

Overseas Chinese Associations in Austria

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Abstract

Compared to other ethnic groups, overseas Chinese constitute a smaller portion of the Austrian population. However, they still share many common values, while leading a diverse social and cultural life. This paper focuses on Chinese associations as a significant part of the Austrian Chinese community. First, we introduce the history of overseas Chinese associations in Austria, especially the first two founded in Austria in the early 1990s. Then, we discuss the general characteristics and main functions of overseas Chinese associations, followed by an overview of other Chinese associations in Austria. Lastly, we propose a classification system of overseas Chinese associations based on selected characters, including shared provenance, profession, ideology, natural characteristics, and hobbies.

Keywords: overseas Chinese in Austria, Chinese associations and schools



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Introduction

The first Chinese known to have travelled to Austria was a servant of the Austrian Jesuit missionary Johann Grueber (1623–1680) in the seventeenth century (Kaminski and Unterrieder 1980: 60–61). In 1780, two other Chinese came to Vienna via Trieste on the Austrian ship Kaunitz from Guǎngzhōu 广州 (Kaminski 2011: 14). The overall number of Chinese immigrants to Austria, however, remained relatively small until the end of the nineteenth century. Chinese migration to Austria started to increase in the early twentieth century with the arrival of diplomatic and student residents. Another group of overseas Chinese settling in Austria in those times were peddlers coming from Qīngtián 青田, a poor and small town in the Province of Zhèjiāng 浙江 on China's east coast, at the outbreak of World War I.¹ As a consequence of the two World Wars and the ensuing Cold War, relations between Austria and both the Republic and, after 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) developed relatively slowly. Exchange between Austria and mainland China was almost not existent in the 1960s and 1970s; the only ethnic Chinese migrating to Austria in this period were from Taiwan.²

A first peak of Chinese immigration to Austria was reached in the early 1980s, after the announcement of the reform and opening policy by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Dèng Xiǎopíng 邓小平 (1904–1997), which made it possible for Chinese citizens to move abroad without prior restrictions (*ibid.*: 45). Since then, the exchange between Austria and the PRC has gradually intensified, and the number of Chinese immigrants in Austria has been growing steadily. The most significant group being from Qīngtián and Wēnzhōu 温州 in Zhèjiāng Province, who since the late 1970s had revived their contacts with relatives and friends in Europe and left their homes for economic advantage in Europe (Thunø 2001: 910–929; Thunø 2010: 445–447). This massive immigration of Qīngtián people to Europe was also clearly noticeable in Austria, and resulted in a boom of Chinese restaurants in Vienna and other Austrian cities (Kaminski and Unterrieder 1980: 905; Kreissl 1999: 61; Kwok 2013: 35). In addition, more and more Chinese women from the PRC took the opportunity of working migration—including to Austria, after the liberalisation of exit regulations 1985 (Kwok and Parzer 2008: 359–360).

¹ There were 43 Chinese peddlers who were confirmed to have lived in Feldkirch, Western Austria, and eleven traders in Ungarisch-Hradisch (Kaminski and Unterrieder 1980: 595–596).

² Taiwanese migrants formed the first settler group in the post-World War II era in Austria. Among them, the very first pioneers were a number of retired soldiers of Shandong origin, who went to Taiwan after 1949 with the Guómíndǎng 国民党 government and chose Europe as their next stage in life in the 1950s or 1960s. They arrived in Austria with acquired cooking skills and capital either directly from Taiwan or through another country such as Germany" (Kwok 2013: 35).

According to Statistics Austria, 11,374 immigrants of Chinese nationality were living in Austria in 2015, 6,794 of them in Vienna (Statistik Austria 2016). Compared to 2011, the number of Chinese immigrants in Austria had increased by about 20 per cent (Statistik Austria 2013). However, the number of Chinese living in Austria cannot be determined as easily if the concept of being Chinese is defined in a different way leading to different statistical results. Ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, for example, would be counted as Vietnamese in official statistics if they still hold the Vietnamese citizenship. In this paper, the label ‘Overseas Chinese’ refers to those ethnic Chinese who were born in one of the Chinese speaking countries or regions, including the PRC, Hong Kong, and Macau, and now live in foreign countries. According to the country of birth, a total 16,331 overseas Chinese who were born in China (15,986), Hong Kong (334), and Macao (11) lived in Austria in 2015, including 4,170 with Austrian citizenship that might consider themselves more Chinese than Austrian (Statistik Austria 2017). However, there are also estimates claiming that the number of overseas Chinese in Austria could be up to around 40,000 (Latham and Wu 2013: 29). It should be emphasised that this paper will only focus on overseas Chinese who were born or have migration background in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Macao. Ethnic Chinese from Taiwan or other countries, such as Vietnam or Indonesia, are not discussed.

The proportion of overseas Chinese among the Austrian population is still relatively small compared to other ethnic groups in Austria and to traditional immigration countries like Canada, the United States, and Australia. In spite of its limited numbers and the lack of a clearly defined China town,³ the Chinese community in Austria still leads an active daily life that finds its most visible expression in an accumulation of Asian restaurants and grocery stores in the area around the Naschmarkt, a popular market area in Vienna’s sixth and fourth district. Chinese schools, newspapers, and associations have long been regarded as the three pillars of overseas Chinese communities as they play an extremely important role in the maintenance of Chinese culture, as well as in the integration into the host countries (Liu 1998: 582). This paper addresses the issue of the Chinese associations and schools registered as associations according to Austrian law in Austria. First, it will give a brief introduction to the history of overseas Chinese associations in Austria and introduce the first two Chinese associations founded in Austria in the early 1990s. Based on their example, we will delineate the general characteristics and main functions of overseas Chinese associations in general before providing an overview of other Chinese associations in Austria and offer a system of classification based on common features like shared provenance, profession, ideology, natural characteristics, and hobbies. One association will be presented as a case study for

³ After the project to build a ‘Vienna Chinatown’ in the place of today’s Museum quarter was prevented, there has not been any such attempt in Vienna worth noting (Kaminski 2011: 45).

each category in order to exemplify differences and commonalities within and between various kinds of Chinese overseas associations in Austria. Chinese schools will be portrayed as a hybrid, incorporating the features of an educational institution while simultaneously sharing the general characteristics of associations. By doing so, this paper intends to show the embeddedness of overseas Chinese associations in Austria and beyond, as well as make them visible as significant parts of the Austrian Chinese community life.

History of Overseas Chinese Associations in Austria

The inclination to organise in associations is one of the similarities between the Chinese and the Austrian people. In China, however, it is not easy to establish an association without special permission by and affiliation to the political authorities. To name just one example, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (*Zhōngguó rénmin duìwài yǒuhǎo xiéhuì* 中国人民对外友好协会) is affiliated with the Foreign Ministry of the PRC and is headed by a chairman who enjoys the rank of minister in the PRC. What has motivated many overseas Chinese in Austria to establish their own associations is the status of the associations' dignitaries, the potential economic and social benefits, along with the opportunities offered by Austrian law to do so.

Compared with the Netherlands, where overseas Chinese associations had already developed in the first half of the twentieth century (Li 1999), in Austria this phenomenon manifested fairly late at the beginning of the 1990s. As pointed out above, there were too few Chinese in Austria up to the first half of the twentieth century to initiate any associations. Even if *Qīngtián* peddlers, living in Vienna during the interwar period, used to meet in a small Chinese restaurant in the Meidlinger Hauptstraße, they were not organised in any formal or informal way. Other groups of overseas Chinese in Austria were students who mainly studied medicine and music, and police officers who underwent a special training with the Austrian police in Vienna. Altogether, they counted for about 40 people who had a club in Hotel De France near the University of Vienna and whose activities ended with the outbreak of World War II.⁴

After World War II, the Austrian envoy to China Felix Stumvoll (1883–1951) stressed the importance of reviving the student exchanges between Austria and

⁴ The information comes from several interviews that Gerd Kaminski conducted with the former police officer and later ambassador of Republic of China in the United Nations in Vienna Yú Shūpíng 俞叔平 during the 1960s, interviews with Felix Lee (Lǐ Wéining 李惟宁) in recent years, and with Yen Yu-kwang in 1987 and 1990.

China in a press conference in Nánjīng 南京 on 19 February 1948.⁵ There was an immediate response of about 40 students from Nánjīng, Shànghǎi 上海, Běijīng 北京, and even from Inner Mongolia (*Nèiménggǔ* 内蒙古). According to an interview given by Stumvoll to the Chinese newspaper *Peiping Chronicle* (*Běipíng shíshì rìbào* 北平时事日报) on 7 July 1948, most of these students applied for studies in medicine and philosophy. After their arrival in Austria, the students organised a Chinese Student Association which was not loyal to the Guómíndǎng government, but rather sympathised with Chinese left-wing politics and the Communist Party of China. Even the son of a Chinese minister joined the student association secretly and used his father's mimeograph machine for printing revolutionary pamphlets. On 27 November 1949, the Chinese student association sent out a public invitation to celebrate the proclamation of the PRC in the building of Das Neue Theater in der Scala in Vienna's fourth district,⁶ a celebration that was accompanied by a chorus of Chinese students. The desperate Chinese minister was forced to forbid his son to attend the celebration.⁷ The founding of the PRC interrupted the official student exchange with Austria, and the presence of Chinese students in Austria was declining again. Some went back to the communist China, whereas others went to Taiwan where the Guómíndǎng government of the Republic of China had retreated after their defeat on the Chinese mainland. A very small number of students chose to stay in Austria and to earn their living as waiters in the Chinese Restaurant 'Golden Dragon', which had therefore an almost exclusively academic staff, except for the cook, in the 1950s.⁸

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between Austria and the PRC in 1971, a still comparatively small number of Chinese students came to Vienna. Like the Chinese students in the past, they were highly politicised and conceived themselves as vanguards of communist society and politics in the People's Republic. They did not form a proper organisation but met in small circles where they read and discussed the political documents of the Communist Party of China. These discussions were especially fervent due to the Cultural Revolution that raged in communist China in the period between 1966 and 1976.

It was only in the context of the increasing number of Austria's Chinese population due to the opening policy under Dèng Xiǎopíng, and a less restrictive visa policy on the Austrian side—especially between 1988 and 1991, when Chinese immigrants could come to Austria even without visa (Kaminski 2011: 45)—that the

⁵ Stumvoll to Gruber, 05.11.1948, HHSTA 1948, GZ 119264.39, *Zhōngyāng rìbào* 中央日报), 19.02.1948.

⁶ The invitation letter is well preserved in the archive of the Austrian Institute for Research on China and Southeast Asia (Kaminski 2011: 39).

⁷ Interviews with Yen Yu-kwang and his students conducted in 1987 in Vienna and 1990 in Běijīng.

⁸ Ibid.

following three factors finally led to the establishment of the first overseas Chinese associations in Austria in the early 1990s. One of the reasons was the stable political and economic environment in both China and Austria. Another issue was the remarkable growth of the overseas Chinese economies with a strong focus on the restaurant business in Austria.⁹ The focus on the catering industry¹⁰ enabled the Chinese immigrants to continue their habitual life style and build an internal social network in order to compensate for their linguistic and cultural disadvantages in the host countries. However, there was also a number of import and export enterprises established, whose owners were able to benefit from China's rapid economic growth by using their political and social relationships in both countries. The third important factor was the political encouragement and support from the Chinese communist government in Běijīng. Since 1978, the PRC leadership had adopted a very friendly policy towards the ethnic Chinese overseas. The reasons for this new strategy were summarised by Huáng Dǐngchén 黄鼎臣, head of the Overseas Chinese Group of the Consultative Conference's National Executive Committee, as follows: "Our numerous returned overseas Chinese and Chinese dependants can with their many relatives and friends abroad have a vigorous effect on the introduction of advanced technology by sending of technical manpower, fight for remittances and investments, conducting compensatory trade, improving business and other related matters" (Thunø 2001: 915). Furthermore, the overseas Chinese felt empowered by the Law of the PRC concerning the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Returned Overseas Chinese and the Relatives of Overseas Chinese (*Zhōnghuá rénmin gònghéguó guīqiáo qiáojuàn quán yì bǎohù fǎ* 中华人民共和国归侨侨眷权益保护法), adopted by the National People's Congress, as well as by the establishment of the so-called "Qiáoxiāng [侨乡] areas"¹¹ as "instruments for ethnic Chinese to identify with China" (ibid.). In view of this new situation in terms of support by their home country, Austria's Chinese people started to search for a proper form of representation to serve as a bridge, especially in the economic sense, between the host and home countries.

⁹ In the early 1990s, there were already 236 China restaurants in Austria (Kaminski 2011: 46).

¹⁰ Described by Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer as a typical habitus of the Chinese community, which had always been reproduced in the history of Chinese migrations (Kwok and Parzer 2008: 364).

¹¹ "The term *qiáoxiāng* is coined from the expression of 'overseas Chinese' (*huáqiáo* 华侨) and 'native place' (*gùxiāng* 故乡) denoting the belonging of Chinese overseas to their geographical and social space of birth" (Thunø 2001: 918).

1) Ào Huá – Association of Chinese in Austria

In this context, the first overseas Chinese association in Austria, the Association of the Chinese in Austria (*Verband der Chinesen in Österreich*; Àodìlì huárén zǒng huì 奥地利华人总会, abbreviated henceforth as Ào Huá 奥华), was established on 29 July 1991, in Vienna. Right from the start, the foundation and management was accompanied by internal and external conflicts. Following a power struggle, the original president Mang Jee Chang (Chinese characters not available) was replaced by Hú Yuánshào 胡元绍, owner of a Chinese restaurant in Vienna and a man of strong character and determination on 22 May 1992. In the beginning, Ào Huá under Hú Yuánshào was organised in a traditional pattern which was explained as the successor of a gang formation by Li Minghuan.¹² In practice, this meant that all members had to listen to what the leader had to say, and they had to pay a lump sum of 10,000 Austrian Schillings (c. 730 Euro) into a common fund. If any member would run into financial difficulties, he could borrow money from this fund against accrued interest.¹³ As a matter of fact, this accounted for an illegal banking operation which is a legal offence in Austria, but Chinese immigrants were either not familiar with the legal conditions in their host country, or just did not pay heed to them if the orders of their leader mandated otherwise. Members of Ào Huá had to confirm their solidarity against outsiders who could harm their association by oath. For instance, they had to show their loyalty and solidarity during a controversy between the association leader Hú and the Wú brothers who challenged his position in the 1990s. One of the three brothers who arrived in Vienna at the beginning of the 1990s was married to the younger sister of a top politician in the PRC. They started an import enterprise for Chinese goods and opened one supermarket at Naschmarkt and another one in Wiedner Hauptstraße. One of them claimed that Hú Yuánshào had turned up and tried to force him to raise the prices in his supermarkets.¹⁴

Later on, some Chinese intellectuals, former journalists, and university graduates joined Ào Huá and gave it a more sophisticated profile. They successfully changed the authoritarian patriarchal nature of the association into a modern and service-oriented organisation. The current executive committee of Ào Huá, which is headed by Chén Ānshēng 陈安生, was inaugurated on 29 October 2015 (*Ōuzhōu Huáxìnbào* 欧洲华信报 [*Europe Huáxìn Newspaper*], 9 November 2015–15 November, 2015: 8). The services they offer include German courses for Chinese immigrants, legal consulting, support in matters of integration, and charity for those in need. Since rather few of the first-generation overseas Chinese were able to

¹² “Gang formation was a common phenomenon among early Chinese immigrants and formed a basis for the subsequent development of official ethnic associations” (Li 1999: 116).

¹³ From the letter written to the author by Zhong Songqing (Chinese characters not available).

¹⁴ Interview with C. Wú in the 1990s (Kaminski 2011: 55).

understand the German language, in August 1991 Ào Huá started the first magazine in Chinese language in Austria, which was named *Ōuhuá Zázhi* 欧华杂志 (*Ōuhuá Magazine*). The Ào Huá newspaper was first published in 1994 and provided weekly information about both China and Austria (*Ōu Huá* 1998: 1). In 1998, the name of the newspaper was changed to *Ōu Huá Nachrichten* (*Ōuhuá Qiáobào* 欧华侨报) (Kaminski 2011: 63; Kreissl 1999: 75). The Ào Huá newspaper was merged with *Nouvelles d'Europe* (*Ōuzhōu shíbào* 欧洲时报) in 2012, which has its headquarters in Paris, and since then uses the name of *Nouvelles d'Europe*.¹⁵ Ào Huá as an association has shown engagement in the wake of several disasters in China, like floods and earthquakes, and collected money for donations. It emphasises its close ties to the Chinese Embassy in Austria and other Chinese authorities at all levels.¹⁶

2) The Overseas Chinese Committee

Shortly after the establishment of Ào Huá, another Chinese restaurant owner in Vienna, Lǚ Jiāxián 鲁家贤, founded the second overseas Chinese association in October 1991, namely the Overseas Chinese Committee (*Überseechinesenkomitee*; *Huárén wěiyuánhui* 华人委员会; shortened henceforth as ‘the Committee’). Lǚ, who had worked in the local Chamber of Commerce in Qīngtián, had to start from scratch in Vienna, just like many other overseas Chinese. For over ten years he had worked in various Chinese restaurants in Vienna as a dishwasher, until he was able to open his own in Heiligenstädter Straße, in the nineteenth district. Later on, he also opened a Chinese restaurant in the Donau Park that was designed by the winner of an architectural competition in the Province of Sichuān 四川 (Kaminski 2011: 43-44).

Lǚ succeeded to merge his association into the Austrian-Chinese Friendship Society (*Gesellschaft zur Förderung freundschaftlicher und kultureller Beziehungen zur VR China*, *Àodìlì duì huá yǒuhǎo jí wénhuà guānxì cùjìn xiéhuì* 奥地利对华友好及文化关系促进协会; shortened hereafter as *Ào-Zhōng Yǒuxié* 奥中友协). Ào-Zhōng Yǒuxié is politically and economically supported by the Chinese and Austrian governments in order to promote the official and semi-official relationship between both countries. The current honorary president of Ào-Zhōng Yǒuxié is the former Austrian president Heinz Fischer (b. 1938). After the merger, the Committee is generally regarded as Chinese counsellor of the Austrian-Chinese Friendship Society (*Ào-Zhōng yǒuxié huáwēihui* 奥中友协华委会) (ibid.: 55-56; Kreissl 1999: 75). The Overseas Chinese Committee, which is therefore well connected with both Austrian and Chinese authorities, considers its mission to be the promotion of political, economic, and cultural exchange between Austria and China.

¹⁵ <http://www.oushinet.com/static/aubotus.html>, accessed February 2017.

¹⁶ *Ōuzhōu Huáxìnbào*, November 9, 2015–November 15, 2015: 8.

Currently, the Committee is led by the overseas Chinese Jiǎng Kěliáng 蒋可良 from Wēnzhōu and has more than 100 other Chinese business men as members.¹⁷ With the support and the networks of the Austrian-Chinese Friendship Society, the Committee cooperates in hosting high-level Chinese delegations led by officials, such as the vice president of the People's National Congress, ministers, governors, Party secretaries, and military majors. They join official Austrian delegations to visit China and thus have again the chance to meet with high-ranking Chinese politicians. In 2009, former president Heinz Fischer received several representatives of the Committee on the occasion of the Chinese New Year, before he started his official visit to China. Another form of involvement in official affairs was that the representatives of the Committee took actively part in the celebration of the thirtieth, thirty-fifth, and fortieth anniversary of the Austrian-Chinese diplomatic relations. The activities of the Overseas Chinese Committee have been acknowledged by the Austrian authorities, among which are included cultural exchange initiatives, like the donation of a Confucius statue for a China Garden in Hirschstetten Park in Vienna, a donation to build a statue of Johann Strauß in Qīngtián, and a Rosenfeld Museum in Jūnnán 茆南, where the Austrian doctor Jakob Rosenfeld (1903–1952) saved many lives of both soldiers and civilians during World War II. The Committee was the recipient of the Arthur von Rosthorn Medal for its merits and Lǚ Jiāxián—the founder of this association which offers scholarships for talented Chinese music students in Austria and has started to support the film industry of both countries as a way to foster intercultural understanding (Kaminski 2011: 55–56)—has received an honorary professorship as well as two Austrian decorations: *Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Wien* and *Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Österreich*.

Before they came to Austria, the dignitaries of the Committee would not have been in a position to meet with any high ranking politicians in China or elsewhere. Now, in their new capacity, they are not only economically successful and treated as leading figures within their community, but they even enjoy opportunities to meet with the representatives of the Austrian and Chinese states or local authorities. Photos with Austrian and Chinese high-level officials are admired evidence of their significance and status in both the home and host countries, and endows them with a high degree of prestige vis-à-vis their relatives and friends.

Like Ào Huá, the Overseas Chinese Committee emphasises its patriotism and close ties with China by initiating several charity activities. It has donated for the victims of natural disasters, as well as for the poor regions in China, responding to the suggestions of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

¹⁷ Interview with Mr. Zhān Wěipíng 詹伟平, vice president of the Overseas Chinese Committee in February 2017.

Overview of Overseas Chinese Associations in Austria

General Functions

Both Ào Huá and the Overseas Chinese Committee represent the first generation of Chinese associations in Austria. Their organisational structure, activities, and functions are very typical of overseas Chinese associations in Europe. By categorising the activities of both first-generation associations, we can identify three of the most important functions of overseas Chinese associations in Austria and elsewhere.

Offering Services to the Chinese Community

As pointed out by Li Minghuan who has studied the development of Chinese organisations in the Netherlands, Chinese associations are mostly focused on benefiting the Chinese immigrants, and especially their own members.¹⁸ Both Ào Huá and the Overseas Chinese Committee are organising diverse gathering events, such as celebrations on the occasion of traditional Chinese festivals and banquets for their association members. In this way, the Chinese immigrants, who feel isolated from the Austrian society due to language and cultural barriers, could find an alternative social space within the Chinese community. Members of the Committee confirmed that their main social activity is the mutual invitation to small or large banquets (Kaminski 2011: 59). Other services of educational or advisory nature will be outlined in the description of specialised associations below.

Maintaining Close Ties with Their Home Towns as well as All Kinds of Chinese Authorities

Generally speaking, identification of the first-generation Chinese immigrants with their respective home towns and with China is very strong, even if many of them have obtained Austrian citizenship. The Chinese government is aware of this fact, and the Chinese Embassy is paying great attention to the overseas Chinese associations as immigrants' representative bodies. In cooperation with the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council (*Guówùyuan qiáowù bàngōngshì* 国务院侨务办公室), which was founded in 1978, the leaders of Austria's Chinese associations have been invited to participate at several celebrations and to visit their home towns in China. Conversely, local and central Chinese politicians are well received by the overseas associations when they come to Austria. Donations to and invest-

¹⁸ "The Chinese immigrants are the social basis of the Chinese associations. Thus, it is understandable that a great part of the activities organised by the Chinese associations are focused on the Chinese immigrants themselves" (Li 1999: 183).

ments in China initiated by the Chinese associations in Austria can be seen in response to the PRC's friendly overseas policies.

Communicating with Austrian Society and Politics

The contact between Chinese associations and the Austrian society is usually limited to mutual economic interest. However, the newspaper *Nouvelles d'Europe* can be considered as a meaningful attempt to bring the Chinese immigrants closer to a basic understanding of their host society by reporting on the most important events taking place in their country of residence. On the political level, the Chinese associations show great respect to Austria's policies and politicians. The official recognition from both Chinese and Austrian authorities "gives strength and vigour to overseas Chinese associations, both by providing the leaders of overseas Chinese organisation with status and power, and by allowing them to 'represent' overseas Chinese interests vis-à-vis the host society" (Christiansen 2003: 116). The Chinese association leaders therefore are in competition with each other to gain direct or indirect contacts with Austrian politicians in order to strengthen their own prestige.

Although many of the overseas Chinese associations in Austria in recent times have developed their own distinctive features, the blueprint of Ào Huá and the Overseas Chinese Committee comprising their well-established functions as social organisations can be said to have had a strong influence on the next generation of Chinese associations in Austria.

Specific Features and Diversification of Overseas Chinese Associations in Austria

Li Minghuan noted seven main attributes that distinguish several categories of overseas Chinese associations, namely “shared provenance, shared surname, shared dialect, shared ideology or knowledge, shared natural characteristics, shared hobby, and shared principles” (Li 1999: 79). The structure of Chinese associations in Austria is quite similar to their counterparts in the Netherlands. In their initial stage, the first two major overseas Chinese associations—Ào Huá and the Overseas Chinese Committee—were primarily constituted by people from the same province, county, and in cases even the same city. In 1991, two thirds of the board members of Ào Huá were originally from Qīngtián. Many co-founders of the Committee were also Qīngtián people. Their shared origin and culture, as well as the shared personal experiences in both home and host countries, formed a sound basis for mutual trust. Since the majority of the overseas Chinese in Austria worked in the catering industry, initially both Chinese associations consisted mainly of restaurant owners and their employees.

The situation has clearly changed since the beginnings of the twenty-first century. Firstly, the number of Chinese associations in Austria has risen significantly. Secondly, the associations have ceased being restricted to people of shared origin and restaurant staff. They have begun to recruit people of different backgrounds and professions, and the competition of representation for the overseas Chinese in Austria has reached a new high level. Thirdly, besides Ào Huá and the Overseas Chinese Committee that aim to represent the Chinese in Austria on a general basis, numerous associations with specific attributes, such as shared ideology or knowledge, shared natural characteristics, shared hobby, and shared principles, that make them attractive only to part of the Austrian Chinese population, have emerged and are displaying a certain degree of specialisation and professionalisation.

The following table shows the more than 30 Chinese associations existing in Austria today, which can be grouped according to their attributes as follows (not including Ào Huá, the Overseas Chinese Committee, and the Chinese schools registered as associations) (Figure 1):

Attribute	Names of the Overseas Chinese Associations in Austria		
	Chinese	English	German
Shared Provenance	<i>Àodìlì Qīngtián tóngxiāng zǒnghuì</i> 奥地利青田同乡总会	General Association of Qīngtián People in Austria	Qīngtián-Generalverein der Chinesen in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì Qīngtián tóngxiānghuì</i> 奥地利青田同乡会	Association of Qīngtián Community in Austria	Verein der Landsleute aus Qīngtián in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì Wénchéng tóngxiānghuì</i> 奥地利文成同乡会	Association of Wénchéng Community in Austria	Verein der Landsleute aus Wénchéng in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì Zhèjiāng huárén liányìhuì</i> 奥地利浙江华人联谊会	Association of Zhèjiāng Community in Austria	Verein der Gemeinschaft der Zhèjiāng-Chinesen in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì Shànghǎi tóngxiānghuì</i> 奥地利上海同乡会	Association of Shànghǎi Community in Austria	Verein der Landsleute aus Shànghǎi in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì Hángzhōu huáqiáo huárén xiéhuì</i> 奥地利杭州华侨华人协会	Austrian Association of Overseas Chinese from Hángzhōu	Österreichischer Verein der Auslandschinesen aus Hángzhōu
	<i>Àodìlì Húnán Húběi tóngxiāng xiàoyóu liányìhuì</i> 奥地利湖南湖北同乡校友联谊会	Austrian Association of Overseas Chinese and Alumni from Húnán and Húběi	Österreichischer Verein der Übersee-chinese und Alumni aus Húnán und Húběi
	<i>Àodìlì Fújiàn tóngxiānghuì</i> 奥地利福建同乡会	Austrian Association of Overseas Chinese from	Verein der Landsleute aus Fújiàn in Österreich

		Fújiàn	
Shared Profession, Knowledge	<i>Zhōng'ōu Qīlǔ wénhuà jīngmào cùjìnhuì</i> 中欧齐鲁文化经贸促进会	European-Chinese Association for the Promotion of the Culture and Economy of the Province Shāndōng	Europäisch-Chinesischer Verein zur Förderung der Kultur und Handelsbeziehungen der Provinz Shāndōng
	<i>Zhōng ào Qīngtián shānghuì</i> 中奥青田商会	Austrian-Chinese Qīngtián Chamber of Commerce	Österreichisch-Chinesische Qīngtián Handelskammer
	<i>Àodìlì Zhènnán shānghuì</i> 奥地利浙南商会	Zhènnán Chamber of Commerce in Austria	Chinesisches Wirtschaftsverband vom Zhènnán in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì huárén shānghuì</i> 奥地利华人商会	Chamber of Commerce of Overseas Chinese in Austria	Chinesischer Wirtschaftsverband in Österreich
	<i>Àodìlì zhōnghuà gōngshāng liánhéhuì</i> 奥地利中华工商联合会	Association of Chinese Businessmen in Austria	Vereinigung von chinesischen Geschäftsleuten in Österreich
	<i>Ào-Zhōng guójì jīngmào cùjìnhuì</i> 奥中国际经贸促进会	Austria-China Council for the Promotion of International Trade	Österreichisch-Chinesische Gesellschaft für internationale Wirtschaftsförderung
	<i>Àodìlì huárén lǚyóuyè liánhéhuì</i> 奥地利华人旅游业联合会	Association of Chinese Tourism in Austria	Verbund von Chinesischen Reiseunternehmen in Österreich

<i>Àodìlì huárén dǎoyóu xiéhuì</i> 奥地利华人导游协会	Association of Chinese Travel Guides in Austria	Verband der Chinesischen Reiseführer in Österreich
<i>Àodìlì huárén cānyīn fúwù liánhéhuì</i> 奥地利华人餐饮服务联合会	Austrian Society for Chinese Catering and Hotel Industry	Verband der chinesischen Gastronomie und Hotellerie in Österreich
<i>Àodìlì cānyīn yè liánhéhuì</i> 奥地利餐饮业联合会	Austrian Society for Chinese Catering Industry	Verband der chinesischen Gastronomie in Österreich
<i>Àodìlì huárén xuéshēng xuézǐ liányìhuì</i> 奥地利中国学生学者联谊会	Chinese Students and Scholars Association	Verband der Chinesischen Wissenschaftler und Studierenden Österreich
<i>Ào-Zhōng wénhuà jiāoliú xiéhuì</i> 奥中文化交流协会	Association for Chinese Culture in Austria	Chinesischer Kulturverein in Österreich
<i>Ōuzhōng yīxué jiāoliú xiéhuì</i> 欧中医学交流协会	European Chinese Society of Medical Communication	Europäisch-Chinesische Gesellschaft für Medizinische Kommunikation
<i>Ào-Zhōng kējì jiāoliú xiéhuì</i> 奥中科技交流协会	Society for the Promotion of Scientific and Technical Exchange between Austria and China	Gesellschaft zur Förderung Wissenschaftlicher und Technischer Zusammenarbeit zwischen Österreich und China

	Ào-Zhōng wénhuà yìshù liánhé cùjìnhuì 奥中文 化艺术联合促进会	Culture & Arts Promotion Association	Culture & Arts Promotion Associa- tion
	Àodìlì Zhōngguó wénhuà chuánméi xiéhuì 奥地利中国文化 传媒协会	Austrian- Chinese Society for Culture and Media	Österreichisch- Chinesische Kultur- und Mediengemein- schaft
	Àodìlì huárén tóuzī xiéhuì 奥地利华人投资协会	Association for Chinese Investors in Austria	Verband der Chinesischen Investoren in Österreich
	Àodìlì Zhōuyì wénhuà xiéhuì 奥地利周易文化 协会	Austrian Zhōuyì Cultural Association	Zhōuyì Kulturverein in Österreich
	Àodìlì huárén měishùjiā xiéhuì 奥地利华人美术 家协会	Austrian Association for Chinese Painters	Österreichischer Verband der Chinesischer Maler
	Àodìlì huárén yīnyuè wénhuà cùjìnhuì 奥地利华人音乐文化促进会	Austrian Association for the Promotion of Chinese Music and Culture	Österreichischer Verband zur Förderung der Chinesischen Musik und Kultur
Shared Natural Character- istics	Àodìlì huárén fùnǚ liánhéhuì 奥地利华人 妇女联合会	Chinese Women's Association in Austria	Vereinigung Chinesischer Frauen in Österreich
Shared Hobby	Àodìlì huárén wǔshù xiéhuì 奥地利华人武术 协会	Austrian- Chinese Wǔshù Association	Austrian-Chinese Wǔshù Association

	Àodìlì huárén tǐyù xiéhuì 奥地利华人体育协会	Chinese Sport Association in Austria	Chinesischer Sportverein in Österreich
	Àodìlì huárén wéiyěnhà jīngjùshè 奥地利华人维也纳京剧社	Austrian Beijing Opera Association in Vienna	Österreichischer Verein für Peking-Oper in Wien
Shared Ideology and Principles	Àodìlì Zhōngguó hépíng tǒngyī cùjìnhuì 奥地利中国和平统一促进会	Society for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification of China in Austria	Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Friedlichen Wiedervereinigung Chinas in Österreich

Figure 1: (Incomplete) list of the overseas Chinese associations in Austria¹⁹ (created by the authors with the friendly support of Mr. Lín Yúnlóng 林云龙, former president of the Overseas Chinese Committee in Austria).

As can be seen from the above table, most Chinese associations in Austria are currently based either on shared profession and knowledge or on the shared provenance of their members. Some of them are characterised by a combination of attributes and therefore can be assumed to perform multiple functions in terms of representation. We will focus on the associations with shared provenance, shared profession and knowledge, shared natural characteristics, as well as shared ideology and principles.

Shared Provenance

Associations or societies which are mainly based on shared provenance and aim at mutual support by those coming from the same locality or region (*tóngxiānghuì* 同乡会) are usually founded by overseas Chinese from the traditional emigration regions, such as Zhèjiāng and Fújiàn 福建 provinces.²⁰ According to several Chi-

¹⁹ Included are only overseas Chinese associations which are founded and led by ethnic Chinese from the PRC, Hong Kong, and Macau.

²⁰ “The majority of Chinese immigrants are from the Qingtian, Wencheng and Wenzhou regions of Zhejiang Province on China’s east coast, which accounts for around 70 per cent of the Chinese population [in Austria]. The remainder are largely from Fujian, Shanghai and northeastern China” (Latham and Wu 2013: 29).

nese association leaders, the Association of Qīngtián Community in Austria (Àodìlì Qīngtián tóngxiāng huì 奥地利青田同乡会); abbreviated hereafter as Qīngtián Association) deserves special attention for two reasons. Qīngtián people were the very first overseas Chinese to settle in Austria. Today, over seventy per cent of the Chinese immigrants still come from Qīngtián, Wénchéng 文成, and Wēnzhōu, and sixty per cent of all Chinese restaurants in Austria are run by people from this county in Eastern China. Even though their association does not play the most active role in the Chinese community in Austria, it should not be underestimated in regards to its history and potential.²¹

The Qīngtián Association was founded on 1 February 1997. Its first president, Xú Pīnhuá 徐品华, arrived in Austria in 1986, owned several China Restaurants in Vienna, Graz, and Belgrade, and in 1998 opened the first seafood supermarket in Vienna. The aim of the Qīngtián Association is to unite all the immigrants from the Qīngtián region and to promote their liaison with both the old and the new homeland. Furthermore, the image of the Chinese in Austria and their integration in the Austrian society should be promoted. During the last 20 years, the association has established six outposts in Austria. In June 1999, Xú Pīnhuá founded the *Tóngxiāng Bào* 同乡报 (*Newspaper for Countrymen*), the second Chinese newspaper in Austria.²² Since 2007, the newspaper has been cooperating with the *People's Daily* (*Rénmín rìbào* 人民日报) from mainland China and its name has been changed to *Huáxìn Bào* 华信报 (*News from China*) (Gao 2014).

There are several characteristics of such associations based on shared provenance. First, membership might be overlapping. For example, Qīngtián, Wénchéng, and Hángzhōu 杭州 are counties or cities in the Province of Zhèjiāng, with people from these places often being members of the associations based both on local and provincial origin. In this way, the Qīngtián Association for instance can be seen as closely linked to the Zhèjiāng Association. Second, the leaders of such Tóngxiānghuì are always engaged in several other associations. In this sense, the chairman of the Qīngtián Association, Zhōu Hǎiróng 周海荣, is a member of the executive board of the Overseas Chinese Committee, the Chamber of Commerce of Overseas Chinese in Austria, and the Society for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification of China in Austria. Third, compared to general overseas associations like Ào Huá or the Overseas Chinese Committee that are interested in communicating with both Austrian and Chinese authorities, the Qīngtián Association is rather oriented towards the Chinese side and therefore focuses on communication with the local authorities in their Chinese home town and the Chinese Embassy in Austria, as

²¹ Interview with Mr. Lín Yúnlóng, former chairman of the Overseas Chinese Committee in November 2015.

²² <http://www.chinaqw.com/node2/node2796/node2829/node3243/userobject6ai180459.html>, accessed 12 February 2017.

they are striving for more attention and business opportunities within China. In response to the PRC's friendly policy towards overseas Chinese since 1978, the Qīngtián Association has participated in donation and investment programmes, not only in the Qīngtián region but also in other less developed areas in China, such as parts of Yúnnán 云南 province.²³

*Shared Profession and Knowledge*²⁴

Of great significance for Chinese community life in Austria are those associations in which members “share the same professional knowhow or world view” (Li 1999: 80). These associations can be subdivided into economic, cultural, and scientific types. Among them, those with strong economic interest, such as the Austria-China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, are usually oriented more towards the Austrian society than the cultural and scientific communities.

One of the most interesting associations in this group is the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (*Àodìlì Zhōngguó xuéshēng xuézhě liányì huì*; abbreviated henceforth as CSSA), which was founded in Vienna in 2001 with encouragement and support from the Department of Education of the Chinese Embassy. Since the number of Chinese students in Austria is constantly rising, intensifying cooperation with them had become one of the most important assignments of the education counsellor. In spite of the fact that the majority of Chinese students live in Vienna, several outposts of CSSA were set up in other Austrian cities such as in Salzburg, Linz, Graz, Innsbruck, and Klagenfurt. In the following, CSSA in Vienna (CSSA.Vie) will be examined to discuss the particularities and the role of this association within Austria's overseas Chinese community which is quite different from former Chinese student activities in Vienna in the 1940s and 1950s, due to the fact that after the student movement in 1989 and due to a more materialist worldview Chinese students at home and abroad have mostly lost interest in political affairs and ideological studies. It is also to be distinguished from other more traditional forms of overseas Chinese associations due to the following particularities.

Firstly, CSSA.Vie is not officially registered as a non-profit organisation in Austria. It has neither a firm organisational structure nor a fixed membership and can thus be regarded as a platform by and for the Chinese students on a more or less voluntary basis. An executive committee consisting of about seven to eight students—half of them are normally doctoral students and the other half music students—forms the core of this association. The committee's personnel is subject to

²³ Cf. <http://www.achina.at/00/d/qchina.at/index.html>, accessed 22 February 2016.

²⁴ Information referred to in this section was obtained by interviews with Mr. Dǒng Wèiguó 董卫国, Counsel of Education of the Chinese Embassy in Vienna, in November 2015, and with Mr. Lǚ Hui 吕荟, chairman of the CSSA Vienna, in February 2016, unless indicated otherwise.

frequent change, however, due to the high mobility of overseas students. It is this fluctuation that makes registration as an association a bureaucratic hurdle, as registered organisations in Austria have to renew their register every time the board personnel changes. Membership is established when students receiving a Chinese Government Scholarship get in touch with the Department of Education of the Chinese Embassy as soon as they arrive in Austria. Being active members of CSSA.Vie helps them to maintain a good relationship with the Chinese Embassy and to have access to information on job opportunities in China. Other Chinese students, who want to be informed about activities of CSSA.Vie and the Department of Education of the Chinese Embassy enrol via e-mail or 'Wechat' (*Wēixin* 微信). However, as soon as they finish their studies in Austria, this loose membership will be terminated. According to its chairman, Lǚ Huì, CSSA.Vie has about 400 members by now.

Secondly, in contrast to other overseas Chinese associations in Austria which tend to be dominated by first-generation Chinese immigrants who have been living in Austria for more than 20 or even 30 years, the CSSA.Vie addresses the younger generation coming directly from China and is well supervised by the Chinese authorities. Members of CSSA.Vie are young students born and educated in China who stay in Austria only temporarily to achieve a higher qualification as a foundation of better work opportunities. In this sense, they can be defined as so-called 'new migrants' (*xīn yímín* 新移民) who have received particular attention from the Chinese authorities since the early 1980s, especially if studying in North America, Australia, and Europe, because "[t]he majority of these recent migrants still held Chinese citizenship and their direct link to the PRC in terms of family, education and cultural identity entailed their immediate allegiance to the PRC" (Thunø 2001: 922). In accordance to the PRC's overseas policy in favour of these well-educated 'new migrants', the Counsel for Education Affairs of Chinese Embassy in Austria takes care of CSSA.Vie and supports its activities both organisationally and financially. In return, CSSA.Vie is obliged to report all its official activities, such as culture and sport events, to the Department of Education of the Chinese Embassy.²⁵ Representatives of the student association enjoy the trust of the Chinese Embassy and will normally be invited to various official receptions, such as the annual reception for the Chinese National Day on 1 October.

Thirdly, CSSA.Vie focuses on offering services to Chinese students, but has only limited interest in their integration into local society. Since very few Chinese students speak German when they arrive in Austria, the language is considered a major barrier to integration into the Austrian society. The student daily life is quite limited to their small academic circle and the Chinese community. Another factor is Austria's strict foreign and immigration policies which make it quite difficult for

²⁵ Interview with Mr. Dǒng Wèiguó in November 2015, and with Mr. Lǚ Huì in February 2016.

students from non-EU countries to get a working permit and stay in Austria after completing their studies. Therefore, most Chinese students chose to go back to China or to move to other countries offering them a better perspective, most importantly regarding a working permit, such as Canada, the United States, and Germany. In view of these specific circumstances, CSSA.Vie organises gathering events for Chinese students—such as football and basketball games—to prevent them from feeling lonely abroad, and provides information obtained from the Department of Education about job opportunities in China via Wechat and other social media.

Fourthly, CSSA.Vie has quite limited connections with other overseas Chinese associations in Austria. As mentioned above, the majority of overseas Chinese associations are dominated by first-generation Chinese immigrants who have been living in Austria for several decades and often have obtained the Austrian citizenship. Members of CSSA.Vie share neither personal experiences nor a mutual worldview with these first-generation immigrants. There are only two overseas Chinese associations CSSA.Vie has regular contact with. One is the Society for the Promotion of Scientific and Technical Exchange between Austria and China (*Ào-Zhōng kējì jiāoliú xiéhuì*). As many members of the student association study at the Technical University of Vienna, they have plenty of topics of common interest. The other partner of CSSA.Vie is the Chinese Women's Association (*Àodìlì huárén fùnǚ liánhéhuì*), which offers financial support. However, even if there are no public records detailing the funding structure of the Chinese associations making it thus impossible to analyse to what degree the propagation of President Xí Jīnpíng's 习近平 (b. 1953) recent anti-corruption-campaign has had an impact on the donation behaviour overseas, donations from other overseas Chinese associations to support the activities of CSSA.Vie have been steadily reduced since then.²⁶ Nevertheless, both aforementioned associations are cooperating with CSSA.Vie for the organisation and celebration of Chinese New Year events.

Shared Natural Characteristics

The meaning and significance of an overseas association based on shared natural characteristics can best be explained by taking the Chinese Women's Association in Austria as an example. After starting off on a voluntary non-profit basis in 1999, it was officially registered as a social association two years later, in 2001. In addition to its headquarters in Vienna, the association has two more branches in Salzburg and Graz. As Li Minghuan pointed out in respect to Women's associations in the Netherlands, "these women's associations are motivated to unite the Chinese women together and to enrich their life" (Li 1999: 135). The goal of the Women's Association in Austria is to support the Chinese women in their everyday lives—although

²⁶ Interview with Mr. Lǚ Hui in February 2016.

not with the aim of supporting their emancipation—and to promote their integration in order to help them adapt to their (new) lives in Austria. The association organises a weekly German language course for Chinese women, regardless of the often quite low number of participants. In addition, visiting programmes such as to museums or institutions, like the company for sewage and waste technology in Vienna, have also been set up to promote the cultural and social integration. Finally, as hinted at above, the association also organises different cultural events in the Chinese community, including the celebration for the Mid-Autumn Festival and the Spring Festival.²⁷

Xiè Fēirú 谢飞茹, chairlady of the Women's Association in 2016 (Liú and Shàn 2009),²⁸ emphasises that her association is not part of the European Chinese Women's Association (*Ōuzhōu fùnǚ liánhé huì* 欧洲妇女联合会), which is regarded as ridden by internal power struggles. According to her, the Women's Association in Austria maintains a good relationship with Chinese authorities such as the Chinese Embassy and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office. However, she personally tries to keep a distance from the political world as she is not interested in any leadership position and intends to avoid conflicts with other overseas associations.²⁹ This attitude seems to confirm Li Minghuan's statement that the women's associations "have carefully defined their functions within the restrictions of the traditional cultural pattern" (Li 1999: 135).

Shared Principles and Ideology

In his attempt at categorisation of overseas Chinese associations, Li Minghuan identifies one group of associations that is mainly characterised by its "strong political orientation" (Li 1999: 82). In Austria, one of the most powerful overseas Chinese associations is The Society for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification in Austria (*Àodìlì Zhōngguó hépíng tǒngyī cùjìnhuì*; abbreviated henceforth as *Hé-tǒnghuì* 和统会). It is set up under the China Council for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification (*Zhōngguó hépíng tǒngyī cùjìnhuì* 中国和平统一促进会; abbreviated henceforth as 'the Council') which has numerous branches within China and outposts abroad. The Council was founded in 1988 under Dèng Xiǎopíng in order to enhance the relationship between Mainland China and Taiwan. According to the Constitution of the Council, it aims to "unite in cause all Chinese people everywhere who support a peaceful national reunification, a civil exchange of

²⁷ Interview with Ms. Xiè Fēirú, Chairlady of the Chinese Women's Association in Austria, in December 2015.

²⁸ Owner of a China restaurant, a bed-and-breakfast, and a cinema in Mistelbach, a small town in the northeast of Austria. She is one of the protagonists in a documentary on Chinese in Austria *China Reverse* (movie): <http://chinareverse.com/protagonistinnen/>, accessed February 2016.

²⁹ Interview with Ms. Xiè Fēirú, Chairlady of the Chinese Women's Association in Austria, in December 2015.

communications across the Taiwan Strait and a concerted opposition to separatist movements such as the so-called ‘Taiwan Independence’, ‘Two Chinas’ and ‘One China, One Taiwan’” (CCPPR 2012).³⁰ The chairman of the council is also the president of the Chinese Political Consultative Conference and member of the Standing Committee of the National Congress.

Encouraged by the Chinese Embassy in Austria, the Austrian Hétǒnghuì was established in November 2001. Although it is an independent organisation, this association has a very strong connection to the Chinese authorities, as it tries to promote the clear one-China-principle in Austrian society and within all other Chinese associations in Austria. As an outpost of the Council, Hétǒnghuì follows its constitution and displays a high degree of patriotism to the PRC. Therefore, it is strongly supported by the authorities in China as well as the Chinese Embassy in Austria. The Chinese ambassador attends their annual board meetings and the members of Hétǒnghuì are also regularly invited to the Chinese Embassy as representatives of all overseas Chinese, in spite of the fact that a great number of Hétǒnghuì members have already obtained Austrian citizenship, live in Austria rather than in the PRC, and their patriotic declaration of political loyalty to the PRC therefore could be considered “a politics without responsibility or accountability” (Li 1999: 216). As representatives of Austria’s Chinese immigrants, they are also invited to various important state events in China, such as the annual celebration of the Chinese National Day and the military parade of the seventieth anniversary of the World War II in 2015.

The Hétǒnghuì currently has about 100 members, and nearly all of them are the leaders of other influential overseas Chinese associations as well as important Chinese business men in Austria. The current chairman of Hétǒnghuì is Yáo Lóngwěi 姚龙伟, owner of several Chinese restaurants as well as import and export enterprises in Vienna and St. Pölten. A telling example of this interrelatedness of associations is the third president of the Austrian Hétǒnghuì who, at the same time, is member of the executive committee of the Overseas Chinese Committee and well connected with several Tóngxiānghuì of migrants from Qīngtián, Wēnzhōu, and Zhèjiāng. Due to the Hétǒnghuì’s policy of recruiting leaders of other overseas Chinese associations, it receives broad support by the greater part of Austria’s Chinese community.

According to the association’s former president and now member of the executive committee, Zhāng Wéiqīng 张维庆, the activities of the Hétǒnghuì focus on

³⁰ Yǒnghù Zhōngguó hépíng tóngyī de hǎinèiwài tóngbào, tuīdòng Táiwān hǎixiá liǎng'àn de mínjiān jiāoliú yǔ wǎnglái, fǎnduì zhìzào “Táiwān dúlì”, “liǎnggè Zhōngguó”, “yī zhōng yī tái” děng fēnlì zhōngguó de huódòng 高举爱国主义旗帜, 团结一切拥护中国和平统一的海内外同胞, 推动台湾海峡两岸的民间交流与往来, 反对制造“台湾独立”、“两个中国”、“一中一台”等分裂中国的活动。

cross-strait affairs. However, its members are also actively engaged in protests against Fǎlún Gōng 法轮功 and Tibetan independence. In 2012, the Hétǒnghuì succeeded in organising a large protest in Vienna against the official visit of the Dalai Lama in Austria, which was regarded as an offence to Chinese national sovereignty. Members of other overseas Chinese associations, such as the Overseas Chinese Committee and the Austrian Association of Overseas Chinese from Hángzhōu, expressed their solidarity and patriotism during the protest.³¹ Whether these activities were directed by the Chinese authorities remains unclear. Zhāng Wéiqīng emphasised that his association had also organised several photo exhibitions about Tibet and that he had been invited to officially visit Tibet in 2013.³²

Chinese Schools in Austria

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the Chinese schools in Austria are officially registered as non-profit associations.³³ Recognised both as educational institutes and social associations, the hybrid character of overseas Chinese schools is another indication of the interrelatedness of the pillars of Chinese community life, next to the publishing of newspapers by overseas associations mentioned above. In the following, after a short overview of the history of Chinese schools in Austria, their situation and specific features will be explained by taking the example of the Education Centre for the Chinese Language in Vienna (*Bildungszentrum für Chinesische Sprache in Wien*; Wéiyěnnà zhōngwén jiàoyù zhōngxīn 维也纳中文教育中心; shortened hereafter as Chinese Education Centre).

The first generation of Chinese immigrants came to Austria without any German language knowledge. However, this situation changed significantly with the people of the second generation, since they were born in Austria or brought to Austria at a very young age. Because of their education in Austrian schools and their socialisation in the Austrian environment, many of the second-generation Chinese are German native speakers and able to speak the local dialect of their parents. They can understand and speak Mandarin (*pǔtōnghuà* 普通话), but are not familiar with or proficient in the written language (Kreissl 1999: 76). In this situation, “the preserva-

³¹ The Overseas Chinese Community protested against Dalai Lama’s Visit in Austria (*Àodìlì tǒngcùhuì jǔxíng fǎn “zàngdú” kàngyì dàlài cuànfǎng shìwēi jīhuì* 奥地利统促会举行反“藏独”抗议达赖窜访示威集会). See http://www.zhongguotongcuhui.org.cn/hnwtch/oz/adl/adlztgch/201312/t20131226_5431378.html, accessed February 2017.

³² Interview with Mr. Zhāng Wéiqīng in October 2015.

³³ Constitution of the Education Center for the Chinese Language in Vienna (last alteration: April 24, 2010). In this context, we want to thank Mr. Sòng Hàn 宋翰, director of the Education Center for the Chinese Language in Vienna, for his great support including many interviews in January and February 2016, showing around his school as well as many other materials.

tion and encouragement of [the language aspect of] Chineseness in the next generation has become an increasingly important objective among the parents” (Li 1999: 126). This wish of first-generation Chinese parents in Austria motivated them to establish their own educational institutions, where their children could acquire knowledge of the (written) Chinese language and culture.

Since most of the Chinese immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s were coming from Taiwan, the Taiwanese School (*Taiwan-Schule*; *Àodili Zhōnghuá qiáoxiào* 奥地利中华侨校), founded in 1970, was the first school in Austria teaching the Chinese language. In this school, all the language teachers have either directly emigrated from Taiwan or belong to the second generation of the Taiwanese immigrants in Austria. It uses its own teaching materials which are written in traditional Chinese characters and designed for the use of overseas Taiwanese students.

Other Chinese schools that were established in Austria afterwards are related to the PRC. According to information obtained from the Chinese Education Counsel Dǒng Wèiguó, there were seven Chinese schools with mainland China background in Austria in 2016. The earliest Chinese schools in Vienna established by Chinese immigrants from the PRC are the Chinese School in Vienna (*Chinesische Schule Wien*; *Wéiyěna zhōngwén xuéxiào* 维也纳中文学校),³⁴ founded in 1995, and the Education Center for the Chinese Language in Vienna which was founded in 1996.³⁵ The other Chinese schools are located in Salzburg (2013), Linz, Klagenfurt, Villach (2010), and the newest one, Àohuá Chinese School (*Àohuá Chinesischschule*; *Àohuá zhōngwén xuéxiào* 奥华中文学校) also in Vienna (2014).³⁶ In the Chinese schools related to the PRC, modern Mandarin is the teaching language and the language teachers come from the PRC. The teaching materials are edited by Jínán University (*Jínán dàxué* 暨南大学) in Guǎngdōng 广东 province, which is responsible for the overseas educational affairs, and then donated by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office to Chinese schools overseas. Whether the overseas Chinese schools in Austria are obliged to use these teaching materials could not be established from the interviews we conducted. However, since the books are free of charge, many schools are happy to accept them in order to save their limited financial resources for other

³⁴ The Chinese School in Vienna was founded by Lǚ Xiǎoyīng 吕小英, an overseas Chinese from Wēnzhōu, in November 1995. and is now located in the Akademisches Gymnasium Wien, Beethovenplatz 1, 1010 Wien.

³⁵ The Education Center for the Chinese Language in Vienna was founded in 1996 by several overseas Chinese who worked for international interests in Vienna. Now it is led by violin maker Sòng Hàn and located in the Wasagymnasium, Wasagasse 10, 1090 Vienna.

³⁶ Interview with Mr. Dǒng Wèiguó in November 2015. The concrete founding time of the Chinese schools in Linz and Klagenfurt is not clear because of lack of information. The Aohua Chinese School was founded in 2014 by Zuǒ Yā 左雅 and is now located in the Lise-Meitner Realgymnasium in the Schottenbastei 7-9, 1010 Vienna.

purposes (Kreissl 1999: 77). Apart from the teaching materials and a small annual budget, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office in cooperation with Jinan University also provides the opportunity of continued training for teachers of overseas Chinese schools. Guided by PRC's overseas policy of "going out and inviting in" (Thunø 2001: 924), the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office invites Chinese teachers from foreign countries to participate in a two-week training programme in China every two or three years. After the training has been successfully completed, participants receive an official certification as Chinese language teachers.

The Chinese Education Centre was founded informally in 1996 (and registered in 1997) by several overseas Chinese graduates of the Technical University of Vienna who worked for Siemens in Vienna. Courses are taught from 11 am to 5 pm on Saturdays in the Wasa Gymnasium in the ninth district in Vienna. The cost for renting the premises is covered to a large extent by school fees, which amounted to 135 Euro per semester in the school year of 2015/16. Since 2012/13, the school has also received a budget of about 10,000 Yuan (c. 1,300 Euro) per year from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office. Under the executive board elected in 2013, about 900 pupils were taught by nearly 50 teachers (32 regular language teachers, seven/eight substitute teachers, and nine teachers for the sport and art classes) in the Chinese Education Centre.

Due to the large number of pupils, 58 classes are set up for different language levels. All children from the age of four interested in the Chinese language can attend the school. Depending on their age, and more importantly on their Chinese language level, the pupils will be appointed to the pre-school level (normally for children aged 4 to 6), elementary level (comprising six years in total), middle level (three years), and advanced level (three years). Non-Chinese children are usually distinguished from those whose parents or one of the parents are ethnic Chinese. Due to different language levels, Chinese and non-Chinese children start their language courses with different teaching materials. While the former are using regular text books from the very beginning, the latter start with text books designed for pre-school children. Besides the language courses, the school also offers hobby lessons, such as dancing, painting, and Chinese Kungfu (*Gōngfu* 功夫).

While as an educational institution, the Chinese Education Center is oriented towards the school system of the PRC with adjustments to the local circumstances in Austria, as an overseas Chinese association essentially matches all the features of such associations in the Austrian context. The executive board of the school is elected periodically, however, the core personnel usually remains unchanged.³⁷ Similar to most of the overseas Chinese associations in Austria, the development process of the school is not free from internal and external conflicts. After the

³⁷ For instance, Sòng Hàn and Qián Fāqiáng 钱发强, director and deputy director in 2016, had been members of the executive board since the foundation of the school.

several differences of opinion between school leaders, former director Zhào Jìng 赵静, with support from some Chinese business men and associations, founded another Chinese school in Vienna in 2014.³⁸ This makes the struggle among Chinese schools in Vienna for pupils, social attentions, and financial support even more competitive. Considering the number of enrolled pupils, however, the Chinese Education Centre with more than 800 children in its classes seems to have a considerable lead over the competitors.

According to the registered constitution of the Chinese Education Centre, it is mainly aiming at: 1) teaching children the written and spoken Chinese language; 2) spreading the Chinese language and culture among the Austrian people; 3) promoting the integration of the overseas Chinese into the Austrian society.³⁹

Examining these three goals and the activities undertaken by the school, we can see that the service character and the orientation towards the Chinese community in Vienna are predominant due to the fact that the Chinese Education Center was founded as a qualified institution, where the second and third generation of Chinese immigrants in Austria could learn the Chinese language in the first place. Its educational mission, however, is not restricted to language acquisition, since, in addition to the language courses, the school provides diverse lectures for a Chinese speaking audience as well. Normally these lectures focus on the daily problems of Chinese immigrants in Austria, such as the encounters of the Austrian health insurance system and traditional Chinese medicine. In this way, the target group of school activities is extended from children to the entire Chinese community in Vienna. According to Sòng Hàn, director of the Chinese Education Center, his school is well connected with most of the Chinese associations in Vienna, because the children of their members are studying here, but direct cooperation is rare.

The goal of the Chinese Education Centre to spread the Chinese language and culture among the Austrian people could be considered as partly pursued. The school activities and events are not limited to children of the Chinese community and, in fact, about 100 Austrian children without Chinese migration background were enrolled in language classes in the school year 2015/16. Nevertheless, the services offered that include courses and lectures mostly attract ethnic Chinese and those whose families or jobs are related to China.

With regard to the third goal, consisting in promoting the integration of the overseas Chinese into the Austrian society, the school in 2016 admitted to not having pursued it very actively to that date. As none of the staff in the Chinese Education Centre is employed full-time, the school claims not to have the capacity to provide any services supporting integration beyond irregular lectures about the Austrian

³⁸ Interview with Mr. Sòng Hàn in January 2016.

³⁹ Constitution of the Education Center for the Chinese Language in Vienna (last alteration: 24 April 2010).

society given the lack of financial means and personnel. In fact, the promotion of social integration targeted at the parent generation would be a desideratum, as, according to Dǒng Wèiguó, the generation gap in the overseas Chinese families is remarkable, especially in terms of educational matters.

Another essential part of the school's activities, which is not explicitly incorporated into the school constitution, refers to intensifying the ties between the overseas Chinese schools and the Chinese authorities. According to Sòng Hàn, the Chinese Education Centre maintains close relationships to the PRC mainly via the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, the Confucius Institute Headquarters (*Hànbàn* 汉办), and the Chinese Embassy in Austria.⁴⁰ Unlike the CSSA.Vie, the Consular Department of the Chinese Embassy is the main reference for school affairs, probably because most of the school leaders are ethnic Chinese with Austrian citizenship.

Like other overseas Chinese associations, Chinese schools are striving for official recognition from both the Austrian and Chinese sides in order to confirm their status and representativeness in the Austrian Chinese community. In 2009, both the Chinese Education Centre and the Chinese School in Vienna were awarded the title of "Model Schools for Chinese Language" by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office,⁴¹ conferring additional attention for as well as financial support to these Chinese schools. The Chinese Education Centre also sends its pupils to attend several competitions in China. Their awards are considered not only a personal honour, but also a symbol for the efforts of the school. The cooperation between the Chinese Education Center and Hànbàn is mainly related to the Chinese Proficiency Test (*Hànyǔ shuǐpíng kǎoshì* 汉语水平考试; HSK) which the school has been authorised to hold since 2015. As a rule, Hànbàn only cooperates with official institutions like universities, which means that the Chinese Education Centre is no longer regarded as a mere social organisation, but acknowledged as an official institution by the Chinese authorities, according to its director Sòng Hàn. In addition, the HSK-permission gives to the Chinese Education Centre a competitive edge over the other schools in Vienna.⁴²

As shown above, the Chinese schools in Austria comprise typical characteristics of both educational institutions and social associations. They contribute greatly to the preservation of the Chinese language and culture within the Chinese community

⁴⁰ Unlike the CSSA.Vie, the Consular Department of the Chinese Embassy is the main reference for school affairs, probably because most of the school leaders are ethnic Chinese with Austrian citizenship.

⁴¹ The Overseas Chinese Affairs Office announced the first 58 "Model Schools for Chinese Language". See <http://www.hwjyw.com/content/2015/02/16/31445.shtml>, accessed February 2017.

⁴² Interview with Mr. Dǒng Wèiguó in November 2015. According to Mr. Dǒng, the other two Chinese schools are now trying to receive HSK permissions as well.

in Austria. This means that their focus is on serving the Chinese community, which is one of the three main functions of the overseas Chinese associations in Austria. Together with their efforts in terms of intensifying bonds with the PRC, allaying internal and external conflicts, as well as the striving for recognition and appreciation by both community and authorities of the home and host countries, this further emphasises their nature as Chinese overseas associations.

Concluding Remarks

In summary, the majority of Austria's overseas Chinese associations are based on shared provenance or shared knowledge and profession; important functions are also performed by those associations based on shared ideology and shared physical characteristics of their members. The pattern of the two first-generation associations founded in the early 1990s—Ào Huá and the Overseas Chinese Committee—has had a formative influence on the following generation of associations. Irrespective of their different attributes, all of the Chinese associations are engaged in at least one or two of the three major functions of overseas associations: offering services to the Chinese community, intensifying the relationship with China, and supporting the integration into the Austrian society. This implies that, while there are common patterns, the focus or priorities of different associations may vary. Hétonghuì, for example, is focused on forging close ties with China and the Chinese authorities, while the Women's Association predominantly provides services to Austria's Chinese community and avoids close political links. CSSA pays special attention to building a network among the Chinese students who come to Austria for higher education, and maintaining a good relationship with Chinese authorities. Compared to CSSA, the Chinese Education Center is oriented towards the needs of the settled Chinese migrants and their offspring in Austria who are eager to preserve the Chinese language and culture. Since the functions of the overseas Chinese associations generally overlap with each other, they are very closely connected on the one hand, but in sharp competition on the other hand.

Finally, the results of the survey presented above demonstrate that Chinese associations, newspapers, and schools, identified as the main pillars of Chinese community life, are in fact closely interconnected. Two of the Chinese associations in Austria publish Chinese language newspapers and, as a special type of an overseas Chinese organisation, the Chinese schools combine the nature of an educational institution and the basic functions of a social organisation. It is this interrelatedness of the institutional foundations of the overseas Chinese community that can be assumed to contribute to a lively ambience of Chinese community life in Austria, comparatively small in numbers, but rich in activities. This paper therefore intends to promote a novel research perspective in the sense that Chinese associations,

newspapers, and schools should not be explored separately, but must be analysed and interpreted as a closely interwoven social network in order to gain a better understanding of the Chinese community in Austria. However, it should be emphasised that this paper has only focused on the ethnic Chinese from the PRC, Hong Kong, and Macau. Other Chinese migrants from Taiwan, Vietnam, or other countries require further research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCPPR	China Council for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification
CSSA	Chinese Students and Scholars Association
CSSA.Vie	Chinese Students and Scholars Association in Vienna
HHSTA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archives)
HSK	Hànyǔ shuǐpíng kǎoshì 汉语水平考试
PRC	People's Republic of China

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GLOSSARY

Àodìlì duì huá yǒuhǎo jí wénhuà guānxì cùjìn xiéhuì (Ào-Zhōng Yǒuxié)	奥地利对华友好及文化 关系促进协会 (奥中友 协)	Austrian-Chinese Friendship Society (<i>Gesellschaft zur Förderung freund- schaftlicher und kultureller Bezie- hungen zur VR China</i>)
Àodìlì huárén fùnǚ liánhéhuì	奥地利华人妇女联合会	Chinese Women's Association (<i>Vereinigung Chinesischer Frauen in Österreich</i>)
Àodìlì huárén zǒnghuì (Ào Huá)	奥地利华人总会 (奥华)	Association of the Chinese in Austria (<i>Verband der Chinesen in Öster- reich</i>)
Àodìlì Qīngtián tóngxiāng huì	奥地利青田同乡会	Association of Qīngtián Community in Austria (<i>Verein der Landsleute aus Qīngtián in Österreich</i>)
Àodìlì Zhōngguó hépíng tōngyī cùjìn huì (Hétōnghuì)	奥地利中国和平统一促 进会 (和统会)	Society for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification in Austria (<i>Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Friedlichen Wiedervereinigung Chinas in Österreich</i>)
Àodìlì Zhōngguó xuéshēng xuézhě liányìhuì	奥地利中国学生学者联 谊会	Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) (<i>Verband der Chinesischen Wissenschaftler und Studierenden Österreich</i>)
Àodìlì Zhōnghuá qiáoqiào	奥地利中华侨校	Taiwanese School (<i>Taiwan-Schule</i>)
Àohuá zhōngwén xuéxiào	奥华中文学校	Aohua Chinese School (<i>Aohua Chinesischschule</i>)

<i>Ào-Zhōng kējì jiāoliú xiéhuì</i>	奥中科技交流协会	Society for the Promotion of Scientific and Technical Exchange between Austria and China (<i>Gesellschaft zur Förderung Wissenschaftlicher und Technischer Zusammenarbeit zwischen Österreich und China</i>)
<i>Ào-Zhōng yǒuxié huáwéihuì</i>	奥中友协华委会	Austrian-Chinese Friendship Society
<i>Běijīng</i>	北京	Capital of PRC
<i>Běipíng shíshì rìbào</i>	北平时事日报	Peiping Chronicle, newspaper in Republican China (1912–1949)
<i>Dèng Xiǎopíng</i>	邓小平	Chinese politician, 1904–1997
<i>Fújiàn</i>	福建	Chinese province
<i>Gōngfū</i>	功夫	Kungfu
<i>Guǎngdōng</i>	广东	Chinese province
<i>Guǎngzhōu</i>	广州	Capital of Guǎngdōng province
<i>Guómíndǎng</i>	国民党	Chinese Nationalist Party
<i>Guówùyyuàn qiáowù bànɡōnɡshì</i>	国务院侨务办公室	Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council
<i>Hànbàn</i>	汉办	Confucius Institute Headquarters
<i>Hángzhōu</i>	杭州	Capital of Zhèjiāng province
<i>Hànyǔ shuǐpíng kǎoshì</i>	汉语水平考试	Chinese Proficiency Test HSK
<i>Huáng Dǐngchén</i>	黄鼎臣	Former head of the Overseas Chinese Group of the Consultative Conference's National Executive Committee

<i>Huárén wěiyuánhùi</i>	华人委员会	Overseas Chinese Committee
<i>Huàxìn bào</i>	华信报	<i>News from China</i> ; newsletter
<i>Jinán dàxué</i>	暨南大学	Jinán University
<i>Jǔnán</i>	莒南	County of Shāndōng 山东 Province
<i>Nánjīng</i>	南京	Capital of Jiāngsū 江苏 Province
<i>Nèiménggǔ</i>	内蒙古	Chinese province
<i>Pǔtōnghuà</i>	普通话	Mandarin, standard Chinese language
<i>Ōuzhōu fùnǚ liánhé huì</i>	欧洲妇女联合会	European Chinese Women's Associations
<i>Ōuhuá qiáobào</i>	欧华侨报	Newspaper
<i>Ōuzhōu shíbào</i>	欧洲时报	Nouvelles d'Europe
<i>Qiáoxiāng</i>	侨乡	Areas, where most of the Oversea Chinese come from
<i>Qīngtián</i>	青田	City and county in Zhèjiāng Province
<i>Rénmín rìbào</i>	人民日报	<i>People's Daily</i> ; newspaper
<i>Shànghǎi</i>	上海	Chinese city, municipality at provincial level
<i>Sìchuān</i>	四川	Chinese province
<i>Tóngxiāng Bào</i>	同乡报	<i>Newspaper for Countrymen</i> ; newspaper
<i>Tóngxiānghuì</i>	同乡会	Societies based on shared provenance

<i>Wéiyěnnà zhōngwén jiàoyù zhōngxīn</i>	维也纳中文教育中心	Education Centre for the Chinese Language in Vienna (<i>Bildungszentrum für Chinesische Sprache in Wien</i>)
<i>Wéiyěnnà zhōngwén xuéxiào</i>	维也纳中文学校	Chinese School in Vienna (<i>Chinesische Schule Wien</i>)
<i>Wénchéng</i>	文成	County of Zhèjiāng Province
<i>Wēnzhōu</i>	温州	City in Zhèjiāng province
<i>Xīn yímín</i>	新移民	‘new migrants’
<i>Yúnmán</i>	云南	Chinese province
<i>Zhèjiāng</i>	浙江	Chinese province
<i>Zhōngguó hépíng tóngyī cùjìn huì</i>	中国和平统一促进会	China Council for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification (<i>Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Friedlichen Wiedervereinigung Chinas in Österreich</i>)
<i>Zhōngguó rénmin duìwài yǒuhǎo xiéhuì</i>	中国人民对外友好协会	Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries
<i>Zhōnghuá rénmin gònghéguó guīqiáo qiáojuàn quán yì bǎohù fǎ</i>	中华人民共和国归侨侨眷权益保护法	Law on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Returned Overseas Chinese and the Relatives of Overseas Chinese