriented 9b yes/no  
Harmony without arousing conflicts in social environment 9c yes/no  
Expect change more than avoid change 9d yes/no  
Hard work 9e yes/no

(If you have not studied in a German higher educational institute, please go to the next question)

10. Do you find the first semester learning hard in Germany?

Yes/No

11. Do (es) your child (ren) go to the Chinese Sunday school in Hamburg?

Yes a  
No b  
No child (ren) c

*You may choose more than one answer*

12. Where do you have your economic support in Germany?

	a	b	c	d
12.1 work by myself	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
12.2 from parents	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
12.3 from the spouse	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
12.4 borrowed from relatives	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
12.5 from self-savings in China	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
12.6 from the scholarship (sponsored by China)	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
12.7 from the scholarship (sponsored by Germany)	1-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%

*You may choose more than one answer*

13. What is the advantage for Chinese to look for a job in Germany?

Chinese educational qualification 13.1  
German educational qualification 13.2  
Chinese cultural background 13.3  
Both Chinese and German cultural background education 13.4  
Not know 13.5

*You may choose only one answer per line.*

14. What do you think of your proficiency of German?

	a	b	c	d	
	Excellent	very good	fair	poor	
Listening					14.1
Speaking					14.2
Reading					14.3

Writing 14.4

*You may choose only one answer per line.*

15. What do you think of your proficiency of Chinese?

	a	b	c	d	
	Excellent	very good	fair	poor	
Listening					15.1
Speaking					15.2
Reading					15.3
Writing					15.4

*You may choose only one answer.*

16. Do you think that being bilingual in German and Chinese is helpful in getting a good job?

Yes, very helpful	a
Yes, helpful	b
No, not too much helpful	c
No, not at all	d

*You may choose only one answer.*

17 Is your German enough for your communication in your job?

Yes, quite enough	a
Yes, enough	b
No, not enough, but I can manage	c
No, I need more training	d
My working language is English	e
No job	f

*You may choose only one answer*

18 You remit to your original country:

Every month	a
Every year	b
Seldom	c
No, never	d
I get money from my parents	e
I send gifts to my parents	f

19. Do you believe that you earn comparatively more money than you could in China now?

a. absolutely, b. more c. not quite, d. no, not at all

*You may choose only one answer, if you are a student, please go to the next question.*

20. One kind of economic analysis of the net earnings after tax per month is as:

(a). below 1000 DM is by welfare; (b). 1000-1500 DM is below the general level;  
(c). 1500-2500 DM is the general level, (d). above 2500 DM is above the general level.

Which level you think that you are in:

By welfare a

Below the general level	b
The general level	c
Above the general level	d

*You may choose only one answer*

21. How often do you fly back to China?	
One month to half a year	21a
1 year	21b
2 years	21c
3 years	21d

*You may cross more than one answer*

22. Where do you spend your weekend?	
With Chinese friends	22a
Participating in social programs	22b
Having party	22c
Going to church	22d
Sport reaction	22e
With German friends	22f
At home	22g
With fiancée	22h
Work	22i

*You may choose one answer per line.*

23 Your children ever benefited from help at home for study at school?	
more than 1hr. / 1hr.-0.5hr. / 0.5hr.-10miuts / never	
a	b
c	d

*You may cross more than one answer.*

24. Where do you get the help to come to Germany?	
Chinese friends	24a
German relatives	24b
German friends	24c
Chinese relatives	24d
Chinese intermediary	24e
German intermediary	24f
Parent	24g
Spouse	24h
Self arranging	24i
Sent by Chinese State Owned Enterprises	24j
Sent by Chinese government	24k
Invited by German government	24l

*You may cross only one answer per line.*

25. Have you found that you can access to the German society?			
Yes	Yes, but not easy	No, it is difficult	No, it is impossible
25.1 worksite	a	b	c
d			

25.2 political activities	a	b	c	d
25.3 daily life	a	b	c	d

*You may cross only one answer per line.*

26. Are you satisfied with your situation in the society in Germany now?

	Yes, very	Yes	No, not very satisfied	Not at all
Yourself	a	b	c	d
Your spouse/fiancée	a	b	c	d

*You may cross only one answer per line.*

27. Where do you think that you have more job opportunities equal with your educational qualification?

	Yes, absolutely	yes	not quite	not so at
all				
27.1 In China?	a	b	c	d
27.2 In Germany?	a	b	c	d

*You may cross only one answer.*

28. As a Chinese woman/man you find that

It is very easy to find a job in the labor market in Germany	a
It is easy to find a job in the labor market in Germany.	b
It is difficult to find a job in the labor market in Germany.	c
It is very difficult to find a job in the labor market in Germany	d

*You may choose only one answer.*

29. Do you find participation in religious activities is helpful to adapt to the life in Germany?

Yes, very much	a
Yes	b
little	c
no	d
no participation	e

*You may cross only one answer.*

30. If you could have the German nationality, would you wish to change your passport?

certainly	perhaps	I don't think so	no
a	b	c	d

*You may cross only one answer.*

31. Which side would you support if a Chinese sports team, e.g. football or basketball team or other match, is playing against a German one?

Chinese	a
Germany	b
both	c
no idea	d

*You may cross only one answer.*

32. Do you know that your Visa belongs to

Unbefristetaufenthalt	Aufenthaltserlaubnis	Aufenthaltsberechtigung
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a	b	c	
Aufenthaltsbewilligung	Aufenthaltsbefugnis	Duldung	Refugees
d	e	f	g
German passport	not know		
h	i		

*You may cross only one answer.*

33. Do you want to integrate into German society?

Yes, absolutely

a

Yes, I would

b

Little

c

No

d

*You may cross only one answer.*

34. What do you think that you integrate into the German society as an immigrant?

Very difficult

a

Not very difficult

b

Difficult

c

Easy

d

If you have any suggestions, please write down or contact me by Email:

[wangyh1998@hotmail.com](mailto:wangyh1998@hotmail.com)

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Thank you.

## Appendix II.

### *Chi-square analysis*

#### 1. Categorical Variables - Factors and the Emigration of Four Chinese Groups

Crosstable 2 of economic capital category and Catering Group

	CATERING GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	165	3	168
Expected count	151.2	16.8	168.0
% within economic capital	98.2%	1.8%	100%
% within restaurant	87.3%	14.3%	80.0%
% of total	76.6%	1.4%	80.0%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	24	18	42
Expected count	37.8	4.2	42.0
% Within economic capital	57.1%	42.9%	100%
% within restaurant	12.7%	85.7%	20.0%
% of total	11.4%	8.6%	20.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>210</b>
% within economic capital	90%	10%	100%

#### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	62.976 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	58.495	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	49.072	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	62.676	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.20.

Crosstable 3 of economic capital category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	115	53	168
Expected count	125.6	42.4	168.0
% within economic capital	68.5%	31.5%	100%
% within student	73.2%	100.0%	80.0%
% of total	54.8%	25.2%	80.0%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	42	0	42
Expected count	42	0	42
% within economic capital	31.4%	10.6	42.0
% within student	100.0%	.0%	100%
% of total	26.8%	.0%	20.0%
	20.0%	.0%	20.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>210</b>
% within economic capital	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.723 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	16.090	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	27.806	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	17.639	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.60.

Crosstable 4 of economic capital category\* Academic group

	ACADEMIC GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	128	40	168
Expected count	134.4	33.6	168.0
% within economic capital	76.2%	23.8%	100.0%
% within student	76.2%	95.2%	80.0%
% of total	61.0%	19.0%	80.0%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count			
Expected count	40	2	42
% within economic capital	33.6	8.4	42.0
% within student	95.2%	4.8%	100.0%
% of total	23.8%	4.8%	20.0%
Total	168	42	210
% within economic capital	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.619(b)	1	.006		
Continuity Correction	6.475	1	.011		
(a)	9.666	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio				.004	.003
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear	7.583	1	.006		
Association	210				
N of Valid Cases					

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.40.



Crosstable 5 of human capital category and Academic Group

	ACADEMIC GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
HUMAN CAPITAL NO			
Observed count	30	3	33
Expected count	26.4	6.6	33.0
% within human capital	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%
% within restaurant	17.9%	7.1%	15.7%
% of total	14.3%	1.4%	15.7%
	YES		
Observed count	138	39	177
Expected count	141.6	35.4	177.0
% within human capital	78.0%	22.0%	100.0%
% within restaurant	82.1%	92.9%	84.3%
% of total	65.7%	18.6%	84.3%
Total	168	42	210
% within human capital	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.912(b)	1	.088		
Continuity	2.159	1	.142		
Correction (a)	3.386	1	.066		
Likelihood Ratio				.101	.064
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.898	1	.089		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.60.

Crosstable 6 of human capital category and Catering Group

	RESTAURANT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>HUMAN CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	25	8	33
Expected count	29.6	3.3	33.0
% within human capital	75.8%	24.2%	100%
% within restaurant	13.2%	38.1%	15.7%
% of total	11.9%	3.8%	15.7%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count			
Expected count	164	13	177
% within human capital	159.3%	17.7	177.0
% within restaurant	92.7%	7.3%	100%
% of total	86.8%	61.9%	84.3%
	78.1%	6.2%	84.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>210</b>
% within human capital	90.0%	21%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.824 <sup>b</sup>	1	.003		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	7.047	1	.008		
Likelihood Ratio	7.068	1	.008		
Fisher's Exact Test				.007	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.782	1	.003		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.30.

Crosstable 7 of human capital category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>HUMAN CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	30	3	33
Expected count	24.7	8.3	33.0
% within human capital	90.9%	9.1%	100%
% within student	19.1%	5.7%	15.7%
% of total	14.3%	1.4%	15.7%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count			
Expected count	127	50	177
% within human capital	132.3%	44.7	177.0
% within student	71.8%	28.2%	100%
% of total	80.9%	94.3%	84.3%
	60.5%	23.8%	84.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>210</b>
% within human capital	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.410 <sup>b</sup>	1	.020		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	4.443	1	.035		
Likelihood Ratio	6.436	1	.011		
Fisher's Exact Test				.027	.013
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.384	1	.020		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.33.

Crosstable 8 of social capital category\* business group

	BUSINESS GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>SOCIAL CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	117	66	183
Expected count	112.4	70.6	183.0
% within social capital	63.9%	36.1%	100%
% within business	90.7%	81.5%	87.1%
% of total	55.7%	31.4%	87.1%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	12	15	27
Expected count	16.6	10.4	27.0
% within social capital	44.4%	55.6%	100%
% within business	9.3%	18.5%	12.9%
% of total	5.7%	7.1%	12.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>210</b>
% within social capital	61.4%	36.6%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.772 <sup>b</sup>	1	.052		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	2.994	1	.084		
Likelihood Ratio	3.668	1	.055		
Fisher's Exact Test				.059	.043
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.754	1	.053		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.41.

Crosstable 9 of social capital category\* Catering Group

	CATERING GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>SOCIAL CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	162	21	183
Expected count	164.7	18.3	183.0
% within social capital	88.5%	11.5%	100%
% within restaurant	85.7%	100.0%	87.1%
% of total	77.1%	10.0%	87.1%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	27	0	27
Expected count	24.3	2.7	27.0
% within social capital	100.0%	.0%	100%
% within restaurant	14.3%	.0%	12.9%
% of total	12.9%	.0%	12.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>210</b>
% within social capital	90.0%	10.0%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.443 <sup>b</sup>	1	.064		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	2.286	1	.131		
Likelihood Ratio	6.114	1	.013		
Fisher's Exact Test				.083	.047
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.426	1	.064		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.70.

Crosstable 10 of social capital category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>SOCIAL CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	131	52	183
Expected count	136.8	46.2	183.0
% within social capital	71.6%	28.4%	100%
% within business	83.4%	98.1%	87.1%
% of total	62.4%	24.8%	87.1%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	26	1	27
Expected count	20.2	6.8	27.0
% within social capital	96.3%	3.7%	100%
% within business	16.6%	1.9%	12.9%
% of total	12.4%	.5%	12.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>210</b>
% within social capital	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.615 <sup>b</sup>	1	.006		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	6.361	1	.012		
Likelihood Ratio	10.278	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.004	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.579	1	.006		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.81.

## 2. Chi-square analysis of Categorical Variables of Factors with the Immigration of Four Groups

Crosstable 11 of children's future category\* business group

	BUSINESS GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>CHILDREN'S FUTURE NO</b>			
Observed count	92	40	132
Expected count	81.1	50.9	132.0
% within children's future	69.7%	30.3%	100%
% within business	71.3%	49.4%	62.9%
% of total	43.8%	19.0%	62.9%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	37	41	78
Expected count	47.9	30.1	78.0
% within children's future	47.4%	52.6%	100%
% within business	28.7%	50.6%	37.1%
% of total	17.6%	19.5%	37.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>210</b>
% within social capital	61.4%	38.6%	100%

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.254 <sup>b</sup>	1	.001		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	9.336	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	10.187	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.205	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 30.09.

Crosstable 12 of children's future category\* Catering Group

	CATERING GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>CHILDREN'S FUTURE NO</b>			
Observed count	127	5	132
Expected count	118.8	13.2	132.0
% within children's future	96.2%	3.8%	100%
% within restaurant	67.2%	23.8%	62.9%
% of total	60.5%	2.4%	62.9%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	62	16	78
Expected count	70.2	7.8	78.0
% within children's future	79.5%	20.5%	100%
% within restaurant	32.8%	76.2%	37.1%
% of total	29.5%	7.6%	37.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>210</b>
% within children's future	90.0%	10.0%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.238 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	13.437	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	14.834	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.166	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.80.



Crosstable 13 of children's future category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>CHILDREN'S FUTURE NO</b>			
Observed count	87	45	132
Expected count	98.7	33.3	132.0
% within children's future	65.9%	34.1%	100%
% within student	55.4%	84.9%	62.9%
% of total	41.4%	21.4%	62.9%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	70	8	78
Expected count	58.3	19.7	78.0
% within children's future	89.7%	10.3%	100%
% within student	44.6%	15.1%	37.1%
% of total	33.3%	3.8%	37.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>210</b>
% within children's future	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.761 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	13.525	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	16.295	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.691	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.69.

Crossable 14 of economic capital (earning in Germany) category\* business group

	BUSINESS GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	74	33	107
Expected count	65.7	41.3	107.0
% within economic capital	69.2%	30.8%	100%
% within business	57.4%	40.7%	51.0%
% of total	35.2%	15.7%	51.0%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	55	48	103
Expected count	63.3	39.7	103.0
% within economic capital	53.4%	46.6%	100%
% within business	42.6%	59.3%	49.0%
% of total	26.2%	22.9%	49.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>210</b>
% within social capital	61.4%	38.6%	100%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.502 <sup>b</sup>	1	.019		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	4.857	1	.028		
Likelihood Ratio	5.526	1	.019		
Fisher's Exact Test				.023	.014
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.476	1	.019		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 39.73.

Crosstable 15 of economic capital (earning in Germany) category\* Catering Group

	CATERING GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	103	4	107
Expected count	96.3	10.7	107.0
% within economic capital	96.3%	3.7%	100%
% within restaurant	54.5%	19.0%	51.0%
% of total	49.0%	1.9%	51.0%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	86	17	103
Expected count	92.7	10.3	103.0
% within economic capital	83.5%	16.5%	100%
% within restaurant	45.5%	81.0%	49.0%
% of total	41.0%	8.1%	49.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>210</b>
% within economic capital	90.0%	10.0%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.504 <sup>b</sup>	1	.002		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	8.138	1	.004		
Likelihood Ratio	10.117	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.459	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.30.

Crosstable 16 of economic capital (earning in Germany) category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>ECONOMIC CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	72	35	107
Expected count	80.0	27.0	107.0
% within economic capital	67.3%	32.7%	100%
% within student	45.9%	66.0%	51.0%
% of total	34.3%	16.7%	51.0%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	85	18	103
Expected count	77.0	26.0	103.0
% within economic capital	82.5%	17.5%	100%
% within student	54.1%	34.0%	49.0%
% of total	40.5%	8.6%	49.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>210</b>
% within economic capital	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.455 <sup>b</sup>	1	.011		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	5.673	1	.017		
Likelihood Ratio	6.552	1	.010		
Fisher's Exact Test				.012	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.425	1	.011		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.00.

Crosstable 17 of economic capital (earning in China) category\* Catering Group

	CATERING GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
Economic capital NO			
Observed count	105	2	107
Expected count	96.3	10.7	107.0
% within economic capital	98.1%	1.9%	100%
% within restaurant	55.6%	9.5%	51.0%
% of total	50.0%	1.0%	51.0%
	YES		
Observed count	84	19	103
Expected count	92.7	10.3	103.0
% within economic capital	81.6%	18.4%	100%
% within restaurant	44.4%	90.5%	49.0%
% of total	40.0%	9.0%	49.0%
Total	189	21	210
% within economic capital	90.0%	10.0%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.025 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	14.236	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	18.165	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.949	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.30.

Crosstable 18 of natural capital (in Germany) category\* business group

	BUSINESS GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
Natural capital NO			
Observed count	28	7	35
Expected count	21.5	13.5	35.0
% within natural capital	80.0%	20.0%	100%
% within business	21.7%	8.6%	16.7%
% of total	13.3%	3.3%	16.7%
	YES		
Observed count	101	74	175
Expected count	107.5	67.5	175.0
% within natural capital	57.7%	42.3%	100%
% within business	78.3%	91.4%	83.3%
% of total	48.1%	35.2%	83.3%
Total	129	81	210
% within natural capital	61.4%	36.6%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.114 <sup>b</sup>	1	.013		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	5.209	1	.022		
Likelihood Ratio	6.606	1	.010		
Fisher's Exact Test				.014	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.085	1	.014		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.50.

Crosstable 19 of natural capital (obtained in Germany) category\* academic group

		ACADEMIC GROUP		TOTAL
		NO	YES	
Natural capital	NO			
Observed count		26	9	35
Expected count		31.3	3.7	35.0
% within natural capital		74.3%	25.7%	100%
% within academic		13.8%	40.9%	16.7%
% of total		12.4%	4.3%	16.7%
	YES			
Observed count		162	13	175
Expected count		156.7	18.3	175.0
% within natural capital		92.6%	7.4%	100%
% within academic		86.2%	59.1%	83.3%
% of total		77.1%	6.2%	83.3%
Total		188	22	210
% within natural capital		89.5%	10.5%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.398 <sup>b</sup>	1	.001		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	8.540	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	8.369	1	.004		
Fisher's Exact Test				.004	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.349	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.67.

Crosstable 20 of human capital category\* Catering Group

	CATERING GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
HUMAN CAPITAL NO			
Observed count	26	8	34
Expected count	30.6	3.4	34.0
% within human capital	74.3%	23.5%	100%
% within restaurant	13.8%	38.1%	16.2%
% of total	12.4%	3.8%	16.2%
	YES		
Observed count	163	13	176
Expected count	158.4	17.6	176.0
% within human capital	92.6%	7.4%	100%
% within restaurant	86.2%	61.9%	83.3%
% of total	77.1%	6.2%	83.3%
Total	189	21	210
% within human capital	90.0%	10.0%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.251 <sup>b</sup>	1	.004		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	6.555	1	.010		
Likelihood Ratio	6.675	1	.010		
Fisher's Exact Test				.009	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.212	1	.004		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.40.



Crosstable 21 of human capital category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
<b>HUMAN CAPITAL NO</b>			
Observed count	32	2	34
Expected count	25.4	8.6	34.0
% within human capital	94.1%	5.9%	100%
% within student	20.4%	3.8%	16.2%
% of total	15.2%	1.0%	16.2%
	<b>YES</b>		
Observed count	125	51	176
Expected count	131.6	44.4	176.0
% within human capital	71.0%	29.0%	100%
% within student	79.6%	96.2%	83.3%
% of total	59.5%	24.3%	83.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>210</b>
% within human capital	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.055 <sup>b</sup>	1	.005		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	6.878	1	.009		
Likelihood Ratio	10.174	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.004	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.017	1	.005		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.58.

Crosstable 22 of family reunion category\* business group

	BUSINESS GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
FAMILY UNION	NO		
Observed count	117	65	182
Expected count	111.8	70.2	182.0
% within family union	64.3%	35.7%	100%
% within business	90.7%	80.2%	86.7%
% of total	55.7%	31.0%	86.7%
	YES		
Observed count	12	16	28
Expected count	17.2	10.8	28.0
% within family union	42.9%	57.1%	100%
% within business	9.3%	19.8%	13.3%
% of total	5.7%	7.6%	13.3%
Total	129	81	210
% within family union	61.4%	38.6%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.703 <sup>b</sup>	1	.030		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	3.842	1	.050		
Likelihood Ratio	4.571	1	.033		
Fisher's Exact Test				.037	.026
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.680	1	.031		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.80.

Crosstable 23 of family reunion category\* student group

	STUDENT GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
FAMILY UNION	NO		
Observed count	130	52	182
Expected count	136.1	45.9	182.0
% within family union	71.4%	28.6%	100%
% within student group	82.8%	98.1%	86.7%
% of total	61.9%	24.8%	86.7%
	YES		
Observed count	27	1	28
Expected count	20.9	7.1	28.0
% within family union	96.4%	3.6%	100%
% within student group	17.2%	1.9%	13.3%
% of total	12.9%	.5%	13.3%
Total	157	53	210
% within family union	74.8%	25.2%	100%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.038 <sup>b</sup>	1	.005		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	6.768	1	.009		
Likelihood Ratio	10.875	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.004	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.000	1	.005		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.07.

Crosstable 24 of children's future of education category and Academic Group

	ACADEMIC GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
CHILDREN'S FUTURE NO			
Observed count			
Expected count	100	32	132
% within human capital	105.6	26.4	132.0
% within restaurant	75.8%	24.2%	100.0%
% of total	59.5%	76.2%	62.9%
YES	47.6%	15.2%	62.9%
Observed count			
Expected count			
% within human capital	68	10	78
% within restaurant	62.4	15.6	78.0
% of total	87.2%	12.8%	100.0%
	40.5%	23.8%	37.1%
	32.4%	4.8%	37.1%
Total	168	42	210
% within human capital	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.998(b)	1	.046		
Continuity	3.316	1	.069		
Correction(a)	4.209	1	.040		
Likelihood Ratio				.051	.032
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear	3.979	1	.046		
Association	210				
N of Valid Cases					

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.60.

Crosstable 25 of economic capital earning in China category and Academic Group

	ACADEMIC GROUP		TOTAL
	NO	YES	
ECONOMIC CAPITAL IN CHINA NO			
Observed count	93	14	107
Expected count	85.6	21.4	107.0
% within human capital	86.9%	13.1%	100.0%
% within restaurant	55.4%	33.3%	51.0%
% of total	44.3%	6.7%	51.0%
	YES		
Observed count	75	28	103
Expected count	82.4	20.6	103.0
% within human capital	72.8%	27.2%	100.0%
% within restaurant	44.6%	66.7%	49.0%
% of total	35.7%	13.3%	49.0%
Total	168	42	210
% within human capital	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square					
Continuity	6.521(b)	1	.011		
Correction(a)	5.670	1	.017		
Likelihood Ratio	6.613	1	.010		
Fisher's Exact Test				.015	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.490	1	.011		
N of Valid Cases	210				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.60.

## *Appendix III.*

### **Lebenslauf**

**Name:** Wang **Vorname:** YiHong **Geburtsort:** V.R China  
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#### **Studium und Berufserfahrungen:**

1981-1985 Anglistik-Studium an der Universität Shanxi mit dem Abschluss des Bachelor of Art

1985-1988 Anglistik-Studium an der Universität Shanxi mit dem Schwerpunkt westliche Sprache und Kultur“; Master of Art

1988-1990 Assistenzlehrerin für Englisch Sprache, Universität für Wirtschaft und Management, Shanxi, V.R. China

1990-1992 Dozentin für Englisch als Internationale Handelssprache, Universität für Wirtschaft und Management, Shanxi, V.R. China

1992-1993 Gastwissenschaftlerin für Englische Wirtschafts- und Betriebswissenschaften am Fachbereich internationale Ökonomie, Beijing Internationale Universität für Wirtschafts- und Management

1994-1996 Studentin für Interkulturelle Kommunikation am Fachbereich für Interkulturelle Kommunikation an der Universität Peking

1996-1998 Dozentin für Interkulturelle Betriebswissenschafts-Kommunikation auf Englische, Guanghua Management School, Universität Peking

1999 Intensiv deutsche Sprache Kurse am „International Center for Graduate Studies“ der Universität Hamburg,

Seit 2000 Promotion innerhalb der Interkulturellen Bildung am „International Center for Graduate Studies“ der Universität Hamburg, Fachbereiches Erziehungswissenschaften

Juli - Oktober, 2000 Teilnehmerin an der Internationalen Frauen Universität, Hannover

**Gesellschaftspolitisches Engagement:**

1976 (von Sommer bis Winter) freiwillige Arbeit für Verletzte und obdachlose Menschen von der Stadt Tangshan nach dem Erdbeben im Landeskrankenhaus von Shanxi

1981-1988 Mitarbeiterin der Shanxi Studentischen Vereinigung, Universität Shanxi

1995-1996 Mitarbeiterin der studentischen Vereinigung, Universität Peking

Juli - Oktober, 1995 Mitarbeiterin an der Fünften Welt-Frauen-Konferenz Beijing, V. R. China

2000- assoziiertes Mitglied und Beteiligung an der Beratung und Betreuung ausländischer Studierender des "International Center for Graduated Studies (ICGS)" der Universität Hamburg, Unterstützung von Frauen aus der chinesischen Community in Hamburg sowie von Studentinnen aus dem Ausland

2000- Vorstandsmitglieder der Gesellschaft für chinesische Kultur Hamburg e.V.

**Auszeichnungen:**

1990 Ehrung als "Exzellente Lehrerin" in VWL und Management an der Universität Shanxi, V.R. China

1991 Auszeichnung für den Inhalt und die Didaktik meiner Vorlesungen an der Universität für Wirtschaft und Management, Shanxi

1995 Auszeichnung als „Exzellente Studentin“ der Universität Peking

1995 Auszeichnung für die hervorragende Arbeit bei der Organisation der Konferenzen zwischen dem chinesischen Staatsrat und den Vereinten Nationen während der Fünften Welt-Frauen-Konferenz in Peking

**Publikationen:****Contributions to books**

Wang, Y., H., 1993. English and Chinese, Chinese and English Bilingual Dictionary, coeditor, Shanxi: ShanXi Publishing House

Wang, Y. H., 1994 English and Chinese Encyclopedia, on International Trade & Business,  
coeditor, ShanXi: ShanXi Publishing House.

### **Referred Journals**

Wang, Y. H., 2004“Self and Other, Habitus and Field, Intercultural Communication and Intercultural Business Understanding”, Journal of Intercultural Communication Studies (Texas), Volume XIII: 3, Winter, 27-49

“Self and Others for Intercultural Educational Communication”, submitted to Globalization, Societies and Education.

### **Conference Presentations and Proceedings**

1. Wang, Y. H., 1996, “The Similarities and the Differences between Chinese and American Businessmen in Negotiation”, presented in Communication and Culture: China and the World Entering the 21st Century, Beijing, 12-15 October.

2. Wang, Y. H., 2002, Invited presentation of the theoretical part of the dissertation: “The Investment and the Conversion of Different Forms of Capital”, Department of Intercultural Communication, Graduate School of International Studies, Hiroshima University, 22<sup>nd</sup> February.

3. Wang, Y. H., 2003, “Bourdieu and Intercultural Communication”, accepted in Social Science beyond Bourdieu, London, June 19-20, 2003

4. Wang, Y. H., 2003, “Self and Other, Habitus and Field in Intercultural Communication Competencies, Part I”, Conference Proceedings, UNESCO Conference on Intercultural Educational Communication, United Nations, 15-18 June 2003, Jyv\*skyl\*, Finland.

5. Wang, Y. H., 2003, “Self and Other, Habitus and Field, Intercultural Communication and Intercultural Business Understanding”, presented at the 9th International Conference on Cross-Cultural Communication on Intercultural Understanding and Communication at California State Fullerton, July 22-26.



6. Wang, Y. H., 2003, “Self and Other, Habitus and Field, Intercultural Communication Competencies, Part II”, presented at the European Conference on Educational Research, Hamburg, 17-20 September 2003.

7. Wang, Y. H., 2003, “Immigrants’ Habitus - An Example of the Chinese in Hamburg, Germany”, presented at Social Science History of Association, SSHA, Baltimore, November 13-16. <http://www.ssha.org/abstract2003/abs181.html>

8. Wang, Y. H., 2003, “The Different Transformations of Habitus to Adapt to Intercultural Communication - an example of the Chinese businessman in Hamburg, Germany”, presented at the INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AT WORK, The 10th NIC Symposium on Intercultural Communication, 20-22 November, Sweden. [http://www.ling.gu.se/projekt/nic/konf2003/PDF\\_FILES/NIC-Programme\\_final\\_version.pdf](http://www.ling.gu.se/projekt/nic/konf2003/PDF_FILES/NIC-Programme_final_version.pdf)

9. Wang, Y. H., 2004, “Forms of Trust in Chinese social networks at the Transformation Age in the 21st century”, Sommerakademie, Jena, Germany, 4-12. 09.

10. Wang, Y. H., 2005, “The Chinese Immigrant's Habitus: Strategies of Chinese Immigrants to Facilitate Different Forms of Capital internationally”, paper accepted to present in The Fifth International Conference on Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations, Beijing, 30 June-3 July

### **Case Development**

Wang, Y. H., 2000, Interview, “Chinese Businesswomen in Hanover, Germany”, in Be the Owner of Self, video-taped, ed. by Mirjana, Mirosoviki for International Women’s University, Hanover, Germany, July- October.

### **Book Translation**

Zhu, Shan li et al, Wang, Y. H., 2000, Studies in Business Cycle Theory, by Lucas, Robert E. Jr.(His Economics Nobel Prize Theories, translated from English (Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1981) into Chinese, Beijing: The Commercial and Business Publishing House.

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1. Habitus (Self and Other), Forms of Capital v. s. Their Transformations in different fields;
2. International/Intercultural Communication Strategies; Theories and Practices of

International/Intercultural Business/Management and Educational Communication:  
Interpersonal Relations and Conflicts Resolutions; Simulation of Intercultural Business  
communication;

3. Triangulation Methode

## **ERKLAERUNG**

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbstständig verfasst habe. Darüber hinaus erkläre ich, keine anderen Quellen und Hilfsmittel als die von mir angegebenen verwendet und wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommene Textstellen als solche kenntlich gemacht zu haben.

Datum: 11 December 2004

YiHong Wang