'ETHNIC IDENTITY IN A GLOBALISED WORLD: THE GERMAN COMMUNITY IN RICHMOND AND KINGSTON SINCE 1970'

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'Ethnic identity in a globalised world: the German community in Richmond and Kingston since 1970'

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Thesis Summary:

The German community in Richmond and Kingston, South West London, was established in the 1970s when the German School was founded in the area. Since then it has been growing gradually and is now one of the most significant centres of German life in Britain. What sets this community apart from others is the fact that its most visible members are expatriates – temporary highly skilled migrants - and their families. This thesis sets out to examine this community by focusing on aspects such as its history, social composition, community ties and networks and, most of all, issues of ethnic identity. Living in an increasingly globalised world certainly has an influence on the way identities, be it ethnic or otherwise, are formed. Frequently moving from one country to another, as many expatriates do, particularly affects their perceptions of ethnicity and the importance placed upon maintaining a certain ethnic identity. Local community ties might be replaced by transnational social networks as markers of identity. A national identity might be discarded in favour of a transnational one, or, on the contrary, the national identity might gain in importance faced with its loss in a globalised environment. Thus this study will also discuss in how far ethnic identity plays an important role among the Germans in Richmond and Kingston, and to what extent perceptions of it have changed compared to those German communities consisting of permanent migrants, and those of the past.

Key words: Germans in Britain; German migration; ethnic identity; ethnic community; expatriates

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family and partner for all their love and support.

Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Stefan Manz, for his unfailing enthusiasm which encouraged me to pursue this subject as well as his invaluable advice and patience throughout the whole research and writing period of this thesis. Further, I would like to thank those Germans (and others) in Richmond and Kingston who have received me with kindness and hospitality, and who were willing to sacrifice considerable amounts of their time to answer all my questions in interviews. Special thanks thus go out to the representatives of the German Catholic and Protestant churches in Ham for sharing with me valuable information, putting me in contact with many interesting people and inviting me to join their events. Last but not least I am thankful to the anonymous respondents who took the time to fill in my questionnaires and thus allowed me to catch a glimpse into the inner life of the community.

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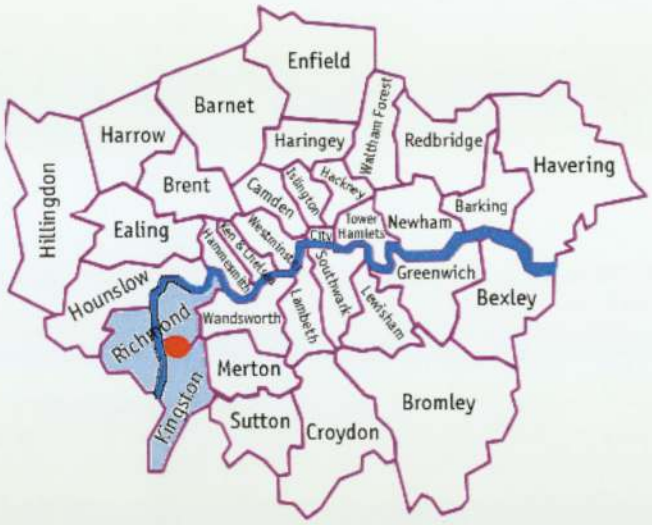
Introduction

'O Richmond! Richmond!' Carl Philip Moritz exclaimed in 1782, 'Never shall I forget the evening when you smiled on me from your soft round hills and eased my mind of all its cares as I moved enraptured in your flowery river-meads! Whatever picture of paradise your imagination paints, you will find the subject-matter of it here in this exquisite place.'[1]

Moritz, a German author travelling through England, was possibly one of the first Germans to praise Richmond so highly, then an afternoon's ride on the stagecoach away from London. He would probably not be surprised to know that Richmond today has become somewhat synonymous with the German community in London whose members, when asked why they chose to live in this area, have the same praise for its village-feel and abundance of natural beauty. The majority of Germans living in the Richmond area today are expatriates, highly skilled temporary migrants sent on international assignments by their German or transnational employers. With London being the financial and economic capital of the UK, it is unsurprising that the majority of expatriates work there and that they choose the more affluent suburbs as their places of residence. During the last forty years, with the number of expatriates increasing, the Ham/Petersham area on the border of the London Borough of Richmond with that of Kingston-upon-Thames (Map 1) has become home to a German community complete with ethnic institutions. This thesis sets out to examine this community by focusing on aspects such as its history, social composition, community ties and networks, and issues of ethnic identity. Living in an increasingly globalised world certainly has an influence on the way identities, be it ethnic or otherwise, are formed. Frequently moving from one country to another, as many expatriates do, particularly affects their perceptions of ethnicity and the importance placed upon maintaining a certain ethnic identity. Local community ties might be replaced by transnational social networks as markers of identity. A national identity might be discarded in favour of a transnational one, or, on the contrary, the national identity might gain in importance faced with its loss in a globalised environment. Thus another aim of this study is to discuss in how far ethnic identity plays an important role among the Germans in Ham/Petersham and to what extent perceptions of it have changed compared to those German communities consisting of permanent migrants, and those of the past.

[1] Moritz, 1783, pp. 106-107, cf. p. 176

Map 1: *Boroughs of London*



Source: London Councils

This map of all London Boroughs shows Richmond and Kingston-upon-Thames highlighted in blue, with the red dot marking where Ham and Petersham are located within the boroughs.

Today's German community in Richmond is one of the latest results of German migration to Britain, a migration that has been ongoing for centuries, since long before Europe consisted of clearly defined countries.[2] Britain has always been a country of migration with a multitude of foreigners entering the country for various political and economic reasons but also many of her own citizens seeking their fortunes abroad. German migrants to Britain came from many different, socially diverse, backgrounds: aristocrats and artisans, wealthy merchants and labourers, businessmen and refugees. Economic and political reasons drove them to emigrate and seek a better life in the United Kingdom (UK). Although towards the end of the 19th century Germans constituted the biggest foreign-born minority in England and Wales, the number of which had doubled from 1861 (28, 644) to 1911 (53, 324)[3] at the peak of German immigration, only a few scholarly studies have been conducted on them. The German

[2] Panayi in Panayi, 1996, p. 1. This is also why in this thesis the term 'German', if referring to the time before 1871, is used as a substitute for German-speaking people on the territory occupied by the many different German-speaking states. ('Germany' is thus used to denote this area)

[3] Panayi in Panayi, 1996, p. 77. Manz, 2003 (pp. 33-34) argues, however, that these figures are not entirely correct. Due to the speculative practices of those compiling the censuses and the absence of separate categories for naturalised British subjects, the actual number of German immigrants in England and Wales will have been higher. Manz suggests an estimated 12 per cent increase for all censuses from 1861 to 1901, added to the figures stated by Panayi.

community in Richmond/Kingston has been almost completely ignored in immigration studies. The following literature review will demonstrate the gap in research literature which the present study aims to fill.

1. Literature review

The lack of studies concerning the Richmond community is possibly due to the fact that it is a fairly young community, in existence only since the 1970s, and a comparatively small one as well (see discussion of community size, Chapter One). Another factor is the 'invisibility' of the Germans in this area going hand in hand with the general low-profile-keeping of the majority of German migrants today. The only two mentions of Richmond are made by Lothar Kettenacker in his chapter 'The Germans after 1945' in Panikos Panayi's *Germans in Britain since 1500*[4] and in the introductory chapter of Stefan Manz, John Davis and Margrit Schulte-Beerbühl's *Migration and Transfer*.[5] Whereas in the latter Richmond is merely mentioned by name as one area 'with the highest cluster settlement'[6] of Germans in London, Kettenacker elaborates a little more. After summarising the developments in German migration to Britain since end of the Second World War (at first refugees, Prisoners of War and war brides constituted the largest groups of German immigrants and were later overtaken by au pairs, single women on temporary employment and students), he briefly touches on the subject of expatriates as temporary, highly skilled migrants. They and their families are sent on international assignments to London by their German employers before being moved on to another destination. Kettenacker's discussion of their situation, however, is very short and somewhat simplistic. For example, he singles the 'London [German] community'[7] out as being the most concerned of the German communities in Britain about their self-image even to the point of hiding their nationality at all cost so as not to run the risk of obtaining a bad image. He further argues that the London Germans do not want to give the impression of forming a community. These generalisations do not seem to be based on thorough research but possibly

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[4] Panikos Panayi (ed.), 1996, *Germans in Britain since 1500*, The Hambledon Press: London and Rio Grande, pp. 201-202 for example

[5] Manz, Stefan, Schulte-Beerbühl, Margrit and Davis, John, 2007, *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660-1914*, K.G. Saur: Munich, p. 10

[6] Ibid.

[7] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 194

Kettenacker's own experience of living as a temporary migrant in Richmond. In this thesis it will be proven that Kettenacker's statements are valid for some Germans but that it would be a mistake to generalise. Furthermore, Kettenacker mentions the German School and hints at its slightly exclusive character before arguing that 'the Germans in Richmond are in a class of their own'.[8] While this may well be true, as will be argued in the following chapters, he fails to go into detail and explain this statement. Despite the shortcomings of Kettenacker's chapter it provides a good overview over the Germans in Britain after 1945 as well as the only discussion of expatriate Germans in the UK.

α. Literature on the expatriate situation and elite labour migration

Since any other literature on the expatriate community in Richmond simply does not exist, it is necessary to look further afield in order to fulfil the aims of this study. As well as looking at the subject from a migration studies point of view it is necessary to include other areas, such as business studies, into the search for useful literature. First, studies concerning expatriates and their international assignments have been identified from which comparisons can be drawn with the Richmond German community. The sending of employees abroad started in its modern context characterised by relatively short assignments and high fluctuation in the 1960s and 1970s. Although early studies on expatriates were sporadically produced from the late-1970s onwards, it was only at the beginning of the 1990s, however, that social scientists started to examine in depth the processes involved in expatriate assignments and the effects the whole experience has on the people involved. Adaptation to and assimilation into the new environment and subsequent emerging problems are frequently discussed subjects in the literature together with recommendations for coping strategies. Very often these topics are looked at from a human resource and people management point of view and predominantly appear in field-specific journals. J. Stewart Black and Mark Mendenhall[9] are two of the

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[8] Ibid., p. 202

[9] See for example: Mendenhall, M., Dunbar, E. and Oddou, G., 'Expatriate Selection, Training and Career-Pathing: A Review and Critique', Human Resource Management, 1987, pp. 331-345; Mendenhall, M. and Oddou, G., 'The Overseas Assignment: A Practical Look', Business Horizons, 1988, Vol. 31, pp. 78-84; Black, J.S., 'Work role transitions: A study of American expatriate managers in Japan', Journal of International Business Studies, 1988, Vol. 19, pp. 277-294; Idem. and Mendenhall, M.E., 'The U-curve adjustment revisited: A review and theoretical framework, Journal of International Business Studies, 1991, Vol. 22, pp. 225-247; Black, J.S., 'The Relationship of Personal Characteristics with the Adjustment of Japanese Expatriate Managers', Management International Review, 1990, Vol. 30, pp. 119-134; ; Idem. and Mendenhall, M., 'Cross-cultural Training Effectiveness: A Review and Theoretical

leading scholars in this field and have published extensively on the subject of expatriate adjustment. The German expatriate experience has been widely discussed by Torsten Kühlmann and Günter K. Stahl[10], among others.

Bernd Müller-Jaquier and Torsten Kühlmann's *Deutsche in der Fremde*[11] is concerned with the relationships Germans outside Germany form with their foreign environment and its people. Concentrating on assimilation, isolation and integration, this volume depicts the different ways in which German migrants deal with their new situation abroad. Apart from examples from German migration history, such as that of German merchants in South America in the 19th century, two chapters discuss the expatriate experience.[12] Bernd Kupka and Virginia Cathro have addressed issues concerning the expatriate spouse with respect to German expatriate wives in their article 'Desperate housewives – social and professional isolation of German expatriated spouses'.[13] Many

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Framework for Future Research', Academy of Management Review, 1990, Vol. 15, pp. 113-136; Black, J.S., 'Locus of Control, Social Support, Stress, and Adjustment in International Transfers', Asia Pacific Journal of Management, 1990, Vol. 7, pp. 1-29; Idem. and Gregersen, H.B., 'Antecedents to Cross-cultural Adjustment for Expatriates in Pacific Rim Assignments', Human Relations, 1991, Vol. 44, Issue 5, pp. 215-230; Black, J.S., Mendenhall, M., and Oddou, G., 'Towards a Comprehensive Model of International Adjustment: An Integration of Multiple Theoretical Perspectives', Academy of Management Review, 1991, Vol. 16, pp. 291-317; Black, J.S., Gregersen, H.B. and Mendenhall, M., 1992, *Global assignments: Successfully expatriating and repatriating international managers*, Jossey-Bash Publishers: San Francisco; Idem. and Stroh, L.K., 1999, *Globalizing People through International Assignments*, Addison Wesley: Reading, MA; Black, J.S., and Gregersen, H.B., 'The right way to manage Expats', Harvard Business Review, 1999, vol. 77, pp. 52-62

[10] See for example: Kühlmann, Torsten M., 1995, *Mitarbeiterentsendung ins Ausland: Auswahl, Vorbereitung, Betreuung und Wiedereingliederung*, Verlag für Angewandte Psychologie: Göttingen; Stahl, G.K., 1998, *Internationaler Einsatz von Führungskräften: Probleme, Bewältigung, Erfolg*, Oldenbourg: Munich; Stahl, G.K.., Miller, E.L., Einfalt, C. And Tung, R.L., 'Auslandseinsatz als Element der internationalen Laufbahngestaltung: Ergebnisse einer Befragung von entsandten deutschen Fach- und Führungskräften in 59 Ländern', Zeitschrift für Personalforschung, 2000, Vol. 4, pp. 334-354; Kühlmann, Torsten M., 2004, *Auslandseinsatz von Mitarbeitern*, Hogrefe-Verlag: Göttingen; Idem. and Stahl, G.K., 'Problemfelder des internationalen Personeneinsatzes' in Schuler, H. (ed.), 2006, *Lehrbuch der Personalpsychologie*, Hogrefe-Verlag: Göttingen

[11] Torsten Kühlmann and Bernd Müller-Jacquier (eds.), 2007, *Deutsche in der Fremde. Assimilation – Abgrenzung – Integration*, Röhrig Universitätsverlag: St Ingbert

[12] See also: Zimmermann, Angelika, Holman, David and Sparrow, Paul, 'Unravelling Adjustment Mechanisms: Adjustment of German Expatriates to Intercultural Interactions, Work, and Living Conditions in the People's Republic of China', International Journal of Cross-Cultural Management, 2003, Vol. 3, Issue 1, pp. 45-66 and Haslberger, Arno, 'The complexities of expatriate adaptation', Human Resource Management Review, 2005, Vol. 15, Issue 2, pp. 160-180

[13] In The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 2007, Volume 18, Issue 6, pp. 951-968. See also: Harvey, M.G., 'The Executive Family: An Overlooked Variable in International Assignments', Columbia Journal of World Business, 1985, Spring Issue, pp. 84-93; Black, J.S., 'The Other Half of the Picture: Antecedents of Spouse Cross-Cultural Adjustment', Journal of International Business Studies, 1991, Vol. 22, Issue 3, pp. 461-477; De Cieri, H., Dowling, P. and Taylor, K., 'The Psychological Impact of Expatriate Relocation on Partners', International Journal of Human Resource Management, 1993, Vol. 2, Issue 3, pp. 377-414; Punnett, B.J., 'Towards Effective Management of Expatriate Spouses', Journal of World Business, 1997, Vol. 32, Issue 3, pp. 243-258; Copeland, A.P.and Norell, S.K., 'Spousal Adjustment on International Assignments: The Role of Social Support', International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 2002, Vol. 26, Issue 3, pp. 255-272

of the situations depicted in this article exist among the women of the German community in Richmond. The most comprehensive and useful discussion of German expatriate communities can be found in Alois Moosmüller's edited volume *Interkulturelle Kommunikation in der Diaspora.*[14] Apart from discussing the term diaspora and all its interpretations, the contributors also examine international diaspora communities as well as specifically German expatriate communities.[15]

β. Literature on German migrant groups in the world

In order to put the German community in Richmond in perspective and to place it within developments in migration history, it is necessary to consider relevant literature in the field of migration studies. A large body of studies on German immigrant communities exists in the context of German migration to the United States (US) in the mid-19th to early 20th century. This is due to the fact that almost the entire US-American population has its origins anywhere but the US thus making the United States the country of immigration par excellence, and also to the large percentage of Americans with German roots. The literature consists for the most part of area-specific case studies examining aspects such as religious, social, political and community life.[16] Stanley Nadel's *Little Germany*[17] is a case study of the German immigrant community of New

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[14] Moosmüller, Alois (ed.), 2002, *Interkulturelle Kommunikation in der Dispora*, Waxmann: Münster, Munich and New York

[15] See Roth and Roth, Dobler and von Groll, Kartari and Moser-Weithmann in Moosmüller, 2002.

[16] For example: Townsend, Andrew, 1932, *The Germans of Chicago*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago; Handlin, Oscar, 1951, *The Uprooted*, Little, Brown and Company: Boston; Hirschler, Eric E. (ed.), 1955, *Jews from Germany in the United States*, Farrar, Strauß and Cudahy: New York; Huebner, Theodor, 1962, *The Germans in America*, Chilton Co.: Philadelphia; Gleason, Philip, 1968, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order*, University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame; Luebke, Frederick C., 1969, *Immigrants and Politics. Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900*, University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln; Dolan, Jay P., 1975, *The immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865*, John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore; Moltmann, Günter (ed.), 1976, *Deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Metzler: Stuttgart; Dobbert, Guido, 1980, *The Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: The Cincinnati Germans*, Arno Press: New York; Bretting, Agnes, 1981, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City, 1800-1860*, F. Steiner Verlag: Wiesbaden; Keil, Hartmut and Jentz, John B. (eds.), 1983, *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910*, Northern Illinois University Press: DeKalb; Cohen, Naomi, W., 1984, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830-1914*, Jewish Publication Society of America: Philadelphia; Kamphoefner, Walter D., 1987, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri*, Princeton University Press: Princeton; Neils Conzen, Kathleen, 2003, *Germans in Minnesota*, Minnesota Historical Society Press: St Paul

[17] Nadel, Stanley, 1990, *Little Germany. Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-1880*, University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago

[18] New York State Census of 1855 in Nadel, 1990, p. 1

[19] UK Census 2001

York City in the latter half of the 19th century analysing social, religious and political aspects of this community. What is most important in this work is Nadel's argument that New York's Little Germany was, in fact, not a coherent community at all. It was made up of many subcommunities determined by factors other than nationality: regional origin, religion and social class among others. Little Germany itself was only part of the whole of New York's German ethnic life. On a smaller scale (New York City counted 154,000 German inhabitants in 1855[18], London 39,818 in 2001[19]) the same is true for the German community in Richmond. As well as being a small part of the incoherent German community in London it also consists of several subcommunities, e.g. around the German School and the churches.

The formation and development of ethnic identity is a prominent subject in all of the works listed below, as the study of ethnicity is an integral part of migration studies. O'Donnell et al's edited volume *The Heimat Abroad*[20] discusses German identity in several contexts ranging form Germany's legal framework towards the German diaspora in different historical periods to the challenges posed by the concept of *Auslandsdeutsche*. In the German-American context, in *Becoming Old Stock*[21], Russell A. Kazal contrasts the concepts of assimilation and pluralism and discusses their part in the decline of German-American culture. For the present study on the German community in Richmond, Kazal's work provides a solid overview over German-American identity in the 19th and 20th century with which the present situation in Richmond can be compared. Most notable here is that developments in the world in the eighty years since the 1930s enabled not only migrants to take on an even greater variety of identities. Globalisation, for example, added new elements to be picked from in the shaping of one's identity. In the case of the expatriate Germans in Richmond this means that one can be a transnational being, someone who is neither German nor British regarding ethnicity but drifts between many identities such as that of a global expatriate

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[20] O'Donnell, Krista, Bridenthal, Renate and Reagin, Nancy, 2005, *The Heimat Abroad : the boundaries of Germanness*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor

[21] Kazal, Russell A., 2004, *Becoming Old Stock. The Paradox of German-American Identity,* Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford

businessman. Also, a German-British identity does not exist among the majority of Germans in Richmond due to the temporary nature of their stay. On the contrary, being so highly mobile and 'citizens of the world', expatriates long for a bit of stability in their lives and reinstate their German identity which they then try and maintain by, for example, sending their children to the German School. This interplay of a de-nationalised and a clearly German identity is characteristic of these expatriates. Kazal's study is insofar relevant as it shows similarities and differences between German-Americans in the 19th and 20th centuries and the Richmond community of today.

Regarding German immigrants and minorities elsewhere in the world, many studies have been conducted on the Germans in Australia[22], South America[23] and Africa.[24] These are predominantly concerned with German immigration in a historical context and the maintenance of German ethnic identity, and are thus very useful for drawing comparisons to the current situation in Richmond.

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[22] For example: Bodi, L. and Jeffries, S., 1985, *The German Connection*, Department of German, Monash University: Melbourne; Harmstorf, I. and and Cigler, M., *The Germans in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press; Harmstorf, I. and Schwerdtfeger, P., 1988, *The German Experience of Australia 1833-1938*, Adelaide, Australian Association of Humboldt Fellows; Tampke, J. and Doxford, C., 1990, *Australia Willkommen: A History of the Germans in Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 1990; Tampke, J. and Walker, D., 1991, *From Berlin to the Burdekin: The German Contribution to the Development of Australian Science, Exploration and the Arts*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press; Tampke, Jürgen, 2006, *The Germans in Australia*, Cambridge University Press: Port Melbourne; Everke Buchanan, Stefanie, 2007, '"I expected something else": Germans in Melbourne', Space and Culture, Vol. 10, pp. 331-348

[23] For example: Young, George F.W., 1974, *The Germans in Chile: immigration and colonization, 1849-1914*, Centre for Migration Studies New York: Staten Island, N.Y.; Luebke, Frederick C., 1987, *Germans in Brazil : a comparative history of cultural conflict during World War I*, Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge; Bergmann, Günter J., 1994, *Auslandsdeutsche in Paraguay, Brasilien, Argentinien*, Westkreuz: Bad Münstereifel; Gassen Kothe, Mercedes, 2003, *Land der Verheissung : die deutsche Auswanderung nach Brasilien 1890-1914*, Meridian-Verlag: Rostock; Büttner Lermen, Gisela, 2006, *Deutsche Auswanderinnen in Südbrasilien : Lebenswelt und Erfahrungen von Frauen in Kolonie und katholischer Kirche (1824-1939)*, Regionalkultur: Heidelberg

[24] For example: Walther, Daniel Joseph, 2002, *Creating Germans abroad : cultural policies and national identity in Namibia*, Ohio University Press: Athens; Mázon, Patricia and Steingröver, Reinhild (eds.), 2005, *Not so plain as Black and White : Afro-German culture and history, 1890-2000*, University of Rochester Press: Rochester, N.Y.

[25] Manz, Stefan, 2003, *Migranten und Internierte: Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864–1918*, Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart

[26] Holmes, Colin, 1988, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971*, Macmillan: Basingstoke

γ. Literature on German and other immigrant groups in Britain

As Stefan Manz argues in *Migranten und Internierte*[25] a change occurred in the way the subject of migration was researched and studied in Britain. Up until the 1980s the focus was primarily directed towards Britain as a country of emigration and research output focusing on British emigration remains high. However, in-migration to Britain of various groups at different times has become a second focus of British migration studies in the last two decades. Colin Holmes's *John Bull's Island*[26] was the first work to present a comprehensive picture of the different immigration streams to Britain from the late 19th century, when pre-World Wars European immigration had reached its peak, into the 1970s when Britain witnessed another significant inflow of migrants – those from the New Commonwealth. Looking at the various immigrant groups in turn concentrating on their motives for migration and their reception, social conditions and ethnic identity in Britain, Holmes shows the impact migrants have had on British cultural, scientific and commercial life in all periods of the country's history. Robert Winder's *Bloody Foreigners*[27] extends this history of immigration to Britain to pre-historic times and charts developments in this field up until the present time in a narrative and all-inclusive way. No picture of immigration and migrant communities is complete without examining the reactions of the local population towards newcomers. These were seldom entirely peaceful – proving that racism was ever-present in Britain. Panikos Panayi's *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain*[28] as well as other works support this point further.[29]

Apart from the above, more general studies of immigration to Britain, specific migrant communities are being increasingly examined. A large body of research has been conducted on immigrants from the New Commonwealth following the arrival of

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[27] Winder, Robert, 2004, *Bloody Foreigners. The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown: London

[28] Panayi, Panikos, 1994, *Immigration, ethnicity and racism in Britain – 1815-1945*, Manchester University Press: Manchester

[29] See for example: Cohen, Philip and Bains, Harvant S., 1988, *Multi-racist Britain*, Macmillan: Basingstoke

Holmes, Colin, 1991, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain*, Faber and Faber: London; Panayi, Panikos, 1996, *Racial violence in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Leicester University Press: London; McGhee, Derek, 2005, *Intolerant Britain : hate, citizenship and difference*, Open University Press: Maidenhead

the ship 'Empire Windrush' in 1948, bringing the first of these immigrants to Britain. Concerning European immigration, Russian, Polish and German Jews[30] have received the greatest scholarly attention. Further, other European minorities throughout the 19th and 20th centuries have been examined in the above general volumes on immigration to Britain as well as in detailed monographs regarding material aspects of the community (such as residence patterns, occupations, etc.), motives for migrating, social and political activity as well as ethnic identity and its maintenance. There, however, the Italian[31] and German communities prevail.

The earliest works on German life in Britain[32] can only be classified as primary sources rather than research literature. Due to the time and circumstances these works were written in, they are fairly subjective and characterised by patriotic and nationalistic undertones. Ethnic institutions, for example, are viewed as agents for safe-guarding a distinct German ethnicity abroad ('das Deutschtum im Ausland') against the 'negative' influences of the host society. As Stefan Manz has already argued[33], Hennings in particular criticised the hostile treatment of Germans during the First World War and would have liked to see in their place more thankfulness on the British part in the light of the great contributions Germans have made to all aspects of British life.

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[30] See for example: Bild, Ian, 1984, *The Jews in Britain*, Batsford Academic and Educational: London; Aldermann, Geoffrey, 1998, *Modern British Jewry*, Clarendon Press: Oxford; Finestein, Israel, 1999, *Anglo-Jewry in changing times : studies in diversity, 1840-1914*, Vallentine Mitchell: Portland, OR; Seidler, Victor J., 2000, *Shadows of the Shoah : Jewish identity and belonging*, Berg: Oxford; Gartner, Lloyd P., 2001, 3rd ed., *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*, Vallentine Mitchell: London
Specifically on refugees see for example: Berghahn, Marion, 1984, *German-Jewish refugees in England : the ambiguities of assimilation*, Macmillan: London; Hirschfeld, Gerhard, 1984, *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, published for the German Historical Institute London, Berg Publishers: Leamington Spa; Berghahn, Marion, 1988, *Continental Britons : German-Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany*, Berg: Oxford; Sherman, A.J., 1994, *Island refuge : Britain and refugees from the Third Reich 1933-1939*, Frank Cass: Ilford; Leighton-Langer, Peter, 2006, *The king's own loyal enemy aliens: German and Austrian refugees in Britain's armed forces, 1939-45*, Vallentine Mitchell: Portland, OR.

[31] Sponza, Lucio, 1984, *The Italian poor in nineteenth-century Britain,* University of London: London; Idem., 1988, *Italian Immigrants in 19th century Britain: Realities and Images*, Leicester University Press: Leicester; Idem., 2000, *Divided loyalties : Italians in Britain during the Second World War*, P. Lang: Bern and New York; and Colpi, Terri, 1987, *The social structure of the Italian community in Bedford with particular reference to its places of origin and migration,* University of Oxford: Oxford; Idem., 1991, *The Italian Factor. The Italian Community in Great Britain*, Mainstream Publishing: London and Edinburgh

[32] Dorgeel, H., *Die deutsche Colonie in London*, 1881, Commissions-Verlag von A. Siegle: London and Leipzig; Schaible, Karl Heinrich, 1885, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England*, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner: Strassburg; Hennings, C.R., 1923, *Deutsche in England*, Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft: Stuttgart. See also: Grothe, Hugo, 1932, *Grothes Kleines Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, R.Oldenbourg: Munich and Berlin

[33] Manz, *Migranten und Internierte*, p. 6

Panikos Panayi's *German Immigrants in Britain during the 19th century* was the first study to look at German immigration over a set period of time, followed by his *Germans in Britain since 1500.*[34] The latter gives a good overview over the history of German immigration. However, issues such as identity and ethnicity are largely overlooked in its constituting chapters. Directing the focus away from London is Stefan Manz's discussion of the Germans in Glasgow from the mid-19th to the early 20th century in *Migranten und Internierte*[35], the first comprehensive socio-scientific study of a provincial German colony in Britain. Manz discusses the term ethnic colony and its limitations as well as temporary migration. He thus shows that German migrants did not necessarily stay in Glasgow once they had moved there but that return migration was rather common. His argument then also proves that fluctuation in migrant communities has always existed and is not entirely a product of mid-20th century economic globalisation.

Literature on German immigration after 1945 remains scarce. Johannes-Dieter Steinert and Inge Weber-Newth's *Love and Labour*[36] is to date the only study concerned with post-war German immigration. However, the subjects of this study are former German Prisoners of War who remained in Britain after the war, Germans who found work under the European Volunteer Worker, North Sea and Westward Ho schemes as well as the German 'war brides'. Thus the book's subtitle 'Germans in Britain after the Second World War' is misleading. The arrival of German expatriates as well as students and au pairs since the 1960s and 70s has been left out of the discussion completely. In the last ten years, however, pieces of research as well as personal memories were published on the German churches in Britain[37] showing their continuing significance as one of the most important markers of ethnic identity. Comparisons can be drawn between these and the German religious congregations in Richmond where the church

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[34] Panayi, Panikos, 1995, *Germans Immigrants during the 19th Century, 1815-1914,* Berg: Oxford; Idem., 1996, *Germans in Britain since 1500*, The Hambledon Press: London

[35] Manz, Stefan, 2003, *Migranten und Internierte: Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864–1918*, Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart

[36] Steinert, Johannes-Dieter and Weber-Newth, Inge, 2005, *Love and Labour. Germans in post-war Britain*, Secolo: Osnabrück

[37] Steinmetz, Susanne, 1998, *Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinden in Großbritannien und Irland: Geschichte und Archivbestände*, Aus Evangelischen Archiven Nr. 37; Becher, Werner, 2000, *Deutsche als Ausländer in der Evangelischen Gemeinde deutscher Sprache in Schottland*, Lembeck: Frankfurt a.M.; Bindemann, Walther (ed.), 2001, *Strange Home Britain. Memories and Experiences of Germans in Britain*, Alpha Books: Edinburgh; Bindemann, Walther, 2002, *Brückendienst an Tyne und Tees – Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Evangelischen Gemeinde in Middlesbrough und Newcastle upon Tyne*, Alpha Books: Edinburgh; Bindemann, Walther (ed.), 2004, *... und manchmal umarmt vom Regen. Lebenswege und Lebensansichten von Deutschen in Schottland*, Verbum: Berlin

continues to fulfil its role in terms of ethnicity albeit in different circumstances. Initially, researchers of German immigration focused on certain groups of German immigrants and continue to do so: Intellectuals and political refugees[38], artisans[39] and merchants[40] among others. Stefan Manz et al have dedicated a collection of essays to the resulting transfer of knowledge and skills from Germany to Britain[41] which remains the latest work on German immigration to Britain to date.

It has become clear from the above discussion of the literature considered for this project that a significant gap exists in German migration studies. Scholars are primarily concerned with German migration during the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries as well as that of German (Jewish) refugees before and during the Second World War. Concerning the post-war period little research has been carried out on the cross-border movements of Germans. The situation is even worse for the time from the 1960s onwards until the present day. The little mention that has been made of current German migration movements has merely touched on the subject of the expatriate experience without going into much detail. Although studies on expatriate adaptation can be found in the field of human resource management, they are aimed at businesses, giving them advice on how to better manage employees in international assignments, and do not discuss the subject of ethnic communities and identity in any length. The present research therefore examines the German expatriate community in Richmond on a micro level and aims at connecting German migration studies with those of labour mobility and the expatriate experience. The result will be a coherent discussion of problems of ethnic identity of the Richmond community in times of a globalised and transnational economy from which conclusions can be drawn that are to a great extent applicable on a macro level.

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[38] Niedhart, Gottfried (ed.), 1985, *Grossbritannien als Gast- und Exilland für Deutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Brockmeyer: Bochum; Ashton, Rosemary, 1986, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England*, Oxford University Press: Oxford; Alter, Peter and Muhs, Rudolf, 1996, *Exilanten und andere Deutsche in Fontanes London*, Hans-Dieter Heinz: Stuttgart

[39] Gibbons, Sue, 2001, *German pork butchers in Britain*, Anglo-German Family History Society Publications: Maidenhead; Willrich, John, 2003, *The wandering musicians of West-Pfalz*, Anglo-German Family History Society Publications: Maidenhead

[40] See for example: Schulte-Beerbühl, Margrit, 2007, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung 1660-1818*, Oldenbourg: Munich

[41] Manz, Stefan, Schulte-Beerbühl, Margrit and Davis, John, 2007, *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660-1914*, K.G.Saur: Munich

2. Methodology

In order to be able to conduct a meaningful study on the German community in Ham/Petersham, a lot of groundwork needed to be done because, as aforementioned, no precise data and information is available in the research literature. Two research methods were considered particularly suitable for this project: open questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. This resulted in the use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques which has the advantage of providing reliable data as well as more personal opinions of people involved with the community, from both of which conclusions can be drawn. All of the primary research was carried out towards the end of the year 2007 and throughout the year 2008. In the beginning of the research period, German institutions in the Ham/Petersham area were identified and contacted. Subsequently interviews were arranged with people holding responsible positions in these institutions and businesses. These included, for example, the headmistress of the bilingual kindergarten and the pastors of the churches as well as some individuals connected to these organisations who had been resident in the area for longer and thus could give a historical overview over developments in the community. In total, twenty such interviews were conducted. Interview questions were semi-structured so as to allow interviewees to reply freely and in their own terms without being restricted by too strict an interview schedule.[42] The types of questions asked were determined by the position held by the interviewee in the ethnic institutions. Those in leading positions, for example, were asked about their work and how it related to the community, how well their services were used and who the users were. Usually this prompted the interviewees to talk in more detail about the community and gave valuable insights into the latter. In addition, questions were asked about their own backgrounds, their lengths of stay in the area, etc, because often these 'community leaders' were expatriates themselves. Those interviewees who were in some way connected to ethnic institutions, but not their leaders, were mainly asked questions on how and why they became involved with the respective organisations as well as personal questions about their own backgrounds. Although using tape recorders in interviewing is much recommended[43] it was decided against it for this project. Having gained the trust of the interviewees, it nevertheless would have felt too intrusive to tape the interviews. Many interviewees included personal information, their own (often not entirely positive views) on the community as

[42] See Bryman, Alan, 2004, *Social Research Methods*, 2nd edition, Oxford University Press: Oxford
[43] See ibid., p. 325

well as some gossip in their answers. A tape recorder would have most likely prevented interviewees from talking that freely. All of these twenty interviews were essentially conducted for qualitative purposes and gave the researcher a valuable insight into the community. It has to be noted here that the researcher strictly adhered to an ethical code of practice for the whole of the research period.

To obtain a more representative picture of the community, its composition and views on identity and integration in particular, self-administered questionnaires were designed. Questions ranged from personal information on age, gender and children, to work, length of stay and reasons for living in the Richmond area, to questions about familiarity with ethnic institutions and the community, and integration into the host society (see Appendix 1). After having identified the German ethnic institutions in the area, the churches and the bakery[44], questionnaires were distributed with the help of the latter, some by the researcher herself and some with the help of the lay preacher of the Catholic church and the gardener catering for the German community. Fifty questionnaires in total were returned and subsequently arranged in to seven categories[45] depending on where and when they had been distributed. Of these fifty respondents, 49 were German or formerly German nationals (two were naturalised British) and one was Austrian.[46] The questions themselves were kept fairly open so as to allow participants to formulate their own answers without being confined to a set of possible responses. This proved to be the right decision as many respondents added their own views on particular questions, especially where identification with the community and integration into the host society were concerned. Another advantage of administering questionnaires is that the results provide the first qualitative set of data on the German community in Ham/Petersham and thus can be used by future researchers conducting a longer, more in-depth analysis of this community. Of course, as argued by Bryman among others, open questions made coding of the questionnaires more difficult and time-consuming than would have been the case with closed questions[47] but ultimately gave a deeper

[44] The German School did not seem too cooperative in this research and thus it was thought best to focus on the churches and the school for the distribution of questionnaires.

[45] Group 1: distributed in the Catholic church in general by the lay preacher, 2. distributed in the German play group run by the Catholic church by the lay preacher, 3. and 4. distributed by the researcher on two Saturday mornings at the German bakery and shop, 5. distributed by the gardener catering for the German community to his clients, 6. those returned through a forum for Germans in London on the internet and 7. miscellaneous questionnaires distributed on various occasions by the researcher.

[46] The one Austrian respondent will be henceforth considered as 'German' for simplicity's sake.

[47] Bryman, 2004, p. 146. Answers that are not clear cut, then, are unavoidable in open questionnaires and these have been coded to the best of the researcher's judgment.

insight into the composition of the community. The answers were coded as accurately as possible; however, they will not be one hundred per cent exact as, especially when answers were not clear cut, the researcher had to rely on her own judgement. Further, the design of the questionnaires was improved as time went by which resulted in four slightly different versions with a few questions added or removed. Thus a small number of questions have a high percentage of 'not stated' responses which include those questionnaires that did not contain the specific question. This mistake on the part of the researcher, however, should not alter the results significantly and when referring to those questionnaire results in the text, the error will be pointed out. Fifty returned questionnaires may seem too small a sample size for a community that might include more than one thousand individuals (see Chapter One). However, since these questionnaires were distributed in a variety of locations they present a cross section of the community and thus it is reasonably safe to draw generalisations from them.

3. Explanation of chapter division

This thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is concerned with placing the community in the wider context of present-day migration and analysing the movement (i.e. the sending of expatriates) which resulted in the establishment of the German community in the Ham/Petersham area of Richmond and Kingston, as well as discussing the composition of the latter. International developments in elite migration and the sending of expatriates by employers are examined, related to the German experience in this field and ultimately to the comparatively small group of expatriates in Richmond/Kingston. The social and occupational analysis of the composition of the community will be presented in the second part of the chapter and the final part of Chapter One discusses the significant role of age, gender and family.

The second chapter deals with ethnic German institutions in the area and their role in the maintenance of a German ethnic identity in the community. This discussion will also determine whether a real community exists among the Richmond Germans or if they merely live side by side without much interaction. It starts with a explanation of the terms community, diaspora and diaspora culture and moves on to examine the importance of an ethnic network in German communities in the past and present,

including some in Britain and elsewhere in the world. As the German School was the first ethnic German institution to be established in the area, a closer look at the latter follows and is pursued by a look at the other German educational establishments: the K.I.S.H Kindergarten. Ethnic schools have always played a significant role in maintaining ethnicity and in Richmond this is no different. Next, the ethnic economy catering for the German community will be focused upon. Many small businesses have settled in the area after the establishment of the community and provide specifically for the German residents' needs. Aspects of a transnational identity in the Richmond community will also be discussed. As mentioned previously, national identities might be increasingly replaced by inter- or transnational ones. In how far this applies to the German expatriates will be discussed in this chapter. Friends and acquaintances abroad with whom one feels more connected than to those in Germany, work networks and neighbourhood contacts spanning individuals of many other nationalities might all contribute to the abandonment of a national identity in favour of a transnational one. On the other hand, being surrounded by so many ethnic German institutions in the Richmond area and in London in general, and being physically close to Germany and friends and family there, exacerbated by the shortness of the expatriates' stays and the resulting unwillingness to integrate into the host society, may all be factors in reinforcing a distinctly German national identity. To what extent feelings of integration into the host society play a part in the Richmond Germans' perceptions of their own identities is a further discussion point in the second chapter.

Chapter Three is dedicated to the German-speaking Protestant and Catholic congregations in Ham/Petersham. They are ethnic institutions and thus would have fitted well into Chapter Two. However, the bulk of material and information obtained about the churches has been so great and their role in the community is so important that they warranted their own chapter in this thesis. The religious congregations exist as subcommunities inside the larger German community. Their smaller size makes them easier to analyse and processes inside them can be related to what is happening in the community as a whole. They thus provide a mirror of the entire community, or the community 'in a nut shell', so to speak. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the connection between religion and ethnicity, the second gives an overview over the development of the German churches in Britain and the third is concerned with the two congregations in Ham/Petersham. This last section is again

divided into four subsections. The first informs about the history of the congregations, the second looks at their sizes and memberships, the third discusses the effects of fluctuation and the final subsection focuses on the purpose of the church communities inside the German community.

Chapter One: Labour mobility, expatriation and the Germans in Richmond

Introduction

> 'Der Weg in die Fremde', Klaus Bade argues 'und die Begegnung mit den Fremden erfolgen – gestern wie heute- in verschiedenen Lebenszusammenhängen. Wir erleben die Fremde(n) als Auswanderer, Pilger, Wanderarbeiter, Eroberer, Händler, Studenten, Missionare, oder Diplomaten, Touristen.'[48]

Migration is as old as mankind itself. Humans have always been on the move, from the very early days of the *homo sapiens* when concepts of states and nationhood, migration policies and politics had not yet entered human consciousness, up until today's globalised world where previously fortified borders are increasingly disappearing to give way to a freer flow of people, capital and goods. Much has happened in between. Invasions, wars, famines, persecution, overpopulation, unemployment and poverty, but also adventurous urges to discover, to experience unknown places and cultures, to broaden horizons, or simply the wish to live somewhere and see something else, are all among reasons that have driven people to leave their places of birth, their homes and countries throughout human history. Some chose to migrate, others were forced; some stayed only a couple of months, others years or even lifetimes. Every single migrant has their own story to tell, some are happy stories of new homes found where living conditions were better, work available, where religions could be practised freely, opinions expressed without fear, where a fulfilled life was indeed possible. Other migrants might tell stories of refugee camps, appalling living conditions, exploitation, human trafficking. What all migration movements have in common is the fact that they were conditioned by events that were happening around the migrant, as the reasons for migrating show. Something was happening that made the migrant leave his home. Labour and career mobility are no exceptions. The German community in Petersham has been established by and is made up to some extent of German expatriates, highly skilled temporary migrants. The practice of companies sending employees on assignments abroad is a consequence of the globalisation of the international economy and as such the migration of expatriates is a direct result of this changing economic situation in the world. This chapter at first introduces the subject of expatriate

[48] Bade, 1992, in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 9

experience in the context of international mobility with a special emphasis on the German case. It further discusses other forms of international work-motivated mobility keeping in mind that the Richmond community does not exclusively consist of expatriates but is a fairly diverse group. Expatriates, however, seem to be the most visible and prominent members of the community which justifies a slight imbalance towards their situation in the subsequent discussions and this study as a whole. Thereafter follows an analysis of the German community in Richmond, including its social composition and geographic distribution over the area, as well as a discussion of motives for coming to the UK. Finally, a focus is put on gender. Expatriate or so called trailing spouses have attracted the increasing attention of scholars as their cases are very complex ones and many problems might arise for the expatriate and his company if spouse adaptation does not go to plan. Also, significantly more men than women are sent on international assignments and reasons for this disparity are discussed. Altogether this chapter introduces the German community in Richmond and Kingston in the context of economic mobility while emphasising similarities and differences to other migration movements past and present.

1. International mobility and the expatriate experience

α. Definition of terms

The causes of migration movements have traditionally been divided into economic and political ones.[49] Of course there are also motives for migrating that fall into neither category: the wish to move closer to relatives who have migrated before[50], the desire to explore foreign countries and cultures[51] or simply the wish to live somewhere else for other personal reasons.[52]

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[49] In many cases economic AND political motives played an equal part in a migrant's decision to move. See, for example, Panayi, 1994, Chapter 2.

[50] As, for example, family reunifications of Italian guestworkers in Germany in the 1960s. Although the original guest worker will have moved to Germany for economic reasons, his family might have followed for the simple reason of wanting to be with him again, in which case personal might outweigh economic gains. For details see Bade, K.J., 1992, *Deutsche im Ausland, Fremde in Deutschland*, Beck: Munich or Chin, Rita, 2007, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, among others.

[51] Young Europeans or Americans spending so called gap years abroad fall into this category. There is no economic or political reason behind their decisions to, say, spend a year travelling through Australia. They do this for the experience, the adventure of making a living in a completely foreign environment thousands of miles from their home countries while travelling, meeting like-minded people and having

Let us, however, focus on economic migration for now since this is the category that work-motivated mobility and the expatriate experience fall into. First, it is necessary to clarify terms. International mobility is a term encompassing all kinds of migration movements, thus it needs to be narrowed down to the economic sphere. The motives of the migrants focused upon in this study for their moves to Britain are to a great extent work- and career-related. This calls to mind the concept of labour mobility. However, labour mobility in its traditional sense includes workers and labourers in less-skilled occupations migrating in order to improve their economic situations. Thus it would exclude highly skilled professionals and expatriates. However, if we equal labour with work the term labour mobility might in fact become applicable to highly-skilled migrants as well. 'Labour' taken to stand for 'people who work or are available for work'[53], as in work force/labour force, does include all people who are economically active, irrespective of qualifications or earnings. Beaverstock et al.[54] have used the term elite labour mobility, for example, to describe highly skilled migrants. A general definition of 'labour mobility' would be 'changes in the location of workers both across physical space (geographic mobility) and across a set of jobs (occupational mobility)'[55] which certainly applies to the groups looked at in this project. With these explanations in mind, the term 'labour mobility' loses its implications of low-skilled work and moderate wages. Accordingly the term will be used in this study to include highly skilled migrants such as expatriates and young professionals who will simply be referred to as highly-skilled labour migrants.

Moving on from that, 'expatriate' and 'expatriation' also need to be defined. A general definition of an expatriate is 'a person living in a country that is not their own'[56], originating from the Latin 'ex' (out of) and 'patria' (homeland). 'Expatriation', though

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the time of their lives. Although many participate in 'work and travel' programmes, working is a means of raising funds in order to sustain oneself and to be able to travel, not an end in itself or even a reason for migrating (temporarily).

[52] From the author's own experience, some Germans in London have decided to make a living in Britain just because they do not wish to spend their lives in Germany, even if they had a secure job and good quality of life there. The decision to leave was made on the grounds of the German mentality that they did not agree with or other personal reasons for dissatisfaction with their lives in Germany which were neither economic nor political. Often having met a British partner was another reason for coming to Britain on a permanent basis.

[53] Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 2000, Oxford University Press: Oxford, New York, p. 717

[54] See Beaverstock et al. at the University of Lancaster, >http://geography.lancs.ac.uk/headhunters/AAG2007v2.ppt< [accessed 16 February 2009]

[55] Long and Ferrie, 2003, p. 1

[56] Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 2000, Oxford University Press: Oxford, New York, p. 438

curiously not in the Oxford Dictionary, is defined as 'the act of renouncing allegiance and citizenship to one's native country, usually to become a citizen of another country'[57] but carries a negative connotation relating to forced migration and expulsion. These general definitions change somewhat in an economic, business and human resource management context. An expatriate becomes 'a person who was transferred to a foreign country by his/her employer.' O'Connell goes on to say that

> 'It is common for multinational companies to send home country nationals to represent the company overseas. While in the host country and away from their home country, these employees are referred to as expatriates. Expatriates also include employees from outside of the home country who are transferred to a third country.'[58]

Expatriation[59] in this context becomes the process of sending employees abroad; with its opposite, 'repatriation', meaning the return to the home country after the end of the international assignment. An international, or expatriate, assignment stands for 'a job transfer that takes the employee to a workplace that is outside the country in which he or she is a citizen' and requires 'the employee to move his or her entire household to the foreign location'.[60] It is necessary to note here, however, that there are other types of international assignments, such as business trips, which do not necessitate a complete transfer of the employee. In this study, though, 'international assignment' will be used as a synonym for 'expatriate assignment' as is common practice in studies on the subject. Whereas the general definition of 'expatriate' includes all migrants living outside the country for which they hold citizenship, the definition from a business point of view only encompasses those who do so because they were sent to work abroad by their employers. It is crucial to note here that employers are not only commercial companies but also government organisations such as embassies, educational and cultural institutions[61], news agencies, TV channels, newspapers, non-governmental

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[57] McFadyen, 2008
[58] O'Connell, 1997, p. 101
[59] See for example Stahl and Cerdin, 2004, p. 886
[60] O'Connell, 1997, p. 101
[61] In the German case, cultural institutions such as the Goethe and the German Historical Institutes employ expatriates as do the German churches around the world whose pastors work there on temporary contracts. The DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) organises temporary work for German lecturers at universities outside Germany, usually for the duration of twelve months. (Weber-Newth, 2000)

organisations[62] and others. In short, an employee sent on a work assignment abroad for a limited period of time irrespective of who his/her employer is, is referred to as an 'expatriate'. As aforementioned, the German community in Richmond does not solely consist of expatriates. However, the latter are the most straightforward to put into a clearly defined category. The others belong to a variety of groups; some have migrated due to work reasons as well and thus also fall into the category of labour migrants. Others, on the other hand, have left Germany for different reasons, such as relationships, new experiences, etc. They will be discussed further on in this chapter.

β. International labour mobility

The expatriate experience and the migration of highly skilled professionals are part of international labour mobility and as such not a new phenomenon. It is true that due to economic and political developments in the world and technological advancements since the end of the Second World War, international labour mobility has been facilitated and thus intensified. However, bearing in mind that labour mobility is essentially economic migration, it has long been taking place all over the world. As argued before, if migration was not political than it was usually of an economic nature. From the Middle Ages onwards merchants set up export and import houses in sea ports around the world from which they distributed their wares. London, Hamburg and Venice, for example, thus became important centres of commerce and trade. Continental Europeans have been coming to England since the 11th century to pursue their trades and make a living far from their home countries.[63] The outbreak of the plague in 14th century England left a labour shortage which was filled by European workers 'onlie to seeke worck for theire livinge' [sic], as Robert Winder has quoted.[64] When the Industrial Revolution set in in Britain in the 18th and in Germany in the 19th century, the new industrial towns and cities attracted a large percentage of the rural population previously engaged in agricultural work, lured by the prospects of higher wages and better working conditions. These were labour migrants too; it is not necessary to cross national borders to be an economic migrant. This rural to urban

[62] In fact, as Roth and Roth argue, before businesses began to send large numbers of employees on international assignments, researchers of intercultural communication were primarily concerned with the Peace Corps posting members of staff abroad. (Roth and Roth in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 77)
[63] See for example Winder, 2004, p. 32
[64] Ibid., p. 40

movement contributed to the overpopulation of the cities which in turn was one motive for transatlantic migrants to leave Europe for a promisingly better life in America with better work opportunities. Examples of mobile labourers are seasonal migrants, for example during harvest. Many Western European countries have and continue to rely on Eastern or Southern Europeans for helping with the annual picking of crops. In a German-British context, from the Middle Ages onwards to the present, Germans have come to Britain in search of better work prospects. From the unskilled to the industrialist, German immigrants have pursued many trades and professions in Britain and thus contributed significantly to their host country's economy. Musicians, waiters, sugar boilers and bakers, pork butchers, teachers, governesses and clerks, booksellers and publishers, whole sellers and large-scale manufacturers all found their niches in the British economy and managed to carve out a living for themselves.[65]

In the 1960s and 70s labour mobility took off at a larger scale. Economically and politically Europe was becoming ever stronger. The establishment of the European Community in 1957 following the Treaty of Rome paved the way for political and economic integration. The four freedoms of the European Union (EU), set out in the Treaty of Rome and further developed in subsequent treaties, guarantee the free movement of goods, capital, persons and services. This means that businesses originating in one member state are free to establish themselves in another, can transfer capital across borders without problems, offer their services across the EU and, finally, employ people regardless of which member state they come from. The right to freely move across European borders without restrictions, in the Schengen States even without passport controls, and settle down wherever they choose has enabled EU citizens to make use of the economic opportunities existing outside the country of which they are citizens. This is precisely what many did and continue to do. Southern European guest workers in 1960s and 70s Germany are one such example. Bilateral recruitment schemes with favourable conditions attracted many Italians, Portuguese, Turkish, etc. workers who would otherwise have been, if not unemployed, then badly paid in their home countries to come to work in Germany for a limited time.[66] Another recent example is the influx of Central and Eastern European migrants to Britain and other

[65] See also: Ashton, 1986, Panayi, 1995 and 1996, Manz, 2003, Manz, Schule-Beerbühl and Davis, 2007 for details on occupational patterns of German immigrants.

[66] That many of these guest workers outstayed their working contracts to settle permanently in Germany was not the intention of the German government when they first introduced the schemes. (See Bade, 1992, and Chin, 2007)

Western European countries[67] following the 2004[68] and 2007[69] enlargement rounds of the EU. A large part of these migrants have left their home countries which generally had weaker, less developed economies, in order to earn good money in the lower skilled industries before returning home to settle down. Economic migration by and large has meant movement from a lesser developed, economically weak region to an economically strong, wealthier area. This has not only been the case in Europe. Looking across the Atlantic, for decades South American, in particular Mexican, (illegal) immigration has posed a problem to the United States. In the Middle East and Asia, Filipino women are working as domestic servants in Dubai. These are just a few examples of many such labour migration movements taking place around the world.

γ. The expatriate experience and other career migration

The sending of expatriates is not a recent phenomenon. Torsten Kühlmann shows that despite scientific research on the subject only emerging in the 1960s and 70s, the practice of sending employees abroad is not new among businesses and organisations.[70] From the Middle Ages onwards European merchants have posted representatives to their business outposts in other major European cities, most often those located at sea ports. Kühlmann mentions the Fuggers, a wealthy North German merchant family who established the first multinational company in Germany's economic history, who used to send employees to their trading houses across Europe. Other successful merchants posted trainees to these branches in order for them to learn their trade and gain language skills.[71] Another example comes from the world of diplomacy. It is a long-established practice among states to post representatives to each other's territory. Ambassadors, consuls, diplomats and other government officials working outside the country that employs them are considered expatriates as well. What is different today is the high number of expatriates working for employers at any one

[67] Notable here is that Germany does not presently allow citizens of the post-2004 accession countries to enter the country for work reasons. This measure will stay in place until 2011 and was implemented to avoid the weak German labour market being flooded by low-cost labour. The same applies to the British labour market which is currently closed for Romanians and Bulgarians.
[68] In 2004 Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Malta joined the EU.
[69] In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU.
[70] Kühlmann in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 77
[71] Ibid., p. 78-79

time and the frequency of these assignments.[72] This increase in expatriation and the routine with which employers send their employees abroad has been conditioned largely through 'economic, social, cultural, technological and geopolitical shifts'[73] in general, and globalisation in particular. The increasing economic, political and cultural interconnectedness between different parts of the world has contributed significantly to the increase in labour mobility, including expatriation. The growth in global industries, banking, manufacturing and others around the globe has led to the emergence of a huge international market controlled largely by multinational corporations. Developments in transport and communication have done the rest to make even the remotest corners of the planet feel connected to the rest of the world. The latter has become a smaller place but one with seemingly boundless opportunities to be enjoyed and exploited by (almost) everyone.[74] Flights have become shorter, cheaper and more frequent thanks to budget airlines[75], the internet has enabled us to communicate over long distances at the press of a button, without operators and expensive phone bills. It is exactly in this global economic network that the expatriate experience and the migration of highly skilled professionals can be placed. Expatriation is part of highly-skilled migration alongside its other forms it exists. As can be gathered from the above discussion the expatriate experience is very different from the labour migration movements mentioned. First, expatriates do not work abroad out of economic necessity. A rejection of the expatriate assignment would not have led to financial disadvantages for the employee. Although he might have lost a great opportunity for professional and personal development which could have impacted on his career prospects inside the organisation, his current salary in the home organisation would not have been affected negatively. Second, expatriates are highly skilled professionals who often hold at least junior management jobs back in their home organisations. This stands in stark contrast to lower skilled economic migrants and those whose qualifications obtained in their home countries are not

[72] Scott, 2006, p. 1105

[73] Ibid., p. 1124

[74] The truth is, though, that the benefits of globalisation are often only reaped by Western industrial nations and that the majority of the world's population still lives in abject poverty. This, however, would entirely be the subject of another study.

[75] Adrian Favell credits developments in transportation, including budget airlines, with the 'closeness of regional movement in Europe'. (Favell, 2008, p. 31) The Eurostar is another such transportational feat which can make the journey from London to Paris seem as short as a ride home on a commuter train. Unsurprisingly, many French firms employing French staff have set up business around the train station of Ashford/Kent where the Eurostar stops on its way to Paris. (Ibid., p. 34) A relocation to Britain for those employees is not necessary, they are simply commuters across borders.

accepted in their new destination thus forcing them to take on menial jobs.[76] Third, commercial expatriate migration does usually not take place between poorer and wealthier but between two economically strong regions. Expatriates are almost always sent back and forth between highly industrialised countries. Exceptions to this are government officials such as ambassadors and diplomats, as well as foreign correspondents for various media and aid workers who, due to the nature of their work, might be posted to less-developed countries. Fourth, expatriates are always sent by their employers.

Apart from the expatriate experience highly-skilled migration has other faces. Hyper-mobile young European professionals in their mid-twenties are increasingly looking for their career options outside their native countries.[77] They migrate usually on their own without family ties, are hard-working and determined to work their way up through major companies. Others with high qualifications who for one reason or another have decided to leave their countries of origin, usually for better job opportunities and a more pleasant working environment, are not considered expatriates either, they are career migrants.[78] As such they might plan on staying for longer periods of time, if not forever, in their country of choice. What these two groups have in common is that they migrated on their own initiative, organised their moves and jobs themselves and are free to determine the length of their stays which is not the case with expatriates.[79] Recently the model of the expatriate as the stereotype of a skilled international migrant has become

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[76] An example are skilled migrants from Slovakia to Britain. Having obtained their trade qualifications in their native country, they come to Britain looking to do the jobs they have trained in but soon realise that their qualifications are not enough as Britain-specific certificates are missing. As a consequence an experienced chef might end up working at a CD case production line in the outskirts of London. In this respect work opportunities in the EU are less than equally accessible. Another barrier even for those holding higher education qualifications is first, language, and second, prejudice in many industries against hiring foreigners for management positions.

[77] Adrian Favell's 'Eurostars and Eurocities' deals specifically with this subject. (Favell, 2008)

[78] For example doctors, university lecturers, etc.

[79] Then there are the thousands of students studying outside their home countries. These are neither labour nor highly-skilled migrants and thus constitute a group of their own. Academic exchange programmes inside the EU have made it easy for students to spend one or two semesters at a different university and the mutual recognition of education certificates inside the EU has enabled school-leavers to do their whole degrees abroad. Another smaller group of non-economic and non-political migrants are au pairs. There is no financial gain to be made from being an au pair but it is the experience of living and working with natives in a foreign country that makes it so attractive for young people. See Lothar Kettenacker's chapter in Panayi's *Germans in Britain since 1500* for more details on German migrant groups in Britain. Although he concentrates on the Germans, the situation is similar for other Western Europeans in Britain. Kerr et al. (1997) have juxtaposed the expatriate assignment and overseas experience (which includes anyone migrating on their own initiative to gain experience in working abroad) in order to determine which model has the most advantages for the individual. The results, however, are too complex to be discussed here.

somewhat contested. Sam Scott, for instance, argues that 'skilled migration has developed an increasingly diverse 'human face'' and 'traditional notions of the economic 'expatriate' need to be placed within a much broader contextual and conceptual framework'.[80] This is true also for Germans in London; however, during the research for this study expatriates were the most visible migrants in Richmond and Kingston. It seems that the area is more densely populated by them than any other part of London and the UK. Thus expatriates are the primary focus of this study and other skilled migrants will be discussed in less depth. An examination of all the strata of skilled migration in Europe would warrant a study in its own right.

London, as one of the most important centres of banking, finance and commerce, has a large expatriate population. The origins of these expatriates are as manifold as the industries and organisations they work for. London, as a 'superdiverse'[81] city, is, temporarily or permanently, home to many different nationalities and said to contain at least one representative from every country in the world. Expatriates tend to originate from highly industrialised and trading nations and thus it is fairly safe to assume that these are predominantly, but not exclusively, Western European, Northern American, Middle Eastern and South Asian countries. Concrete numbers as to how many expatriates are working in London, however, are very difficult to obtain. Due to the British government not requiring foreigners from the European Union to register upon their arrival in Britain, no records are kept on the British side as to the occupation of EU nationals. The UK Census[82], although stating the country of birth of everyone present at census night, does not give occupations in connection with the country of birth either. Even if it did there would be the problem of distinguishing between those permanently settled in the UK and expatriates on temporary stays. As the census is only carried out every ten years it does not provide current figures as the last census (2001) was eight years ago, since when the international economy has gone through different phases of highs and lows which have undoubtedly had an effect on the number of expatriates working in Britain and around the world. Academic studies on expatriates have

[80] Scott, 2006, p. 1105
[81] Vertovec, 2007
[82] Problems with the inconclusiveness of the UK Census regarding developed world migrants has also been noted by Paul White: 'The migration streams and the migrant communties that have been "problematised" to date are principally those composed of labour flows. The greatest efforts at data collection have been aimed at such flows and their outcomes, and whilst registration systems and population censuses have generally taken some official interest in other migrants, aggregate tables of data have tended to ignore them altogether or have been very unspecific in terms of detailed attributes.' (White, 1998, p. 1727)

recognised this lack of concrete figures and have hence produced their own estimates which are, however, specific to the countries focused upon. A total number of expatriates posted around the globe is consequently impossible to acquire and attempting to calculate the total of those working in London would exceed the scope of this project. Even determining the number of German expatriates in London is difficult and produces no conclusive results. For this study, the collection of figures was attempted in two ways. First, literature on German expatriation was analysed and second, enquiries were made to German companies, their branches in Britain, Anglo-German economic institutions as well as other independent entities occupied with research into the expatriate experience. This resulted in significant differences between estimates as to the number of German expatriates worldwide. Kühlmann estimates that a total of 60,000 German employees are currently working for major German companies abroad plus an undefined number of those working for non-business organisations.[83] Moosmüller states the difficulty in finding precise figures and thus relies on Djanini et al.'s findings according to which 12,000 to 40,000 German employees are being sent abroad annually.[84] A study by 'Going Global', a German company providing international assignment preparation, including intercultural communication courses, to German firms and their prospective expatriates have conducted a survey in response to unspecific figures ranging from 60,000 to 3 million German expatriates worldwide.[85] Data was collected from representatives of the German economy, including German chambers of foreign trade which have outposts in important economic centres. The results are presented below:

[83] Kühlmann in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 77
[84] Moosmüller in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 105
[85] 'Going Global' survey, 1999

Table 1: *'Going Global' survey on the number of German nationals currently working as expatriates abroad*

Area	Companies	Expatriates
Africa/North Africa	1,070	1,800
America	2,929	29,826
Asia/Far East	4,959	4,947
Australia	300	500
Europe	40,413	103,370
Middle East	359	410
Total	**50,030**	**144,863**

Source: 'Going Global' survey, 1999, kindly provided by the organisation's management

According to this survey, by far the largest number of German expatriates is working inside Europe. There are, nevertheless, two problems with these figures. First, the survey was conducted in 1999 and is thus not up to date and second, only those countries were included in which a representative of the German economy was present and willing to participate. Subsequently the real numbers would be much higher.
A lack of studies on expatriates in London is the reason for the unavailability of figures. However, not even the German Embassy in London is in possession of concrete numbers. Enquiries at major German and multinational firms remained futile as well.[86] Apart from replies to questions concerning expatriates being scarce, even those companies whose representatives replied said they could not give out these figures as they constituted corporate secrets. Seeing that Greater London had a German-born population of 39,818 in 2001[87], a guess might be that approximately 5,000 of these are expatriates.

As can be seen in Table 1, Europe absorbs the highest number of German expatriates, followed by Asia/the Far East, America, Africa, the Middle East and Australia. In a more recent study by Alois Moosmüller this is refuted. Quoting Djanini et al. (2003) he maintains that the United States are the primary destination for expatriates followed by Europe and the Far East.[88] This further illustrates the many problems encountered by researchers of expatriation. Whatever the primary destination, the industries in which

[86] German companies, their branches in the UK and multinational companies known to employ expatriates contacted by the author of this study included Deutsche Bank, BASF, Bayer, Siemens, Esso/ExxonMobil, BP, BMW and Lufthansa.
[87] UK Census 2001
[88] Moosmüller in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, pp. 105-106

German multinational companies specialise are generally agreed upon as being predominantly the banking and finance, insurance and transport sales, mechanical and engineering, chemical and pharmaceutical, communications and transportation sectors. This is confirmed by a look at the member lists of bilateral trade and industry associations such as German Industry UK and the German-British Chamber of Industry and Commerce.[89] In 2001 Germany was the fifth-largest investor in the world and 'German companies are generating an average of 60 percent of their sales outside of Germany'.[90] Thus it does not surprise that in Britain, too, German industry has gained a strong foothold. According to Kettenacker, between 1949 and 1993 the number of German companies established in Britain grew from approximately 24 to 976[91] and by the end of 2008 had reached approximately 1,400.[92] Expatriates usually work in management positions in these firms and are often sent there to set up a business, implement new policies and procedures, introduce new systems or prepare mergers and acquisitions. The Human Resource Assistant of a major German multinational chemical company stated that 'these assignments usually involve the implementation of new systems or dealing with the processes associated with the acquisition of new businesses.'[93] Lothar Kettenacker, quoting a German newspaper, summarises the expatriate experience in London as follows: 'They come for two or three years, sniff the atmosphere of London, acquire an international polish in the offices of the multinational corporations, perfect their English and return home, ripe for promotion to the next rung up the ladder.'[94] Expatriate assignments can last from less than one year to around ten years depending on the nature of the assignment, the employer and the receiving country. As German expatriates are high earners in receipt of generous payment packages, their preferred areas of residence are the affluent suburbs of London. Richmond-upon-Thames is one of them.

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[89] German Industry UK, >http://www.gi-uk.co.uk/?Members< [accessed 15 January 2009]; German-British Chamber of Industry and Commerce, >http://grossbritannien.ahk.de/de/members/mem-online/mem-onl-dir< [accessed 15 January 2009]

[90] Stahl and Cerdin, 2004, p. 887

[91] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 198

[92] Based on a press release by the German-British Chamber of Industry and Commerce, 1 December 2008, which updated its member database which included approximately 1,400 branches of German parent companies.

[93] Human Resource Assistant of a major German chemical company in an email to the author.

[94] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 193

2. The Germans in Richmond and Kingston

The German community in Richmond/Kingston grew around the German School London. The school was established in 1971 upon an initiative by German parents who did not want their temporary stay in London to disturb their children's education. It seems that the choice of the London Borough of Richmond as the location for the school was not a deliberate one. A suitable property with adjacent land appeared on the market and was subsequently purchased by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The green and fairly affluent suburb seemed an ideal choice. The establishment of the school in the Ham/Petersham area can thus be regarded as the beginning of the formation of a German 'cluster', an area disproportionately populated by German citizens. Since then Ham/Petersham has seen the arrival of two German church communities as well as numerous businesses. In how far this cluster then constitutes a German 'community' will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.[95] It definitely has a community character and is part of the German diaspora in Britain. The concept of 'diaspora' has been subjected to a change in paradigm over the last thirty years or so. Previously the term was linked to expulsion, loss of *Heimat*, displacement, powerlessness and suffering according to Tölölyan[96] and has been commonly associated mainly with the Jewish diaspora. Recently, however, a new concept has emerged which sees diaspora not as an abnormal, negative occurrence but as something positive which ultimately leads to openness towards societies and cultures outside one's homeland and a certain flexibility and mobility.[97] A simple definition of 'diaspora' has thus become 'people who live outside their homeland'[98] and as such the cluster in South West London is a part of the German diaspora in Britain. It is thus not the only German community in Britain but it appears to be the biggest, structurally most advanced, and the only one made up primarily of expatriates. The following paragraphs focus on the demography and social composition of the cluster which will set the scene for further examination.

[95] For simplicity's sake, 'cluster' and 'community' will be used interchangeably in this chapter.
[96] Tölölyan in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 11
[97] Ibid.
[98] Connor in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 11

α. Size and residence patterns

Lothar Kettenacker argued in 1996 that the London Germans constituted the fourth largest category of Germans in Britain.[99] Percentage-wise, the South East of England contains the biggest German-born population, followed by the South West and Greater London. Number-wise, however, Greater London comes in at second place:

Table 2: *Distribution of German-born persons across England's government office regions and Wales in the 2001 UK Census*

Government office region	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
South East	8,000,647	50,289	0.63%
South West	4,928,435	30,217	0.61%
Greater London	7,172,093	39,818	0.56%
East	5,388,137	27,563	0.51%
East Midlands	4,172,172	19,221	0.46%
Yorkshire and the Humber	4,964,832	20,499	0.41%
North East	2,515,441	8,950	0.36%
Wales	2,903,085	10,136	0.35%
West Midlands	5,267,308	16,930	0.32%
North West	6,729,765	19,931	0.30%
Total	52,041,915	243,554	0.45%

Source: UK Census 2001

Apart from revealing the preferred areas of settlement of German nationals coming to the UK, Table 2 also includes naturalised Germans and those born to British Army and Royal Air Force personnel previously stationed in Germany. These are British citizens and their presence in certain areas has to be taken into account to get a true picture of the settlement of German immigrants of which they are not part. Thus in the South West there are around 12,000 such German-born British subjects with another 3,000 in North Yorkshire and 2,000 in the East of England, with smaller numbers all over the country.[100] It is also important to note that children born in the UK to German parents, although being German citizens, are not counted in the Census.

[99] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 193
[100] Kyambi, 2005, p. 47

At the time of the 2001 UK Census, Greater London was home to 39,818 German-born persons, making it the second largest European-born minority after the Irish (157,285).[101] The same is true for the whole of England and Wales with a German-born population of 243,544.[102] Looking at previous Censuses it becomes clear that the UK's German-born population has been growing gradually:

Table 3: *German-born populations of England and Wales 1981-1991*

England and Wales	Census year	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
	1981	48,521,596	165,363	0.34%
	1991	49,890,277	201,636	0.40%
	2001	52,041,915	243,554	0.47%
Growth: 1981-1991		2.82%	21.94%	
1991-2001		4.13%	17.21%	
1981-2001		6.76%	32.10%	

Source: UK Censuses 1981-2001

Table 4: *German-born population of Greater London 1981-2001*

Greater London	Census year	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
	1981	6,608,598	29,535	0.45%
	1991	6,679,699	32,027	0.48%
	2001	7,172,093	39,818	0.56%
Growth: 1981-1991		1.06%	7.78%	
1991-2001		6.87%	19.57%	
1981-2001		7.86%	25.83%	

Source: UK Censuses 1981-2001

Table 3 shows the number of German-born individuals in England and Wales which grew by 32.10 per cent between 1981 and 2001, five times the total population growth of the area. Concerning Greater London, Table 4 shows similar results: the German-

[101] UK Census 2001
[102] Irish-born: 472.380. Ibid.

born population grew by 25.83 per cent between 1981 and 2001, three times as much as the total increase in population in the capital. Thus in 2001 German-born individuals constituted 0.47 and 0.56 per cent of the total population of England and Wales, and London respectively. This is a comparatively small proportion if we look at the sizes of other migrant groups in the UK. Asian and African groups form the largest minority populations due to the great influx of New Commonwealth immigrants and the UK's intake of refugees from the 1950s onwards. Immigration from the EU countries is marginally higher than that from North America, followed by Eastern Europe.

German migrants in Britain have not received much public interest since after the Second World War. They were quite a visible presence in the 19th century when German immigration to Britain had reached its peak. Thereafter, however, anti-German sentiments became more pronounced, a situation that intensified during the two World Wars. After 1945 prejudice towards Germans did not simply disappear but lingered on in British minds for a long time. German immigrants attracted bad press and were seen as problematic. This caused post-war and subsequent German immigrants to become ashamed of their origin and thence they started to keep a low profile. The improving relationship between Germany and Britain as well as European integration initiated a reconciliatory period which resulted in the presently good relationship between the two countries and the decrease in prejudices and hostility.[103] This development also caused the relative invisibility of Germans in Britain today. Like many other Western Europeans, the German minority is hardly recognisable as opposed to 'problematic' migrant groups, such as illegal immigrants and refugees, those perceived to live on British benefits, be involved with terrorist cells or simply those who came to Britain in large numbers (such as Central and Eastern Europeans) and are thus alleged to pose a threat to social and political stability. Less-skilled labour migrants as well as refugees, asylum seekers or simply those from economically weak, less developed countries have moved into areas of London characterised by low-price housing and a less advanced infrastructure. Subsequently different areas became associated with specific migrant groups, e.g. Southall with Indians, Vauxhall with Portuguese and Brixton with West

[103] Of course the British tabloid press hardly misses a chance to sarcastically comment on events involving Germany or Germans but the general public seems to have made its peace with Germany and accepts Germans as equals without any problems. This is evident also in the many British students spending exchange years in Germany. (See, for example, Lee, Sabine, 2001, *Victory in Europe?: Britain and Germany Since 1945*, Longman: Harlow, or Ramsden, John, 2006, *Don't mention the War: The British and Germans since 1890*, Little, Brown: London)

Indians. Examples are countless. Whereas in the 19th century German labourers, traders and shopkeepers populated the working class East End where living conditions were crowded and unsanitary, a large proportion of the present German diaspora lives in the more affluent parts of London. This is especially true for expatriates and young professionals. A look at the distribution of the German-born population across the London Boroughs confirms this assumption:

Table 5: *German-born populations of the 33 London Boroughs in the 2001 UK Census*

Borough	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
Kensington and Chelsea	158,918	2,194	1.38%
City of London	7,194	90	1.25%
Camden	198,019	2,343	1.18%
City of Westminster	181,287	2,142	1.18%
Richmond-upon-Thames	172,340	1,991	1.16%
Hammersmith and Fulham	165,239	1,409	0.85%
Barnet	314,561	2,673	0.85%
Kingston-upon-Thames	147,268	1,198	0.81%
Islington	175,798	1,415	0.80%
Wandsworth	260,374	1,942	0.75%
Lambeth	266,171	1,720	0.65%
Haringey	216,508	1,370	0.63%
Hackney	202,828	1,275	0.63%
Southwark	244,870	1,366	0.56%
Merton	187,908	1,045	0.56%
Tower Hamlets	196,104	1,005	0.51%
Brent	263,463	1,311	0.50%
Hounslow	212,338	1,011	0.48%
Ealing	300,949	1,397	0.46%
Harrow	206,809	931	0.45%
Lewisham	248,923	1,087	0.44%
Greenwich	214,404	927	0.43%
Hillingdon	243,005	1,034	0.43%
Bromley	295,535	1,184	0.40%
Croydon	330,590	1,145	0.35%
Sutton	179,757	613	0.34%
Waltham Forest	218,344	733	0.34%
Redbridge	238,634	691	0.29%
Enfield	273,555	761	0.28%
Bexley	218,311	545	0.25%
Newham	243,898	523	0.21%
Havering	224,250	444	0.20%
Barking and Dagenham	163,945	303	0.18%
Total	7,172,097	39,818,000	0.60%

Source: UK Census 2001

In Table 5 it is obvious that the boroughs with the highest proportions of German-born inhabitants are those associated with fairly high property prices, advanced infrastructures and good transport links to the city centre, most of which are located in the centre and the west of the capital.[104] These areas are not only popular with German migrants but also with other well-earning foreign professionals. Paul White summarises these observations:

> 'First, migrants from European, North American and Australasian origins are virtually entirely absent from the whole of the eastern half of the city. Secondly, in the west of London there is a distinctly concentric pattern focused around a clear area of high levels of over-representation (in an area stretching from the West End of London westwards past Hyde Park and Knightsbridge to reach Earls Court and Kensington), with generally decreasing representation with increasing distance from this concentration.'[105]

White's study being over ten years old, the situation has changed slightly, with some areas outside this concentration having become more 'fashionable' such as Camden and Islington, but essentially the picture remains the same. The western boroughs close to the city centre are still popular while the east and the outlying suburbs contain smaller proportions of well-earning migrants and possibly larger proportions of those in jobs that simply cannot afford a home in the affluent central parts of the city and those who prefer a quieter life away from the centre. Some south western boroughs, however, stand out as particularly frequented by high-earning European families with children[106], especially Germans (see Table 5).

The high concentrations of German-born persons in the boroughs of Richmond and Kingston-upon-Thames, but also Wandsworth and Merton, have merely

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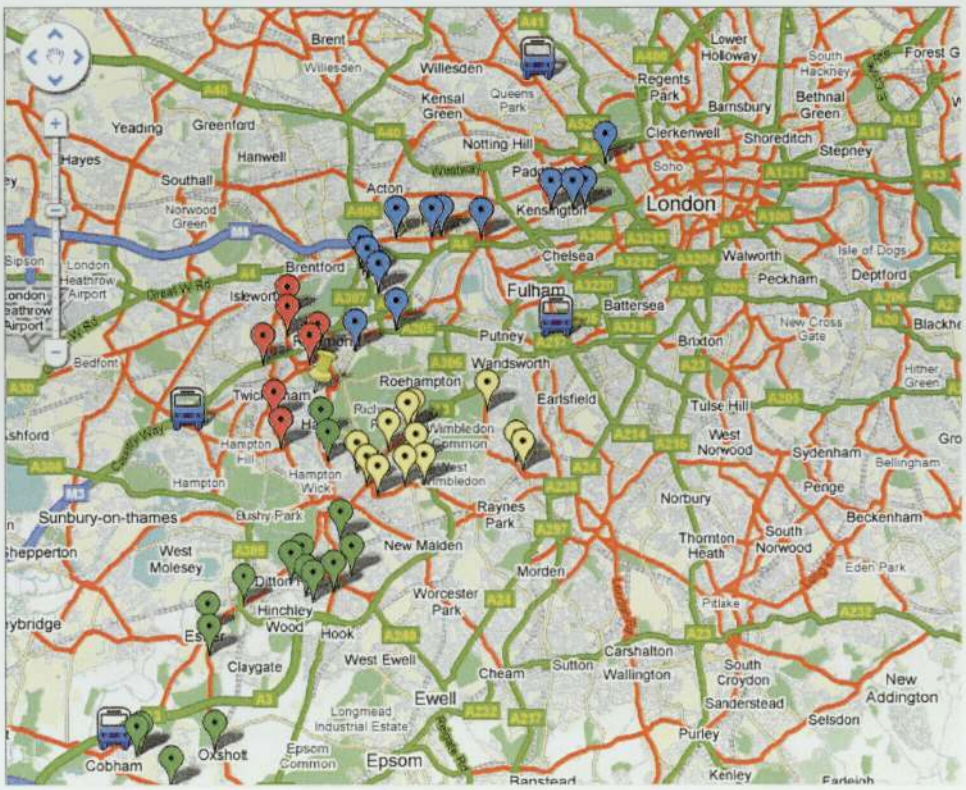
[104] According to Scott, settlement patterns are similar for the British in Paris: 'Whilst the majority of the British live in the city of Paris, the western and south-western départments of Hauts-de-Seine, Yvelines and Seine-et-Marne were also significant destinations for the British middle classes. This urban-suburban pattern to skilled migration reflects the concentration of professional migrants and their families within particular high-status suburbs and is consistent with findings from other studies of professional expatriate communities.' (Scott, 2006, p. 1115)

[105] White, 1998, p. 1732

[106] Again, this is similar to the British in Paris: 'In contrast to the suburban skew ... , young professional migrants (type 3) , lifestyle graduates (type 4) and established bohemians (type 5) live more centrally. They did not require specialist schooling, and instead favoured accessibility to city-centre amenities above the safety, space and environmental attractiveness of the suburb.' (Scott, 2006, p. 1116) Explanation of 'types' follows later.

been mentioned in the literature without receiving proper examination.[107] It is there that the German cluster of primarily expatriates, the subject of this study, is to be found. The precise size of the community is difficult to establish. Lothar Kettenacker estimates a German population of 8-10,000.[108] As the area of Ham/Petersham, where the German School is located, contains various German businesses and institutions such as the Protestant and the Catholic church community, a German bakery and delicatessen, two doctor's surgeries owned by German GPs, an optometrist, estate agent, relocation service, and various other trades (see Chapter Two), it qualifies as the centre of the cluster. One can even go as far as to assume that the area is the centre of German life in the whole of the capital, judging by the density of institutions and businesses. The size of the cluster depends on the radius drawn around this centre. The catchment area of the German School appears to be a suitable indicator for the cluster's extent:

Map 2: *Bus stops on the four school bus routes of the German School London*



Source: German School London

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[107] Lothar Kettenacker briefly mentions them in his account of post-1945 Germans in London: 'Their [London Germans – quite a contestable assumption, TZ] preferred residential areas are in the south west of Greater and Outer London, with the German School in Petersham as the focal point.' (Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 193)

[108] Ibid., p. 202. From where he gets this figure, however, is unclear.

Map 2 shows the four school bus routes whose stops are marked in four different colours. The four buses indicate the starting points of the routes and the yellow pin designates the location of the German School London. The blue bus route very much takes in aforementioned affluent areas of West London. The other routes, however, stay within the South West with the green route even extending as far as Cobham, in the middle of the county of Surrey.

Among the fifty respondents to the questionnaires distributed for this study, 18 were living in Ham/Petersham, 17 elsewhere in Richmond and 11 elsewhere in Kingston. This means that 92 per cent of respondents resided in the area assumed to contain the biggest concentration of German-born persons; the remaining four lived in other South West London Boroughs. A 1985 newsletter address list of the German-speaking Protestant congregation in Petersham included 188 addresses in total. Of those, 116 alone were located within Richmond and Kingston (39 in Ham and Petersham) which means that at this time 62 per cent of church members lived in the immediate area around the church community.[109] Looking at census figures in Table 5 it becomes clear that Richmond and Kingston do indeed contain the largest German-born populations of the south-western boroughs, including those local authorities that do not belong to Greater London:

Map 3: *Surrey borough councils adjacent to Richmond and Kingston*

Source: Surrey County Council

[109] 'Gemeindebriefliste vom August 1985', document belonging to the German-speaking congregation Petersham.

Table 6: *German-born population of Surrey borough councils adjacent to Richmond and Kingston in the 2001 UK Census*

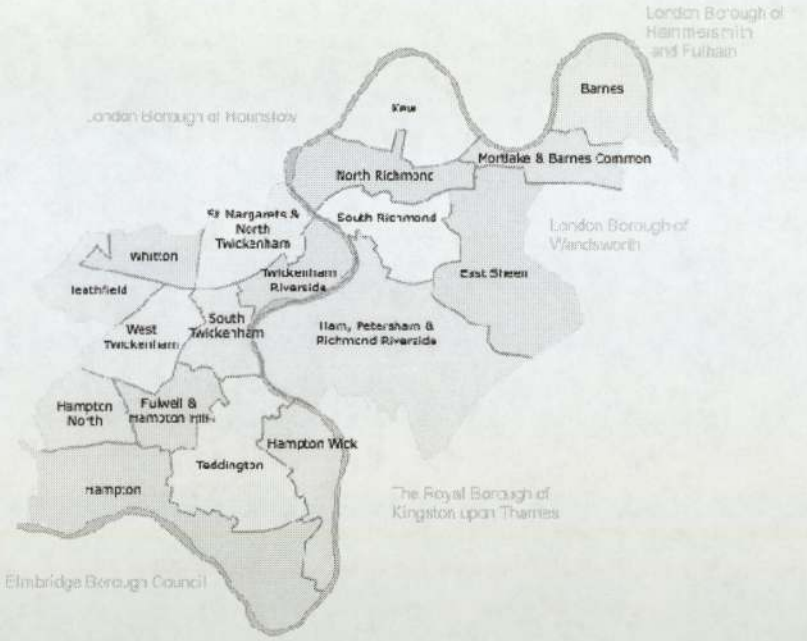
Borough council	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
Elmbridge	121,928	911	0.75%
Reigate and Banstead	126,516	621	0.49%
Epsom and Ewell	67,062	285	0.42%
Total	315,506	1,817	0.55%

Source: UK Census 2001

Of the South-West London Boroughs Richmond contains the highest number and proportion of German-born residents, at 1,991 and 1.16 per cent respectively, followed percentage-wise by Kingston at 0.81 per cent, Wandsworth and Elmbridge with 0.75 each, Merton with 0.56, Reigate and Banstead with 0.49, Epsom and Ewell with 0.42, and Sutton with 0.34 per cent respectively. Richmond and Kingston's position as the centre of German life in the area is thus further confirmed. It is also worth noting that in all south-western boroughs except Wandsworth, the German-born are the biggest continental European minority.

The German School is the main reason for South-West London currently being home to such a large number of German-born individuals. If narrowing statistics down to ward level, the Richmond and Kingston local authority wards around the German School turn out to be the ones with the highest German-born percentage:

Map 4: *Borough wards of Richmond-upon-Thames*



Source: London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames

Table 7: *German-born population of Richmond wards in the 2001 UK Census*

Ward name	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
Ham, Petersham and Richmond Riverside	9,684	278	2.87%
South Richmond	10,299	203	1.97%
East Sheen	9,757	164	1.68%
Twickenham Riverside	9,594	142	1.48%
Kew	9,430	126	1.34%
Barnes	9,819	128	1.30%
North Richmond	9,793	120	1.23%
South Twickenham	9,011	105	1.17%
Mortlake and Barnes Common	9,905	109	1.10%
St Margaret's and North Twickenham	9,954	109	1.10%
Hampton Wick	9,069	92	1.01%
Teddington	9,621	83	0.86%
West Twickenham	9,770	67	0.69%
Fulwell and Hampton Hill	9,456	62	0.66%
Hampton North	9,084	58	0.64%
Hampton	9,414	58	0.62%
Whitton	9,128	47	0.51%
Heathfield	9,532	46	0.48%
Total	172,320	1,997	0.93%

Source: UK Census 2001

Table 7 shows that the ward of Ham, Petersham and Richmond Riverside, where the German School is located, contains the highest number and proportion of German-born residents among its population. This is followed by South Richmond, East Sheen and Twickenham Riverside. When looking at Map 3 we can see that these last three are bordering on the first. In the Kingston wards the situation is similar:

Map 5: *Borough wards of Kingston-upon-Thames*

Source: London Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames

Table 8: *German-born population of Kingston wards in the 2001 UK Census*

Ward name	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
Tudor	8,398	180	2.14%
Coombe Hill	10,319	218	2.11%
Canbury	9,064	125	1.38%
St Marks	9,648	113	1.17%
Grove	7,874	75	0.95%
Surbiton Hill	10,188	81	0.80%
Coombe Vale	9,267	68	0.73%
Norbiton	8,838	60	0.68%
Berrylands	9,261	52	0.56%
Beverley	9468	45	0.48%

Alexandra	9,053	43	0.47%
St James	8,561	38	0.44%
Chessington North and Hook	8,737	34	0.39%
Old Malden	8,998	26	0.29%
Chessington South	9,496	24	0.25%
Tolworth and Hook Rise	9,554	22	0.23%
Total	146,724	1,204	0.82%

Source: UK Census 2001

Tudor and Coombe Hill, the wards of Kingston closest to the border with Richmond (which cuts through the area Ham/Petersham) contain the highest proportions of German-born individuals with 2.14 and 2.11 per cent respectively. Thereafter the German-born percentage of the total ward population drops significantly, to 1.38 per cent in Canbury.

Adding the German-born populations of Richmond and Kingston, we reach a total number of 3,189, approximately one third of Kettenacker's highest estimate. Only when adding the German-born populations of the other South West London boroughs and the three in Surrey do we get a result (8,606) close to Kettenacker's estimate for Richmond and Kingston alone. It seems that the size of the German community is thus smaller than popularly believed. However, one needs to bear in mind that children born outside Germany to German parents are not included in the census figures. Likewise, migrants not born in Germany but with German citizenship are also not counted. Hence the total size of the German community might exceed the census figures considerably and might actually come close to Kettenacker's estimates. Still, an exact number is nigh on impossible to establish. What is certain, however, is the fact that the number of German-born individuals in the area has grown to some extent between 1981 and 2001:

Table 9: *German-born populations of the London Boroughs of Richmond and Kingston-upon-Thames 1981-2001*

Growth	Census year	Total population	German-born population	German-born percentage of total population
Richmond-upon-Thames	1981	157,304	1,264	0.80%
	1991	160,732	1,557	0.97%
	2001	172,340	1,991	1.16%
Growth:1981-1991		2.13%	18.82%	
1991-2001		6.74%	21.80%	
1981-2001		8.72%	36.51%	
Kingston-upon-Thames	1981	131,236	840	0.64%
	1991	132,996	890	0.67%
	2001	147,268	1,198	0.81%
Growth:1981-1991		1.32%	5.62%	
1991-2001		9.69%	25.71%	
1981-2001		10.89%	29.88%	

Source: UK Censuses 1981- 2001

Examining Table 9, in Richmond the increase of the German-born population of 36.51 per cent was four times higher than the population growth in the whole of the borough. Observations are similar for Kingston where an increase of almost thirty per cent was three times higher than the total population growth. Thus it can be concluded that the influx of German-born persons had been on a significant rise in these two boroughs. Only the 2011 UK Census will show if this development has been sustained in recent years or if the current economic downturn will also have taken an effect on the sending of expatriates.

If we look at street level certain streets inside Ham/Petersham are comparatively densely populated by German nationals. The streets in Map 6 marked dark blue are those containing fairly considerable percentages of Germans among their residents. The red dots designate German institutions. The figures were obtained by examining the

Ham, Petersham and Richmond Riverside ward in the Electoral Register of Richmond-upon-Thames for 2009. 257 most likely German individuals were counted.[110]

Map 6: *Ham and Petersham at street level*

Source: Richmond-upon-Thames Electoral Register 2009, map courtesy to Google Maps

β. Social and occupational composition

Contrary to Lothar Kettenacker's assumption that the London Germans are 'the representatives of the Federal Republic plc: officials of one kind or another (diplomats and members of German 'quangos'), journalists, bankers and, above all, businessmen'[111] it is essential to recognise that not all Germans in London are expatriates, not even all in Ham and Petersham. In his study on skilled British migrants in Paris, Sam Scott identified six types of migrants: Type 1 – career motives, permanent settlers, sometimes retired, with grown-up children (many 'locals'), Type 2 – career motives, temporary or indefinite migrants with children at school age (Types 1 and 2 are

[110] Those residents not allowed to vote at parliamentary elections and only at local government elections were marked with certain letters in the Electoral Register. Only the German-sounding names with those letters behind them were counted which gives these figures a high rate of validity.

[111] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 193. Kettenacker here makes the mistake of generalising. The reasons for Germans coming to live in London are as varied as in any other migrant group.

both classified as 'expatriates'), Type 3 - career motives, temporary or indefinite, single/partner, Type 4 - lifestyle motives, temporary or indefinite, single/partner (Types 3 and 4 are labelled 'nomadic workers'), Type 5 – lifestyle motives, permanent, single/partner ('international settler') and Type 6 - relationship motives, permanent settler, French (in our case British) family milieu ('assimilator-settler').[112] In Richmond types 1 and 2 are most prominent, but all other types are represented there too, albeit in smaller quantities. In other areas of London or Britain the distribution of Germans or the German-born across these categories will be different.

Elite migrants and those belonging to the middle and upper middle classes, such as expatriates, have always been a part of the German diaspora. In the 19th century, their preferred place of residence was Sydenham, now a part of South East London, then a wealthy suburb far from the city centre. They have always existed alongside other social classes of migrants, from the destitute to the aristocracy.[113] At that time, however, working class migrants most likely outnumbered wealthier ones. Nowadays it is difficult to establish the numerical distribution of German migrants across the classes and migrant statuses. As before mentioned statistics concerning the foreign-born population of the UK do not reveal their employment situation or length of stay. Whereas the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation in Petersham estimated that 80 to 90 per cent of the community was made up of expatriates, a member of her congregation lowered the total to around 50 per cent.[114] Of the 38 female respondents of the questionnaires given out for this study, 18 gave their partner/husband's job and seven of the 12 male respondents gave their work as the reason for coming to the UK. Thus half of the respondents and their families can be classified as expatriates. The cluster then contains approximately a fifty-fifty mixture of temporary and permanent migrants, expatriates and 'locals'.[115] This ratio becomes more

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[112] Scott, 2006, p. 1112

[113] See Panayi, 1994, p. 67

[114] Interviews with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham and a member of this congregation. In an official description of the parish district London-West of 1996 it was stated that only 10 per cent of the congregation were 'settled' with this additional explanation: 'Die Mehrzahl der nicht-bodenständigen Gemeindemitglieder (ca. 80%) leben i.a. zwei bis drei Jahre im Land. Eine weitere Gruppe bis zu acht bis zehn Jahren.' (German-speaking parish district London-West, description of the parish, 1996)

[115] Those Germans who are not currently on expatriate contracts are referred to as 'locals' inside the German community. A 'local' could be a former expatriate who outstayed his/her contract which was then changed over to a 'local' contract. The latter does not contain the benefits that expatriate contracts are characterised by. A 'local' could also be anyone who has never been an expatriate but who came to the UK for different reasons.

obvious when considering the questionnaire results. Over half (29) of the respondents had been living in the UK for under five years[116] and twenty planned to stay in the area for a further less than five years.[117] This indicates a possible temporary stay and expatriate assignment. This point is supported further by the fact that out of ten men identified as working for a German employer[118] (out of 34 working German men in total) nine had been living in the UK for less than four years. Also, 15 respondents were sure to return to Germany in the near future, six in the far future, 14 were certain never to return to Germany, three not for now, ten were not sure and two were planning to move to another country. Twenty-one respondents intending to definitely return to Germany is a sign for temporary migration of which expatriation is part.

Apart from expatriates and 'locals' a third, albeit very small, group can be identified. They are those migrants who have been living in the UK since much before young professionals and expatriates started moving into the area. The Catholic as well as the Protestant church runs monthly meetings for elderly ladies, German-born senior citizens.[119] During interviews with several of them, their motives for leaving Germany became clear: marriage and work. Mrs K. met her English husband in Germany while he was stationed there with the British Army in the 1950s; she then decided to move back to England with him. Mrs. F. had fallen in love with her Franco-British husband during a stay in Vienna, another lady spent a year studying in London where she met her husband and stayed. Mrs S. and Mrs J. came to England with their German and Czech husbands respectively in search of business opportunities. Only one, Mrs B., came because of her husband's work transfer from Germany to Britain. She was one of the first expatriates, one of the first Germans, in her area, Esher, were she still lives. How these women have formed their identities will be further discussed in Chapter Two.

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[116] Five respondents had been living in the UK for five to ten, eight for over ten, four for over twenty, two for over thirty and two for over forty years.

[117] Four of the respondents planned to stay for another five to ten, one for ten to twenty years, eight planned to stay for an unlimited time, sixteen were not sure yet and for one it depended on her partner's work.

[118] Men's employment results were as follows: Ten working for a German, five for a British and six for an international employer. Due to a flaw in the questionnaire the employer of 13 respondents had to be classified as 'not known'. One big German investment bank employed almost half of those working for a German employer.

[119] They are correspondent to Type 6 on Scott's scale. (Scott, 2006) The annual report of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham states that ten to twelve such older ladies take part in the monthly coffee mornings arranged for them. (Annual Report 2004, German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham) The author's own observations showed a decrease in that number to around seven to eight.

Employment is always a good indicator for the socio-economic status of a group. Having established that around half of the questionnaire respondents were very likely to be expatriates, the results show that the socio-economic situation of 'locals' and expatriates is very similar. Of the 38 female respondents only 12 were economically active (32 per cent) compared to 12 out of 12 male respondents. Of the female participants' 35 male partners, 33 worked (94 per cent). This clear gender imbalance will be discussed in the last section of this chapter. That the Germans in Richmond and Kingston are highly skilled migrants can be proven by focusing on their respective professions. In order to code responses the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC2000) as devised by the UK Office for National Statistics was used. According to this system occupations are divided into nine major groups, from those requiring the highest to those requiring the lowest qualifications: 1. managers and senior officials; 2. professional; 3. associate professional and technical; 4. admin and secretarial occupations; 5. skilled trades; 6. personal services; 7. sales and customer services occupations; 8. process, plant and machine operatives; and 9. elementary occupations. Of the 38 female respondents' professions, irrespective of their current working situation, three belonged to Category 1, twelve to 2, seven to 3, one to 4 and two to Category 6.[120] Of the occupations of the twelve female partners of the male respondents, two fitted into Category 1, one into 2, two into 3 and one into Category 4.[121] Regarding the 12 male respondents, six fitted into Category 1, four into 2 and two were not stated or unclear. The picture is similar for the male partners of the female participants: eleven belonged to Category 1, eight to 2, three to 3 and one to Category 8. These results show, apart from the gender imbalance with men working in better-paid professions than women and apart from those who did not state their or their partner's profession or where it was unclear, the majority of respondents and their partners worked/were qualified in the three categories requiring the highest qualifications (92 per cent). These were mainly banking and finance in the male, and health care and teaching occupations in the female case. From this outcome can be concluded that the German diaspora in South-West London has a strong middle and upper middle class character.[122]

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[120] Thirteen women either did not state their occupation or their response was not clear enough to code.
[121] The occupation of six female partners was either not stated or not clear.
[122] Correspondent to Scott's findings on the British in Paris. (Scott, 2006) In the annual report for 2004 of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham, the lay preacher wrote: 'Die Gemeinde besteht vor allem aus gut verdienenden wohlsituierten Leuten.' (Annual Report 2004, German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham) This further proves the primarily middle to upper middle class character of the community.

There are several other factors which point to the socio-economic composition of the German cluster while at the same time acting as explanations for a comparative over-representation of well-paid migrants including Germans and German expatriates in the Richmond and Kingston area. The German School is the most important factor. Many temporary migrants do not want to disturb their children's education while on assignments abroad. Thus this so called 'expert school'[123] is ideal as it teaches according to the curriculum of the German state of Baden-Württemberg and thus facilitates the children's re-integration into schools in Germany or German schools elsewhere in the world. To live close to the school and thus ease the children's daily commute is a reason for Germans to move into the area, not just for expatriates but also for more permanent migrants wishing for their children to have a German education.[124] Nevertheless, it was at the initiative of expatriate parents as well as their employers in London that such a school was established in the first place.[125] It is the case with expatriates that tuition fees are usually paid by the employer sending the expatriate abroad as part of the compensation package.[126] This way parents can afford to send their children to this fairly expensive private school. The 50 respondents to the questionnaires for this study had 86 children altogether, 49 of whom were at school age (5 to 18 years). 35 of these children attended the German School – 71 per cent of all children at school age. When asked why they chose to live in the Richmond area, 27 participants gave the proximity to the School as one of their reasons, that is over half of all respondents. It was the reason mentioned most often for moving to the area. The questionnaire results therefore show that the German School plays a big role in attracting German migrants.

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[123] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 201. He goes on to argue that this is a 'euphemism for saying that it is restricted to German nationals in areas with large concentrations of peripatetic executives', another assumption that will be contested in Chapter Two.

[124] It is the same case with the British in Paris: 'The British in Île de France, like their counterparts in the UK, were very keen to live close to (or at least on the bus route [emphasis added] to) specialist schooling.' (Scott, 2006, p. 1115)

[125] 'In the late 1960s the top German companies began lobbying Bonn [then the capital of the FRG, TZ] to set up a German school in Britain. Many of their executives were simply refusing to be posted to London for fear of disrupting their children's education.' (Kettenacker in Panayi, p. 201)

[126] Blackwell Encyclopedic Dictionary of International Management: 'An education allowance provides funds which may be used to provide special education opportunities or to enrol a student in private school. In this way the child's educational progress will be affected as little as possible by the move to a foreign country.' (O'Connell, 1997, p. 48) Also confirmed in several interviews.

The package of allowances also provides the expatriate and his family with accommodation.[127] Although the German expatriates in London do not live in 'gated communities' as they do in other countries[128], employers do own several properties which are made available to the expatriates and their families. Some of these are located in the Richmond and Kingston area. In any case, as the employer pays for housing, the cost of the latter is of little importance to the expatriate, particularly if he/she is well-paid and regarded as a great asset to the company/institution. Thus living in an area with high house and rent prices, as is the case in many parts of Richmond and Kingston, becomes affordable.

Furthermore, many of the South-West London boroughs are considered wealthy, 'high-status residential areas of London'[129]. That this is indeed the case for Richmond is verified by looking at some of the key statistics of the 2001 Census. Employment, education, health, environment and crime are all indicators for quality of life. Regarding employment, 73 per cent of the population of the whole borough at working age was economically active in 2001 and the number of those in full-time employment was higher than the London average. The proportions of those working for large employers and in higher managerial, higher professional, lower managerial and professional positions, intermediate occupations, and those working for smaller employers and the self-employed were all significantly above the London average. Moreover, almost half of the population at working age had obtained its highest qualifications at Level 4/5 (the highest possible) which put Richmond 14 per cent above the London and 25 per cent above the average for England and Wales.[130] Comparing this with the work situation of the Richmond Germans, it becomes apparent that they fit in well with the general socio-economic situation in the borough as they, too, are highly skilled and qualified.[131]

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[127] 'Housing allowances are provided in several forms: additional salary to help pay housing costs; provision of employer-owned housing in the foreign country; and reimbursement (or paid directly to the landlord) of the actual cost of housing incurred by the expatriate.' (Ibid., p. 49)

[128] See Roth and Roth in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 90, and Moser-Weithmann in Idem., p. 153.

[129] White, 1998, p. 1733.

[130] London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames, 2001, 'Borough Statistics from the 2001 Census of Population', available from the Richmond Council website >www.richmond.gov.uk< [downloaded 15 March 2008]

[131] Stefanie Everke-Buchanan, in her study on Germans in Australia, found that one particular area of Melbourne contained as similarly high concentration of recently-arrived Germans, the majority of them expatriates. The suburb of Brighton, like Richmond, is a wealthy area with the added benefit of being located by the sea. (Everke-Buchanan, 2007, pp. 339-340)

'The population in Richmond upon Thames is healthier than the national average' says the Borough Profile of 2006[132] which might partly be due to the extensive green spaces open to the public in the borough.[133] Seventeen respondents to the questionnaires gave the natural beauty and accessibility of green spaces as one of the reasons for choosing to live in the area. Concerning crime, 'compared to the rest of London Richmond upon Thames has very low levels of crime and is one of the safest boroughs in which to live'.[134] Forty-seven respondents said they felt very comfortable in the area and three said it was 'ok' to live there. Not one was dissatisfied or unhappy about their choice of location. From these findings can be concluded that the quality of life is very high in the borough and surrounding areas. It is thus unsurprising that it attracts well-paid professionals. Lothar Kettenacker also argues that 'many German parents, having left their *Eigenheim im Grünen* are instinctively drawn to the garden city rather than to the city itself'[135] meaning that they are drawn to areas that most closely resemble the living environments they were used to in Germany. To compensate for the loss of that environment and to ease the move to a foreign setting, locations are sought out where one expects the same standards as at home.

New arrivals to London might also be attracted by the existence of a German community in the south west. Particularly for those families frequently on the move between countries, German neighbourhoods and communities with their institutional networks might be the only constants. Hence when they arrive in London, they might choose their place of residence according to the proximity to 'German' services and amenities. This eases the transition in to a new environment and provides them with a supportive network in which to find information and advice. 'The creation of separate institutions by and for the migrant group', Paul White points out, 'may initially reflect certain aspects of their distribution, but may then come to play a determining role in the preferred locations of future arrivals.'[136] Stefan Manz also makes this point by quoting

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[132] London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames, 2006, 'Borough Profile', available from the Richmond Council website >www.richmond.gov.uk< [downloaded 15 March 2008]

[133] 'Richmond upon Thames has over 21 miles of River Thames frontage, and has 96 parks. This includes two Royal Parks, Richmond and Bushy, containing herds of red and fallow deer, the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew and many other wildlife habitats. Richmond Park is 930 hectares in size and has been designated a National Nature Reserve. Bushy Park was first enclosed in 1499 and is 445 hectares in size.' (Ibid.)

[134] Ibid. This, however, can also lead to a certain degree of prejudice and ignorance towards other parts of London and an idealisation of Richmond. One respondent said, for example: 'Die meisten anderen Stadtteile sind sehr heruntergekommen.'

[135] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 201

[136] White, 1998, p. 1741

Petrus Han: 'Immigranten lassen sich vorzugsweise dort nieder, wo bereits Familienangehörige, Verwandte, Bekannte oder Landsleute leben. Sie erhoffen sich dadurch die familiale bzw. landsmannschaftliche Unterstützung bei der Eingliederung in die Aufnahmegesellschaft.'[137]

3. Age, gender and family

α. Age structure

Not only does the German cluster in South West London possess certain socio-economic features that make it different from other current and previous German migration movements to Britain, it also differs in its gender and family structures. Married families with children at and below school age seem to constitute the majority of the 'community', with parents in their thirties and forties. This corresponds with the age and family structures of participants in previous studies of the expatriate experience[138] and with the Catholic lay preacher's statement that 90 per cent of her congregation is made up of young families.[139] Of the 50 respondents to this study's questionnaire, half were in the age group of 36 to 45, with eight between 25 and 35, ten between 46 and 55, five between 56 and 67 and one over 67.[140] These results fit in perfectly with those of other studies in which the average age of participants was between 39 and 46 years. Thirty-eight respondents (76 per cent) were married, nine were living with a partner and three were single or divorced. Of those married or living with a partner, thirty had a German, twelve a British and five a partner of a third nationality.[141] This acts as evidence that this particular German cluster in Richmond/Kingston is primarily composed of entirely German couples and families. The majority of participants had two children (21), 17 had one child, nine had three children and only three had no children to date. Hence the average family had 1.72 children. One again, this outcome very closely resembles that of other studies on the

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[137] Manz, 2003, p. 41

[138] See Zimmermann et al., 2003, Dickmann et al., 2008, Stahl and Cerdin, 2004, Kupka and Cathro, 2007, Kupka et al., 2008, and others.

[139] Interview with the lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham.

[140] One respondent did not give his/her age.

[141] In this study 'partner' is used as a general term for spouses and partners. Included in the twelve British partners are two with a British/other dual nationality. Contained in the 30 German partners is one ex-partner of a respondent.

expatriate subject in which at least 56[142] and at most 98 per cent[143] of participants were married with an average of two children. Of the 86 children the respondents for the present study had altogether, 24 were under five years old, 49 were at school age and 13 were over 18 years of age, as mentioned above. The majority of children were thus at school age, a similar result to other studies where the average age of the children was seven years.[144] The young character of this community thus becomes apparent. It can also be further proven by examining the age structure of the German-born populations of the other London boroughs. According to the 2001 UK Census, Kingston contained the highest percentage of zero to fifteen-year-old German-born residents at 15.28 per cent, followed by Richmond at 14.77 per cent. Of all Richmond wards, Ham contained the highest proportion of under 15-year-olds, 25.18 per cent, and Tudor of all Kingston wards at 29.44 per cent.[145] These are the wards closest to the German School. Focusing on the elderly German-born population, Barnet came first with over half at and over pensionable age, followed by Harrow at 42.75 per cent. Richmond reached 20th and Kingston 24th place with a percentage of fifteen and 14.36 per cent respectively. The percentage of young children is thus significantly above the average of the German-born of London (approx. seven per cent) and the proportion of those at and over pensionable age below the average (20 per cent). Looking at the age distribution of the German-born population of England and Wales (zero to fifteen-year-olds: 14.14 per cent; pensionable age and over: 16.59 per cent), Richmond and Kingston lie very close to the average.[146] Thus, whereas clear differences are visible between the age distribution in Richmond and Kingston and the London average for German-born persons, the figures for the two boroughs are very close to the national average.

β. Women migrants and the female expatriate experience

One of the most prominent results of the questionnaires distributed for this study concerns gender. Before the First World War, female were outnumbered by male German migrants to Britain. Panayi puts the proportion of men at over 60 per cent in the

[142] Kupka and Cathro, 2007
[143] Kupka et al., 2008
[144] Kupka and Cathro, 2007, and ibid.
[145] 2001 UK Census
[146] All firgures from the 2001 UK Census.

19th century.[147] This situation was reversed after the Second World War when the majority of German migrants were women. They were made up of around 12,700 workers recruited by the British government to remedy the labour shortage, 20,000 domestic servants and 10,000 war brides.[148] Together they outnumbered the 15,000 former POWs who had decided to remain in Britain.[149] From the late 1950s onwards when this influx of workers and war brides had ebbed away due to strength gained by the German economy which could then absorb its own workers, Germans started to come to Britain for other reasons. 'The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the metropolis and the chance to improve their school English prompted many, notably young women [emphasis added] with a solid middle-class background, to spend a couple of years in Britain, accepting whatever job was available, usually as au pairs or secretaries. Nothing much has changed in this respect up to the present day.'[150] This development towards a migration dominated by females is also obvious in the census figures. In 1961, there were twice as many female (84,771) as male (43,141) German-born persons living in the UK.[151] The female dominance was even more apparent in the naturalisation figures for the same year: 52,287 women and 24,791 men[152] became British citizens. This number primarily accounts for those women married to British armed forces personnel and former POWs. By the 2001 UK Census, the gender ratio had become less extreme with 41 per cent of the German-born population of England and Wales male and 59 per cent female[153], suggesting that, contrary to Kettenacker, something must have changed. The increase in German-born persons as shown in Tables 2 and 3 must then have consisted of a greater number of males. This can partly be explained by the general increase in Germans leaving Germany irrespective of gender. Whereas in 1991 98,915 people moved out of Germany, this had risen to 161,105 in 2007[154] mainly due to the slump in the German economy since the late 1990s and the subsequent rise in unemployment which many tried to overcome by going abroad. This is a situation that affected men and women alike.

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[147] Panayi, 1995, p. 60
[148] Steinert and Weber-Newth, 2005, p. 29
[149] Ibid.
[150] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 192
[151] Ibid., p. 191
[152] Ibid.
[153] UK Census 2001
[154] German Federal Statistical Office, 2009

Gender ratios among the German-born still vary between the 33 Boroughs of London from 29 per cent men in Bromley to 56 per cent in the City of London. Kingston and Richmond have the 8th (42 per cent men, 58 per cent women) and 9th (41.5 and 58.5 per cent respectively) largest proportion of men among their German populations, putting them both above the average for Greater London (39.65 and 60.35 per cent respectively).[155] Although this is a very small divergence, it is one that can be explained by the increased presence of expatriates in the area. It has to be noted now that expatriate assignments are male-dominated. The average participant in studies about expatriation is male and in his forties[156] with women only comprising 12 to 15 per cent of the whole expatriate population.[157] Although this meant an increase by around 10 per cent as compared to the 1980s, women are far from equal to men when it comes to international assignments. In many ways this is only one manifestation of the general, still prominent gender inequality in the work place with men occupying 90 per cent of management positions in European companies.[158] Linehan and Scullion, in their study on the female expatriate experience in Europe, have identified five reasons for the small numbers of female expatriates

> '(i) senior home country managers' perceptions of the suitability of women in international management positions, (ii) senior home country managers' perceptions of foreigners' responses to women as international managers and problems relating to women's marital status, (iii) the effect of an organization's formal policies on women's opportunities in international management in terms of selection and training of potential international managers, (iv) the influence of informal organizational processes in determining women's participation in international management, and (v) women's own wishes and desires whether or not to participate in expatriate assignments.'[159]

This means that the home country organisation's policies regarding women in international management positions and the effect female managers might have on clients abroad prevents women from taking part in the expatriation process. Of course their own opinions about taking on such huge commitments and relocating their entire households play an important part in their decisions. Women always have to juggle work and family life at the same time, especially when their partners are ambitious and

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[155] UK Census 2001
[156] Zimmermann et al., 2003, Dickmann et al., 2008, Stahl and Cerdin, 2004, Linehan and Scullion, 2004, Liu and Shaffer, 2005, Thompson and Tambyah, 1999, Wang and Kanungo, 2004, Hardill and MacDonald, 1998
[157] Linehan and Scullion, 2004, p. 434
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid., p. 438

career-orientated themselves. This burden becomes even heavier when a foreign environment and new work challenges come into the equation. Thus many women themselves might not choose to go abroad faced with the increased stresses they would be exposed to there. Yet it seems that even those wanting to go on international assignments are largely kept from doing so by their sending companies. All this is happening at the same time as researchers have proven that women are as successful on international assignments as men.[160] That the present study has seen more female than male respondents can be explained by the way the questionnaires were distributed. Almost entirely given out at day time, during the average person's working hours, and in settings that do attract more women than men, a result of 38 female to 12 male respondents is no surprise considering the current working situation of many women in the German community (see above). It has been noticed by the researcher that more male than female respondents filled in questionnaires distributed on one Saturday morning at the German bakery in Petersham.[161] This is a further sign for the gender imbalance concerning work among the Germans in Richmond and expatriates in general. Other studies on the expatriate experience working with a predominantly male sample were almost all conducted from a human resource management point of view and consequently participants were recruited through corporations and businesses themselves, thus targeted directly.

γ. Trailing spouses

As aforementioned, only 12 of the 38 female respondents of this study's questionnaires were economically active (32 per cent)[162] compared to 12 out of 12 male respondents. Of the female participants' 35 male partners, 33 worked (94 per cent) whereas only five out of 12 male respondents' female partners worked (42 per cent). This gives a total of 17 working women out of 50[163] and 45 working men out of 47.[164]

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[160] Ibid., p. 3. Kerr at al. have also come to the conclusion that 'women prepare themselves better than men for EA [expatriate assignments] than men and are more culturally sensitive than men'. (Kerr et al. , 1997, p. 5)

[161] Questionnaires distributed on one Saturday morning saw a response of eight women and nine men, as compared to a response of ten women and one man through the lay preacher of the Catholic congregation at various regular meetings, such as parent and toddler groups and coffee mornings.

[162] Of the 50 women included in this study, 28 did not currently work, 17 worked, 3 were retired and 2 were PhD students.

[163] This includes female respondents and female partners of male respondents.

[164] This includes male respondents and male partners of female respondents where applicable.

This extreme gender imbalance when it comes to employment warrants further examination. Expatriate, or 'trailing', spouses and partners have become the subject of a fair amount of research.[165] Often conducted from a human resource point of view, it values wives (seldom husbands[166]) as very important factors in the success of an international assignment. While the expatriate himself concentrates mainly on his new work challenges, the partner looks after the rest. She organises the relocation process, the household, and the children's lives so that the expatriate is completely free to focus on his career. She acts as a confidante and support for the expatriate, accompanies him on official occasions and social events. In addition to the burden placed upon the partner to manage the household single-handedly, she often has to, or chooses to, give up her own career for the duration of the international assignment. Before looking in depth at the reasons for expatriate partners giving up their jobs and the problems that can result from that, it is necessary to establish that the non-working women in the German cluster in South West London are really the partners of expatriates. This is done by comparing the employment situation of all women with first, their partner's nationality, and second, their partner's professions. The overwhelming majority of the 22 non-working female respondents have German partners (17) compared to five with non-German partners. All six non-working female partners of the male respondents were German. Of the 12 working female respondents, five had German and six non-German partners, and four of the five working female partners of the male respondents were of a different nationality. All 28 non-working women were German, meaning that the non-German female partners of the male respondents all worked. Of the 28 non-working women, 23 had German partners. These results show that German women with German partners are more likely not to be economically active which makes it likely that they are part of an expatriate family. The aforementioned reasons for leaving Germany, which half of the respondents gave as their (in case of men) or their partner's work (in case of women), need to be taken into consideration as they are also more likely to be part of expatriate families. Further, it also appears that the higher the male partner's position in the

[165] Kupka and Cathro, 2007, Kappelhoff et al., 2006, Punnett, 1997, Black and Gregersen, 1991, Kupka et al., 2008 and many others.

[166] A note on male expatriate spouses: As the number of female expatriates is fairly low, so is the percentage of male trailing partners. (Kupka and Cathro, 2007, Kupka et al., 2008, Punnett, 1997) In the questionnaires used for this study, not one male respondent gave his partner's work as one of the reasons for leaving Germany thus none of the male respondents is a trailing spouse. Male expatriate spouses in general always expect to continue their careers abroad and them not being able to do so leads to the same problems female spouses face. 'Nonworking men are socially even less accepted than unemployed women' (Kupka and Cathro, 2007, p. 956), the men's confidence might decrease considerably as they are no longer able to fulfill their traditional roles of the families' breadwinners. Since there are possibly no male expatriate spouses in the German cluster in South West London, they are left out of the discussion.

workplace the slightly more likely it is that his female partner does not work. Of the 32 men in SOC2000 Categories 1, 2 and 3, 12 female partners worked as opposed to 17 who did not work. Again those in higher positions might be expatriates.

The situation of expatriate spouses very much resembles that of 19th century German immigrant women. At that time, too, women tended to follow their husbands and due to the general standing of the female sex in society, did not have many work opportunities open to them. 'Frauen gingen nur als Lehrerinnen und Gouvernanten einer Erwerbsarbeit nach. Die Mehrzahl der Frauen kam mit den Ehemännern nach Glasgow und arbeitete als Hausfrau, wie die Zensustabelle der Rubrik 'keine Berufsangabe' ausweist', Stefan Manz argues about German women in Glasgow.[167] With the increasing empowerment of women during the 20th century, enhanced by their contributions during the World Wars, with women's suffrage becoming universal and feminism at its height, women's work opportunities grew considerably and so did the female workforce. This development, of course, affected migrants as well. To find proof one only needs to look at the aforementioned recruitment of European women to fill the British labour shortage, the arrival of trained nurses from the Caribbean, the influx of young secretaries and au pairs and lastly also at the many young female European professionals coming to London.

Why is it then that the majority of expatriate partners do not seem to work? There are several reasons for that. Of the 28 non-working women, only two explicitly mentioned that they were on maternity leave. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that a percentage of the other 26 are also staying at home because they are looking after small children. This becomes even more likely when considering that 24 children were under the age of five. As it is common among new mothers in Germany to stay at home with their babies for up to three years after birth, quite a few will do so during their stay in the UK. If the husband can support the family sufficiently on his income alone, there is no incentive for the woman to take up work immediately when she has a baby and probably older children to look after. The most probable explanation for this high rate of non-working expatriate spouses, however, is that the woman gave up her job upon departure from the home country and for one reason or another has not been able to continue her career in the new destination. A study revealed that 64 per cent of all trailing spouses stop

[167] Manz, 2003, p. 47

working when their husbands are sent on international assignments. Over half have to do so because they are unable to obtain work permits for the host country.[168] This is particularly the case in countries were women play subordinate roles in society or where labour markets are reserved for native employees. In Turkey, for example, trailing spouses are not allowed to be economically active.[169] Another example is Russia where it is very difficult for any foreigner to enter the labour market due to legal restrictions on certain professions and 'unobtainable'[170] work permits framed by quotas and contingents that favour Russian employees. Legal constraints preventing expatriate partners from taking up employment in the host country, however, are only in place outside the European Union. Since Britain is part of the EU, there should be no such problems here.

It is thus increasingly possible that language barriers might make finding a new job difficult among the expatriate wives of Richmond and Kingston. The inability to speak the language of the host country is another factor that thwarts expatriate spouses' possibilities of finding work, no matter which country the family is sent to. Communicating in an English-speaking country might seem comparatively easy compared to other destinations, yet one needs to have reached a certain proficiency in the language to be able to use it adequately in a professional context. Casually talking to neighbours is not the same as caring for clients. Whereas the expatriates themselves had probably reached a very good level of English before their assignments due to dealing with international business partners and clients, their partners might be limited to the English learned at school many years ago if they do not happen to have worked with foreign languages themselves. Moreover, apart from the lack of English, qualifications obtained in Germany are not necessarily recognised in Britain. For example, if a woman has trained as a physiotherapist in Germany, to be able to practise her profession in the UK, she might need additional qualifications. Obtaining these might include attending courses, passing tests, etc. over a longer period of time. Subsequently the woman might decide that the effort is not worth it considering her family's temporary stay in the country. The results of the questionnaires show that the female respondents as well as the female partners of male respondents are highly qualified themselves (five in SOC2000 Category 1 and 13 in Category 2 out of 31 women whose profession was

[168] Meisel, Sächsische Zeitung, 16th/17th August 2008
[169] Moser-Weithmann in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 150
[170] Roth and Roth in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 93

stated even when they did not currently work), working / having worked in a variety of sectors such as health care, teaching, banking and finance. Furthermore, there are expatriate spouses who might not be willing to carry the double burden of organising household and children besides gainful employment. The whole family is relocated to a new environment, one that is in any case different from home. Whereas the expatriate will be busy sorting his new working life out from day one, the partner is left to organise the move of furniture and other possessions, find suitable schools for the children, do the household chores, etc. in addition to finding her own way around the new location and getting adjusted to the new way of life herself. This kind of work goes largely unnoticed and is, of course, not paid. But hard work it is, nevertheless, for which many women probably do not get enough recognition. It is most likely that the majority of expatriate partners in South West London do not work because of the three reasons above: language, qualifications and the possible double burden of home and work life. Apart from male partners, Punnett has identified two other types of expatriate spouses: those who do not expect to work in the foreign location and those expecting to work outside the home.[171] It seems certain, looking at the questionnaire results, that the trailing spouses in Richmond and Kingston are divided along these lines.

An expatriate assignment, or a stay abroad in general, can be as beneficial and valuable an experience for the expatriate as for his/her family. Living in a foreign environment can broaden horizons, enhance cultural sensitivity and understanding, improve language and social skills, and much more. However, this is not always the case for expatriate spouses. The situations some of these women find themselves in become evident by only looking at the titles of relevant studies: 'Desperate Housewives – social and professional isolation of German expatriated spouses' or 'Home alone and often unprepared – intercultural communication training for expatriated partners in German MNCs'. Evidence of dissatisfaction among expatriate wives in Richmond comes from an anonymous interview partner for this study who stated that many women gave themselves, their careers and aspirations, up for their husbands. This regularly led to frustration on both sides and not seldom ended in divorce. Studies have so far focused on the expatriate spouse as a potential reason for failure of the international assignment ('the unhappy, unfulfilled and uncooperative housewife will obstruct the

[171] Punnett, 1997, p. 247

expatriate's focus on the corporate task on the mission'[172]) and as such their research was used to make recommendations to the business world as to how to improve their support and advice mechanisms for the spouses. This gives a valuable insight into the challenges faced by trailing partners. Expatriate wives can be subjected to social and professional isolation. When the expatriate family relocates to a foreign environment every family member loses its immediate social support networks.[173] Friends and family who have previously helped the individual to cope with stressful situations, gave advice and companionship, have to be left in the country of origin at a time when their support is most needed. This situation has an impact on all family members but particularly on the expatriate spouse. Whereas the expatriate builds up new networks at work and the children may do so at school, the wife might find it difficult to make contact with others in the new environment. The more the host culture is perceived to be different from her own and the less inter- and cross-cultural training the spouse has received prior to departure, the harder it will be for her to make contact with the local population. Living in 'gated communities' or other locations with an expatriate population also prevents the spouses from engaging with the native community but facilitates the contact with other expatriate partners who might find themselves in similar situations. If the wife fails to establish relationships to others outside the family, she might become over-reliant on her husband for social support and this might have a negative impact on the success of the assignment.[174] If language barriers are too big, everyday tasks such as shopping and paying bills might become too difficult to manage, thus increasing dissatisfaction. Trailing spouses who were successful in continuing work or finding a new job in the host country will suffer considerably less from social and professional isolation as they build up new support networks at work which leads to the establishment of a circle of friends and acquaintances. If they work with host society natives they might be able to integrate well into that society. Women who do not work, on the other hand, are prone to frustration which can lead to more serious mental health problems. Giving up a career can mean the loss of financial and personal independence and consequently the diminishing of the spouse's confidence and self-esteem. As Kupka and Cathro argue, the spouse loses part of her own identity and takes on that of

[172] Kupka and Cathro, 2007, p. 952
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., p. 955. Kupka et al. quote Harvey (1985): 'Loneliness and isolation cause a spouse to want more time, attention and companionship from her husband. Many times the spouses cling to their husbands for all companionship. But the expatriate has his own problems to deal with in the shape of unfamiliar working circumstances...' (Kupka et al., 2008, p. 5)

'wife/partner of a corporate manager'.[175] This loss of freedom and individuality may be further exacerbated in countries where women play a subordinate role in society, a situation Western women are not used to, thus also often rendering them physically constrained.[176] It has to be noted, however, that not all expatriate wives are victims of restrictions placed upon them but that there is a certain percentage that chooses not to engage with, say, the host society and takes no interest in the new environment. This has been the case with some women in Richmond and Kingston, as the anonymous interviewee has stated. Women shut themselves off completely form the host culture and focus entirely on the 'German' aspects of their lives. Consequently the arenas in which expatriate spouses can, or choose to, move freely and express their own individual identities are limited. Professional and social isolation can lead to self-loathing and depression ('desperate housewives') and other mental disorders, possibly accompanied by alcohol and drug misuse[177], and other addictions such as compulsive shopping and obsessive cleaning. This causes marriage problems as the expatriate himself will grow more and more dissatisfied with his partner who cannot seem to help herself. A compassionate husband might decide upon the premature departure of the expatriate and his family from the international assignment. Another result might be a growing emotional distance between the partners which could lead to extra-marital affairs and/or could end in divorce.[178] In many cases, the German communities and their institutions seem to take on a vital role in the lives of expatriate spouses. How exactly they can help them feel less isolated and more confident will be discussed in Chapter Two using the example of the Germans in Richmond and Kingston, especially those in Ham/Petersham.

Conclusion

Economic migration is not a new phenomenon. People have always decided to leave their homes in search of better work opportunities, better pay and improved working conditions. This process has intensified over the last century due to economic, political and technological developments which led to the increasing globalisation of the world. It is now easier than ever to move from one place to another, settle and make a

[175] Kupka and Cathro, 2007, p. 955
[176] See Moser-Weithmann in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 155
[177] Roth and Roth in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 93
[178] Kupka and Cathro, 2007, Kappelhoff et al., 2006, Punnett, 1997, Black and Gregersen, 1991, Kupka et al., 2008 and many others.

living there. Employers have relished this opportunity to increase the number of expatriates sent on international assignments outside their country of origin. Expatriation in the modern sense is nothing new, but the great amount of expatriates working around the world and the frequency and routine with which they are sent on such assignments is a consequence of the expansion of the global economy in which companies are free to branch out and establish subsidiaries across the world. The expatriate experience is thus part of international labour mobility. The first part of this chapter was essentially concerned with putting expatriation in the wider context of modern migration movements. This was done because the German community in Richmond and Kingston consists to some extent of expatriates and in order to understand their lives and experiences a discussion of the expatriate experience in general is important. This is not to say that all Germans in the area have been sent by their employers as has been reiterated throughout this chapter. Other groups such as 'locals' and older residents, however, seem to constitute a less visible part of the community. The geographical distribution of German-born individuals revealed that the majority indeed lived in the boroughs of Richmond and Kingston, with a special emphasis on the Ham/Petersham area. The latter has emerged as the centre of the community due to the density of German businesses and institutions there, of which the German School London is the most important. The school is the main attraction for Germans to move into the area and constitutes the community's focal point. Socio-economically this study has come to the conclusion that the cluster in South West London possesses a multitude of middle- and upper-middle-class attributes. These highly skilled and qualified migrants are economically stable which makes it possible for them to live in an area characterised by high living standards generally described as affluent parts of London. A very significant result of the questionnaires was the unusually high percentage of non-working women in the community. This stands in contrast to other groups of German migrants and as such seems to be a symptom of the expatriate experience. Many partners and spouses of expatriates choose, or have to, give up their careers when their partners are posted abroad. If it is impossible for the spouse to carry out any meaningful work in the host country, severe problems can arise that may jeopardise the spouse's mental and physical health which in turn can affect the whole family and ultimately lead to the termination of the marriage or the international assignment. Many expatriate women have found the German communities in their destination countries to be a lifeline. The one in Ham/Petersham is no exception. The

roles of local ethnic German institutions, organisations and businesses in holding the community together and providing its members with a social network will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter Two: Ethnic institutions and the shaping of identity

Introduction

'Ich dachte immer, wenn es eine richtige deutsche Community in Großbritannien gibt, dann ist sie in Richmond.'[179] This quote by a member of staff of the German Historical Institute in London typifies what many Germans in London think about their compatriots living in Richmond/South West London. It seems to be common knowledge among the Germans in London that there is some sort of German community in this area and that this is also the place where the German School and ethnic businesses, such as the German bakery, are located. The community in question has been introduced in the first chapter of this study. It is now one of the tasks of this second chapter to determine whether we can indeed speak of a German ethnic community, complete with communal ties, networks and structures, or if the term 'cluster', a loose agglomeration of German residents, would be more appropriate. This, of course, includes a detailed discussion of the ethnic institutions and businesses in the area in the second part of this chapter. German ethnic communities have emerged as a result of previous migration movements and still exist in places where Germans have settled over the last 200 years. Communities in the 19th and early 20th century have been characterised by dense infrastructures embodied by ethnic clubs ('Vereine'), schools, churches and ethnic businesses. Although divided along class lines, a strong sense of solidarity and a common commitment to the fatherland persisted in each community. The local ethnic community in a sense replaced parts of the *Heimat* left behind in Germany. To some extent ethnic institutions, etc. still fulfil this role. Nevertheless, political and economic changes in the 20th century have somewhat altered perceptions of identity, not only among Germans. First, due to the experiences of the two World Wars, Germans have become increasingly uncomfortable with their national identity and go to great lengths to distance themselves from the imperial-nationalistic politics pursued by Germany's leaders in the first half of the 20th century. Second, globalisation and European integration have caused the weakening of national borders. In our partly transnational world national identities are gradually losing their importance to be replaced by trans- and international identities across borders. What role ethnic, national and transnational identities play among the German community in Richmond will be

[179] Interview with a member of staff of the German Historical Institute London.

discussed in the last part of this chapter. Integration into the host community is always an indicator of identity. The degrees of integration the Germans in Richmond have reached within their host society will thus be included in the third part. Since this is a diverse community, its several groups will be focused upon in turn under the above aspects. It will become clear that perceptions of identity are different between these groups. Furthermore, the involvement of ethnic institutions and businesses in the shaping of identities will be looked at throughout this chapter as they can somewhat determine migrants' identities and stages of integration. It will become evident that the German community in Richmond cannot be generalised in terms of perceptions of identity but that the formation and maintenance of the latter is largely conditioned by individual choices. Nevertheless, the aim is to establish certain factors that influence a person's identity formation in this community.

1. Community and diaspora - a discussion of terminology

Community is a term used quite frequently these days – 'there is a real community there', 'community spirit', 'care in the community', 'the local community', 'the business community' etc. are just a few examples of how the term is commonly employed. What all these expressions have in common is that they denote a group of people who in one way or another are connected to each other. It becomes obvious that it is a fairly broad expression which can be used in many contexts, grouping people together under different aspects. These include, for example, place of residence, profession, belief, pastimes, etc. A community does not have to be local, existing together in one place. Likewise, it does not have to be formed consciously and membership is highly subjective. Someone who is considered as part of a certain community might not necessarily see himself as such. It can thus be said that the term 'community' is used to put people into categories. Groups of immigrants have generally been considered ethnic or migrant communities by the host societies and by themselves, and are classified by race and religion but primarily by origin. Countries of large-scale immigration such as the United States and Britain, among others, are home to innumerable such communities. One does not have to look far to find them. Every major city in the UK and the US has a China Town; New York has a Little Italy and used to have a Little Germany. An area of London's former Jewish East End is now

nicknamed 'Banglatown' and Soho used to be called the 'French Quarter'. Even without such obvious names, certain areas of London have been associated with particular immigrant populations and communities. However, although disproportional numbers of a certain migrant group might still favour this place or another, it is now the case that non-natives do live fairly spread out across cities, especially in London. Nevertheless, in some places the existence of ethnic communities will be more prominent than in others. This is the case with Germans in London where Richmond is generally regarded as being home to a 'German community', the only one in London. In the migrant context, the term 'community' is defined anew. Alois Moosmüller describes it as follows:

> 'die Struktur und Wirkweise sozialer und kultureller Netzwerke, die "ethnische" Gruppen im fremden kulturellen Umfeld ausbilden, um ihr Leben in der Fremde so zu organisieren, daß sie gegenüber der Mehrheitskultur ihre kulturelle Andersheit pflegen können.'[180]

According to this definition a community emerges with the establishment of ethnic networks which are used by the immigrants to retain their otherness towards the host society. From this explanation can be concluded that the German community in Richmond is, indeed, an ethnic community. Other definitions of 'community' (*Gemeinde* or *Gemeinschaft* in German[181]) include Brigitte Moser-Weithmann's: 'Mit "Gemeinde" ist (...) kein starres Gebilde gemeint, sondern ein sich ständig wandelndes und im Laufe der Zeit veränderndes Netzwerk sozialer Beziehungen und Beziehungsmöglichkeiten.'[182] These relationships are most often initiated by ethnic institutions. The shape of cultural and social networks as well as the importance of institutions and businesses in keeping them alive will be discussed further on.

The term 'community' is not the only one applied to groups of migrants. Until the mid 20th century 'colony' was commonly used for what we would now call a community. Stefan Manz explains further that 'organisierte Kontakte auf privater, vor allem aber auf korporativer Grundlage sind eine Voraussetzung, um im migrationssoziologischen Sinne von einer "ethnischen Kolonie" sprechen zu können.'[183] He further notes that geographical proximity is of no importance to the formation of an ethnic colony but that

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[180] Moosmüller in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 7
[181] In the research literature in the German language used for this study, *Gemeinde* but also *Community* were commonly employed. However, since *Gemeinde* also denotes a religious congregation, *Gemeinschaft* might be a more suitable term to avoid confusion.
[182] Moser-Weithmann in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 147
[183] Manz, 2003, p. 159

'Wille, Möglichkeit und Durchführung eines Zusammenschlusses'[184] are essential. Thus, where integration of migrants into an ethnic network takes place, even over distances, we can speak of an ethnic colony. In this context, ethnic colony and ethnic community are interchangeable, representing the exact same situation. In the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, German immigrants themselves as well as the British host society referred to groups of Germans as 'the German colony' / 'die deutsche Kolonie'[185]. The term might have fallen into disuse due to its association with imperial and colonial politics[186], to be replaced by 'ethnic community.' What stands out in Manz's discussion of the term 'colony', however, is that there was no division between the local and national level of German immigrants in Britain in the late 19th century. 'The German colony' included local 'colonies' as well as that in Britain as a whole.[187] If we assume that 'community' can be as broadly applied, all Germans in Britain would form a 'German community'. That this might be the case could be confirmed by looking at a website that every German in Britain will have come across at one time or another: deutsche-in-london.net. It calls itself 'die deutschsprachige Community in Großbritannien and London'[188] and consists of advice and information pages about living in Britain, together with a user forum where all subjects related to living in the UK can be discussed. Further, the initiators of this website also organise bi-monthly and weekly social gatherings. In their own words 'das Projekt deutsche-in-london.net, kurz DIL, versteht sich als Informationsquelle, Treffpunkt und Plattform der deutschsprachigen Community in Großbritannien.'[189] In their opinion then, an all-encompassing German community is present in Britain. Here the notion of the existence or non-existence of a community as an individual decision becomes evident. Many Germans in London will say that they do not feel part of any kind of ethnic community at all, others will feel differently. The initiators of this website might have been a little too enthusiastic to declare the existence of a German community in Britain, but on the other hand, what term could they use otherwise to describe Germans in Britain as an entity? The exact same situation applies to the German community in Richmond and Kingston. Some of the residents might feel completely immersed in ethnic networks;

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[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid. See also Dorgeel, 1881, *Die deutsche Colonie in London*.
[186] Ibid. Dobler and von Groll, in their essay on the Germans in Mexico City, also only apply the term 'colony' up until the 1950s, thereafter it is replaced by 'community'. (Dobler and von Groll in Moosmüller, 2002, pp. 113-128)
[187] Ibid., p. 159
[188] >http://www. Deutsche-in-london.net< [accessed 17 February 2009]
[189] Deutsche in London, >http://www.deutsche-in-london.net/Community.164.0.html< [accessed 17 February 2009]

others might distance themselves or even reject the existence of a community. This has to be kept in mind when considering communities of any ethnicity. In the end every individual uses networks, institutions and businesses in a different way; not all people considered to be part of an ethnic/migrant group will automatically be or consider themselves members of an ethnic community. After all, 24 questionnaire respondents for this study said they knew of the German community, twelve stated they did so to a lesser extent and 13 claimed not or not really to know of the community.[190] These results mean that only half of the respondents said they knew of the German community in Richmond. This is a very intriguing outcome if considering where these questionnaires were distributed (around or inside ethnic institutions/businesses). It shows that everyone's perceptions of what makes a community are very different and that visiting an institution/business occasionally does not necessarily mean an involvement in an ethnic community.[191] The question whether one identified/considered oneself as part of the German community confirmed this. Of fifty respondents, only 13 said they definitely identified and saw themselves as part of the community, 18 stated they partly felt that way and 17 claimed not to identify themselves with it at all.[192] These results imply that only a quarter of all respondents classified themselves as members of the community.

A concept briefly mentioned in the first chapter of this study is that of diaspora. It is crucial to discuss this subject again in more detail in order to formulate a connection between diaspora and community, and ultimately diaspora culture. Diaspora can be defined in many ways and is a fairly contested concept which, as already stated, has undergone a change in paradigm. A comprehensive discussion of the term 'diaspora' would go beyond the scope of this study, nevertheless, the most important points will be summarised. On the whole we can distinguish between the 'classic' and 'modern' conceptions of diaspora.[193] In the classic model, the term is limited to groups of people who were driven out of their homeland by force and whose members thereafter lived in exile.[194] This association stems from the destruction of Jerusalem and

[190] One respondent said she did not know the community 'any more', an interesting response which will be looked at later on.
[191] However, of the interview partners specifically asked about the existence of a community, only one said there was none.
[192] One respondent said that not she but her children were part of the community, another did not state her affiliation.
[193] For discussions of 'diaspora' see Robin Cohen, 1997, *Global Diasporas*, Routledge: London
[194] Moosmüller in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 11 and O'Donnell et al., 2005, p. 5

its temple in 586 BC which left the Jewish population dispersed all over the world.[195] The latter became the archetypical diaspora to which all subsequent groups, in the decision whether or not to label them as such, were compared. Thus until fairly recently the definition of diaspora only included those groups that were forcefully dispersed and whose experiences were connected with suffering, loss and uprooting.[196] Khachig Tölölyan was among the first scholars to question this approach and subsequently redefine it at the beginning of the 1990s. According to his ideas diaspora is a fairly broad notion which should not be limited to experiences characterised by persecution and force but should also include other areas related to 'immigrant, expatriate, refugees, guest workers, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community'.[197] If diaspora is considered in this wider context Walker Connor's definition becomes valid: 'Leute, die außerhalb des Heimatlandes leben'.[198] This concept of 'modern diasporas' promotes the idea that diaspora is not seen as something unusual but as 'normal'. Instead of a traumatic loss, the gain of openness and flexibility is emphasised.[199] Thus, as stated in Chapter One, Germans in Britain in general, and in Richmond/Kingston in particular, are part of the modern German diaspora while both are diaspora communities[200] in their own right. Looking at the composition of the Richmond community and seeing that its most prominent members are expatriates, Moosmüller's concept of expatriate communities as *Diaspora-Gemeinden* becomes interesting. Moosmüller as well as Dobler and von Groll[201] have extracted from the literature certain aspects which characterise a modern diaspora. In the following these features (in inverted commas) will be applied to expatriate communities as a whole and a part of the German community in South West London in particular:

1. 'Members of a diaspora left their country of origin for important reasons': This is the case in expatriate communities. The challenge of working in a foreign environment, the chance to experience a new culture and environment, an attractive remuneration package and the possibility of promotion in the home

[195] Ibid.
[196] Tölölyan in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 11
[197] Tölölyan in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 30
[198] Connor in ibid., p. 11
[199] Tölölyan in ibid.
[200] Stefan Manz calls them *Diasporagemeinschaften* (Manz, 2003, p. 159), Alois Moosmüller, and Dobler and von Groll *Diaspora-Gemeinden* (Moosmüller in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 20, Dobler and von Groll in ibid., p. 124).
[201] Moosmüller in ibid., p. 13 and pp. 22-24, Dobler and von Groll in ibid., p. 124

organisation upon return constitute important reasons for expatriates to accept international assignments.

2. 'The diaspora community develops a social and institutional network which safeguards social cohesion and fulfils migrants' social and cultural needs': The existence of a multitude of ethnic German institutions (German School, churches, cultural institutions in London) and businesses (bakery, grocery store, relocation service, hairdresser, restaurant, gardener, several doctors and craftsmen) form this ethnic network. In a way it also acts to distinguish the ethnic community from the host society and its institutions and businesses.
3. 'The existence of an ethnic elite which acts to keep the community together': This might be a disputable point, as Moosmüller has also argued: 'vermutlich stellt sie [the elite] sich auch gar nicht, da es keinen Grund gibt, die Loyalität zur eigenen Gruppe einzuwerben'[202]. What could be regarded as an elite in Richmond would be the German School. However, though the school seems to be the centre of the community and organises most social events, etc., it is questionable that this is purely done to endorse the community. Promotion of the school itself and its 'services' as well as financial considerations might play a bigger part.
4. 'The formation of a group identity characterised by specific norms, values and practices': This is partly the case in Richmond. Nevertheless, once again generalisations should not be made as individual decisions still determine to what extent individuals adhere to these features.
5. 'Members of the diaspora community feel that they are not entirely accepted in the host culture': In Ham/Petersham this becomes clear when looking at the answers to the question relating to integration: 23 respondents said they felt integrated into British society, 5 stated they partly felt this way and 16 said they did not feel integrated at all.[203] Seeing that roughly half of respondents could be characterised as expatriates, these are matching figures.
6. 'The existence of a strong commitment to the country of origin': In expatriate communities this is dictated by the employers of the expatriates. Bearing in mind that these are largely German multinational companies and governmental and non-governmental (social, cultural) organisations, a certain loyalty to and

[202] Moosmüller in ibid., p. 22

[203] One person stated that they did not yet feel integrated, in five questionnaires the answer was not clear due to a flaw in the questionnaire.

concern with the homeland are imperative. Lothar Kettenacker and Ulrich Kockel call them 'representatives of the Federal Republic plc'[204] and 'Germany plc'[205] respectively, giving away their representative character.

7. 'The diaspora community exists over longer periods of time without disintegration due to intermarriage or assimilation into the host culture': In an expatriate community intermarriage (matrimony of a couple from different ethnic backgrounds) is extremely rare as the majority of employees are already married with children when they take up the international assignment. Assimilation into the host culture does not usually happen due to the temporary nature of expatriate assignments. As expatriation in the current sense and extent is a fairly new process, not much can be said yet about the longevity of such communities. It is true that non-economic expatriates (those working for governmental, cultural and social organisations) will continue to be posted abroad. However, changes in the economic climate might cause companies and businesses to decrease the number of expatriates which in turn might lead to the shrinking of expatriate communities. Their futures thus are not certain.
8. 'The formation of transnational networks between country of origin, host country and third countries': Transnational networks do exist in the Richmond expatriate community on a corporate and personal level. Inter-company ties between firm headquarters and its tributaries are existent in all expatriate-sending and receiving businesses. The expatriate himself constitutes one of the links between the parent company and its branches. The same is even truer for organisations such as embassies, consulates, and social and cultural institutions as members of staff are often directly employed by the German state. On a personal level ties across borders are very strong, often superseding local ones: When asked where the majority of their social contacts were located, 21 respondents stated these mainly lived outside the local community and abroad, only nine said they were primarily located in the immediate neighbourhood and eleven respondents had their social contacts both outside and inside their

[204] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 193

[205] Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 247. Kockel also gives a good defintion of this term: 'Das Kürzel plc steht für "public limited company" was in etwa der deutschen Aktiengesellschaft entspricht. Mit dem Begriff "Germany plc" wird die Kultur von Angestellten deutscher Firmen und Behörden beschrieben, die für einen begrenzten Zeitraum in England – hauptsächlich im Großraum London – arbeiten und wohnen.' (Ibid.)

neighbourhood.[206] When asked about contacts to other Germans outside the local community, 32 participants said they had these and nine did not.[207] These results attest to the existence of strong transnational links. Of those who had connections with other Germans outside the local community and who specified who these other Germans were (16), the majority (10) stated these were family members and friends in Germany.[208] A detailed discussion of these outcomes will follow in the last part of this chapter. It is also extremely likely that acquaintances made during previous international assignments constitute a part of expatriates' transnational ties. Alois Moosmüller adds further: 'Nicht zuletzt auf Grund der guten finanziellen Ausstattung sind expats sehr mobil, reisen viel und haben die Möglichkeit auch intensive Kontakte über große Entfernungen hinweg aufrecht zu erhalten.'[209]

As mentioned in Chapter One, not all Germans in Richmond and Kingston are expatriates. Those who are not do not fit as perfectly into the concept of a modern diaspora, their perceptions of identity are different and many of the above points do not apply. This differentiation among the German residents of the area warrants its own discussion in the third part of this chapter. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the community is part of the wider German diaspora since the expatriate character of the Richmond community stands out and is emphasised by the working mechanisms of the local ethnic institutions.

2. Ethnic institutions in Richmond– instances of diaspora culture

Panikos Panayi defines culture in the migration context as referring 'to an adherence to the perceived traditions of the country of origin, recreated, usually in a distorted fashion, primarily through the establishment of clubs, although other activities can also play a role.'[210] This distorted recreation of home culture can also be defined as diaspora culture which Moosmüller defines as 'eine Kultur (...), die innerhalb einer

[206] There are no answers for nine participants due to a flaw in the questionnaire.
[207] See above.
[208] The rest of the respondents who specified stated these connections were with friends elsewhere in the world (2) and colleagues and other Germans elsewhere in the UK (2 each).
[209] Moosmüller in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 24
[210] Panayi, 1994, p. 89

ausländischen Gemeinde im Gastland entsteht und aus Elementen der Heimatkultur wie auch der Gastlandkultur gespeist wird und somit eine ganz eigene Ausprägung erfährt.'[211] Diaspora culture is thus used to describe the cultural and social structures inside an ethnic community. Such 'third' cultures can be found wherever ethnic communities are located. In fact the trinity of home, host and diaspora culture has been discussed in the literature. Alois Moosmüller argues that expatriates are framed by a cultural triangle:

> 'Die eine Seite des Dreiecks besteht aus der Kultur, in der er [the expatriate] sozialisiert wurde und die er als "kulturelles Modell" internalisiert hat und die als "personale Kultur" auf vorwiegend unbewusste Weise sein Wahrnehmen, Denken und Handeln beeinflusst. Die zweite Seite besteht aus der Kultur des Ziellandes, von der er umgeben ist und mit der er sich mehr (im Beruf) oder weniger (im Privaten) auseinandersetzen muss (...). Die dritte Seite des Dreiecks besteht aus der Kultur der Diaspora-Gemeinde, die nicht einfach eine rekonstruierte deutsche Kultur, sondern eher eine "kreolische Kultur" darstellt.'[212]

It can be argued that this concept can be applied not only to expatriates but to all migrant groups. Hybrid cultures do emerge which include features of home and host culture. However, the extent to which they orientate themselves towards either culture may vary between immigrant groups. Permanent migrants, such as German war brides and women workers as well as former POWs in Britain who largely married British partners, might find that their individual cultures are inclined more towards British culture. In expatriate communities, on the other hand, whose members are married to German partners and who come to Britain as a family entity, diaspora culture might contain more elements of German culture. Going back to the 'third spaces', Ulrich Kockel finds them in ethnic German institutions and businesses, such as churches, food shops and restaurants and thus paints a picture of the present-day German diaspora in Britain:

> 'Du betrittst so einen "dritten Ort", und noch bevor die Ohren aus dem Stimmgewirr die eigene Sprache ausgemacht haben, sagen dir vertraute Gestik, Mimik, Kleidersinn und andere Signale bereits, daß es sie doch noch gibt, die "Little Germanies", nur sind das heute keine deutsch geprägten Straßenzüge oder Stadtviertel mehr, sondern weit verstreute Orte des Zusammentreffens.'[213]

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[211] Dobler and von Groll in ibid., p. 124
[212] Moosmüller in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 110
[213] Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 258

Let us pick up the expression 'Little Germany'. This was commonly used in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century to describe ethnic neighbourhoods characterised by complete ethnic structures and communal ties. Possibly the biggest 'Little Germany' or 'Kleindeutschland' was located in New York City.[214] 'Kleindeutschland', as Nadel argues, should not be seen as one homogenous community but an agglomeration of different groups who shared a common neighbourhood and still found some common ground:

> 'The crosscutting loyalties that were the basis of German New York's extreme complexity were thus, in the end, the basis for a form of organic solidarity and tentative unity that made Kleindeutschland, in Eliot's terms, the nation of 'Little Germany' in New York.'[215]

According to the above statement, it is difficult to say if the German communities could ever be described as 'Little Germanies'. In the literature on German immigration to Britain divisions along class and other lines are typical of the communities. Stefan Manz, in his study on the Germans in Glasgow, emphasises the social divisions sustained by the different *Vereine* and quotes Panayi: 'In Britain the choice of which grouping to join was a conscious decision based on the variables of class, religion, occupation and political persuasion.'[216] Thus it is challenging to find the common ground on which these different subcommunities still formed an ethnic coherence. Panayi even goes so far as to argue that 'the most striking fact about Germans in nineteenth century Britain, (...), is that we cannot refer to a single immigrant community but, rather, to a whole series of them, divided in a variety of ways.'[217] In London the situation was more diffuse than in the provincial towns. Due to the city's size, residential patterns of German immigrants reflected their class and social status and ensured that these different groups never had to meet, let alone share ethnic institutions and businesses. It is questionable if 'Little Germanies' based on ethnic coherence ever really existed. If, on the other hand, we take Kockel's simpler definition of 'unverkennbar von deutschen Migranten geprägte Wohngegenden'[218] then many German communities in Britain in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century can be

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[214] 154,000 Germans and their children lived in New York City in 1855, making it the third biggest German-speaking city in the world. (Nadel, 1990, p.1)
[215] Ibid., p. 7
[216] Panayi in Manz, 2003, p. 171
[217] Panayi in Panayi, 1996, p. 92
[218] Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 257

classified as such. The formation of ethnic institutions such as churches, *Vereine* to cater for every class and profession as well as ethnic (food) shops and restaurants was very prominent in Victorian and Edwardian London. Count E. Armfelt, writing on German London in 1903, called Leman Street the 'the High Street of German London in the east'[219] and Charlotte Street in the West End, another favoured area of London for the German working-class, 'counted at least 40 German names out of the 138 businesses listed'.[220] Armfelt called this area around Fitzrovia 'the heart of German London in the west'[221] and further elaborated:

> 'There are bakers and confectioners, boot makers, butchers, drapers, fruiterers, grocers, hosiers, publicans, tailors, tobacco manufacturers and cigar makers, and wine, beer and spirit merchants who bear German names; and all along the road, to the right and left, buying, selling and discussing, there are German-looking people.'[222]

Such a German presence would have been very visible and given away the German character of the area. The same was also true for the Italian migrant community in Clerkenwell.[223] Kockel claims that such *Kleindeutschlande* do not exist in Britain anymore. Except in Richmond/Kingston:

> 'Das bevorzugte Wohngebiet der "Germany plc" in der Nähe von London könnte vielleicht noch als ein solches "Little Germany" gelten, ist aber weniger strukturiert, und da seine Bewohner häufig wechseln, besteht wenig Anreiz zur Gestaltung tieferer Gemeinschaftsbeziehungen.'[224]

Two of the assumptions made in this statement, that there might be a 'Little Germany' in South-West London but that this is less structured, will be examined in the following paragraphs. That communal relationships do not exist due to fluctuation will be picked up in Chapter Three.

Britain today is home to a great many German and bilateral social, cultural, political, religious, educational and economic institutions and organisations. They cater for German nationals, German-speakers, and host and third country nationals alike:

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[219] Armfelt in Sims, 1903, p. 58
[220] Panayi in Manz et al., 2007, p. 150
[221] Armfelt in Sims, 1903, p. 58
[222] Ibid.
[223] See Sponza, 1988, and Colpi, 1991, among others.
[224] Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 257

Table 10: *Inexhaustive list of German and bilateral institutions in Britain*

Purpose	**Institutions**
Promotion of German language and culture	Goethe Institute
Furthering of Anglo-German relations	Königswinter Conference Friedrich Ebert Foundation Konrad Adenauer Foundation British-German Association German-British Forum Anglo-German Foundation German Embassy
Trade relations and professional bodies	German-British Chamber of Industry and Commerce German Industry UK UK-German Business Portal British-German Jurists' Association Anglo-German Medical Society
Academic exchange and education	German Historical Institute German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)
Advice for German nationals	German Embassy German Advice Centre
Spiritual welfare	German-speaking church communities German YMCA Synod of German-Speaking Lutheran, Reformed and United Congregations in Great Britain
Political participation	'Circles of friends' of German political parties

Source: compiled by the author

All of these associations and institutions contribute to the wealth of German life in the capital and offer opportunities for Germans to meet and engage with compatriots on formal and informal levels, and for multilateral contacts to be established and exchange to be carried out. Number-wise these organisations merely present a fraction of the number of German clubs and *Vereine* in abundance in 19th and early 20th century German Britain 'of which hundreds must have existed during the course of the Victorian and Edwardian years'[225]. The old saying 'Ein Deutscher ein Bier, zwei Deutsche ein Verein' possibly rung true to British observers at that time. *Vereine* catering for physical (e.g. the famous *Turnvereine*) and artistic activities (e.g.

[225] Panayi, 1995, p. 183

Liedertafeln) existed alongside trade associations and unions, benevolent societies and political organisations[226]. They played the most important part in maintaining German ethnicity among the migrants and were complemented by the German Hospital in Dalston, an old people's home and an orphanage[227] thus representing a complete ethnic structure. However, the majority of these ethnic structures disappeared during the First World War with the decrease in Germans in the UK and were never re-established to such an extent.[228]

The German community in Richmond/Kingston sustains numerous connections to the present-day organisations and businesses, most of which are to be found in London. First of all, a number of employees of German institutions live in the area and a great number send their children to the German School.[229] The latter has tight links with the German Embassy and receives support from the German government. The German churches in Petersham are affiliated to the Synod of German-Speaking Lutheran, Reformed and United Congregations in Great Britain and forge firm links with the German YMCA. The German bakery, adjacent delicatessen and snack bar as well as the German restaurant located between Richmond town centre and Petersham meet annually with other German gastronomic ventures in the capital.[230] One of the German doctor's surgeries is affiliated to the Anglo-German Medical Society. In short, German institutions and businesses in Richmond and Kingston are well embedded within the wider framework of German institutions and businesses in London.

3. Educational institutions

α. The German School London

Educational establishments have always existed in German communities abroad, also in Britain. Presently the biggest and most important of these, the German School London (DSL) is located in Ham/Petersham and is often described as the centre of the

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[226] See, for example, Rosemary Ashton's *Little Germany*, 1986, about the associations formed by German political exiles in the 19th century.
[227] Panayi in Panayi, 1996, p. 86
[228] See Manz, 2003, and Panayi, 1995, for an in-depth discussion of ethnic structures in 19th century German communities.
[229] This emerged in many interviews but can unfortunately not be empirically proven.
[230] Interview conducted with the proprietor of the German restaurant in Richmond.

German community in Richmond/Kingston. In many ways it acts as a disseminator of German culture in the community and beyond. The school as well as the 'K.I.S.H' kindergarten will be the focus of the following paragraphs. In previous German communities in Britain and other countries alike, schools were first established by the churches.[231] St Mary's in London was the first church to open a school, in 1709, and was followed by St George's in 1765[232], St Paul's in the 1820s, the German churches in Islington and Forest Hill in 1862 and 1879 respectively and the German Mission Among the German Poor in London around the same time. The only German Catholic church in the capital, St Boniface, also opened a school in the 1840s. Outside the capital the German congregations in Manchester founded two schools; and others were established in Liverpool, Hull, Bradford, Edinburgh and Glasgow.[233] All provincial congregations established in the latter half of the 19th century founded a school with the exception of Brighton.[234] Only a few of these were day schools (e.g. St George's[235]), in the others classes were usually held on Saturdays which meant that children of German parents, if the latter could afford it, attended English schools. As expected, aside from instructing the pupils in the German language, the schools also set as their aim to raise the children in the Christian spirit. Hence religious subjects such as bible studies filled the timetables to some extent. At the same time as the church was regarded as an instrument for the upkeep of *Deutschtum* among the migrants and as a defence against host culture influences (see Chapter Three), so too the schools were used as keepers of German language and culture, and builders of national pride among the second generation of migrants.[236] It was at this time, towards the end of the 19th century, that German schools abroad, so called *Auslandsschulen*, were united in their own state institutions coordinating their administration and funding. The first of these was a School Fund in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs which later developed into the *Schulreferat*.[237] With Germany's imperialistic ambitions becoming ever stronger, these schools abroad were supported extensively. In 1914 900 such schools existed around the

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[231] The establishment of the first 'German' school dates back to the 14th century in the area of modern-day Estonia. Following the Reformation, schools remained affiliated to Protestant congregations until the first Catholic schools were founded in the 19th century. (Publication commemorating the 40th anniversary of the German central office for German schools abroad (*Zentralstelle für das deutsche Auslandsschulwesen*) 1968-2008, p. 26)

[232] Manz, 2003, p. 220

[233] Panayi, 1995, pp. 149-170

[234] Manz, 2003, p. 220

[235] Steinmetz in Panayi, p. 60

[236] See, for example, Manz, 2003, p. 219

[237] Ibid., p. 220

world.[238] With the First World War, however, the majority of schools were closed[239], and in Britain not one survived. After the Second World War, a renewed emphasis on working towards the re-establishment of *Auslandsschulen* led to the foundation of the so called 'Dienststelle für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten' which resulted in the existence of 300 German schools abroad by 1954.[240] This time the purpose of these schools was summarised as 'Kindern deutscher Herkunft und deutscher Muttersprache eine deutsche Schulausbildung mit – wenn möglich – deutschem Schulabschluss zu bieten.'[241] The current body concerned with schools abroad was founded in 1968, the Central Office for German Schools Abroad (*Zentralstelle für das deutsche Auslandsschulwesen*). In 1978 it was decided that aside from providing German children with a distinctly German education, forging relationships with the host culture and society should also constitute a priority of German schools outside the Federal Republic. These are the two maxims the schools have been working towards up until today. Currently 117 schools are under the custody of the Central Office. These include 'purely' German schools (*Deutsche Schulen*) as well as those with a bicultural focus.[242]

It was against this background that the German School London was founded in 1971. The impetus for its creation can be found in expatriate circles. At the beginning of the 1960s, with the increase in German multinational corporations establishing branches abroad and the subsequent increase in the sending of employees on international assignments, 'the top German companies began lobbying Bonn to set up a German school in Britain'.[243] The reason for this was that 'many of their executives were simply refusing to be posted to London for fear of disrupting their children's education'[244] while on temporary assignments. What followed was a five-year struggle to obtain the go-ahead and funding from the German government. The then German ambassador to Britain together with his cultural attaché did not consider such a school necessary. With the experiences of the two World Wars still in fairly fresh memory, the German

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[238] Ibid.
[239] 'Mit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs kam die deutsche Auslandsschularbeit erneut fast vollständig zum Erliegen.' (Publication commemorating the 40th anniversary of the German central office for German schools abroad (*Zentralstelle für das deutsche Auslandsschulwesen*) 1968-2008, p. 22)
[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid., p. 24
[242] Ibid., p. 25
[243] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 201
[244] Ibid.

government was wary about the establishment of any German institution abroad.[245] Another reason for the embassy's rejection of the idea was the 'Einstellung, die deutschen Kinder sollten ruhig auf englische Schulen gehen, um mehr vom englischen Geist und englischer Erziehung mitzubekommen.'[246] However, exactly this was not desired by German parents. First, sending their children to a British school while only staying in the country for a couple of years would have indeed disrupted their education. The German and British school systems are very different. Having to cope with a totally different learning environment and curriculum before going back to the old system would have put additional stress on the children as well as jeopardised their achievements. Second, British state schools do not seem to have been popular with German parents. A Guardian journalist conducted an interview in 1981 with the then headmaster of the German School and asked him whether the parents never considered an English school:

> '"Public schools yes," said Mr Schierschke. "Even though at home private education is almost unknown. But not your comprehensive schools. The English sell their State schools pretty badly. It's a pity because I know after seven years there are many excellent State schools but as far as German parents are concerned they are convinced that a public school opens the way to a career more smoothly."'[247]

It was only with a new ambassador and the threat of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) opening a school before the FRG that plans were consented to.[248] The German government provided funding for the purchase of suitable land and buildings. In 1969, after a four-year search by German embassy staff, Douglas House in Petersham was purchased for the price of £250,000.[249] The land and property are thus owned by the German government which supports the school financially as it does with all other *Auslandsschulen*. In the school year 2007/2008 support from the government constituted 39 per cent of the school's income. In 1970 the German School Association, the school board responsible for the day-to-day running of the school as well as financial and administrative matters, was founded before the school itself was finally

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[245] Ibid. and Hans Joachim Nimtz, 1981, brochure commemorating the 10th anniversary of the German School London, Friends of Douglas House, p. 8

[246] Ibid.

[247] Stewart, Malcolm, 'A school that asks questions and never takes no for an answer', 25 August 1981, The Guardian.

[248] In the end the GDR never opened a school, it was simply a rumour which provided a much needed impetus for plans to found the German School to go ahead.

[249] 'Welcome! That was borough's message to the Germans', Richmond and Twickenham Times, 24 September 1971.

opened in 1971. The German School Association is a registered charity which means that all profits generated are invested in the further development of the school. The association's members are primarily students' parents; in 2007 twenty-five per cent of all parents were members of the former.[250] A board of directors is elected annually. It works in different committees together with other members as well as the headmaster and his/her deputy to ensure that all aspects of the school organisation are cared for equally. In 1973 another body was established to support the school: the Friends of Douglas House. A registered charity as well, this group of parents of current and former students works towards raising money for the school through the organisation of social events. These include annual Christmas bazaars, Easter brunches, summer fetes, flea markets, *Frühschoppen*, *Oktoberfeste*, several coffee mornings and other events. Furthermore, annual Christmas cards are designed and sold together with merchandise articles. Funds raised through these channels contribute towards the financing of new acquisitions by the school (e.g. technical and sports equipment, teaching materials, furniture), school trips and several extra-curricular activities.[251] These efforts have not gone unrecognised. Four (former) members of the Friends of Douglas House have received the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*, the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, for their outstanding contributions towards the promotion of Anglo-German relations. Just like the German School Association, the Friends of Douglas House work on a voluntary basis.

Upon its foundation, the school only provided primary education and then gradually increased the number of years and classes until the first Abitur class left the school in 1981. Today the school makes it possible for pupils to obtain any school leaving qualification they would be able to receive in Germany. Apart from the Abitur, students can leave after 9th grade (normally 15 years of age, *Hauptschulabschluss*), 10th (normally 16 years of age, *Realschulabschluss*) or after 12th grade (18 or 19 years of age, *Abitur*). The curriculum used is that of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg in South Germany. Since its foundation the school has had six headmasters who were all directly recruited from Germany. Attendance figures were difficult to obtain for this study, nevertheless, the ones available are presented below:

[250] German School London, information brochure 2007/2008, p. 7
[251] Ibid., pp. 22-23

Table 11: *Numbers of pupils at the German School London*

School year	Number of pupils		Number of classes	Number of teachers
1971/72	98		5	5
1972/73	151		6	8
1973/74	193		7	11
1974/75	232		8	15
1975/76	278		10	19
1976/77	356		12	21
1977/78	408		14	24
1978/79	480		18	31
1979/80	518		20	35
1980/81	581		23	42
1981/82	630		24	45
	school only	pre-school/ kindergarten		Full-time teachers
2001/02	620	40		43
2002/03	575	30		42
2003/04	560	50		42
2004/05	560	45		41
2005/06	590	90		43
2006/07	600	100		42

Source: German School London: brochure commemorating the school's 10th anniversary and annual reports for 2005/06 and 2006/07
NB: Figures from 1971 to 1982 include one pre-school class as well. Teacher numbers from 2001 to 2007 do not include pre-school or kindergarten staff.

As can be observed from these figures, in the ten years following the opening of the school, student numbers were on a constant rise. This was due to the systematic increase in the number of classes. Starting with only five, the school administration increased the number of classes and teachers as the property in Ham was further enlarged and new school buildings erected to accommodate more pupils during the 1970s and 80s. As it was unfortunately not possible to acquire figures for the 20 years between 1981 and 2001, nothing can be said about the development of the school during that time. In the new millennium student numbers fluctuated lightly in the first five years until they began to rise once more between 2005 and 2007. There are two possible reasons for this. First, there might have been an upsurge in the number of Germans coming to London which, however, cannot be proven due to the unavailability of suitable statistics. Second, the bilingual kindergarten opened at the beginning of the school year

2005/2006 and thus added significantly to the total number of pupils. One purpose of the kindergarten was indeed to attract a greater number of children who would then hopefully go on to study at the primary school: 'The Management Committee also sees this [the opening of the kindergarten] as a significant step to secure pupil numbers for the School.'[252] However, the number of students attending the *Sekundarstufe II* (the last two years before the *Abitur*) seemed to have fallen in recent years which caused the school management to introduce several measures to attract more pupils. These included the recruitment of high-achieving students directly from Germany, a campaign for the wider recognition of the *Abitur* at British universities, the introduction of more foreign language options, the extension of the bilingual programme from kindergarten to primary school and plans to 'introduce tuition in German as a second language for native English speakers in order to attract more pupils from an English background.'[253] The number of teachers has remained almost constant since 2001. It has to be noted here that approximately one third of teachers are posted to the UK from Germany plus one from Austria and another from Switzerland. Their contracts are temporary meaning that they themselves are expatriates too. The rest of the teachers are recruited locally. All in all student and teacher figures are fairly stable indicating the lasting appeal for, above all German parents, to have their children educated there. Fluctuation is very strong among the German community due to the temporary nature of expatriates' stays. Although this affects the school, it does not impact on the overall number of students. During the school year 2006/2007, 134 pupils left the school to be replaced by 154 who joined.[254] The situation was similar the year before: 163 students left and 174 joined.[255] From this can be concluded that the same process takes place in the German community in Richmond as a whole. The amount of Germans in the area never seems to change significantly but individuals do.

The purpose and principles of German schools abroad have changed considerably since the 19th and early 20th century. As mentioned above, *Auslandsschulen* were used as bulwarks against host culture influences and to raise the children in the spirit of the national-imperialistic state. Today these schools act as linkages between cultures and as developers of good bilateral relationships. Moreover, although German language and

[252] German School Association Limited, Annual Report 2005/2006.
[253] Idem, Annual Report 2006/2007
[254] Ibid.
[255] Idem., Annual Report 2005/2006

culture dominate teaching, host culture and language are also taught to some extent. The preface to the DSL's profile summarises its role as follows:

> 'Die Schule vermittelt die deutsche Sprache, deutsche Bildungsinhalte und ein wirklichkeitsgerechtes Deutschlandbild in seinen vielfältigen Aspekten ebenso wie die Sprache und Kultur des Gastlandes. (...) Eine besondere Verpflichtung ist der Kulturauftrag, der uns als deutscher Auslandsschule obliegt. Ihm begegnen wir mit vielfältigen kultur-und gesellschaftspolitischen Aktivitäten, die verstärkt in das Gastland hineinwirken.'[256]

To forge connections with the host society and avoid the isolation of the school from its surroundings is repeatedly stated as one of the most important tasks of the school. Upon its opening in 1971 the then German ambassador von Haase declared that 'our school shall be more than an inward-looking institution serving only the needs of a small foreign minority in this country. We want our school to be a window displaying what Germany has to offer in modern schooling.'[257] In a brochure commemorating the 10th anniversary of the school, the German ambassador stated that joint activities with local schools would help the school 'über ihren festen Platz innerhalb der deutschen Gemeinschaft hinaus Brücken zu schlagen zu den britischen Bürgern und einen wichtigen Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwischen unseren beiden Ländern zu leisten.'[258] The mayor of Richmond borough at that time commented that 'many of our schools have already benefited from contacts with it [the DSL]' and that the borough welcomes 'the German School as an integral part of our community'[259]. Finally, the headmaster in 1981 warned that the school 'darf sich nicht als deutsche Insel in der Themse abkapseln sondern muß soweit wie möglich die menschliche und kulturelle Begegnung mit der Umwelt des Gastlandes suchen.'[260]

In how far has the school succeeded in creating good relationships with its surroundings? Looking at several school publications suggests a multitude of joint activities and social events with local schools as well as the host community. Apart from mutual visits, the German School has strong connections with other schools in the field of sports. Further, pupils engage with the local community by participating in

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[256] German School London, 2003, 'Schulprofil der deutschen Schule London', p. 1
[257] Ambassador von Haase, 1971, quoted in a brochure commemorating the 10th anniversary of the German School London, 1981, Friends of Douglas House, p. 6
[258] Ruhfus, Jürgen, in ibid., p. 4
[259] Lambeth, J.F., in ibid., p. 5
[260] Schierschke, Eberhard, in ibid., p. 10

environmental projects (e.g. planting trees along the river front close to the school), visiting nursing and retirement homes, setting up stalls at local fairs and offering their facilities to local schools and organisations. The latest project involved 11th and 12th grade German students teaching their mother tongue to primary school children at a neighbouring school once a week. The *German Link*, a German language newspaper in London, reports that this is a very successful partnership appreciated by both sides as an especially beneficial experience. The paper also interviewed the current headmistress of the German School who said that 'die deutsch-englische Beziehung ist sehr langfristig angebahnt in diesem Haus' adding that 'die Förderung der deutschen Sprache in unserem Gastland Großbritannien ist Teil unseres Kulturauftrags.'[261].

The DSL is undoubtedly the centre of the German community in Ham/Petersham. Interviewees have confirmed that the school acts as a focus for Germans in the area. Richmond is not the only German community where this is the case. Studies of other communities show that the school always takes on a prominent role. Dobler and von Groll write about Mexico City that 'die deutsche Schule galt und gilt als Mittelpunkt der deutschen Gemeinde in Mexico.'[262] The same is true for Ankara ('Die deutsche Schule ist nicht nur eine Bildungseinrichtung, sie spielt eine besondere Rolle in der deutschen Gemeinde.'[263]), Tokyo ('Die Deutsche Schule Tokyo Yokohama ist die zentrale Institution der deutschen Gemeinde...'[264]) and to some extent for Moscow ('Sie [the school] ist gut ausgestattet, bei den Entsandten beliebt und für sie ein wichtiges Motiv dafür, in den deutschen Wohnkomplex zu ziehen.') In short, in the few studies conducted on expatriate communities, the German School always takes on the role of a very if not the most important communal institution. The simple explanation for this is that these schools are most useful, so to speak, for temporary migrants. As we have seen before, one of their aims is to facilitate the re-integration of pupils into the German school system. Even if families do not return to the Federal Republic it is easier for the children to continue their education at another German School somewhere else. The DSL was founded specifically with expatriates in mind, to which several documents attest. Just before the opening of the German School, when Richmond Council had granted planning permission to the German government, the Richmond and

[261] Maguire, Helen, 2008, p. 4
[262] Dobler and von Groll in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 116
[263] Kartari in ibid., p. 135
[264] Moosmüller in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 113

Twickenham Times reported that the school would be a 'primary school for children of diplomats and other senior German officials in this country'[265]. At a cocktail party held at the opening of the school, the same local newspaper quoted German ambassador von Haase as saying: 'The last 20 years has seen an ever-increasing number of my fellow countrymen settling here as short-term residents. Their children find it difficult after three or five years to re-adapt to the German school system after returning home.'[266] In the aforementioned article in the Guardian in 1981, the headmaster once again re-iterated the fact that 'pupils at the German School average only two or three years here. Most are the sons and daughters of German businessmen and diplomats temporarily in London.'[267] Many more references can be found in the brochure commemorating the 10th anniversary of the school. The headmaster at that time, Mr Schierschke, stated that the task of the school was the 'schulische Versorgung deutscher Schüler, deren Eltern vorübergehend tätig sind.'[268] More recently, in the year book 2006/2007, the then ambassador of Germany, Wolfgang Ischinger, commented on the emergence of the German School as a 'location factor' implying that it attracts expatriates to the area:

> 'Bei der hohen Dichte der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien und der großen Anzahl deutscher Familien, die aus beruflichen Gründen hierher gezogen sind, verwundert es nicht, dass die Schule inzwischen selbst zu einem bedeutenden Standortfaktor geworden ist.'[269]

Looking at a summary of pupils' fathers' occupations in 1981 parallels can be drawn to the situation today:

> 'etwas über 78% der Schülerväter üben eine Tätigkeit im Bereich der Wirtschaft (Industrie, Handel, Verkehr) aus, rund 7% sind Beamte im öffentlichen Dienst, etwa 4% sind als Journalisten für deutsche Zeitungen und Rundfunk- bzw. Fernsehanstalten tätig, und der Rest entfällt auf Selbständige und Angehörige sonstiger Berufszweige.'[270]

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[265] Richmond and Twickenham Times, 1970, exact date unknown.
[266] Quoted in 'Welcome! That was borough's message to the Germans', Richmond and Twickenham Times, 24 September 1971.
[267] Quoted in Stewart, Malcolm, 'A school that asks questions and never takes no for an answer', 25 August 1981, The Guardian.
[268] Quoted in a brochure commemorating the 10th anniversary of the German School London, 1981, Friends of Douglas House, p. 10
[269] Quoted in the year book of the German School London 2006/2007, p. 1. See also Chapter One about the school as a 'location factor'.
[270] Quoted in a brochure commemorating the 10th anniversary of the German School London, 1981, Friends of Douglas House, p. 10

Noteworthy here is the fact that he only refers to 'Schülerväter'. This once again proves that women constitute a much smaller percentage of the expatriate working population than men. In the 1980s this was even more the case than now. What is also interesting to note is that he opens this summary with the sentence 'Auch die soziologische Zusammensetzung der Elternschaft entspricht dem bei den deutschsprachigen Auslandsschulen typischen Bild'[271], suggesting that the situation was similar in other German schools abroad. If we compare the above summary with the occupational pattern of the present-day Petersham community from Chapter One, it becomes clear that not much has changed in this respect. The majority of men still work in banking, finance and other industries.

It has already been mentioned that German Schools are very beneficial for expatriates. If we consider the questionnaire results for this study, this becomes clearer. First of all, when asked which community institutions participants knew of, 35 respondents put down the German School.[272] As pointed out in Chapter One, 35 of 86 children of the respondents attended the German School; this is forty per cent of the total. Considering that approximately half the participants could be classified as expatriates, this figure seems appropriate. If we now look at the children's schools in relation to the length of stay of their parents in the area the picture develops as follows: The families of 18 of the children planned to stay less than a further five years in the Richmond/Kingston area, two intended to remain another 5 to 10 years and the rest (15) either did not know yet when they would leave or planned to stay for the long-term and some forever. This shows that approximately half of the families sending their children to the German School only stayed in the area temporarily. In most cases they will be expatriate families. Looking at the choice of school for the children in relation to the nationalities of the respondents' partners, the German School as the preferred choice of 'purely' German families becomes obvious. Of the 59 children of whom mother and father were German, 29 attended the German School (approx. 50 per cent) as compared to 5 children out of 16 whose parents were mixed, German and British (or who had a dual citizenship British and another), and one out of five children with one German parent and one of another nationality. These results show that predominantly German-German couples send their children to the German School. This is further confirmed by considering official statistics. According to the school's annual report for 2006/2007

[271] Ibid.
[272] Multiple answers were possible.

there were 701 pupils attending the school and the kindergarten plus pre-school, representing 28 different nationalities.[273] However, looking at numbers, of the 602 children registered at the school only (without kindergarten and pre-school), 476 were in possession of German citizenship.[274] Hence only 126 pupils represented these 28 nationalities[275] and eighty per cent of pupils were German nationals. Considering that the aim of the school is to educate mainly German pupils staying in the UK temporarily, these figures are not surprising. However, as the questionnaire results have shown, not only expatriate but also permanently settled and mixed families register their children at the DSL. These families prefer their children to receive a German education in order to avoid losing the German element of their heritage and to possibly give them the opportunity to continue their further education in Germany if they so wish. Furthermore, language is a very important factor. Particularly in mixed families the German parent will be concerned that his/her children will not be able to speak the language fluently and thus communicate with the German side of the family. The German School offering high quality teaching[276] might make it the most appropriate schooling choice for parents who want their children to grow up with the German curriculum but with added bilingual and bicultural elements.

As was established in Chapter One, the German community in Ham/Petersham possesses a strong middle and upper middle class character. It is not unexpected then that the German School is characterised by the same. For one, it is a private school which requires the payment of school fees comparable to those of British independent schools. Currently one year at the school costs £4.680 per year plus additional costs for extra-curricular activities and school trips. The pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation in Ham stated in an interview that such trips, often overseas, and activities come at considerable cost hardly affordable to those in less well paid professions. As an antidote to this the Protestant congregation organises less luxurious annual trips for children and adolescents to nearby destinations with basic accommodation in hostels in which the pupils learn to carry out day-to-day tasks such as cooking and cleaning themselves. The pastor further said that this was a completely

[273] German School Association Limited, Annual Report 2006/2007, p. 9
[274] German central office for schools abroad (*Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen*), 2009, 'Auslandsschulverzeichnis'
[275] This will probably be less than 28 as some nationalities might be represented in the kindergarten but not the school. However, numbers were not available.
[276] See Ofsted Inspection Report for the German School London, 2008

new experience for the participants which not everyone enjoyed.[277] Tuition fees and additional expenses for extra-curricular activities are very likely to single out families with fairly high incomes and according living standards. Expatriates and other professionals find themselves in this category. As expatriate employers customarily take over the payment of tuition fees for their employees' children, it is even easier for those insisting on a German education for their children to send them to the German School. The term elite school is thus reasonably appropriate to describe the DSL as academic achievements as well as the provision of facilities are said to be excellent. Ofsted, the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills which is the government body regularly inspecting educational establishments in the UK, in its 2008 report, evaluated the curriculum, extra-curricular opportunities, pupils' progress in achieving high standards and their cultural development as 'outstanding'[278].

β. K.I.S.H Kindergarten

Apart from the kindergarten attached to the German School, another provides day care for children under five. K.I.S.H London is the abbreviation for 'Kids in the Scout House', named after its location in the Ham and Petersham Sea Scout House. This is situated right next to the German School on large grounds bordering on the River Thames. The kindergarten was opened in 1995 upon the private initiative of a German nursery nurse who had been living in the UK for a couple of years. One of the principles of the kindergarten is to get the children to closely engage with nature hence its additional name of 'Naturkindergarten'. Although German is the main language spoken with the children, staff are also concerned with developing the children's abilities in the English language and to that end an English nursery teacher is employed. The headmistress and founder of the establishment stated in an interview conducted for this study that, despite focusing on 'German customs, traditions and holidays'[279], the children are raised in a bilingual environment as they often use English during play time. Moreover, the majority of children come from mixed families and thus grow up with a bi- and sometimes multilingual background, an ability that is fostered in the

[277] The pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Ham in an interview.
[278] Ofsted Inspection Report for the German School London, 2008
[279] K.I.S.H London, no date, 'The way we work – our concept'

kindergarten.[280] Parents from mixed and 'purely' German families alike want their children to learn about German culture and become familiar with the language, a notion that is more pronounced in mixed families with bicultural backgrounds:

> 'Most of our children do have a link with Germany, either because they are German and are living in London with their parents for a couple of years or because one of their parents is German and therefore they should cultivate this language already in nursery school. Others are simply coming to learn another language.'[281]

As mentioned above, the majority of children originate from mixed families, followed by those whose parents are both German and a very small minority without German heritage. In the first five years after the opening of the nursery, 80 per cent of children came from expatriate families according to the headmistress. However, the ratio has been gradually reversed in the last eight years with the result that now only 20 per cent are expatriate children and 80 per cent come from 'local' families. In her experience, many former expatriates decided to stay in Britain which partly accounted for the shift in proportion since they became 'locals' with the loss of their expatriate contracts. Nonetheless, a decrease in the number of employees sent abroad has also contributed to the decline of the percentage of expatriate children in the kindergarten.[282] The establishment's aim 'to create a sound social environment for children' is also geared towards expatriate children 'who are subjected to frequent change of country and change of housing'[283], still recognising the substantial numbers of expatriates in London.

The headmistress had started out with seven children in 1995, which then rose to around 24 in the morning and 29 during afternoon shifts in the following three years. The total number of children has remained at this level over the last ten years and fulfils the institution's capacity which means that there is currently a waiting list for new admissions. This points towards the high demand that exists for services of this kind among the Germans in the area. Asked about her role in the German community, the headmistress stated that her kindergarten was definitely part of the latter but on a private basis she did not consider herself as such. The visitor figures of a recent fundraising

[280] Interview with the head mistress of K.I.S.H Kindergarten.
[281] K.I.S.H London, no date, 'Kids at the Scout House'
[282] Interview with the head mistress of K.I.S.H Kindergarten.
[283] K.I.S.H London, no date, 'The way we work – our concept'

event at the nursery might give some indication of the approximate size of the community: 300 to 400 people came along.[284]

4. Ethnic economy

Before discussing the ethnic economy that has emerged in Richmond, it is necessary to define the term. Ethnic economy has been used to describe a multitude of situations that involves ethnic minorities and their work places. It is commonly understood to mean 'an alternative avenue of economic attainment among immigrants through their ethnic resources and ties'.[285] This implies that immigrants who often have problems obtaining work through the regular channels in the host society (employment exchanges such as job centres in the UK and work agencies, for example) manage to secure jobs through other members of their ethnicity. Often these have previously established businesses in so called ethnic niches, hence the often used term ethnic niche economy. Examples are ethnic restaurants such as Indian and many others, for which entrepreneurs of the respective ethnicities hold monopolies, or Afro-Caribbean beauty salons, Chinese herbal medicine stores and countless other examples. The proprietors of these enterprises prefer to recruit members of their own nationality or ethnicity as members of staff, a process that can trigger chain migration. The latter may also take place when people back in the country of origin hear of the economic successes of their countrymen abroad, realise their potential as businessmen in the same profitable trade and thus migrate to try their luck. In the past this happened with Italians who were recruited by their compatriots in Britain to work in the catering industry[286], especially as ice cream vendors, bus also as organ-grinders and itinerant musicians.[287] Germans were very prominent in the catering industry as well, primarily as bakers, butchers, sugar boilers and waiters, but also in a variety of other professions such as barbering and glassblowing which triggered chain migrations on different scales.[288] The definition of ethnic economy as referring to niches in the national economy which were then monopolised by immigrants implies, and the above examples certainly confirm, that these businesses catered largely for the population of the host society. However, there

[284] Interview with the head mistress of K.I.S.H Kindergarten.
[285] Fong and Ooka, 2002, p. 125
[286] Colpi, 1991, p. 61
[287] See Colpi, 1991, and Sponza, 1988.
[288] See Panayi, 1995 and 1996, Manz, 2003, pp. 45-158 (in particular p. 151), and Manz et al., 2007.

are also those businesses that specialise in the immigrant population, the ethnic minority, itself. And this is where the German ethnic economy in Richmond and Kingston comes in. It perfectly fits Stefan Manz's definition of the term and its components: 'Typische Geschäfte wären Lebensmittelgeschäfte, Buchläden, Übersetzungsbüros oder Banken, die entweder Waren aus dem Herkunftsland oder spezifische Dienstleistungen für die Zuwanderergemeinschaft anbieten.'[289] Seeing that these kinds of businesses would have been typical of an ethnic economy in the 19th century, if we adapt them to the present, the services found in Richmond do indeed count as part of the latter: German books are available world-wide today thanks to the internet; bank accounts can be kept with banks in Germany and money withdrawn easily at cash points, or German residents can open accounts at British banks. Hence there is no need today for ethnic book shops or banks, and even translations can be ordered online. Instead, the presence of German doctors and relocation services attests to the needs of the modern-day German population in Britain in general and Richmond in particular. Although German nationals are recruited as members of staff, in the present German community this is done on a much smaller scale and has not triggered a great chain migration. Still, German-owned businesses in the area can be seen as part of a German ethnic economy in Britain. Depending on the sector, these companies cater for Germans only or Germans and the host society alike. To get an overview, German-owned businesses in the Ham/Petersham area have been identified during the research for this project as follows: One bakery and delicatessen, one mobile bakery selling from a van, one snack bar and restaurant, two GP surgeries, one dentist, one orthodontist, one optometrist, a psychotherapist, a hairdresser, two relocation services/estate agents, two plumbers, one electrician, an architectural practice, a chimney sweep and two gardeners (one is British). They will be dealt with in turn in the following paragraphs.

α. Catering and food businesses

Food takes on a special role in the migration experience. First and foremost, and most obviously, it is one of the primary markers of identity, together with religion and language. Jules Zanger summarises this correlation: 'For the immigrant, surrounded by alien sights and voices, familiar food and drink were one reassuring dimension of his new life, offering continuity and identity in an otherwise bewildering world.'[290] Ethnic

[289] Manz, 2003, p. 43
[290] Zanger, 1996, p. 61

food shops and restaurants, then, fulfil a similar role to other ethnic institutions and organisations, providing migrants with a part of *Heimat* in a foreign land. Yet food and migration are connected in other ways, too. Anne J. Kershen points out that food was often a reason for emigration, such as the Irish potato famine in the 19th century.[291] Today food scarcity, coupled with conflict, often causes people to leave their homes especially in Africa. On the other hand, as mentioned above, food has also acted as a reason for migrants to establish their own businesses in order to a) cater for the culinary needs of their compatriots by providing ethnic food, b) provide the host society population with 'exotic' ethnic foods and c) supply the local population with foods neither found in the migrants' nor the host population's diet (such as the Italian ice cream makers).[292] Thus over time, foods brought into a country by immigrants had the potential to change the host country's diet. Panikos Panayi has recently published a whole volume on the influence of 'foreign' food on the British diet, a book aptly named 'Spicing up Britain'. In Britain the spread of the 'Indian'[293] curry house embodies this change in national eating habits through the adoption of the food previously only eaten by an ethnic minority. It has to be noted here, however, that ethnic foods have been adapted to accommodate the taste buds of the host population.[294] 'Indian' curries as they are offered in Britain are 'spiced-down' versions of the food eaten in South East Asia and in migrant families in the UK.[295] In Germany, *döner* sold by those of Turkish origin was actually invented in Germany and is only partially similar to the dish eaten in Turkey itself. These two examples also show how previously 'foreign' meals have turned into convenience foods. Another prime example of this development is pizza, introduced by Italian immigrants to the United States, now being part of many people's diet in the Western world. As food sets people apart, 'you are what you eat' applies to all of us, in the migrant experience it can also be used as markers of 'otherness' in a different way and may well trigger xenophobic responses towards migrant populations.[296] During the peak of the guestworker movement in Germany, 'Spaghettifresser' became a derogatory term for Italian immigrants who were often met

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[291] Kershen, 2002, p. 1
[292] See Kershen, 2002, and Panayi, 2008.
[293] More often than not owned by people from Pakistan and Bangladesh.
[294] '...the products served to members of the ethnic majority always represent an imitation of the food consumed by the migrants themselves' Panikos Panayi states. (Panayi in Manz et al., 2007, p. 148)
[295] Jules Zanger describes this process as follows: 'At the same time, assimilated ethnic foods became blander, less authentic, in order to appeal to the general market.'
[296] Kershen, 2002, pp. 6-8

with hostility and Germans are still habitually referred to as 'Krauts', stemming from their alleged habit of eating mostly cabbage.

German food in Britain, particularly in London, dates back to the 19th century when Germans arrived on a large scale. Acknowledging that food did not play as big a part in the identification process of German immigrants as it did for Jews (due to the religious connection)[297] Panayi demonstrates the existence of a German food community up until the outbreak of the First World War.[298] Ethnic food shops and restaurants predominantly emerged in areas where the majority of Germans settled: the East and the West End of London. Charlotte Street, 'the main thoroughfare of the German community of the West End'[299], was the place where food shops and restaurants could be found among other businesses. The same was true for Leman Street in East London. Bread and pastries seem to have been the main goods sold, later followed by delicatessens. A great variety of food stuffs was offered to a primarily German but also British clientele: sausages and other smoked meats, pickles, gherkins, mustards, *sauerkraut*, fresh meats and fish to name but a few. It can be rightly concluded that 'by the second half of the nineteenth century Germans in Britain had a range of products available to them recognizable from their places of origin.'[300] Restaurants were opened offering German food and increasingly attracted non-German customers. Many German and non-German restaurants were staffed by German waiters with waiting having been the single biggest profession among Germans in Britain in the 19th century. According to the 1911 census 10 per cent of all waiters in London were German[301] with their total in England and Wales amounting to 4000.[302] With the onset of the First World War and accompanying anti-German sentiments, food establishments were closed down together with all other German institutions in Britain.

Panayi, referring to German food in Britain today, argues that 'a concentrated [German] population has simply not emerged to allow the development of German food shops'[303] and Lothar Kettenacker explains this with the increasing availability of German foods in

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[297] Panayi in Manz et al., 2007, p. 152 and Panayi, 2008, p. 58
[298] See several passages in *Spicing up Britain*, 2008, as well as in Manz et al., pp. 147-159
[299] Panayi in Manz et al., 2007, p. 150
[300] Panayi, 2008, p. 58
[301] Manz, 2003, p. 122 and Panayi in Manz et al, 2007, p. 155
[302] Manz, 2003, p. 122
[303] Panayi, 2008, p. 128

mainstream British supermarkets.[304] However, as well as neglecting the German community in Richmond altogether, Panayi also overlooks the existence of two German bakeries there, one delicatessen and one restaurant. In addition, London is becoming home to an increasing number of German food establishments. The *German Link* recently ran an article entitled 'Müsli, Currywurst und deutsches Bier – neue deutsche Lokale in London'[305] which introduced three new German cafés/snack bars in the capital adding to two handfuls of German food shops and snack bars already resident in London.[306] Although they do not exclusively cater for Germans, the latter form a considerable proportion of their clients. The same is true for the shops in Richmond although there, of course, the German community increases the percentage of German customers. The first bakery, called Backhaus, was opened there in 1996 together with a delicatessen. A member of staff who agreed to be interviewed stated that around 70 to 80 per cent of customers were German and the shop was opened there in the first place because of the many Germans in the area. The shop floors are at their busiest in the mornings and afternoons when mainly German mothers drop in on the way to the German School.[307] The bakery prides itself on the fact that 'most of [their] raw materials and ingredients come directly from Germany: [they] import them in order to offer you [the customer] the most authentic German goods.'[308] That the bakery is the most frequented German institution after the school becomes evident when considering the questionnaire results: 28 respondents put down the bakery when asked which institutions or businesses in the area they knew. This popularity can be explained by the Germans' longing for German bread. It is one of the things that they miss most about their home country. Lothar Kettenacker remarked that 'the variety of freshly baked bread is still sadly missed among the German community'[309] and skimming through the deutsche-in-london.net online forum, bread and how to obtain it in Britain is a recurring subject: simply putting 'Brot' into the website's search engine returned 29 pages of results. It is not surprising then that bakers and confectioners constituted quite a substantial part of German immigrant trades in the 19th century. In 1887 the Board of

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[304] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p.207

[305] Link, Christiane, *The German Link*, June 2008

[306] A count for this study concluded that, at the beginning of 2009, there were more than ten German food establishments (shops, restaurants, snack bars/cafés) in the capital, including those in Richmond.

[307] Interview with Mr D., a member of staff at the German bakery and delicatessen in Ham.

[308] German bakery 'Backhaus' in Ham, no date, 'About us'

[309] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 208. Ulrich Kockel comments further: 'Neben Wurstwaren und regionalen Spezialitäten wie Kloßpulver oder Pflaumenmus fehlt den Deutschen auf den Britischen Inseln vor allem eines: Brot.' (Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 251)

Trade estimated that 2000 of London's master bakers were German.[310] Having enjoyed its monopoly as the only German baker in Richmond for so many years, the Backhaus has received competition from another baker offering his wares from a van in front of the German School. A small feud is already taking place between these two rival bakers.[311] According to an interview conducted with the proprietor of the German restaurant nearby, a third baker will open its premises in Ham this year (2009).[312] These developments indicate that more entrepreneurs are realising the potential of the Petersham Germans as consumers of German foodstuffs with the subsequent attempts to open shops there. For every ethnic minority food shops are not only simple purveyors of the food one is used to from one's home country, they also act as meeting places. One of the interviewees, Mrs C., said she is always happy when she goes shopping to meet people she knows.[313] When the German community in London was at its height in the 19th century and, as we have seen, catered for all the needs of its members, ethnic shops were of an even higher importance for the fostering of ethnic coherence:

> 'Ethnic food stores functioned like ethnic churches - like community centers, especially for women. The neighborhood butcher and baker who knew your name, who knew what you preferred, and who, if necessary, could let you pay later when things got better were important personalities in the community. Their stores became places where neighbors would meet, sharing information, gossip, recipes, advice. Because the women shopped every day, they had to live within walking distance of their suppliers; language and community were reinforced by repeated exposure.'[314]

This quote by Jules Zanger reinforces the significance of ethnic food shops as markers of identity as important as ethnic churches. If we take up the point again that due to Germans in London not living concentrated in one area anymore the development of food shops was impeded, we only need to look to Richmond to find that this is not entirely true. Lothar Kettenacker is right in stating that 'what used to be available in special delicatessens or at the German Food Centre in Knightsbridge can now be bought in most supermarkets, for example certain brands of German bread and beer.'[315] The

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[310] Panayi in Manz et al., 2007, p. 157

[311] A leaflet distributed by the Backhaus hints at this and subtly discourages customers from buying products from the 'new' bakers. Leaflet provided kindly by an interviewee.

[312] Interview with the proprietor of Stein's, Mrs W., the German restaurant between Richmond town centre and Petersham.

[313] Interview with Mrs C., a German resident of Ham.

[314] Zanger, 1996, p. 61

[315] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 207

spread of German discount supermarkets *Lidl* and *Aldi*[316] which stock a great number of German products, has certainly meant that these goods are now available at more competitive prices as they were previously at specialist German shops and mainstream British supermarkets. This, however, has not meant a loss of profit for the two handfuls of German shops in London. On the contrary, they are very popular when it comes to the provision of fresh meats and groceries, and of course freshly-baked goods, something that neither *Lidl* nor *Aldi* can provide. Moreover, if frequented regularly by Germans from the area[317], does the *Lidl* store in Kingston not become a kind of ethnic shop itself, unwittingly and to a limited extent?

Albeit only named by two respondents as a German institution they were aware of in the area, Stein's, 'the Bavarian Beergarden in Richmond', has become a kind of meeting place for many Germans in the area. 'Where else can you sit down to enjoy the unique atmosphere of a beergarden on the Continent without leaving West London? Here at Stein's, we invite you to sit down, relax and enjoy authentic Munich beer and great German food'[318] is the slogan with which the restaurant attempts to attract customers, purposely using its German character to do so. The establishment is located between Richmond town centre and Petersham, right by the River Thames. This prime location makes it attractive to all kinds of visitors to the area as well as the local population. However, although frequented by Brits and Germans alike, the restaurant's regular customers are German, according to the proprietor.[319] The establishment was not opened only with the German community in mind but because the owners, who had been living in the UK for over ten years, thought the area was lacking an affordable family restaurant. That the German community played its role, too, becomes evident by reading this statement on the restaurant's website: 'Also, the fact that no one in the area would cater for the German community around gave the idea further promotion.'[320] Since its opening in 2004 it has become very popular indeed with the latter, with it only being a short walk away from the centre in Ham/Petersham and offering traditional

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[316] Ulrich Kockel comments on that: 'Seit einigen Jahren tragen auch Lidl und Aldi dazu bei, die Fleischsalat und Leberwurstentzugssymptome zu mildern' and further '...obgleich nach wie vor zwei Deutsche, die sich zum ersten Mal in England (oder Irland) begegnen, nach etwa zehn Minuten Gespräch beim Thema Brot landen' (Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, pp. 251 and 253), hinting at the fact that the Germans' close relationship with their food is sometimes looked upon with mild amusement.

[317] Mrs B., Mrs C. and the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham confirmed that *Lidl* in Kingston does indeed attract a great number of Germans from the community.

[318] Stein's Bavarian Beergarden at > http://www.stein-s.com/< [accessed 1 March 2009]

[319] Ibid.

[320] Ibid.

German dishes. The owner further stated that whereas their clientele was very mixed on weekends, during the week it was dominated by Germans. This could be taken as an indication that the Germans prefer to visit more casually, for after-work drinks for example, whereas the British make their visit part of, say, a day trip. The owner said in the interview that it is often German newcomers to the area who come to Stein's in order to meet new people. The presence of Germans around the restaurants has also been remarked upon by a reviewer in London's *Evening Standard* newspaper: 'Perhaps because of the proximity to the London German School in Petersham, a large proportion of the customers at Steins can be heard talking in German, and they seem to give the grub the thumbs-up.'[321] Pupils from the German school regularly take on summer jobs at the restaurant.[322] Ethnic restaurants, as ethnic food shops, also used to take on the role of social meeting place as 'they became restaurants for family dinners of occasion - for anniversaries, or birthdays, or marriages'[323]. Although Zanger here refers to immigrants in the US, the same was true for German and other European restaurants in Britain. He further argues that later, as the identity of the migrants changed at least partly to an American one, these restaurants turned into mainstream establishments, just as the curry house did in 1970s Britain. Concerning German restaurants, this development was interrupted by the World Wars and thus never happened to any great extent. However, looking at Stein's and other German restaurants and snack bars in the capital, it becomes clear that they also largely cater for non-Germans. Stein's in particular can be described as a hybrid, on one hand providing 'exotic' German food to curious locals while at the same time providing a social meeting place for the German community.

From the above discussion of the various food establishments in Richmond it can be concluded that food remains greatly important not only to the German community in Ham but also to Germans in London and possibly the rest of the country. Wherever Germans meet socially, the food will always reflect their origin. This becomes not least visible at special occasions during the year, such as Christmas and Easter, when German institutions from the YMCA and the churches to the school organise events such as bazaars, *Weihnachtsfeiern* and egg hunts, but also in regular groups such as the churches' and school's coffee mornings and discussion rounds. Reminiscences about and advertisements for such events always include the availability of German food.

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[321] Champion, Charles, 2005
[322] Interview with Mrs C., a German resident of Ham.
[323] Zanger, 1996, p. 62

Walter Bindemann writes in the chronicle of the German Protestant congregation Edinburgh: 'Die Weihnachtsbasare waren von Anfang an gut besucht...und natürlich waren schon damals die deutschen Kuchen ('home-baked') die Attraktion.'[324] At the German YMCA's Christmas bazaar, Frankfurter sausages, potato salad and other typically German foods have become a culinary tradition received happily by visitors. The parish district London-West called for the Oxford congregation to bring along 'Plätzchen, Stollen oder ähnliches'[325] to their meeting on the first of Advent while a British member of the congregation stated that 'the coffee and cake after the service is a true mark of the congregation's hospitality.'[326]

β. Other businesses

Among other German businesses, for want of a better word, in Richmond and Kingston, doctor's surgeries are the most numerous. Two GP practices, a dentist, an orthodontist, optometrist and psychotherapist look after the community's health. They advertise in publications read primarily by the German community in Richmond, for example school publications, on notice boards in the bakery and churches and on websites dedicated to Germans in London such as deutsche-in-london.net. One of the doctors is even hired by the German school to carry out all the necessary examinations of the pupils which is a requirement at schools in Germany. Health care being such an 'ethnic' business among the German community has several reasons. First, speaking about health worries and personal problems is often easier in one's mother tongue, particularly so in a community with many temporary migrants whose English might not be advanced enough.[327] Second, as private health care is provided by employers of expatriates, the latter can afford to use the services of an often expensive German consultant. In any case private health care is taken up by the majority of expatriates, as Mrs B. as well as the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation have confirmed. It is thus convenient to have two such practises staffed by German doctors in close proximity. Finally and most importantly, trust in the British National Health Service (NHS) is low on the part of European migrants in Britain. Adrian Favell writes

[324] Bindemann in the chronicle of the German-speaking congregation Edinburgh, 1997, p. 78
[325] Parish newsletter for the district London-West, December 2007-January 2008, p. 10
[326] Claire Ashley in ibid., p. 23
[327] 'In the end, the problem is one about the high level of trust you need in order to have faith in a foreign system where you don't speak the language. Talking to a doctor or a dentist about how you feel is in fact one of the most difficult things you might ever need to express.' (Favell, 2008, p. 154)

in detail about why his interviewees, young professionals, prefer to travel back to their countries of origin for medical check-ups and treatments.[328] Other European welfare systems provide much better health care for their citizens and as long as one is registered there, migrants find it much safer to use this care. This is also a reason why those who find it too inconvenient to travel back and forth prefer to take out private health insurance in Britain if they can afford it. It takes us back to expatriates and other professionals in Richmond. German doctors and other health experts have recognised this potential to attract German patients in the area. The psychotherapist interviewed for this study stated that she did not choose to join a practice in Richmond because of the many Germans there but that she now concentrates almost exclusively on German patients as she realised the existence of the community.[329]

A very similar situation exists among the German tradesmen in the area. The unfortunate situation for traders such as plumbers, electricians, metal roofers, carpenters, etc. on the German labour market in the last ten years has driven many to seek their fortunes abroad. The German community presented a good opportunity for some to offer their trades. They, too, advertise in the local bakery and school and thus attract their clients. British tradesmen do not have a very good reputation among the Germans who are used to other standards and, if the opportunity arises, prefer to have German craftsmen carry out work on their properties. Furthermore, with the Germans' reputation for being hard working, efficient, well-organised and thorough, British locals also appreciate their services. An electrician with an electrical and plumbing firm in Kingston interviewed for this study said he has as many German as British customers who get to know about his business through word of mouth from their German friends.[330]

A predominantly German architects' practice in Richmond also attracts non-German clients through its good reputation. Not only have German tradesmen found a market among the German community in Richmond, one particular English person is offering his services to them as well. He calls himself 'begleitender Gärtner für die Deutsche Gemeinschaft in Kingston und Ham'[331] and currently 20 to 25 per cent of his clients are

[328] Favell, 2008, pp. 154-155
[329] Interview with Mrs O., German psychotherapist in Richmond.
[330] Mr P., electrician living in Kingston.
[331] Quoted from the advertising leaflet kindly provided by the gardener himself.

German. A chance meeting led to his discovery of the German community and word-of-mouth helped him to expand his German client base. Subsequently he began to advertise in German: 'Once I discovered them [the Germans], my 1st move was to get a German friend to translate the flyer, and my annual Weinachtskarte, and this really helped.'[332]

The existence of two relocation services/estate agents in the Richmond area somewhat give away the expatriate character of the community. One is a branch of a German company offering world-wide relocation services and is run by a Singaporean lady who has grown up in Germany. Her husband is a former German expatriate; they have been living in Ham for eight years and see themselves as 'locals'. Her clients are predominantly German and are either corporations looking for a relocation service for their employees or employees trying to organise their own moves. Mrs C. herself stated that, although the majority of her clients are looking to relocate close to the German School, she also looks after many expatriates who want to move into different parts of London. That is why, after initially planning to focus on the area around the school, she is now flexible in terms of location.[333] The second relocation firm, too, concentrates on expatriates focused on settling in Richmond but also organises moves to other areas in- and outside London.[334]

With the help of this overview over German service providers in the area a further dimension has been added to the ethnic structures in the German community in Richmond and Kingston. An almost complete ethnic infrastructure exists within the latter, catering for the needs of its members. In Chapter Three a discussion of the German religious congregations will further add to the picture of local communal ties. The importance of the latter for the existence of ethnic coherence has been demonstrated throughout the second part of this chapter. However, local links do not define identity alone. Transnational ties are as important, even more so in a hyper mobile community. This aspect as well as the formation of identity in the different groups that form the Richmond community will be discussed in the last part of this chapter.

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[332] Mr B., the gardener, in an email to the author.
[333] Interview with Mrs C., director of a relocation service and resident of Ham.
[334] Tinbergen Relocation Services, 2009, >http://www.tinbergen.co.uk/< [accessed 2nd March 2009]

5. Local versus global (ethnic) identity

Ethnicity, a term often used in this study, can be defined as 'die Gesamtheit de[s] auf gemeinsamer Abstammung, Geschichte und Kultur basierenden kollektiven Identifikationsprozesses'. [335] 'Ethnic' is thus used in relation to a distinct community characterised by a shared culture, the latter understood to mean 'the perceived traditions of the country of origin'[336] (which does include heritage and history). There are many definitions of identity; one of the most inclusive ones is that by Russell Kazal: 'an individual's sense of self, a construct to some extent both volitional and ascribed'.[337] Subsequently one's 'ethnic identity' denotes the individual's identification with a group of people with a perceived common culture. The formation of ethnicity and identity is a highly individual process influenced by many factors. Talking about the Germans in Glasgow Stefan Manz points out the following:

> 'Individuelle Dispositionen oder Lebensphasen, die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Einwanderergeneration, die Interaktion mit und Perzeption durch die Empfängergesellschaft, und nicht zuletzt politische Konstellationen waren die für die Glasgower Deutschen nachzuweisenden Variablen eigener Ethnizität.'[338]

This quote demonstrates that the development of an ethnic identity in the migrant context is more complex than in the country of origin. There the closeness of family and friends and the embeddedness in a distinct culture from birth onwards dictate a person's ethnic identity. Upon migrating to a different country, identities need to be reformed in a more complex way. The creation of ethnic networks inside ethnic communities contributes to the formation of a new identity, that of a 'diaspora identity'[339], in which a piece of home is recreated in a foreign environment.[340] As many migrant groups tended to settle in close proximity to each other according to their social status, ethnic neighbourhoods developed. In the German case, 'Little Germanies' were the places where 'Germanness' ('the cultural markers of ethnic German identity practised by a

[335] Hoffmann in Manz, 2003, p. 164
[336] Ibid., p. 89
[337] Kazal, 2004, p. 3
[338] Manz, 2003, p. 165
[339] See Moosmüller in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 17
[340] Manz, 2003, p. 161

community'[341]) was most visible. The recreation of *Heimat* thus played a big part in the migrants' new life abroad. *Heimat* is a concept of home for which no universal definition exists but which every person perceives as something different depending on his/her experiences. Avtar Brah has argued that *Heimat* is not attached necessarily to a certain place[342] but that it is a feeling; an emotion that an individual knows means *Heimat*.[343] A migrant's search for this feeling begins as soon as he/she arrives in the new destination and is satisfied with 'den im Residenzland und Diaspora-Gemeinde gegebenen Möglichkeiten und Ressourcen'.[344] Ethnic institutions and businesses provide such possibilities and resources; they forge ethnic solidarity[345] which in turn contributes to the individual's well-being due to the increase of a feeling of *Heimat*. Over time these feelings might to some extent become attached to the host culture and then accompany the integration process into the latter. Integration, however, does not mean the complete change of one's ethnicity from that of the country of origin to that of the host society but can be shared by both. Identity as well is not fixed, it can move between different spheres of a person's life as demonstrated by Stanley Nadel in his portrait of German New York:

> 'Depending on the individual (or the situational context), the German-American resident of mid-nineteenth-century New York might have viewed him- or herself as a German or an American (nation), a Bavarian or a Mecklenburger (German region), a Berliner or a Frankfurter (German locality), a German-American (new ethnic group), a New Yorker (American locality), a Kleindeutschlander (neighbourhood), or some combination of these.'[346]

Added to this can be affiliations to occupational groups, religions, social classes, leisure and consumer activities, gender, etc. German ethnic identity as a whole is still coloured largely by the experiences of the two World Wars. Generally, the experience of post-1945 German migrants is that of keeping a low profile concerning one's nationality so as not to attract negative attention. The urge that immediate post-war migrants, such as war brides and women workers, had to 'make a conscious effort to hide their nationality and develop particular mechanisms and strategies, part of which was avoiding the use of

[341] O'Donnell at al., 2005, p. 4
[342] Although it can be [TZ].
[343] Brah in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 16
[344] Moosmüller in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 17
[345] Panayi, 1995, p. 145
[346] Nadel, 1990, p. 3

German in public'[347] and the resulting perception that 'German is a kind of dirty word. To be German is awful'[348] might have lessened to some extent. However, the notion of being ashamed of one's origin still prevails. Lothar Kettenacker talks about the 'What They Might Think' factor that makes Germans abroad very self-conscious about their image and the confusion between a healthy sense of national identity and exaggerated national pride in the shape of nationalism.[349] It is not surprising that this notion of hiding one's nationality is particularly pronounced among the Germans in Britain with public opinion still often anti-German, aggravated by a hostile tabloid press.[350] On the one hand it is a symptom among many Germans, no matter where in the world they live, to avoid encounters with their compatriots as if there was some kind of embarrassment in that. Characteristics of the German mentality might become more apparent outside Germany causing as dissociation from fellow countrymen. On the other hand, however, the existence and popularity of ethnic institutions, businesses and services are evidence for the continuing search for contact with compatriots.

Besides the 'local' identity that a person forms in his/her immediate surroundings with the help of ethnic and host culture networks, transnational ties also impact on an individual's perception of him- or herself. The concept of transnationalism in connection with migration and identity has been widely discussed by Steven Vertovec and Thomas Faist.[351] A simple definition of transnationalism is 'the attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, traditions and causes outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved'.[352] Thus all connections which migrants uphold across borders can be regarded as transnational ties. In this sense transnationalism is nothing new but has been a feature of the majority of past migration movements. It could range from simply writing letters to one's family to maintaining complex trade relations to organising coups and revolts in one's home country from abroad. The 11th century European workers who came to Britain to work very likely maintained some kind of connection with their families at home, so did the Italian ice cream vendors in the late 19th century who actively recruited their personnel in Italy.

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[347] Steinert and Weber-Newth, 2003, p. 214
[348] Ibid., p. 216
[349] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 194
[350] For more details see Wittlinger, 2004.
[351] See for example Cohen and Vertovec, 1999, *Migration, diasporas and transnationalism*, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham and Faist, 2004, *Transnational social spaces: agents, networks and institutions*, Ashgate: Aldershot
[352] Vertovec, 2001, p. 574

German political refugees from the 1848 failed revolution continued their political activities in exile in Britain, thus influencing events in the soon-to-be German nation state.[353] German industrialists and entrepreneurs in Britain at the same time kept links with German trading partners, as the Hansa merchants had done in the 16th century. Twentieth-century examples include the sending of remittances by foreign nationals in one country to their kin in the place of origin (e.g. South East Asians in the Middle Eastern personal service industry) as well as the ongoing recruitment to the ethnic economy in the new destination from the homeland (e.g. among Chinese restaurant owners anywhere). One of the most prominent examples of the extensive ties across national borders is the Jewish diaspora whose members maintain such links and connections to co-religionists around the world. Transnational activities of any sort have 'considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more!) localities'.[354] Emerging from increased transnational movements are so called 'transnational communities'.[355] Recent developments in transport and communication technologies have increased cross-border activities as they have helped to increase migration movements. As mentioned before, it has become easier and faster to travel between places, send capital across borders and communicate across large distances. Furthermore, political developments have facilitated the movement of goods and services as well as people and capital, at least in Europe. Thomas Faist points out here that globalisation and transnationalism should not be confused: whereas globalisation spans the world above nation states, transnationalism always involves two or more of the latter.[356] It can be said, though, that globalisation has increased transnationalism.

The German community in Richmond can be described as being primarily transnational in character, although, of course, individuals might exclude themselves from this. Transnational activity here is apparent on an institutional, social and professional level. All German institutions in the area and in London are in constant contact and exchange with those in Germany.[357] The German School, for example, is, firstly, embedded into the system of *Auslandsschulwesen*. As such it is under the supervision of the German

[353] See Rosemary Ashton, 1986, *Little Germany*
[354] Vertovec, 2001, p. 575
[355] Ibid., p. 574
[356] Faist, 1999, p. 5
[357] See, for example, all the trade and professional Anglo-German associations mentioned earlier in this chapter. The Goethe Institute, while catering for German and those interested in Germany, also works in a wider network of Goethe Institutes around the world.

government. It has to keep to rules and guidelines set by the Central Office for German Schools Abroad. The fact that teaching is carried out according to the curriculum of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg and that an examiner is sent from Germany every year to supervise the *Abitur* examinations further shows the embeddedness of the school in the German school system. As we have seen above, around one third of teachers are seconded from Germany and as such are expatriates themselves.[358] Further, the school maintains strong ties with the embassy in London. The facts that almost all embassy staff send their children to the school and that the latter was established also with the children of diplomatic expatriates in mind contributes to these tight connections. Moreover, the ambassador himself customarily writes the preface to the school year books and the *Abitur* class is annually received in his residence. The school also receives regular funding from the German federal government. As well as the school, so do the churches sustain relationships with the Protestant (*Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*) and the Catholic Church in Germany. They also maintain contacts to other German *Auslandsgemeinden* around the world from which they receive regular visitors. The recruitment process for pastors themselves is carried out in Germany through the aforementioned church-governing bodies. Ethnic businesses maintain regular transnational ties with Germany. Those in the food industry import their products from Germany, so do the tradesmen who undertake regular trips to Germany to buy materials. In both cases their businesses survive because they provide their clients with German products. The two relocation services also rely on transnational links for their success. German or multinational employers, in the UK and Germany, use their services and so do German employees. Contacts with German removal firms need to be maintained.

On a personal level, the Richmond Germans uphold a multitude of ties across borders with other Germans and nationals of other countries. In the questionnaire distributed for this project, 32 respondents said they had contacts to other Germans outside the local community and outside the UK and only nine said they did not.[359] Of those who stated who these contacts were with, the majority said family and friends in Germany. When asked where the greater part of their social contacts were located, 21 participants indicated that these were outside the community or the UK. Only nine said the majority

[358] In the school year 2006/2007 fifteen of the 42 full time teachers were recruited from Germany. (German School Association, Annual Report 2006/2007)

[359] The remaining nine respondents did not state whether they had such connections due to a flaw in the questionnaire.

of their acquaintances were located within their immediate neighbourhood and a further eleven had their social contacts distributed equally in both circles.[360] These results demonstrate that the majority of Richmond Germans do engage in transnational activities. Contacts with friends and relatives in Germany but also elsewhere in the world cause these cross-border affiliations. The fluctuating character of the community also means that friends are frequently moving away. However, as many interviewees have confirmed, this does not necessarily mean that friendships are lost. Instead they are kept alive across borders. Communication tools such as internet networking sites (*Facebook*, etc.) have also facilitated staying connected with those who live further away. Particularly pupils of the German School use such means to keep up contact with their old schoolmates.[361]

The very nature of an expatriate assignment is based on transnational exchange. German and multinational employers based in Germany stay in constant contact with their branches in the UK and elsewhere. An international assignment itself is a product of these transnational linkages. Hence the expatriate will never be disengaged from his sending company but will always by in contact with it, be it through writing regular reports or working with other German colleagues. Expatriates in particular are thus entertaining transnational links in their workplace. As can be concluded from the above description of cross-border ties within the German community in Richmond, the latter does indeed have a strong transnational character.

The fact that the German community in Richmond/Kingston is described as the only 'Little Germany' left in Britain goes some way towards showing that a community spirit must exist there despite all transnational contacts. During research for this project it was sometimes called a German 'enclave'[362] or 'ghetto' hinting at its separateness from its surroundings. This situation is comparable to the self-perceptions of Germans

[360] The remaining nine respondents did not state whether they had such connections due to a flaw in the questionnaire

[361] As stated by Mrs B., a resident of Ham.

[362] 'Die deutschsprachige Einwohnerschaft im lokalen Umkreis der Deutschen Schule ist sich der Enklavenstellung und dem Risiko der Übersättigung mit deutschem Angebot bewußt.' (No author, circa 1996, 'Das Petersham Prinzip', document of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham)

in Melbourne, Australia, who call their community in an affluent part of town 'Brighton Mafia'.[363] Indeed similarities with the Richmond community are discernible:

> '*Brighton Mafia* seems to be used as an affectionate self-descriptive label for a group that seems to have many linkages and in which most people know each other both socially and professionally as many of the Brighton Germans work as expatriates in senior positions at German or multinational companies...'[364]

Both communities consist primarily of expatriates and they 'know each other'. The familiarity between members is also strong among the Germans in Richmond. One interviewee said she thought there was definitely a community there as 'jeder kennt jeden'.[365] Other interview partners mentioned that they always meet someone they know, either at the school, the supermarket, the doctor's surgery or the church. This level of involvement with the local ethnic community which has become obvious in the above discussion of community institutions and businesses suggests a low degree of integration into the host society. Once again the involvement with neither the German nor the host community can be generalised but depends on individual choices. Because the Richmond community is largely characterised by expatriate residents, it is their decisions which are taken to represent the community as a whole. Here, however, differentiations need to be made. In order to examine notions of (ethnic) identity in the German community in Richmond on a local and transnational level, it is necessary to distinguish between a multitude of, often overlapping, subgroups: temporary and permanent residents, current and former expatriates and those in neither group, those with German and non-German partners, those with and without children, women and men. Let us focus on the role of the local German community for these groups. Of the 50 respondents to the questionnaires, 13 stated they identified with/considered themselves part of the community, 18 said they did so partly and 17 stated they did not feel this way at all. It can be thus safely concluded that over half of participants felt to a greater or lesser extent connected with the German community. However, when asked how well they knew German institutions and businesses, 26 respondents said they knew them well, 18 said partly and only six stated that they did not know them well at all. This shows that because an individual uses community organisations, etc. he or she does not necessarily see him- or herself as part of the community. Of the reasons why

[363] Everke-Buchanan, 2007, p. 340
[364] Ibid.
[365] Interview with Mrs B., resident of Ham.

respondents felt part of the latter, the German School was the one most frequently mentioned, followed by connection through a common language, culture and heritage and further by the church communities and friendship networks. Other reasons were that a feeling that being part of the community facilitated the settling down process and that it was 'nice to be in contact with other Germans'.[366] Those who did not identify with the community did so on the grounds that their social contacts lay within other backgrounds than the local German one, followed by their aim to integrate into British society and having no contact to the community. Further it was mentioned that they thought a community as such did not exist, that their partner was not German, that the contact with other Germans was purely coincidental, that they felt disaffected by the community, that they were against the formation of a 'ghetto', that the community consisted mainly of expatriates who they could not identify with and that they had lived in the UK for too long to feel 'German'.

Comparing identification with the community to the length of stay of residents in South West London to date, a correlation between the two can be observed: Of the 32 respondents who had been living in the area for less than five years, 10 said they felt part of/identified with the community, eleven did so partly and nine did not feel this way at all.[367] Of the 18 remaining participants who had been living in the area for five years and more, three identified with the community, seven did so partly and eight did not at all. These results show a slightly bigger proportion of short-term residents identifying with the community (31 per cent) than long-term residents (16 per cent), a balance between those doing so in part and a higher percentage of long-term residents (44 per cent) not identifying with the community than short-term residents (28 per cent). As the majority of temporary residents are probably expatriates, it can be assumed that expatriates are more likely to identify themselves with the local ethnic community. This supposition is further validated by looking at the correlation between the degree of identification with the community and the nationality of the participants' partners: Of the 13 respondents who declared their identification with the community, ten had German partners and nine out of the 17 who did not see themselves as part of the community had partners of other nationalities. Summed up, a higher percentage (33 per cent) of those with German partners identified with the community as opposed to those

[366] Quoted from a questionnaire distributed for this study.
[367] One person said she did not feel part of the community but her children did and one respondent did not state her affiliation.

with non-German partners (18 per cent). Likewise, a bigger proportion of the latter (53 per cent) did not regard themselves as part of the community as opposed to those respondents with German partners (27 per cent).[368] As has been established in Chapter One, those participants with German partners are more likely to be expatriates as are those who have been staying in the area for less than five years. Of course with a sample as small as this it cannot be proven that expatriates really do identify themselves more with the local German community than non-expatriates. Moreover, inevitably there will be non-expatriate short-term migrants among those counted above and it is also not the case that all respondents with German partners are automatically expatriates. As has been pointed out many times before in this study, the involvement with the local community depends largely on individual decisions. The hypotheses made here can thus only be partly proven and should not be understood as facts. What can be stated for sure, however, is that temporary migrants and those with German partners, no matter if expatriates or not, are more prone to attach themselves to a local ethnic community than those staying for a longer period of time with non-German partners. Former expatriates, so called 'locals', were counted among long-term migrants with German partners. They are also more likely to be affiliated to the community. In fact, during the research for this project it was often said that these ex-expatriates who outstayed their assignments were the pillars of the Richmond community who kept it organised and fairly stable amidst constant fluctuation.

Returning to expatriates, their tendency towards forming close relationships with the existing German community has been documented in previous studies on expatriate communities. It is a recognised fact that almost no integration with the host society takes place. This is even more so the case with expatriates who are sent to countries which are culturally and linguistically very different from Germany. The adaptation process of expatriates has been thoroughly examined by scholars in the field of human resource management[369], it is a very complex issue and a detailed discussion of it would exceed the scope of the present study. However, it is generally agreed that a honeymoon phase after arrival in the new destination and lasting only a few weeks is followed by

[368] Of those partipants who stated they partly identified themselves with the community, ten had German partners and eight non-German partners. One respondent with a German partner said that she personally did not dee herself as part of the community but she considered her children as such. Another did not state her affiliation. Of the two with no partner, one identified herself with the community, the other did so partly.

[369] See for example Punnett, 1997, Zimmermann et al., 2003, Stahl and Cerdin, 2004, Haslberger, 2005, Kappelhoff et al., 2006, Kupka and Cathro, 2007, Kupka et al., 2008.

the expatriate and his family experiencing a 'culture shock' which happens when everyday life has to be mastered. This stage is then superseded by a period of adjustment in which the expatriate learns, 'through trial and error (...) what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour'.[370] This then can lead to assimilation (adopting the social and cultural norms of the host society), separation (the maintenance of one's own and rejection of the host culture), marginalisation (expatriates move between two cultures) or integration (home and host culture are combined into one).[371] However, integration and assimilation seem to be rare among expatriates. Already the choice of a place of residence in the receiving country indicates the expatriates' willingness to engage socially with the host population. The majority tend to move into areas already home to an established German community. Sam Scott notes on the British in Paris that 'expatriates helped to create the institutional fabric of the British community'.[372] The same is true for the Richmond community. As we have seen, the school is largely the product of a campaign organised by expatriate parents and their employers. Stefanie Everke-Buchanan emphasises about the Germans in Melbourne that

> 'The continuous influx of new migrants (although *expatriates* might be a more appropriate term here (...)) reinforced the Germanness of the community, while their similar socioeconomic background seems to guarantee that they are willing to identify with their neighbors [sic] of the same country of birth.'[373]

The strong middle class character of the Richmond community has already been mentioned in Chapter One. It does attract newcomers of the same social standing to the area guaranteeing class cohesion. In other expatriate-receiving countries, the accommodation of international assignees in so-called 'gated communities' is common practice. Juliana and Klaus Roth write about Germans in Moscow who live in special areas and apartment buildings designated for foreigners where their whole lives take place.[374] Moser-Weithmann has noted a similar situation with German manager families in Istanbul concerning areas of residence.[375] Hence the development of 'enclaves' or 'ghettos' is not surprising.

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[370] Black and Gregersen, 1991, p. 4
[371] Zimmermann et al., 2003, p. 48
[372] Scott, 2006, p. 1117
[373] Everke-Buchanan, 2007, p. 340
[374] 'Von den zahlreichen in Moskau lebenden westlichen Ausländern wohnen die meisten in separaten Arealen oder Ausländer-Wohnblocks und verfügen über die Institutionen einer Diasporagemeinde.' (Roth and Roth in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 89)
[375] Moser-Weithmann in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 153

The existing diaspora community, however, plays an important role for the newcomers as it helps them to settle into their new environment. Disorientation in the beginning of an assignment can be remedied by meeting compatriots with similar experience who can give advice and support, thus creating a comfort zone for the new arrivals. Nevertheless, the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation has stated that many Germans in the area arrange to live in a purely German environment. Especially those expatriates who have been living in many different destinations before are more likely to disengage from the host culture and turn towards a 'German' life[376] which provides a constant in their changing environments. Exaggeratedly this could mean sending their children to the German school, shopping at the German bakery and shop or the nearby *Lidl*, worshipping in the ethnic churches and having only German friends. Non-working women are more likely to develop such patterns as they are more prone to suffer from isolation (as seen in Chapter One), the only way out of which for them seems to be engagement with the German community. In some ways it is not necessary for expatriates (of all nationalities) to get involved with the local host community as ethnic and international institutions provide them with everything needed for a fulfilled social life. Moosmüller, in his study on Germans in Tokyo, noted just that:

> 'Deutsche Expatriates finden in Tokyo ein gut ausgebautes Netz deutscher Institutionen und Einrichtungen vor, das es ihnen ermöglicht, das Leben in der Fremde (auch) nach heimatlichen Maßstäben zu gestalten und ihre sozialen Bedürfnisse (auch) mit Landsleuten zu befriedigen, d.h. sie finden alles vor, um sich, wie Clifford sagt, ein "home away from home" zu schaffen.'[377]

Although German and English cultures are more similar to each other than German to Japanese, Moosmüller's observations can to some extent also be made about German expatriates in Richmond/Kingston. Events are regularly organised locally by the school and the churches and further by the bigger German institutions in London such as professional associations, the Goethe Institute, the embassy and the YMCA. Thus Germans in London can choose from a plethora of social gatherings. It is not surprising that contacts with the host population are not as frequent as with other Germans. Asked which nationalities dominated in their circles of friends, 16 respondents said German, four British, three other nationalities, 12 mixed German/British/other, six German/British, four German/other and five British/other. These results present quite a

[376] Interview with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham.
[377] Moosmüller in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 109

balanced picture. If we look, however, at the answers of potential expatriates, the weight shifts: Comparing length of stay to date in the Richmond area, 84 per cent of respondents who had been living in the area for less than five years had primarily German friends as opposed 56 per cent of those of an over 5 year stay. Forty-seven per cent of those on a short-term stay to date had mostly British friends compared to 67 per cent on a long-term stay. Concerning friends of other nationalities, 41 per cent of those who had been living in Richmond for less than five years had international friends as opposed to 56 per cent of those of a longer than 5 year stay. Although above limitations to the validity of these results apply, it becomes apparent that participants who had been staying in Richmond for under five years were more likely to have German friends and acquaintances than those who had been living in the area for longer. Juxtaposing the nationalities of the majority of friends with the partner's nationality gives the following results: Of those participants with a German partner, 90 per cent had German friends as compared to 65 per cent among those with non-German partners. Forty-seven percent of those with a German partner said the majority of their friends were British as opposed to 76 per cent among those with non-German partners. Concerning friends with other nationalities, 40 per cent with German partners and 59 per cent with non-German partners had them. These outcomes do not perhaps come as a surprise. It makes sense that those with German partners will be looking for acquaintances among Germans, whereas those with British partners will be having more British than German friends due to the simple fact that they will be involved more with British society. The same is true for those respondents with partners of other nationalities, the majority of whom stated that they had primarily friends from neither a German nor British background. We can, however, also conclude from these results that expatriates are more likely to have largely German friends and acquaintances than British or those from other nationalities.

The German School acts in some ways a catalyst for expatriates and other Richmond Germans getting caught in a 'German bubble'. As mentioned earlier on in this chapter, the greater part of pupils at the school holds German citizenship. This causes an imbalance which has been picked up by many of the interviewees for this study. Mrs W., for example, the owner of Stein's restaurant, had just sent her son to the school after he had spent a couple of years in a British nursery. She remarked that his English had gotten worse since starting school and that his friends consisted entirely of

other German children now.[378] Even pupils themselves have remarked upon this quasi isolation that seems to be fairly latent in the school: In the *German Link* article about German School pupils teaching German to those of a neighbouring primary school, one of the German girls stated why she was happy to teach and stay in contact with other schools: 'Ich habe immer das Gefühl, wir sind hier ganz schön in unserer deutschen Blase gefangen.'[379] Even outside school the area one lives in dictates the kinds of people one meets:

> 'Für die Kinder ist es abgesehen von der sprachlichen Hürde eigentlich nur dann möglich, Kontakt zu englischen Kindern zu bekommen, wenn wirklich kein anderes deutschsprachiges Kind anwesend ist; bei nahezu allen englischen Angeboten in der Richmonder Gegend sind Deutsche zu finden und "ganz natürlich" bilden sich immer 2 Gruppen: die Briten und die Deutschen.'[380]

Alois Moosmüller hints at a similar situation at the German School in Tokyo: 'Unter den Eltern war oft zu hören, dass man sich an der Deutschen Schule wie auf der "Insel der Glückseligen" fühle.'[381] He goes on to argue that the Germans in Tokyo distance themselves consciously from the Japanese and their culture, often accompanied by a feeling of superiority. The German School there seems to them a safe haven in an unfamiliar, alien environment. It is difficult to tell if a similar conscious detachment from British society happens at the school in Richmond or if that felt isolation comes about subconsciously when one gets involved with the school. Deliberate or not, a certain feeling of reserve towards others outside the school community might be caused by the private school character of the German school and the resulting imbalance in social terms, the exclusively middle class nature of the institution. Lothar Kettenacker observes that 'the social composition is less stratified and this is the missing dimension which worries some teachers and parents.'[382] Adrian Favell's story of a German manager (Rainer) in London trying to raise his son bilingually expresses a similar concern:

> 'They moved him [the son] to a bilingual German nursery which changed everything in their social networks. They didn't want to live in a ghetto, and Rainer denies that they do, but he says that 95 percent of their contacts are purely German. Now their son is at the German school. Rainer points out

[378] Interview with Mrs W., owner of Stein's restaurant.
[379] Quoted in Link, 'Schüler unterrichten Schüler', *German Link*, June 2008, p. 5
[380] Quoted from a questionnaire distributed for this study.
[381] Moosmüller in Kühlmann and Müller-Jaquier, 2007, p. 114
[382] Kettenacker in Panayi, 1996, p. 202

> another downside of this special education: it is a thoroughly elitist experience. The unreal world of global elites. He is worried that there are 700 parents, and every single one of them earns more than the teacher. Without the diversity of social backgrounds in their experience, he is worried "about how the children can become good adults some day".[383]

This quote points towards quite a few concerns related to the German School. First, the choice of school for one's children invariably impacts on one's social life. It alters the events and meetings one goes to, the people one sees in the mornings and afternoons on the school runs and subsequently the people one becomes friends with and meets socially. Sam Scott calls this 'the school-gate sociability'.[384] This, in Rainer's case, led to a deep involvement with the community judging by the percentage of German contacts he had after sending his son to the school. Next, Rainer is not comfortable with the elitist education that his son receives at the German School. The latter's elite character has already been mentioned earlier on in this chapter. This is also where the missing social stratification comes in that was remarked upon by Lothar Kettenacker. Rainer is probably not the only parent worried that his or her child might not become a 'good adult' because of that. Altogether he does not sound too happy with the choice he has made for his son; it seems, however, as if there was no alternative.

The dissatisfaction with the 'Germanisation' that his social life underwent together with that of his son is not an experience unique to Rainer. In fact it seems that many Germans are trying to avoid getting too closely involved with their compatriots while at the same time ending up doing the opposite. A questionnaire respondent stated that the only disadvantage of living in Richmond was that 'die deutsche "Präsenz" in dieser Gegend ist teilweise so groß, dass man kaum noch das Gefühl hat, in England oder unter Engländern zu leben.'[385] It is worth noting here that this respondent's children attend the German School and her husband works for the German Embassy. For her the presence of Germans in unavoidable due to her husband's job which probably also influenced their choice of school while she is longing to live somewhere with less Germans. Dobler and von Groll quote a similar example in their study on the Germans in Mexico:

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[383] Favell, 2008, p. 163
[384] Scott, 2006, p. 1118
[385] Quoted from a questionnaire distributed for this study.

> 'Wir haben auch nie bewußt deutsche Freunde gesucht, wir haben schweizer Freunde, österreichische Freunde, französische Freunde, Peruaner, wir haben Kolumbianer, natürlich Deutsche vorwiegend, das hat sich (durch die Schule) so ergeben.'[386] [emphasis added]

This paradox mentioned earlier on, with Germans trying to avoid engaging with their compatriots while at the same time counting them among friends, becomes very clear in this quote. Living in a German community, then, is not always regarded as positive by everyone.

Despite it being considered as a 'German island' by many, the German School fulfils an important social function especially for women. It has been established in Chapter One that particularly trailing spouses are more likely not to be economically active. For many of them the German School offers a platform where they can contribute meaningfully to the life of the (school) community. Until a couple of years ago a group of mothers single-handedly maintained the cafeteria at the school, including the cooking of lunch meals. Mrs L., who worked at the Friends of Douglas House and later received the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* for her achievements there, said that 100 mothers worked in a rota system to ensure that pupils had warm lunches.[387] Another interviewee, Mrs C., who was herself involved in this, stated that working together for their children created a connection between mothers and their achievements gave them something to be proud of. Both women regretted the end of the scheme with the employment of a professional catering firm by the school board. They said the kitchen and canteen acted as a meeting place for the mothers and thought it was a shame that the school management was, in one of the interviewees' opinion, discouraging mothers from getting too involved with the school on a daily basis. Nevertheless, there is still plenty of opportunity to work for the school for both parents: The German School Association as well as the Friends of Douglas House are almost entirely made up of parents. Preparations for big annual events such as the Christmas Bazaar are a concerted effort by mainly mothers. This close relationship between schools and mothers has also been remarked upon in other studies of expatriate communities. Juliana and Klaus Roth note about Germans in Moscow that 'die Aktiven sind fast nur Ehefrauen von Entsandten, die sich auch für die Feste und die anderen Aktivitäten engagieren'[388] and Asker Katari observes about

[386] Quoted in Dobler and von Groll in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 122
[387] Interview with Mrs L. , a resident of Ham.
[388] Roth and Roth in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 92

German expatriates in Ankara that at bazaars and fêtes 'Kuchen und Gebäck werden meist von den Frauen der deutschen Unternehmer und Firmenentsandten gebacken'[389] as well as noting that 'die nicht berufstätigen Ehefrauen bekleiden häufig Ehrenämter und wirken aktiv an der Schule mit'.[390] Brigitte Moser-Weithmann, writing on Istanbul, also observed expatriate women's participation in charitable and fundraising events for the local population organised by the German School there and said that to many women such work was 'das einzig "ernsthafte" Betätigungsfeld'.[391] It is not unexpected then that, during interviews for this study, it was often said that once the parents' involvement with the school ceases when their children leave the latter, the overall engagement with the community decreases significantly.

Looking at former expatriates ('locals') and other non-expatriate migrants in Richmond, it is difficult to generalise about their perceptions of identity. Expatriates are a fairly homogenous group but other migrants are not. Their involvement with the German as well as the local British or international community depends on certain variables: age, nationality of partner, length of stay, children's school, etc. As we have seen before, those with German partners are less likely to form relationships with non-Germans, as those with non-German partners have more opportunity to make friends outside the German community. Likewise, those staying for a shorter period of time will probably count more Germans among their acquaintances and those with children at the German School are also more prone to entertain social contacts with mainly Germans, while those who send their children to a British school will have more links with the local Brits. 'Acculturation or integration into a host (or majority) culture occurs on an individual basis; that is, individuals assimilate to varying degrees, while entire ethnic communities generally do not, as a group.'[392] This is true for the Richmond as for any other ethnic community. Certain tendencies, however, can be detected when looking at perceptions of integration into British society: Of the 50 respondents 23 stated that they felt integrated, 5 said they did so partly and 16 stated they did not feel integrated at all. Here the careful assumption can be made that many expatriates did not feel integrated, although, of course, exceptions do exist and many would probably say that they felt

[389] Katari in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 133
[390] Ibid., p. 135
[391] Moser-Weithmann in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 151. Stefan Manz writes about a similar situation of German women in the 19th century. Only a few professions were open to them so they felt easily isolated at home and, socially, *Vereine* were also more often than not limited to men. As a result women founded their own clubs, often of a charitable nature. (Manz, 2003, pp. 215-219)
[392] O'Donnell et al., 2005, p. 3

more integrated into mixed backgrounds than purely British. That integration depends on several factors has been realised by community institutions: In a description of the German parish district of 1996, concerning the integration into the host society of the constituent congregations, it says about Petersham: 'Je nach Dauer des Aufenthalts, Familienstand, Beruf, Alter und Geschlecht unterschiedlich stark.'[393] If naturalisation figures are anything to go by concerning integration, then the latter really does not happen in Richmond: only one of the 50 respondents had taken on British citizenship in the course of her stay. Whether naturalisation is still the most significant indication for integration is questionable but can unfortunately not be discussed within the scope of this study. A few of the respondents were members of 'British' clubs or local charities, and as a result they felt slightly more integrated into the local British society. Many respondents stated on the questionnaires that they thought it was difficult to establish friendships with the local British population, especially those who did not have any connections through British partners.

One very small group of Germans in the area who dissociate themselves more than any other group from the community as a whole are the older ladies who have been living in the area since before the establishment of the German school. Most older ladies interviewed at the Catholic church's and the ecumenical monthly coffee mornings only count the other regular participants of the latter among their German acquaintances and have hardly any contact with the German community. The same is true for questionnaire respondents who had been living in the UK for more than thirty years. This is especially the case with those with English husbands. Only those married to German men said that they had either only German or German and English friends. They were also the ones who sent their children to the German school: one of the ladies, Mrs B., said that she wanted to pass on German traditions and education to her children so that they would be deeply rooted in them.[394] The others were deeply embedded into a British or international background and had only few contacts to Germany, often to family. All the ladies interviewed came to live in the UK in the 1960s and 70s and, though not strictly post-war immigrants, they fit into what Steinert and Weber-Newth argue about German POWs, women workers and 'war brides': 'Eine Koloniebildung wie bei anderen Nachkriegseinwanderern zu beobachten, konnte nicht stattfinden,

[393] Description of the German parish district London-West, 1996, document belonging to the congregation.
[394] Interview with Mrs B., a long-term resident of Ham.

womit die deutschen Zuwanderer unbewußt die zeitgenössischen Vorstellungen von "assimilation" auf ideale Weise erfüllten.'[395]

Let us now look back at the relationship with and reaction of the host society in Richmond/Kingston, but especially in Ham/Petersham. A certain distance towards Germans is still visible among the Britons, though, of course, generalisations cannot be made without caution. The great majority of respondents (35) did not tell of negative experiences with the British population. Of those who were on the receiving end of any incidents, most were quips and jokes about Germany's Nazi past. Some, however, found their cars with German number plates vandalised, to one lady this happened during a European Football Cup final, and their children were sometimes targets of bullying. Such more serious occurrences were rare and it seems that where resentments do exist they are shown through passiveness or critical looks: 'Anfangs wurden wir als "Deutsche" eher kritish "beäugt"', one respondent wrote. The question can be raised, however, if the statements about negative experiences really reflect the complete truth or if occurrences were omitted to give the impression that relations with the host population were good although they might not have been entirely. This might have been done to project the picture of harmony and to make oneself believe that after decades of animosity British attitudes towards Germans had finally changed, at least in middle class circles. Many compatriots a German meets in Britain have stories to tell about this or that joke that was made about them, about comments they received when someone heard them speak with a German accent or the difficulties their children sometimes have at school. Nevertheless, this phenomenon of negative reactions on the part of the Britons is hard to grasp. It sometimes emerges quite visibly, during football matches or when matters of European integration, of which many Brits are still sceptical, are being discussed. In the media sarcastic comments bordering on xenophobia are usually only seen in tabloid newspapers. In Richmond the author of this study heard of regular clashes between the German pupils and those of a nearby state school with a poor reputation. The opinion seems to prevail that clashes happen mainly between the middle class Germans and those native Brits belonging to a lower class. That this is not entirely true can be proven by looking back at the reactions on part of the local population after the German School was founded in the 1970s. Not all the local residents were happy about the decision of Richmond Council to sell Douglas House to the German

[395] Steinert and Weber-Newth, 2005, p. 231

government who would subsequently transform it into a school. The latter was faced with opposition when the decision was made to erect new buildings and convert previously untouched river landscape into playing fields. The Richmond and Twickenham Times published an article in 1982 on the conflict about the latter, the opening line of which read: 'The German Government is causing the residents of Petersham deep concern over a proposal to turn some beautiful water meadows into playing fields.'[396] This conflict seemed to concern environmental issues only, but one wonders how much residents' rejection of these plans was based on the fact that it was the Germans of all people, with their 'intransigent attitude'[397], who wanted to make the changes. Furthermore, in the booklet commemorating the school's 10th anniversary in 1981, a British resident writes about British attitudes in a feature entitled 'A Neighbour's View'. He mentions that the locals are unaware of any positive aspects of the school but emphasises the negative: 'German kids – chaos at the bus-stop every afternoon' and 'Germans? Taking over Ham and Petersham, they are, pushing up the cost of living for the rest of us.'[398] Indeed a concern about rising house prices because of the influx of Germans seems to have been very prominent at that time. Peter Luddington, the author of that article, further says that such comments were not atypical 'as the usual combination of Anglo-Saxon apathy and vague indiscriminate xenophobia gently asserts itself.'[399] A reader's letter in the Richmond and Twickenham Times in 1988 acts to support these antagonistic views of some local residents. Its author laments the 'anti-social behaviour of the parents of foreign children here' and the 'noise and litter', 'cars pushed across their [locals] driveway even up to their driveway lawn', the inability to get on a bus 'because of a queue jumping rabble' and the 'arrogance of a CD plated driver who imagines he, or more often she, can drive and park anywhere' that affects people living close to the school.[400] It is difficult to discern in how far reactions such as this present an animosity towards the Germans or simply towards anyone who disrupts local life, irrespective of nationality, further proving that the phenomenon of British hostility towards the Germans is hard to take hold of. The reader further argued that 'our local intelligentsia would rise up and smite me with long words – or rather the same long word (xenophobia) - and then climb abord [sic] their own particular hobby

[396] Richmond and Twickenham Times, 19 March 1982.
[397] Ibid.
[398] Peter Luddington, quoted in the publication commemorating the 10th anniversary of the school in 1981.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Reader P.W. Daniels in the Richmond and Twickenham Times, 11 March 1988.

horses and gallop off into the sunset.'[401] The last line suggests that the middle classes try and distance themselves from xenophobic criticism such as this, either because they really mean it or because they feel the need to be politically correct, at least publicly. The previous examples of antagonism come from a time when British attitudes about Germans were still more extreme than they are now. Concrete present-day examples relating to Richmond in particular were difficult to find, apart from the few instances mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph. This could mean that the situation has changed, at least publicly, for the fear of not being politically correct and that the local population keeps its thoughts about the Germans to themselves. Or it could be possible that attitudes have indeed transformed completely, a situation that would be desirable in an open-minded, integrated Europe.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of issues concerning identity in the German community in Richmond and Kingston. At first, the terms diaspora and community were discussed after which it was established that the German residents in the area do, indeed, constitute a German community and not simply a cluster. Certain characteristics, in particular the density of ethnic community institutions and businesses, and the latency of a common identity identified it as such. Taking into account existing literature on diasporas, it was discussed whether the Richmond community is part of a wider German diaspora. From Moosmüller and Dobler and von Groll, certain features of a 'modern diaspora' were adapted to the Richmond community which ultimately proved that the latter counts as part of the German diaspora, especially taking into consideration the many expatriates resident there. Although a diaspora culture might not be as visible among the Richmond community as it was in the German communities in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century when whole streets could be identified as being home to primarily German shops and companies, it still exists in Richmond despite declarations by scholars that 'Little Germanies' never reformed after the Second World War. Richmond is home to ethnic German institutions as well as flourishing businesses. The most important of these is the German School which was founded with expatriate children in mind and as such was the most important factor for the formation

[401] Ibid.

of the community in the first place. German schools abroad have a long history and were formerly used to raise children in the spirit of the imperial-nationalistic state. Of course after the Second World War, the aims of *Auslandsschulen* changed and they became meeting places of cultures. However, the German School in Richmond is highly elitist with a strictly middle and upper middle class character and as such reflects the social composition of the community as a whole to some extent. It runs the risk of isolating itself, its students and their parents who are less likely to engage with the local British population. This impacts on how pupils and parents perceive themselves. The other community institutions as well as businesses and the frequency and intensity with which they are used also greatly influence the Richmond residents' identity. Added to this are transnational ties that go beyond national borders. Identity then becomes a hardly tangible notion which is particularly problematic to determine for an outsider. Distinctions need to be made and that is very difficult to do. It is as challenging for a researcher to establish the size of the Richmond community as it is for him/her to determine any corporate or group identity, even in the subgroups of expatriates, 'locals' and non-expatriates. Attempts have been made in the last part of this chapter. The outcomes probably paint too simplistic a picture: expatriates tend not to integrate with the British population, use community institutions very often and probably identify the most with the German community while 'locals' and non-expatriates seem to be more open towards contact with the British and identify less with the German community. In general local and transnational ties are equally important for the Richmond Germans. However, although these are the tendencies they do not reflect the complete truth. Individual dispositions and choices impact more on the formation of identity than belonging to a professional group or length of stay.

Chapter Three: Religion and ethnic identity

Introduction

In the previous discussion of German ethnic institutions and businesses in Richmond, two very important institutions were left out: the German Protestant and Catholic churches. This was done for a reason: they warrant a chapter of their own as will become obvious in the following paragraphs. Immigrant churches have played an important role in the formation of migrant communities. A church was usually one of the first institutions to be established in the migrants' new destinations. The communities which developed subsequently took on various roles besides the religious one. In the German case they helped new arrivals settle in the foreign environment, provided accommodation and financial help and established German-speaking schools. Moreover, they offered immigrants an opportunity to meet compatriots, gave them a sense of *Heimat* and thus contributed to their identification process. This was true for German church communities all over the world, wherever Germans migrated to. German immigrants to Britain were no exception. Particularly in the 19th century, during the heyday of German immigration, church attendance reached its peak. Even at that time, however, the constant departure of migrants and the arrival of new ones made church work difficult. The ensuing instability of migrant communities and congregations continues to this day and remains a challenge for the churches.

This situation, one assumes, must have an influence on the degree to which religion acts as a marker of ethnic identity. In a transnational environment, perceptions of national and ethnic identity become less defined, hence ethnic institutions might lose their importance. The role of the German churches in Britain has certainly changed over the last century but at the same time its importance for migrants' lives remains high. This is also true for the German church communities in Ham/Petersham: fluctuation is high as the majority of church goers are temporary migrants who only stay in the UK for a limited period of time. The effects fluctuation has on the congregations and the role the churches play in the community will be examined in this chapter.

1. The connection between religion and ethnic identity

Religion is an element of culture. In fact, in can be argued that different beliefs have shaped the cultures of their areas of influence to such an extent that culture and religion have almost become synonymous. Christianity, for example, has had such a great impact on occidental culture that many elements of the latter, such as festivals and rituals, have their origin in the Christian religion. Although during the last century, particularly in the Western world, religion has increasingly given way to other expressions of culture, namely that of consumerism, culture and religion remain inextricably linked. This is evident, for example, in the many religious wars and struggles being fought all over the world, from Northern Ireland to Iraq. While many states have become secularised, numerous remain strictly religion-led. Therefore it is unsurprising that when people migrate from one place to another they take their religion with them as part of their cultural baggage. This has happened since time immemorial as people have always been on the move together with their respective beliefs from which derived their knowledge and values. In modern times a consequence of this migration of religion was and still is the foundation of immigrant churches. Referring to the immigrant country par excellence, the United States of America, Will Herberg argues that 'the first concern of the immigrants (...) was with their churches'[402] and continues to say that 'as the ethnic group began to emerge, so did the ethnic church'.[403] Religion being part of their way of life, immigrants were anxious to transplant that part of their culture to their new home. It has been reasoned by many social scientists that religion is the most important aspect of ethnic identity. As Panayi puts it, 'Religion (...) represents the most important way in which ethnicity is maintained, existing among virtually all communities, no matter what their size.'.[404] Religion being such a significant marker of ethnic identity, it becomes clear that it also acts as a unifying agent for the ethnic community. Colpi, charting the history of Italian immigrants in London, argues that 'it is the ethnic church which more than any other institution preserves the culture of the Italians'.[405] This, of course, is not only true for Christian migrants but also for members of other religions. The numbers of mosques in the

[402] Herberg, 1983, p. 14
[403] Ibid.
[404] Panayi, 1994, p. 80
[405] Colpi, 1991, p. 230

Greater London area (46)[406], and of synagogues in New York (110)[407] and the corresponding strength of Muslim and Jewish communities and their cultures in these two cities confirm this statement. Ueda further argues that 'beyond the impact of belief upon experience is the matter of religion's contribution to increasing the density of community life'[408]. Ethnic community life to some extent centres on religious institutions. Although this might not be the case anymore for many European and other Western migrants and by no means includes all migrants everywhere, it is certainly true for many Middle Eastern, South-East Asian and African immigrant groups.

What, then, do religious institutions provide for the migrant community? Pettegree writes about the first 'stranger churches' established in London in 1555 that 'foreign protestants settled in London had for the first time a place to meet and worship in their own language and according to their own rites'.[409] Thus, first, the possibility to worship in one's native language is a very comforting experience for migrants unfamiliar with the language and religious customs of their host country, even if the latter derive from the same faith. Connected to this is the church's role as the keeper of the ethnic language. Second, for the newly arrived migrant, disorientated and possibly homesick in the new destination, a religious community provides a safe haven where advice and guidance are offered to help him or her settle more easily into the new environment. Colpi thus argues about the 19th century Italian community that for recently arrived immigrants 'the presence of Italian priests, who were usually better educated than the immigrants and who were prepared to act as social workers and mediators, was a very comforting phenomenon'.[410] Linked to this is the financial assistance that was often given to new arrivals by the church.[411] Third, the social aspect of a church community is as important for the migrants as the religious. Ethnic churches almost always offer social activities for their members, be it discussion rounds, coffee mornings or joint outings. This provides the migrants with much needed stability and a feeling of community that can immensely improve their experience of living abroad. Herberg, for instance, argues that 19th century German immigrants to the US 'however disorientated

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[406] UK Islamic Web Directory, no date, >http://www.ukmasajid.com/main_folder/mosques_list/london_page1. html<, accessed 19th October 2008
[407] Directory of New York synagogues, 2008, >http://www.ecben.net/nysynagogues.shtml<, accessed 19th October 2008
[408] McClymer in Ueda, 2006, p. 513
[409] Pettegree, 1986, p. 9
[410] Colpi, 1991, p. 234
[411] For details see Christiane Swinbank's PhD Thesis "'Love ye the stranger' Public and Private Assistance to the German Poor in Nineteenth-Century London'", 2007.

through migration and resettlement, found in the evolving ethnic group something secure and familiar'.[412] The inclusion in a community can also eliminate the risk of alienation from the host society in that support networks develop among the migrants which provide advice on living in the specific host country. Benton and Gomez confirm this purpose of religious communities in their work on Chinese immigrants in Britain by saying that 'religion as a community source can help immigrants cope with social exclusion and the danger of atomisation'.[413] Finally, being part of a church community can help boost the immigrants' self-confidence by creating for them an arena where they can rise socially which might not be possible in the outside world. Although this may not be the case anymore with Western European migrants it is certainly true when considering migration movements where people from poorer countries move to wealthier ones.[414] Ueda, referring to late 19th and early 20th century European migrants to the US, points out that outside one's community, e.g. at work, one was just another immigrant whereas inside a community one was 'somebody'.[415] Inside a religious community, for example, migrants can hold certain positions, such as that of treasurer, secretary, etc., which give them fixed roles, often a feeling of authority and thus earn them the respect of fellow members.

2. The German churches in Britain

'For centuries', Roland Hill writes, 'German[416] residents have been noted for two characteristics: The skill and industry they showed in their trades, and the loyalty of their attachment to their religious communities which they established in London.'[417] Although this generalisation is somewhat debatable as ethnic religious congregations have only ever attracted a proportion of immigrants and continue to do so, it says a lot about the long and eventful history of German churches in the British capital. Heinrich Dorgeel, in his 19th century account of the history of the German colony in London,

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[412] Herberg, 1983, p. 16
[413] Benton and Gomez, 2008, p. 274
[414] Such as Mexicans migrating to the US, Eastern Europeans to Britain, Filipinos to the Middle East, etc.
[415] Ueda, 2006, p. 518
[416] 'Germans' in this chapter, as in the others, if referring to the time before 1871 is used as a substitute for German-speaking just like 'Germany' before unification refers to the territory occupied by the many different German-speaking states.
[417] Hill, 1992, p. 49. Kockel argues further: 'Religion hat sich seither durchgängig als das wichtigste äußere Merkmal deutscher Ethnizität auf den Britischen Inseln erwiesen, inbesondere während des beträchtlichen Anwachsens deutscher Einwanderung nach England in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.' (Kockel in Moosmüller, 2002, p. 245)

rightly argues that the German church communities are the oldest landmark of German life in London.[418] The first German church, the *Hamburger Kirche*, was founded in 1669 by North German Hanseatic merchants after their own church, in the Steelyard[419], had burned down in the Great Fire of London. The church's other members included German sugar boilers, wealthy City merchants and traders.[420] However, the establishment of the first church signified by no means the beginning of German religious life in Britain. The Steelyard had become an important trading post in the late 15th century for the Hansa merchants and it is most likely that they established their church there at the same time.[421] Susanne Steinmetz, who compiled a detailed history as well as a comprehensive list of archive material on the German churches on Britain, divides the founding period of German churches in London into two phases. In the first phase, from 1669 to 1800, five congregations were formed. Following the *Hamburger Kirche*, St Mary's church was established by craftsmen in 1694 followed by St Paul's Reformed Church in 1697 (frequented mainly by business-, later by craftsmen), the German Court Chapel at St James's Palace in 1700 (for German members of the Royal court) and St George's Lutheran congregation in 1762 in Whitechapel, the latter of which was founded by a wealthy sugar baker for his workers. The second phase (until 1914), the 'phase of expansion'[422], as Steinmetz calls it, saw the establishment of a further seven churches. Two, St Boniface (1809, the first and to-date the only Catholic German church in Britain) as well as a Wesleyan church, were located in the East End indicating the concentration of German workers in the area.[423] Two new churches in Camberwell (1854) and Sydenham (1875), in South East London, are results of the

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[418] 'In den deutschen Kirchengemeinden finden wir das älteste Wahrzeichen deutschen Lebens in London.' Dorgeel, 1881, p. 42

[419] The Steelyard area of London was located where Cannon Street railway station can be found today. It was the main trading base of the Hansa merchants and where the majority of them also lived.

[420] Steinmetz, 1998, p. 13

[421] Pettegree, 1986, pp. 10, 19. As the Hansa was an alliance of trading cities around the Baltic and North Seas and thus included not only German-speaking cities (but also Dutch, Scandinavian and Livonian), the church founded by the merchants in London in the 15th century not only catered for Germans but also for traders of different origins. Austin Friars was the first official Protestant 'stranger church' to be established in London (1555) after Edward VI reversed anti-Protestant policies implemented by Henry VIII and provided for Continental Protestant refugees a safe haven where they could practise their religion freely. Austin Friars contained two congregations, the Dutch and the French, whereby the Dutch included many Germans beside the majority of its members from the Low Countries. (Pettegree, 1986, pp. 9, 22, 36) Dorgeel, however, calls Austin Friars 'die Kirche der Deutschen und anderer Ausländer' (Dorgeel, 1881, p. 42). Hence it is difficult to determine if this congregation was Dutch or German-dominated. It can be assumed, though, that it was a mixture of Dutch and German worshippers who frequented the church and that there was no clear division between being German or Dutch as there were no national borders and most likely a common language was spoken, Low German.

[422] Steinmetz, 1998, p. 10

[423] The fact that two of the older churches, the *Hamburger Kirche* and St Paul's moved to the East End as well during the 19th century in order to attract more Germans further confirms this situation.

inter-city migration of middle-class German families. Christ Church in Knightsbridge (*Christuskirche*, 1904) was founded with the German upper class and aristocracy in mind who resided in the area, as well as its offshoot, St Mark's in Fulham (1911). One German church was set up in Islington for the Germans living there (1857).[424] Apart from these twelve, a further four existed in the 18th and 19th century, albeit only very briefly.[425] Outside the capital, eighteen German Protestant congregations had been established by 1914.[426] With the outbreak of the First World War the majority of the churches had to cease activity and did not resume their work until after the Second World War. During both World Wars, not only were many German 'enemy aliens' repatriated or interned, but the same fate awaited the pastors.[427]

Although some German churches in London conducted services throughout the war (such as Christ Church and St George's[428]), communities had become dispersed and needed to be re-assembled. Indeed, not all congregations had survived the turmoil and anti-German backlash of the two wars. In London, for example, three churches had ceased to exist in 1914.[429] J.-D. Steinert and Inge Weber-Newth, in their volume on Germans in Britain after the Second World War, give a detailed account of the post-war situation of the German congregations.[430] To summarise, the influx of German refugees (the majority being Jewish but with some Christians among them), as well as the German Prisoners of War who had decided not to return to Germany, and the new wave of war brides and German women workers entering the UK, the Protestant as well as the Catholic church had plenty of work to do. Notable here is the fact that the post-Second World War years saw the height of German Catholic activity in Britain. Steinert and Weber-Newth describe this as a temporary phenomenon which was especially

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[424] Steinmetz, 1998, pp. 9-33

[425] Steinmetz in Panayi, 1996, pp. 54-55

[426] In Dublin, Liverpool, Hull, Manchester, Brighton, Edinburgh, Sunderland, Bradford, South Shields, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Newton, Glasgow, Middlesbrough, Dundee, Aberdeen, Perth, Bristol (with Cardiff and Swansea) and Birmingham. Ibid.

[427] Regarding the First World War, Manz writes about life in the internment camp in Stobs, Scotland: 'Religiöse Erbauung wurde durch den ebenfalls internierten Pastor der deutschen evangelischen Edinburgher Gemeinde, Planer, gewährleistet.' (Manz, 2003, p. 280). During the Second World War all German pastors in England but one were interned: 'Im Sept. und Okt. 1939 fiel alles aus. P. Diehl [the pastor] konnte South Shields nicht verlassen, allerdings wurde er nicht, wie die anderen Pastoren in England, interniert.' (from 'Sitzung des Gemeindekirchenrats am 21.Feb.1940' taken from the German-speaking Lutheran congregation Newcastle's second minute book, published in the festschrift commemorating the centenary of the founding of the German congregation in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1981). See also Panayi, *The enemy in our midst*, 1991 and Steinert and Weber-Newth, 2005, p. 223.

[428] Steinert and Weber-Newth, 2005, p. 222

[429] Those were the ones in Islington, Camberwell and Fulham.

[430] Steinert and Weber-Newth, 2005, pp. 218-224

prominent during the time when German Prisoners of War were still interned in Britain and were looked after by Catholic priests. Thereafter, the number of pastors was significantly reduced and, whereas in the 1950s there were still five priests active in Britain, nowadays one remains who is responsible for the whole of Britain, Northern and the Republic of Ireland and is aided by only one assistant priest and a lay preacher. Steinert and Weber-Newth attribute this development to the assumption on the part of the German Catholic Church that once the migrants had learned English they would integrate with local British Catholic churches.[431] In Saint Boniface, the 'mother church' of the Petersham Catholic congregation, mass is currently held twice a month. Once a month German Catholics in Great Missenden (near High Wycombe) worship in a local host church and regular masses take place in private homes. The German Protestant Church (Lutheran), on the other hand, expanded its network of church communities. In 1961 sixteen pastors were responsible for eighteen communities, holding regular services at fifty places.[432] Today, seven German Protestant pastors work in the UK, each with his/her own parish district[433], holding regular services in thirty-eight cities and towns which are formed by forty-seven smaller communities. All parish districts are affiliated to the Synod of German-Speaking Lutheran, Reformed and United Congregations in Great Britain which was founded in 1955 to coordinate the work of the pastors. The high numbers of German migrants in the UK after the Second World War led to the establishment of smaller Protestant church communities all over the country.[434] The demand for pastoral care was especially high at a time when many German women, be it war brides or workers, had to cope with life in a foreign country where they not seldom felt isolated and encountered hostility. Later, at the beginning of the 1960s, au pair girls and students arrived who often found themselves in a similar situation. The German YMCA and the Catholic St Lioba House acted alongside the churches as ports of contact for Germans in need of any kind of help and pastoral care.

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[431] Ibid., p. 218

[432] Ibid., p. 223

[433] Parish districts: Scotland and North-East England (Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Inverness, Middlesbrough and Newcastle), the North of England (Bradford, Leeds, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield), the Midlands (Birmingham, Coventry, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln and Nottingham), the East of England (Basildon, Bedford, Billaricay, Bury St Edmunds, Cambridge, Chelmsford, Ipswich, Milton Keynes and Norwich), the South West of England, South and West Wales (Bath, Bournemouth, Bristol, Cardiff, Llanelli, Newport, Portsmouth, Swansea, Southampton and Swindon), London – East (Brighton, Canterbury, Haywards Heath, King's Cross, Forest Hill, Luton, Sevenoaks and St Alban's) and London - West (Knightsbridge, Petersham, Oxford, Reading and Farnborough) (www.ev-synode.org.uk)

[434] For example in Dumfries, Bedford, Bury St Edmund's, Norwich, Brighton, etc.

3. The German churches in Ham/Petersham

α. History

The church communities in Ham/Petersham, founded fairly recently, stand out from the other German communities in Britain as they count the highest percentage of temporary migrants among their members. Founded for expatriates in the first place, presently many such Germans in the area attend either the Protestant or Catholic congregations[435] during their stay in the UK. As a result, fluctuation in these two congregations is very high; higher than in any other German community in Britain. In interviews with representatives of the Protestant and Catholic communities in Petersham, the problems of such an unstable community are recurring themes. Both church communities are located in close vicinity of the German School and the establishment of those congregations is closely linked to the latter. The School was opened in 1971 and this meant a great influx of German migrants to the area. As argued in Chapter One, the majority were expatriates and their families who stayed in London on temporary work assignments and contracts. Those first Germans in Petersham campaigned for Protestant church services to be held in the German language in their area of residence. Many had previously attended services at Christ Church, Knightsbridge, but soon found the weekly commute there too tedious. The congregation was founded in 1979 although German church services had been held sporadically in Ham since the opening of the German School in 1971 as the pastors of the districts London-I and London-II[436] were also teaching Religious Education at the School.[437] In 1976, the position of pastor for the district London-II became vacant and in the job description prepared for the Protestant Evangelical Church in Germany (*Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* – EKD) who was to select the candidates, one of the tasks of the new pastor was to be the development of a congregation around the German School ('Mitarbeit am Gemeindeaufbau im Bereich der Deutschen Schule'[438]). The primary

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[435] In this chapter, the Protestant and the Catholic congregations are considered alongside each other. Not dividing the chapter into paragraphs relating to one congregation at a time makes it easier to draw parallels and show commonalities between the congregations. Furthermore, in the two congregations as subcommunities, processes are mirrored that happen on a bigger scale inside the community, and thus the churches act as a panoptic of community life and should be considered together.

[436] The organisation of parish districts was changed and the districts renamed three time since 1970. Petersham formerly belonged to London-II and then London-South West before London-West was established.

[437] Chairman of the parochial church council of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham in an opening address of a council meeting in 1985, document belonging to the congregation.

[438] EZA 6/452 job description, 1976

initiative for the Protestant congregation, however, came from the parents of pupils attending the German School. In the opening address of a meeting of the parochial church council of Petersham, the chairman mentioned that it was mainly the parents of the confirmands of the school year 1978/79 who actively participated in the assembly of a congregation. The founding meeting of the Protestant community took place on 25 November 1979 and from 1980 onwards regular church services have been held twice a month at an Anglican host church which is still being used for these purposes today. The German-speaking Catholic congregation only moved to Ham in 1996. Before, mass was held at a local Catholic church in East Sheen. The German presence there dates back to the mid-1970s as well. It is, however, unclear when exactly German Catholic masses began in the South West. A former parish priest of the British Catholic host community in East Sheen dates the arrival of the Germans back to approximately 1976. He is, however, not certain.[439] The importance of the congregation in Ham for the German Catholic church in Britain becomes clear in a document regarding the re-structuring of the London communities when the Pallottine monks, who had been in charge of St Boniface and the congregation in East Sheen/Ham, withdrew from the church in 1996. In the notes on a meeting held in that year on the future of the congregations, Ham was considered as the new centre of the German Catholic church in London.[440] The move from East Sheen to Ham might have found its impetus in this change of administration when the decision was made that being in closer proximity to the German School was the most sensible step for the congregation as most of its members probably lived in the area anyway.[441] Presently, mass is held every Sunday at a local Catholic church with the main German Catholic priest for the UK and Ireland, and a temporary priest taking turns in conducting them.

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[439] Letter from a former parish priest of the church in East Sheen to the author, 2008.

[440] 'He [Father Blome – representative of the German *Bischofskonferenz*] explained that the presence of a German School in Richmond and a concentration of German speaking people living in the South West of London could, at some stage, suggest that this would be a more appropriate location. He emphasised that Whitechapel was important historically and that for the time being it was intended that both Adler Street and the presence in Richmond would be maintained.' German Catholic Church, 'Notes of meeting held at Archbishop's House on 22nd April 1996, private document.

[441] Another former parish priest of the church in East Sheen states in a letter to the author (2008) that 'the [German] congregation came from a wide area in a beautiful setting by the River Thames' with which he most likely means the Ham/Petersham area of Richmond.

β. Size and Membership

Due to their location in an expatriate community, the religious congregations in Ham are different from other German church communities in Britain regarding membership. Taking a look at the German *Auslandsgemeinden* affiliated to the EKD and the Catholic Church in Germany (*Katholische Kirche in Deutschland*), it becomes clear that there are two different types of communities, not just in a religious sense. Today there are around 200 German Protestant congregations outside Germany connected to the EKD[442], and the *Catholic Church in Germany* is in contact with over 180 dioceses world-wide which employ German pastors.[443] Apart from countries with a long history of German immigration, e.g. the US, South America, etc., German churches can also be found in countries with a fairly recent influx of Germans. Often these are countries that play an important role in the global economy and thus attract German investment which as a consequence entails the sending of employees to these countries. In the German-speaking Christian Community Shanghai[444], for example, the situation is similar to that in London:

> 'Die Wirtschaftsmetropole Shanghai gilt als wichtigster Wachstumsmotor in China und ist eine der grössten und wirtschaftlich bedeutendsten Städte der Welt. Fast täglich reisen Ausländer mit ihren Familien an, darunter viele aus deutschsprachigen Ländern, die meist für drei bis fünf Jahre in dieser Stadt bleiben.'[445]

The German congregations in Richmond are two such relatively new expatriate communities and examining these congregations in detail reveals clear differences to others. Before discussing the composition of the congregations, it is first necessary to take a look at attendance and membership figures. In the questionnaire distributed for this study, 30 respondents knew of the church communities, that is over half of the total. Knowing of them is, of course, different from being a member. To determine the exact size of each congregation is not easy, just as it is difficult to establish the size of the German community as a whole (see Chapter One). It is a fact, however, that the Petersham Protestant community is one of the bigger ones of its kind in Britain. This becomes evident when comparing the number of services held in the congregations. In

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[442] Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), 2008 – subsections in 'Ausland und Ökumene' for lists of German congregations abroad

[443] Katholische Kirche in Deutschland, 2008, >http://www.katholische-kirche.de/17801.html<

[444] It is called German-speaking Christian Community as both Protestant and Catholic congregations use the church buildings in equal measure.

[445] German-speaking Chrsitian Community Shanghai, 2008, 'Über die DCGS'

London-West, for example, bimonthly services are conducted in Petersham, Oxford and at Christ Church whereas in Farnborough and Reading they only take place once a month.[446] In the parish district London-East, services are held every week at St Mary's with St George's, twice a month at the Dietrich-Bonhöffer-Church but only once a month at Brighton and Haywards Heath.[447] Another example is the district East of England where the pastor preaches twice to three times a month in Cambridge and no more than once a month in all other congregations.[448] We can conclude, then, that the frequency with which services are held in one place indicates the relative size of that congregation simply because the number of people in need of spiritual care is directly proportionate to that of services held.

When considering available figures it has to be noted that, first of all, no consistent records have been kept of the number of people attending weekly services, hence large gaps exist in the last thirty years for which no figures could be obtained. Second, regarding the Protestant congregation, for some years, two different sets of figures exist. Although all figures are taken from documents belonging to the congregation itself, it is not always clear who calculated them. In some cases the differences between these two sets of data are quite stark and it is hard to say which one represents the truth. Thus comparisons can only be made with great caution and may not always represent the actual developments in the congregations and communities.

Table 12: *Church attendance and membership figures in the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham*

Year	Total number of Sunday service participants*	Average attendance of Sunday services	'Number of people regularly participating in church life' *****	Paying members	Number of addresses on file	Number of households receiving newsletter
1978						
1979	**1228**				**80**	
1980	**1800-1852**	**90**	**175**	**25**	**120**	**180**

[446] Parish district London-West, 2008, 'Über uns'
[447] Parish district London-East, Newsletter 'Das Senfkorn', October/November 2008,
[448] Parish district East of England, 2008, 'Gottesdienste'

1981**	**2057**	**79**	**175**	**30**	**163**	
1982						
1983***	**1288**	**161**				
1984****	**694**	**69**				
1985						**188**
1996						**124**
2008				**60 households**		

Source: compiled from different documents belonging to the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham

* Note that Sunday services also include occasions such as Christmas and Easter when attendance is exceptionally high.
** Children were possibly not counted into the total number of participants in that year.
*** For 1983, only figures relating to autumn of that year were available. During this period, out of eight church services, five were special occasions (Christening, introduction of confirmands, St Martin's parade, ecumenical service, Christmas). This explains the high average attendance.
**** For 1984, only figures relating to the first half of that year were available.
***** This category appears in the *Kirchenkassenübersicht* for 1980 and 1981. It very likely denotes the total number of people attending services and partaking in other activities without being paying members of the congregation.

It becomes obvious that due to the large gaps, the above figures are very inconclusive. Looking at the number of households receiving the congregation's newsletter, however, it can be cautiously concluded that it is very likely membership figures have remained fairly constant in the last thirty years. This point can be further supported by considering that fluctuation usually causes 'old' expatriates to be replaced by the same number of 'new' ones meaning that the total number of expatriates stays the same. Moreover, looking at Germany's rather stable economic situation since the 1970s, it is unlikely that the total number of expatriates sent abroad has fluctuated to any great extent. In how far the current economic crisis, however, has reduced the number of expatriates being sent abroad remains to be seen.

Table 13: *Church service attendance Petersham 24.12.1983-8.6.1984*

Date	Church service	Children's service	Total	Comments
24.12.1983	252	50	302	Christmas Eve
08.01.1984	24	0	24	school Christmas break
22.01.1984	70	9	79	ordinary Sunday
12.02.1984	78	8	86	ordinary Sunday
11.03.1984	49	8	57	short school break
25.03.1984	120	10	130	ecumenical good Friday service before school break
08.04.1984	29	0	29	school Easter break
22.04.1984	32	0	32	school Easter break
13.05.1984	64	6	70	ordinary Sunday
27.05.1984	180	7	187	Exam day for confirmands
08.06.1984	250	15	265 (expected)	Confirmation

Source: Document belonging to the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham

Looking in detail at the Protestant services held in Petersham during the first half of 1984, it becomes obvious that attendance is higher at religious festivals. This is a common state of affairs in churches around the world and thus not surprising.[449] What is unusual in the Petersham case, however, is the observation that attendance is also low during school holidays when the congregation shrinks to less than half its size. The reason for this situation, which can be assumed to be similar in other expatriate communities, is that families often leave London during the school vacation periods to visit relatives and friends in Germany or elsewhere.

For the German-speaking Catholic congregation, figures were only available for the years 2004 and 2005. In 2004, a regular Sunday service attracted approximately fifty worshippers, whereas in the school holidays this number shrank to twenty to twenty-five. In 2005, the figures were slightly elevated: fifty to sixty on an ordinary Sunday and twenty to thirty during the school holidays. These numbers confirm the aforementioned fact that church attendance decreases significantly during the school vacation period. The summer fete organised by the German and the British Catholic communities in Petersham was attended by approximately seventy people from the German and sixty from the British community in 2004, and by around ninety and sixty respectively in

[449] Stefan Manz, for example, observed the same to be true for the German congregation in Glasgow in 1911 (Manz, 2003, p. 212).

2005. Regarding the Christmas Eve service, 150 German-speakers took part in 2004.[450] These figures are very low compared to the 350 community newsletters distributed in the South West London area.[451]

The majority of church-goers and members in Richmond are families with children at or below school age which was established in Chapter One. The Protestant pastor and the Catholic lay preacher have confirmed this situation in interviews. When a new pastor was required for London-West in 1996, the EKD was sent a description of the parish district's congregations. In this account, 80 per cent of all members were described as staying in the country for two to three years only; a further group were those staying for eight to ten years.[452] The document, however, takes no account of the small percentage of permanent migrants in the congregation. Regarding the Catholic congregation, the annual report of 2004 concludes that ninety per cent of all households on file are young families. Five per cent are made up of singles and a further five per cent of older people.[453] A conclusion as to the age composition of the congregations can also be drawn by looking at children's church services in the parish district London-West. These are held regularly in Petersham, Christ Church and Oxford but not at all in Reading and Farnborough. Regarding the social, professional and age composition the five Protestant congregations of London-West were described as follows:

> 'Christuskirche:
> 1. Emigranten der Vor- und Nachkriegszeit, die alt geworden sind.
> 2. Deutsche, mit oder ohne Familie, die kurz- oder langfristig im Raum Großlondon arbeiten (Finanzsektor, Wirtschaft, Freiberufe, Botschaft, etc.)
> 3. Deutsch-englische Ehepaare, auch jüngere Familien mit Kindern.
> 4. Studenten und Doktoranden.
> 5. Au-Pair Mädchen, Krankenschwestern, Touristen und Besuchergruppen.
> Farnborough: Überwiegend Rentner.
> Reading: Überwiegend Rentner.
> Petersham: Viele Familien mit Kindern im schulpflichtigen Alter. "Mischehen".
>
> Vorwiegend in Wirtschaft und Industrie angestellt oder selbständig. Entsandte Mitarbeiter deutscher Firmen, Organisationen und Institutionen.
> Oxford:
> 1. Hitlervertriebene – Akademiker – Kriegsgefangene, deutschgebürtige

[450] Annual reports for 2004 and the first half of 2005 of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham.
[451] Interview with the lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham.
[452] 'Beschreibung des Pfarramtsbereiches London-West 1996', documents of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham.
[453] Annual report for 2004 for the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham.

Ehefrauen nach 1945
2. Familienangehörige von Jet, Nato, Privatfirmen – Europaschule'[454]

Ten per cent of members in the Catholic and ten to twenty per cent in the Protestant case fall into other categories than expatriates: some former 'war brides', exchange students and women workers also use the services of the church. They meet, for example, once a month at a coffee morning organised by the Catholic lay preacher especially for elder Germans in the area, or at the ecumenical coffee morning held jointly once a month by the two congregations. Some other families came to Britain as expatriates but outstayed their contract period, thus became 'locals' and form an integral part of the religious communities as will be discussed further on.

The structure of the church communities reflects that of the ethnic community. It has to be mentioned here, however, that the two religious communities are not congruent with the German community in Petersham[455] and it is almost impossible to say what percentage of the community is active in the churches. As is the case with other migrant communities in the world, just because people share one ethnicity does not mean they share one religion too. Even if they do, they might not necessarily be willing to participate in religious activities with their co-ethnics. Germany does not have a state religion, the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths are equally shared by two thirds of the population (the other third does not confess to any religion).[456] Secularisation contributed to church attendance decreasing steadily in the Christian world over the last two hundred years and Germany was no exception. This development was reflected in ethnic German congregations abroad. Although religion is still one of the most important markers of ethnic identity, not every migrant adheres to it. As Luebke, referring to Germans in the US, argues, neither was 'every German immigrant a practising Christian' nor was 'the church a pervasive influence in everyone's life'.[457] This remains true for German ethnic communities today, including the one in Richmond. The religious congregations exist as subcommunities within the ethnic community.

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[454] 'Beschreibung des Pfarramtsbereiches London-West 1996', documents of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham.
[455] This has also been explicitly stated by the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation in an interview, 2008.
[456] Tatsachen über Deutschland, 2008, 'Kirchen und Religionsgemeinschaften'
[457] Luebke, 1974, in Panayi, 1995, p. 149

Moreover, examining the descriptions above it becomes apparent that Petersham, though unique in its composition regarding the percentage of expatriate families among its members, is not the only community which contains a proportion of the latter. In Oxford the situation is similar. Apart from refugees and 'war brides', employees of multinational companies/institutions make up a significant part of the congregation. Furthermore, there is also a school there which caters for these employees' children – the European School. Other congregations/communities consist entirely of older people, others a mixture of both, older and younger members, temporary and permanent. An example for this is the district Scotland and North-East England. Whereas the German congregation of Middlesbrough is ageing, the ones in Glasgow and Newcastle do attract some families with children and the Edinburgh congregation is almost entirely made up of young people, singles, couples and families. There exists, however, one difference between Edinburgh and Petersham: In the Scottish capital many of the younger church members are permanent migrants with no intention of returning to Germany any time soon.[458] The same is true for the parish district London-East. While the district pastor is in charge of two churches in London, the Dietrich-Bonhöffer-Church in Forest Hill and St Mary's with St George's, they do not count a great number of expatriates among their membership. As the pastor puts it, 'unsere Gemeinden bestehen in erster Linie nicht aus Expats, sondern aus Menschen, die ihren Lebensmittelpunkt in Großbritannien haben. Die Älteren sind z.T. britische Staatsbürger oder haben zwei Staatsbürgerschaften.'[459]

It is easy to generalise and assume that many of the other German congregations in Britain are primarily made up of older ladies, many of whom 'war brides' and former women workers.[460] Although this is true for many smaller, provincial congregations, differentiation is needed to paint a true picture of German religious life and the above descriptions of other communities show that particularly in bigger towns and cities families constitute a significant part of the congregations. Yet most of these families intend to stay in Britain for longer, if not forever, and are not there on expatriate contracts. A final point on that matter is made by the pastor of the parish district South

[458] Email from the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregations in Scotland and North-East England to the author, 2008.
[459] Email from the pastor of the German Protestant parish district London-East to the author, 2008.
[460] A further hint regarding the 'older' character of other German-speaking congregations can be gathered through a statement made by a member of Christ Church's vestry: 'Der Pfarrer für Wales hat viele Besuche zu machen, weil 20% nicht mehr in die Kirche kommen können.' (Minutes of a meeting held by the parochial church councils of St Albans/Luton, St Mary's, St George's, Christ Church, Petersham, Farnborough, Reading, Oxford, Bournemouth and Sydenham, 27 January 1996)

West of England, South and West Wales who says that, although most of her congregations were established by 'war brides', young families who have settled in the area permanently are church members as well and there are even some expatriates taking part in the services.[461]

γ. Fluctuation

What makes the Petersham congregations so exceptionally frequented by expatriates, then, is the fact that it is located in London, the economic centre of the Britain, but, most importantly, that it is in close proximity to the German School. The congregations were established primarily for the School's pupils and their families, the majority of whom live in the South West London area.[462] One of the consequences of catering for the needs of a young expatriate community is the increased level of fluctuation which influences all aspects of community life. In the churches the effects are particularly pronounced as they make traditional church work nigh on impossible. Also, the Petersham congregations are different even from the other communities in which fluctuation occurs because the rate at which migrants come and go is much higher (see Chapter One). It can be argued, however, that fluctuation is not a new phenomenon among German ethnic church communities. Already during the time of the Protestant 'stranger churches' in London in the 16th century the coming and going of migrants was a frequent occurrence:

> 'These long-established foreign quarters gave London's stranger communities an air of stability which may to some extent have masked the transitory nature of much of the foreign population. Merchants came and went in the course of their business, and artisans also had a tendency to cross back and forth: not all who came in search of work settled, and many returned to their homelands for short periods to visit relatives or buy materials for their trades, or in the case of servants on completion of an apprenticeship.'[463]

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[461] Interview with the pastor of the parish district South West of England, South and West Wales, 2008.

[462] An analysis of the 1985 distribution list of the Protestant congregation's newsletter reveals that out of 188 households receiving the newsletter, 39 were located in Ham/Petersham, 41 in the Borough of Richmond and 36 in that of Kingston. Only 15 could be found in other Boroughs of South West London, 13 in other London Boroughs and 37 South West of, but outside, London. Furthermore, the lay preacher of the Catholic as well as the pastor of the Protestant community have stated in interviews that the majority of those taking part in church life live in Ham/Petersham or other parts of the boroughs of Kingston and Richmond. The Protestant pastor also remarked that compared to Christ Church in Knightsbridge, where German-speakers come from all over London to worship, in Petersham the majority live locally. This proves that the two congregations were essentially founded for and accommodate expatriates living in the area, the greater part of whom send their children to the German School.

[463] Pettegree, 1986, p. 18. John Williams also argues in his work on William Wordsworth's reception in Germany (to be published in 2009) that the 'healthy nineteenth century market for English primers is also a reminder of how many Germans continued to live and work in England, travelling between the

That church communities were far from stable can also be proven by looking at the way they were founded outside London. Particularly in the Northern sea ports German churches were partly established by sailors and transmigrants.[464] Some of them stayed in England but many moved on to other destinations in the case of the latter, or went back to Germany in the case of the former. Examining the German churches in Glasgow, Stefan Manz writes that in the 1880s a Pastor Geyer started to 'collect' the permanently as well as temporarily resident Germans to form a congregation.[465] In the 20th century, non-political German immigration only recommenced after the Second World War. In a letter to the president of the *Kirchliches Außenamt* (a former EKD department coordinating the work of German churches abroad), dated February 1960, Pastor Reimer of Christ Church, Knightsbridge, wrote that the constant coming and going of Germans made his work more difficult: 'Erschwerend wirkt ja hier der viele Zu- und vor allem Fortzug der Menschen.'[466] Already in 1959 he had remarked on the composition of his congregation: 'Bei uns besuchen viele Menschen die Kirche, die nach kurzer Zeit wieder nach Deutschland zurückkehren.'[467]

There is no doubt that before the establishment of the German School and the Protestant community in Petersham, the majority of German expatriates attended church services at Christ Church. Considering the development of German ethnic churches in Britain over time, it becomes clear that fluctuation is not a new phenomenon which came about with the globalisation of the world economy. Rather, the latter exacerbated fluctuation which is now taking place at a much higher rate and 'turn-over'.

Fluctuation causes an imbalance in the community as a whole as well as the ethnic churches. Though it does not greatly impact on membership figures as leaving church-goers are being replaced by newcomers in an equal number, it causes a degree of instability inside the congregations. Every year in September, after the German School's summer holidays, the congregations rebuild themselves, or rather; the pastors have to put every effort into rebuilding them. This upsets the administration of the

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countries on a regular basis' and attributes the distribution of English literature in Germany to this 'migratory population'. (Williams, 2009, Chapter Six, p. 1)

[464] Panayi, 1995, p. 159

[465] 'Schon bald begann er, die ansässigen und durchziehenden Deutschen "aus innerem Drang um Gottes Wort zu sammeln"'. Manz further quotes Pastor Geyer: 'Zusammen mit einem jungen deutschen Kaufmann sprach er "über den Mangel an deutschen Sonntagsgottesdiensten und an Erbauung der durchziehenden [emphasis added, TZ] Auswanderer, deren Zahl gerade damals eine außerordentliche war"'. (Manz, 2003, p. 199)

[466] EZA 6/449 No. 1412, 13.02.1960

[467] EZA 6/449 No. 200, 08.01.1959

congregations. Members of the parochial church councils may leave the UK after their expatriate contract expires, thus leaving a gap that takes a lot of work to fill. The lay preacher of the Catholic congregation illustrates the problem:

> 'Andererseits hat dieser häufige Wechsel auch große Nachteile für das Gemeindeleben, da plötzlich engagierte ehrenamtliche Mitglieder die Gemeinde verlassen und so schnell kein Nachfolger, keine Nachfolgerin gefunden werden kann. Z. B. diesen Sommer sind zwei engagierte Familien weggezogen, von denen die Frauen beide im Pfarrgemeinderat engagiert waren, in der Band aktiv, bei der Ministrantenarbeit, bei den Gemeindefesten und Coffeemornings mitgeholfen haben. Das hinterlässt erstmal eine große Lücke. Dann sind auch sechs Ministranten, -innen weggezogen, das sind fast ein Drittel der Ministrantengruppe.'[468]

Replacements for those who held positions in the congregations and moved away take some effort to find because many Germans in the area, even if they are religious, are reluctant to get involved with and take responsibilities in the church communities.[469] This disinclination may have several causes. First, the aforementioned secularisation of the Western world has reduced the number of those actively participating in religious life in general. The same happened among ethnic church communities. Some migrants may re-discover their religiousness after arriving in a new country, but the majority of those who grew up in a religious environment and subsequently lost their connection to it, are unlikely to take part in church activities in their host country. Second, frequent temporary stays in foreign countries take their toll on many expatriates' ambition in social terms. They and members of their families might have helped organise church activities in the first one or two destinations the expatriate was assigned to. Yet it always takes a great personal effort to do this over and over again at any new place of residence with the knowledge that soon the family will be moved on and established contacts and local communal ties will be lost yet again. The third and final possible reason for low active participation in church life can be found in other aspects replacing religion as a prime marker of identity. As the Western world has become more secular over the last century, with religion's weight in society and politics diminishing, so the migration experience is increasingly less shaped by religion. In Richmond, for example, businessmen might identify themselves more with other expatriates in their company, or with colleagues doing the same kind of work, irrespective of religion or nationality.

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[468] The lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham in an email to the author, 2008.

[469] Interview with the lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation in Petersham, 2008.

Strong transnational friendship networks exist for many Germans in which they feel more embedded than the local (church) community (see Chapter Two). The rise of consumerism in the last century has also created a new identity for men and women: that of the consumer. Consumer culture has shifted the focus away from non-work activities, such as religious devotion, to leisure pursuits such as shopping.[470] For many the church is thus not viewed as an important part of one's life. Religion's role in the upbringing of children has also declined. For parents it has become more important to educate their children in other than religious ways. Sports, arts and crafts are in first place when it comes to extra-curricular activities. The lay preacher of the German Catholic congregation has observed that many families view the church communities as a 'service', especially for their children, whose taking part in preparation for their confirmation is another leisure activity to be fitted in between violin and tennis lessons.[471] With older German communities in Britain it had been the case that churches were established as the first institutions of ethnic communities.[472] Then schools, usually run by the churches, followed. In Petersham the opposite happened. The German School had been founded before church communities were formed. Thus, from the beginning, the religious communities supplemented the community existing around the School. Moreover, often confirmations are carried out as a matter of good manners[473] rather than out of true religious conviction.

Apart from fluctuation creating instability within the congregations, it also creates an imbalance regarding the official acts carried out by the pastors. An over-concentration of families with school age and teenage children means a higher percentage of confirmations and First Communions as compared to baptisms, weddings and funerals. The pastors of the congregations in Richmond have confirmed this imbalance regarding official acts. The Protestant pastor has so far only performed one wedding in the first five years of her and her husband's[474] tenure as well as only a few

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[470] The increasing mass consumer culture, argues Russell L. Kazal, 'offered women new kinds of identity grounded in their emerging role as consumers' when discussing the decline of German-American identity at the beginning of the 20th century. (Kazal, 2004, p. 6) This development progressed in the course of the century and did not only encompass ethnic minorities and immigrants.

[471] Interview with the lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham, 2008.

[472] 'We may view the construction of a place of worship as symbolic of the establishment of an ethnic community' Colpi argues referring to European communities in London in the 19th century. (Colpi, 1991, p. 88)

[473] In particular when families originate from very pious areas of Germany where religion still plays a big part in the community but does not necessarily reflect the beliefs of all individuals.

[474] London-West only supports one pastor post. Currently this is shared by a married couple, both of whom are pastors.

christenings. Funeral services are rarely held in Petersham but mainly in the other congregations of London-West.[475] Table 14, showing the number of confirmands in the Protestant congregation, illustrates the situation further despite existing gaps due to the unavailability of figures.

Table 14: *Confirmands in the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham*

Year	**Number of confirmands**
1978/79	17
1979/80	27
1980/81	18
1983/84	29
1985/86	19
1994/95	8
1996/97	15
2007/08	20
2008/09	20

Source: Compiled from documents of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham

The number of confirmands is higher in Petersham than in the other communities of London-West considering that in 2008/2009 there were only six confirmands in the Oxford congregation and none in Reading and Farnborough. The congregation in Edinburgh has a comparatively small group of confirmands because, in the words of the pastor, 'there is no German school in Edinburgh'[476], thus emphasising the impact the German School in Petersham has on the age structure of the religious communities. Fluctuation itself also has an impact on confirmations. In Protestant parishes in Germany, confirmation classes last for two years. In Petersham this has been reduced to one year as, first, it might be impossible for some teenagers of expatriate families to attend classes for the whole two years due to the families being moved elsewhere and,

[475] In 1995, for example, eight funerals were held at Christ Church, two in Petersham, one each in Farnborough and Reading and none in Oxford. Three wedding ceremonies were conducted at Christ Church and four christenings, none in the other congregations. The pastor performed one confirmation at Christ Church, eight in Petersham and none in the other congregations. ('Beschreibung des Pfarramtsbereiches London-West 1996', documents of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham)

[476] Email from the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish district Scotland and North East England to the author, 2008.

second, due to the increasing workload pupils have to cope with at the German School once they reach eighth grade.[477]

In the Catholic congregation the situation is the same. In 2004, one funeral was the only other official act carried out beside First Communion and confirmations; in 2005 the latter were the only acts.[478] This further demonstrates the young character of the community. Table 15 shows the number of First Communion candidates and confirmands for comparison.

Table 15: *First Communion candidates and confirmands in the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham*

Year	First Communion candidates	Confirmands	Ministrants
1998	23	28	
1999	20	No confirmation	
2000	18	17	
2001	27	11	
2002	19	No confirmation	
2003	14	16	
2004	26	13	21?
2005	17	14	21?
2006	13	No confirmation	
2007	15	25	23
2008	24	16	17

Source: Table compiled by the lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham for the present study.

As maintained above, depending on the composition of the congregations, official acts are being carried out in different proportions. For instance, in the parish district South West of England, South and West Wales, where the majority of those participating in church life are older people, funerals outweigh all other acts. In the last four years the

[477] Confirmation classes thus take place in seventh grade. All information regarding this difference: Interview with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham, 2008.
[478] Annual reports for 2004 and the first half of 2005 of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham.

district pastor has only performed one wedding and three christenings.[479] Another example is the parish district London-East. According to the pastor, not more than ten to fifteen christenings are carried out in one year in all three congregations which is already a lot more than in the other districts. Added to this are six to eight funerals per year and hardly any confirmations. In the last couple of years, he further states, only one to two weddings have taken place.[480] This rather peculiar situation of only a few official acts per year can be explained by the fact that the congregations of London-East primarily attract permanent German migrants. These might leave Germany when they are in their twenties and thirties, find a partner and found their families in Britain which explains the relatively high rate of christenings. As their partners are often not German, the second generation will, in most cases, not grow up in a totally German environment but will be integrated either into British society or into another background depending on the ethnicity of the other parent. Consequently the German church communities of London-East cater essentially for the first generation. The district pastor of London-East summarises the circumstances in his district as follows:

> 'Viele sind mit Briten verheiratet, was zur Folge hat, daß die zweite, spätestens die dritte Generation meist ganz britisch ist. Das bedeutet, daß die Gemeinde immer eine Gemeinde der ersten Generation ist und wohl auch bleiben wird. Die Kinder, die wir taufen oder konfirmieren, werden in den seltensten Fällen unsere späteren Gemeindemitglieder, das ist wohl ähnlich wie in Petersham, aber aus einem völlig anderen Grund.'[481]

The lack of second generation members is not specific to London-East. The pastor argues that the situation is similar in Petersham but for a different reason. It is true that second generation migrants, the children of expatriate families, will not become members of the Petersham congregation in later life. The same is true for the Catholic community. Expatriate children participate in church life for the length of their stay in London which is determined by the employer of one of their parents. Nevertheless, exceptions do exist. Expatriates who outstay their contracts and become 'locals' might continue to raise their children within the German church. Provided that both parents are of German-speaking origin, the German congregation is likely to become the spiritual home of their children. However, once these have children with a non-German-speaking partner, chances that the third generation will grow up in the German church

[479] Interview with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish district South West of England, South and West Wales, 2008.
[480] Email from the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish disctrict London-East to the author, 2008.
[481] Ibid.

are greatly diminished. In the case of the non-expatriate members with non-German partners of the Petersham congregations, for example the former women workers and war brides, the second generation will have no connection to the German church, possibly not even the German community, as in most cases the spouses of these women are British and the children integrated into British society. This lack of second generation members is also apparent in the other Protestant parish districts, especially in those where the majority of permanent migrants have non-German-speaking partners.[482] Despite the problem of the second generation, membership figures in the bigger congregations remain surprisingly constant. Looking back at Table 1 this becomes evident for the Petersham case. Referring to his congregations in London-East, the Protestant pastor has observed the following: 'Die Gemeindegliederzahlen [sic] sind dabei erstaunlich konstant und regulieren sich durch Zuzug (im Fall von St. Marien kann man die Zahl von etwa 100 plus-minus-10 Mitgliedern über Jahrhunderte zurückverfolgen).'[483] This means that the loss of potential members through the second generation problem is compensated by new arrivals.[484] This is also the case in Petersham, brought about by fluctuation.

Despite the problems fluctuation causes for the congregations, it also has the advantage that it offers the pastors a chance to try out different ways of working. Work in German congregations abroad has never been easy for the pastors. The situation in migrant communities is very unlike that in parishes inside Germany.[485] One of the defining factors of church work in Petersham is fluctuation. Whereas in congregations inside Germany many members will have known each other for a long time and thus created a close-knit community, in the *Auslandsgemeinden* people from all backgrounds

[482] The problem of loss of the second generation migrants is not a new phenomenon among the German churches in Britain. Susanne Steinmetz argues that 'two standard complaints emerge in the history of the German congregations in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One was the constant objection to how quickly the Germans became integrated into their English surroundings and, coupled with this, concern for the future of the German congregations.' (Steinmetz in Panayi, 1996, p. 67).

[483] Email from the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish district London-East to the author, 2008.

[484] This, of course, only applies to bigger congregations located in cities that attract new German migrants, such as London and Edinburgh. Many smaller provincial congregations (such as the majority of those in the Protestant parish district South West of England, South and West Wales), have gradually been losing members through death and fail to attract new ones. These are ageing communities who will cease to exist with the demise of the present generation.

[485] First of all, the pastor is not responsible for all Lutheran/Catholic/etc. people in a certain parish but only a fraction: those who belong to a linguistic group (German-speaking). Furthermore, as opposed to inside Germany where often even villages have their own pastor, in German congregations abroad people live widely dispersed as parishes are geographically bigger. Subsequently church-goers as well as the pastors will have to travel frequently in order to worship. (see also: Kastner in Becher, 2000, p. 51)

come together for church activities without knowing anything about each other. Although fluctuation does not inhibit the creation of a close community, it keeps the community flexible and prevents it from getting stuck in old ways. The lay preacher of the Catholic congregation in Petersham puts is like this:

> 'Das hat einerseits Vorteile für eine Gemeinde, weil die Gemeindestrukturen und –aktivitäten relativ flexibel bleiben, da die ehrenamtlichen Mitarbeiter wechseln. Z. B. in Gemeinden in Deutschland gibt es mancherorts noch sehr starre Gemeinden mit der Maxime „wie´s immer so war, so soll´s auch bleiben"'.[486]

After having focused on the effects fluctuation has on the ethnic churches in Petersham, ways in which the pastors try to overcome these to create some stability will be discussed. To begin with, an over-representation of confirmands and ministrants in the congregations has previously caused church work to concentrate on this one target group. This was a situation recognised in a 1996 paper circulated among members of the parochial church council of the Protestant congregation entitled 'Das Petersham Prinzip':

> 'Die Konfirmandenfalle: In der gemeindlichen Arbeit in Petersham stehen Konfirmanden und deren Eltern im Vordergrund. Ausschlaggebend dafür ist die Nähe der Deutschen Schule und damit der konfirmierbaren Jugendlichen. Obwohl diese Arbeit sehr wichtig ist, hat sich der Anspruch der Gemeindearbeit damit insgesamt reduziert auf eine einzige Zielgruppe.'[487]

The document further suggests that to remedy this imbalance, the vestry needs to know the exact composition of the community[488] and should then introduce new church-led activities attractive to the following groups: pre-school children, mothers with young children, working parents, singles, pensioners, students and others.[489] These recommendations have been followed up on and presently the two congregations offer a broad range of activities for all age groups. The Catholic congregation organises a

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[486] Lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham in an email to the author, 2008.

[487] No author, circa 1996, 'Das Petersham Prinzip', document of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham

[488] The paper states that the distribution of different groups across the congregation is not known at present ('Wir wissen momentan wahrscheinlich nicht einmal um die verhältnismäßige Verteilung solcher Zielgruppen...', Ibid.), showing that the composition of the latter is not clear, not even to those closely involved with the church.

[489] Ibid. It is worth noting that of all German-speaking congregations in Britain, Petersham is the only one where the pastor is not the head of the congregation. All decisions lie within the parochial church council / vestry.

weekly playgroup for toddlers and parents as well as monthly, religious-themed coffee mornings for the elderly.[490] The Protestant congregation offers a weekly evening discussion round for women, a monthly afternoon meeting for the elderly (together with the Christ Church congregation) as well as a fortnightly discussion round for 18 to 50-year-olds concerned with biblical themes. Every three months the two congregations arrange for an ecumenical coffee morning in Ham at which everyone is welcome to meet and listen to presentations of various religious subjects (be it the Church of England or the history of the German churches in London), join in the bring-and-share breakfast and meet friends. These coffee mornings are almost exclusively attended by women, many of whom bring their young children with them.[491] This further indicates that in many expatriate families with children (not only young children) the women do not work (see Chapter One). It is important to provide a forum for these women, a meeting place where they can find others in similar situations and exchange experiences (similar to the role of the German School for mothers, see Chapter Two).[492]

In order to recruit volunteers and gain new members, the two congregations need to advertise their 'services' to the community. The churches' close cooperation with the

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[490] These coffee mornings are presently regularly attended by around eight women according to the lay preacher. A look at the congregation's annual reports shows that attendance has slightly declined. Whereas in 2004 ten to twelve women participated on average, this decreased to ten exactly in the first half of 2005. One of these coffee mornings was attended by the author and in interviews with the ladies it became evident that all but two were married to British men, one had a Czech and the other a German husband. Their reason for attending was primarily to spend some time with each other. Interestingly, none of them identified herself with the German community in Petersham.

[491] As witnessed by the author.

[492] The isolation of migrant women has been examined in connection with German migration. Stefan Manz, writing about Germans in Glasgow in the 19th century, for example argues that women migrants suffered more from social isolation than men. At that time this was due to the lower standing of women in society which prohibited them from joining German clubs (*Vereine*). Many housewives and unmarried women, such as governesses and teachers, were thus excluded from the social life of the German community. The church provided them with the only platform where they could meet on ethnic grounds. Subsequently women-specific clubs were founded whose members were as much concerned with philanthropy as with the social aspect of their activities. (Manz, 2003, p. 215) Women's societies are also regularly discussed. Looking at literature on the German churches in Britain from Susanne Steinmetz to Walter Bindemann, every congregation had a least one women's society attached to it. Another example is Panayi who in connection with St George's German church mentions the Ladies Clothing Society who provided children of poor families with new garments. (Panayi, 1995, p. 152) Women have generally been very active in church life, in their home countries and abroad, precisely for the reason that the church offered them the only place where they could actively contribute to the well-being of the community and make their views heard. Nevertheless, as Manz remarks, these women's associations were class-based (Manz, 2003, p. 217). It can be argued that this it true to some extent in the present-day Petersham community. Apart from those on maternity leave, only women who enjoy financial security through their husbands' well-paid jobs can afford not to work. This frees up time which they can then spend on other activities such as the church-led playgroup and coffee mornings.

German School allows them to make parents and pupils aware of their presence.[493] In the words of the lay preacher of the Catholic community:

> 'Wir versuchen natürlich das ganze Jahr über ehrenamtliche Mitarbeiter zu werben und nutzen auch die geselligen/religiösen Angebote an der Deutschen Schule aus (Coffeemornings, Sommer- und Adventsfest, Einschulungsgottesdienste...), um für uns als Gemeinde Werbung zu machen und Leute kennenzulernen. Vor allem auch Anfang des Schuljahres „tauchen" doch wieder neue Kirchgänger in unserer Gemeinde auf, die wir natürlich versuchen, in irgendeiner Weise einzubinden. Letzten Sommer stieß eine Familie dazu. Die Frau hat sich von selber angeboten, eine Art Kindergottesdienst zusätzlich zu unseren Familiengottesdiensten mitzugestalten. Das haben wir dann auch umgesetzt. So bieten wir zusätzlich zu unseren Familiengottesdiensten am 1. Sonntag im Monat jeden 3. Sonntag im Monat eine Kinderkirche für die kleineren Kinder an. Die Erstkommunion- und Firmvorbereitung ist auch eine Chance, neue Familien kennenzulernen und evtl. in die Gemeindearbeit zu involvieren. Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist für uns die Deutsche Spiel- und Krabbelgruppe, die jeden Montag Morgen stattfindet und in der immer wieder „neue" Mütter/Väter mit ihren Kindern teilnehmen. Einige sind durchaus kircheninteressiert und nehmen dann auch an kirchlichen Veranstaltungen teil. Um z. B. wieder neue Ministranten, -innen zu gewinnen, bieten wir jedes Jahr eine Ministrantenausbildung für die 4. Klässler (ein halbes Jahr nach der Erstkommunion) an und teilen auch Werbungsbriefe in den 4. Klassen der Deutschen Schule aus. Wir sind das ganze Jahr über gefragt, Werbung für uns als Gemeinde zu machen und Leute anzusprechen.'[494]

A great advertising effort is not only required by the Petersham congregations to keep their membership figures up. Advertising has been used in one way or another by any religious congregation, regardless of denomination and nationality. In the German case one example shall be quoted. The German Protestant parish district South West of England, South and West Wales has, according to its pastor, carried out an enormous campaign to attract more members and save the congregations from decline. A new website, leaflets, posters as well as an announcement on local television were designed

[493] As the churches have been established through the expatriate families' initiative it is not surprising that a strong bond exists between the congregations and the German School. Children starting school at six or seven years old are involved in annual services held especially for them by the Catholic congregation. The latter also organises study days for pupils from 9th to 11th grade. The Protestant pastor is involved in Religious Education lessons at the German School and both religious communities have a stall at the summer and Christmas fetes held at the school. Every year pupils volunteer to participate in the congregations' nativity plays. Fortnightly ecumenical kindergarten afternoons are organised as well as an annual weekend-long outing for teenagers. All these activities are arranged on top of confirmation, ministrant and First Communion preparation classes.

[494] Lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham in an email to the author, 2008.

to make German-speakers in the area aware of the church's offers. Reportedly this was a great success.[495]

It becomes clear from the lay preacher's statement that the congregations rely on individuals keen to participate actively in church life, if not to lead activities. Two members of the Protestant parochial church council have stated that the core of the congregation is formed by those who have been living, or intend to stay, in the area for longer. Furthermore, a document on the structural plans of the congregation states:

> 'Die Kerngruppe der Gemeinde besteht aus Familien, die seit Jahren ihren Lebensmittelpunkt in London haben. Obwohl häufig einer der Lebenspartner in diesen Familien an eine englische Gemeinde gebunden ist, ist für den anderen die Bewahrung der spezifischen evangelischen Traditionen ein grosses Anliegen.'[496]

This refers primarily to families in which one partner is German or German-speaking. This is the case in many families where the woman is either a former 'war bride', woman-worker, au pair, exchange student, etc. who decided to stay in Britain. It is not uncommon that these women are affiliated to two congregations, the German-speaking and another local church.[497] It seems to be those more permanent migrants who carry the congregation and whose work is supplemented by the effort of some dedicated expatriates and their family members. This can partly be confirmed by examining the members of both vestries over the years. Presently, in the Catholic church council there is one individual who has been associated with this congregation for many years and in the Protestant council there are two members who have been actively involved since the foundation of the congregation.[498]

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[495] Interview with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish district South West of England, South and West Wales, 2008.

[496] Document compiled by the parochial church council of the Protestant congregation for the German-speaking Lutheran, Reformed, and United Congregations in Britain, February 1999.

[497] This has been confirmed in interviews with those older German ladies attending the church-organised coffee mornings, 2008.

[498] Looking through documents belonging to the Protestant congregation these two names kept appearing, together with others who are not currently members of the vestry but otherwise associated with the Protestant congregation and still living in the area.

δ. Purpose

The German School's parents' motivation for their campaign to have their own Protestant church community in Petersham is described as follows:

> 'Was war unsere Idee? Wir wollten allen, die für eine befristete Zeit hier in England sind, eine Fortsetzung des kirchlichen Gemeindelebens vermitteln und denjenigen, die sich für immer hier angesiedelt haben, eine Möglichkeit zur Teilnahme an deutschsprachigen Gottesdiensten bieten. Gleichzeitig wollen wir als evangelische Gemeinde die ökumenische Idee mit der Katholischen und der gastgenbenden anglikanischen Gemeinde praktizieren.'[499]

In this short paragraph are reflected the main aims of German ethnic churches in the world today: to offer temporary migrants a possibility to continue their spiritual life abroad in the way they did in Germany (or another German-speaking country) and permanent migrants the opportunity to worship in their native language. Furthermore, all German religious activity in the *Auslandsgemeinden* should happen in an ecumenical context. Although German ethnic churches also act as cultural institutions where German customs and traditions are celebrated and passed on to younger generations[500], today's situation is a far cry from the cultural-nationalistic role German churches played before the First World War. E.W. Bussmann, Head of the German Protestant Church before the war, writes in 1908 about

> 'das schöne Vorrecht der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinden im Ausland, durch ihre Pflege der deutschen Sprache und Sitte, des deutschen Glaubens und Geistes, die keine Fremdherrschaft dulden, die hervorragenden Träger des Deutschtums zu sein'[501]

This extract makes quite clear the purpose German churches abroad had at that time. With the national-imperialistic mindset in Germany in the late 19th and early 20th century as a backdrop, ethnic churches were seen as the keepers of 'Germanness' abroad (*Auslandsdeutschtum*) in those countries with German minorities and in the

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[499] Chairman of the parochial church council of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham in an opening address of a council meeting in 1985, document belonging to the congregation

[500] First of all, the church services themselves are held in similar fashion to those in local congregations inside Germany, thus keeping this particularly German way of worship alive. Second, all religious festivals are celebrated according to German traditions such as St Martin's day parade where children gather for a lantern-lit procession, as well as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. For many expatriate parents it is important that their children continue to grow up in this kind of environment during their stay in Britain. For those families having made Britain their permanent home the occasional immersion in German culture is insofar crucial as it prevents their children and themselves from losing their German roots.

[501] Bussmann, 1908, in Becher, 2000

colonies. A publication from the same year pointed out that losing one's faith meant losing one's national identity and morality: 'Es ist eine feststehende Erfahrung, daß unsere fernen Glaubensgenossen mit dem Preisgeben ihres religiösen Guts auch den nationalen und den sittlichen Halt verlieren.'[502] This treatment of the church as the foremost marker of national identity and pride, and a bulwark against host country influences on the German minorities only changed just before the Second World War, in the middle of the *Kirchenkampf* raging in Nazi-Germany. By 1945 the German congregations of a nationalistic and confession-bound nature had lost their right to exist.

Ecumenical cooperation, working together with communities of other confessions, German-speaking as well as those of the host and third countries, has become a main focus of German church work. In the 1973 Brussels Declaration the directors of church work abroad of all European churches agreed that the churches of the sending and the receiving countries both hold a responsibility for migrants. What's more, an eventual integration into the host churches was recommended as the best measure against migrants' isolation:

> 'Da Ausländer dazu neigen isoliert zu sein, sollten ihre Gemeinden soweit wie möglich sichtbare Verbindung und gemeinsames Zeugnis und Dienst mit den einheimischen Kirchen suchen und ihre Mitglieder ermutigen, sich so weit wie möglich in den einheimischen Kirchen und ihrer Arbeit zu beteiligen.'[503]

Ecumenical connections do exist in all the German Protestant parish districts in Britain as well as the two Catholic communities. Not only do the two congregations in Petersham cooperate with each other in organising activities such as the ecumenical coffee morning, Women's World Day of Prayer together with all Christian communities in the area, a joint service outdoors at Pentecost as well as the aforementioned activities involving the German School.[504] They also forge mutual relationships with their host

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[502] Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenausschuss, 1908, p. 22

[503] Held, 1996, in Becher, 2000

[504] Not always have relations between German churches of different denominations been so positive. In 19th century America, Protestants and Catholics took care to keep their distance to one another. 'Organized parish activities were the major defence of the German Catholic community against the threat raised by German ethnicity (and its subversive associations with Protestantism and republicanism)', Nadel argues (Nadel, 1990, p. 94). Many Catholics defined themselves first as Catholics and then as Germans, putting religion above nationality. Likewise, relationships between German Catholics and those of other origins were equally cold. Confrontations with Irish Catholics did not seldom turn hostile (see Kazal, 2004, p. 33). In Britain, during the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the unification of the German Protestant churches in one synod was unthinkable. Susanne Steinmetz argues that 'the lack of co-ordination between the pastors' was one of the standard complaints of some pastors. She further states that a certain rivalry among the pastors was the cause as they feared a loss of members if they cooperated

churches in Petersham. Occasional joint services between the Protestant congregation and their Anglican host church are complemented by ongoing, mutual invitations to their respective church services. A monthly 'clergy lunch' provides the Anglican as well as the two German congregations with a regular meeting place where views can be exchanged. The German Catholic congregation celebrates several occasions jointly with their British hosts: an annual summer fete, St Nicholas Day, morning meditation during Lent, evening prayers during Advent as well as joint mass twice a year. The value of a good relationship with the host church became evident when, in 1984, the headmaster of the German School proposed to the congregations the use of an empty church building in Petersham for themselves instead of renting out the local churches. The Protestant vestry's response speaks for itself:

> 'Wie Sie vielleicht wissen, wurden den deutsche Gemeinden im Laufe des letzten Jahres durch Vermittlung des Schulleiters der Deutschen Schule die z. Zt. unbenutzte All Saints Kirche in der Sudbrook Lane für die Anhaltung der Gottesdienste angeboten. Wir haben jedoch davon Abstand genommen, weil wir glauben, daß die so erfreuliche fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit mit St Andrews[505] für unsere Gemeinde von Vorteil ist...'[506]

However, the aim of integrating the migrants into the host churches is not as pronounced in Petersham as it is in other German congregations (see Chapter Two). Due to the expatriates' fairly short stay in Britain, participation in non-German churches is hardly feasible or desired. The lay preacher of the Catholic congregation in Petersham has mentioned the hesitation with which German Catholics in the area get involved in church communities other than the German-speaking. Very often they are only able to engage with these congregations after several years.[507] First, expatriates have neither enough time to spend on becoming acquainted with local churches nor the will to do so when they know that they will have to leave the community eventually and re-integrate into a congregation in Germany or somewhere else.[508] Second, with expatriate parents

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too closely with other congregations (Steinmetz in Panayi, 1996, p. 67). Ecumenical work, even among German ethnic churches, is thus a fairly recent development.

[505] St Andrews is the local Anglican church used by the Protestant congregation.

[506] Chairman of the parochial church council of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham in an opening address of a council meeting in 1985, document belonging to the congregation.

[507] Interview with the lay preacher of the German-speaking Catholic congregation Petersham, 2008.

[508] In the description of the parish district London-West, mentioned in Section β, question 2.4.1. asks if the congregations are affiliated to any non-German churches. The answer is no. In 2.4.2. it is explained why this is the case. For Petersham the justification is the following: 'Bedeutung der Seelsorge in deutscher Sprache 1. für alternde Menschen deutscher Herkunft und Sprache; 2. für evangelische Christen aus dem Bereich der EKD, die nach einem relativ kurzen Aufenthalt in Großbritannien wieder zu Gemeinden der EKD zurückkehren werden oder neu zu ihnen finden werden.' ('Beschreibung des

both being German in most cases, there is no great incentive to get involved with a local British church. Furthermore, the expatriates' English language skills are often not advanced enough to fully participate in church services held in languages other than German:

> 'Es gibt kaum eine Zugehörigkeit der Gemeindeglieder [sic] zu englischen Kirchen, da meist beide Elternteile deutschsprachig sind und die Kenntnis der englischen Sprache oft nicht ausreichen würde zum Verständnis eines englischsprachigen Gottesdienstes.'[509]

Thus the German-speaking congregations offer expatriates the opportunity to continue their religious life almost the same way as in Germany. As the bursar of the Protestant congregation remarked, the congregation acts as a temporary ersatz community.[510] This is different for those who have settled in the area permanently. Particularly those Germans with British spouses tend to become involved with their partner's church. As above mentioned, dual memberships are the results.[511] In some cases the German spouse becomes completely immersed in a congregation other than the German-speaking. The pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish district South West of England, South and West Wales, when talking about funerals, referred to the fact that not all Germans in the area have their funerals held in the German community as they might have also been members of local Anglican congregations.[512] This applies to all German ethnic congregations in Britain but to a greater extent to those with an older membership.

Beside the possibility to worship in one's mother tongue, there is another aspect to the work of ethnic churches: the opportunity for migrants to interact socially with one another. It has been argued by many scholars examining immigrant churches that the social function of a religious community is equally, if not more, important than its religious function. Colpi maintains that 'social community and religion are closely

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Pfarramtsbereiches London-West 1996', documents of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham)

[509] Parochial church council of the German-speaking Protestant community Petersham, no date (circa 1985), 'Informationen über Gemeindearbeit in Petersham'

[510] Interview with the bursar of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham, 2008.

[511] In the description of the parish district London-West, the percentage of those with dual membership is given as five per cent for Christ Church and 20 per cent for Reading. Figures for Petersham were not ascertainable. ('Beschreibung des Pfarramtsbereiches London-West 1996', documents of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham)

[512] Interview with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant parish district South West of England, South and West Wales, 2008.

related to, and reflected in, each other'.[513] Moreover, activities with a primarily social focus take place besides church services. An advertisement from the 1960s of the German-speaking Protestant congregation in Scotland offered 'Offene Abende: Glaubensinformationen, Vorträge, Diskussionen, Filme, Lichtbilder, Hörspiele, Schallplatten, Geselligkeit und Tanz'[514] to German-speakers. This illustrates perfectly the emphasis being placed upon social interaction by the pastors. In the same volume Hannes-Dietrich Kastner, a former theology student who spent one year in the congregation as a theology student, explains the reasons for this emphasis:

> 'Die Arbeit in einer Auslandsgemeinde lehrt die Geselligkeit als ein wesentliches Element jeglicher Gemeindearbeit neu schätzen. Das Zusammensitzen beim Tee nach dem Gottesdienst schafft Gemeinschaft, gibt Gelegenheit zum Austausch, zum Predigtgespräch, zum Kennenlernen. Gemeinsame Ausflüge und Konzertbesuche bedeuten für Menschen, die sich verloren und verlassen vorkommen, sehr viel.'[515]

One only needs to look at publications, printed and online, of the congregations to see that forty years later this is still true. In every Protestant parish district church services are followed by 'socials' where attendants meet over coffee and tea. Other social activities, such as book clubs and discussion rounds, take place in the bigger congregations. It is important to note, however, that they always contain a religious aspect as well but with an informative rather than missionary focus. Thus these activities also become attractive for those who are not religious but are primarily interested in the social aspects of such meetings.[516] The activities other than worship offered by the Richmond congregations have already been discussed in preceding sections. They show that the two expatriate congregations, too, regard social interaction as an important aspect of church life. Nevertheless, according to one of the pastors, community life does not exist within her congregation due to the fact that all members are always too busy. She added that the expatriates do not go to church because they are looking for a community but because they long to get away from all the consumerism and stress that surrounds them the rest of the week.[517] This statement implies that the

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[513] Colpi, 1991, p. 232
[514] Becher, 2000, p. 17
[515] Ibid., p. 56
[516] Stefan Manz remarks on a similar situation in Glasgow: 'Und schließlich wird auch die Geselligkeitsfunktion der Gemeinde als Mittel zur Kontaktaufnahme hervorgehoben. Auch wer nur in begrenztem Maße religiös war, konnte sich durch die angebotene Sozialisierungsmöglichkeit angesprochen fühlen.' (Manz, 2003, p. 204)
[517] Interview with the pastor of the German-speaking Protestant congregation Petersham, 2008.

social community is not as strong in Petersham as it is in other congregations. A reason for this may be the fluctuation among the community. It is, however, difficult to determine whether the pastor's observation applies to the whole expatriate community or merely a section of it. The statement by both pastors that the congregations are held together by those having settled in the area permanently seems to confirm the Protestant pastor's opinion. Considering the results of the primary research conducted for the present study and the percentage of temporary migrants in the congregations, one cannot help but conclude that for many expatriates the German congregations do offer comfort and familiarity not only in a religious but in a social and communal context. A generalisation, then, is impossible to make.

Conclusion

The globalisation of the world economy, with the increased number of employers sending employees on international assignments, has opened new ways for personal identities to be formed. Ethnic identity as such might have lost its importance to some extent and been partly replaced by an identity fashioned by the migrant himself: that of international businessman, for example, with social ties not necessarily in an ethnic community but with individuals from different backgrounds connected by shared experiences, not ethnicity or nationality. It can be argued that thus the church has lost most of its purpose as a marker of ethnic identity and is decreasingly needed by migrants for their spiritual wellbeing. Further, the short stay of expatriates in any one place has possibly reduced their willingness to become involved with the church. There can be added to that a lack of time to devote to religious matters and the increased importance of non-religious leisure activities. This view corresponds with the observation by the Protestant pastor that a real community life does not exist in Petersham.

In contrast, it can be argued that the churches are an important aspect of the expatriate experience, just as they are important for permanent migrants. Although the religious congregations form only a small percentage of the total number of Germans in the Petersham area, they do attract many temporary migrants who are grateful for their existence. Furthermore, as expatriates tend not to become integrated in local British churches, the German congregations' work is the more pronounced in Petersham as it

provides the only spiritual haven for these migrants. The church becomes a stable part of their lives which is the more important in the hyper-mobile environment many expatriates find themselves in. Their ethnic identity is essentially anchored within the church community. The congregations form subcommunities which help strengthen the community as a whole and for many are the centre of their migration experience. Moreover, they fulfil the vital role of offering temporary migrants the possibility to continue their religious life in the UK, permanent migrants to worship in their mother tongue, spiritual guidance and an opportunity for social interaction.

Considering the two standpoints above it can thus be concluded that the importance of religion as a marker of ethnic identity in the German community in Petersham largely depends on one's point of view. To some expatriates, the first opinion, that of the churches holding no great significance for the migration experience, may apply. To others, the churches continue to be an important part of their lives from a religious and a social point of view. How the congregations' services are used is determined by each individual migrant. Hence the degree to which religion shapes a migrant's ethnic identity is a result of personal decisions. It is certainly true that the Petersham congregations are different from other German congregations in Britain but that does not necessarily mean that their work is more or less essential for or desired by the migrants. Fluctuation does cause instability and imbalance but the pastors have the means to overcome these and do not need to fear for the future of their congregations as long as the German School continues to draw expatriates to the area and at least some of them wish to use what the congregations have to offer.

Conclusion

This study on the German community in Richmond had several aims. As the community had never been the subject of scholarly research before, the first aim was to place it in the context of contemporary migration movements followed by a discussion of its history, size and the residence patterns of its members as well as its social and occupational composition. Having established these characteristics of the community, the second aim was to determine the role of ethnic identity among its members who are surrounded by a dense network of community institutions and businesses as well as living in close proximity to a great number of their compatriots, but who also maintain transnational connections with other Germans and members of other nationalities across borders. The impact of local ties on the one hand and global ones on the other hand on a person's own perception of self formed the larger part of Chapter Two which was preceded by a discussion of community institutions and businesses. Chapter Three was wholly dedicated to an analysis of the two German church communities in the area which, because of their importance for the community and the abundance of available material, deserved their own chapter. Due to the fact that this is the first study conducted on this specific community, its findings cannot be juxtaposed with results of previous studies on the same subject. Hence they can only be compared with those of research carried out on (German) expatriate communities and earlier German communities around the world in the 19th and early 20th century. It has to be assumed then that the outcomes presented in the following paragraphs represent as accurate a picture as possible of the situation of the German community in Richmond and Kingston available to date and will hopefully form the basis for further research.

The German community in Richmond/Kingston started to develop in the 1970s after the opening of the German School London in Ham/Petersham on the border of the two boroughs. It has since been growing, to which census figures attest, and now has an approximate membership of around 5,000 people in the two boroughs and around twice as many when including the bordering boroughs of South West London and Surrey. One important finding of this study already lies within these figures: it is nigh on impossible to establish the proper size of the community as membership in the latter is highly subjective and individuals might in- or exclude themselves from it based on their personal preferences. Size as well as membership of the community are hardly tangible

as the community seems to be fairly amoebic, its shape depending on the viewpoint one takes. This importance of individual dispositions, experiences and individual circumstances has been emphasised throughout these chapters, particularly when concerning allegiances to the German or the host community and perceptions of identity. That such processes are subjected to a person's own choices has been recognised by researchers on German communities during the 19th century[518]. It is unsurprising that such differences exist in the Richmond community when looking at another very important result of this study: The community does not form a homogenous entity. Rather, three groups were identified: expatriates, 'locals' (ex-expatriates) and non-expatriates (including migrants from the 1960s and 70s as well as contemporary (career) migrants) all of which identify themselves to varying degrees with the community. Even inside these groups differences will exist which a study such as this would not have been able to grasp fully. They are based on individuals' lengths of stay in the UK, the nationalities of their partners, whether they have children, and their gender and work situation. Proportion-wise, expatriates constitute at least half of the German population of Richmond and Kingston. However, as questionnaires were the main method used for this study, it was not always clear which respondents were definitely expatriates and which were not. The researcher drew her conclusions from looking at the respondents' reasons for leaving Germany, at the work situations of both partners as well as their length of stay in the UK. It is thus possible that a very small proportion of respondents have been classified as expatriates when they were actually not and vice versa. Categorising half of the respondents as expatriates nevertheless should be a result very close to the actual situation. This large percentage of expatriates is unique among the German communities in Britain. These highly skilled temporary migrants sent on international assignments by their German or multinational employers seem to constitute the most visible subgroup in the whole German community. On the one hand this fact warranted a detailed discussion of the expatriate experience while on the other hand necessitating a differentiation of the different subgroups when discussing various aspects of the community to find out why exactly they are more visible than the other groups and to present a multi-faceted picture of the community as close as possible to the actual situation.

[518] See, for example, Nadel, 1990, Manz, 2003, or Kazal, 2004.

Beside the differences between these groups, they also have a few features in common: concerning their settlement in the area, it seems that the different groups are spread equally across the area. Ham/Petersham, the centre of the community, contains a disproportionate amount of Germans among its residents compared to the other administrative wards possibly because the great majority of ethnic institutions and businesses are located there. Further, the greater part of German residents consists of families with parents in their thirties and forties and with two children on average[519] which is also the case in other modern German communities in other countries.[520] It was also concluded that the German community has a strong middle and upper middle class character due to its highly skilled and qualified members in well-paid jobs. However, definite similarities seem to end here. Already when focusing on the gender aspect of the community, differences re-emerge. Only one third of female respondents worked and 'trailing spouses' face a multitude of problems, one of them being giving up their jobs. Women established to be part of an expatriate family are more likely not to work for various reasons whereas those married to British or partners of other nationalities are mostly in gainful employment.

Differentiations also needed to be made when discussing ethnic community institutions and businesses. Altogether it was proven that a community does indeed exist as part of a wider German diaspora in Britain. The former is held together by a multitude of ethnic German institutions and businesses. They are centres of German life and constitute so called 'third spaces': although with an identifiably German character, they are features of the German as well as the non-German local community. Open towards and used by members of the host society they are different in character and practices from similar institutions and businesses inside Germany. As such they are part of the diaspora culture. The most important institution is the German School London which was founded in 1971 specifically to provide schooling for the children of temporary migrants. It can be considered as the starting point of community formation in the area. Parents can get involved with the school and hence with the community on many levels and it is thus unsurprising that the school is seen by many as the ultimate centre of the community. Likewise, the religious congregations also fulfil a vital role in the community. Religion is said to be the most important marker of ethnic identity and

[519] Excluded from that are those Germans who have been living in the area since the 1960s and 70s.
[520] See the case studies in Moosmüller's *Kommunikation in der Diaspora* as well as other studies on the expatriate experience.

to some extent this is also valid for Richmond. The churches take on two main functions: caring for their members' spiritual welfare and providing a social meeting place. Despite the high rate of fluctuation and 'turn-over' in the community, the congregations can fulfil their roles and thus present a constant in many migrants' lives. In agreement with the literature on ethnic food shops it was concluded that German shops and restaurants also play a central role in the community through the provision of familiar food. This recreation of *Heimat* through a dense ethnic community network contributes immensely to the self-identification of the Germans in the area. It is on this local level that an identity inclined towards German culture becomes more visible which in other circumstances might not happen. However, not all Germans in the area are involved in the ethnic community. Whereas expatriates and ex-expatriate 'locals' are more likely to move in German circles in the host country and thus maintain more of a German culture and identity, non-expatriates tend to be more open to the host society and possibly hold on less to the German elements of their identity. Those with non-German partners are also more likely to do so whereas families with both parents German are more prone to identify with the ethnic German community. Those families sending their children to the German School are also more apt to engage with the local German community. Exceptions do of course exist as we have seen in Chapter Two. Expatriates might make a conscious effort to get involved with the local British society and deliberately distance themselves from other Germans. The German community might at times become such a pervasive influence that residents find it overbearing. On the other hand, even some Germans who have lived in the UK for more than ten years count primarily other Germans among their friends and acquaintances.

Apart from these local ties with the community transnational ones have come to play an increasing part in migrants' lives. Transnationalism was discussed in Chapter Two with the conclusion that the Richmond community possesses a very strong transnational character on an institutional, social and professional level. Contacts that do exist in the neighbourhood seem for many Germans, particularly expatriates, to be concentrated mainly on compatriots. The level of integration into British society is very low among the Richmond Germans and again varies between the different subgroups. It also seems that national identities are not replaced in favour of international ones to any great extent. Transnational connections in many cases exist to other Germans, such as family members and friends, in Germany and other countries. Connections to the

migrants' previous lives in Germany and thus to German culture are constantly and consciously maintained. Even those, mostly permanent, German migrants in Richmond who stated that they felt integrated into the host society and dissociated themselves from the German community, largely upheld relationships with family and friends in Germany or elsewhere. In so doing they keep German elements in their lives and their identities become hybrids located somewhere between the German and the host culture. Altogether it can be concluded that local as well as transnational ties, be it to Germans or people of other nationalities, are equally important for the migrants and that ethnic institutions and businesses continue to fulfil vital roles in the community. The degree to which persons consider local and transnational connections to members of German or other nationalities as important to their identity very much depends on their own choices and as such reflects the situation in other migrant communities past and present. In Richmond it was observed that almost all respondents entertained contacts to other Germans across borders, irrespective of the subgroups they belonged to.

The above conclusions demonstrate that the German community in Richmond has been unduly neglected by researchers. Although at first glance it seems hardly visible, one could say in general that this is the biggest and structurally most developed German community in Britain and as such it can be considered as a 'Little Germany', the only one in Britain. Moreover, it is a community that combines features of traditional and modern-day ethnic communities. Ethnic structures and patterns of socialisation are reminiscent of previous German communities in Britain in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century: schools, churches and businesses have always acted as community centres as they provided migrants with familiar practices (such as a German education or church service) and goods. They were also spaces where migrants could socialise with one another (on a class basis) and exchange information and advice. Institutions and businesses in the Richmond community fulfil these roles as well. However, before the First World War such institutions were used to reinforce a distinct ethnic German identity among immigrants, embedded in the national-imperialistic mindset of the time, to avoid too deep a submergence into the host society. Today purely German identities hardly exist in communities outside Germany. Host culture and international influences always contribute to how a person perceives him- or herself, particularly in the contemporary globalised world. Ethnic institutions have set as one of their aims to engage with and open themselves up towards the host society and

thus provide a space where different cultures can meet and work together. This has an influence on the migrants who cannot totally avoid engaging with the host society in some shape or form. To what extent this happens differs, as we have seen above. Some embrace the host society culture fully by forging deep friend- and relationships with local Britons. Others might count the occasional small talk with British neighbours or shopping at the local corner shop among the only contacts with the native population. The attitudes of the local population do not always facilitate the establishment of good relationships on a local level as some negative reactions towards the area's German population have shown. Nevertheless, in general Britons seem to have become more open and positive towards the German presence in the last two decades and this will probably have impacted on the relationships between the two peoples.

Although it was mentioned in Chapter Two that the German School runs the risk of isolating itself and its pupils, it seems that a complete isolation from any host culture influence is neither possible nor desired. Some elements of the host culture will always find their way into migrants' lives and so their identities will become more or less inclined towards German or the host culture. It can be argued then that identities as they were perceived when living in Germany cannot be completely transferred abroad but will undergo modifications conditioned by outside influences, be it from the local German or the host community. This will happen to varying extents depending once again on individual circumstances and conscious decisions.

Concerning the implications of this study on the further study of contemporary German communities not only in Britain, the following statements can be made: as this study is the first to examine the Richmond and Kingston community, it contributes to a better understanding of contemporary German communities in Britain. Although it does not fill the gap in post-war German migration research by itself it adds to the continuity of research into German immigration to the UK. This study also combines research into the formation of identity in an ethnic community as a whole with that of expatriates in particular. Previous studies on expatriates have largely excluded ways in which the latter engage with the local German community and shape their identity in the host country (with the exception of Alois Moosmüller's *Interkulturelle Kommunikation in der Diaspora*). The expatriate migrants have been placed into the wider context of the community and its other subgroups, contributing to a differentiated view of the whole

community in which every group and every individual is involved to different degrees. As such this study adds meaningfully to the literature on German communities in Britain, their identities and structures, as well as to literature on expatriate communities and the issues of ethnic identity specifically relating to expatriates. Primary research methods used for this project, interviews and questionnaires, are largely in line with studies on other contemporary German (expatriate) communities. However, they are distinctive in the study of German migration to Britain. Apart from Steinert and Weber-Newth's *Labour and Love*, other researchers on the subject had to rely on printed sources and accounts on life in the German community and were not able to engage personally with the community due to the fact those were communities of the past. Being able to actually speak to and interact with members of the Richmond community and learn about their views and experiences as well as distributing questionnaires to a representative sample has given the researcher a very valuable insight into this living community which might otherwise not have been gained through printed sources only. Printed sources available were plentiful and fairly easy to obtain as they were either in private possession in the case of documents or readily available in the shape of recently-published pamphlets, booklets, etc. and on the internet. Thus rich sources of information were accessible to the researcher which had not been used for previous scholarly research and are thus presented for the first time in this study.

On the one hand, conclusions drawn from this study can be applied to other similarly composed German and other Western European communities in countries around the world while, on the other hand, it has to be realised that the Richmond community's features might be quite unique and country-specific and that generalisation need to be made carefully. In order to truly establish if the Richmond community is dissimilar to other German communities in Britain, research on these other communities is very much needed. Steinert and Weber-Newth's *Labour and Love* is the only study to date concerned with post-war German migrants in Britain. The time frame of their study, however, only extends to those immigrants who arrived in Britain before 1960. Thereafter, only Lothar Kettenacker's chapter in Panayi's *Germans in Britain since 1500* deals with those Germans who came to Britain in the following thirty years until the mid-1990s and focuses mostly on the Germans in London. However, there are many smaller German communities all over Britain which present very fascinating subjects for further study. Some of them are dying communities held together by immediate

post-war immigrants but others contain the same mix of German migrants as Richmond, although in different proportions. The communities in Edinburgh and Swansea, for example, are sure to contain an expatriate population too. They and others are as worthy of research as the Richmond community and it would be very interesting to compare them with each other. The result might be that Richmond is not so unique after all but that its situation is similar to those of other German communities. Such comparisons would have exceeded the scope of this study and can only be made once detailed research has been carried out on the other communities. Recommendations for future research into this community include the desirability of a bigger sample size and in-depth interviews with more questions relating specifically to ethnicity and identity which might help establish an even clearer picture of the community and reveal more details about the shaping of identity on an individual basis.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample questionnaire

Hallo,

Mein Name is Teresa Zuhl, ich studiere an der Aston University in Birmingham für einen research degree (MPhil). Thema meiner Recherchen sind dabei die Deutschen in Richmond und Kingston im Allgemeinen, und die deutsche Gemeinschaft in Ham/Petersham im Besonderen. Mein Ziel ist es unter anderem eine detailierte Analyse dieser Gemeinschaft zu erstellen. Dabei interessieren mich alle Aspekte der Community, wie zum Beispiel Geschichte, Zusammensetzung, Institutionen, Integration, Identitätsgefühle und viele andere Aspekte. Die Gemeinschaft, welche um die Deutsche Schule herum Mitte der 70er Jahre entstanden ist, ist von ihrer Zusammensetzung her einzigartig unter den deutschen Communities in Großbritannien, weil sie sich ständig erneuert und somit jung bleibt. Gut ausgebildete Gemeinschaftsstrukturen machen sie zu einem Mittelpunkt deutschen Lebens in London.
Ich würde mich freuen, wenn Sie sich ein wenig Zeit nehmen würden, um meine Fragen zu beantworten. Es spielt dabei keine Rolle, ob Sie sich als Teil der deutschen Gemeinschaft sehen oder nicht, mich interessieren beide Seiten, Mitglieder und Außenstehende. Sie müssen auch nicht alle Fragen beantworten, wenn es Ihnen unangenehm ist. Mit dem Ausfüllen des Fragebogens erklären Sie sich einverstanden, dass ich Ihre Antworten in meiner Arbeit verwenden kann. Dies geschieht natürlich absolut anonym und Sie können mich jederzeit kontaktieren und Ihr Einverständnis widerrufen.
Es wäre gut, wenn Sie den ausgefüllten Fragebogen in dem beigefügten frankierten Umschlag an mich schicken könnten. Natürlich können Sie mich auch anrufen, ich wäre sehr interessiert daran, mit Ihnen persönlich ins Gespräch zu kommen.

Es bedankt sich bei Ihnen ganz herzlich schon im Voraus für Ihre Hilfe,

Teresa Zuhl.

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(contact details deleted, TZ)

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Fragebogen

1. Sind Sie

   a) weiblich ☐ b) männlich ☐

2. Wie alt sind Sie?

3. Wo wohnen Sie? (Straße und/oder Gegend reichen aus.)

4. Sind Sie

   a) allein stehend ☐ b) verheiratet ☐
   c) leben mit einem Partner/einer Partnerin ☐

5. Welcher Nationalität gehört Ihr (Ehe)partner/Ihre (Ehe)partnerin an?

6. Haben Sie Kinder? Wenn ja, wieviele?

7. Besuchen diese

   a) die Deutsche Schule London ☐ b) eine englische Schule ☐
   c) eine internationale Schule ☐

8. Was ist Ihr Beruf und wo arbeiten Sie?

9. Was ist der Beruf Ihres (Ehe)partners/Ihrer (Ehe)partnerin und wo arbeitet er/sie?

10. Wie lange wohnen Sie schon in Großbritannien?

11. Wie lange schon in Südwest-London?

12. Wo aus Deutschland kommen Sie her?

13. Warum haben Sie Deutschland verlassen (auch wenn nur zeitlich begrenzt)?

14. Warum haben Sie sich in Südwest-London niedergelassen?

15. Fühlen Sie sich wohl in der Gegend?

16. Wie lange planen Sie in der Gegend Richmond/Kingston zu bleiben?

17. Planen Sie nach Deutschland zurückzukehren?

18. Kennen Sie die deutsche Gemeinschaft in Ham/Petersham?

19. Kennen Sie deutsche Institutionen (Schule, Kirchen, etc.) und Geschäfte in der Gegend oder in London im Allgemeinen?

20. Wenn ja, wie gut?

21. Sehen Sie sich als Teil und identifizeren Sie sich mit der deutschen Gemeinschaft?

22. Warum, warum nicht?

23. Unterhalten Sie enge und regelmäßige Kontakte zu anderen (deutschen) Bekannten, Freunden, Kollegen, etc. welche weder Teil der deutschen Gemeinschaft in Richmond/Kingston sind noch sich in Großbritannien aufhalten?

24. Besteht Ihr Bekanntenkreis hauptsächlich aus

a) Deutschen ☐ b) Briten ☐ c) Angehörigen anderer Nationalitäten ☐

25. Haben Sie mehr Kontakte in Ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft oder eher ausserhalb/international?

26. Fühlen Sie sich gut in die britische Gesellschaft integriert? (Sind Sie zum Beispiel Mitglied in englischen Vereinen oder Clubs?)

27. Haben Sie in Großbritannien negative Erfahrungen gemacht Ihrer Nationalität wegen?

Bemerkungen:

Wenn Ihnen der Platz für Ihre Antworten nicht ausreichen sollte, bitte heften Sie ein zusätzliches Blatt Papier an.
Ich würde mich freuen, wenn Sie diesen Fragebogen auch an deutsche Bekannte und Freunde in Südwest-London weiterleiten könnten. Bitte fragen Sie mich per Email nach leeren Formularen, falls Sie weitere benötigen.