DISSERTATION

Titel der Dissertation

Chinese Immigrant Economy in Vienna in Transnational Era

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Abstract

This thesis examines the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna in the context of the Austrian migration regime as well as the socio-economic transformations of PR China since the 1980s. Conceptually, it draws on insights of economic sociology, ethnic economy, transnationalism and globalization as well as overseas Chinese business. Analyses are based on empirical data collected in the Chinese community in Vienna including 46 semi-structured interviews and field observation.

While Chinese immigrant economy has been providing Chinese migrants with earning opportunities unavailable for them in the mainstream economy, it has deprived its actors of their rights of social welfare protection, impeding the social and economic integration of Chinese migrants in the mainstream society to a certain extent.

In the wake of globalization of China's economy and Chinese migration, Chinese transnational activities have given thrust to new business and employment opportunities in Vienna such as those in tourism and cultural industries in the last decade. These new economic activities have not only reinvigorated the Chinese immigrant economy, but also unlocked the door of an alternative path of prosperity and social mobility, in particular for a group of well-educated and well-connected Chinese. However, while some can enjoy the economic advantages, some other are excluded and remain socially immobile, thereby leading to the emergence of internal stratification and widening of socio-economic distance among members of the Chinese community in Vienna.

The contribution of this study lies in its bringing to light how divergent paths take place and social inequality can be reproduced in the process of rising globalization and transnationalization. This has prompted us to reconsider whether globalization and transnationalization will always bring more access to resources to all people involved.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit der chinesischen migrantischen Ökonomie in Wien im Rahmen des österreichischen Migrationsregimes sowie der sozioökonomischen Umwandlungen von VR China seit achtziger Jahren. Begrifflich zeichnet sie auf Erkenntnisse der ökonomischen Soziologie, der ethnischen Ökonomie, des Transnationalismuses und der Globalisierung sowie Wirtschaft der Überseechinesen. Analysen basieren auf die empirischen Daten einschließlich 46 halb-strukturierte Interviews und Feldbeobachtung, die in der chinesischen Community in Wien gesammelt wurden.

Während die chinesische migrantische Ökonomie chinesische Migranten und Migrantinnen mit Einkommengelegenheiten versehen hat, die ihnen in der Mainstream-Ökonomie nicht verfügbar sind, hat sie die chinesischen Migranten und Migrantinnen ihre Rechte des Sozialfürsorgeschutzes entzogen und ihre sozial- und wirtschaftlichen Integration bis zu einem gewissen Grad behindert.

Im Zuge der Globalisierung der Wirtschaft Chinas und der chinesischen Migration, haben die chinesischen transnationalen Aktivitäten in den letzten Jahrzehnten Schub zu neuen Geschäft- und Beschäftigungsmöglichkeiten in Wien wie denen im Tourismus und in den kulturellen Industrien gegeben. Diese neuen Wirtschaftaktivitäten haben nicht nur die chinesische migrantische Wirtschaft neu belebt, aber auch der Tür eines alternativen Weges des Wohlstandes und der Sozialmobilität, insbesondere für eine Gruppe gut ausgebildeter und gut angebundener Chinesen und Chinesinnen entsperrt. Jedoch während einige die ökonomischen Vorteile genießen können, sind einige andere ausgeschlossen und bleiben sozial unbeweglich, was zu der Entstehung der internen Schichtung und einer Ausweitung der sozioökonomischen Abstand unter den Mitgliedern der chinesischen Community in Wien führt.

Der Beitrag dieser Studie liegt in ihrem Bringen ans Licht, wie verschiedene Wege erfolgen und soziale Ungleichheit in dem Prozess der steigenden Globalisierung und Transnationalisierung reproduziert werden können. Dies hat uns veranlasst, darüber nachzudenken, ob Globalisierung und Transnationalisierung allen Beteiligten immer mehr Zugang zu Ressourcen bringen werden.

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Romanization

Pinyin system, commonly used in the People's Republic of China, is adopted throughout this dissertation. There are a few exceptions of name of places and institutions, such as *Kuomintang* and *Peking opera*, for these terms have long been romanized in other ways and are established translations adopted by the Western-language materials.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1 Predisposed Linkage to Chinese Migration?

My interest in developing a research study in the field of Chinese migration came about naturally for probably two reasons. Firstly, as a grandchild of a Javanese *Peranakan*,[1] and the daughter of two *guiqiao* (returned Chinese 归侨) from Indonesia, I grew up in a family with many untold and ambivalent migration memories. Born and grown up in Indonesia, my parents "returned" to their motherland China amid the height of nationalistic sentiments in the Chinese diaspora. It was 1958, nine years after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Chinese from outside China were encouraged to come back to participate in the grand nation-building project. Nineteen years later, as the exit option (Hirschman 1970) was made available through the open-door policy in the immediate aftermath of Mao's era, they chose to leave China and settle down in the then British colony of Hong Kong, where they became "new immigrants". As a child it was common to see adults around me starting their new life from scratch, and to experience being labelled as outsider. I took all these as part of the norm of life, a thought which prompted me to further my own migration journey in order to come to terms with the reality of being a migrant. Predetermined as it sounds, these experiences did not generate any concrete research idea until I ended up in Vienna.

Secondly, it was because of my experiences of being a social worker in the field of migrant services. I worked in the period 1998 – 2004 in the then *Wiener Integrationsfonds*, a city government funded organization which offered a variety of services for migrants in Vienna[2]. It was the daily interactions with Chinese migrants, confrontations encountered, the curiosity and complicated feelings emerged in the working process which drove me to firstly take up the Migration Studies in Sussex, England; and subsequently, to adopt a perspective other than a service provider to understand the stories and struggles of Chinese migrants in Austria.

[1] Peranakan Chinese is a term used to denote descendants of ethnic Chinese migrants in the Indonesian archipelago during the colonial era. They possess a distinct type of creolized culture which is a mixture of Malay and Chinese cultures, including their spoken language, clothing and food, etc.
[2] The *Wiener Integrationsfonds* was transformed to be one of the municipal departments of the Vienna City Government in 2004. Since then it is named as the department for integration and diversity.

Years ago, a Chinese market trader said to me: “your life is better than mine 你比我的命好”. Then, a Fujianese informant kept reminding me that comparing to him, I was so lucky to be able to leave Hong Kong for nearly everywhere in the world, as *chuguo* (going abroad 出国) had cost him and his family a heavy debt for years. The simple and casual comments as they were made, they called my awareness to the differential chances of mobility and the unequal opportunities of being integrated as a migrant, which later turned to be the underlying concerns of this study.

2 A Journey to the West and Back to the East

With China’s opening to trade and migration since the 1980s, people in PR China have been able to re-set foot on foreign soil. In the past 30 years, migration of Chinese people has increased in volume and diversified in pattern never happened before, signifying what Frank Pieke (2007) calls the “new Chinese migration order”. Within this new order, emigration from China has turned to be more commercialized, student and professional migration has proliferated, and destination of Chinese emigration has become more diverse, even spread to seemingly non-obvious places such as Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

At the same time, as China has risen to economic prominence and increasingly seen as the nation of the twenty-first century, many Chinese people living outside China have gradually experienced a turn around of attitude and sentiments. They have shifted from striving to establish life in the Western world to searching renewed social and economic connections with China, and from being emotionally detached to being emotionally re-attached to China. Nationalistic sentiments among Chinese migrants triggered by the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the pro-China rallies prior to the event are notable examples suggesting China’s regained support from overseas Chinese. In Austria, educational institutions which welcome fee-paying Chinese students or Chinese migrants who receive money spending tourists from China also illustrate part of the change. China is now not only a sending country with out-migrants seeking chances elsewhere, but also a destination for travel, work and economic opportunities which draws in-migrants, returned migrants as well as other business people. We are witnessing a trend of going to the East in the people who went to the West.

With a prosperous picture like this, and if it is reasonable to speculate that economic growth in China will gradually upgrade living conditions of its citizens and erode wage difference, then are we going to expect no more transnational trafficking cases such as those

of the tragic events in Dover and Morecambe Bay?[3] If China is now a place full of hope and economic opportunities, will overseas Chinese all around the globe return to China or at least seize its opportunities for economic benefits? Will the trend of heading for the East become more prevalent because of China's rising attractiveness? In fact, what has been witnessed in the last decade in the Chinese community in Austria does not correspond fully to these speculations and expectations. While there are arrivals of desirable fee-paying students and Chinese tourists, undesirable irregular migrants have not stopped to come to Austria through "illegal" channels. Simultaneously, whereas some well-educated and well-connected Chinese have been able to tap resources in China through their transnational economic activities, some other are confined to limited space on a sub-national level, the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, for survival. It is in the context of these dynamics and intricacy of Chinese migration that I started this study to explore the intriguing questions.

3 Research Questions and Concerns

Integrating insights and methods from economic sociology, ethnic business, overseas Chinese studies and ethnography, this dissertation examines the economic activities of Chinese migrants in Vienna in the context of the Austrian migration regime as well as the socio-economic transformations of PR China since the 1980s. The aim of this study is twofold. Empirically, it aims to offer a comprehensive picture of the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna in terms of its emergence, developments, strategies and social actors' use of resources. Conceptually, it attempts to shed light on the discussions of ethnic business as well as of the impact of globalization and transnationalization on migrants' well-being, in particular their economic integration in the receiving society. The concrete research questions are as follows:

1. What kind of Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna can be identified?
2. How do the structural and cultural, local and transnational factors interact to shape the emergence and developments of Chinese ethnic economy in Vienna?
3. How do Chinese entrepreneurs make use of their different resources to develop strategies for pursuing economic goals?

[3] In June 2000, 58 Chinese nationals lost their lives while being smuggled into the United Kingdom in a cargo container through Dover. In February 2004, 21 "illegal" Chinese, believed to work for organized criminal gangs, were drown while picking cockles in Morecambe Bay in England.

4. What role does the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna play in the social mobility of Chinese migrants?
5. What impacts have globalization and transnationalization yielded on the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna? Have they brought about more chances or limitations?

All these questions point to two larger issues. Firstly, they are a subset of the larger, but familiar question of immigrant integration in advanced Western societies. The questions of integration and non-integration of migrants - whether migrants are recognized as members in the new receiving society - have been made as the central theme of study by migration scholars for long. Today, integration of immigrants can be understood and measured through various interdependent dimensions of life in the receiving society: legal, social, economic and cultural. Very often, integration in one dimension preconditions the possibilities of life in some others. There are two ways for a migrant to achieve economic integration: by participating in the labour market as a dependent employee or being self-employed as entrepreneur. In the literature of immigrant entrepreneurship, scholars have identified various models such as ethnic enclave (Wilson and Portes 1980; Zhou 1992; Portes 2010) and middleman minority (Bonacich 1973; Min 1996), explaining how different conditions lead to specific modes of operation in an immigrant economy with diversified possibilities of social mobility in the receiving society. Moreover, there has been a long-existing debate on whether the cultural features of migrant groups or the structural conditions contribute more to immigrant economy. Based on the empirical findings of this study, I hope to bring light to the rethinking of these conceptual issues in the broader context of immigrant economic integration.

Secondly, they address the conceptual question of the still relatively new research agenda of the impacts of globalization and transnationalization on migrant community. This research concern will be revealed more in details in the following section.

4 State of Affair: Studies on Chinese Migration in Europe and Austria

Starting almost from scratch roughly 20 years ago, research has by now yielded a reasonably reliable picture of some basic facts and outlines of Chinese migration in Europe. *The Chinese in Europe* edited by Benton and Pieke (1998) is the first book to include all of Europe. Prior to that, materials were scattered, with focus on individual countries and in different languages,

such as the book on Chinese in Italy by Campani, Carchedi and Tassinari (1994), and the study about Chinese socio-economic activities in France (e.g. Live 1991). *The Chinese in Europe* is a ground-breaking work in that it offers a juxtaposition of developments of Chinese migration in different countries in Europe, including Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Russia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania. Useful and solid information about Chinese migration in terms of migration origin, migration trajectories, statistical summaries and socio-economic activities are provided. The book chapters are organized into three parts, namely the Western Europe, the Southern Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. While this classification of three blocks of destinations for Chinese migrants has not been thoroughly explained in the book, it is elaborated in some later publications (Pieke 2002; Pieke et al. 2004). However, this pioneer book suffers from a dearth of integration of the individual country studies, and fails to relate them to the more general literature on Chinese migration. Although Frank Pieke (1998:9) argues for a distinctive "European approach to the Chinese in Europe", particular clarification on what the approach might be has not been offered. Moreover, the country-by-country analyses tend to assume the coherence and solidarity of the Chinese communities in national context, leaving the inter-ethnic and transnational dynamics unexplored.

After *The Chinese in Europe*, monographs, journal articles and unpublished theses had emerged one after another in the first decade of the new millennium, filling up many lacunas in the overall picture of Chinese migration in Europe. Pal Nyiri's *New Chinese Migrants in Europe: The case of the Chinese community in Hungary* (1999) and Marketa Moore's *Muddling Through: Strategies and Identities of Chinese Migrants in the Czech Republic, 1990 -2002* (2002) display two pioneer and detailed country studies. They are followed by publications on the same country as well as on other places such as Russia, Serbia and Romania (Nyiri 2003; Nyiri 2007; Milutinovic 2005; Nagy 2009). Altogether they help to provide a profile of the historical backgrounds, socio-economic features and social organizations of Chinese migration in the Central and Eastern frontier region, and explain how the region, with relative low density of ethnic Chinese prior to 1990, has attracted various flows of Chinese migrants and Chinese traders since then.

Regarding the Southern European region, Italy, Spain and Portugal have become new destinations since the 1980s. Researches on Chinese migrants in Italy are comparatively rich, figuring out how the Chinese have been attracted by the opportunities in immigrant economy,

particularly in garment and leather sectors, as well as by the amnesty for irregular migrants (see for example Ceccagno 2003; Cologna 2005; Mudu 2007; Johanson, Smyth and French 2009). Literature has also pictured similar opportunities in catering and grocery trading for Chinese in Spain and Portugal, but less in garment industry (de Oliveira 2003; Nieto 2003; Beltráan Antonlín 2005; Fang and Ardanaz 2010).

Western Europe includes the old core countries of Chinese migration including the Netherlands, England and France, where emblematical Chinatowns can be found. Literature reveals that while they go on to receive members along the traditional ex-colonial lines of migration flows, they have also become destinations for new flows of Chinese migrants such as Zhejiang and Fujian people from *qiaoxiang* (sojourner homeland,侨乡) areas[4], well-educated students and scholars as well as redundant urban workers (Li 1999a; Guerassimoff 2003; Benton and Gomez 2008). Probably due to the longer history of research on Chinese migration which results in relatively sufficient basic data of the Chinese population in these countries, scholarly studies have demonstrated a broader scope of interest to cover topics like identity formation, social exclusion, health and schooling, etc (see Chau and Yu 2001; Christiansen 2003; Archer and Francis 2006).

Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Nordic countries have been named as the "semi-periphery" countries for Chinese migration, which lie between the Eastern and Southern frontiers and the Western core (Pieke 2002). So far, systematic studies have contained Denmark (Thunø 2003), Germany (Giese 2003; Leung 2004), Switzerland (Lieber 2010) and Belgium (Pang 1998, 2002). For Austria, more information will be provided later.

One emerging theme which has been discussed by several of the above studies and some other is the persistent questioning of transnationalism. *Transnational Chinese: Fujianese Migrants in Europe* by Pieke et al. (2004), a European-wide study on Fujianese migrants, proposes the emergence of transnational Chinese in Europe as a regional pattern of Chinese globalization, a term used by the authors to describe "not only how China itself is becoming more global, but also, and equally important, how Chinese people, ideas, capital and goods find their way across the globe". In particular, the authors view Chinese

[4] The term *qiaoxiang* is a combination of *qiao* (sojourner) and *xiang* (homeland), denoting the home villages or places from where Chinese migrants originally left with ultimate intention to return one day. It is more applicable to people with strong sense of loyalty and primordial sentiment towards homeland in China.

globalization as an ongoing, never complete and contested process, which "takes place in multiple centers and peripheries" and "produces new forms of inequality and competition" (Pieke et al 2004: 11). As this book offers a theoretical reflection of the impact of China's development on Chinese migration, it helps, in part, to fill the conceptual gap – linkage between Chinese migrants in individual European countries and the broader discussions on Chinese migration - which was left open by the book *The Chinese in Europe*. While such conceptualization of Chinese globalization has its drawbacks (detailed discussions in chapter 3), Pieke et al presents a telling demonstration of Chinese "transnationalism from below" in the European social and political context: Spreading family ties and economic strategies across national borders such as being market traders in Hungary and workshop owners in Italy at the same time; and flexibly moving from country to country in search of security and social mobility through better jobs, better business opportunities or more favourable immigration policies. While we are inspired by the book on how Chinese transnationalism can be articulated, some scholars remind us to avoid the casual use of the term transnationalism, and not to overstate transmigrants' homogeneity and ignore class and political differences, as well as sub-ethnic affiliation (Thunø 2007:23; Benton and Gomez 2008:16).

None of the above mentioned literature has covered Chinese migrants in Austria. The present study thereby attempts to fill up some of the research gaps based on the insights of the above scholars, and carry on to tell the stories of Chinese migrants in Austria, whose presence and ways of livelihood are not yet much known to the scholarship of overseas Chinese studies. To my knowledge, up to now literature on the Chinese in Austria is almost exclusively in German, with nearly no academic publication appeared in English or Chinese language. At the beginning, we had only patchy sketches about earlier Chinese migrants in Austria buried somewhere inconspicuously in books (Kaminski and Unterrieder 1980; John and Lichtblau 1990). Parallel to the rising number of migration studies in general in Austria, relatively systematic researches about the Chinese community and organizations emerged at the turn of the millennium (Kreissl 1999; Khan-Svik 2003; Waldrauch and Sohler 2004).

In the last couple of years, studies on Chinese identity, media and ethnic business came on the scene largely in the form of unpublished master theses (Springer 2004; Steiger 2008; Wang 2008; Hausner 2009; Schäfer 2009; see also Kwok and Parzer 2008). In a research project on immigrant cultural industries in Vienna, study of the Chinese creative

industries has been included (Gebesmair 2009). Whereas these studies have laid ground work in bits and pieces, they are insufficient for understanding the most current developments in the Chinese community. For example, regarding the Chinese immigrant economy, the two master theses written on the subject tend to consider merely the traditional catering sector and ignore the newly emerged transnational economic activities (Wang 2008; Hausner 2009).

Basically there are two reasons for choosing the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna as the subject of this research. Economic activities represent salient elements in the life of Chinese migrants and play a significant role in shaping their socio-economic integration. Moreover, while the subject is not a totally uncharted one as shown above, there has been a lack of relatively comprehensive account as well as in-depth exploration of many aspects. Therefore, this study adopts an angle of view which is different from former researches in three ways. Firstly, rather than assuming the Chinese migrant population as a homogenous group with similar resources and behaviours, it examines how class background, possession of various capital, gender and place of origin play a role in contributing to diversified paths under the interplay of socio-economic and institutional forces. Secondly, rather than perceiving the immigrant economy of Chinese migrants as a taken-for-granted strategy deriving from their cultural endowment, this study takes also into account the structural factors, and more specifically, the interplay between the cultural and structural factors. Thirdly, instead of merely focusing on the Chinese community and their economic activities anchored in one fixed location as they are presented to the Austrian population in daily life, this research attempts to link the Chinese migration and Chinese immigrant economy in Austria with the rest of Europe as well as the socio-economic transformation of PR China.

5 Organization of Dissertation

The chapters of this dissertation are organized in three blocks, namely the theoretical and methodological framework, the migration and structural backgrounds and empirical analyses. While two or three chapters are subsumed in one block, each of the chapters has its specific focus.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Chapter 2 and chapter 3 present literature review and conceptual framework of this study. As the main subject is the economic integration of Chinese migrants through self-employment

strategies in Vienna, theoretical perspectives and concepts from sociology and primarily from economic sociology will be employed for building a conceptual frame of *dual embeddedness*. At the same time, literature with empirical insights from overseas Chinese studies as well as globalization and transnationalism will also be drawn to shed light on this study. Chapter 4 clarifies and justifies the use of methodology, describes the fieldwork conditions as well as the process of research.

Migration and Structural Backgrounds

Chapter 5 reviews the discourses of Chinese migration as well as patterns and flows of Chinese migration in general and in particular in Europe. It also traces the history and processes of Chinese migration in Austria and offers the socio-demographic profile of the present Chinese population. Based on the idea of dual embeddedness, chapter 6 moves on to deal with the opportunity structure formed on the national level in Austria as well as that on the transnational level. It analyzes how the structural conditions might have implications on the economic activities of Chinese migrants in Austria. Together these two chapters are dedicated to macro and meso level documentation, serving as the historical, demographic, socio-economic and institutional backgrounds for analyses in the later chapters.

Empirical Analyses

Before going on to the empirical analyses (Chapter 7 – 9), a prelude outlining the profile of the Chinese immigrant economy is provided in order to smoothen the later discussions. Chapter 7 concentrates on the interplay between local and transnational contexts and the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna based around catering, market trading, new Chinese transnational entrepreneurial activities in import/export companies, tourism, cultural and educational sectors. Focus is put on the meso level of analysis regarding how this interrelationship has in general exerted on various social and business groups of Chinese in Vienna. Chapter 8 moves to a micro level perspective. It discusses how business strategies are formed by mobilizing capital in order to exploit or contest the opportunity structures in different social fields. It also looks at the diverse socio-economic outcomes resulting from the various strategies. Chapter 9 examines the social mobility and immobility of social actors in the Chinese immigrant economy. It attempts to explain how social mobility and stratification come into existence in relation to individual characteristics and resources, group cultural resources as well as broader context of opportunity structure.

Chapter 10 concludes this dissertation with a discussion of the major theoretical implications of this research, answering the questions raised at the beginning. It also sets out the main limitations of this study and indicates the potential dimensions of further research.

PART I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 2 EXPLAINING IMMIGRANT ECONOMY

1 Introduction

In order to make sense of entrepreneurial activities of immigrants in Western societies, scholarly examinations have been carried out attempting to understand how new members of host societies develop economic stability and integration. Built within the endeavour of economic sociology, today's scholars have developed theoretical perspectives on minority entrepreneurship based upon the insights of the classical literature of some European sociologists such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel. Modern researches on ethnic entrepreneurship can be dated back to the 1970s firstly by scholars in the United States, followed by those in Australia and Western Europe.

Following the footsteps of Robert Park and William Burgess (Park 1950; Park and Burgess 1970), sociologists of migration in the United States first adopted the concept of assimilation in understanding and explaining immigrant integration. This concept assumed that new migrants would eventually lose their cultural distinctiveness after two or three generations, be adapted and mixed into the culture of the new environment, resulting finally in a "melting pot" culture. This assimilation paradigm remained dominant until the late 1960s and was then challenged both in the academic world as well as in society at large, as its optimistic assumption seemed to fail to explain not only the existing cultural differences between migrant groups and the mainstream society, but also the increasing racial discrimination and inequality at that time. It was in this context that the notions of ethnicity and culture were introduced. The pioneer works of Ivan Light's ethnic economy model (1972) and Edna Bonacich's middleman minority model (1973) were a reflection of the tendency of taking cultural factors into consideration in handling the question of immigrant economic integration.

In the following decades, researchers have developed rationale for explaining ethnic entrepreneurship. Debates are mostly between those emphasising internal community resources as the determined factors, and those perceiving the external political-economic contexts as the business advantages or disadvantages. Generally speaking, these intellectual battles evolve around contesting approaches of culture versus structure, agency versus

structure or supply versus demand, and they will be elaborated in the later sections in this chapter.

This chapter aims to offer a conceptual framework of *dual embeddedness* of immigrant economy in transnational context for guiding this study. Firstly, a critical discussion of terms and a historical review of classical literature on ethnic business will be provided, with emphasis of debates between the cultural and structural approaches as well as the notion of social embeddedness. Secondly, implications from the literature review will be drawn for shedding light on developing a conceptual framework for this study. Thirdly, literature on globalization and transnationalism regarding immigrant entrepreneurship will be discussed and added to the framework.

2 Explaining Immigrant Economy as a Social Phenomenon

2.1 Defining and Contesting the Notion of Ethnic Economy

According to the authors of the seminal work *Ethnic Entrepreneurs, Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies,* ethnic economy signifies "a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences" (Waldinger et al. 1990:3). Another pioneer scholar Ivan Light and his colleagues adopt a broad definition of ethnic economy: basically all economic activities in which ethnicity plays a role in networking and communitarian ties. They point to two main aspects embraced by the concept. The first one is the "ethnic ownership" which denotes the ethnic group's control of ownership stake and its co-ethnic labour force or unpaid family labour. The second one is the control over the employment network, allowing the channelling of co-ethnic members into non-co-ethnic firms, or even the public sector of the larger labour market (Light and Karageorgis 1994:648; Light and Gold 2000; Light 2005). Echoing Light and his colleagues, Zhou contends that the concept of ethnic economy can be understood as an umbrella term broadly denoting "every enterprise that is either owned, or supervised, or staffed by racial/ethnic minority group members regardless of size, type, and locational clustering." (Zhou 2004:1043)

While ethnicity appears to be the core consideration in the above mainstream definitions, it arouses ambiguities which make the term ethnic economy a problematic one.

One of the main questions arises is how to define "ethnic" in ethnic economy and where to draw the boundary. In principle, everyone belongs to an ethnic group no matter it is minority or majority. However, in reality, white ethnic groups such as the Germans, French or Scandinavians are never seen as "ethnic", although they may be foreigners in the country. The literature on ethnic economy contains very few studies of white business people or ethnic groups in the majority society. Researchers usually only perceive immigrant entrepreneurs from non-Western origin as ethnic businessmen (Nederveen Pieterse 2003; Pécoud 2000, 2010). Therefore the "ethnic" in the notion of ethnic economy is criticized as ethnocentric, denoting often distance from the European or Western mainstream culture (Nederveen Pieterse 2003, 2004a).

In addition, the notion of ethnic economy suggests and assumes rigid ethnic boundaries and ignores "the hybrids, the inbetweens". This means it contains "an overriding preoccupation with the cultural difference between mainstream and other identities" (Nederveen Pieterse 2003: 20). It gives a misleading impression that non-immigrants or the majority white people do not need in-group network resources for achieving employment or business advantages (Pécoud 2000: 457). The cross-ethnic relations developed in the course of time between immigrants and the receiving society including the involvement of mainstream labour and customers, have been relatively neglected in the discourse of ethnic economy. Another issue is the difficulty to appreciate differences within the so-called ethnic economy when emphasizing the "ethnic" dimension. This is due to the assumption that all self-employed group members belong identically to the ethnic economy, which obscures the fact that some of them may have very different relations to their ethnic group. When these self-employed immigrants limit their contacts with their group and do not benefit from co-ethnic networks, can they still be seen as ethnic (Pécoud 2000:458)?

Without doubt the conceptualization of ethnic economy is slippery and full of confusions. Bearing in mind all these limitations, and particularly the ethnocentric tendency of the notion, for the purpose of discussion, the term ethnic economy will still be used with a critical attitude in this study. This is mainly because ethnicity do constitutes relevance in immigrant economic activities to a certain extent[5]. I understand ethnic economy as a set of economic activities surrounding and connecting a group of migrants sharing not necessarily common national background (as in the definition of Waldinger et al. 1990), but rather

[5] The role of culture (often reified in ethnicity) in immigrant economic activities will be discussed in details later in this chapter.

common cultural heritage and migration backgrounds. In the concrete case of this study, not only economic activities carried out by Chinese immigrants from PR China will be included, but also those by people with Chinese backgrounds such as Taiwanese Chinese or ethnic Chinese holding Indian passports. However, when defining ethnic economy by the involvement of its social players including employers, employees, self-employed, non-paid family members and customers as suggested by scholars mentioned above, attention should be made to avoid seeing social players in immigrant or ethnic groups as functioning in a closed social system without interactions with the mainstream society.

Another commonly used term, *immigrant economy*, specifically denoting individuals who have newly immigrated or immigrated over the past few decades, seems to be more appropriate for the situation of Chinese migrants in Austria as their noticeable community is relatively young. Moreover, replacing "ethnic" with "immigrant" may probably avoid invoking ethnocentric imaginations, although the question of boundaries may not yet be solved. Both ethnic economy and immigrant economy will be used interchangeably in this study.

2.2 Early Scholarship

Early scholars like Georg Simmel, Max Weber and Werner Sombart tried to explain the emergence of entrepreneurial behaviour within the development of the capitalist system. Simmel (1950) referred to the early people who introduced entrepreneurial behaviour into traditional hunting and gathering societies not as entrepreneurs, but simply as "strangers". Not coming from the local communities, Simmel identified these "strangers" as distinctive groups of people who were forced to engage themselves in business activities such as commerce and money lending because their position as newcomer and outsider impeded their finding proper jobs in the established society: "Throughout the history of economics the stranger everywhere appears as the trader, or the trader as the stranger (…) Trade can always absorb more people than primary production; it is, therefore, the sphere indicated for the stranger, who intrudes as a supernumerary, so to speak, into a group in which the economic positions are actually occupied – the classical example is the history of European Jews" (Simmel 1950:403). "Strangers" had a paradoxical relationship to the society where they "intruded", as they were near and far at the same time. While the closeness came from the common features of a social occupational or general human nature, the distance derived from

the tensions between the “strangers” and the society. For Simmel, “strangers” were organic members of the society for there were interactions and reciprocal tension, despite the fact that they were appended to the society without established ties of kinship and locality.

This notion of “stranger”, highlighting the ambivalent position of being far and near simultaneously, still appears to have its relevance today: It helps to offer an illuminating perspective to examine the nuanced and complex relations between immigrant entrepreneurs and the mainstream society in our time.

Both Max Weber and Werner Sombart linked entrepreneurs to the importance of religion and distinguished traditional capitalism from modern capitalism. Weber acknowledged the importance of the “strangers” in the development of business activities, and argued that after the Reformation there was a change in the value structure of the society and entrepreneurship was embraced. In his classical work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1992), Weber put forward the famous thesis that there was a causal connection between the Protestant ethic and the development of capitalism. He held that the devotion to work and rational conduct which were the fundamental elements of capitalism derived, at least in part, from the Puritan effort, a kind of asceticism to turn work into a spiritual vocation. Weber saw entrepreneur as the bearer of the capitalist mentality. Later in his studies of non-Western religions such as Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism, Weber found in them no explicit endorsement of profit-making activities along the lines of ascetic Protestantism. For Weber, this was not only due to a lack of rational capitalist mentality, but also a series of institutional preconditions such as a rational state, rational technology and rational monetary system (Swedberg 2011:72-73).

It appears that both Weber and Sombart agree largely on the role of Jews in economic history as traders and money lenders. However, they have different opinions on the development of capitalism. Whereas Weber saw the ascetic Protestantism as root cause for the emergence of capitalism, Sombart identified the economic role of the Jewish traders as the crucial factors for capitalism and their economic activities being deeply embedded in their religious beliefs. While recognizing their entrepreneurial achievements being partly due to objective circumstances, Sombart attributed them also to the inherent racial traits of Jews, to the “Jewishness”: “One can be sure that the Jews have had a significant share in the genesis of capitalism. This follows from, among other things, their racial disposition.” (1902:390, cited in Grundmann and Stehr 2001:269).

The early scholarship raised issues of entrepreneurship from a sociological perspective, posing a challenge to the neo-classical model which assumes that entrepreneurial activities are purely driven by individual rational choice. On the one hand, the insights from the early scholarship contributed theoretically to the emergence of entrepreneurship by acknowledging the social structure of societies and the value structures that are induced by them as the source for understanding entrepreneurial behaviours (Butler and Greene 1997). On the other hand, their explanations along the categories of ethnic and race, particularly concerning the Jewish people, are not without criticism and danger. This regards especially Sombart's analyses, which not only stigmatized the Jewish people as "self-segregating tribe with a special inclination towards trading and money-lending" through popular and scholastic imagination of them (Grundmann and Stehr 2001: 268), but also dangerously laid the ground for anti-Semitist ideology in Europe.

2.3 After the Classics: Ethnic Resources, Middleman Minorities and Ethnic Enclave

Contemporary scholars have developed various theoretical perspectives to account for the phenomenon of ethnic economy, refining their ideas over time to integrate more complex and revealing data. One of the first explanations put forward a proposition combining ethnic resources of immigrants and the challenges they encountered in the broader labour market. Ivan Light (1972), among other authors, argued that the more hardship and frustrations immigrants experienced in the mainstream economy, the more likely they would seek alternative paths through self-employment and to develop stronger economic and social bonds among members of their own ethnic community. He elaborated how ethnic and family solidarity played an important role in facilitating collective resources needed to exploit small-business opportunities, thus providing an "elective affinity" with the requirements of small business. For instance, traditional familism and the institution of rotating credit unions of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the United States were drawn by Light as examples to illustrate how family solidarity enabled the mobilization of kinship networks with the purposes of intensifying work and generating financial support when needed.

Another earlier explanation was centred on the idea of the "middleman minority". Historically, middlemen minorities have been referred to those who traded between the societal elites and the masses, and who were distinct in nationality and culture both from the dominant and the subordinate groups. Examples are the Jews of Europe, Gypsies, Armenians, overseas Chinese and Sikhs in East Africa. They were traditionally associated with pre-

capitalist situations, in which their possession of skills was emphasized (Armstrong 1976 and Zenner 1980, cited in Waldinger 1986:253). While Bonacich and Modell (1980) argued that middleman minorities persist into advanced capitalist societies, some other scholars have observed that the contemporary form of middleman minorities who are involved either in local or international trade (for example Min 1996; Zhou 2004). The notion of middleman minority suggests a sojourner hypothesis: a sojourner mindset, with which migrants see themselves as transients rather than settlers. This is closely associated with an instrumentalist attitude in which the country of destination is considered not as home, but primarily as a place for making money as quickly as possible. Sojourners use to endure short-term deprivations with the goal of returning to the place of origin in the long run. Consistent with this sojourner mentality are some characteristics of behaviour such as thrift, hard work and zeal, which are essential elements for business survival. Sojourners are driven by goals usually at odds with those of the mainstream society, thus easily elicit hostility from the mainstream population. This hostility, in turns, strengthens solidarity – a kind of "reactive social solidarity" – within the group, which finally helps support and perpetuate the business success (Bonacich 1973). The anti-Korean riots in New York and Los Angeles in the 1990s match with Bonacich's description of the buffer role played by middleman groups, as the Korean merchants were "caught in the middle" of a racial conflict between the blacks and the whites (Min 1996).

A third approach is the ethnic enclave model. Enclave entrepreneurs are, in contrast to the middleman minority entrepreneurs, bounded by co-ethnic social structures and geographical location. Built upon the analyses of dual economy or dual labour market theory[6], the enclave economy approach argues that ethnic business will flourish when immigrants organize themselves into an enclave in which they trade exclusively or primarily with one another (Wilson and Portes 1980; Wilson and Martin 1982). The assumption of protected market plays a role in this approach: Ethnic business owners have insider knowledge of their customers as they themselves are part of them. They can create their niches or markets which are privileged and protected as long as the neighbourhood remains the same. An enclave economy is an ethnic community consisting of both residence and

[6] Dual labour market theory explains the stratification in the labour market, which is divided into two parts, the primary and the secondary sectors, based on the quality of the job. The distinction may also be drawn between formal and informal sectors or sectors between high and low value-added production. For classical literature see Piore 1977; for later studies see for example Tomaskovic-Devey 1993, Sakamoto, Arthur and Chen 1991, Massey et al 1998, Kogan 2007.

business enterprises which produces a segmented economy including both primary and secondary jobs, thereby being able to offer a chance of internal upward mobility for members of the immigrant community. The emergence of niches of certain self-employment in an ethnic enclave could be explained by the rejection and the "left open" by the mainstream population because of unattractive aspects of the particular business: long hours, low profit margins, dirtiness, and unpleasant location.

Resulted from a detailed study of the Cuban immigrants in Miami (Portes and Bach 1985), the original conceptualization of enclave model includes several distinctive features: geographical concentration, interdependent networks of social and business relationships, and a sophisticated division of labour. More than just another segment of the labour market, the enclave functions as a substitute environment for the immigrants, provides both community and employment. The significance of enclave theory therefore lies in the realization of a sense of economic security and upward mobility in a self-segregated community (Portes and Bach 1985; Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Zhou 1992; Zhou and Lin 2005; Portes 2010).

Both middleman minority economy and enclaves can be understood as special cases of ethnic economy (Light and Gold 2000; Zhou 2004). Not every ethnic economy can be signified as an enclave economy or with middleman minority characteristics. All the above three explanations capture some distinctive and significant aspects of the social phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship (Zhou 2004:1046) which form the basis of today's understanding of the topic: the discriminatory external environment as elaborated by Light; the in-between social position and sojourner mindset as suggested by the middleman minority concept; the protected market and its capacities of facilitating economic security and internal upward mobility as asserted by enclave model.

Despite differences in their distinctiveness in structure and modes of operation, a similar theme has been underscored by all three models: Faced with blocked opportunity in the mainstream society, immigrant groups turn to alternatives by creating their own businesses. All the above scholars have observed that while being situated in a disadvantaged position, immigrants draw on resources in the form of internal ethnic cohesiveness and collectivism from their own groups, which appear to be conducive to doing business. Ethnic networks and solidarity are the key source of start-up capital and daily operation of business, as well as significant information source of employment opportunities.

2.4 Divergent and Convergent Approaches: Culture, Structure and Interactionism

The above overview reveals part of the debates between two distinctive theoretical approaches regarding immigrant entrepreneurship going on for decades: the cultural approach and the structural approach. The cultural approach is featured by the focus on the "supply side" of entrepreneurship, or collective resources internal to the group or community concerned. In the foreground are the group characteristics, specifying potential mechanisms for agency and change. Two arguments in the cultural approach can be observed (Waldinger 1986).

The first one is the orthodox assertion, or the "hard" form of the cultural approach which argues that migrants share with members of their ethnic group specific cultural traits, worldviews, rituals and symbols imported or transplanted from their place of origin. These cultural values, ascribed to a belief system existing in a group prior to migration, are being retrieved and reproduced to direct their behaviour patterns and strategies of coping with entrepreneurship. The relationship between ethnic endowments and entrepreneurship has been therefore highlighted as it plays the essential role of providing ethno-cultural resources which are beneficial for developing business. It suggests that particular groups of immigrants do well because of their ethnic endowments: they are more hard-working, disciplined, and risk-oriented than others. Representatives of this strand of thoughts are the early works of Nathan Glazer on American Jews (1957) and of Harry Kitano (1969) on Japanese Americans. On the European side, there are studies which identify Asians as enjoying "inherent aptitude for business" (Basu 1998:315) and cultural values that support business ownership (Metcalf et al. 1996; Werbner 1990). This line of cultural approach has a deterministic tone, echoing Werner Sombart's argument of ethnic and racial predisposition and the still existing popular notion that certain groups are culturally programmed with "business mindset in blood".

The alternative argument is the "soft" form of the cultural approach. While still considering cultural process a core element in the development of ethnic business, this approach suggests that ethnic entrepreneurship should be perceived as a reactive adaptation to geographical, cultural and psychological dislocation as well as blocked opportunities in the mainstream labour market. When faced with challenges, group members share resources and create collective and mutually beneficial responses in the form of ethnic networks and

solidarity among co-ethnic members. As shown in the preceding section, Light and Bonacich and their colleagues are articulated proponents of this strand of thought.

The structural approach attempts to understand the entrepreneurial behaviour of ethnic groups by focusing on the contextual or external forces of society, the "demand side" of entrepreneurship. These forces do not only form the constraints, but also offer opportunities for migrants' commercial activities. Factors such as market conditions, capital accessibility, niche concentration, labour market situation, immigration policies, taxes, business regulations as well as welfare arrangements in the case of welfare states together constitute a very complex structural environment. This structural environment is named as the "opportunity structure", in which immigrant economic activities are embedded. Authors such as Aldrich, Jones and EcEvoy (1984) and Jones, EcEvoy and Barrett (1992) pay more attention to the external environment where business operates by grounding their studies with a political economy perspective.

There are positive and negative interpretations of the structural approach. The positive perspective highlights the role played by the "opportunity structures" in facilitating self-employment of immigrants for certain ethnic commodities or for certain groups of immigrants. For example, the demand for exotic cuisines and cultural products in the majority population is easier to be met by immigrant groups, thus giving rise to business opportunities to fill the ethnic niches (e.g. Jones et al. 1989). The negative interpretation sees that immigrants are mostly being pushed toward self-employment because of disadvantages in the mainstream society. Racial and religious discrimination can be the cause of disadvantages, but lack of language skill and human capital can also be factors preventing immigrants from obtaining a job that fits their skills and ambitions, leaving self-employment as the only option for survival (Ram and Phizaclea 1996; Chiang and Kuo 2000; Kogan 2011). For instance, through their studies of the business activities of Asian migrants in Britain, Aldrich et al. argue that social discrimination and racial exclusion override what internal ethnic resources could help to overcome: Their business "represents a truce with racial inequality rather than a victory over it" (Aldrich et al. 1984: 209).

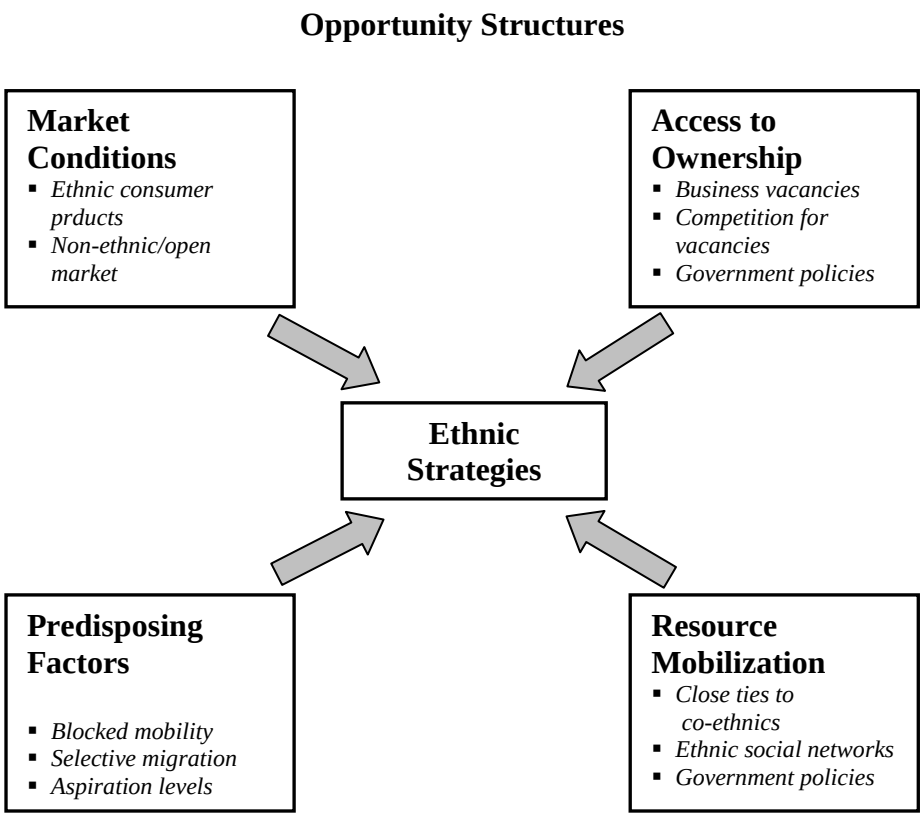
While both types of explanation have shed light on the study of ethnic entrepreneurship in one way or another, they have failed to provide sufficient insights. Moreover, both the cultural and structural approaches are incomplete when they are applied

solely. In fact, simply opposing structure to culture or easily separating "supply" from "demand" is misleading as this could lead the study of immigrant entrepreneurship to be entangled in a set of dichotomies. When viewed historically, culture and structure, supply and demand are in an on-going dialectical interplay with each other; this makes the attempt at a sharp division between them incomprehensible (Chan and Ong 1995: 524).

As illustrated in the previous section, early works of Light, Bonacich and Portes and their colleagues had already demonstrated their taking into consideration both the external forces and the internal cultural resources, though with variations of their focus. The bold attempt to set up the theoretical sophistication by converging culture and structure, or "supply" and "demand" started with the interactive model of Roger Waldinger and his collaborators (1990). Drawing insights from structuration theorists like Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, Waldinger et al.(1990) propose a more encompassing model of immigrant entrepreneurship that rejects the "artificiality of an either /or framework on whether culture or structure dictates the trajectory of socio-economic attainment." (Nee and Wang 1985:284) They have developed an interactive model that integrates ethno-cultural and politico-economic factors. This model examines the "congruence between the demands of the economic environment and the informal resources of the ethnic population", that is, an assumption in which demand and supply co-determine immigrant entrepreneurship. However, this is not a simple claim of both supply and demand sides, but an explanation of the exact manner or the fit between supply and demand (Waldinger et al. 1990:33).

The interactive model is based on three components. Placed at the centre of the model are various ethnic strategies emerging from the interaction of the opportunity structures and the ethnic group cultures (Figure 1). Success of an ethnic business depends on a complex interaction between opportunity structures and group resources. Differences between ethnic groups can be explained by their different strategies depending upon the fit between what they can offer and what a market requires. In this sense, this model can be seen as a situational model, for it proposes that opportunities are seized and resources are rightly mobilized in a specific situation.

Figure 1 Interactive Model of Ethnic Business Development by Waldinger et al. 1990



The interactive model has been appreciated as an important step towards a more comprehensive theoretical approach, and was the "dominant movement of thought" in ethnic economy literature in the 1990s (Light and Karageorgi 1994:657). However, it has also come under criticism from different aspects, including the setback of methodology (Light and Rosenstein 1995), the lack of attention towards gender issues (Morokvasic 1993), and a priori assumption that immigrants as ethnic entrepreneurs act differently from the mainstream population (Rath and Kloosterman 2000). On top of that, the model has been strongly criticized from a European perspective, mostly from a group of Dutch researchers (Kloosterman et al. 1999; Engelen 2001; Kloosterman and Rath 2001). As most of the European countries have strong states and relatively weak markets, regulations for foreign residence and for business are generally more obtrusive than in the deregulatory economic system in the United States (Boissevian 1997; Kloosterman 2000). Compared to the United States, Britain, Canada and Australia, European welfare states do not offer so much staying

permits for investors and immigrants usually do not enjoy immediate legal access to self-employment (Froschauer 2001; Haberfellner 2003). Moreover, legal requirements for self-employments including vocational proficiency and tax regulations are more demanding than in the deregulatory economies. It is also argued that while unemployment benefits are higher and benefit eligibility is wider in Europe, unemployed immigrants have less incentive for entrepreneurship (Freeman and Oegelman 2000).

Based on these observations, the concept of "mixed embeddedness" has been developed to put state regulation to the forefront in order to have more explanatory power for the European situation (Kloosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman and Rath 2001). Drawing on authors such as Esping-Andersen (1990, 1998) and Saskia Sassen (1991/2001), the concept of "mixed embeddedness" attempts to place more efforts into reframing the demand side of the story and to put "the opportunity structure back in again". "Mixed embeddedness" does not see opportunity structure and its relation with agency as static and mechanistic. Entrepreneurs are not just responding opportunity structures, but are supposedly able to change and mould them through innovative behaviours which did not exist before. Directing the focus more explicitly on the interaction between internal and external forces, authors of "mixed embeddedness" understand ethnic enterprise being grounded both in its own cultural milieu and also in mainstream resources, primarily market conditions, local planning and political-legal regulatory structures. As a version of revised interactionism, the differentiation to the interaction model proposed by Waldinger et al. is that, as concluded by Light (2005:661), "mixed embeddedness" sees "ethnic economies depend upon the fit between what groups can supply and are permitted to supply, not between consumer demand and what groups can supply".

2.5 Interlude: Social Embeddedness and Social Capital

Throughout the last decades, the two related concepts of social embeddedness and social capital have remained the focal points of debate within social science. In migration and immigrant economy studies in particular, they have gained currency in arguments privileging the role of ethnic resources in the analyses. Firstly invoked by Karl Polanyi in the middle of the 20th century through his book *The Great Transformation*, the notion of embeddedness has been further developed and made to prominence by Mark Granovetter in the 1980s. Both scholars posit their theories based on critique of the neo-classical economic perspective

which understands economic behaviour and decision-making as merely utility-driven by atomized individuals. Polanyi and Granovetter conceive economic behaviour as a result of interactions among actors in different social contexts (Krippner and Alvarez 2007).

While Polanyi's conception denotes the tension between the economic and the social, and concern of embeddedness is on the integration of the state into the market, Granovetter believes that social relations can smooth the functioning of the economy (Krippner and Alvarez 2007). In his much cited article "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness", Granovetter contends that all economic actions are embedded in "concrete personal relations and structures (or networks) of such relations" which generate trust and discourage malfeasance (Granovetter 1985: 490). Social networks are central as they "affect the conduct of the economy, economic behaviour, economic actions, economic institutions" (Granovetter 1998:88-9, cited in Mingione: 2006: 234). For Granovetter, it is an attempt to find a middle way, both theoretically and methodologically, between the over-socialized functionalist sociological version and the under-socialized economic version of human behaviours (1985: 483-487).

The embeddedness approach of Granovetter remains a focal point of debate within social science and has been perceived as a useful tool for showing what is distinctive about the sociological approach to the economy. However, it is not without challenge. Criticism coming from the neo-institutionalist perspective appears to be in its most forceful version, pointing out that it omits many dimensions of economic action and that it lacks the explanation power to handle economic phenomena at a macro level, including the culture and politics (Zelizer 1988; Zukin and DiMaggio 1990; Nee and Ingram 1998, Krippner 2001).

While seeing social network as the determining factor for conditioning the resources and constraints from which economic actors pursue their interests, Granovetter's notion of embeddedness can be defined as a kind of social (network) embeddedness. The advantages stemming from social networks in economic settings can be best conceptualized by the notion of social capital, which is to be understood as a product of social embeddedness (Portes 1995:13).

Rooted in the classic texts of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Max Weber and Georg Simmel, the concept of social capital was recovered for contemporary analysis by the French

sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s, James Coleman in the 1980s, and Robert Putnam in political science in the early 1990s. All offered their own definitions. Since then social capital has gained currency in the social sciences as a paradigm to explain various social phenomena ranging from psychological well-being, social mobility, to political participation and community building. Broadly conceived, social capital is based on the notion that social relations are resources which enable people to act in favour of their own life advancement or of a community's development. These resources may include economic tangibles such as price discount and interest-free loans, or intangibles like information about business conditions and employment. According to Portes (1995:12), the resources themselves are not social capital, but rather the individual's ability to mobilize them on demand.

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) and Portes (1998), using illustrations from immigrant communities, distinguish mechanisms of social capital - *reciprocity, bounded solidarity and enforceable trust* - which can confer positive as well as adverse economic effects on group members at the same time. *Reciprocity* focuses on group affiliation and social exchange: by doing something good for someone, you place this person in debt and you expect it will be repaid in the future. *Bounded solidarity* refers to social bond that ties communities together with support for each other in need. This causes, for example, an immigrant community to stand together behind a community member who is threatened. *Enforceable trust* refers to internal group sanctioning of behaviour. Misconduct and deviation from certain group norms will become known to the group and will be punished informally, for example, through ostracism. This explains why immigrant groups often establish informal financial network and rotating credit associations without legal binding. In this way, networks can create trust when people learn about each other and can predict each other's behaviour reasonably, and hence facilitate sharing information and resources in the way that groups can take risks and share both their benefits and potential losses. For Portes and Sensenbrenner, social networks create, convey and enforce economic conventions.

The position in a network structure can determine the opportunity one obtains and hence confer social capital. This insight has been illustrated by Ronald Burt's (1992) notion of "structural holes" as well as Granovetter's (1973) conception of strong ties and weak ties. For Burt, "structural holes" in social networks are the missing links that create information asymmetries and also opportunities. When there are three persons in business and person A knows the other two persons B and C who are strangers to each other, A may be able to take

advantage of his/her position – a hole in the network between B and C. Networks can offer opportunity and constraint as A can gain a strategic benefit by bridging the hole while B and C are constrained by the network gap. In studying how people make the connections for seeking jobs, Granovetter suggests that weak ties (people with whom we do not interact often such as acquaintance and college friends) can be more useful than strong ties (people with whom we constantly interact such as relatives, kin members and close friends). This is because strong ties tend to produce overlapping information while weak ties are spread among different social circles. Putnam (2000) makes a distinction between bonding social capital and bridging social capital. While bonding social capital denotes relationships which cement members of a homogeneous group together, bridging social capital refers to social connectedness between socially heterogeneous groups.

3 Insights and Implications

To sum up, scholarly endeavour in explaining the economic activities of ethnic or immigrant groups in advanced Western economies has a longer history than we are usually aware of the social phenomenon in our daily life. While the debates around "culture and structure" or "supply and demand" may still go on under different guises, there is, to a certain extent, consensus not to perceive "culture and structure" or "supply and demand" as two opposing poles, but rather two continuously interplaying elements of a social system. Based on this insight, this dissertation adopts the perspective of the interactive (or integrative) approach, which provides us with a more comprehensive framework to understand the functioning of immigrant enterprises in Western advanced economies.

Notwithstanding this insight, I find that there are some conceptual and empirical pitfalls in the traditional literature of ethnic business as reviewed so far. These pitfalls can be drawn as reminders or implications for this study, which will be discussed as follows:

Tendency of Social Absolutism Vested in Ethnicity

Despite the publications of the interactive models in the 1990s and early 2000s (Waldinger et al. 1990; Kloosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman and Rath 2001), researches on immigrant entrepreneurship still tend to emphasize entrepreneurs themselves, that is the internal group resources, and not the broader context. Scholars such as Light and Gold (2000) and Yoon

(1997) focus the role of ethnic resources in their analyses without theoretically elaborating upon the broader contextual characteristics; other researchers have followed the argument of Mark Granovetter (1985), and focused on actors' social networks and their impacts on entrepreneurship (e.g. Zhou 1992; Waldinger 1996; Light 2000). While being useful sociological tools for analyzing economic actions, the notions of social networking and social capital have been eagerly adopted as the rationale for singling out certain immigrant entrepreneurs as possessing a special ability. Therborn (2007:95) sees that "network is a concept still enjoying its honeymoon undisturbed" and social capital is an expression of it. What is problematic is that social networks and social capital have been always viewed as "ethnic" in character (Nederveen Pieterse 2003). Jones and Ram (2007) criticize the situation as a tendency of "ethnic exceptionalism" which has been over-preoccupied with social capital vested in ethnic groups. This echoes sociologist Viviana Zelizer, who criticized more than two decades ago the exclusive emphasis on social relations and networks in analyzing economic life as "social structural absolutism" (Zelizer 1988). As such "ethnic" colouring of social networks privileges the relationships within the co-ethnic group, that is, the bonding feature of social capital, it hinders our awareness of the role of bridging social capital in immigrant economic activities.

The over-preoccupation with social networks and social capital does not only shadow the significance of the larger contextual characteristics and the connectedness across cultural groups, but also the other forms of capital. As Bourdieu (1986:242) reminds us that "it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form".

Obscuring the Other Side of Network and Social Capital

When spotlight is put on the ethnic resources such as networks and social capital, the positive sides of them are usually emphasized, that is, how they help to engender vitality in the immigrant economy. A balance which perceives sociability as a two-way street has been missing, obscuring the other side or the dark side of networks and social capital. Scholars began to remind us already more than a decade ago of the other side of social networks and social capital, such as the exclusion of outsiders (Portes and Landolt 1996; Portes 1998; Kay and Bernard 2006; Smith 2007a), the production and reproduction of social inequalities (Flap 1991; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995; Lin 2000) as well as negative effects in

immigrant economy (Fong and Ooka 2002; Wahlbeck 2007). Therefore, while exploring the effects of social networking and social capital on immigrant economy, one should not be easily trapped by the "myth of social capital" and perceive it as "unmixed blessing".

Obscuring the Role of Culture

In the traditional literature of ethnic economy, both the "hard" and "soft" form of cultural explanations – seeing culture either as a system of unique value and group ethnic endowments or purely as a result of reactive adaptation – fail to provide us with an encompassing understanding of the role of culture in immigrant entrepreneurship. While the former overemphasizes the deterministic link between the pre-migratory cultural endowments (including values and norms) and the post-migratory entrepreneurial activities, the latter tends to underestimate or ignore the role of the culture of origin. For example, as Chinese food, Chinese acupuncture and Peking opera are gaining more popularity in the non-Chinese societies, Chinese migrants are privileged with the business opportunities to promote them as commodities and to transform them according to the needs and taste of the receiving society. As these cultural goods are neither fixed cultural entities without possibility to be changed nor merely products of migrants' reactive response to the environment, both the above approaches have failed to offer a convincing explanation on the role of culture in Chinese immigrant economy.

Missing the Transnational Aspect

All the models and theoretical perspectives discussed above have been limited by their scope of analysis: primarily concentrated on national conditions, that is, on the immigrant communities themselves and on their conditions in the receiving society. Transnationalism and transnational migration have attracted considerable scholarly attention in the past decades (e.g. Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Portes 1997; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Pries 2005; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Vertovec 2009; Bauböck and Faist 2010). Yet systematic exploration of the ways how immigrant entrepreneurs are connected to transnational networks and conditions operating in spaces outside the receiving society has been left out in the traditional literature of ethnic economy.

4 Understanding Immigrant Economy in the Transnational Context

In light of the above review, this section will develop a conceptual framework for understanding immigrant economy in the transnational context by integrating different theoretical concepts. Prior to that, I will first examine how globalization and transnational migration shape immigrant economic actions in advanced Western societies, and second, clarify the role of culture in immigrant economy, particularly that in a time of globalization.

4.1 Globalization and Transnationalism

Globalization and the related concept of transnationalism open new perspectives in the study of immigrant economic adaptation as they recognize the significance of global and regional ties which transcend the national borders. They can be described as moving the interactionist context to a broader dimension, calling attention to the match between ethnic economy and a global opportunity structure with local nodes (Light 2005).

In the literature, it is argued that globalization acts as a force facilitating the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurship. For example, Saskia Sassen perceives immigrants as being pulled rather than pushed into self-employment; that is, immigrant business being part of the globalization-induced and demand-driven phenomenon. In her well-cited book *The Global City* (1991/2001), Sassen describes how the decline of manufacturing industries and the growth of the service economy, particularly in the finance sector and high value-added industries in the "global cities", have changed the income structure and the social geography of the cities. This has given rise to the emergence of high-income households which generate an infrastructure of low-wage casual jobs serving them, ranging from cleaning work to beauty care. The demand for low-wage labour becomes the pull factor of immigration of people from poorer countries looking for jobs. Gradually these immigrants also grasp the business chance to offer low-priced goods and services triggered by income change both for the mainstream economy as well as for their own immigrant communities (Sassen 2001: 251-325).

Furthermore, globalization appears to expand needs on the mainstream consumer market in advanced economies. With advanced technologies in transportation and communication, and also increased flow of information, consumer markets in the host societies have been exposed to new possibilities. These include the broadening of taste

repertoires for cosmopolitan goods ranging from foreign food to specialized cultural products and services which immigrants have the advantage to provide. Examples are the growing popularity of South Asian women fashion in Britain, the Turkish donar kebab in Europe, Bollywood film and music, and Chinese food and acupuncture nearly all around the world (e.g. Bhachu 2004; Wahlbeck 2007; Gopal and Moorti 2008; Hsu 2008). These cultural goods, which were unknown to the mainstream consumers of the receiving societies a generation ago, have gained and are going on to gain broader acceptance.

From the supply point of view, globalized networks provide immigrant entrepreneurs with more resources to diversify their products while expanding their economic base. Some parts of ethnic economies which were operating locally previously are increasingly embedded in global-local nexus and dependent on global production and distribution chains (e.g. Portes et al. 2001; Luk 2007). As Light (2005:662) puts it, "an ethnic diaspora is a small business analog to a transnational corporation. (…) a diaspora's ethnic network operates branch offices in many countries and can shift production or distribution among the many lands in which it operates."

In the time of globalization, international migration has increased both in quantity and intensity, and taken on new qualitative meanings since the 1980s. In what Castles and Miller (2009) call "the age of migration", the traditional term, international migration, has somehow lost its sharpness. Migrants who shuttle between at least two social spaces are now being coined as "transmigrants". Pioneered by migration authors in studying Central and South American migrants in the US (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Smith and Guarnizo 1998), transnationalism is firstly defined in migration context as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al. 1994:6). Recent scholars understand it as processes taking place within fluid social spaces that are continuously reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society – not just the home and host societies, but also other places around the world (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Pries 2005; Smith 2007b). What occupy these transnational social spaces are the flow of people, money, ideas, social practices, artefacts and symbol systems.

Several scholars have made attempts to delineate the patterns and forms of activity within these social spaces. One example are Smith and Guarnizo (1998), who propose the

differentiation between transnationalism from above (such as initiatives from multinational corporations and the state) and from below (initiatives from common people and the grassroots level such as household remittances). Later, other scholars (Mahler and Hansing 2005) also propose a transnationalism of the middle (engagement in activities which bridge global-local divides). Portes (2001, 2003) classifies transnational activities into three main domains: economic, political and socio-cultural. While he argues that it makes a justifiable topic of investigation to restrict analysis to individuals who are formally and regularly engaged in either one of these domains, other scholars suggest a much wider perspective which consists of both informal and formal economic, social, cultural, religious and political practices, linking up all levels of social experiences (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Morawska 2007).

It is not without scepticism about the overemphasis of the "newness" of the transnational paradigm (e.g. Vertovec 2001; Chan 2006). In response, Portes (2003:874-875) argues, that while transnationalism does not represent a novel phenomenon, it represents a novel theoretical perspective, with which social phenomena can be seen and analyzed in the ways which could not be identified before. Despite scepticism, it is apparent that historical and technological differences between earlier and more recent form of transnational migration exist. Among other things, cross-border travels and communication has been made much quicker and easier through the globalization of economic and labour markets as well as improved technologies of transportation and communication (Foner 2000; Portes 2003).

The following table offers a summary of immigrant activities in transnational social space in comparison to national social space.

Table 1 Immigrant Activities in National and Transnational Social Spaces

	National Space	**Transnational Space**
Economic	Self-employment in local immigrant economy; wage work in immigrant economy or mainstream society	Employment in multinational corporations; self-employment in import-export trade; remittances back home or towards other sites in the diaspora, informal and clandestine dealings across borders
Socio-cultural	Local engagement in socio-cultural events and religious activities; participation in local immigrants' associations	Engagement in socio-cultural events and religious activities in home country and other sites of the diaspora; participation in cross-border associations
Political	Mobilization of immigrant participation in the political activities in receiving country at a local level	Participation in civic communities and political activities in both home country and other sites of the diaspora

Source: Portes et al. 2001

In the late 1990s, Portes acknowledged transnationalism as one of the main neglected themes of the earlier ethnic business studies and frontiers for further research (Portes 1997). Transnational ethnic enterprise can be defined as "a business (…) which entails separate operational components of the enterprise being located in different countries and the transmigration of the owners in order to operate it" (Wong and Ng 2002: 514). While there were continuously case studies of migrant transnational economic activities, they had not been conceptualized systematically until recently (Zhou 2004; Honig et al. 2010).

Zhou argues that factors affecting ethnic business such as structural conditions as well as individual characteristics like human capital, social capital, age and sex also appear to have influence on transnational activities (Zhou 2004: 1056). Facilitated by globalization and late capitalism, transnational migrants emerge to be manifold and vary by class. They can be CEO in multimillion dollar software companies in London or Karachi, "suitcase entrepreneurs" from Nigeria or El Salvador selling goods from home in the United States

(Portes et al. 2001), or self-employed Chinese market traders in various cities of Europe (Pieke et al. 2004). While the first group can be seen as part of the "transnational capitalist class" which is embedded in the formal global economy, the later two can be identified as "grassroots transnational entrepreneurs", who sometimes survive in the grey economy. In between are the numerous types of business including small and medium size import-export companies of raw material, semi-processed products, exotic clothes and handicrafts, or music CDs and DVDs. While the highly educated migrants could better utilize their human capital, bicultural literacy and skills to move around the globe, obtain material gains and expand their middle-class status through transnational business activities (Zhou 2004: 1056; Light 2007:95), the less educated and low-skilled migrants, through their innovative survival strategies and also transnational connections, both in the formal and informal economies, provide "examples, incentives, and technical means for common people to attempt a novel and previously unimagined alternative"(Portes 1997: 18).

Both "transnational capitalist class" and "grassroots transnational entrepreneurs" make extensive use of new technologies and both depend on price and information differences across borders. However, different to the big global players which rely primarily on their financial muscle to make profits, small and medium size immigrant transnational enterprises rely more on their ethnic networks and social capital. Similar to the traditional ethnic business, ethnic networks, stemming from co-ethnic reciprocity and based on trust, common language and cultural backgrounds, have not lost their significance (Portes 1997; Faist 2004; Zhou 2004).

In terms of infrastructure, immigrant transnational businesses are embedded within the context of global market, or more often regional markets because of specific migration systems such as the USA-Carribbean migration system or the Turkish-German migration system (Faist 2004:19). In this context, state policies, bilateral agreements as well as the socioeconomic developments in the countries of origin appear to play a significant role. Roberts et al. (1999) argue the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of the early 1990s and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (FATT) in 1998 launched the free movement of capital and goods between countries, which in turn gave rise to the development of large scale transnational enterprises as well as the migration of professional and entrepreneurial class. In the case of Chinese transnationalism, Zhuang (2001) shows that the government led open-door policy and economic reform in the late 1970 in China

revitalized the long-existing transnational ties between China and Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia.

Regarding immigrant economic integration, scholars of transnationalism suggest that transnational lives may represent a "strategy of survival and betterment" (Faist 2000: 191). By not simply reacting to structural disadvantages and not necessarily "undergoing a protracted process of acculturation" in the receiving countries (Portes et al. 2001: 6-7), immigrant entrepreneurs may have the potential to fulfil their economic targets through looking for opportunities and niches beyond the national boundaries of the receiving countries. Zhou (2004) and Ruble (2005) propose that transnational entrepreneurship is helpful for both social mobility and integration in the mainstream society. They assert that transnationalism can assist to expand the economic base of migrants by diversifying industries which can foster both their horizontal and vertical integration. However, it is widely recognized that not all migrants are transnationals and not all have the freedom to move (Portes 2003; Vertovec 2004). Even within transnational migrant entrepreneurs, there are differential accesses to resources according to structural conditions and varying individual characteristics, leading to the differences between "transnational elites" and "grassroots transnationals". While transnational elites celebrate the advantages brought by transnational opportunities, some other may be excluded from enjoying these advantages and still face substantial hardship in seeking to survive in the receiving society (Portes 1997). Study of Indian transnationalism suggests that international migration and transnationalism become significant contributing components in inequality and global social stratification (Taylor et al. 2007).

To recapitulate, the traditional concepts of ethnic business fail to adequately explain the transnational economic activities of migrants at a time of globalization. Many businesses are not confined in an enclave and within the local receiving society anymore, but are influenced by social networks, capital, ideas, technologies, policies as well as power relations outside the national borders, forces coming from the transnational spaces. While transnationalism does not represent a totally new social phenomenon in human history, it serves as a novel theoretical perspective to understand economic strategies which offer alternatives to achieve economic integration and social mobility for some migrants in an age of global migration. Table 2 displays an overview of the differences and similarities between traditional ethnic economy and transnational enterprises.

Table 2 Differences and Similarities: Traditional Ethnic Business and Transnational Enterprise

	Traditional Ethnic Business	Transnational Entreprise
Contexts	National or local economic contexts	Global or regional economic contexts
Scope and Scale	Activities within the national borders	Back and forth, shuttle regularly or non-regularly across borders
Impact on Home Countries	Remittances back home	Remittances, skills, technologies and capital for home country
Ways of Fulfilling Economic Goals	Fulfil economic targets through local economic adaptation (e.g. regulated by national laws)	Fulfil economic targets through both national and international mechanism (e.g. regulated by national laws, bilateral agreements or international laws)
Dependence on various variables	Human capital, ethnic networks and social capital	Human capital, transnational ethnic networks and social capital

Source: own compilation

4.2 Culture as Toolkit and Resource in the Globalized Era

It is worth to clarify my understanding of culture, often reified in ethnicity in the literature, in immigrant economy at this point. As said, in both the "hard" and "soft" forms of cultural explanation of ethnic economy, the role of culture has been either overemphasized or underemphasized, in another word, obscured. A reading into the literature of economic sociology helps to provide a clearer picture in this respect.

For economic sociologists, culture denotes shared outlooks, values, norms and expressive symbols, which shape the mental maps of making sense of the world. When talking about the cultural embeddedness of economic actions, Zukin and DiMaggio (1990:17) refer it to "the role of shared collective understandings in shaping economic strategies and goals". By restricting the meaning of culture to be neither overly broad (culture as the entirety of a way of life) nor overly narrow (culture to be "arts and letter"), DiMaggio

contends that culture, or the "shared collective understanding", offers the meanings we hold about what is normal and rational in economic operation, and can be both constraining and facilitating in mobilizing one's capability in economic actions (DiMaggio 1994:27-28). The concept of "bringing glory to one's ancestor" (光宗耀祖) of Chinese people is one such example of "shared collective understanding".

In fact, the understanding of culture within sociology has generally shifted from a unitary and internally coherent view to a more complex and inconsistent one. The former one associates culture with latent variable, a tight network of abstract central themes and a range of limited symbols, rituals and practices; the latter with a collection of resources or repertoire of techniques which are heterogeneous in content and function. At this particular point, the notion of *cultural toolkit* put forward by Ann Swidler (1986) offers a lucid illustration. For Swidler, "people do not build lines of action from scratch, choosing actions one at a time as efficient means to given ends (…) instead, they construct chains of action beginning with at least some pre-fabricated links" (Swidler 1986: 277). Therefore, "culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values toward which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or *toolkit* of habit, skills, and styles from which people construct strategies of action" (Swidler 1986: 273). These "strategies of action" include "motivations, ways of organizing experience and evaluating reality, modes of regulating conduct, and ways of forming social bonds" (Swidler 1986:284).

According to this understanding, people tap components from the *cultural toolkit* as resources and develop strategies of actions for pursuing diverse and particular life goals in varying situations. This view of culture acknowledges that cultures in which people are socialized leave room for choice and variation in attitudes and strategies (DiMaggio1997: 264-267).

In the light of this argument, there is no deterministic link between the cultural values and beliefs prior to migration and the entrepreneurial activities in the post-migration adaptation period. Instead, it is in the context of migration and integration that certain cultural values, symbols, practices and skills are chosen and start to take on significance for entrepreneurial behaviours. Culture as toolkit and resource has a more salient role in immigrants' economic activities in a time of globalization in which increasing cultural interaction and transactions are taking place. (Honig et al. 2010); yet its manifestations are

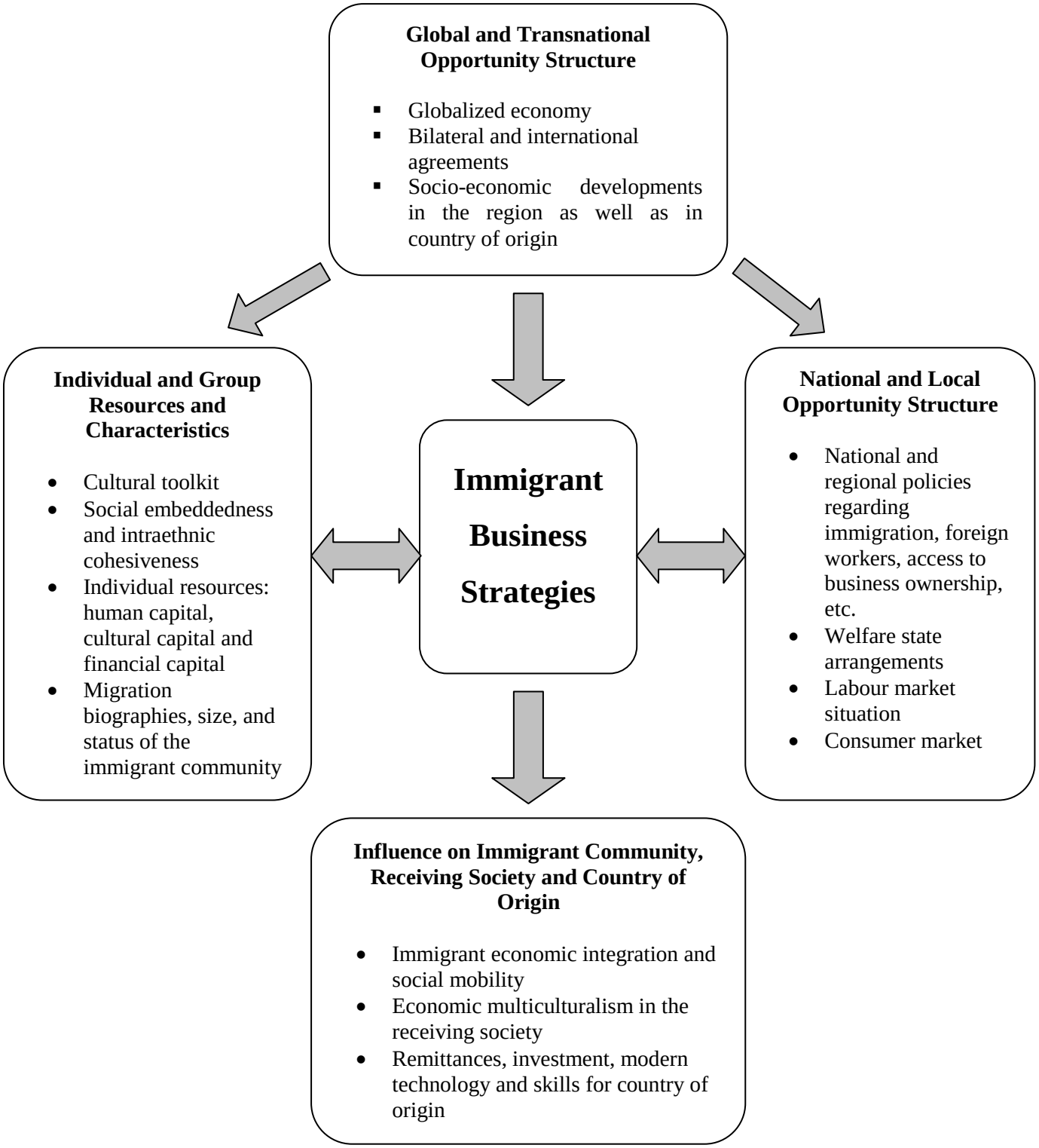
not fixed but fluent according to situations. For example, local consumption markets in the receiving societies are exposed to a broader cultural spectrum or taste repertoire of products, including foreign food, clothes, music and handicrafts either brought by immigrants who act as cultural mediators (Salamandra 2002) or made accessible through advanced technology of transportation and communication. These cultural goods, which were unknown to the mainstream consumers decades ago, have gained and are going on to gain popularity. These are situations where culture or ethnicity can be commodified and become a resource for obtaining economic benefits. However, immigrant food and music do not always remain the same, but are subject to change based on various social settings and market conditions in the mainstream society, even for one set of culture. This reminds us of the nature of dual embeddedness of immigrants' life and economic activities. Besides being embedded in their culture of origin, in-group norms and social networks, immigrants are also embedded socially and culturally in a cross-community environment to a certain extent. As mentioned in section 3 in this chapter, the over-preoccupation with social capital vested in immigrant ethnicity ignores the cross-cultural aspect of immigrant entrepreneurial activities, in which bridging social capital and locally-embodied cultural capital can arise and become an asset.

Therefore, the role of culture in immigrant economy does not lie in its fixed traits internalized among a specific group of migrants directing their behaviours and strategies in entrepreneurship. It lies instead in offering a collective set of repertoire, which components can be drawn by its members to offer rationale for their economic actions or to be used as a commodity in the course of interactions with the mainstream society.

The following figure outlines a summary of discussions in this chapter thus far, from which a conceptual framework of dual embeddedness is developed for guiding this study. The meaning of dual embeddedness in this framework is two-fold. First, immigrant entrepreneurship is understood to be shaped by both the local opportunity structure of the receiving society as well as the transnational opportunity structure related to the home country. Second, it is the double embeddedness or orientation in both the immigrant community as well as the mainstream society culturally and socially. Both meanings resemble the notion of "life in two societies" (Lichtenberger and Faßmann 1987). Business behaviours and strategies emerge resulting from the interplay of the opportunity structures and the group and individual characteristics of migrants. This framework integrates the different blocks of theoretical concepts, namely the traditional literature on ethnic business

(Waldinger et al 1990 and "mixed embeddedness"), literature on transnationalism as well as economic sociological notions of social embeddedness and *cultural toolkit*.

Figure 2 Dual Embeddedness of Immigrant Economy in Transnational Context



CHAPTER 3 UNDERSTANDING OVERSEAS CHINESE BUSINESS IN TRANSNATIONAL ERA

1 Introduction

Studies on overseas Chinese businesses, what we also call diaspora Chinese businesses, have long been favouring big entrepreneurs or billionaire tycoons in Southeast or East Asia. Besides, these studies are mostly separated from those of Chinese ethnic minorities and their economic activities in the developed Western countries, which are usually placed within the tradition of migration and ethnic business researches. The sometimes-parallel debates seldom touch and little cross-references are made on both sides of the divide. This academic division could be partially explained by the assumption that situations of traditional trading minorities in the developing Southeast and East Asian countries are not comparable to those of the Chinese petit entrepreneurs looking for niches in developed societies (Lever-Tracy, Ip and Tracy 2002:267).

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that while debates on overseas Chinese businesses have been largely characterized by the essentialization of Chinese culture in terms of familism, trust and *guanxi*, they bear resemblance to the broader discussions of ethnic economy in the Western advanced economic context. Therefore, making cross-reference is not without meaning as assumed. In respect of Chinese transnational entrepreneurship, it is unfolded that there is an imbalance of attention paid to the well-educated and well-heeled business elites and that to the grassroot transnational merchants. Implications of these will be discussed at the end.

2 From "Trade Diaspora" to "Chinese Capitalism"

In his categorization of global diasporas, Robin Cohen (1997) classifies Chinese and Lebanese diasporas as "trade diasporas", in contrast to the Jewish diaspora and other types of diasporas such as "victim diasporas" of the Africans and Armenians, "labour and imperial diasporas" of the Indians, and the "cultural diasporas" of the Caribbean people. Not surprisingly, the pioneer scholar of overseas Chinese studies Wang Gungwu identifies the migration of *Huashang* (Chinese traders 华商), among other patterns such as *Huagong* (Chinese coolies 华工), *Huaqiao* (sojourners 华侨) and *Huayi* (foreign nationals of Chinese

descent 华裔), as the most elementary and long-lasting pattern of Chinese global migration over the last two hundred years (Wang 1991:12). While these categorizations might be too narrow to reflect the contemporary social and economic complexity of Chinese people outside of China, they nevertheless capture some features of Chinese in the earlier historical periods in different corners of the world. Wang goes on to characterize the trade-based Chinese diaspora with a somewhat deterministic tone by arguing that Chinese merchant culture was able to flourish only on the periphery of the Chinese empire when it was far away from repressive mandates and hostility towards trade (Wang 1991: 181-197).

The image of Chinese as traders and Chinese as entrepreneurs has been brought into vogue by some concurrent and interrelated phenomena at the closing years of the twentieth century: the economic growth of East and Southeast Asia, the contribution of some successful overseas Chinese entrepreneurs and their business conglomerates[7], and also the accelerated rate of the "rise of China" in the global market. Vast literature celebrating Chinese entrepreneurship and the Chinese global business networks began to mushroom during the late 1980s and the early 1990s, both in the popular media and in the academic writings. This has contributed to the emergence of terminologies such as "the spirit of Chinese capitalism" (Redding 1990), "*guanxi* capitalism" (Hamilton 1989), "the bamboo network" (Weidenbaum and Hughes 1996), "invisible empire of overseas Chinese" (Seagrave 1995), "the worldwide web of Chinese business" (Kao 1993) and the "Confucian capitalism" (Yao 2002). At the same time, a triumphal discourse of "Chinese capitalism" and "Chinese exceptionalism" has been going on, featuring overseas Chinese as "business-minded", the "model minority" or people embodied with diligence and thrift.

The above eye-catching phrases regarding overseas Chinese and "Chinese capitalism" remind us of the culturalist perspective in the broader discussions of immigrant economy. Scholars advocating this perspective explain "the success of overseas Chinese capitalism through the role of familism and the Chinese socialisation process" (Yeung and Olds 2000:13). Ethnic and cultural characteristics are believed to be the absolute reason of all forms of economic action and outcomes. Confucian values, notably with emphasis on strong family structure, commitment to *xinyong* (personal trust 信用) and the prominence of *guanxi* (personal network 关系), have been identified as characteristics of "Chinese capitalism" and

[7] Key examples of these ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs are: the Malaysian-born Robert Kuok Hock Nien (郭鹤年), the Indonesian-born Liem Sioe Liong (林紹良) and Li Ka-Shing (李嘉诚) from Hong Kong

are perceived to facilitate both the economic operation and social interactions among Chinese migrants (e.g. Redding 1990; Fukuyama 1995; Tan and Yeung 2000).

Tracing the roots of the overseas Chinese to mainland China and making the connection between their traditional values, Gordon Redding (1990) believes that overseas Chinese businesses are driven by an economic spirit based largely on Confucianism. Trying to build an intellectual link to Max Weber, Redding refers the "spirit of Chinese capitalism" not to a single religious belief, but an assortment of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and folk beliefs, a set of distinctive cultural traditions, values and ideas. According to Redding, the "spirit of Chinese capitalism" is marked by paternalism (ethics of familism), personalism (reliance on interpersonal bonding as the basis of transaction) and sense of insecurity due to factors such as scarce resources (which leads to hard work and urge to accumulate wealth). He contends that this spirit offers all Chinese an opportunity to transcend their inherent limitation in their economic activities regardless of their territorial positions and nationalities. In a more recent publication, Redding and Witt (2007:61-80) reaffirm the same argument as well as the significant role played by overseas Chinese enterprises in China's economy in terms of investments and being intermediaries between China and the developed countries.

By making historical comparisons between Western and Chinese societies, Gary Hamilton (1991) argues that the network characteristics of the Chinese economy are rooted in such local institutions as kinship and regionality (for example *Tongxiang hui* 同乡会, regional association), whereas firm autonomy in the Western societies rests upon strong states and legal institutions. Such personal networks within kinship and co-ethnics, generally known as *guanxi* (关系) in Chinese, are supposed to assert intrinsic value of particularized relationships along which resources will be channelled. It is suggested that such relationships are the prime mover for capital accumulation in Chinese economic behaviour (Tan and Yeung 2000). While the Chinese business networks are increasingly embedded in an array of international business actor-networks, these actor-networks have been named as the successful bamboo networks of overseas Chinese (Weidenbaum and Hughes 1996).

Chinese societies are described as high in particularistic trust (such as that among family and kin members), but low in general trust or institutional trust in large collectivities (Fukuyama 1995; Redding 1990; Redding and Witt 2007). Having to deal with insecure environment in which general trust is lacking, efforts made by individuals to enhance

interpersonal particularistic trust is increased. *Guanxi*， as a manifestation of such interpersonal trust, substitutes contractual or legal protection; it works as a combination of instrumentalism with human feeling and friendship. It is argued that while this may seem to be naïve or manipulative for Western societies, it is accepted as both rewarding and ethical in Chinese business practice (Lever-Tracy et al. 1996:23-24). Scholar such as Liu Hong (2001) compares the Chinese concept of *guanxi* and the social science notion of social capital and finds there are similarities. It will also be explored in this study how far particularistic trust plays a role in Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna.

3 Call for De-essentializing Chinese Capitalism

While some scholars are advocates of cultural explanations, others express their doubts and criticize that the Confucian ethos and cultural factors have been overstated or misinterpreted (e.g. Dirlik 1996; Menkoff and Gerke 2002; Gomez and Benton 2004). A radical critique comes from Arif Dirlik, who features this tendency of positive stereotyping as "revived Orientalist" constructions of China and Asia (1996:18-24). He strongly debunks the culturalist perspective as representing a "Weberizing" of Confucianism: "the critique of Max Weber's views (…) has taken the form not of a critical evaluation of Weber's view on capitalism, but rather of an assertion that Confucianism shares in the values that Weber ascribed to the Protestant ethic in Europe."(Dirlik 1996:24) For Dirlik, this does not only imply a suppression of the complexities of Confucianism, but is also being part of "an ethnicization in our understanding of the world" (Dirlik 1996:33). He sees the rise of Chinese or more broadly Asian capitalism as an integral part of global capitalism, and that the culturalist discourse on Chinese capitalism leaves out the structural context within which this capitalism has arisen. In a same vein, Gomez and Benton (2004) call for "de-essentializing" Chinese capitalism.

Scholars who oppose the culturalist explanations usually propose to pay more concern to the structural factors, in other words, the external social and political environments where immigrant Chinese entrepreneurs are situated in, including the institutional frameworks of Chinese businesses, the strategic alliances with the state, the political economy of the state as well as international division of labour in a time of globalization. For example, one argument put forward by Arif Dirlik (1996) and Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini (1997) is that the culturalist discourse on "Chinese capitalism" has covered up and justified continued

authoritarianism from the state to the factory and to the family in some Asian states such as Malaysia, Singapore and China. They insist that the broader context of political economy should be carefully taken into consideration and critically examined. Again, arguments in this camp resemble the lines of thought of structural approach in the sociology of ethnic economy.

Structural perspective underpinning the disadvantaged social position has a longer history. In fact, Chinese migrants have been perceived as one of the prototypes of historical entrepreneurial "middleman minorities" who traded between the elites and masses in feudal or colonial societies (Bonacich 1973). Central to this notion is the marginality of the social status of immigrants. Li (1998), for instance, locates the structural determinants in the institutional racism that has historically restricted many opportunities for the Chinese in the core economy in the United States and Canada. Moreover, complex factors including the internal structure of Chinese businesses, their relationship with the local politics, the organizational or structural weakness are also areas to look at. For example, by investigating into the situation in Singapore, Chan Kwok Bun and Ng Boey Kui (2001: 38-61) point out that the "structural weakness" of Chinese businesses lies in the merging of ownership and management. They underscore the "dark side" of *guanxi* which could result in "cronyism, corruption and nepotism", and argue that the contextualization of place and time is a significant factor in understanding the patterns and outcomes of networking among overseas Chinese entrepreneurs.

For these scholars, culture is something contingent upon time and space. Chan Kwok Bun calls for a dialectical view to understand "ethnicity" and "culture". Employing the metaphor of Chinese entrepreneurship as a resourceful "toolbox", Chan reminds us to put concern on "doing, not being" (Chan 2002: xiii). In other words, it is not the fixed entity of *being* Chinese which makes the overseas Chinese entrepreneurs, but the way how they *do* in different contexts. In a similar vein, Henry Yeung (2004) reconceptualizes culture in Chinese capitalism as a "repertoire of historically contingent and geographically specific practices that respond and adapt to changing local, regional and global circumstances". Here we can observe a convergence of idea with the mainstream literature of immigrant entrepreneurship and economic sociology with respect to the interpretation of culture (cf. Light and Gold 2000; Swidler 1986; DiMaggio 1994, 1997). Moreover, Chan (2002:xiii) also recommends to bring the studies of Chinese business networks back into mainstream social science research on issues such as discrimination and prejudice, and recalls readers back to the theses such as

Georg Simmel's stranger and Robert Park's marginal man to better understand the ambivalent position of overseas Chinese.

4 Chinese Transnational Entrepreneurship

Parallel to the general interest in transnationalism in migration studies, scholarly concern with Chinese transnationalism and Chinese transnational entrepreneurship has grown enormously in the last decade (e.g. Ong and Nonini 1997; Ma 2002; Gomez and Hsiao 2004; Pieke et al. 2004; Ip, Hibbins and Chiu 2006; Fong and Luk 2007; Benton and Gomez 2008; Zheng 2010). The thought-provoking work *Ungrounded Empire: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* by Ong and Nonini (1997) puts forward the argument that "Chinese transnationalism" represents an "alternative modernity", characterized by the high "mobility" and "flexible accumulation" which is, according to Ong and Nonini, understood to be part and parcel of the "deterritorialized" stage of late capitalism. Grounding on the concept of "third culture" by Mike Featherstone, the authors propose modern Chinese transnationalism to be one such third culture, arising out of the global economic processes that "transcend the porous political boundaries of nation-states". However, by accentuating how modern Chinese transnationals have taken tactical advantage of international capitalism, moving between national spaces as "multiple-passports holders" and "global players", the notion of "Chinese transnationalism" conceived by Ong and Nonini appear to favour only the stories of the well-educated and well-connected Chinese business elites, leaving many marginalized diasporic voices unheard. Moreover, the authors seem to omit the historical dimension of Chinese migration and business practices which were transterritorial for centuries and transnational after the creation of nation states.

Building on the view of Ong and Nonini (1997), Henry Yeung (2004) coins the term "Chinese hybrid capitalism" to capture "the incomplete, partial and contingent transformations" of Chinese transnational economy. This hybrid form of Chinese capitalism is characterized by its impure form, the infusion of various economic logics and social organizations, and a mixture of traditional Chinese practices and non-Chinese established norms and conventions in global capitalism. The emergence of such "Chinese hybrid capitalism" has been, as Yeung argues, partially contributed by the "territorial unboundedness" of Chinese capitalism within distinctive national economies as "multiple

forces and conditioning factors shaping its structures and trajectories at the supra-national scale are at work".

Laurence Ma (2002) sees the Chinese transnational space as the "spaces of flows", which is more than simply the space of capital flows and for privileged transnational corporations. Small businesses, individual traders, labourers and informal migrants have also taken advantage of the compression of space and time. He opposes the notion of "ungrounded" and "deterritorized" structures of Chinese transnational economy in Asia Pacific, and argues that they are "place-centered and network-based spaces with porous boundaries whose areal extends are changeable in association with intra-diasporic contexts and events" (Ma 2002:12). For example, an irregular migrant from Changle (长乐) in the Fujian (福建) province living in New York would differ not only in areal size, frequency of travel and form of business activity from that of a group of Hong Kong entrepreneurs shuttling between various global cities, but also in terms of physical, political and psychological barriers that they encounter.

Supported by detailed and interesting case studies on Fujianese migrants in Europe, Pieke et al. (2004) propose the emergence of the transnational Chinese in Europe as a regional pattern of Chinese globalization, defined as "multiple, transnational social spaces straddling and embedded in diversifying smaller regional or national systems (…) as part of a unifying global system" that "takes place in multiple centers and peripheries (…) produces new forms of inequality and competition" (2004: 11). They also argue that due to China's growing presence in the global economy, even migrants with distant memory of the "fatherland" find that China "is rapidly integrating itself into the fabric of their daily life". These arguments might bear some truth to a certain extent, yet are exaggerating the influence of the party-state of PR China over overseas Chinese, and have ignored the differences between recent migrants and those long-established ones who would like to disassociate themselves from China (Benton and Gomez 2008). Notwithstanding these, this study offers a telling demonstration of what Smith and Guarnizo (1998) call "transnationalism from below" in a Chinese version in the European socio-political context: Spreading family ties and economic strategies across national borders such as being market traders in Hungary and workshop owners in Italy at the same time; and flexibly moving from country to country in search of security and social mobility through better jobs, better business opportunities or more favourable immigration policies.

In his study of the Sino-Singaporean entrepreneurs, Liu Hong (2008) concludes that greater attention should be paid to the institutionalized networks between state and society in order to better understand contemporary transnational Chinese entrepreneurship. Liu shows how the states, and in this case both the Singaporean state and China, interact frequently with the transnational business networks through some intermediate institutions such as various business associations by directly involving in the business or formulating conductive policies. In this way, these intermediate institutions play a significant role in the formation of transnational links between the global and local, between national and transnational and between the state and society. They would in turn have bearings on Chinese immigrant entrepreneurship, both at the local and transnational level.

In a contribution to a book on Chinese ethnic business, Ivan Light (2007) claims that Chinese transnationalism is not identical with transnationalism in general. Comparing the Chinese migrants with the Central American ones in the U.S., Light stresses the distinctiveness of Chinese transnational business which lies not only in the social and educational backgrounds of the Chinese migrants, but also in the Chinese cultural traditions. These cultural traditions endow the Chinese immigrants with, for example, the ability to develop transnational business in Chinese acupuncture and herbal pharmacy. For Light, while "transnationalism has indeed prompted some convergence in the behaviour of divergent groups, it has not trumped older sources of inter-group difference", and "transnationalism homogenizes the form of diaspora, but it leaves untouched the diaspora's specific cultural content" (Light 2007:95). At the beginning of the 21st century and after some time of critique of the culturalist view, Light seems to remind us to strike a balance. He recalls us to his thesis of cultural traditions and ethnic resources of Chinese immigrant economy postulated already in his pioneer work *Ethnic Enterprise in America* in 1972, which has later found resonance from the conceptualization of *cultural toolkit* (Swidler 1986; Light and Gold 2000).

5 Summary

Overall, literature of overseas Chinese business has implications on this study in two major ways. Firstly, it is a reconfirmation for this study that both cultural and structural factors should be taken into consideration, although in different contexts. It is shown above that the debates of overseas Chinese business bear resemblance to the broader discussions of

immigrant economy to a large extent. What is unique in these debates is not the logic of reasoning, but rather the essentialization of overseas "Chinese capitalism" in terms of familism, trust and *guanxi*, which role in the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna will also be explored in this study. While the critiques of the culturalist discourse on "Chinese capitalism" are generally acceptable, some of them have totally downplayed the role of culture. Chinese culture and traditions are not irrelevant in business activities. However, as reminded by some Chinese and non-Chinese scholars (Chan 2002; Yeung 2004; Light 2007), it is "not a kind of cultural artefact that is forever cast in stones" (Chan 2002:xiii), but a resourceful "toolbox" offering Chinese migrants necessary tools depending on time and space. At the same time, alike the structuralists in the broader ethnic business debates, these scholars call attention to the broader context, in particular to the state policies, political economy, social discrimination and organizational structures of business, etc.

Secondly, similar to the earlier studies of Chinese overseas businesses, literature on transnational Chinese entrepreneurship emerged in the last two decades has thus far privileged the well-educated and/or well-connected business elites. Little attention has yet been paid to the less educated "grassroot transnational entrepreneurs" and how "transnationalism from below" of Chinese migrants takes place. This imbalance obscures or ignores the different situations faced by Chinese entrepreneurs who are endowed with different resources. Therefore, the second implication is to take account of the class difference of Chinese migrants even in a relatively small Chinese community in Austria, in order to better capture the complexities of their economic activities. Moreover, we are repeatedly reminded by scholars not to overlook the role played by state institutions in the operation of transnational business.

CHAPTER 4 BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

1 Introduction

This chapter clarifies the background and methodology of this study and how they relate to the theoretical approach. It will be organized according to the research design framework developed by Creswell (2003), which includes three elements of inquiry: 1) paradigm of research, 2) strategies of inquiry, and 3) methods of data collection and analysis. These three aspects are interrelated levels of choice of approach, ranging from the broad philosophical assumptions to the more practical decisions made about how to collect and analyze data. In the following sections, explanations and description of methodology used for this study will be provided, with details of the research background intermingled in text.

2 Paradigm of Research: Qualitative Approach

It is generally agreed that scientific studies can be broadly divided into two families of philosophical assumptions: the positivist and the interpretive ones (Creswell 2003; Corbetta 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2008). While the positivist paradigm gives rise to the quantitative research approach, the interpretive paradigm offers orientation to the qualitative methods. Creswell (1998:14) defines qualitative research as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The inquirer builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of participants, and conducts the study in a natural setting". Before I go on to explain my choice of qualitative methodology and how it relates to the theoretical approach of this study, I first summarize some major dimensions of qualitative research and highlight their differences from the quantitative approach (Creswell 2003) in the following paragraphs.

First of all, different from the quantitative researchers who believe that there is an absolute truth and one social reality, qualitative researchers think that multiple realities exist and they need to report them. These multiple realities include "the realities of the researchers, those individuals being investigated, and those of the reader or audience interpreting a study" (Creswell 2003:76). Secondly, instead of keeping an objective separateness as in the quantitative studies, qualitative inquirer interacts with participants and minimizes the distance between himself or herself and those being researched. Investigator's observational role can

shift from that of an “outsider” to that of an “insider” during the study. The close distance between the researcher and the participants has implications for the role of values in a study. Thirdly, the qualitative inquirer admits a value-laden nature of the study while a quantitative study adopts a value free approach. While being aware of his or her own values and biases, qualitative inquirers report the values and biases as well as the value nature of the information gathered from the field.

Fourthly, the language employed in a qualitative study may be personal, literary and based on definitions evolved during a study rather than being defined by the researcher at the beginning. On the contrary, language used by quantitative researchers may be formal, distant and are often subject to definitions formed prior to the study. Terms such as understanding, discover, and meaning form the glossary during the research process and they become rhetorical markers in the qualitative study report. Finally, an inductive approach is used in qualitative research in contrast to a deductive form of logic in quantitative research. The inquirer sets up no hypothesis as quantitative researcher usually does. Categories and themes emerge from informants during the research process rather than being identified in advance of the study. These themes and categories offer rich "context-bound" information leading to patterns or theories that help explain a phenomenon.

The preceding review of qualitative research characteristics paves the way for my considerations on methodology selection. Creswell (2003) suggests that researcher’s worldview and his/her training background are closely related to the rationale in choosing specific paradigm. My training as a social scientist, in particular a social worker, added by my working experiences with migrants and some other vulnerable groups, have brought me to the belief that regularities in social realities are not definite “laws” in the positivist sense, but rather causal connections or opportunity structures. As a researcher, I perceive myself an active listener and learner who want to learn the stories of the migrants and understand/interpret their stories rather than an “expert” who passes judgment on them. These draw me to the side of qualitative paradigm and especially to the values and beliefs behind it.

The second consideration concerns the theoretical approach employed and the nature of the research question. Sociological constructs of interactionalist model by Waldinger et al (1990), “mixed embeddedness” by Kloosterman et al. (1999), *cultural toolkit* by Swidler (1986) as well as literature on transnationalism constitute the overall orienting lenses of this

study. Together, they offer an interconnected set of concepts and relationships on immigrant economy, without making any causal statement. They shape the dimensions and aspects of inquiry (e.g. internal communal resources and national and transnational opportunity structures), types of questions asked (e.g. how do the different factors interact with each other?) and remind me of the important issues to examine (e.g. unequal opportunities). Moreover, they also indicate how I, as a researcher, position myself in the study (e.g. not to further obscure the contribution of the "silenced" members or justify inequality taken place). In other words, these theoretical constructs require no testing of ready-made hypotheses, but more enriched and detailed understandings of the social phenomenon of immigrant economy within the perspective provided. Therefore, this study started the inquiry by asking *what* and *how* economic activities are going on in the Chinese community inductively. The focus has been put on the empathic understanding of the Chinese migrants' economic arrangements and their interactions with the contextual environments. Hence quantitative and deductive approach is inappropriate. With these theoretical framework and questions in research, I turn to the qualitative approach of inquiry.

Moreover, qualitative research has been recommended for understanding a concept or a phenomenon which has been scantly explored, and in which little has been known (Creswell 2003). Qualitative methods could help make the world visible through the exploratory nature of the study (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Denzin and Lincoln 2008). Although the major economic activities of Chinese migrants in Austria are visible and some even eye-catching, so far little systematic exploration of them has been done. Sporadic journalistic reports and two master theses (Wang 2008; Hausner 2009)[8] are the limited materials on the topic. Most of the journalist reports portray somehow one-sided and sometimes stigmatized pictures of the Chinese population and their economic activities. Both tend to ignore those Chinese migrants behind the scene, as if they were voiceless or non-existing. This study attempts to outreach to those "silenced" ones, let their voices be heard and be included as part of the Chinese diaspora in Austria. It is suggested that through the process of sharing and talking about their life experiences including difficulties and dilemmas, they could try to make new meaning out of the existing experiences and be able to gain new insights of their lives (Rubin and Rubin 1995).

[8] There are so far more than five master theses on Chinese migrants in Austria (see chapter 1), among them two are on Chinese economic activities.

3 Strategies of Inquiry - Ethnographic Fieldwork and Data Collection

An ethnographic approach of inquiry with qualitative orientation is applied in this study. Ethnography, refers to both a method of research and the outcome of that research (Agar 1996), is a description and interpretation of a cultural or social group. As method, it involves prolonged observation of a group and collection of information about the material products, social relationships, observable patterns of behaviour, values and beliefs of a community. As an outcome, it is a report that incorporates the information collected into a holistic description of the culture of the community. This can be a written monograph, a collection of photos, a movie or a museum display (Angrosino 2007).

This study benefits from extensive ethnographic fieldwork of data collection including semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, observation, case studies, document research as well as a brief survey. These multiple ways of data collection, named as triangulation, help to verify evidence and strengthen conclusions (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Denzin and Lincoln 2008). First hand data collected through fieldwork are then placed into the framework of available statistics and secondary data, analyses, newspaper and bulletin reports.

Being the only Chinese social worker in the then *Wiener Integrationsfonds* in the period 1998-2004, I was assigned to primarily serve the Chinese migrants in Vienna. During those years, I had an opportunity to have a glimpse into their lives and struggles, mostly through offering legal advices in diverse aspects such as immigration, working, schooling and housing, etc. The working relationship also allowed me, at that time a new migrant from Hong Kong, to have a comfortable access to the community and to learn about the organization of their social lives: daily interactions and practices in diverse social spaces, from market trading to restaurants, voluntary associations, Chinese schools and churches. However, this relationship was not pure friendship with equal bases, but involved responsibilities and obligations, and was subtly subject to power relations between the "authorities" and the "subaltern migrants".

Despite the relatively easy access, I was initially an "outsider" for the various groups of Chinese people in Austria. Although born on Chinese soil and with Chinese blood and face,

my Hong Kong identity shunned most of the Chinese people away from perceiving me as "authentic Chinese" at the beginning. Zhejiang migrants sometimes made remarks like this: "wow, you can write Chinese? But you are from Hong Kong, aren't you?" Some educated Northerners used to comment my accent straight-forwardly already in our first encounters: "not bad that you can speak fluent Chinese with Taiwanese accent!" Taiwanese felt that although I appeared and behaved differently from the Mainland Chinese migrants, my accent sounded like Mainland Chinese for them. Our distance somehow obscured my "Chineseness".

Later, when my work in the community was gradually recognized by the various groups of Chinese migrant, my "Chineseness" was given a chance to develop substantially. I was invited to give talks and to participate in different events held by the Chinese associations, to go to the vernissages of some Chinese artists, to join private meals or picnics with families, and even to become customer of some Chinese insurance agents. With time I was accepted more and more in the community and comments like the following emerged: "You've helped the Chinese migrants a lot. Actually Hong Kong belongs to China, so you are also Chinese." [9] I felt myself being "melted" more and more into the Chinese world in Austria and to a certain degree, having gradually "become an insider".

These experiences helped to illustrate how fluid and multi-dimensional the meaning of "Chineseness" could be. It covers not only the dimension of blood, but also language, appearance, behaviour and socio-political background, and could range from including only people who speak beautiful Putonghua (the official Chinese spoken language, 普通话) to someone with mixed backgrounds like me, all depending on how and when the definition is made.

I took one-year study leave from my job in the period 2001-2002 to pursue the Migration Studies in Sussex, England, and resumed my duties in the then *Wiener Integrationsfonds* in summer 2002. The idea of taking up a different perspective to understand the Chinese migrants in Austria grew gradually in the aftermath of my studies. In preparation of launching an in-depth field study for this doctorate dissertation, I collected more information in the Chinese community in the period 2004 – 2005, a time when I was no more officially involved as a social worker, but as an volunteer interpreter. It was during this

[9] One Chinese journalist commented on my identity in a vernissage in 2003.

period that I decided to adopt a microethnographic approach[10] and bracket the economic activities of the Chinese migrants in Vienna as the focus of my study, an "incision" which represents salient elements in the life of the whole Chinese community.

In the following three years of ethnographic fieldwork (2006-2009), both semi-structured interviews and informal conversations were conducted. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions aiming at eliciting information in the domain of economic activities were carried out with a total number of 37 Chinese migrants, among which 14 were in catering business, 9 in trading, 8 in tourism and 6 in other commercial areas. Interviews were also carried out with 3 students and 6 representatives of voluntary associations. The selection of interviewees was made according to their branch of economic activities (catering, trading, tourism, cultural industries and others) as well as their economic position (self-employed or employee) at the time of the interview. Nevertheless, it turned out to be difficult to clearly distinguish their branch and position. This is because many of the interview partners had different positions at different times and in different situations. Among all the interview partners, 16 were females and 30 were males. They form the core part of fieldwork material for my later analyses in this study. Each interview lasted averagely one and a half hours. Out of the 46 interviews, 28 were transcribed while the other 18 were not allowed to be tape-recorded, thus were recorded by myself immediately after the interviews. Most interviews were conducted in Putonghua (the standard form of spoken Chinese) except one in German. These interviews were based on the informal conversations conducted earlier and the conceptual framework of immigrant economy developed in this study with consideration of both the internal communal resources as well as the structural factors. A detailed profile of interviewees' data is provided in Appendix I and the questions of semi-structured interviews are shown in Appendix III and Appendix IV.

A telephone questionnaire survey was also conducted to collect a broader scope of data, particularly regarding the number of people involved and the legal forms of the business units. Altogether 76 brief interviews were carried out through telephone with Chinese-run business units all over Vienna in the period March – July 2010. I treat the survey as a tool of communication and a means to verify the information and impressions obtained in the earlier stages, rather than a serious quantitative instrument with statistical analysis (results see

[10] In contrast to the approach of macroethnography which attempts to describe the entire way of life of a group, microethnography focuses on particular incisions at particular points in the larger setting, group or institution. (see Spradley 1980 and Munhall 2007).

Appendix II). While some businesses were concentrated in certain geographical areas of Vienna, the sampling of this telephone interview was made to cover at least catering business units in all districts.

Informal conversations were carried out not only with Chinese migrants, but also with other related persons, including Austrian politicians, lawyer, government administrators and social workers, and Chinese diplomats who had contacts with the Chinese community. While these conversations served as preparation for in-depth fieldwork study at the initial stage, they helped to supplement missing information, pick up bits and pieces of the "think description" of the field and verify assumptions at the later stage. In cases of some key informants, numerous conversations were held recurrently over a period of time.

Perceiving myself as a member of the community, I took part in events such as festival celebrations, founding or annual celebrations of volunteer associations, fund-raising, farewell parties for Chinese diplomats and so on. I tried to keep up with the latest "news" in the community, ranging from the sudden departure of a "community leader" to the creation of a new dish in a Chinese restaurant. For particular activities in various business branches, I attended the opening ceremonies of restaurants and souvenir shops, information afternoons for catering business, concerts and karaoke evenings. I went on the van of a vegetable trader to help with his working day, and with market traders on Sundays to the outskirt of Vienna to sell their goods. I accompanied irregular Chinese migrants to go to the government departments for asylum interviews and medical care. I went with a Chinese tourist group for a half-day tour in Vienna, and another for a one-week tour in Europe. In the period 2006-2007 I worked as a part-time interpreter for two Chinese-run travel agents in Vienna, and thereby received visiting delegations from China, joined the daily business operation and was involved in business discussions of one travel agent. This position was especially helpful for me to go under the surface of information gathered by informal and semi-structured interviews, and to obtain a better understanding from an "insider" perspective without being an obtrusive researcher.

Overall, I prefer to see participant observation not as a research method in itself, but as a "strategy that facilitates data collection in the field" (Bernard 1988:150). As a combination of the role of a researcher (participant of some sort) with an actual data

collection technique (observation), it can also be seen as a style and context adopted by field-based researcher in the meaning put forward by Michael Angrosino (2007:17):

> "In participant observation, the people of the study community agree to the presence of the researcher among them as a neighbour and friend who also happens to be a researcher. The participant observer must thus make the effort to be acceptable as a person (…) and not simply reputable as a scientist (…) the participant observer cannot hope to control all the elements of research; he or she is dependent on the goodwill of the community (…) and must make a tacit agreement to 'go with the flow'(…) participant observation is not itself a 'method' of research – it is the behavioural context out of which an ethnographer uses defined techniques to collect data."

The shift of my role from a social worker to a volunteer interpreter and then a researcher induced initially a little confusion, but fortunately no real discomfort in the Chinese community. Thanks to the networks and rapport established at the earlier time while being a social worker, I, the researcher, was then able to "enter" the Chinese community naturally and smoothly and talk to people without difficulty. After all, I myself was a migrant in Vienna having gone through similar experiences of daily struggle, desire and frustration: learning a new language, struggling for residence permit, being rejected for job and yearning for food and taste from home, etc. While living, working and participating in the Chinese community intermingled to form the main content of my fieldwork, my fieldwork contributed to the "thickness" of my life in Vienna to a certain extent.

Although there were recognized advantages of being such a "native" and nearly "invisible" person in the field, I was aware of the potential danger of losing the ability of a researcher (Berg 2009:207-211). This heightened my consciousness of striking a balance between the emic (insider) and the etic (outsider) perspectives – dilemma between "going native" and the need to maintain certain degree of scholarly distance, which was at the same time an ethical issue of how to position oneself in the field.

My strategy in this dilemma between distance and closeness was to choose not to be a *complete observer* or a *complete participant* in the field, but a *participant-as-observer*[11]. With this role I socialized freely and closely with Chinese migrants as a friend, a customer, a

[11] There are four categories in the classic typology of ethnographer roles: *complete observer*, *observer-as-participant*, *participant-as-observer* and *complete participant*. See Gold 1958 and Angrosino 2007.

volunteer, an interpreter or an employee, while my activities as a researcher were known and not questioned. As I discovered at a later time that my initial role as a social worker was never totally deleted in people's mind, I took it as one of my multiple roles in the Chinese community. Chinese migrants with whom I have contacts were my research "partners" or "collaborators" rather than research subjects. Because of appearance, familiarity of the cultural practices and of their daily struggles, I was treated as an "insider" and as part of the community.

Yet, I was at the same time an "outsider", a sympathetic one for sure, in terms of migratory trajectory, educational background and job nature. The role of a social worker and researcher inevitably put me in a different social position in the community. Moreover, the sheer announcement of the purpose of this study - to write a university dissertation – granted me the convenience to keep a certain distance. This distance allowed me to obtain a "broader picture" as well as to capture the unnoticed aspects of the Chinese community. I refrained myself from committing completely to the values and goals of all groups of Chinese migrants in Vienna while bearing on respect for them. For example, for the demonstration held by Chinese migrants on 19th April 2008 in supporting Beijing Olympics and protesting against "biased" Western media[12], I withdrew my support and articulated my opinions to some of my close fieldwork "partners" who went to the demonstration. For the need of research as well as for personal interest, I visited the Shen Yun Chinese Spectacular in Vienna in March 2008, a show which was condemned by the Chinese authorities, and which marketing channel was largely blocked in the Chinese community in Vienna[13].

As such, I did not deliberately cover my own values and political stand, but tried to articulate my standpoints and opinions to my fieldwork partners. Nevertheless, such frankness on values and political stand did not avoid me from having prejudice on interpretations. This awareness reminded me to be reflexive and to keep ongoing conversations with myself to reflect my understandings of findings, and not to take things for granted and accept them at face value.

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[12] On 19th April 2008, demonstrations and rallies in support of the Beijing Olympics were held across continents, from New York in North America to Berlin and Vienna in Europe, and to Tokyo in Asia. Demonstrators were also protesting against the Western media's coverage of the Lhasa riots and their support for Tibetan independance. See Xinhuanet 2008 and Youtube 2008.

[13] Shen Yun Show was performed by a diasporic Chinese art group based in New York with mostly Falung Gong practitioners. Chinese authorities perceive the show to be a sheer tool of anti-Chinese propaganda (Konigsberg 2008). I was told by some Chinese informants that they were discouraged by the Chinese Embassy to hang the posters of Shen Yun Show in their restaurants.

4 Data Analysis

As this is a qualitative study, the objective of analysis is to understand people in a holistic manner rather than to analyse the relationships among variables which describe an individual. Although there is no single formula accepted by all ethnographic researchers that can serve as a strategy for data analysis, there is a general contour with some steps. This study follows these general steps of data analysis, namely data management, overview reading and clarification of categories (Angrosino 2007: 69-70). For data management, interviews and conversations were transcribed or recorded, and then numbered. Field-notes and related materials were arranged into different files according to the sources of information and timely sequence. Collected data in their entirety were read through several times in order to obtain an overview and a general impression, which helped to develop a sense of the data. Later, in the process of clarification of categories, themes, typologies and regularities were identified before they were interpreted with reference to social science constructs.

In the course of this study, analysis of data gathered was a continuous and retroactive process (Corbetta 2003), and was partly carried out during the course of the fieldwork. It seemed to me that this interweaving of fieldwork data collection and analysis was indispensable. On the one hand, it helped to organize the large amounts of data which would otherwise become overwhelming and too difficult to cope with. On the other hand, as preliminary theoretical considerations were formulated at an early stage of data analysis, they led me to go back to the field and re-examine empirical material already analyzed in the light of new acquisitions or understandings. This process went on repeatedly until insights and larger meanings of the gathered data were reached.

5 Issues of Trustworthiness and Limitations

In traditional quantitative researches, validity and reliability are the two criteria used by researchers to prove the trustworthiness of their data. While “reliability” measures the degree to which any given observation is consistent with a general pattern and not the result of random chance, “validity” measures the extent to which an observation actually demonstrates what it appears to demonstrate. Qualitative researchers do not have a unified view of the

issues of trustworthiness, but multiple opinions. While some refute the relevance of reliability in qualitative research (e.g. Stenbacka 2001), some look for parallel qualitative equivalents or alternative terms (e.g. Eisner 1991; Lincoln and Guba 1985) in order to provide legitimacy for qualitative researches. Other authors reconceptualize the meaning of validity (e.g. Lather 1993; Wolcott 1994).

I use the term *trustworthiness* (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Seale 1999) as a concept for establishing the credibility of my study. And as suggested by Creswell (2003), I use the term *verification* instead of validity as verification underscores qualitative research as a distinct approach. Translated into practice, there are some procedures which I am engaged for achieving *trustworthiness* of this study as far as possible. First of all, it is the *triangulation of data sources*. Multiple methods and sources of data such as semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, observation, case studies and brief survey are made used of parallelly to provide confirming evidence on themes or perspectives. Secondly, it is the *member checks*. Some of the research data and analyses were taken back to research "partners" for them to judge the accuracy and to comment. It was during this process of member checks that some interpretations were confirmed. The third procedure is the *rich and thick description* which is related to transferability. I endeavour to offer detailed description of the Chinese community, detailed information of myself, the research context and processes in this study, so that readers can determine whether the findings can be transferred to other settings or not.

Due to the time and resource constraints, methods used and material collected for this study are partial and imperfect in two senses. Firstly, close follow up of all interview partners were inadequate. When I tried to update the situations of my interview partners in 2010, one or two years after I made most of the interviews, I realized some of them had closed down their businesses and changed telephone numbers. This hindered me to be able to contact them again for tracing the developments of their lives and business. Secondly, I was unable to follow some of my interview partners to the neighbouring countries for stocking up goods or to China for developing business contacts. Thus, a more detailed description of how things go on on the other side of the transnational space has been missing. I believe that this study would be more persuasive if the above two sources would be included.

PART II

MIGRATION AND STRUCTURAL BACKGROUNDS

CHAPTER 5 FROM PASSAGEWAY TO HOME: CHINESE MIGRATION IN AUSTRIA

1 Introduction

Migration studies pose several lines of inquiry, and one of which is concerned with the reasons why people go or stay (Hammar and Tamas 1997). For those who leave and set out for their journeys, scholarship in migration offers explanations from diverse conceptual perspectives and levels, ranging from neo-classical economic perspective focused on individual decision (Harris and Todaro 1970; Borjas 1989) to world systems theories highlighting global structural inequality (Castles and Kosack 1985; Cohen 1987) and the more recent meso-level approach of networks and social capital (Faist 1997; Tilly 1990).

This chapter does not pursue to provide a theoretical explanation of why some Chinese people migrate and some other not. Instead it aims to examine the Chinese migration history and processes in Austria against a broader background: the Chinese global migration trends and discourses in general and Chinese migration movements to Europe in particular. Located at the geographical heart of the European continent and lying between the old and new destinations of Chinese migration (Pieke 2002), Austria was merely a common passageway for various flows of non-*Qiaoxiang* Chinese migrants at the very beginning of the open-door and reform era. With the time, and particularly in the context of the "new Chinese migration order" (Pieke 2007) resulting from the interplay of several factors such as globalization and China's economic developments, many Chinese migrants have gradually made Austria home for settlement and a final destination of migration.

The coming sessions will start with a review of conceptualization of Chinese migration and terminologies as well as the patterns and flows of Chinese migration to Europe. This will be followed by a historical journey back to the beginning of the 20th century and an overview of the recent socio-demographic profile of Chinese in Austria, supported by historical documentation, memoirs, statistical data as well as field work materials.

2 Understanding Chinese Migration

2.1 Chinese Global Migration and Chinese Overseas

Migration is not new in Chinese history. In the early times, Chinese people moved from their native places to other neighbouring areas in search of better chance for survival, but they did so only temporarily and selectively. Large-scale overseas migration did not occur until mid-19th century when China experienced some pushing and pulling factors of migration in their hardest forms. Wars, famine and population pressure drove people away, and the demand for cheap labour by some Western colonial powers opened up opportunities for the poor, pushing Chinese emigration to a peak around this time (Wang 1998).

In general, scholars (Skeldon 1996; Zhou 2005a; Liu 2005; Pieke 2007) divide Chinese global migration into three phases in the modern and contemporary times. The first period (1850s – 1950) is characterized by emigration of labourers from Southern China to other parts of the globe, in particular to Southeast Asia. Guangdong (广东), Fujian (福建) and Zhejiang (浙江), the three Southern coastal provinces and primarily some limited districts and villages within these provinces, dominated the emigration. While these areas were mostly historically marginal to the Chinese state and weak in terms of resources, they were the parts of China which were subject to the influences of European colonial expansion and were therefore linked to a wider global system already at an earlier stage (Skeldon 1996). Examples are the areas around the Pearl River Delta, near the city of Canton (Guangzhou, 广州) in Guangdong, a major port since the 8th century in Southern China, or the areas around Quanzhou (泉州), Zhangzhou (漳州) and Amoy (Xiamen, 厦门) in Southern Fujian province. These were the first areas which developed into *qiaoxiang* (侨乡) with the time. The term *qiaoxiang* is a combination of *qiao* (sojourner) and *xiang* (homeland), implying places from which Chinese migrants originally left with ultimate intention to return one day. It was estimated that from the late Ming dynasty (17th century) to the end of Second World War, there were more than 10 million Chinese emigrated from China to various parts of the world, with about two-thirds settling in Southeast Asia (Qiu 2002).

The second period (1950 -1978) is featured by restricted emigration from China itself, but simultaneously new mobility movements from Hong Kong and Taiwan as well as re-migration waves of ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia. Unlike the previous era, the great majority of ethnic Chinese migrants (mostly from Southeast Asia, Hong Kong and Taiwan) headed for North America, Australia and Western Europe as their final destinations. Marked as a period of decolonization and nation-building, migration of Chinese during this time was

largely attributed to the geo-political conditions in their countries of origin and countries of destination. Examples were the political instability and fears of military intervention from mainland China in Taiwan, or hostility and violence against ethnic Chinese in some Southeast Asian countries (Wang 2001; Ma 2002; Zhou 2005a). Colonial linkage played a role in enabling the massive out-migration of villagers from the New Territories of Hong Kong to the United Kingdom in the 1950s and early 1960s in search of economic betterment (Skeldon 1996). Moreover, after the taking over of power by the Chinese Communist Party in China, politically-induced migration took place, driving many people to leave mainland China for the then British colony Hong Kong or Kuomintang-ruled (国民党) Taiwan[14].

The third and most recent period (1978 – present) can be seen as one with more complex and dynamic waves of migration represented mainly by new migrants (新移民) from PR China, while the trend evident in the previous phase is still going on. The open-door policy commenced in 1978 under Deng Xiaoping (邓小平) and the liberalization of emigration law in 1985 marked a milestone in the history of contemporary Chinese migration. Since then, China has experienced unprecedented movements of migration, both internally and internationally. Starting in the 1980s, accelerated in the 1990s and continue into the 21st century, Chinese migrants have become highly visible in Asia, Australia, America, Europe as well as many African countries. While the estimated figure of ethnic Chinese living outside China was about 12.7 million in early 1960s, it rose to approximately 33-35 million by the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century (Pan 1999; Ma 2002; Zhou 2005a; China Daily 2007).[15] Resulting from the interaction of several factors, namely globalization, new communication technology, China's opening to trade and migration, economics of Western higher education as well as the constant readjustment of immigration policies in Western countries, Chinese migration has presented new pattern and modalities of flows in the past decades, for which Frank Pieke (2007) terms as the "new Chinese migration order". This new order is characterized by the commercialization of emigration in China, globalization of Chinese migration as well as the rise of education and professional migration, signifying a time when China becomes a crucial hub of the global migration.

Several attempts have been made to typologize Chinese global migration. Wang Gungwu (1991) identifies four major patterns of Chinese migration over the past two

[14] Kuomingtang is the Chinese Nationalist Party, a founding party of the Republic of China and the ruling party of today's Taiwan.
[15]This figure includes people with Chinese ancestry living outside PR China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau

centuries, with particular patterns dominating certain historical periods: *Huashang* (Chinese traders including merchants and artisans, 华商), *Huagong* (Chinese contract labourers, also known as "coolies"), *Huaqiao* (Chinese sojourners, 华侨) and *Huayi* (foreign nationals of Chinese descent, 华裔). Regarding new migrants after 1978, Ronald Skeldon (1996) divides them into *settler migrants*, *student migrants*, *contract labour* and *illegal migrants*. Similarly, Liu Hong (2005) names his four categories *students-turned migrants*, *chain migrants*, *professional migrants* and *illegal migrants*.

While these classifications bear some truth and are useful to a certain extent, they also generate confusion. Firstly, there appears to be a methodological mix-up in categorization. Whereas *Huaqiao* and *Huayi* describe the status of migrants in relation to the Chinese state and Chinese culture, *Huashang* and *Huagong* denote the occupation of migrants while they migrate. Likewise, *chain migrants* and *illegal migrants* point to the channels through which Chinese people migrate, while *students-turned migrants* and *professional migrants* signify the occupational status and reason for migration. Secondly and more importantly, fixed categories such as these fail to capture the underlying drive of migration and fluid life trajectories of Chinese migrants today. In a time of transnational migration and in the context of fast-changing migration regime, migration movements are characterized by temporality, increasing circular mobility, high level of return and re-migration, as well as shifting strategies of individual social actors. It is difficult to mark migrants' status and identities either by stable spatial territory or by essential occupational features. Instead, there are blurred boundaries between legality and illegality, and also overlapping of social spaces, occupations and nationalities. Conventional classifications and the concomitant terms such as "sojourner", "permanent migrant", "labour migrant", "economic refugee" or "illegal migrant" have become rather obsolete. In the case of Austria for instance, a Chinese from Zhejiang can enter Austria "illegally" with the intention to join his or her family and to become a legal settler in Europe in the long run. Or, while one person migrates as a student, he or she can easily lose the student status one day if student visa requirements cannot be fulfilled anymore and thus become an "illegal" migrant. Due to changes of the Austrian immigration policy in 2006, an immigrant artist who obtained a stable resident permit previously has been only entitled to temporary stay since then.[16]

[16] The change of Austrian policy will be elaborated in depth in chapter 6. See also Kwok 2009a.

In the light of these concerns, the above categories should be used with caution, and they should not be perceived as constant, static and mutually exclusive patterns of Chinese migration and identities of Chinese migrants. Moreover, it is more important to give weight to a wide range of geo-political, economic and social factors which affect various patterns and waves of Chinese migration at different historical times. As roughly illustrated in the three phases of migration movements, these factors include colonization, decolonization, nation-state building, change of political regime and policies as well as economic developments, just to name some.

In the literature of overseas Chinese studies there is another issue which deserves clarification at this point: the use of terminologies. The term *Huaren* (华人), referring to ethnic Chinese with foreign nationality or permanent residence rights, joins *Huaqiao* (Chinese sojourners, 华侨) and *Huayi* (foreign nationals of Chinese descent, 华裔) to form a group of terms denoting different status of Chinese people living outside China and their relations to China. Most of the Chinese literature uses a combined term *Huaqiao-Huaren* (华侨华人)[17], signifying the purpose to include both groups into the overseas Chinese policies of the PRC government. The English term "overseas Chinese" is the conventional translation of *Huaqiao*, a term which emerged in the early 20th century and implied political and cultural loyalty of overseas migrants to the Chinese state. Wang Gungwu (1991, 1998) has been very suspicious about the sloppy grouping of all Chinese outside China under the rubric *Huaqiao* or "overseas Chinese", believing that the term reflects outdated nationalist assumptions at a time when the vast majority of Chinese living outside China have taken foreign citizenship and are loyal to new homelands. He also strongly criticizes the use of the mixed term *Huaqiao-Huaren* as "deliberately ambiguous" (1998:26). Instead he uses the term "Chinese overseas", meaning Chinese living overseas.

While also being doubtful about the indiscriminate use of *Huaqiao* and *Huaqiao-Huaren*, and stand for a more general and encompassing term such as "Chinese overseas", my argument does not base on the question of citizenship or national loyalty Chinese people

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[17] Just to give some examples of how the term *Huaqiao-Huaren* is widely used in the established institutions such as research center and academic journal in PR China: 北京大学华侨华人研究中心 (Center of Overseas Chinese Studies, Peking University), 暨南大学 华侨华人研究院 (Academy of Overseas Chinese Studies, Jinan University); or one prominent academic journal is 华侨华人历史研究 (Overseas Chinese History Studies).

have, but rather on the fluidity of migrant status and diverse identity in an age of transnational migration regardless what passport they are holding. Varied and complex migration of Chinese peoples constitute not a single Chinese diaspora (Wang 1999; Skeldon 2001), but dynamic and fluid Chinese migratory spaces with individuals of different backgrounds and trajectories, sometimes having diverging and contesting identities, while other times sharing a collective sense of belonging and an imagined homeland.

2.2 Chinese Migration in Europe

Chinese migration attracts a great deal of media and policy attention in Europe, although the number of Chinese is relatively low compared to other immigrant groups. This is probably due to the rising concern in diplomatic and economic relationships between Europe and China, and not least because of some eye-catching stories and tragedies related to Chinese irregular migrants and business transactions in Europe.[18]

However, no one can offer a reliable number of Chinese migrants residing in Europe. Documented nationals from PR China were recorded at about 580,000 in 2009, being the second largest non-EU foreign group residing in the 27 European member states. Those from Taiwan amounted to around 8000 (Eurostat 2012). Resources which include those who have become European citizens or are born in Europe put the number of ethnic Chinese in Europe at the turn of the millennium from about 1 million to 1.9 million depending on different estimations (Ma 2002; Li 1999b). Nevertheless, Europe accommodates a fairly modest number of Chinese compared to other parts of the world such as Asia and Americas, having a share of around 3-5% of the total Chinese overseas (Ma 2002).

Historical linkage between China and Europe can go back several centuries, yet it was not until the late 19th century and the early 20th century that Chinese presence in Europe became apparent. While this was to a certain extent facilitated by factors such as religious, maritime and semi-colonial connections between some European powers and China, two

[18] For example, in 2000 a rumour went about that as many as 100,000 Chinese were in Belgrade ready to be smuggled via Albania to Italy (Migration News 2000). In June 2000, 58 Chinese nationals lost their lives while being smuggled into the United Kingdom in a cargo container through Dover. In February 2004, 21 "illegal" Chinese, believed to work for organized criminal gangs, were drown while picking cockles in Morecambe Bay in England. In May 2010, the huge fire broke out at the Red Dragon Market Complex in Romania which destroyed nearly 2000 stores and 40 million Euro was suspected to be connected to the "illegal and criminal" transactions of Chinese entrepreneurs (Nagy 2011).

major migratory flows from China can be distinguished at this earlier time: contract labourers and traders. Around 100,000 Chinese labourers were recruited during the World War I for building roads, graves and trenches in France (Summerskill 1982); some other played an important role in opening up Russia's Far East before the 1917 Revolution (Larin 1998). Moreover, there were Cantonese seamen working for European shipping companies who settled in some major harbour cities such as London, Liverpool, Rotterdam and Hamburg (Pieke 2002).

Chinese in Austria are more linked to the second flow - traders and street peddlers – which refers to the coming of Chinese from the region Qingtian (青田), a mountainous and economically deprived region in the hinterland of the port city of Wenzhou in Zhejiang province. In order to sustain a livelihood, Qingtian people undertook stone carving of pale-green soapstone[19] as a sideline occupation besides farming. It was believed that someone called Chen Yuanfeng (陈元丰) should be the pioneer who went to Europe in a steamer in 1893, who later found out that stone carving had a high economic value in Europe (Thunø, 1999:162-163). While most of the labourers recruited during the World War I were Chinese from the Northern province of Shandong (山东), about 2000 men were from Qingtian. After the war almost all of the Shandong Chinese returned to China. Nearly half of the Qingtian labourers stayed behind in Europe and brought their families and relatives. 1920s and 1930s was a period of institutionalized emigration from Qingtian to Europe. The estimated number of Qingtian Chinese spreading across continental Europe was up to 25,000. They earned their living by trading, street peddling of Chinese handicrafts such as porcelain, stone carving, silk and glasses (Thunø, 1999:164-167). Some silk products were believed to be produced by the Chinese in Milan (Cologna 2005:268).

In the post World War II period, Europe witnessed other two major flows of Chinese migration. Firstly, it was the large-scale economically motivated migration from Hong Kong and on a smaller scale from Malaysia and Singapore to Britain. Fulfilling the demand in the booming catering industries in Western Europe, these people later moved on to other European countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Scandinavia. Secondly, due to political turmoil and economic instability in the newly founded independent nation-states in Southeast Asia, influx of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and

[19] Stone carving from pale-green soupstone has become a local folk art in Qingtian. The special soupstone from the region Qingtian has been named as Qingtian-stone.

Indonesia arrived in France and the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s through previous colonial linkages (Pieke 2002).

Migration from China to Europe in the open-door and reform era has been featured by rapid growth in number, greater diversity in terms of geographical origin and socio-economic backgrounds, as well as increased engagement in informal economies (Pieke 2002; Thunø 2003). Among those who first availed themselves of the opportunity to go abroad after decades of migration controls in China were people from *qiaoxiang* (sojourners' homeland). Refreshing their former networks of kinship and friends, Zhejiang Chinese from Qingtian and the neighbouring areas of Wenzhou (温州), Wencheng (文成) and Lishui (丽水), the traditional *qiaoxiang*, have migrated in large numbers in a classic chain migration pattern since 1980s as a revitalisation of pre-1949 migratory practices[20]. Many of them first reached places where they had relatives and friends, and later moved around in Europe beyond their traditional destinations in search of business and job opportunities regardless of the then national borders. It is therefore not surprising that Chinese have been dubbed as the "Europeans before the Europeans" (Benton 1998:viii). Around the same time, pioneers from Fuzhou (福州) and Fuqing (福清) *qiaoxiang* areas in Fujian province also found their way to come to Europe and joined the cohort of Zhejiangnese en route through either regular or irregular migration channels, though in a more modest number.

According to Frank Pieke (2002), Europe could be roughly divided into three blocks of destinations for Chinese migration since 1980s: Western Europe, Southern Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. Western Europe includes the old core countries of Chinese migration such as the Netherlands, England and France, where communities with ethnic Chinese from Indochina, Hong Kong and Southeast Asia emerged already in the 1950s and 1960s. Since 1978, these countries have continued to receive new members along the traditional lines of migration flows, but at the same time, they have also become destinations for new flows of Chinese migrants such as the arrival of Zhejiang and Fujian people from *qiaoxiang* areas, well-educated students and scholars as well as redundant urban workers (Li 1999; Guerassimoff 2003; Benton and Gomez 2008).

[20] Qingtian is now a county included in the administration of the prefectural level city of Lishui. In China, a prefectural level city is not only a city, but an administrative unit containing a major urban area and its larger surrounding area including many smaller cities, towns and villages.

Southern Europe, in particular Italy and Spain, has begun to absorb new Chinese migrants primarily from Zhejiang and Fujian in increasing amount from 1980s. For example, the number of Chinese regular residents in Italy rose from 1,618 in the mid-1980s to 47,108 in 2000, about 29 times more within 15 years (Ceccagno 2003:196).[21] In Spain, a six-fold increase in the number of Chinese migrants over the last decade of the 20th century has been documented, from 6,500 in early 1990s to 36,000 in 2001 (Nieto 2003: 220-222). These developments can be attributed largely to not only the demand for cheap labour, but also business opportunities in low-productivity sectors such as garment, leather and catering industries, which are partly found in the informal economies (Cologna 2005; Mudu 2007; Johanson, Smyth and French 2009; Fang and Ardanaz 2010). Portugal (de Oliveira 2003) and Greece (Ou 2006) also belong to the new frontier in Southern Europe.

Central and Eastern Europe, including Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania and the Balkans has began to be very popular for the new Chinese migrants because of its relatively low density of ethnic Chinese competitors and its post-socialist economy which requires cheap consumer products since early 1990s. A new flow of urban educated Chinese migrants seeking entrepreneurial opportunities were joined by Zhejiang and Fujian Chinese from more rural regions to take advantage of the east European shadow economies, engaging themselves mainly in import trade. It is estimated that large-scale open-air Chinese markets in Belgrade, Budapest, Bucharest and Moscow have developed into popular hub of business for people in the neighbouring regions, both Chinese and non-Chinese (Nyiri 2003, 2007; Milutinović 2005; Nagy 2009). The number of Chinese migrants rose drastically during the 1990s, with for example an estimated 20,000-25,000 living in Moscow in 2002, 15,000 in Hungary in 1999 and 9,000 in the Czech Republic in 1998 (Nyiri 2003: 248-250).

Among recent Chinese migration, two other visible developments also call scholarly attention besides the renaissance of Zhejiangnese and Fujianese migration networks originating from *qiaoxiang* areas. One is the increasing number of Chinese students and skilled migrants. The trend of going abroad to study among Chinese students and scholars started in 1980s and it was further stimulated by Deng Xiaoping's Southern Excursion Talks in 1992. The Tiananmen Crackdown in 1989 additionally contributed to the determination of many young Chinese to stay abroad. With the emergence of middle class families, more Chinese are ready to send their children to obtain education in developed Western countries.

[21] According to Ceccagno (2003:195), these figures do not include children, as immigrant minors are not issued their own residence permits.

Following the USA, Britain and Australia, continental Europe has become a more attractive destination for Chinese students in the last 10-15 years (Laczko 2003; Shen 2008). Currently, more than 120,000 Chinese students are registered in European tertiary education institutions. Whereas almost half of them study in the United Kingdom, Germany and France record the second and third largest numbers of Chinese tertiary students in Europe (Eurostat 2011).

The other development is the arrival of Chinese from Dongbei (东北 North-eastern China including the three provinces of Heilongjiang 黑龙江, Jilin 吉林 and Liaoning 辽宁). Once the heavy manufacturing base of China's centrally planned economy, Dongbei had been first left behind as other parts of the country moved toward a market economy in the earlier reform era. Described as China's "rust belt", factories and mines have been closed, causing rising numbers of laid-off workers, especially from state-owned enterprises. Although people from Dongbei have been actively underway in Europe since a decade, the size of the group is difficult to estimate (Paul 2002; Laczko 2003). Researchers suggest that emigration from Dongbei has been driven by emigration companies operating in full view of the authorities and are connected to state-owned enterprises (Paul 2002; Xiang 2007).

Frank Pieke (2002:18) names Austria, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and the Nordic countries the "semi-periphery" countries which lie between the Eastern and Southern frontiers and the Western core of Chinese migration in Europe. According to his observation, these countries received their first sustained flow of Chinese immigrants from the Western core countries in the 1970s, and have developed well-established Chinese communities by the 1990s. In the following section, I will examine the Chinese migration in Austria within the European context of Chinese migration patterns and flows. This will be done firstly by employing historical perspective and data, and then by empirical findings.

3 Chinese Migration in Austria

3.1 Early Appearance of Chinese before World War II

An anecdotal story in the late 18th century suggests the first appearance of Chinese in Austria. It tells that there were two Chinese ship-servants who arrived at Triest on the 8th of February 1780 on *Kaunitz*, a ship of the Austrian East Indian Company, came to Vienna. One of these two Chinese appeared to have gone through ten years as a weaver in the province Salzburg

before he settled down in Nußdorf in Attersee around 1790. He should have married into a farmer family and taken over the family name of his wife because his name was hard to pronounce for the people in the village (Kreissl 1999: 60-61).

Of a tiny scale, the real Chinese settlement started with Qingtian traders at the turn of the 20th century in a similar fashion as in some other parts of Europe. Evidence of early Chinese street peddlers in Vienna and the surrounding areas was provided by the conservative Christian Socialist newspaper *Reichspost* from the Austro-Hungarian Empire before World War I. Being the targets of racial hostility which was widely spread in the Western world in connection to the Yellow Peril discourse, these Chinese were perceived to be the "Chinese Invasion" in Vienna and were subject to deportation (*Reichspost*, 19.02.1913, cited in John and Lichtblau 1990:61):

> Recently there appears to be a lot of lower class Chinese in Vienna and its vicinity conspicuously (…) In their greasy Chinese costumes or shady European clothes, they cross the streets and gather some audience at some favourite places, such as before the ice skating square, where they bring out from their wide bags or baskets with all kinds of fans, knick-knack and statuettes (…) In this way they not only violate the hawking law and the tax regulations, but also damage surely the customers. It would be the time that the authorities would put an end to these things.[22]

Twenty-four Chinese men should have been deported from Vienna in 1914 at the end (Li 1991a). After the outbreak of World War I many Chinese returned to China. Later in the 1930s, there appeared to be a small Chinese community in the area of Breitensee, where they sold Chinese curios in the local wine taverns and gathered together sometimes in a café for majong playing (Li 1991b; John and Lichtblau 1990). It was estimated that about 1000 Qingtian Chinese settled in Austria during the period 1920s – 1930s (Thunø 1999: 164-167).

Besides street peddlers there were students who came to Austria particularly in the form of student exchange between the two wars. The choice of their profession was mostly practical ones, which were meant to be of immediate use for China such as medicine, law, technology and German. Many of these students were simultaneously engaged in social and

[22] This is my own translation from the original text in German. In this dissertation, all translations from Chinese and German are mine unless specified otherwise.

political activities with an aim to help to correct the relatively distorted image of China in Austria in the 1920s and 1930s (Kaminski and Unterrieder 1980: 316; Li 1992a).

A vivid account of the common migratory journey of Qingtian people and the interactions between them and the Chinese students in the 1930s had been offered by a student in his later years (Yu 1993):

> We had a Chinese Student Association in Vienna at that time. Because of the dreadful attitude of the employees at the Chinese Embassy, we planned to take radical actions in order to help them (the Qingtian street peddlers) to vent their anger (…) Those deprived Qingtian people were really pitiful. Due to the poor farming conditions and natural disasters in Qingtian, they were forced to go out with neither passport nor money for travel. Most of them went out by sneaking into the laundry on the foreign commercial ships. Usually when they boarded in Italy or France, they would be caught by the local police to be deported. Since the travel expense for sending them back home was large, they were sent from one European country to another. The Qingtian people took this opportunity to travel around. Being a fellow Zhejiangnese, I translated for them in court. Actually their Qingtian dialect was much more difficult to understand than German, I just tried my best to say something nice for them.

In March 1938 Austria ceased to exist as an independent country as a result of the annexation into Nazi Germany. During the Nazi era, the only wish of all the Chinese living in the German speaking area was to go home. Some had managed to do so successfully, but some not. Although there was no specific record of discriminatory policies targeting the Chinese, they were, like many other foreigners, not to escape the harassments and hostility aimed at the alien racist elements (*fremdrassische Elemente*) (Yu 1993). Among those dozens of Chinese left, it was believed that some were accused by the Gestapo of being intelligent agencies for the enemies and were put into concentration camps (Li 1992b). The history of Chinese migration in Austria was interrupted abruptly with the outbreak of World War II.

▲1931年1月24日《維也納午報》以「中國人來啦！」爲題，刊登了取笑中國警察的漫畫。

Figure 3 Caricatures titled "The Chinese are here!" in a Viennese newspaper on 24th January, 1931. They portrayed and made fun of the Chinese police officers who were sent by the then Chinese government to Vienna for training.

3.2 Venturing into the Catering Business in the Post World War II Period

Austria was divided into occupation zones, each controlled by an Allied power in the aftermath of World War II. Economic recovery was hindered by the decline of trade between Western and Eastern Europe and by the division into zones, even with the help of the Marshall Plan. Amid the post-war economic hardship in the bombed-out Vienna, some of the few Chinese who were left were able to make their way through to re-establish their home. Two Chinese restaurants were opened in Vienna shortly after World War II; one of which was reported in a local newspaper (*Wiener Tageszeitung*, 29.07.1948, cited in John and Lichtblau 1990: 61-62)[23]:

> The Shanghai Restaurant of the respectable Mr. Yeh Jen-Tchen, located in a small house at the Meidlinger Hauptstrasse, is equipped with clean, freshly-arranged chairs and tables with linoleum table-clothes. It is not much different from the other ordinary taverns in the Meidlinger area or from the completely European interior of the second Chinese restaurant on the Neubaugürtel in Vienna (…) At present the Chinese in Vienna have difficulty to obtain food which suits their taste. The primary problem is the lack of rice. Both of the Chinese restaurants, from which nearly all the members of the Chinese Colony receive their meals, are on short ration (…).

This documentation from 1948, which was the first record on Chinese restaurant in Austria, signified a new era the Chinese migrants would venture: decades of exploration into the catering business which continues until today. Nobody could predict at that early time that the opening of Chinese restaurants has become the main survival strategy of Chinese in Austria ever since then. However, the souring 1950s did not promise immediate success. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, business and life were still very hard, featuring a period of muddling through for survival. The number of Chinese restaurants, similar to the number of Chinese migrants, remained small. Besides catering, most of the Chinese earned their living by working as construction workers or messengers at this time (*Wiener Tageszeitung*, 29.07.1948, cited in John and Lichtblau 1990: 61-62). Professor Xu Zhixiu (徐芝秀), who later became lecturer for Chinese language at the University of Vienna, came to Vienna in the 1950s and worked in one of the Chinese restaurants. Interviewed by Xiao Di (1993: 20-23),

[23] The title of the article in the *Wiener Tageszeitung* (29.07.1948) is "Middle Kingdom in Rudolfsheim. The unromantic life of the Chinese colony" (Reich der Mitte in Rudolfsheim. Das unromantische Leben der chinesische Kolonie)

she explained that the bad business in the Chinese restaurant was due to the low income of the general public at that time. Instead, the Chinese restaurant became a place of gathering for the few Chinese living in Vienna.

The official diplomatic relation between China and Austria was renewed in 1948 after the war. However, it was not maintained actively due to the founding of the PR China in 1949 and the later turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, although it was never interrupted. The contacts between the two countries were then limited to mutual presence in some international fairs and exchange of economic delegations. Emigration from PR China was almost stopped.

Having no colonial linkage in Asia like the old core European countries, Austria experienced neither influx of Asian refugees during the political turmoil in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s, nor the arrival of working migrants from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore in large amount. Nevertheless, small amount of Chinese were allowed to leave PR China in the 1970s, enabling new Zhejiangnese migrants from Qingtian to come to Austria to join the Taiwanese. Taiwanese formed the first settler group in the post World War II era in Austria. Among them, the very first pioneers were some retired soldiers of Shandong origin, who went to Taiwan after 1949 with the Kuomintang government and chose Europe as their next life station in the 1950s or 1960s. They arrived in Austria with learned cooking skills and capital, either directly from Taiwan or through another country such as Germany. With positive response from the Austrian customers, these pioneers were followed by kin and friends in the next decades until they gradually lost their market share in the catering business to the Zhejiangnese from the 1980s onwards. Well-known names of these Taiwanese of Shandong origin are Qi Jingshan (齐景山) and Wu Jiacai (吴家财). Some of their offspring are still active in the catering business in today's Austria.[24]

The growth of the Chinese community and Chinese restaurants started gradually in the 1970s. It was believed that there were 3 Chinese restaurants at the end of the 1960s in Vienna, all owned by Taiwanese. Ten years later, by the end of the 1970s, there were already about 60 Chinese restaurants and more than one half were owned by Taiwanese[25]. Kaminski

[24] Information obtained from IP 7, IP 32 and IP 43.
[25] The three Chinese restaurants in the 1960s should be the Beijing Restaurant in the 1st district, Jinlong Restaurant in the Porzellangasse, and the China Pavillon in the Schoenbrunn area in Vienna; information

and Unterrieder (1980:991) estimate that there were around 1000 Chinese living in Vienna at the end of the 1970s and around two third of them were Taiwanese passport holders. The size of the Chinese community at this time was comparable to that in the period 1920s – 1930s.

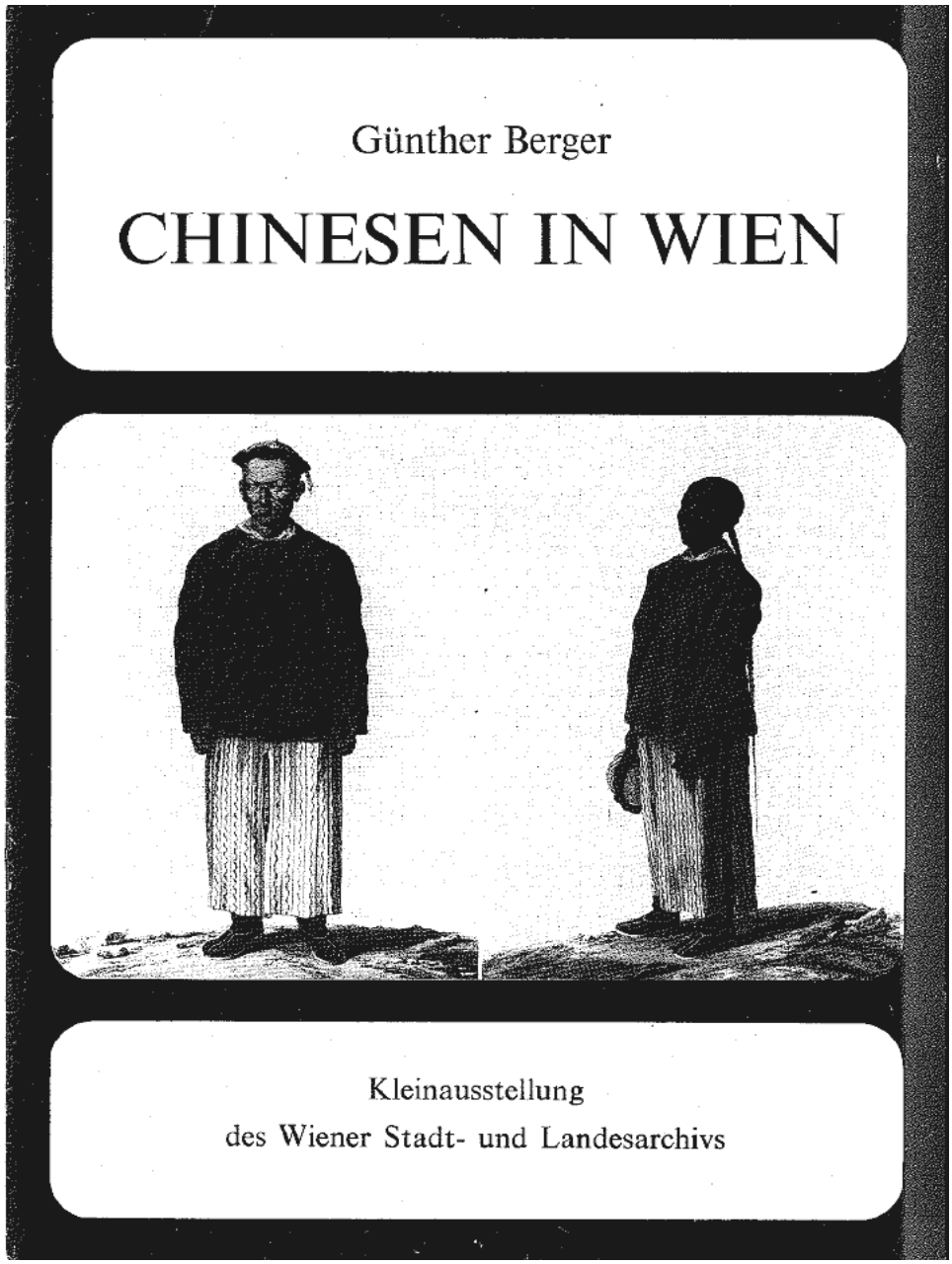


Figure 4 Cover page of an exhibition booklet on Chinese in Vienna, portraying images of Chinese people of the pre-modern age. City of Vienna, 1985.

obtained from IP 7 and IP 43. Jinlong Restaurant (or *Goldener Drachen*), run by the offspring of Wu Jiacai (吴家财), exists until today. See http://www.goldener-drachen.at/

3.3 Developments from 1980 Onwards

Starting from 1980 onwards, Chinese community in Austria has undergone substantial changes: remarkable increase in number and diversification of the social-economic profile, reflecting the global Chinese migration trend and in particular the flows and patterns to Europe. Located at the geographical heart of the European continent and lying between the old and new destinations of Chinese migration (Pieke 2002), Austria has not been among the most popular first choice places for Chinese migrants. Nevertheless, its strategic position has made it a common passageway for various flows of Chinese migration.

Chinese students who aimed at going to England, France or Germany saw Austria as a gateway to enter Western Europe when it was still relatively easy to obtain a student visa in the early 1990s. Entrepreneurs who tried their luck in Hungary during the "Hungary fever"[26] but failed crossed over the border to look for a more regulated environment for business.[27] Chinese business people in the computer branch who wanted to explore Eastern Europe or Western Europe first built up their base in Austria before expanding their commercial activities further.[28] Clandestine Zhejiangnese who planned to count on their relatives in Spain or in France were stuck in Austria because they had no more money to pay for the rest of the journey. Fujianese who have left Eastern Europe and obtained a resident permit in Italy - thanks to the several amnesty programs - have come to work in Austria because of higher wage. With the years Austria has become home for a noticeable amount of Chinese migrants, including those who first came here for a stopover. While Austria is the country of settlement for many Chinese today, it has not lost its role of being a passageway.

The revival of pre-1949 migration networks of Zhejiang Chinese and their continued path-dependent migration to Europe have shaped the statistics in Austria: the number of officially recorded Chinese quadrupled from 800 in 1981 to 3537 in 1991 (Table 3). Zhejiang Chinese first came to work for Taiwanese restaurant owners in Austria. Since the 1980s, they

[26] Between October 1988 and April 1992 Chinese nationals were allowed to enter Hungary without visa. It was estimated that around 45,000 Chinese passed through Hungary to migrate further to other European countries as well as to North America. Suddenly Hungary was not only full of Chinese, but also the Chinese cheap consumer products. After the termination of the visa-free entry in 1992, the number of Chinese reduced to less than 20,000. This period has been described as "Hungary fever" (匈牙利热). For details see Pieke (2002), Nyiri (1999) and Mao (1992).

[27] For example, my informant IP 15 entered Austria in 1990 from Hungary. He arrived in Hungary directly from China, and stayed there for a couple of months for business before he moved forward to Austria.

[28] For example, my informant IP 32 came from Taiwan to take over such a computer company in Vienna in the 1990s.

have gradually taken over the business from the Taiwanese and have developed more in their own way. Most of the Zhejiang Chinese stay in the catering business today, either as employees or as restaurant owners. The second business niche in which they are engaged in is the whole-sale as well as retail business of groceries, textile, toys and decoration items. The chain migration of Zhejiangnese has continued until the recent years. It is not uncommon to find Qingtianese families with more than hundred close kin members spreading all around Austria nowadays.

Other than migrants coming from the traditional *qiaoxiang* areas in Zhejiang, some other sub-groups among the Chinese population in Austria have emerged since the 1980s, be they classified by the place of origin or by occupational background. Chinese coming from Taiwan, the first group who established the ground of Chinese catering business in Austria, have remained stagnant in number, if not already decreasing. Besides the arrival of Zhejiangnese, economic growth in Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s, which made working migration to Europe less attractive, can also partly explain the decline of Taiwanese catering business. Consequently many Taiwanese left Austria, either returning to Taiwan or joining the "China fever" to try their fortune in Mainland China. However, they do not retreat from Austria completely, as many still keep their Austrian residence, citizenship and networks, travelling back and forth between Asia and Europe for employment and business opportunities, featuring a kind of transnational settlement. Their second generation are usually well-educated young Taiwanese with a wide spectrum of professional backgrounds. The motivation in earning their living in the catering business like their parents remains very marginal. A distinctive occupational group among the Taiwanese is the high-end information technology industry, which had its heyday in the 1990s but has subsided since 2000. Tourism remains to be an appealing choice among the Taiwanese, in which competition with Mainland Chinese has become fierce. It is estimated that there are around 2000 people with Taiwanese backgrounds living in Austria.[29]

As mentioned, Austria did not experience a direct influx of Asian refugees during the political turmoil in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, the granting of political asylum in the late 1970s and early 1980s led to the arrival of around 2000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees in Austria (Stanek 1985:155-167), among them the majority are ethnic Chinese with Cantonese origin. Upon arrival, most of them were allocated

[29] Information obtained from IP 43.

to areas around the industrial city of Linz, where low-skilled jobs in factories were available. Without a single connection to this new country prior to their arrival, these ethnic Chinese from Vietnam and Cambodia had to start from scratch. Many of them had not even heard of the country Austria before it was introduced to them by the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) officers in their residence of safe haven, which was usually Hong Kong, Thailand or Singapore. As granted with refugee status, they had been offered intensive assistance right at the beginning to establish a modest life in Austria.[30] Over the years, many have moved to other urban places such as Vienna and Salzburg to look for jobs as Austria has been undergoing industrial structural changes since the 1990s and many manufacturing industries have been closed down. Unlike the Zhejiangnese, this group of Chinese from Indochina and their second generation are obviously less active in an entrepreneurial manner. With little exception, most of them earn their living by being wage workers.[31] According to Mr. Zeng, the founder of he then *Indochina Chinese Refugee Mutual Aid Association* (旅奥中南半岛华裔难友互助会), the comparatively better protection by the social system might be the reason for the lack of motivation in being self-employed.[32] The intensive care subsidized by the authority and the access to most of the welfare entitlements enabled them to enter the circle of "insiders" of the Austrian welfare system already upon their arrival.

Similar to the classical guest-worker concept, Austria commenced to recruit foreign nurses and channelled them into the health sector of the labour market which faced a labour shortage since the 1970s. Following the examples of nurses from the Philippines and from Kerala in India (Hintermann and Reeger 2005), a group of Chinese nurses from Qingdao (青岛), Shanghai and Beijing, whose total number did not exceed 400, came to Austria in the period 1991-1996 as contract nurses to work in the hospitals in Vienna. Their recruitment was carried out through bilateral contracts between the City of Vienna and the City of Shanghai, Qingdao and Beijing respectively for a period of two years. Most of these nurses, especially those from Qingdao have stayed behind after their two years' contract expired; some of them returned to China but came back to Austria after realizing the still-existing

[30] A *Patenschaftsprogramm* (Godparent program) subsidized by the Austrian Ministry of Interior Affairs was organized by Caritas especially for this group of refugees from Indochina at the beginning of the 1980s. A voluntary local family was assigned to each newly arrived refugee family with the aim to assist them to integrate better in the new environment, especially in areas like accommodation, job, medical care, German courses and children's education. Details see Stanek 1985.

[31] One well-known example among the exceptions are the two Saigon restaurants in Vienna, which are run by the second generation Vietnamese with ethnic Chinese background; see http://saigon.markgraf.at/

[32] Information obtained from IP 42.

differences in wages and working conditions.[33] Today nearly all of them stay in the health sector, forming one of the most integrated groups of Chinese migrants in the local labour market. They have brought their husbands and families for family reunification, gradually enlarging their small sub-community. Although Chinese nurses form only a very marginal group in terms of number within the Chinese community, they demonstrate a spectacular trajectory of female migration as independent skilled labour, not as family dependent. Moreover, while being part of the global phenomenal flow of human capital and skilled migration from developing areas to developed ones, Chinese nurses in Austria cannot merely be considered pawns in a power relationship between the developed and developing worlds. Both movers and stayers in the process of migration, returned migration and remigration are all active decision-makers of their own.

At the lowest rung of the social ladder are the new migrants without legal status. Alike the situation in some other European countries, this irregular group composes largely of Chinese from Fujian province and the three provinces of Dongbei (Northeast China). Austria witnesses the arrival of Dongbei Chinese of different age and social groups, ranging from young students to laid-off workers in their 50s. While Dongbei Chinese usually head directly to one of the Schengen countries with short-term tourist or business visa and stay behind after expiration of visa[34], Fujian Chinese enter Austria mostly "illegally", with the help of professional human traffickers[35]. Fujianese from Sanming (三明) area, an interior part of Fujian province and a nascent member in the emigration market (Pieke 2002; Li et al. 2003), have touched base in Austria already since the early 1990s whereas their fellow migrants from Fuzhou (福州) region, a traditional coastal *qiaoxiang* area in Fujian province, have begun to appear in the Chinese community in Austria since 2000. Unlike the Zhejiangnese, Fujian and Dongbei Chinese migrate to Austria without historical connection to prior migration networks and practices before 1949. Despite having a long migration history to Japan, North America and Australia, Fujianese are new comers in continental Europe.

As many of the Dongbei and Fujian Chinese first arrived in Austria through irregular channels, they have tried to secure their stay in Austria by applying asylum which grants them the temporary right to reside in the country but no right to travel in and out. Some of

[33] Information obtained from IP 35.
[34] One example is IP 23
[35] Examples are IP 13 and IP 14.

them have managed to obtain legal status and access to the regular labour market while some other still remain socially and legally vulnerable. Those possessing no legal resident status and no kin support are usually driven into the informal sector of the Chinese economy: the unfavourable casual jobs such as kitchen help, child caring, manual work and even prostitution behind closed doors. Generally speaking, these two groups of people have been providing cheap labour for the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria since their arrival.

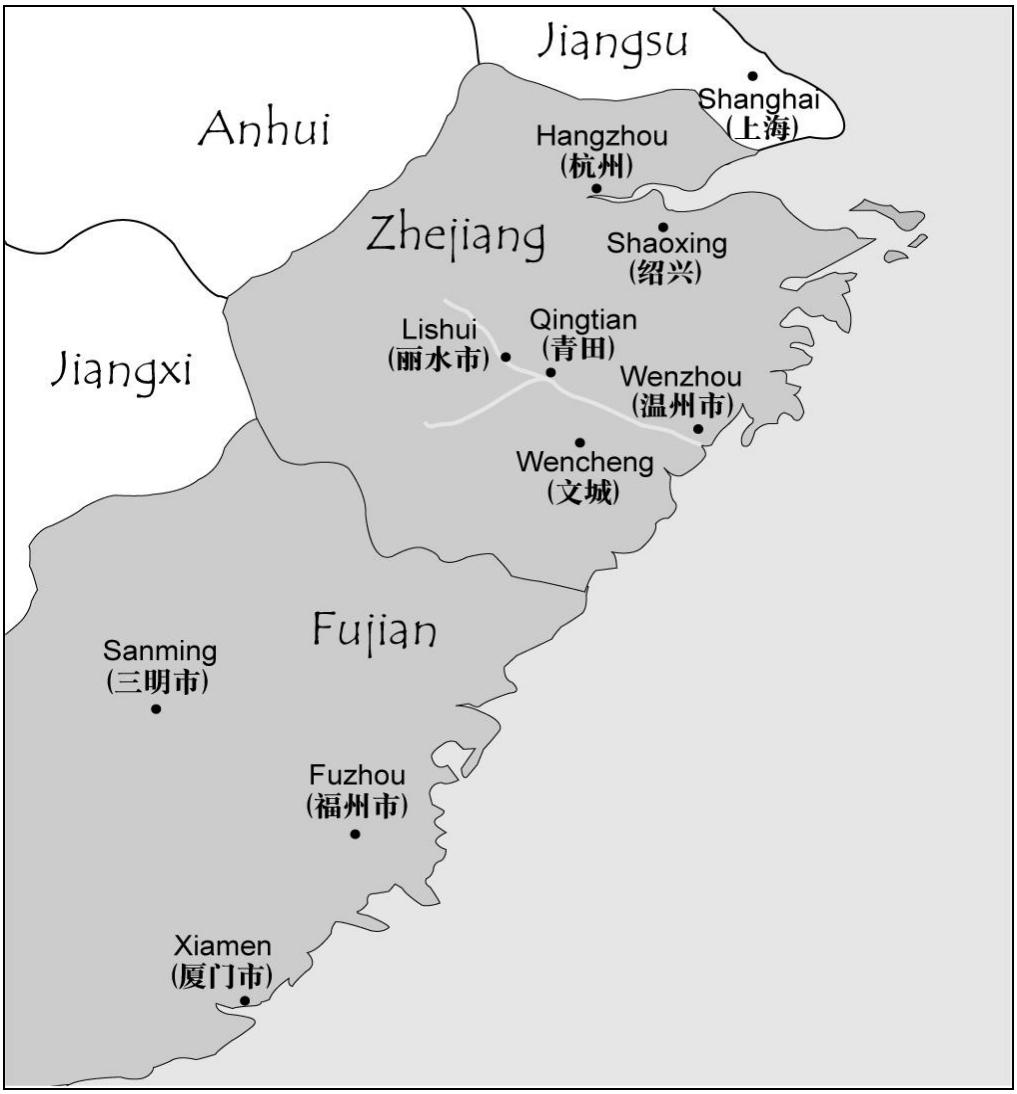
Another eye-catching new migrant group are the young educated Chinese, composed mostly of students who have come to Austria since 2000 in a wave of student migration. As a spillover of flows of Chinese students to the most common destinations in Europe like Britain, France and Germany, Austria received Chinese students and scholars in a modest way in the 1990s. Since 2000, through the migration networks of some study agents, the arrival of Chinese students has surged. According to the Federal Ministry of Science and Research, the number of registered students from PR China in all public universities in Austria rose from less than 400 in 2000 to over 1200 in 2006 and has dropped to about 1000 in 2010 (Table 6). These figures have not included those in private universities and music students who studied in state and private conservatoriums.[36] Another source of data records altogether 1400 Chinese students in 2009 in Austria (Eurostat 2011). In contrast to some other groups of Chinese migrants, these young students usually come independently from big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou and Chengdu, having no prior network to migration and no extended kin connection. Being an urban educated Putonghua-speaking sub-community, these students have an ambivalent role in the Chinese immigrant economy. While they serve as the cheapest labour for the Chinese catering business, alike their Dongbei and Fujian co-ethnics, they offer at the same time high-end skills and knowledge such as computer programming or standard Chinese writings in the local Chinese newspapers, capability which is irreplaceable by other groups in the Chinese community. Moreover, their cultivation of a cosmopolitan way of life including eating out has provided the Chinese immigrant economy with new stimuli to a certain extent.

The predecessors of these young students are a group of better educated urban Chinese who arrived in the 1980s or 1990s. Some left China in the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Crackdown. Most of these people have already obtained a comparably stable life

[36] For more details, see chapter 7, section 4.3

and established career in different occupational areas. Among them are some professionals who work in the mainstream economy (e.g. technician and software expert for the company Siemens), some pioneers in the Chinese immigrant economy (catering, trading and tourism) as well as some who endeavour to go on practising their acquired professional knowledge and skills, such as some Chinese artists, martial art masters and traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) doctors (see Springer 2004; Steiger 2008).

Figure 5: Zhejiang and Fujian Provinces: Places of Origin of Chinese Migrants in Austria



3.4 Socio-Demographic Profile

To start with, it is not insignificant to note that Austrian authorities do not have a consistent policy in treating the statistical data of people with PR Chinese nationality and those with Taiwanese nationality. While Taiwanese passport-holders were often classified as PR Chinese and were not separately stated before 2001, a lack of clarity or confusion still exists today. Moreover, as registered Chinese migrants constitute merely a tiny percentage (1% and 1.7% of the total foreign population in Austria and Vienna respectively, Table 3), they are not specified in most of the official statistics, but rather buried under the sum of "Asians" or "others".

How big is the Chinese community under study? According to the official data, Chinese population in Austria has demonstrated steady increase since the influx of new migrants in the 1980s. A drastic jump happened between 1981 and 1991, from 800 to 3537, more than quadrupled within 10 years. From 2001 to 2010, albeit facing more restrictive immigration regulations, the Chinese population has doubled within the last decade. Presently Austria accommodates 9897 people with PR China and Taiwanese nationality, among which Vienna records 6012, more than the half of the total Chinese population (Table 3). In the preceding three decades, 7933 former passport-holders of PR China and of Taiwan have been naturalized to become Austrian citizens (Table 4). This suggests that a group of people with Chinese backgrounds have usually been subsumed under the category "Austria" in the statistics. Putting these two figures together, we come to a size of 17,830 people with ethnic Chinese backgrounds in Austria, and 10,199 in Vienna. However, by no means do these figures reflect the accurate quantity. For instance, there is no record of the naturalized Chinese who have already left Austria or passed away, or second and third generation Chinese who are born with Austrian nationality. Moreover, the number of ethnic Chinese holding Indian, Cambodian, Vietnamese or Singaporean passports is neither shown. Apart from all these, the size of irregular Chinese in Austria - or the *Dunkelziffer* (dark figure) as the Austrian media uses to say - remains to be a "mysterious" question mark. The figures of asylum seekers can at best give us a very slight hint of the picture (Table 5). Generally, it is estimated that there are 20,000-25,000 ethnic Chinese residing in Austria, and 12,000-15,000 in Vienna, including these mentioned groups as well as the irregular migrants. Nevertheless,

it should be emphasized that figures presented here are used as a general reference point instead of accurate statistics.

Table 3 Documented Chinese Population in Austria and Vienna by Nationality (PR China and Taiwan), 1961-2010

		Chinese Population by Nationality (Male and Female)		Female Proportion of Chinese Population		
		PR China	**Taiwan**	**PR China**	**Taiwan**	**Female in %**
1961	**Austria**	18	-	6	-	33.3
1971		73	-	37	-	50.6
1981		800	-	331	-	41.3
1991		3537	-	1560	-	44.1
2001		4567	625	2332	374	52.1
2010		9897	-	-	-	-
1961	**Vienna**	16	-	6	-	37.5
1971		53	-	24	-	45.3
1981		510	-	219	-	42.9
1991		1770	-	825	-	46.6
2001		2600	371	1346	218	51.8
2010		6012	-	-	-	-

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011; Volkszählungen 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001.
Note: Data on gender distribution is not released in the latest Statistischem Jahrbuch 2011.

Table 4 **Naturalized Austrians by Former Nationality (PR China and Taiwan), 1980-2009**

	Austria		**Vienna**	
	PR China	Taiwan	PR China	Taiwan
81-90	987	-	430	-
1991	253	-	190	-
1992	323	-	153	-
1993	332	-	181	-
1994	306	-	156	-
1995	328	-	148	-
1996	276	-	70	-
1997	415	-	137	-
1998	385	39	176	-
1999	384	16	170	-
2000	538	23	310	-
2001	703	34	421	21
2002	693	29	465	22
2003	579	23	377	14
2004	528	26	346	9
2005	302	26	151	15
2006	169	16	95	5
2007	54	3	26	2
2008	67	-	49	3
2009	76	-	45	-
Total	7698	235	4096	91

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Österreich 2002, 2005, 2011; Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien 2010

Table 5 Asylum Seekers in Austria by Nationality (PR China and Taiwan), 1980-2010

	PR China	Positive Asylum in number	**Taiwan**	Positive Asylum in number
80-89	55	---		
90-99	272	---		
2000	53	---	37	---
2001	95	---	59	---
2002	666	0	113	0
2003	573	6	88	4
2004	571	4	92	1
2005	468	0	24	0
2006	194	25	18	0
2007	209	35	14	0
2008	223	18	13	1
2009	368	38	30	10
2010	200	29	17	3

Source: Asylwesen Jahrestatistiken 1999-2010, Austrian Federal Ministry of Interior Affairs

Table 6 Registered Students at Austrian Universities by Nationality (PR China/Taiwan), 2000-2010

	Austria			**Vienna**		
	Total	Female	Female in %	Total	Female	Female in %
2000	396	232	58.6	287	165	57.5
2002	483	279	57.8	324	193	59.6
2004	1023	585	57.2	628	371	59.1
2006	1264	703	55.6	789	451	57.2
2008	1157	667	57.6	735	435	59.2
2010	1064	635	59.7	681	399	58.6

Source: Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research. This data excludes those numbers in the Austrian private universities.

Similar to some other European countries such as Italy, Germany and France, the Chinese population in Austria has been dominated by Zhejiangnese, especially those from Qingtian area. While there is no official data, it is generally believed in the Chinese community in Austria that Zhejiang Chinese make up 70-80 % of the total Chinese population, among them again 70-80 % are Qingtian Chinese.

According to the Statistical Year Book 2011 (*Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011*; see Table 7), the capital city Vienna has been the home of majority of the Chinese migrants in Austria. While Chinese population in Vienna is surpassingly over the Austrian average, the proportions of Chinese residing in the rest of the country are under average. No one of the other eight federal states (*Bundesländer*) accommodates over 10 % of the total Chinese population.

In respect of gender ratio in the Chinese migration in Austria (Table 3), women have a relatively equal share in all periods. This displays a contrast not only to the classical guest worker migration of the Turkish community (where proportion of women was much lower at the beginning), but also to the migration of female nurses of the Filipino community (where women were predominant at the beginning) in Austria (Waldrauch and Sohler 2004: 142). Traditionally, it was usually the Chinese men who went in search of a livelihood and very few women followed their husbands across the ocean. Data from various European cities before 1950 suggest that Chinese communities at that time consisted almost entirely of single men (Li 1999b:24). Whether these statistical figures from Austria indicate a predominant pattern of simultaneous family migration or rather a pattern of parallel migration of individual men and women in the post-1978 era remains an open question. [37]

While women migration has a relatively equal share throughout the past three decades, Chinese female migrants had an apparently lower representation in the labour market at the beginning (Table 8). This suggests that men were mostly the official bread-winners, although women might have also worked for wage in the informal economy. The possible linkage of this phenomenon to the Austrian migration system, especially regulations regarding residence permits and working permits, will be explored more in details in the next chapter.

[37] My observation while working as a social worker (1998-2004) in the Vienna Integration Fund (*Wiener Integrationsfonds*) corresponds to this result. Our monthly statistics also demonstrated the relative equal share of Chinese men and women visiting our service centre comparing to other immigrant groups such as the Turkish, the Indian and the Ex-Yugoslavian ones in Vienna.

The age distribution in the Chinese community in Vienna shows that the predominant group are persons between age 30 and 44. Comparing to the mainstream population, the proportion of persons between age 0 and 14 is above average, whereas the proportion of elderly is below average (Table 9). These figures seem to indicate that most of the Chinese population are the first generation migrants, and the majority of them are in their 30s and 40s. Important to mention here is, many elderly Chinese in their 50s or above might have already obtained the Austrian citizenship and therefore would not be included in this statistics.

Regarding educational level, more than 50% of the Chinese population belongs to the less educated group with basic education (Table 7). In the Chinese context, these are people who have attended the primary school (小学) and the lower middle school (初中). Vocational training, which is a distinctive feature for the Austrian educational system, appears to play a minor role for the Chinese. Noteworthy is the group of Chinese with higher education. While these people constitute the second largest group within the Chinese population in Vienna, their proportion is higher than that in the mainstream Austrian society, even before the influx of young Chinese students at the beginning of the new millennium.

Religious affiliation of Chinese migrants is relative low. The statistics shows that almost 70% of the Chinese nationals in Vienna do not claim to have any religious affiliation. Nevertheless, 18% belong to the Buddhist community and a minority (about 3.6%) to Christianity (Table 11).

Table 7 Distribution of Population in Austrian Federal States by Nationality (PR China), 2010

	Total	Vienna	Lower Austria	Upper Austria	Salz-burg	Styria	Carin-thia	Burgen-land	Vorarl-berg	Tyrol
Total Pop. in Austria (in thousand)	8,375,2	1,698,8	1,607,9	1,411,2	529,8	1,208,3	559,3	283,9	368,8	706,8
Proportion in %	100	20.3	19.2	16.8	6.3	14.4	6.7	3.4	4.4	8.4
PR China	9897	6012	704	915	491	927	257	91	246	254
Proportion in %	100	60.1	7.1	9.2	5	9.4	2.6	0.9	2.5	2.6

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011

Table 8 Registered Working Population in Austria by Nationality (PR China/Taiwan), 1981-2001

		Total	Female	Male	Proportion of Female in %
1981	PR China	374	100	274	26.7
	Taiwan	--			
1991	PR China	1851	560	1291	30.2
	Taiwan	--			
2001	PR China	2422	1036	1386	42.7
	Taiwan	260	128	132	49.2

Source: Volkszählungen 1981, 1991, 2001

Table 9 Age Distribution of Chinese Nationals in Vienna, 2001

Age Group	**0-14**	**15-29**	**30-44**	**45-59**	**60-**
In absolute number	487	604	984	405	120
Proportion in %	18.7	23.2	37.8	15.6	4.6
In foreigner population in %	17.5	24.7	31.6	19.3	6.9
In total Viennese population in %	14.7	17.7	25.8	20.1	21.7

Source: Volkszählung 2001

Table 10 Completed Highest Educational Level of the Population (15 Years and older) in Vienna by Nationality (PR China/Taiwan and Austria), 2001

	PR China/Taiwan				Austria			
	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%
High Education (*Hochschule*)	172	15.0	187	14.3	72,062	14.3	72,604	11.9
Secondary Education (*AHS/BHS*)	115	10.0	161	12.3	87,012	17.2	88,701	14.5
Vocational Training (*Lehre*)	103	9.0	148	11.3	234,757	46.4	240,834	39.3
Compulsory Education (*Pflichtschule*)	755	65.9	813	62.1	111,843	22.1	210,023	34.3
Total	1,145	100	1,309	100	505,674	100	612,162	100

Source: Volkszählung 2001. Note: *Hochschule* = universities, universities of applied science, academies and advanced colleges; *AHS/BHS* = general grammar school and vocational middle school; *Lehre* =vocational training school and apprenticeship.

Table 11 Religious Affiliation of Population in Vienna by Citizenship (PR China/Taiwan and Austria), 2001

	PR China/Taiwan	%	Austria	%
Catholic	64	2.2	719,546	55.3
Evangelic	41	1.4	65,425	5.0
Eastern Churches (*Ecclesiae Orientales)*	1	0.0	27,959	2.1
Other Christian	20	0.7	16,483	1.3
Judaism	2	0.1	5,367	0.4
Islam	2	0.1	51,483	4.0
Hinduism		0	1,137	0.1
Buddhism	550	18.5	2,572	0.2
Others	6	0.2	1,693	0.1
Without religion	2016	67.9	359,271	27.6
Not stated	269	9.1	50,923	3.9
Total	2971	100	1,301,859	100

Source: Volkszählung 2001

4 Summary

As shown, Chinese migration in Austria does not unfold a picture of homogenous migratory trajectories and stories. With various migration flows and patterns intersecting each other, a Chinese community with diversity, both in terms of migration backgrounds and socio-economic profile, has gradually taken shape in Austria. These flows and patterns are embedded in the broader context of Chinese migration to Europe since the beginning. For example, although with small number, the arrival of Qingtian migrants at the turn of the 20th century was part of the first wave of Zhejiang migration to Europe. Throughout the 20th century, Chinese migration to Austria was characterized by the spillover effect, meaning that Austria received Chinese migrants largely as a result of spillover from other European destination countries and in relatively smaller amount. Even in the initial stage of the Chinese reform era, Austria was not a popular choice for most of the non-*qiaoxiang* Chinese migrants. At the end of the 20th century, the Chinese migration landscape in Austria has been shifted enormously by the intersection of two historical factors: firstly the open-door policy of PR China, and secondly the end of the Cold War. The former one, mingled with other factors such as globalization, has formed what Pieke (2007) names as the "new Chinese migration order". This new order has influenced Chinese migration movements nearly in all corners of the world deeply, including Austria. The latter has long-lasting effects for Austria and the neighbouring countries in particular. With the abolition of political borders between the Western and the Eastern blocs, Austria became a popular passageway or stopover for flows of Chinese migrants between Eastern and Western Europe, as well as between the old and new destinations. Throughout the last 20 years, while spillover and stopover have been going on at various scales, many of the former temporary migrants have made Austria their home for settlement and gradually a destination of migration for their relatives and friends.

It is also worth underscoring another important feature about Chinese migration in Austria as well as migration about Chinese people in general at this point. Migration movements are based neither simply on economic cost-benefit calculation proposed by the neo-classical school, nor merely on the logic of capital and the interest of Western dominant powers as explained by the world systems theories. For example, the difference in economic conditions between China and Europe could partly explain the individual motivation to leave home for Europe, but not the arrival of Chinese in considerable amount from some specific places in chain migration form. Apart from the historical chances provided by migration

policies and favourable market conditions in Europe, *habitus* or the "culture of migration" plays a significant role (Thunø 1999; Pieke 2002; Pieke et al. 2004). With past experiences of pioneers and "beaten paths" of emigration, Zhejiang Chinese from *qiaoxiang* areas, and also Fujian Chinese to a certain extent, have developed a mindset of believing in success in overseas, a discourse of movement and achievement. Making use of family and kinship networks and the deriving social capital, they follow the old practices to come to Austria either directly or through other European countries, forming a self-sustaining migratory process from the 1980s onwards even after the initial opportunity structure in Europe and Austria has changed. Similarly, the arrival of new Chinese students can also be partially accounted by the "culture of migration" or the discourse of studying abroad inculcated among young Chinese in China. Facilitated by favourable conditions such as rising income of urban Chinese middle-class families and policies of student migration, *habitus* or the discourse of studying abroad has become the driving force for pursuing qualifications and experiences overseas (Xiang and Shen 2009). In a nutshell, migration and settlement of Chinese in Austria arise from a complex interplay of various historical, cultural, structural and individual factors. Once migration has started and gained momentum, formal and informal networks help to sustain the continued flow.

Figure 6 Restaurant *Goldener Drachen* in the Porzellangasse, one of the earliest Chinese restaurants in Vienna. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2006

Figure 7 A restaurant offering both Chinese and Japanese cuisine. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2008

Figure 8 Peking Opera Association in Vienna. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2007

Figure 9 Pop concert organized by Chinese students in a local bar. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2008

Figure 10 Performance of the Taiwanese Choir. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2007

Figure 11 Chinese newspapers printed in Vienna and distributed in Austria and the neighbouring countries.
Photo by Kim Kwok, 2010

CHAPTER 6 DUAL EMBEDDEDNESS : LOCAL AND TRANSNATIONAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

1 Introduction

Compared to the deregulatory economic system in the United States, most of the European countries have stronger states with relatively weak markets, and political regulations are generally more obtrusive (Boissevian 1997; Kloosterman 2000). These conditions can be reflected by the fact that there are less staying permits for investors, and that legal requirements to self-employment are more demanding (Froschauer 2001; Haberfellner 2003). Responding to the interactive model based mainly on the North American experiences (refer to chapter 2), Kloosterman and Rath argue with an European perspective that the socio-economic positions of immigrant entrepreneurs should not only be understood by considering their immigrant social networks, but also "their more abstract embeddedness in the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment of the country of settlement". This is their concept of mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman and Rath 2001:190).

Built on the insights of Kloosterman and Rath, I suggest to apply the notion of dual embeddedness (Milutionović 2005) to understand how the transnational economic processes of Chinese migrants are embedded both in the socio-economic and political conditions of Austria, and those of their country of origin, China. This chapter will firstly deal with the opportunity structure formed on the national level in Austria, trying to explain the general conditions faced by immigrant entrepreneurs. Two aspects that greatly influence the potential developments of immigrant businesses are of interest to us in the Austrian context: the nature of the welfare state and its business and immigration regimes. The second part of this chapter explores the opportunity structure shaped on the transnational level. Three aspects including the overseas Chinese policies, economic growth of China and the EU-China relationship form the intertwining forces in the transnational context for the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria.

2 Local Opportunity Structure

2.1 The Austrian Welfare State

According to Esping-Andersen (1990), Austria belongs to the conservative and corporatist group of welfare states. In a similar vein, yet with emphasis on market system, Rueda and Pontusson (2000: 364-365) refer this group of countries (Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Finland, Austria and Denmark) as "social market economies" or "coordinated market economies", where comprehensive, publicly-funded social welfare systems, standardized employment security, and institutionalisation of collective bargaining and coordination of wage formation have been established.

In Austria, a significant pillar of its corporatist political system has been the elaborate system of social partnership (*Sozialpartnerschaft*) which has been represented on the one hand, by the Chamber of Labour and the Trade Unions Congress, and on the other hand, by the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Agriculture. These organizations are closely interconnected with the two main political parties, the People's Party (ÖVP) and the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ), which have remained in power for decades. Based on a network of formal and informal linkages with the government, the parliament and the political parties, the social partners have influential powers in policy decisions regarding the economy and the labour market (Talo et al. 1993; Haberfellner 2003; Unger and Heitzmann 2003). To a considerable extent, the social partners have influenced the institutional framework of immigration policies, and particularly that of the access of immigrants to the labour market. For example, the policy of *gastarbeiter* (guest-worker) recruitment was an issue of conflict between the Chamber of Labour and the Chamber of Commerce already in the late 1950s. The conflict ended with the "Raab-Olah" agreement in 1961, which on the one hand, stabilized the social partnership, and on the other hand, authorized *gasterarbeiter* migration with conditions such as equal payment, one-year contract and dismissal of immigrants in case of job loss. The spirit of the Raab-Olah agreement has remained to be the crucial framework shaping immigrants' access to the labour market in the following decades (Haberfellner 2003; Bauböck 1997). To a certain extent, this continues to be the case even today, although the power of the social partners has gradually decreased since the establishment of a coalition government in 2000 (Unger and Heitzmann 2003: 380).

Another important feature of the Austrian conservative welfare state, shared by other continental welfare states, is the emphasis on familial values. In these countries, reliance on the family to offer services and stability beyond the market or the state is usually strong, and generous family allowances often encourage motherhood and draw women away from full-

time labour market employment (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27). Although Austria has a comparatively high proportion of female labour participation since the 1970s (Rubery et al. 1999; Daly 2000, cited in Unger and Heitzmann 2003: 383), policy measures in Austria such as a universal parental leave allowance which is paid up to a maximum of two years seem to reinforce the role of women as mothers rather than workers. Moreover, in comparison to most other Western social democratic regimes, public and private provision of child-care and elderly services was low (Unger and Heitzmann 2003: 383-384). Under such circumstances, immigrants, in particular immigrant women, could have little chance in care services which are usually options for less-educated and less well-trained ones in neo-liberal societies.

In general, one prominent phenomenon of continental welfare states is the low growth of low-skilled employment due to the strictly regulated labour market (Esping-Andersen 1990; Kloosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman 2003). Relatively high minimum wages, expensive social insurance paid by employers, inflexible working times and short working hours usually discourage job creation in low-skilled and labour-intensive industries. Together with other low-skilled labour force, immigrants disadvantaged by their deficiency of language skills and legal status are directly affected. Kloosterman (2003: 169) identifies this unfavourable situation in the labour market as a "push" power which contributes to immigrants' self-employment in sectors with low entry-barriers and low capital-concentration.

With regard to Austria in particular, there has been an unusually high share of nationalized industries and public employment. Until the mid 1980s, one-fifth of total Austrian industries were nationalized. Despite the efforts to renounce its nationalized industries due to increasing budget deficit, public-sector employment continued to increase until the mid 1990s, as it was perceived as compensation for job loss in the private sector. (Unger and Heitzmann 2003: 380). However, as public jobs are generally restricted to people with Austrian citizenship[38], it has been questioned whether job creation could also benefit immigrants in Austria (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 1140). Depending only on job opportunities in the private sector which has been much smaller in scale in comparison to other European countries (Unger and Heitzmann 2003: 380), immigrants in Austria seem to face a less favourable condition. In fact, Austrian government has started to take more

[38] The diversity policy of the Vienna City Government, commenced in 2004, has taken a groundbreaking step in opening job opportunities in the public sector for non-Austrian nationals. However, jobs are merely restricted to a few departments related to immigration and integration of foreigners. Moreover, this partial opening of the public sector does not appear to receive positive resonance from other provincial governments.

initiative in job creation in the private sector through measures such as subsidies for employers and self-employment friendly policies (Unger and Heitzmann 2003: 378). On the one hand, immigrants do not seem to benefit much from the increased importance of private sector, as they faced and are still facing difficult legal conditions in entering the job market. On the other hand, the self-employment friendly policies such as couching services and subsidies for new immigrant entrepreneurs may have encouraged immigrants to become self-employed. The sections which follow offer an overview of the Austrian migration regime and the impact of the legal conditions on immigrant employment and self-employment.

2.2 Austrian Migration Regime

Relatively speaking, Austria is one of the larger European immigration countries. According to the data released by the national Statistical Year Book 2011 (Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011) for 2010, 15% out of over eight million inhabitants are foreign-born; and around 11% of the total population holds a foreign passport. In Vienna, the figures are even higher, with people of migration backgrounds making about one-third of its population (see Table 12). Despite these statistical facts and its long history of immigration and emigration, Austria remained for a long time ambivalent in perceiving itself as a country of migration. Starting from the 1990s, contesting and polarized debates on the issue of immigration continue until today, in particular at the times of election[39]. As Faßmann and Münz (1995:47) already pointed out more than one and a half decade ago, the Austrian migration regime has been coined by a discrepancy between the reality and its self-consciousness. Recent reform of immigration policy measures signals awareness of the need of new immigrants, a step forward in narrowing the discrepancy.

[39] Debates have been around whether Austria can be perceived as an immigration country, and if yes, how to deal with immigrants. See for example Prüller 2006, Nowak 2007, *Der Standard* 2007, *Kleine Zeitung* 2011

Table 12 Austrian Population by Nationality and Place of Birth, 2010

	Austria	**Vienna**
Population	8,259,600	1,675,100
Austrian Nationality	7,379,000 (89%)	1,326,600 (79%)
Foreign Nationality	880,600 (11%)	348,500 (21%)
Place of Birth in Austria	7,018,300 (85%)	1,170,000 (70%)
Place of Birth in foreign countries	1,241,300 (15%)	505,100 (30%)

Source : Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011

In Austria, migration was generally understood as unskilled and low-skilled labour migration. This began in the 1960s, a time of post-war economic boom, with the *gastarbeiter* (guest-worker) system for temporary foreign workers operating through bilateral agreements with countries like Turkey and Yugoslavia. The basic idea of the *gastarbeiter* system was based on a rotation principle and prior dismissal of immigrant workers in case of unemployment. The oil crisis and recession in 1973 reduced the demand for guest-workers radically, and consequently, Austrian authorities stopped foreign labour recruitment, and a new law, the Foreign Workers' Occupation Act (*Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz*) was passed in 1975 to control immigrant employment. Although active labour recruitment was stopped, other forms of migration such as family reunification increased, leading to a situation that family immigration surpassed new labour immigration by the mid-1970s, and Austria became a de-facto immigration country since then (Waldrauch & Sohler 2004: 84-85).

During the late 1980s and the 1990s, foreign residents increased rapidly after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the wars in the former Yugoslavia. This led to a doubling of foreign population in Austria from 387,000 in 1989 to 690,000 in 1993, while the share of foreign employees rose from 5.9% in 1989 to 9.1% in 1993. At the same time, unemployment among foreign workers increased (Münz et al 2003: 25-26). The prevailing system of migration was unable to cope, prompting the government to introduce new policy and measures. With the introduction of the Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz 1992*) in 1993, Austria began the policy of migration control, characterized by two different quota systems (one for residence permit

and another for working permit) in contrast to the prior relatively flexible *gastarbeiter* system. The basic idea was that, immigration should serve the needs of the Austrian population and the developments of the domestic labour market (König and Stadler 2003: 228-229; Waldrauch and Sohler 2004: 84-89; Schumacher and Peyrl 2007: 38). Since 1993, the Austrian migration regime has undergone a series of reforms, undertaken mainly through the Integration Package 1997 (*Integrationspaket 1997*), Aliens Law Package 2002 (*Fremdenrechtspaket 2002*), Aliens Law Package 2005 (*Fremdenrechtspaket 2005*) and the newly implemented Aliens Law Reform 2011 (see Table 13). The general developments have been marked by the tightening of laws regarding immigration, access to labour market as well as access to citizenship, the goals of which are to hinder regular and irregular immigration in order to protect domestic labour market (König and Hintermann 2003: 20-26; Schumacher and Peyrl 2007:15).

For example, since the commencement of the Aliens Law Package 2002, new labour immigration has practically been restricted to highly skilled "key personnel" (*Schlüsselkraft*) and seasonal workers. While a permit for seasonal work usually allows employment only for three months and does not include the right of residence, a permit for "key personnel" allows people with particular expertise, talents and high education levels to work and reside in Austria for a longer period. One of the main requirements set for their entry is: to earn at least a gross salary of € 2520 per month[40] or to make capital investment and create jobs in Austria. However, it was reported that "key personnel" did not seem to be attracted to Austria. This could be partially reflected by the fact that the quotas for "key personnel" had not been fully exhausted (Nowotny 2007:59; Berangy 2010). What is worth noting is that, all other quotas set by the Austrian migration regime are always fully utilized and foreigners usually have to wait for the first residence permit or working permit for years. It is criticized that this is probably due to bureaucratic barriers and half-hearted legislation of the migration regime (IOM 2004: 23; Berangy 2010). My informant in the Chinese catering business suffered from lacking knowledge of how to go through the bureaucratic procedure in order to apply for skilled cook (see Chapter 7).

The overall granting of immigration quotas followed a trend of continuous decrease since the beginning of the 1990s, reducing from 30,900 in 1995 to 8,518 in 2000 and further to 7,500 in 2005 (Waldrauch and Sohler 2004:87). The level in the last years was set at

[40] The standard of monthly gross salary is modified every year; €2520 is the standard for 2011.

around 8000 until 2010, and dropped to 5500 in 2011 (Federal Ministry for Internal Affairs, Fremdenwesen Jahrestatistiken). Further, since the Amendment of Citizenship Law 2005, applicants for Austrian citizenship have to go through an examination of German proficiency and to fulfil higher financial requirements for living subsistence. This implies a higher threshold for immigrants to enter the circle of "insiders" of the Austrian welfare system and, with regard to working opportunity, a higher threshold for a full legal access to the Austrian labour market. A regressive tendency of naturalization figure since 2006 could be resulting from these increased difficulties (Statistik Austria, Statistisches Jahresbuch 2011).

With the coming into force of Aliens Law Reform in July 2011, the red-white-red card has been introduced to replace the "key personnel" system in order to enhance the economic competitiveness of Austria. Instead of being restricted by fixed yearly quotas for new working immigrants, the red-white-red card is guided by a point model based on criteria, and is without quota limitation. Besides the highly skilled persons, it also opens channels for university graduates who study in Austria as well as skilled labour. It connects qualified personnel to a certain employer and allows possibility to change to the free labour market after one year. While this new system signals a certain degree of relaxation of the control model and appears to be more flexible and transparent, its effectiveness remains to be seen in the time to come. Nevertheless, immigration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers continues to be blocked.

Another relaxation or apparent improvement brought by the previous legal reforms has been the partial harmonization of the resident permit system and the working permit system. Since the introduction of the Residence Act 1992, immigration of foreign nationals in Austria has been regulated by a highly complex double quota and double permit system. The resident permit did not automatically include the right to work, meaning that additional working permit had to be applied. This mechanism of double-quota has been simplified for highly qualified "key personnel" and people with long-term residency (holders of the residence title *Niederlassungsnachweis* or *Daueraufenthalt*) since 2003, whose permit contains both rights to stay and to work. However, immigrants who have not yet obtained a long-term residency, meaning those who have not yet recorded five years of continuous residency in Austria, are still subject to the double quota system.

Table 13 Overview of Legal Acts in the Austrian Migration Regime, 1992-2011

	Legal Acts	Significant Regulations
Before 1992	Foreign Workers' Occupation Act 1975 (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz 1975)	• 3-level system with different statuses and accesses to labour market: Employment Permit (Beschäftigungsbewilligung), Work Permit (Arbeitserlaubnis) Exemption Certificate (Befreiungsschein) • Quota system since 1990, allowing 8-10% foreigners to work in Austria
	Citizenship Law 1985 (Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetz 1985)	Two types of naturalization: • on discretion after 10 years of residence • on entitlement after 30 years of residence
Reform 1992	Residence Act 1992 (Aufenthaltsgesetz 1992	• Introduction of quota system for resident titles • Setting of time limit for extension application • Proof of accommodation corresponding to local standard
Integration Package 1997	Aliens Act 1997 (Fremdengesetz 1997)	• Successive consolidation of residence after 5, 8 and 10 years • Introduction of humanitarian residence permit
	Amendment of Foreign Workers' Act (Novelle zum Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz)	• Restrict the access to legal employment for family members after at least 8 years of continuous settlement
	Amendment of Citizenship Law 1985 (Novelle des Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetzes 1985)	• German knowledge as criterion of integration for naturalization • Naturalization on entitlement after 15 years of residence
Aliens Law Package 2002	Amendment of Aliens Act (Novelle zum Fremdengesetz 1997)	• Introduction of the title Settlement Certificate (Niederlassungsnachweis) as permanent resident permit • Introduction of the Integration Contract, stipulating the attendance of German courses

	Amendment of Foreign Workers' Act (Novelle zum Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz)	• Confine working immigration to "key personnel" and seasonal workers and abolish the quotas for unskilled and semi-skilled workers
Aliens Law Package 2005	Settlement and Residence Act (Niederlassungs-und Aufenthaltsgesetz)	• Introduction of the title Long-term Residence (replace Settlement Certificate) • Broadening of the circles of people subject to Integration Contract and increase of the language course hours from 100 to 300 • Increase of maintenance cost as requirement
	Amendment of Citizenship Law (Novelle des Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetz 1985)	• Introduction of examination for naturalization • Increase of maintenance cost as requirement
Aliens Law Reform 2011	Amendment of Settlement and Residence Act (Änderung des Niederlassungs-und Aufenthaltsgesetzes)	• Introduction of the red-white-red card system (replace "key personnel") • Proof of appropriate German knowledge prior to immigration • Tightening of Integration Contract by increasing the requirement to obtain long-term residence from A2 level of German to B1 level
	Amendment of Citzenship Law 1985 (Änderung des Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetzes 1985)	• Increase of German knowledge requirement from A2 level to B1 level

Source: Schumacher and Peyrl 2007; Faßmann 2007; Federal Ministry of Interior Affairs; own compilation. This table does not claim to offer an exhaustive list of all related legal acts in the last three decades; only the major changes have been listed.

The above immigration control features have been combined with a growing demand on immigrants to learn German and take integration courses, based on stereotypes of immigrants who are unwilling to learn German and adjust to the "Austrian lifestyle". Since the introduction of the Integration Contract (*Integrationsvereinbarung*) in 2003, immigrants are required to attend certain hours of German language course, linking the extension of their

residence permit in Austria with the obligation to learn German. A populist discourse around the concept of "integration" has been often used in debates on immigration control as a tool to stop further legal immigration. Thus, "Integration (shall come) before new immigration" ("*Integration vor Neuzuwanderung*") becomes a key concept of Austrian governments since the 1990s, with "integration" interpreted as German language acquisition and adapting to an "Austrian way of life" (König and Perchinig 2003: 3-6; Vogl and Matscher 2008:5). Recently, "German before Moving In" ("*Deutsch vor Zuzug*") has emerged as the dominating discourse, with its reification expressed in the new Aliens Law Reform. Since July 2011, potential immigrants are required to prove their appropriate German proficiency to a certain level when filing their first immigration application outside Austria. Moreover, the granting of long-term residence will be coupled with a higher level of German knowledge.

Another populist discourse is around the concept of "welfare burden", referring to the supposed burden caused by asylum-seekers and immigrants to Austria's economy and society. Populist discussions have concentrated on the alleged negative aspects associated to migration, particularly the alleged "over-use" of the welfare system by immigrants and the pressure they allegedly exercise on the labour market. Terms like parasites (*Schmarotzer*), abuse of social system (*Missbrauch des Sozialsystemes*) as well as social burden (*Sozialbelastung*) are prevalent in the media, conveying the message that the presence of foreigners is a direct and indirect expense to the honest Austrian tax-payers (Zuser 1996: 11-12; Fritzl 2009). Even German seasonal workers who come to work in the Austrian tourist industry have been described as "enemies of the Austrian labour market" (*Der Standard* 31.07.2005). One of the underlying reasons of the anti-immigration sentiments can be identified in the general unease brought about by the geopolitical changes, including the end of the cold war as well as the major economic restructuring all over Europe since the 1970s, which caused massive lay-offs, particularly in the traditional industries (Kraler and Sohler 2005). In response to these sentiments, Austrian economist Gudrun Biffl argued (IOM 2004) that the economic, political, social and cultural impact of immigrants on Austrian society has been beneficial, showing for example that payments by immigrants into the social security system and receipts from the system were on average balanced in the 1990s.

Yet, Austrian discourses of "integration" and "welfare burden" were and are still used to legitimate further restrictions on legal immigration, asylum application, access to labour market and the naturalization of migrants. Overall, then, the Austrian migration regime from

the 1960s has developed from a *gastarbeiter* regime to bring in foreign workers for serving the national economy to an immigrant burden regime restraining unskilled and semi-skilled migrants from coming in order to protect the local labour market and the national social welfare budget. Moreover, the new immigrant burden regime has been coercing immigrants who live in Austria to integrate on Austrian terms. In my opinion, the recent relaxation of policies aiming at recruiting more highly qualified migrants has not made any fundamental turn-about of the migration regime, but has reinforced its basic idea: while there are "good" and "bad" immigrants, the former group should be encouraged to come and stay, and the latter, should be discouraged with restrictive measures of cultural assimilation.

2.3 Immigrant Employment and Self-Employment in Austria

In general, immigrants are complementary to, rather than substitutes for, Austrian workers. Drawing on several empirical researches, Biffl (IOM 2004: 20) claims that due to a pronounced segmentation of work, direct competition between immigrants and native Austrians is relatively small in Austria, taking place mostly in low-wage and unskilled labour segments. Immigrant workers usually take up jobs in the lower labour market segments that are not favoured by local Austrian workers, where chances for upward mobility are very limited, leading to disproportionate representation in non-tradable industries such as cleaning, nursing and domestic services.

For example in 2010, while about 61 % of all economically active Austrian nationals are registered as white-collar employees and 24.6 % as blue-collar workers, the condition is however different for the non-Austrian nationals: the blue-collar working migrants, making up to 49.7 %, override their white-collar counterparts whose number lies at 40.6 percent of the total working foreign population (Statistik Austria, Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2011). One result is that native workers tend to "profit" from immigrant labour in terms of relative pay and job opportunities in most labour market segments (IOM 2004:19-21). Few immigrants find employment in the higher segments of the labour market in industries that have a high capital/labour ratio, and in which job security and above-average wages are offered. Foreign workers also have a higher job fluctuation than Austrian nationals, and re-employment is more often linked to a cut in wages (IOM 2004:24-25).

Austrian social welfare policy is characterized by a strong link between social protection and employment participation, with access to social security mainly provided through compulsory insured employment. Besides paying the social security by the employee, employers are obliged to pay for each employee non-wage labour costs (*Lohnnebenkosten*), including social security and various taxes which sum up to 37% of the gross salary of the employee. This is a high percentage which lies above the European average of 31% (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011). In Austria, while means-tested benefits are comparatively low in terms of social spending, there is a yearly adjusted "marginality line" (*Geringfügigkeitsgrenze*) set at €374.02 monthly for 2011. The employers of marginal wage earners - whose income falls below this sum - are only obliged to pay for them accident insurance, and no social security. This means the employer can save a lot, but the employee is not protected by general medical care, unemployment and pension insurance. The marginality line has been used by some Austrian and immigrant employers of local and foreign workers to escape from social security (*Flucht aus der Sozialversicherung*) by registering employees as part-time workers with marginal wage earnings (Arbeiter Kammer 2006). As such kind of cost-reducing strategy is no exception in the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, it hinders the socio-economic integration of some Chinese migrants in Austria to a certain extent.

Moreover, Austrian trade unions have not opened their structures to immigrants, focusing their corporatist activities in Austrian social partnership on native workers and employees holding Austrian citizenship, even though the trade unions are one of the main policy players in Austrian immigration policy (IOM 2004:24). Trade unions have also remained inactive with regard to the exclusion of non-Austrian citizens from voting rights at the shop floor level. Instead, the trade unions and the labour chamber have concentrated their activities on funding immigrants' sports and cultural associations (König and Perchinig 2003:1). As such, the trade unions' passivity in regard to the legal status and rights of immigrant workers vis-à-vis Austrian nationals have further reinforced the socio-economic stratification and worsening of equity in the Austrian labour market (IOM 2004: 20).

Austrian immigration regime often combines with its conservative corporatist welfare state to channel immigrants down to the lower segments of the labour market, while restricting their access to the welfare state. This can be apparently reflected by the employment mechanism regulated by the Foreign Workers' Occupation Act of 1975, which

stipulated the preferential hiring of native Austrians over immigrant workers. This distinction gave rise to different legal statuses among immigrant workers: those with a continuous record of at least five years working in Austria were allowed freedom of movement on the labour market nationwide, while all other remained bound to their employer or restricted employment opportunities in one specific Austrian federal state (*Bundesland*). Moreover, the yearly fixed quotas which vary between 8% and 10% of the total workforce led to a paradox effect that even persons with a legal permission to stay had no access to the labour market. Since extended periods of unemployment could mean the end of an immigrant's residence permit, this generated pressure on foreign workers to find a new job quickly, and hold onto it as long as possible, even if there were oppressive working conditions. Not surprisingly, this structural situation led to the tremendous "high will to work" (Gächter 1998) and enabled some native and immigrants employers to exploit foreign workers by reducing their wages in exchange for residence security. Some of my informants expressed similar experiences for the fear of losing residency when they first came in the 1990s. To look at the situation from another angle, this "high will to work" could have transformed to become the "high will to start up a business". Both the poor chance for upward mobility and high risk for unemployment appeared to stimulate business start-ups of immigrants in the 1980s and the 1990s. In Vienna for example, the number of self-employed immigrants rose from 4,800 in 1984 to 14,900 in 1993, a triple jump within these ten years. (Haberfellner 2003: 222, 225-226; see also Table 14).

As mentioned in the last section, the introduction of the residency title *Niederlassungsnachweis* in 2003 and *Daueraufenthalt* in 2006 have allowed immigrants free access to the labour market nationwide after five years of residency in Austria even without a working permit. This has, on the one hand, generally alleviated the legal restriction for all immigrants to find an employment, and on the other hand, specifically improved the condition of self-employed immigrants. Before 2003, self-employed immigrants had barely a chance to officially obtain an employment in the labour market due to the permanently exhausted quotas for working permit, even though they had legal residency in Austria. Based on a study on self-employed immigrants in Vienna in the late 1990s, Haberfellner and colleagues (Haberfellner et at. 2000; Haberfellner 2007) argue that in order to ensure their living subsistence as well as further residency right in Austria, many self-employed immigrants were forced to stay in their businesses even though the businesses were not prosperous. Leaving the business implied the risk to lose Austrian residency. Among other

factors, this restrictive condition was presumably one of the reasons causing economic marginality of many self-employed immigrants in the 1990s (Haberfellner 2007: 16-17). In spite of the partial improvement since 2003, the difficult legal situation of both immigrant workers and self-employed immigrants remains unchanged for those whose residency is less than five years.

As a corporatist welfare state with elaborate system of social partnership and *gastarbeiter* history, the Austrian business regime create "insider-outsider" cleavages and employs an exclusionary mechanism to prevent competition and exclude potential new comers. Defended by the Chamber of Commerce, the Austrian system of self-employment is characterized by restricted access, pushing immigrants into an outsider role. The central legal framework regulating the establishment and running of a business in Austria is the Industrial Code (*Gewerbeordnung*). The Industrial Code applies to all commercial activities, which are carried out regularly, independently and with intention for making profit (§1 GewO). In general, there are two types of business or business licence: free business (*freie Gewerbe*) and regimented business (*reglementierte Gewerbe*). While the former requires the fulfilment of some general criteria such as age and no previous conviction, the later requires additional proofs of specific qualification (*Befähigungsnachweis*) such as proof of apprenticeship, professional examination or diploma. Whereas most of the businesses belong to the category of free business, the regimented category covers some traditional hand work such as tailoring and bakery, and also tour guide and catering business, etc. As catering is the dominant branch in the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria, most of the Chinese entrepreneurs need regimented type of business licence.

Other than the above requirements, non-Austrian citizens faced additional barrier – "equal ranking" (*Gleichstellung)* - which put them on equal position as Austrians who wanted to set up businesses before 2002. According to the law, the "equal ranking" (*Gleichstellung)* could only be obtained from the local authority if the applicant could demonstrate that the proposed business would be beneficial to the Austrian national economy and not interfere with Austria's public interests. In practice, this meant that the business was not in an overrepresented sector in the local economy; the applicant should not have criminal record and no other law was violated by the permission for that particular business start-up. Scholars and practitioners both found that owing to bureaucracy and arbitrary discretion of the authorities, many immigrants were excluded from setting up their own business (Haberfellner

2007: 8-9; Beratungszentrum für Migranten und Migrantinnen 2002). These barriers - the *Gleichstellung* and the requirement of giving formal evidence of qualification which was usually difficult for immigrant to obtain - were often overcome by setting up some form of co-establishment (e.g. limited company) and hiring an Austrian executive manager (*Geschäftsführer*) who satisfied all conditions of the Industrial Code. While most Austrians established businesses as sole proprietors, corporation was the most common type of business ownership among immigrants (Haberfellner et al. 2000; Haberfellner 2007). Hiring an Austrian executive manager, immigrant entrepreneurs did not need to apply for "equal ranking" *(Gleichstellung)* anymore, let alone providing sufficient qualification. However, in this way their operating cost would be higher as the executive manager needed to be registered and paid. It was found that these "borrowed" or "rented" managers had hardly any effect on the business management and operation, as their role was merely to fulfil the legal requirements on the paper (Haberfellner et al. 2000). Some of my Chinese employer informants have also made the same remarks regarding "renting" an executive manager.

The Amendment of the Industrial Code 2002, which eliminated the legal requirement of "equal ranking" (*Gleichstellung*), has been of great significance for immigrants. Their access to setting up their own business has been made easier. Now the most important criterion is the legal residence rather than the "equal ranking". One of the effects of this Amendment appears to be the rise of the number of sole proprietors. In a study published in 2007, it was evident that the number of sole proprietors founded by immigrants with former Yugoslavian and Turkish nationality had increased in the period 2000-2005 ten-fold and twenty-fold respectively (Enzenhofer et al. 2007: 41). Drawing on various sources of data, Enzenhofer et al. (2007: 8-15) show that while about 18% or one-fifth of all sole proprietors in Vienna (around 10,000 companies) have foreign nationality, nearly 30% of all enterprises in Vienna are owned by people with migration backgrounds. This means, immigrant entrepreneurship constitutes about one-third of the business landscape in Vienna.

Table 14 displays a picture of development of the business landscape in Austria and in Vienna. As already pointed out, the rapid growth of self-employed immigrants from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s can be understood against the background of immigration movements accompanied by disadvantageous labour market developments in Austria. While starting up a business was too risky for many Austrians, becoming self-employed was seen as a crucial strategy for immigrants to reduce risk. Moreover, the influx of a large amount of

immigrants, which number doubled (from 387,000 in 1989 to 690,000 in 1993) within a few years, formed a significant ethnic consumer market, a basis for immigrant businesses (Haberfellner 2003: 226-227). The stagnation witnessed in the second half of the 1990s, as argued by Haberfellner further, can be seen as a result of the tremendous decrease of net immigration since the mid 1990s which stopped the ethnic consumer market to expand further. In addition, reduction in net immigration alleviated the pressure on the secondary labour market, making it easier for immigrants to stay employed or become re-employed (Haberfellner 2003: 227). For the period 1999 - 2009, statistics demonstrates a rise of business start-ups by immigrants, although the net immigration has continued to decrease. This could probably be partially accounted by, as mentioned above, the relaxation of law, that is, the elimination of *Gleichstellung* in 2002 as well as the introduction of the residence title *Niederlassungsnachweis* (a harmonization of quota system). With a residence title *Niederlassungsnachweis*, some immigrants do not consider starting up a business as a "dead-end street" with limited options for escape anymore. As they have the full legal access to the Austrian labour market, they are more flexible to switch between being self-employed and being employed.

Moreover, in Vienna, what is noticeable in the last decade is the emergence of city funded projects or initiatives which offer consultations, couching services or subsidies for new immigrant enterprises. Examples are the *Mingo Migrant Enterprises* which promote ethnic enterprises, the "Local Neighbourhood Management" (Grätzelmanagement) project subsidized by the *Wiener Wirtschaftsförderungsfonds* and the "Start-up Service" of the Vienna Chamber of Commerce. In a study about self-employed migrants in Vienna, it is shown that while about 37% of the informants used the consultation services and about 19% received funding, 40% revealed that they were not informed of the existing services, and 63.7% would firstly seek help from their close social circles including family and friends (Enzenhofter et al 2007: 81, 94, 103, 105). Without comparisons to earlier period and to the situation of native Austrian enterprises, we cannot interpret too much from these figures. What can be said is firstly, the positive attitude of the City government of Vienna towards self-employment of immigrants, and secondly, that the services provided have not been fully utilized.

Table 14 Self-Employed Persons in Austria and Vienna by Nationality, 1984-2009

Year	Nationality	In Austria	In Vienna
1984	Austrian	344,200	45,200
	Foreign	**4,800**	**2,000**
1993	Austrian	343,100	42,100
	Foreign	**14,900**	**6,400**
1999	Austrian	373,020	54,106
	Foreign	**14,285**	**6,035**
2004	Austrian	477,500	63,500
	Foreign	**23,300**	**7,600**
2009	Austrian	503,400	82,300
	Foreign	**42,000**	**10,000**

Source: Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2004, 2009, Statistik Austria; Haberfellner 2003

Comparatively speaking, Austria's relatively restrictive migration policies are not uncommon among Western OECD countries. In fact, this combination of national immigration control and forced assimilation to the national culture has become more common over the course of the 1990s and into the new century, from Australia to many member states of the European Union including the former 'multicultural' countries of the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom (Geddes 2003; Lewis and Neal 2005; Castles and Miller 2009). At the same time, there are national specificities to the development of Austria's migration regime that has been shaped by historical, geographical, institutional and economic factors. For example, Austria's historical and geographical links to the other German-speaking guest-worker countries of Germany and Switzerland influenced its own *gastarbeiter* policies, while its pre-WWII and post-war institutional traditions of a conservative welfare state and neo-corporatist social partnership have bearings on Austrian immigration policies and their socio-economic outcomes as shown in the above discussions. Moreover, globalized forces of economic and technological restructuring, belatedly to be felt in Austria, has exerted impacts on the society and invoked awareness of the need of new immigrants just recently.

3 Transnational Opportunity Structure

3.1 Overseas Chinese Policies In Post-Mao Era

With the commencement of the reform and open policies (改革开放政策), a redirection of overseas Chinese policies had been undertaken. The significant shift was from ignorance of overseas Chinese affairs and building united front for international revolution to uniting all Chinese for the socialist modernization (Barabantseva 2005: 9). Deng Xiaoping, the steering leader of the reform and open policies, acknowledged in 1977 for the first time the good side of overseas ties, leaving the famous saying of "overseas ties are good things" (Li 2004)[41]. This set the tone for a new era in which Chinese living abroad are regarded as a resource for China rather than a loss. Overseas Chinese are therefore being incorporated into the Chinese modernization project, which does not only promote the Chinese economic growth, but also the political goal of strengthening the unifying force for the Chinese nation. In this context, new Chinese migrants are encouraged to support the centralized Chinese nation-state, the reunification of China and the Chinese socialist economy (Barabantseva 2005: 23-26, Nyiri 2001: 636-640; Li 2004:63).

In 1977 and 1978, a number of institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, such as the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (*qiaoban* 侨办) under the State Council and the All-China's Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese (*qiaolia*n 侨联) were re-established in order to revive links with the overseas Chinese communities. These bodies carried out the work of overseas Chinese in an increasingly institutionalized way, resulting in the adaptation of more than 360 laws and regulations in the period from 1979 to 2000, including those offering overseas Chinese easier university entrance and favourable investment opportunities in China (Barabantseva 2005: 9-13).

Since the early 1990s, the initial policies of connecting Chinese citizens living outside China with the homeland were broadened to include all ethnic Chinese with other nationalities. A regulation of the State Council about "strengthening the work towards Overseas Chinese and Foreigners of Chinese Descent" stipulated that ethnic Chinese should not be treated like common foreigners and that their national feelings should be cherished and their close relations with China should be protected (Thunø 2001: 921; Zhuang 2000:6-7). These overseas Chinese policies and strategies can be understood as part and parcel of the

[41] When meeting the delegation from Hong Kong and Macao in 2nd October 1977, Deng said that "now it is not that we do have too much ties (overseas ties), but too little, these are good things, which can open channels in various aspects". This sentence has been simplified to "overseas ties are good things" (海外关系是好东西) and become widely known in China. See Li 2004.

overall Chinese modernization project – the strengthening of the Chinese nation – with the long-term goals of employing a transnational approach to win the support of overseas Chinese communities, to affirm the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) political standing and to reassert Chinese culture (Barabantseva 2005: 7).

In achieving these goals, business and culture are used as tools. For instance, business opportunities are being offered to diasporic Chinese in order to win their support for the PRC regime. Cultural ties are being promoted and special support is given to the overseas Chinese media, conferences, associations, schools and events, aiming to bring the overseas Chinese culturally closer to the motherland (Barabantseva 2005: 19). Chinese students studying abroad are perceived not as "brain drain" with scepticism anymore, but as having potential to contribute to their homeland from overseas by the means of cooperation in different fields. Instead of encouraging them to return as in the 1980s, the Chinese government has been concentrating on enhancing the ties with the overseas Chinese students and turning them into an advantage for China since the 1990s (Barabantseva 2005: 15-16; Xiang and Shen 2009:19-22). With the PRC's strategy of peddling "politics through business" (Liu 1998:596) and the perception of some overseas Chinese leaders that "trade contacts are cultural contacts" (Barabantseva 2005: 23), business, culture (including education) and politics become interdependent to a certain extent and are mingled together with each other in many overseas Chinese communities. As such, the major principle of the relationship between China and overseas Chinese can be described as "double-win": a cooperative and mutually beneficial one rather than single-directional contribution (Zhang 2008:5-9).

Example: Development of China's Tourism

Tourism, as a kind of newly developed business in China, has been playing a major role in contributing to the achievements of Chinese modernization as well as the overall overseas Chinese policies. For decades leisure travel and tourism were perceived as "unproductive" and potentially dangerous bourgeois activity, particularly outbound tourism which was regarded as unnecessary expense of scarce hard currency. It was not until 1978 that tourism started to be welcome by the Chinese government as a source of commercial gains with enthusiasm (Arlt 2006: 26-29). Tourism was also considered as a reflection of China's reform and open policies and was a powerful sign of openness towards the outside world (Zhang, Pine and Lam 2005: 67). Apart from earning hard currency from tourists coming from the developed world such as Japan, Europe and North America, inbound tourism was also

developed to strengthen the ties with ethnic Chinese living in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and elsewhere in the world, appealing them to the splendour of the Chinese socialist development as well as to investment opportunities in China (Arlt 2006: 26, 34). While ethnic Chinese living abroad came with more relaxed travel restrictions to trace their family roots, they were also building up business relationships with China. (Lew and Wong 2002: 212), providing approximately two-thirds of the entire stock of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) entering China between 1979 and 2000 (Arlt 2006:33; Huang, Jin and Qian 2008:3).

Overseas Chinese have not only constituted by far the largest group of inbound tourists, but also the first "destinations" for outbound tourism from China. The door for organized outbound tours from China was opened firstly for the then colonies Hong Kong and Macao in the early 1980s, and secondly for Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia in the 1990s. These tours were organized in the form of "visiting friends and relatives" (VFR)[42]. As these destinations were places with considerable amount of ethnic Chinese residents, the official idea of channelling Chinese citizens to travel within the overseas Chinese communities, or the so-called "Chinese world", was apparent (Arlt: 2006:36).

The introduction of the Approved Destination System (ADS) in 1995 and the "Provisional Regulation on the Management of Outbound Travel by Chinese Citizens at Their Own Expense" in 1997 acknowledged for the first time that private, non-sponsored outbound travel was allowed and encouraged. The ADS system firstly opened the gates for travelling to the Asian and Oceanic countries where sizeable Chinese communities existed, and was later expanded to countries in the "non-Chinese world" in all continents. In 2004, an EU-wide ADS agreement, including Austria was signed. Bureaucratic procedures regarding the application of passports, visas and exchanging hard currency were liberalized and simplified. By the end of 2010, about 140 countries have been granted ADS by China, with Canada being one of the latest countries to join the system. Tourism, in particular outbound tourism, has by now become one of the symbolic markers of the modern and well-off society that China strives to show the world.

3.2 Economic Growth and Emergence of Middle Class in China

Following the reform and open policies and particularly after Deng Xiaoping's visit to Guangdong in early 1992, Chinese economy and society have undergone a period of

[42] These were mainly tours organized by designated travel agencies for residents in the Guangdong province, with a condition that the expenses be paid by friends or relatives in the destinations and travelers be staying with them for a short period of time.

unprecedented development and growth for decades. Agricultural reforms were firstly introduced, succeeded by the inflow of foreign investment into domestic industries and services, the establishment of price-driven market economy, the reform of state-owned enterprises and the integration into the world economy as signalled by the accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. When calculated at purchasing power parity (PPP), China had a GDP of $10 trillion in 2010, ranking the second strongest national economy after the USA. The country's GDP per capita (PPP) rose from $251 in 1980 to $7,544 in 2010. In the past thirty years, China recorded an average economic growth rate of 10%. At the same time, China has been the second largest trading country and the largest exporter and second largest importer of goods worldwide (IMF 2011). As the twenty-first century unfolds, China has developed into the "world's factory"– being a giant producer in a wide range of products including cotton and textiles, meat and cigarettes, steel and electricity, fridges and TV sets, etc. According to a recent study on China by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2010), China may become the leading producer of manufactured goods in the years to come, overtaking the role of the USA. Today, there is no surprise to find goods made in China prevalent in almost all corners of the globe.

The average living standard of the Chinese population has steadily improved, especially for the residents of the major coastal provinces, cities, and special economic zones, such as Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Guangdong. However, as a result of the faster income growth in urban areas caused by various structural factors, wealth disparity between China's affluent city dwellers and its huge rural population is widening, making wealth distribution in China one of the most uneven in the world. While per capita annual disposable income of urban households increased from RMB 1,701 in 1991 by ten fold to RMB 17,174 in 2009, that of the rural households increased seven times from RMB 709 in 1978 to RMB 5,153 in 2009. Income gap has expanded to the ratio 3.3 to 1. Apart from the urban rural disparity, income gap also exists between the developed regions of the coastal areas and those less developed regions of Shaanxi (陕西), Gansu (甘肃), Qinghai (青海) and Guizhou (贵州). While the per capital annual income of the Eastern region was RMB 23,153 in 2009, that of the central region, the Western region and the North-eastern region in 2009 were RMB 15,539, RMB 15,523 and RMB15,842 respectively (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2010). Based on data released by the United Nations (2011), China ranked 53rd worst worldwide in income inequality, with a Gini coefficient index of about 0.42 in 2007. The

index was 0.2 for China prior to 1978. [43] According to a report in mid 2000s, the top 0.4% of the Chinese families own over 60% of the nation's wealth, while in most developed nations, the top 5% of the families own around 60% of the total wealth (Boston Consultant Group 2006). Although all the above data deserve careful reading, they nevertheless reflect to a certain extent a trend that the poor have lagged behind and not being able to share the benefits of overall economic growth in recent years in China.

In line with the rising economy, a certain amount of *nouveau riche* and urban middle class[44] people have emerged. While the size of middle class has been controversial in view of different definitions and classifications, it ranges from 7% to 19% of the total working population in China at the beginning of the new millennium, according to diverse scholars and studies (Lu 2002; Li 2005; Zhou 2005b). In terms of number, the estimates range from 91 million to 247 million people. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences even put the figure to 23% of the populace (Xinhuanet 2010).

The Chinese middle class is far from a homogenous group with common backgrounds, economic and political interests (Li 2005; Cheng 2010), and scepticism emerges regarding the overestimation of its size (He 2011). Notwithstanding these, it includes certain groups of people with relatively stable incomes, high savings and disposable money to spend. They have been developing a comfortable and affluent way of living, with sufficient money spent on brand name and luxury goods, trendy food and entertainments, education and holidays.

Economic growth and rising middle class incomes have provided a strong impetus for travel, including both domestic and outbound tourism. While China has become the largest domestic tourism market in the world with 1.7 billion trips in 2008 (CNTA 2009), outbound trips increased from 12 million in 2001 to over 57 million in 2010 (World Travel Online 2011). Outbound travel has been considered as a symbol of status, or a kind of *distinction* tool in China, signifying the belonging to certain social groups of people who can either

[43] Gini Coefficient is a number between 0 and 1, where 0 corresponds with perfect equality (where everyone has the same income) and 1 corresponds with perfect inequality (where one person has all the income, and everyone else has zero income). Internationally recognized danger level of the Gini Coefficient is 0.40. See United Nation Human Development Report 2011

[44] There are more than one Chinese equivalent of the terminology "middle class": 中产阶级，中等阶级，中间阶级 and 社会中层, all with slightly different meanings. While the most commonly used one -中产阶级 - serves the purpose of coming closer to the international society, the other are more relevant to the Chinese society. See Li 2005.

travel with public or company funding or travel with private money (Arlt 2006:20-21). Amid the trend of embracing consumerism and prestigious products among the well-off Chinese people, some travel destinations in Europe, such as Paris, Rome and London, have become brands.

With the emergence of middle class families, more Chinese are ready to send their children to obtain education in developed Western countries, which is generally believed to be a way to strengthen their competitive power. A trend of sending children at a younger age to study abroad can be observed in the last years (Xiang and Shen 2009; People's Daily 2011). International educational institutions seeking to increase their income from student fees have started to tap into the growing market of Chinese students. Some destination countries have considered easing or have eased visa entry requirements in order to facilitate the movement of students from China. For example, in 2010, over 500 educational institutions and service providers from 32 countries took part in the China International Higher Education Exhibition Tour (CIEET 2010). According to Chinese officials, more than 100,000 Chinese students leave the country annually to enter foreign schools since 2002. In 2010, the number amounted to more than 284,000, from which 93 % were self-financed students (BBC 2011).

3.3 EU-China Relationship

Despite several ups and downs, the EU-China relation has been developing steadily over the last 35 years, from a secondary relationship to a post-Cold War strategic partnership. Formal relations between the European Community (EC) and the PR China were established in 1975, following the diplomatic recognition of Beijing by the United States in 1972. The EC and China signed a trade agreement in 1978, which was extended to a broader Trade and Cooperation Agreement in 1985. Since 1998, an annual EU-China summit has been held between European heads and Chinese leaders to discuss bilateral as well as global issues, and in 2007, an upgraded Partnership and Cooperation Agreement was signed. Since 2008, the EU-China High Level Economic and Trade Dialogue has been going on annually. Apart from regular political, trade and commercial dialogue meetings, cooperation takes place in many other fields, ranging from environmental protection to science and technology, education and culture such as the well-known Galileo Global Navigation Satellite System and the *Erasmus Mundus* programme for student exchange.

The awareness of building a partnership between China and the European Union based on mutual trust and cooperation has been growing. From the strategic perspective of China, importance of Europe lies in its role in supporting the emergence of a multipolar world order which would constrain American power and hegemony. Cultivating a partnership with the EU and its individual member states is seen as a step towards achieving the long-term objectives of national modernization and economic development. More significantly, it is a part of China's attempt to foster an international system in which the US would no longer be so dominant (Casarini 2006: 9, 12-13, 24). David Shambaugh commented on the fast-growing and impressive Europe-China relations at the beginning of the millennium as "a new axis in world affairs" which "will serve as a source of stability in a volatile world" (2004:243).

In the view of the EU, China's role in trade relationship has increased enormously, especially at a time of globalization and greater economic interdependence. More and more European businesses are benefiting from the size of the Chinese market and its increasing demand for foreign direct investment (FDI). While the total trade volume with China amounted to 395 billion Euros in 2010, the total stock of European FDI in China reached more than 58.3 billion Euros in 2009. Today, China is the second major export and trade partner of the EU, with EU being China's largest export and trade partner (European Commission 2011). As there is a habit of Chinese leadership's granting business opportunities on the basis of political considerations, some large EU countries have tended to shy away from openly criticizing Beijing for fear of the adverse effects on their commercial interests (Arlt 2006: 20-21). In other words, economic interests of China and of Europe are in some ways complementary. While Europe can help to fulfil many of China's technological needs, China offers a significant low-cost manufacturing base, an outlet for European goods and an attractive destination for investment and business (Shambough 2004:246).

All these political, commercial, scientific and cultural relations have supported interest in and knowledge about Europe in China to a certain extent, and undoubtedly, vice versa. Following the USA, Britain and Australia, continental Europe has become a more important destination for Chinese students in the last decade (Laczko 2003; BBC 2003; Shen 2008). For example in 2010, out of 60,000 Chinese visitors of the China International Education Exhibition Tour, 30% would choose Europe as their destination of study, ranking Europe the second most desirable place after America (CIEET 2010). Currently, more than

120,000 Chinese students are registered in European tertiary education institutions, with United Kingdom, Germany and France as the three most popular countries (Eurostat 2011).

At the same time, Europe has become the most important travel destination outside Asia for Chinese citizens, recording over one million trips annually already in 2001 and reached 2.4 million in 2010 (European Travel Commission 2011; see Table 19 in Chapter 7). In 2004, the year when the China-EU ADS agreement was signed, Chinese official saw a bright future and predicted that "many Chinese visitors will select the EU as their destination in the coming years for Europe's rich cultural heritage and very different lifestyles and customs from Asian countries, and there are dozens of convenient non-stop flights between China and the EU" (China Daily 2004).

4 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the opportunity structures shaped both on the national and the transnational levels. In the national context, the general conditions faced by the immigrant entrepreneurs are a mixture of a common trend of immigration control in many developed Western countries in the last decade and some specific historical and institutional features of the Austrian migration regime.

In the transnational context, what influence Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs most evidently are the rapid economic growth of the Chinese economy, its expansion to the globalized world and the concomitant emergence of a class of affluent Chinese. At the same time, the ever-growing cooperative EU-China relationship and the overseas Chinese policies play no insignificant role in gradually loosening the restrictions on cultural exchange and opening the door for more business opportunities in the sectors of cultural and educational industries. The dual embeddedness in the opportunity structures on both levels not only offer opportunities, but also bring about constraints in the process of complex interplay with the Chinese immigrant economy, a theme which will be explored in details in the next chapter.

Figure 12 Chinese tourists in Venice, Italy. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2005

Figure 13 Chinese street vendor selling scarf to tourists entering the Basilica of Saint Mary of the Flower in Florence, Italy. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2005

PART III

EMPIRICAL ANALYSES

PRELUDE TO EMPIRICAL ANALYSES:

OUTLINING THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT ECONOMY

Usually immigrants establish their enclave economy, a self-sustaining, self-segregated and vertically integrated community with spatial concentration of residence and densely interwoven businesses such as restaurants, groceries, hairdressers, travel agencies and jewellery shops catering their ethnic clientele. Portes (2010:162) defines enclaves as "assemblages of enterprises owned and operated by members of the same cultural/linguistic groups that concentrate in an identifiable geographic area, maintain intense relations with one another and hire significant numbers of their coethnics". Traditional Chinatowns all over the world are examples of enclave economy. Glancing through the Chinese weekly newspapers published in Vienna, and particularly the advertisement bulletins, one cannot fail to notice the rising variety of economic activities emerged in the Chinese community compared to a decade ago, ranging from restaurants, grocery stores, souvenir shops, travel agencies to karaoke bar, translation service and house moving service. The relevant questions emerged are: What kind of Chinese immigrant economy can we identify in Vienna? Can it be characterized as an ethnic enclave or middleman minority economy[45], or something else? Before answering these questions, we need some more information, including statistical data, to substantiate the analyses.

First of all it is about the size of the Chinese immigrant economy. An attempt to acquire an accurate size of the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria or in Vienna in terms of either the number of self-employed persons or the money involved has not only been impossible, but also frustrating[46]. According to the 2001 Census, there were only 197 self-employed Chinese (Statistik Austria, Volkszählung 2001). This figure was far behind the number of Chinese restaurants (around 300) found in Vienna at that time, not to mention the fact that there were many other self-employment economic activities going on. The two *Telephone Book for Chinese in Austria* (Europe Weekly 2008a, 2010) edited by the newspaper *Europe Weekly* as a community self-initiative, remain the only relatively reasonable reference. Based on the *Telephone Book 2010*, there are about 1358 official

[45] See chapter 2, section2.3 for explanation of middleman minority economy.
[46] No official data source offers information on exact number of business owners with a Chinese migration background, neither the census nor the data bank of the Vienna Chamber of Commerce. See also Eurofound 2011, p.15.

business units owned or/and operated by ethnic Chinese in Austria, and among which 680 are located in Vienna. If I take my estimation of the overall Chinese population (20,000-25,000 in Austria and 12,000 -15,000 in Vienna; see chapter 5) and the average number of 2.2 self-employed persons (result from the survey, see Appendix II) in each business unit as reference, there are around 2987 and 1496 Chinese self-employed persons in Austria and in Vienna respectively. The estimated overall self-employment rate of Chinese lies at 12-14%, and in Vienna, 10-12%. The general self-employment rate of non-Austrian nationals in Austria lies at 9.7% in 2010 (Statistik Austria, Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2011)[47]. The next estimated figure is the size of the economy. Using the average number of 5.4 employed working person (including the self-employed ones; result from the survey, see Appendix II) in each business unit, the Chinese economy absorbs approximately 7333 (29 – 36%) in Austria and 3672 co-ethnics (24 -30%) in Vienna. These figures suggest that around one-third of the Chinese population earn their living in the Chinese immigrant economy.

The next issue concerned is the distribution of business branch, of which an overview can be captured in the table shown below. What is salient is that catering service has continuously been the dominant sector, occupying more than 80% of the Chinese economy. While most of the other business sectors have grown gradually in the last decade, the branch of information technology (IT) has subsided due to the declining role of Austria in the Taiwanese IT business. Instead of computer companies, this branch covers mainly internet bars and mobile phone shops in the present days. Tourism as a branch has grown strikingly in the last decade. While there were only travel agencies in 2000, this branch also includes hotels and souvenir shops now. The category 'Individual Professionals' consists of accountants, translators, lawyers and real estate agents, whereas 'Others' covers printing firm, language school, transportation and renovation company and hair salon, etc.

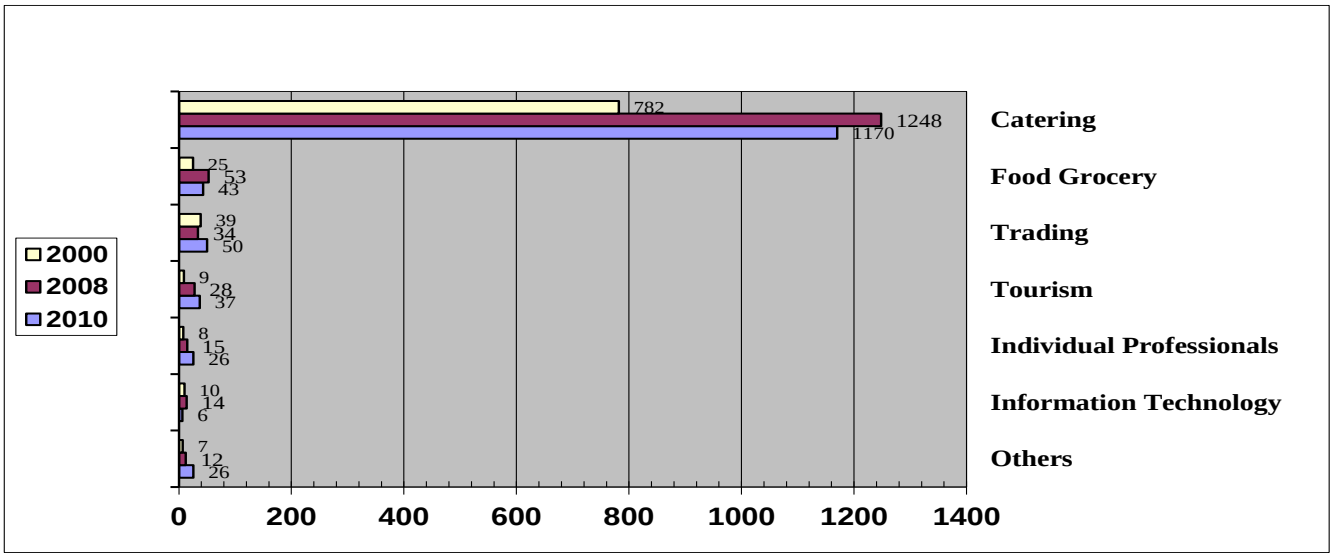
The third issue is about the changing pattern of commercial activities. As the Chinese immigrant economy started to blossom in the 1980s, most of the Chinese restauranteurs and petit traders did not aim at co-ethnics as their target clientele, but primarily the mainstream population. This could be attributed firstly to the relative small co-ethnic population and hence insufficient market size for trading with each other. Secondly, provided

[47] I am aware that these two figures cannot be made as a valid comparison. While the calculation of self-employment rate of non-Austrian national by Statistik Austria is based on nationality, my estimation of the self-employment rate of Chinese migrants is based on ethnicity, regardless of their Austrian or Chinese nationality. These two figures are put forward merely as a reference.

with the opportunity in the Austrian growing market for ethnic food, newcomers from Zhejiang in the 1980s simply followed their predecessors' path in developing the niche in selling Chinese cuisine to the local population. Therefore, we can say that Chinese economy in Vienna has been characterized by cross-ethnic relations since the beginning. The cross-cultural contacts include not only those with their clients in the general consumer market, but also those with local business people for at least part of their supplies. In the last decade, with the rising number of Chinese and more diversified immigrant backgrounds including professionals, young students as well as non-Zhejiangnese irregular migrants, the Chinese immigrant economy has gradually grown to address and include the needs of co-ethnics. The increasing economic stability of many of the Chinese migrants in Austria can also be a reason contributing to this phenomenon, as more money is now available for eating out and buying services. Today, while the catering, food grocery and trading sectors (which constitute the majority of the Chinese economy) target at both Chinese and non-Chinese clientele, other sectors (much smaller in quantity) focus on the consumption needs of Chinese co-ethnics. Moreover, businesses are increasingly linked to or supporting each other. For instance, while Chinese restaurants are patrons of food grocery traders, individual accountants and printing firms, they earn money from Chinese travel agencies for serving Chinese tourists meals. In this way, the Chinese immigrant economy has evolved from one which depended primarily on cross-ethnic businesses to one which also devotes to serving co-ethnic individuals and companies.

Fourthly, we look at the spatial dimension. Chinese residence and commercial activities are in general quite separate and geographically scattered around the city of Vienna. This could be explained by business strategies developed to avoid competition with co-ethnics. In the course of time, Chinese restaurant and retail shop owners have spread their businesses into every single district of Vienna to reach out to the local population. In this sense, an ethnic enclave or a "Chinatown" in the classical meaning does not exist in Vienna as in some other old core European cities such as London, Paris and Amsterdam. Notwithstanding this, two spatial clusters of commercial activities in whole-sale and retail trade have been developed in the last decade, resembling to a certain extent those Chinese commercial areas in the new destination cities such as the Four Tigers Market in Budapest or the Piazza Vittorio in Rome (Nyiri 2007).

Table 15 Distribution of Chinese-owned and/or Chinese-run Business in Austria by Branch, 2000 – 2010[48]



Source: *Telefonbuch für Chinesen 2000* (Verband der Chinesen in Österreich 奥华总会); *Telephone Book for Chinese in Austria 2008, Telephone Book for Chinese in Austria 2010* (Europe Weekly)

The first one of these clusters is found in the *Naschmarkt* quarter. *Naschmarkt* is a long-existing open market situated in the middle of the capital over the Vienna River (*Wienfluss*). Growing around an open market, the neighbourhood has been developed into a popular place for the locals and tourists not only for multi-ethnic food and drink, but also for stylish fashion, furniture as well as various kinds of cultural activities. It is a neighbourhood full of interesting sound, sights and smells. It is also in this area where a relatively high concentration of restaurants and groceries run by Chinese can be observed. Some other service businesses provided for and by Chinese migrants such as internet bar, mobile phone shop, hairdresser and bookshop, have also found a place in the neighbourhood. The "China Centre" (*China-Zentrum* 中国中心), founded since 1997 and situated in the heart of *Naschmarkt*, is supposed to be a magnet attracting Chinese migrants in Vienna and in the nearby areas to shop, gather information and to socialize. After a long period of discontinuity, the "China Centre" has been revitalized with businesses of diverse kind since about four to five years. Discussions have been going on between local politicians and some Chinese

[48] I am aware that this set of data suffers from a lack of equidistant interval. This is because I rely on the three telephone books circulated within the Chinese community which were published only 3 times in the last decade.

community leaders in regard to the possibility of developing a “Chinatown” and building a Chinese gate in the *Naschmarkt* area (Europe Weekly 2008b), although there are voices of discontent. Some other Chinese volunteer associations often choose *Naschmarkt* as their meeting area although their official sites are somewhere else.

Whereas *Naschmarkt* is a fashionable neighbourhood offering midrange to upmarket food, services and atmosphere, the other Chinese business-concentrated cluster, located on the *Sechshauserstrasse* in Vienna, caters mainly customers who look for low-priced Chinese manufactured goods such as clothes, leather ware, toys and shoes, etc. This is a long and rather rundown street running in the middle of the capital’s 15th administrative district, *Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus*, one of the most densely populated districts with foreign residents in Vienna. Wholesalers and retailers selling a range of diversified Chinese products can be seen one next to another on both sides of the *Sechshauserstrasse*, particularly in the part of the street near the *Sechshauser Gürtel.* Customers are not exclusively co-ethnic Chinese, but a broader multi-ethnic clientele including the local Austrian population and business men and women from the neighbouring countries. While Chinese migrants are especially visible in these two areas for businesses and social activities, their residence and workplaces scatter around the city in different districts.

In sum, the figures compiled and shown in this prelude – about one third of the Chinese population earn their living in the Chinese economy - suggest the significance of the Chinese economy for the Chinese migrants in Austria and in Vienna. Going back to the question posed earlier, it is now quite clear that to claim the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna either as an enclave economy or as a middleman economy is inappropriate. On the one hand, it is primarily due to the fact that the Chinese immigrant economy is far from self-sustaining and self-segregating. Interethnic and cross-cultural business activities have been common since the beginning as more than 80% of the Chinese economic activities serve local Austrian customers. In addition, spatial segregation of residence and commercial activities has been absent. In this sense, the Chinese immigrant economy does not function economically and spatially in total separation from the mainstream society, as what an enclave economy would usually be. Nevertheless, developments in the last decade showing some enclave-like features should not be ignored. Structurally there are rising interdependence of co-ethnics in businesses and an increasingly visible location (*Naschmarkt*) which draws both Chinese commercial and social activities. Besides, it will emerge in the

next chapters that some cultural features such as bounded solidarity and enforceable trust are prevalent within the Chinese immigrant economy.

On the other hand, being dispersed in non-coethnic neighbourhoods and trading primarily with non-coethnic customers does not automatically make the Chinese entrepreneurs middleman minority. Although there are some Chinese entrepreneurs who locate their business in the low-income immigrant neighbourhoods and occupy an intermediate role as middleman, most of them trade directly with the mainstream customers and establish business ties with the local community, even though at a minimal level. A classic three-cornered model (mainstream elites – middleman entrepreneurs – masses) does not exist.

As scholars (Light and Gold 2000; Zhou 2004) have pointed out that enclave economy and middleman minority economy should be regarded as special cases of immigrant economy. Both explanations capture some distinctive aspects of the general social phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship (Zhou 2004:1046). With its salient cross-ethnic character serving predominately mainstream population, we can say at this point, that despite some embryonic enclave-like features, the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna is neither a classical model of ethnic enclave nor middleman minority economy. It would probably be more appropriate to be named as a cross-cultural immigrant economy.

Figure 14 Chinese restaurant in *Naschmarkt*.
Photo by Kim Kwok, 2007

Figure 15 Chinese bookstore and shop in *Naschmarkt* area.
Photo by Kim Kwok, 2007

Figure 16, 17
Marketing materials of a Chinese noodle shop representing modern Asian urbanity, 2008

Figure 18 Chinese market trader in *Brunnenmarkt*, 16th District in Vienna. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2005

Photo 19 Chinese retail shop on *Sechshauserstrasse*, 15th District in Vienna. Photo by Kim Kwok, 2005

Figure 20 Chinese tourists strolling on *Kärntnerstrasse*, Vienna.
Photo by Kim Kwok, 2008

Figure 21 Founding of the Federation of Chinese Tourism in Austria in 2006.
Photo by Kim Kwok, 2006

CHAPTER 7 DEVELOPMENTS AND INTERPLAY WITH THE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

1 Introduction

This chapter examines the interplay between local and transnational contexts and the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria based around catering, market trading, new Chinese transnational entrepreneurial activities in import/export companies, tourism, cultural and educational sectors. Focus will be placed on the opportunities and constraints that this interrelationship has exerted on various social and business groups of Chinese in Vienna.

The discussions are organized according to the different business sectors as well as the sequential historical developments: catering, trading, tourism and cultural industries, and informal economy. In the first place, one case study will be presented for each business sector, followed by illustrations and discussions based on the historical developments, characteristics of and challenges faced by the particular business sector. Moreover, relevant figures regarding the scope and dimensions of the respective sector will be presented.

2 Catering Business

2.1 Case: Zhang Ming and Meizhen[49]

Zhang Ming and his wife, Meizhen, run a Chinese restaurant in a green and middle-class suburb residential area of Vienna. Their restaurant is spacious and freshly furnished with traditional Chinese decorations, catering up to about 80 guests at the same time. To own such a restaurant is the dream of many Qingtian people.

Leaving his job in a state hospital behind in China, Zhang Ming came to Europe in 1990 to join his brother and sister. His brother and sister arrived in Austria earlier in the 1980s through the connection to a family friend back in Shankou (山口镇) in Qingtian, Mr. Lin, who later became Zhang Ming's father-in-law. Zhang Ming assisted his brother in his newly opened restaurant for the first couple of years, before he turned to work with Meizhen

[49] IP 2

in the restaurant of Mr. and Mrs. Lin, his parents-in-law. In those years, he accumulated not only financial capital for later use, but also knowledge of the kitchen.

Meizhen and his younger brother came with their parents to Austria as small children. While they went to school in Vienna and speak fluent German, their social circles are largely limited to people and matters surrounding Chinese restaurants. Trying to escape the monotonous life pattern of a Chinese restauranteur, Meizhen's younger brother went to Hungary and Romania in the 1990s to start his textile business with friends. As the business failed and he returned some years later with financial setback, he took over the restaurant from his parents[50].

Zhang Ming and Meizhen opened their own restaurant in 2000. For the good location, they were ready to invest 7 million schilling (about € 538,000) at the beginning, among which only a small part, 700,000 schilling (about € 53,800) was bank credit. They borrowed the rest from relatives and friends. To run the restaurant, Zhang Ming and Meizhen employ three more persons to work in the kitchen: two are from Fujian province and the third one is from Qingtian. Serving customers mostly from the neighbourhood, the restaurant offers a variety of more than 100 Chinese dishes, which have been modified according to the Austrian taste. These dishes have become "classical" as they have been imitated and reproduced year after year:

> (…) But our Chinese dishes have been improved; they suit the eating habit of Austrians, actually not really authentic Chinese food (…) For years they have been presented to the customers in such a way in Austria. 不过我们这个中国菜也是改良过的了，符合奥地利人的饮食习惯，真正的中国菜也是谈不上了 (…) 这些菜基本上都是在奥地利这么多年就是这样做的 (…) (IP 2: 46-50).

The family biography of Zhang Ming and Meizhen reflects the common experiences of many other Chinese families coming from the *qiaoxiang* areas in Zhejiang province. Based on their stories, some important developments and features of Chinese

[50] I find this part of the story worth-noting from a gender perspective. As I am a regular customer of the restaurant of Meizhen's brother, which is the original restaurant of the Lin family, I have collected more impressions besides the information offered by the interview with Zhang Ming. This original restaurant of the Lin family is located in the vicinity of a popular tourist spot in Vienna, thus enjoying very good turnover all year round. The Lin family seems to be a traditional male-oriented Chinese family. Although the daughter and the son-in-law helped in this original restaurant for years, finally it was the son who could inherit it.

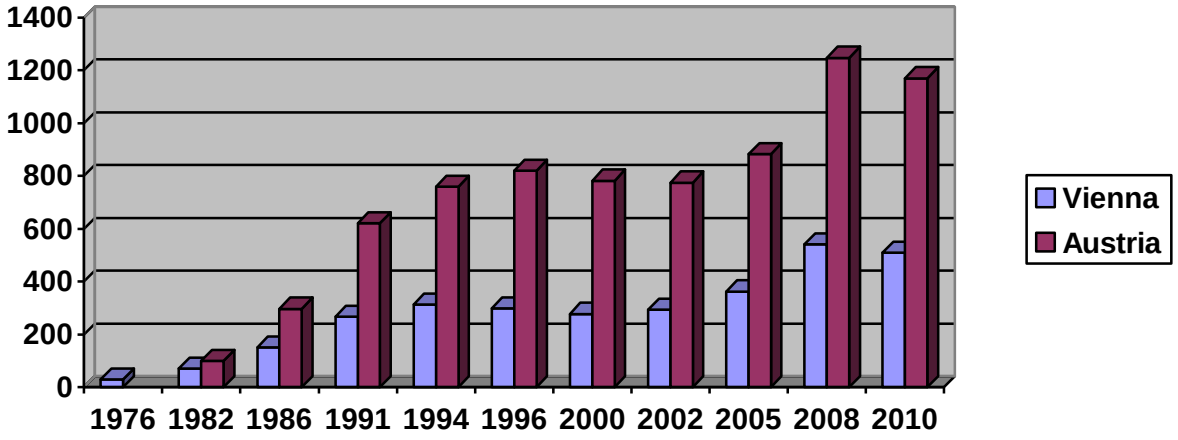
catering business in Austria as well as their interplay with the opportunity structures will be elaborated in the section which follows.

2.2 From Europeanized Chinese "Classics" to "Authentic" Hometown Dishes

As the largest immigrant groups from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey came initially to Austria to join the labour force, Chinese came to take advantage of the growing market for ethnic food. The flourishing of the Chinese community and Chinese restaurants started gradually in the 1970s with about 60 Chinese restaurants opened by the end of that decade. The period from the end of 1970s to the beginning of 1990s has been described by informants as the best time for Chinese catering. Austrian laws concerning foreigners' working and residence permit were relatively loose until the coming into effect of the Residence Act 1992 (refer to chapter 6). Before 1993 and even shortly after the introduction of the Residence Act, it was possible to enter Austria with a tourist visa and then apply for a permit afterwards. Those with sufficient capital to open a business could immediately obtain a residence permit. Restaurant owners like Zhang Ming's brother only needed to provide an invitation and could easily bring their kin members or fellows to come to work for them in Austria: "It was particularly easy at that time, different to today's situation (…) my brother said it wasn't difficult, just to provide them with a letter. 那时候好像特别容易， 跟现在不一样 (…) 我哥说不难， 就给他们一封信." (IP2: 132)

These favourable state framing conditions for migration and immigrant business appeared to facilitate the boom of Chinese catering business in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which resulted in a rapid influx of Chinese migrant labour. Most of these Chinese migrants were immediately channelled into the catering sector, like Zhang Ming. According to the information of the *Verband der Chinesen in Österreich* (2000), this boom reached a peak in 1996, marking a number of 820 Chinese restaurants in Austria. This was followed by stagnation in the late 1990s and early 2000s until the recent revitalization of Chinese catering business (Table 16). On average, each Chinese restaurant offers employment opportunities for five to six people, no matter whether they are official or unofficial, full-time or part-time, with at least one casual worker recruited outside the core family for helping in the kitchen even if business is unsatisfactory.

Table 16 Chinese Catering Business in Austria and Vienna, 1976-2010[51]



Source: *Telefonbuch für Chinesen 2000* (1976-2000), *Telephone Book for Chinese in Austria 2008*, *Telephone Book for Chinese in Austria 2010*, Herold Business Data (1999-2003, 2005)

Other than the legal aspect, the short period of economic recovery in the early 1990s in Austria and the readiness of the general public to dine out and try ethnic cuisine (IOM 2004) could have also accounted for the boom in Chinese catering business. Moreover, the Austrian traditional food market suffered a setback in the 1980s and the early 1990s. In a newspaper interview in 1995, a representative from the Chamber of Commerce expressed his worries that traditional Viennese inns would be threatened by the increasing number of Chinese restaurants, which amounted to nearly 400 at that time (Die Presse 1995). Another newspaper report titled "Hamburger and Chop Suey replace Goulash" also obviously reflected the anxiety of the local restauranteurs. While market need existed, fast-food and ethnic food operators, including the Italians, the Greeks and the Chinese, were given the chance to fill up the gap left by the local Austrian traditional inns (Kurier 1993). Similar to other Europeans, Austrians were attracted by the oriental ambience of the Chinese restaurants which were usually decorated by rosewood furniture, magnificent golden pitched roofs, red lanterns and Chinese-style paintings on the walls (Christiansen 2003). These decorations, together with the standardized menu of spring-rolls, fried noodles and sweet sour pork, offered Austrian customers a sensation of the Far East and a "classical" Chinese taste. It was the time when nearly every Austrian family had a favourite Chinese restaurant at the street corner.

[51] The figures include not only Chinese restaurants, but also Asian or Japanese restaurants owned and/or run by Chinese migrants. Due to the lack of data for every single year, it was not possible to present a table with even intervals.

In their study of immigrant economy of Turkish and former Yugoslavian migrants in Vienna, Haberfellner and colleagues (Haberfellner et al. 2000; Haberfellner 2003) cited the general reduction in net immigration since the mid 1990s (see chapter 6, section 2.2) as a factor affecting the decreasing growth of immigrant business from mid 1990s to late 1990s. They argued that the tremendous drop in the number of immigrant new comers slowed down the expansion of ethnic consumer markets, and at the same time, reduced the pressure on the secondary labour market which made it easier for immigrants to stay employed or become re-employed (Haberfellner 2003: 223). In the case of Chinese catering business, the situation was slightly different. As their major clientele was not their own fellow migrants since the beginning, the decline experienced by the Chinese catering business in the late 1990s could not be explained by a shrinking ethnic consumer market, but probably the saturation in the food market and a lack of qualified cooks. The influx of Chinese migrants in the 1980s and early 1990s had first facilitated the growth of the Chinese catering sector, and up to a certain point, a saturated market of Chinese food. Competition became fierce and prices were cut further, pushing the image of cheap Chinese food to an extreme.

Difficulty in recruiting qualified Chinese cooks due to the stringent immigration policies has remained an unsolved issue until the recent years. Here is how another restaurant owner, Ms. Wang[52], described her frustration:

> I do not have cooks, there are insufficient cooks. This is related to the recruitment of cook among us Chinese here (…) I do not know where and how to apply, and I also gained information from many colleagues. They told me that this is very difficult, unlike in Germany where there is a specific department for application and allocation. But there is yet no such thing here in Austria. (…) Even some well-informed people said that this [key personnel for cook] would be difficult. If they find it difficult, it would be even more so for me (…) therefore I have decided not to apply. 我没有厨师，厨师来源不够，这牵涉到我们中国人在这聘请厨师的问题 (…) 我不知道通过什么渠道去申请，而且我也向很多同行业的人咨询过，他们说这个事很难，不象德国，他们有一个专门的机构可以去申请，人家分配给你，可是奥地利现在还没有形成这个, (…) 有些比较消息灵通的人都说这个事 [申请厨师工作纸]

[52] IP5

挺难的，我觉得人家都觉得难，那对我来说就更难了 (…) 所以我就不去申请这个事情 (IP5: 12-14)

Ms Wong's narrative firstly illustrates a common difficulty in recruiting well-trained cooks in the Chinese catering labour market where demand exceeds supply. Secondly, her case exemplifies a general problem shared by many immigrants: being poorly informed of the details and procedures of legal regulations relevant to their daily life and business. Insufficient language ability could constitute a hurdle for them to understand the documents and to seek for help. More often, it is because they are not informed of the existing offers of professional advice. In their study, Enzenhofer et al (2007: 106) show that over 40% of immigrant entrepreneurs in Vienna are not aware of the available organizations which provide services and advices in various aspects of business operation, and efforts to make them aware have been deficient. Oftentimes immigrants are left with no other option than turning to their own fellow countrymen and countrywomen, whose information can be very helpful sometimes, but wrong the other times. Thirdly, Ms. Wong's frustration suggests that the mechanism of "key personnel", the only legal channel left for Chinese restauranteurs to recruit new immigrant cooks from outside the country from 2003 to 2011, was not helpful in solving the problem of insufficiently trained cooks (see details of this policy in chapter 6). For various reasons including bureaucratic obstacles and half-hearted legislation of the migration regime as suggested by Biffl (IOM 2004: 23), little Chinese restauranteurs were willing to go through the long tedious process of applying for a "key personnel" and very little Chinese cooks were conferred admission to enter Austria as "key personnel". For example, among 2341 new key personnel immigrants in 2007 in Austria, only 5 were qualified Chinese cooks. Two of them were self-employed and the other three were employees. In the same year, 132 Chinese citizens were allowed to work as seasonal cooks in Austria.[53] However, seasonal cooks were not allowed to work continuously in Austria.

Moreover, because of a shortage of skilled cooks and the consequent competition among Chinese restaurants, wages of Chinese cooks have been raised to an unreasonable level even though quality has dropped:

> New blood cannot come in now (…) As we do not have sufficient skilled personnel, people without real qualifications fill the posts. (…) Those half-baked ones work as

[53] Data on "key personnel" granting provided by *Arbeitmarktservice* (AMS), Austria's Employment Service; E-mail enquiry on 04.12.2008.

> cooks. They have not only chased the salary level of the professional Austrian cooks, but have even surpassed theirs. We have cooks who can earn € 2700 monthly in net, this is very high. But this is impossible for the local Austrian cooks. 你现在新血进不来 (…) 因为没有专业人员，所以大家就滥竽充数 (…) 半吊子的人都去做，而且薪水一般是跟奥地利餐馆的师傅追平还不止，还超过他们的专业厨师呢。一般他们的师傅是不可能拿 2700 欧元的 Netto, 相当高，但是我们的店有。(IP9:78)

Even though profit made was marginal, due to various limitations in the mainstream labour market such as lack of qualification and language barrier, many Chinese migrants stayed in the catering business. For some other who saved up good amount of capital, such as Zhang Ming, continued to open new restaurants as they saw this as their only option.

Reflecting on his past and career development, Zhang Ming underlines the need for survival and the given social environment he has been entrenched since the beginning. Restaurant was the only word he knew in his surroundings and the only occupational niche in which he sees the opportunity for himself:

> (…) Actually I have been reluctant in joining this catering profession, it is solely for survival. I knew nothing but the word “restaurant” when I first came to Austria (…) All the while I have been working in this profession. If you ask me to change, I have no other experience at all. One cannot excel without experience (…) 其实我做饭店这个行业也是很勉强的，就是为了生存。我刚来奥地利的时候什么都不知道，我只知道饭店这两个字，(…) 以前我就一直在做饭店，你要是叫我一下子转行，我也没有什么经验。没有经验就做不好 .(IP 2: 114, 116)

As such, they reinforced a path dependent process of following the footsteps of their predecessors to a certain extent, even though part of the original opportunity structure – sufficient supply and low cost of Chinese labour - have changed.

A gradual revival of the Chinese catering sector has been going on since the turn of the new millennium. New developmental trends in catering service can be observed. These trends can be generally seen as globalization-induced, and in particular, by the globalization

of Chinese economy, migration as well as Chinese food (Wu and Cheung 2002; Roberts 2002).

Firstly, a more diversified palette of food provided by Chinese-run restaurants has emerged. Besides the "classical" Europeanized Chinese dishes, a series of new sensation ranging from Cantonese *dim-sum*, Japanese sushi, noodle specialities to Thai curry and Malaysian satay have surfaced on the menus. These modified new dishes are invariably added with a healthy touch: light and fresh. In addition to the new menus, new stylist interior design representing modern Asian urbanity has little by little replaced traditional décor. Innovation and bold attempts of some Chinese restauranteurs, especially those of second-generation and more educated and well-trained Chinese, have set up successful examples of new products and new Asian style. A number of such restaurants have been celebrated as being some of the trendiest places for dining out in Vienna.[54] The positive reception of these new products could be attributed to the broader trend of increasing appreciation of ethnic and healthy food in Europe and in Austria (Roberts 2002; Rützler 2005). In particular, intensified contacts with China in various aspects, including travelling experiences of Europeans and face-to-face contacts with Chinese people in China, have played a role. Austrians who have personally seen today's China are generally not enthusiastic about the monotonic "classical" dishes and overwhelming "oriental" ambience of Chinese restaurants as they do not match with their real experiences in China. They would rather look for more diversified modern Asian cuisine.

Secondly, target customers of Chinese restaurants have been extended from the mainstream population to include Chinese. The Chinese patronage is constituted by an emerging group of affluent Chinese business people and well-paid Chinese migrants, and also young Chinese students who lead a cosmopolitan style of living. One restauranteur who owns a chain of fashionable Chinese restaurants in Vienna defines his clientele as the middle class "white-collar" people, including Chinese students: "I target at white-collared, particularly Chinese students here. These students are the wealthiest. 我做的都是白领，特别是在这里的中国学生，学生是最有钱的 "(IP3:143). The inclusion of Chinese customers can also be reflected by the increase of offer of Chinese "authentic" regional specialities such as Qingtian hometown dishes (青田家乡菜), Hangzhou specialities (杭州特色小菜), Shanghai snacks (上海小吃), or Chinese hotpot, just to name a few. As dishes like jellyfish

[54] To name a few: Ra'mien (www.ramien.at), On (www.restaurant-on.at) and Kiang (www.kiang.at).

salad, spicy beef tripe and stewed pig ear appear to be too exotic to the mainstream Austrian customers, a few of these restaurants have given up local Austrian clientele in order to concentrate on the Chinese customers. I was invited by two Chinese student friends to try a newly reopened restaurant nearby *Naschmarkt* on a cold winter evening in 2008. The hotpot restaurant, which made Taiwanese stone hotpot (台湾石头火锅) as well as Taiwanese snacks as points of attraction in the local Chinese media, was filled with Chinese hungry guests and appetite for fresh taste, among them about 30 to 40 % were students as recognized by my friends. The evening was spent with nice food and interesting talks amid clamour and the passing to and fro of customers, a scene which I seldom experienced in other Chinese restaurants previously.

Thirdly, along with the flourishing Chinese tourist business since the new millennium, a new kind of Chinese menu patronizing Chinese tourists has emerged throughout Europe. By working closely with Chinese-run tourist agencies and promoting themselves in European-wide Chinese media, some Chinese restauranteurs have established a niche in the transnational Chinese tourism beyond the local market. Ms. Wang[55], originating from Beijing, runs a restaurant with her husband which is well-known for its Chinese tourist menu. Her restaurant was awarded the "Star Restaurant" in Europe for its meritorious services and contribution rendered in developing the Sino-European tourism in 2005. Whereas tourist menus are generally quick, warm, simple and cheap, such restaurants strategically underline "authenticity" and "home-made flavour" for attracting Chinese travellers who are en route:

> We have rice and Chinese steamed twisted rolls, this is a sort of cooked wheat food[56] they have not had on their way, I can understand this (…) Therefore when they come here, they can feel very much at home (…) we emphasize the authentic home-made taste. 我们有米饭有花卷，这个走一路他们都没有吃到面食，我理会到这一点，(…) 所以大家来这的时候就觉得很温暖 (…) 我们重视做到正宗的家常口味 (IP5: 62-64)

[55] IP5

[56] Wheat food (面食) includes all types of cooked food made of wheat/flour including noodles and dumplings. It is the common staple food for Northern Chinese, including people originating from Beijing.

In sum, Chinese catering business has experienced rapid growth in the 1980s and early 1990s, relative stagnation from late 1990s to early 2000s, and revitalization and diversification since early 2000s. Tastes of Chinese cuisine offered have been broadened from the Europeanized Chinese "classics" in the earlier days to include innovative Asian mix and "authentic" hometown dishes today. While the Chinese catering business has been facilitated by the favourable state framing conditions such as the Austrian immigration policies before 1993, and the globalization of Chinese migration and Chinese economy since 2000, it has also been obstructed by some unfavourable provisions as shown by the stringent regulations for new immigrant workers and the lack of sufficient state support in business operation. At the same time, it is also shown that conditioned by the availability (family experiences in catering) and/or unavailability (qualifications which match the requirements of local job market) of personal resources, many Chinese migrants persist to stay in the ethnic catering sector.

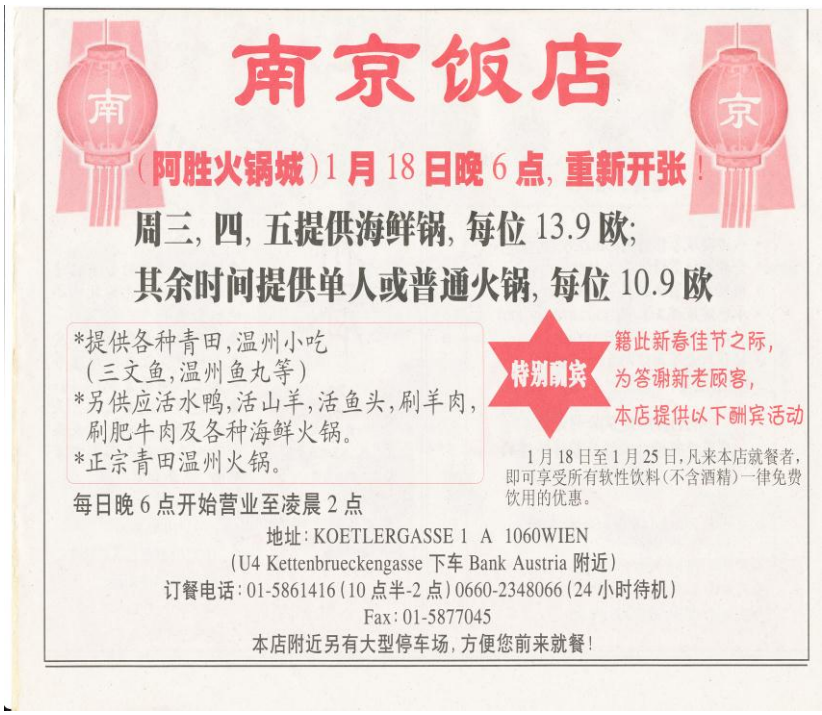


Figure 22 Advertisement of a Chinese restaurant promoting its regional (Qingtian, Wenzhou) specialities and *huoguo* (hot-pot) for Chinese co-ethnics, 2007

Figure 23 Chain supermarket *Hofer* promoting Asian cooking at home, 2009

3 Trading

3.1 Case: Wang Shan[57]

Wang Shan runs a wholesale store specializing in Chinese shoes in the *Sechshauserstrasse* in Vienna, a street well-known for Chinese manufactured products. Her customers come from various corners of Vienna, ranging from individual Chinese and Indian market traders (*Marktfahrer*) to Turkish retailers from *Brunnenmarkt* and Jewish retailers from *Mexikoplatz*. While chatting with her in the shop, a couple from Slovenia restocked thirty pairs of shoes for their retail store near Maribor. Once a week, Wang Shan drives to Slovakia to replenish supply from her Qingtian relatives who are working as wholesalers there, and occasionally, she drives to Prato in Italy for purchasing other products such as bags and leather belts. She has never imported goods directly from China as it is difficult for her to absorb the large amount of one whole container.

[57] IP 20

As a mother of two children in her 30s, Wang Shan is running the business practically on her own, with assistance of two or three workers depending on the season. Immigrating to Austria in 1992 for family reunion, she and her husband owned a Chinese restaurant for over a decade. Since a couple of years her husband has been stationing in China for trying different kinds of business, and has been travelling between Europe and China frequently. In order to have more time for her children, she closed down the restaurant in 2005 and opened the present store:

> You work from morning till late night without rest if you have a restaurant (…) Everyday you have to stay there, and it is especially busy on Sunday. In this business, you are free on Sunday, and can spare time for children. We finish work relative early, and I go home at six, then I can be with my children. 开饭店的话，一天到晚都没有休息 (…) 每天自己得在那里蹲着，星期天还特别忙。做这个嘛，星期天可以自由一点，可以留点时间给孩子。我们下班也比较早，然后六点钟回家，就可以和孩子在一起 . (IP 20:40)

To start the wholesale trading business, Wang Shan borrowed some money from relatives and friends. She explained that "it is difficult to obtain bank credit for such a shop. It is easier for a restaurant. 开这种店贷款很难的，开餐馆容易" (IP20:104). Although the prices of incoming goods have dropped and qualities have been improved, selling prices have also decreased because of growing competition. Wang Shan therefore complained about declining profits compared to the earlier years. She will nevertheless keep the business until the children finish their secondary education. Different to many other parents from Qingtian, she does not want her children to follow her path by working in catering business or trading Chinese goods as "it is rather hard to earn money here.这边赚钱不容易" (IP20:150). Nor does she want her children to grasp opportunities in the rising China as what her husband has been doing. Instead she plans to send them to the USA for studying.

3.2 Trading as an Alternative and as a Growing Sector

Unlike Chinese migrants in some new destination countries such as Italy, Hungary and the Czech Republic who went there in pursuit of doing trade, trading was initially a second choice for many Chinese in Austria. This can be attributed to the traditional mindset, particularly common among the older generations of Chinese migrants, that owning a

restaurant is a symbol of success. Market saturation in the catering sector and their economic hardship compelled Chinese migrants in Austria to seek alternatives. Already in the 1980s, some Chinese diversified into market trading, creating fringe self-employment outside both the core local economy and the core ethnic Chinese economy. Low quality cheap goods such as textile products, toys, glasses, decoration items and light household appliances from China were sold at marketplaces from one *Kirchtag* (church day)[58] to another all over Austria. In the 1980s and 1990s, there was a considerable demand for such low-priced Chinese products in marketplaces. It was the time before the multinational enterprises such as *H&M* and *Mango* established their low-end to mid-ranged fashion consumption markets in Austria, or the time before the one-euro shops started to enter the low-income living areas around the country. The owner of a chain of Chinese restaurants in Vienna, Mr. Yang, reveals that he accumulated his starting capital for opening his first restaurant by selling Chinese optical glasses as market trader during the period 1995-1996:

> (…) 1995 and 1996, those were my hardest years (…) What's the craziest thing I did? Those were the very cheap Chinese presbyopic glasses, of which the incoming price was 6 or 7 schilling for one pair. At that time in Austria you could buy the cheapest pair with 500 – 1000 schilling [in shops]. Fine, I went to the villages at that time, and sold them on the street. I set the price at 150 schilling for a pair, and I could earn some (…) I traded two years in the markets, and in Christmas 1996, I accumulated 2 million schillings (…) 那是我最艰苦的两年，那是 95，96 年 (…) 我做的最疯的时候是什么呢，那个是中国的那种老花镜很便宜，差不多 6 到 7 个现令，那时侯在奥地利这样的老花镜最便宜也要 500 到 1000 现令一对。好，那时候我就下农村，自己摆的摊。好，这样的眼镜我卖 150 现令，可以赚几块 (…) 我做了两年的 MARKT，到了圣诞的时候，我已经积累了 200 万 现令。(IP3: 45-53)

To a certain extent, Chinese merchants exploited the market gap they encountered in the 1980s and 1990s and created their own niche. Small and more regulated import companies also blossomed in the 1990s, handling goods ranging from clothes and shoes to food items. Over time, some of these import companies opened their own retail outlets, or set up their distribution networks through individual Chinese market traders. Just like Wang Shan, many have also become suppliers to other immigrant groups such as Indian market

[58] A German word used in the Catholic German-speaking area, signifying all church days including some Sundays, religious and traditional holidays on which people go to the church in their traditional costume. Usually a fair is set up on the day for inhabitants in the nearby area to meet and to shop.

traders, Jewish retailers as well as local Austrian retailers. In fact, owing to the relative small market in Austria, numerous Chinese migrants do not import directly from China, but buy their made-in-China goods from their fellow countrymen and women in other European countries. As Wang Shan obtains her supply of shoes mainly from Slovakia, some other traders purchase clothes and bags from France and Italy, toys and decoration accessories from Hungary, and food items from the Netherlands, Germany and France. In this way, Chinese petit traders in Austria are well connected with co-ethnic traders in other parts of Europe, who could supply them a larger variety of merchandise with lower prices. When enterprises in China were primarily state-owned in the 1990s, some Chinese migrants, who possessed channels of communication to the state enterprises, could theoretically obtain supply of merchandise at low state-subsidized prices with favourable credit conditions. While this kind of business transaction was common among Chinese traders in Eastern Europe (Nyiri 1999, 2007), it was not an apparent practice in Austria. This can be probably attributed to the small market size as well as the lack of connections to state enterprises in China among Chinese migrants in Austria in general at that time.[59]

The amendment of the Industrial Code 2002 (see chapter 6) in Austria appeared to have an impact on Chinese migrants as well, especially those who wanted to be sole proprietor. Mr. Wu[60] came to Austria from Shanghai with a student visa amid the post-1989 emigration wave. While working here and there without an official working permit, he maintained his status as student until 2002, a foreigner status which allowed him neither to start his own company, nor to apply for family reunion. With the loosening of legal regulation in 2002, Mr. Wu founded his own sole propriety company to run his market trading business. He perceives the new policy a friendly one for people like him:

> This is because the related policy here has grown more liberal now. Previously if you wanted to have your own company for market trading, you needed to employ an accountant, and then also a licensed manager, just like what is required for a restaurant. But in fact this licensed manager does not do much, just a manager in name, but I will still need to pay him/her. Now there is no need for such a licensed manager. For small businesses such as mine, accountants are not necessary. 这个说来也是现在这里的政策越来越宽松了。以前你要是开一个跑 MARKT 的公司，你

[59] Information obtained from IP 3 and IP 30. Both of them had tried one or two such business transactions with state enterprises in China, but revealed that they were not successful due to various reasons.
[60] IP 19

首先要请一个会计师，还要有一个持牌经理，和饭店一样。但其实这个持牌经理也是不管事情的，就是挂一个牌子，然后我每个月还要付他工资。那么现在持牌经理是不需要了，而且像我们这样做一点小生意的，会计师也不需要的。(IP 19:74).

While the cheap Chinese products found an unfilled market niche as an alternative to the expensive and high-quality consumer goods in the 1980s and 1990s in Austria, they have gradually lost attractiveness among the Austrian population today. What are noticeable are the trial and error strategies of individual Chinese businessmen and women: expanding choice and improving qualities of products such as selling of high-end electronic goods and opening of elegant Chinese fashion boutiques.[61]

Recently, the revival of catering sector has increased business for Chinese grocery import and retailing, as Chinese restaurant owners constitute a major group of the grocery shop clientele. Moreover, customers of the Chinese food grocery sector have expanded to local Austrians over the years due to the rising popularity of Asian food and increasing interest in China.[62] Elements of Asian and Chinese cuisine have been generally integrated into the mainstream dining habit. This can be partially illustrated by the promotion material of a popular supermarket chain *Hofer* in Austria shown in Figure 23, which advertised Chinese and Asian noodle, rice, drinks and fast-food meals for household consumption.

According to the *Telephone Book for Chinese in Austria 2010* (Europe Weekly 2010), there are about 93 trading companies and stores in Austria and most of them are located in Vienna. Owing to the lack of substantial official data such as the number of registered companies with Chinese backgrounds, the attempt to estimate the accurate size of the Chinese trading branch has been frustrating. Whereas this is the case, statistics of bilateral trade between China and Europe and in particular Sino-Austrian trade might help to supplement the other part of the picture, although Chinese migrants in Austria do not necessarily play a decisive role in it. While China and Europe traded almost nothing two decades ago, China has become Europe's fastest growing trade partner today. China is Europe's biggest source of manufactured goods including machinery, textile and clothing;

[61] Here are two examples: http://www.einkaufsstrassen.at/neubaugasse/asiaco-fashion/; http://www.locoloco.at/shop_content.php?coID=5

[62] It is reported that even some famous Austrian catering institutions such as *Do & Co*. and the restaurant *Steirereck* are customers of some Chinese supermarkets in *Naschmarkt*; information obtained from IP 47

imports from China have grown dramatically for the previous half decade, reaching an amount of € 292.1 billion worth of goods in 2011 (European Commission 2012). At the same time, bilateral trade between Austria and China increased almost 5 times from €1.31 billion in 1999 to €6.49 billion in 2009, marking China one of the most important trade partners of Austria in general, and the second in regard to imports of textile and accessory items. In 2009, goods coming from China constituted 4 % of Austrian total imports (Table 17).

As these increasing economic and trade relations have grown mainly out of the initiatives of some large companies in Europe and China supported by their governments, Chinese petit entrepreneurs in Austria are usually not involved with an active role. Nevertheless, the growing trade relations facilitate greater flows of goods (both low-end and high-end goods), human and capital mobility between Europe and China, and have exerted impacts on the Chinese community in Austria to a certain extent. On the one hand, they signify more opportunities for Chinese migrants to work as consultants for international trade, translators, book-keepers or manual workers. There are also individual Chinese traders who are involved in exporting European goods such as wine and electrical generators to China. On the other hand, growing economic and trade relations signify higher competition for Chinese petit traders. With China's integration into the world economy as well as improved communication technologies, the unique role of Chinese migrants as middlemen in Sino-European trade has gradually diminished in some areas, especially where expertise or insider knowledge is of no particular importance. For instance, whereas the made-in-China textile and other commodity goods sold in different shops and marketplaces in Vienna were mainly imported by and distributed through Chinese in Europe previously, they are now also increasingly imported by local Austrian, Turkish as well as Indian traders. The largest petty commodity wholesale market in China, located in a small city Yiwu (义乌) in central Zhejiang province in China, was an insider tip among Chinese traders a decade ago. Nowadays, it has become a world-famous shopping paradise for both international buyers and tourists amid the rapid internationalization of trade and business in China. For Wang Shan, this is the growing competition which has partially caused the decline of her profit.

In short, trading Chinese goods has developed from a fringe business to a desired economic activity of Chinese migrants embedded in the larger trend of Sino-European trade. Market conditions and related national policies in Austria such as the loosening of the Industrial Code in 2002 have helped facilitating the business at different points of the trading sector development. Globalization of China trade has in general given more thrust and

opportunities for business, although not always involving the Chinese petit entrepreneurs in Austria directly and actively. The chain effects include the revitalization of catering as well as the diversification of goods traded by Chinese migrants. Simultaneously, it has brought challenges, particularly to those petit traders like Wang Shan, who operates simple business and struggle for marginal benefits.

Table 17 Austrian-China Trade (in million €), 1999-2009

	Import from China	Austrian Import Total	%	Export to China	Austrian Export Total	%	Total Trade Volume with China
1999	916,9	65,316,1	1.4	390,8	60,266,0	0.6	1,307,6
2001	1,359,5	78,691,6	1.7	844,5	74,251,5	1.1	2,204,0
2003	1,788,2	80,993,3	2.2	888,5	78,902,6	1.1	2,676,7
2005	2,981,3	96,498,9	3	1,220,5	94,705,5	1.3	4,201,9
2007	4,585,7	114,254,9	4	1,638,6	114,680,3	1.4	6,224,3
2009	4,481,6	97,574,0	4.6	2,016,7	93,739,0	2.2	6,498,3

Source: Statitisches Jahrbuch 2001, 2003, 2007, 2009, 2011

4 Tourism and Cultural Industries

4.1 Case: Li Yang[63]

Li Yang came to Vienna in the late 1980s from Shanghai after he had been offered a job in the then Austrian state-owned giant enterprise *Voestalpine*. Due to his backgrounds in China - a custom officer and his father, a high-ranking cadre previously - he was supposed to help exploring the potential China market for *Voestalpine*. However, Li did not take up the job after his arrival in Austria; instead he opened a Chinese restaurant with starting capital sent directly from China.

Li's career in the Chinese tourism started in 1992 when he was asked by the Chinese Embassy in Vienna to accompany some official delegations to tour around:

[63] IP 30

> It started in 1992. (…) At first the embassy wanted me to receive some delegations from China, the main job was to guide them to tour around, and to translate. 92 年开始, (…) 首先是使馆让我接待一些国内来的拜访团，主要工作是陪他们走走, 做做翻译而已 (IP 30: 3).

As this kind of offer increased gradually in the following years, Li sold his restaurant in order to concentrate on working as a tour guide. Sight-seeing was done not only in Austria, but also in other European cities, ranging from visiting St. Peter's Cathedral in Vatican to the Eiffel Tower in Paris. Having visited numerous tourist attractions, shopping streets and winding lanes of Europe repeatedly, Li has become so familiar with every detail that he has been called the "living map of Europe" among colleagues. Li describes those early years in the Chinese tourism as the good old days when competition was rare, and earning money was easy and quick: "in the early time the salary was high, because only few people could do the job. 早期工资很高，因为可以带的人少" .(IP 30:3)

Whilst having one foot in tourism, Li tactically set the other in trading and catering businesses. He later ran another restaurant in Salzburg and cooperated with friends residing in France in trading for a while.

In the first years of the new millennium, Chinese tourism in Europe grew enormously. Everyone in the tourist industry was waiting eagerly for the liberalization of visa regulation and a subsequent flood of wealthy Chinese private holidaymakers to Europe. Against this background, Li and his colleagues founded the *Verein der Chinesischen Reiseführer in Österreich* (Assocation of Chinese Tour Guides in Austria 奥中旅游促进会) in 2003. And in cooperation with the Austrian Chamber of Commerce, they offered training courses for Chinese tour guides and tour leaders in order to prepare for the demand of the European market. In 2006, Li founded another association, the *Verband des chinesischen Tourismus in Österreich* (Federation of Chinese Tourism in Austria 奥地利华人旅游协会), aiming at connecting all relevant businesses in Chinese tourism including travel agencies, souvenir shops, Chinese restaurants and transport companies. Together with other Chinese tourism associations in Europe such as *Association of Chinese Tourist Agencies in France* (全法旅行社协会), *Federation of Chinese Tourism in Switzerland* (瑞士华人旅游业联合会), they

organize European-wide regular meetings and training programmes, like the annual meetings held by the *European Federation of Chinese Tourism* (欧洲华人旅游界联合总会).

In the same year, Li opened his own travel agency with his wife, Wang Fen, offering incoming tour services mainly for official delegations and business visits. In order to obtain an authorized status of overseas training institute (境外培训机构) for Chinese cadres, Li applied for a license from the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs (国家外国专家局)[64] in China, a key for long-term business opportunities and profit.

Alike many other Chinese travel agencies in Europe, Li and Wang expanded their business to the burgeoning Chinese cultural industry. Their first organized program was a Chinese New Year concert in the Golden Hall of the *Wiener Musikverein* in 2008, bringing in a group of about 140 people including junior musicians, teachers and co-organizers from China. All went for a leisure tour for 9 days after the concert. The musicians were ready to pay for the costs arising from organization, transportation, accommodation and rental fee of concert hall by their own, as for them, "it is an honour to perform in the Golden Hall. 他们觉得来金色大厅来演出是一种的荣耀" (IP 30: 29). As businesses in the Chinese tourism and the related cultural industry have not proved to be as prosperous as he foresaw, Li has recently started to explore another possibility: importing and distributing some high-end electronic goods such as LED (light-emitting diode, a semiconductor light source) devices from China.

Li has been recognized as a community leader (侨领) for his commitment in the voluntary associations. Apart from being invited to various official occasions in the Chinese community in Vienna such as the National Day Celebration of the PRC in the Chinese Embassy in Vienna, he has been asked to attend meetings held in China as a representative of Chinese overseas. One example is the annual meeting of *Shanghai Overseas Chinese Business Association* (上海侨联华商会) in June 2009.

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[64] State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs is an administrative agency of the state council of the PR China responsible for certifying foreign experts providing expertise in China. At the same time, the agency is in charge of organizing and supervising overseas training for Chinese technical and managerial professionals working in government departments, state-owned enterprises and government related entities. See http://www.safea.gov.cn/english/intro/responsibilities.php

4.2 Journey to the West and Money from the East

The burgeoning Chinese tourism and the related cultural industry have been the most eye-catching recent developments in the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria. The robust economic growth and the emergence of middle class in China has given thrust to the rising number of Chinese tourists in the international landscape, bringing remarkable changes to the tourist industry in Europe in the last decade. China overtook Japan as Asia's leading outbound source of tourists in 2002 and has continued to gain share ever since, and in 2010, China ranked third world-wide in terms of expenditure on travel abroad with US$ 55 billion (UNWTO 2011). Moreover, the World Tourism Organization predicted that China would generate 100 million trips a year by 2020, making it the fourth largest market in the world (UNWTO 2002). The signing of the "Approved Destination Status" (ADS) agreement[65] in 2004 between China and the European Union, which partially liberalized visa regulations for Chinese group tourists to Europe, has added enthusiasm about China's potential in leisure tourism. Travel operators, hoteliers, retailers, and purveyors of luxury goods all over Europe are watching China as a huge source of business (EU Business 2004; Neo 2005; Bastaroli 2005).

Chinese tourism has facilitated the creation of various supporting services within the Chinese immigrant economy. Travel agencies selling tickets and organizing tours, souvenir shops, transport companies and Chinese restaurants targeting Chinese tourists have emerged, forming networks of business partnership not only within Austria, but also European-wide and between Europe and China. The Chinese-run travel agencies usually employ two to five tour operators who are responsible for the preparation of tours including itinerary planning, hotel booking and visa application. A cohort of Chinese immigrants working as tour guides (*Fremdenführer*) or tour leaders (*Reiseleiter*) are informally attached to these travel agencies, providing services ranging from guiding city sight-seeing tours for a couple of hours in Vienna or in Salzburg to accompanying the traveller groups through Europe for two weeks. As voyages to European countries were predominantly undertaken by Chinese officials and students in the earlier times and even after the loosening of private passport regulation in

[65] The ADS system involves a bilateral agreement between China and a foreign government that allows Chinese citizens to travel for leisure purposes, within organized group tours arranged through approved tour operators in China and in the host country. The tours must have at least five members and be accompanied by an authorized group leader and a guide.

1986[66] (Artl 2006: 40), there was no exception in the Austrian case. Small groups of official delegation and tour began to come to Austria as early as the first half of the 1990s, but the business has started to prosper since 2000. Reflected by informants in the Chinese tourism business, private leisure tourists, who have touched base in Europe since the beginning of the new millennium, have composed less than half of the customers.

When Austria began an official record of Chinese visitors in 2004, the figure of overnight stays reached 237,208 for Austria and for Vienna, 93,279, immediately marking Chinese the second largest group within tourists from Asia (Table 18). Austria is one of the Top-5 destinations in Europe for Chinese guests, with Sisi, Mozart, Vienna, opera and Swarovski crystal products as its trademarks (Mayrhuber and Woerndl 2005). However, according to the official statistics and contrary to the earlier expectation, Chinese tourism did not surge after 2004. As reflected partly by the business development of Li Yang's travel agency, Chinese tourism experienced fluctuation and even a gradual downturn. The number of arrivals and overnight stays dropped in the successive years 2007 – 2009, and has come back on track only in 2010 (Table 18). At the European level, although arrivals from China have continued to rise, tourist industry generally seemed to be too optimistic about the opportunities opened up by Approved Destination Status (ADS). It appeared that the media hype overlooked the fact that the vast majority of Chinese outbound trips (about 70%) are for the Asian Pacific Region, especially Hong Kong and Macau. Trips to Europe have not grown drastically in the last couple of years as expected earlier (Table 19; European Travel Commission 2011).

[66] Apart from the Special Administration Region passports for citizens of Hong Kong and Macao, there are two main groups of passport issued in PR China, namely the public passports and the private passports, being further divided into different types according to the purposes: diplomatic activities, public services, personal affairs and studying, etc. Details see Artl 2006: 44-45.

Table 18 Tourists from PR China in Austria and Vienna, 2004-2010

	Austria		Vienna	
	Arrival	Overnight stay	Arrival	Overnight stay
2004	172,361	237,208	57,852	93,279
2005	176,777	248,594	45,812	74,709
2006	176,704	252,700	50,262	82,863
2007	171,123	245,126	42,551	75,074
2008	156,200	236,400	42,866	74,662
2009	154,826	223,900	49,223	82,700
2010	179,123	260,744	59,184	103,862

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch (various years), Tourismus in Österreich, Statistik Austria.

Table 19 China Outbound Tourists by Continent (in million €)

	Europe	**Asia**	**Americas**	**Others**	**Total**
2000	--	--	--	--	10.47
2002	1.39	14.21	--	--	16.60
2004	1.80	25.82	0.68	0.55	28.85
2006	1.90	31.05	0.93	0.62	34.5
2008	2.07	41.80	1.09	0.88	45.84
2010	2.4	--	1	--	57.39

Source: European Travel Commission, *Market Insights 2011*; World Travel Online 2011; own calculation. Note 1: The figures for Asia include tourists going to Hong Kong and Macau. Note 2: China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) has not released the detailed statistics of outbound tourism in 2010.

The following factors are considered to have an effect on the developments - the marginal growth, fluctuation, and even decline - of Chinese tourism in Austria after 2004: natural and epidemic disasters, internal policy regulations in China as well as entrance visa restrictions of individual EU countries.

It is apparent that various natural and epidemic disasters such as the Sichuan earthquake in 2008 and swine flu in 2009 affected the number of incoming Chinese tourists. One Chinese restaurant owner in Vienna reported that about 400 guests from Sichuan cancelled their reservation in the immediate aftermath of the Sichuan earthquake in 2008 (IP

11). Whereas natural and epidemic disasters hit mainly Chinese outbound private leisure tourism, internal political and administrative measures constraining Chinese cadres have appeared to affect the number of official delegations and study groups coming to Europe. For example, in the period 2005-2006 China had a relatively restrictive period of letting its cadres to set foot outside China as a result of the 18-month internal education campaign (保持共产党员先进性教育活动), named as baoxian (保先) among fellow cadres[67]. Mr. Chan[68], the manager of a souvenir shop specializing in selling Swarovski crystal products to Chinese visitors, recalled that his business dropped nearly by half during that period: "(…) that policy of internal education last year, which has effects until now, causes us fall in business, nearly half of the bookings are cancelled. 中国大陆出的"保先"政策，去年嘛，现在还在"保先"， 整个团队少了，几乎一半的团没有了." (IP 26: 70)

For businessmen and women in the Chinese tourism business, restrictions in the visa-granting procedures introduced by individual European countries are even more annoying and disturbing. Due to repeated incidents of Chinese visitors overstaying their visa and disappearing in the local overseas Chinese communities, stricter controls and random check interviews at the consulate have been undertaken for visa granting even after the implementation of the ADS agreement (International Herold Leader 2008; Yu 2005). Mr. Chan precisely pointed out how European countries are facing a dilemma between business opportunity and controlling unwanted irregular immigrants:

> Many European countries welcome Chinese tourists, but are afraid of them at the same time, as they are worried about the illegal migrants. There are a lot of examples. European consulates in Beijing and Guangzhou specifically examine the original province of the visa applicants (…) When they see that you are from Zhejiang or Fujian, they will not agree to issue you visa. They also check your assets (…) You have to place 50,000 RMB as deposit at the travel agency. If you come back to China, then the money will be returned to you; if not, your money will be confiscated. This is the way how a tour is managed. (…) These are the problems which hinder the developments of tourism. 欧洲的许多国家都希望中国人来玩，但是又很怕他们来，因为他们担心有非法的移民来这里，有好多的例子。尤其是欧洲的一些国

[67] Moreover, in consequence of increasing cadre study trip scandals surfaced in the media, both the central government and the related provincial departments are more conscious to curb official outgoing trips. See for example Guangzhou Daily 2007 and Nanfang Daily 2008.

[68] IP 26

家在北京，广州的领事馆在颁发签证的时候都一定要看你是哪个省市的人。(…) 他们一看到你是浙江人，福建人，他们是不可能同意你出来的。他们出来的时候都要看你的资产，(…) 你要出去的话，你要压 5 万人民币在旅行社，如果你回来了，5 万人民币就还给你，如果你没有回来就把你的钱给扣掉，就是以这样的方式来做团。(…) 所以种种的这些问题就会阻碍旅游业的发展。(IP 26: 8)

4.3 Going to Austria for "Overgilding"[69]

Chinese migrants have expanded their business to transnational cultural and educational sectors in the last decade aggressively. The most well-known ones are the Chinese New Year concerts. Firstly held on the 27th January 1998, the private event agent *Wu Promotion*, with the support of the late Mayor of Vienna, Helmut Zilk, brought traditional music to the celebrated Golden Hall of the *Wiener Musikverein*. Played by the China National Traditional Orchestra, it was the first time that traditional Chinese music was performed in full orchestration in Austria. The concert was broadcasted by the ORF (Austrian Broadcasting) and CCTV (China Central Television).

Since then, the Gold Hall in the *Wiener Musikverein* has been presented as the "holy temple of music" (音乐神殿) in the Chinese media, thus attracting increasing number of Chinese musicians and artists to come to Vienna. Chinese at home and in the diaspora commonly believe that Vienna, and in particular the Golden Hall in Vienna, offers a platform on which renaissance of Chinese traditional music as well as its entrance to the world music stage take place. Chinese concerts in the Golden Hall are thus perceived as emblematic for the national pride in the reform and open era. [70]

While the *Wu Promotion* turned to other European cities for organizing cultural events, other actors emerged in Vienna. They are experienced cultural organizers, travel agencies or voluntary associations in the Chinese community. Besides the Chinese New Year concerts, there are also similar concerts held throughout the whole year both in the Gold Hall and in other venues in the Austrian capital. At least ten to fifteen grand cultural events are

[69] Overgild is the translation of the phrase *dujin* 镀金 in Chinese, which formerly said of students who went abroad to study in order to enhance their social status.

[70] There is ample media coverage in China on the concerts in Vienna, especially those in the Golden Hall, see for example Qi 1998, Beijing Youth Net 2003 and Youth Times 2005; for the media coverage in Austria on the Chinese concerts see for example die Presse 2008, Webheimat 2005 and der Standard 2002.

held annually. Famous artists such as Song Zu Ying (宋祖英), Tan Jing (谭晶), Liao Chang Yong (廖昌永) and Wang Hong Wei (王宏伟) came to give solo concerts in 2003, 2006, 2008 and 2009 respectively. Some of these concerts are broadcasted in China and later reproduced in CDs and VCDs or DVDs.

Artists and their sponsors mainly aim at fame and economic return back home in China rather than tangible financial reward in Vienna. Many of the concert tickets are not sold, but given away as gifts in the Chinese community in Vienna. This phenomenon or euphoria of performing in the Golden Hall has been described by Chinese commentators as a "wave of going to the Golden Hall for overgilding" (金色大厅镀金潮), or "to re-import an export back" (外销转内销), implying that going onto the stage of the Golden Hall in Vienna has been a key to become famous in China, no matter how the artistic quality of the performance is (Lun 2003; Yu 2006).Table 20 offers a glance of concerts and cultural shows held in Vienna by Chinese migrants around the time of the Chinese New Year in January and February 2008.

With regard to the educational sector, the first arresting phenomenon was the sudden appearance of young Chinese students in the period 2001-2004. Sensing the great potential market amid the study-abroad boom in China, Chinese-run study agents in Vienna worked together with their partners in China to arrange students to come to Austria. The number of student visas or visas for education issued by Austrian Federal Ministry of Interior Affairs increased from less than 600 in 2001 to around 1800 in 2003, and dropped slightly to 1700 in 2005. This was a considerable amount of increase for Austria in relation to the size of its total Chinese population.[71] While some of these young Chinese were admitted by Austrian universities, most of them came to study in one of the state-run or private music academies or conservatoriums throughout Austria.[72] Among different factors behind the influx of Chinese students to Austria, German as another powerful foreign language and Austria as a world-class country for classical music were cited most frequently among the Chinese

[71] These figures issued by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Interior Affairs are higher than those of Chinese students registered by the Federal Ministry of Science and Research (refer to Chapter 5) as they included only registered students in the public universities, excluding those studying in other types of educational institutions such as conservatoriums and tourism schools.

[72] A scandal on this Chinese-run education business suggested that a Chinese businessman in Vienna might have "imported" 1800 Chinese students to Austria from 2002 to 2004, and the whole business could have involved a total turnover of more than 25 Million Euro (Die Presse 2004).

students as the reason for their choice. Here are two excerpts from conversations with two students who came in 2003 and 2004 respectively:

> The Beijing Guoxinda Company came to our city to hold an overseas study seminar.(…) They claimed that they had large overseas operations.(…) There were also favourable policies for new countries such as Austria. My parents felt that a German-speaking country like Austria should be the first priority after making comparison. 北京国信达公司到我们那里召开出国留学研讨会。(…) 会上北京国信达公司声称， 它的涉外业务较大 (…) 另有一些新兴的热门留学国家， 奥地利，而且有较好的优惠政策。我的父母经过比较，觉得德语系国家奥地利可以作为首选。(IP39)

> All along I wanted to go abroad. At the beginning I thought of some other countries such as Australia and New Zealand, and also the USA, but it is difficult to obtain visa. Lastly, I chose Austria, mainly because I came for studying music. 我一直有出国的打算，最初有想过其他的国家，澳洲和新西兰，美国签证很难拿，最后还是选择了奥地利,主要是因为学音乐吧. (IP40)

Another development has been the business in organizing study tours. There are programmes ranging from management study tour and environmental protection study tour for Chinese cadres to music camp, hotel management seminar and wine seminar for private persons and companies from China. These study tours and short-term seminars offer certificates and experiences essential for career development back in China. Working as a free-lance translator in Vienna for official delegations in the period 2006-2007, I was so impressed by how enormous the interest was in China was in acquiring European knowledge and expertise in diverse professional fields. Table 21 provides a list of data I collected during the period. It represents merely a partial picture of all the receiving tours in Vienna. After completing the concerts, studies or seminars, Chinese guests will be invariably engaged in sight-seeing activities, directly linking the cultural and educational activities to Chinese tourism. This is why Li Yang (IP 30) in the above case wanted to apply for an authorized status, for only authorized institutes can officially offer training programs for Chinese cadres outside China.

The above cultural and educational activities are organized by Chinese voluntary associations, trading companies or travel agencies based in Vienna, in close cooperation with Chinese commercial or political elites in China. These cooperating elites in China are often the sponsors of the programs, ranging from private enterprises such as Beijing Guoxinda Information Centre (北京国信达信息咨询中心), Beijing Starlight International Media, Lifan Industry Corporations to state-owned enterprises such as the China National Petroleum Corporation or the Song and Dance Troup of the People's Liberation Army. As in the case of Li Yang, their cooperation partner for the concert in 2008, *Hand in Hand Arts Group* (手拉手艺术团体), is an ancillary organization of the Communist Youth League of China.

In sum, Chinese tourism, cultural and educational industries are comparatively new and prospering business sectors which facilitate the transnationalization process of the ethnic Chinese economy in Vienna. Driven by the rapid economic developments, and in particular, the emergence of an affluent stratum of Chinese population in PR China, these commercial activities are inevitably embedded in the transnational socio-economic and political contexts of both China and Europe. This duel embeddedness can be firstly reflected by some contributing factors as mentioned above: bilateral agreements between China and the European countries, visa regulations in Europe, internal political climate and the study-abroad wave in China, etc. Secondly, it can be reflected by the information flow, cash flow, operation of tours and concerts, and employment in the industries which take place not only within the Austrian national border, but also across Europe and between Europe and China.

Social actors in these sectors (with Li Yang as a quintessential case) are usually Chinese migrants with comparatively privileged backgrounds: higher education and/or high-ranking connections in China. This suggests that people with such cultural and social capital are more capable to tap in resources in the lucrative transnational cultural and educational industries. Detailed discussions of the resource distribution and its consequences in the Chinese immigrant economy will be followed in the next chapters.

Table 20 Chinese Concerts and Shows in Vienna, January and February 2008

Date	Event	Main Organizer	Venue
08.01.08	Erhu Solo Concert	Chinesischer Kulturverein in Österreich (奥中文化交流协会)	Wiener Musikverein
15.01.08	The Chinese New Year Concert 2008	CRC Jianian Cultural Development Co Ltd. (中唱嘉年)	Wiener Musikverein
19.01.08	Chinese New Year Concert	Beijing Starlight International Media (北京星光国际传媒)	Wiener Musikverein
29.01.08	Chinese Youth New Year Concert	Travel agency Mondial (奥地利环球旅行社)	Wiener Musikverein
03.02.08	Chinese New Year Concert	Wu Promotion Beijing (吴氏策划)	Wiener Musikverein
06.02.08	Chinese Youth Orchestra	SLC Travel and Business Austria (奥地利 SLC 欧中商旅)	Wiener Musikverein
14.02.08	Artist Delegation from Jiangsu (江苏省青年歌舞团)	Verein von Chinesen der Provinz Zhejiang in Österreich (奥地利浙江华人联谊会)	Meidling VHS Festsaal
15.02.08	*亲情中华, delegation from All-China Federation of Returne Overseas Chinese (中国侨联代表团)*	Überseechinesenkomitee der ÖG Gesellschaft für China- Freundschaft u. China- Forschung（奥中友协华人委员会）	Meidlung VHS Festsaal
18.02.08	Chinese Star Tour	Chinesischer Kulturverein in Österreich (奥中文化交流协会)	Theatre in Baden

Source: own compilation. Note 1: This table excludes cultural shows which did not involve any transnational element held in the same period. Note 2: Meidlung VHS Festsaal is a performance hall attached to a district-level adult educational school in Vienna.

Table 21 Official Delegations Received in Vienna, 2006-2007 (Partially)

Month/Year	Subject/Place of Visit	Delegation from China
November 2006	Technology of wind turbine generators, Burgenland	Provincial People's Congress Ningxia Autonomous Region
November 2006	Water disposal in Neusiedelsee, Burgenland	Taihu Basin Authority and Ministry of Water Resources
December 2006	Ministry of Justice, Vienna	Supreme Court from Jiangsu
May 2007	Municipal department for park and garden management, Vienna	Prefectural Forestry Administration, Fujian
June 2007	Simmering Waste Disposal Facilities Ltd, Vienna (Waste water treatment company)	Department of Water Resources, Henan
August 2007	Vario-Bau Fertighaus Ltd, nearby Vienna (a company selling prefabricated housings)	Xiamen Municipal Government , Fujian
August 2007	Voith Paper (a company for board, paper packaging technologies), City Mayor of St.Pölten, St. Pölten	Industrial and Commerce Administration Bureau, Liaoning
September 2007	Leopold Museum, Vienna	Ye Shengtao Research Association of China
September 2007	Der Standard, Vienna (a newspaper in Austria)	Zhejiang Daily Press Group
September 2007	Austrian Chamber of Labour, Vienna	Huangshi Municipal Government, Hubei
October 2007	Private Clinic Döbling, Vienna	Zhejiang
November 2007	Vienna Social Fund, Vienna	Prefectual Department for Civil Affairs, Guangdong

Source: own compilation. This list of data does not purport to obtain an overview or completeness of all information, but serves to offer a partial picture of the official delegations received by two travel agencies in Vienna in the period 2006-2007.

5 The Informal Sector

5.1 Liu Jing[73]

Coming with a full-loaded shopping trolley, Liu Jing, a woman from Tianjin in her 50s, spreads all her CDs and DVDs on the floor of a Chinese restaurant backroom. She starts to

[73] IP 22

chat with her potential customers around her, including me. People around her mostly work in the nearby restaurants and make use of their afternoon break for some personal shopping. The price for three DVDs is €10. After about half an hour, Liu Jing finally makes a "turnover" of €120, from which she can obtain about €20 as profit. This is one of the many ways how Liu Jing makes money in Austria: selling CDs and DVDs to Chinese customers. The other ways include doing cleaning and child caring, repairing and renovating things, and moving services for Chinese families and restaurants.

Living in a small town about 100 km away from Vienna, Liu Jing comes to Vienna only upon request from customers. Over the years in Austria, although she and her husband have never had a wage-employment, they have managed to earn their living by doing various casual jobs as mentioned. For her, the key is the networks one builds up at the beginning. Liu Jing's supplier of CDs and DVDs is a Qingtianese, who sets up the production in a rural area in Romania. She usually obtains her supply on this Qingtianese boss's way to deliver copies from Romania to France and Germany. For him, Austria is insignificant in terms of business size, when compared to Germany and France where numbers of Chinese migrants are much higher. Liu Jing is proud of the CDs and DVDs she sells, and claims that the quality is by no means worse than those sold in the Chinese shop. To her knowledge, the production factory in Romania cooperates with the original producers in China.

Back in China in the early 1980s, Liu Jing was among the first to go along with the wave of limited marketization. What she did was to go to suppliers in Guangzhou, buy some textile goods there, resell them in Tianjin (天津) and then earned the differences as profits, an activity named as *daomai* (倒卖, reselling) at that time. For a short period, the business was so excellent that she even quit her job in a state-run textile factory to become self-employed. In the 1990s, she and her husband ran a small restaurant until they set off for Europe. Liu Jing arrived in Austria directly from Tianjin with a business visa in 2001, and has been staying behind after the visa expired. Her husband followed her path some time later. Three years ago, their adult daughter came and married someone in the Chinese community in Vienna.

5.2 The Other Yet Integral Sector

Broadly defined, the informal sector in an advanced economy can be seen as involving "actions of economic agents that fail to adhere to the established institutional rules or are denied their protection" (Feige 1990:990). Or, alternatively, it includes "all income-earning activities that are not regulated by the state in social environments where similar activities are regulated" (Castells and Portes 1989:12). There are related terms such as underground economy, shadow economy and illegal economy. It is distinguished in the literature that while illegal economy encompasses production and distribution of legally prohibited goods and services such as drug trafficking and illegal gambling, informal economy comprises legal goods which bypass the costs and are excluded from the protection of laws and administrative rules (Feige 1990:992). For this study, I use the term informal economy to describe economic activities discussed in this session, for they are mostly licit final commodities, which manners of production and commercialization are illicit.

Chinese migrants in Vienna encounter and are engaged in the informal sector of the immigrant economy in their daily life. Generally speaking, two kinds of informal economic activities can be identified. The first kind consists of activities attached in the formal sector, such as hiring someone without visa for dish washing in a restaurant or doing some manual work in a grocery shop. In such cases, while the restaurant and the grocery shop are licensed and paying tax, the workers for dish washing and manual duties are not officially reported, that means, their activities are off the books. The second kind comprises activities carried out by individual migrants who have no direct relation to the formal sector. These Chinese are, in a sense, non-registered self-employed persons. Examples are Chinese migrants who sell cheap CDs and DVDs (just like Liu Jing), someone who transports things for cash for house moving, a nanny who takes care of children and cleans the flat, a hairdresser who offers services at home, or a Chinese student who gives private tuition. This part of the informal sector stretches also to reach the mainstream customers, which can be apparently reflected by the phenomenon of Chinese street peddlers. It is not uncommon to see Chinese migrants peddling through cafes in the low-income living areas or sometimes in the *Naschmarkt* area, selling Chinese odds and ends including CDs and DVDs to the local Austrians. While Liu Jing sells Chinese-speaking CDs and DVDs to Chinese customers, some other co-ethnic fellows of her are supplied with Vienna-produced English-speaking DVDs of Hollywood films, targeted at local Austrians or tourists. I have been told by an middle-aged Qingtian street vendor, who uses to peddle through cafes in the *Gürtel* area, that he can earn up to €100 on a good evening.

These activities and encounters appear to be trivial and insignificant in their daily manifestation. Moreover, as the manners of production and commercialization are not law-abiding, they are often seen by members of the Chinese community as well as those of the local Austrian society as unworthy of attention or unsuitable for mentioning. For example, while there are advertisements of all kinds of goods and services provided by the informal sector in the locally published Chinese newspapers, one can rarely find a feature report about any of the above mentioned activities or persons. Chinese media in Vienna as well as local Austrian media focus merely on the successful stories of Chinese restaurants or trading companies, making no attempt to explore the significance of the informal sector. Undeniably, the accurate size of the informal economy is hard to measure, because Chinese migrants who are engaged in it do not wish to be identified. Besides, boundary between the formal and the informal sectors is not always clear. Nevertheless, their existence and significance should be recognized rather than ignored, because otherwise the Chinese immigrant economy would be much underestimated.

First of all, although income earned through informal economic activities seem to be paltry, in aggregate, they could cumulate into an amount which is sufficient for supporting a family, as hinted by the case of Liu Jing. Irregular Chinese migrants who are deprived of official residence and working permit depend heavily on this informal sector for making a living as well as for saving up to pay one's debts. More than that, informal economic activities have become an integral and indispensable part of the Chinese community in Vienna. Without the cleaning woman or the manual worker, fluent operation of business would be obstructed or Chinese employers would have to increase wages and improve working conditions in order to maintain business. Without the DVD vendor or the hairdresser, daily life of Chinese migrants would have become less convenient and more expensive. In this sense, the informal sector does not exist in isolation, but is in constant interactions with the members of the Chinese community as well as the existing structures of the formal immigrant economy sector.

In the literature, it is empirically ascertained that the overall tax and social security contribution burdens are among the main causes for the emergence of the informal economy (Tanzi 1999; Giles and Tedds 2002; Feld and Schneider 2010). In the Austrian case, economist Fredrich Schneider (2011:4-5) suggests that the rising informal economy from the

1980s until 2004 can be accounted by the continuously high burdens of tax and social security stipulated in the course of national budget consolidation in those years. Once the policy of tax reduction came into effect in 2005, the estimated size of the informal economy dropped immediately from the highest point of 11% of the overall economy in 2004 to 10.2% in 2005. The decrease continued in the following years. Whether the informal sector of the Chinese immigrant economy presents similar development closely correlated to the Austrian tax and social security policies is beyond the capacity of this study to answer. Notwithstanding this, qualitative data collected from this study does suggest that heavy taxation and compulsory social security are a major contributing factor for some off-the-book activities of Chinese entrepreneurs:

> To open a Chinese restaurant, how to say, you have to hire a worker, you have to hire someone to clean, hire this or that person. Say if you pay that amount of wage, you have to pay tax, you have to pay social security for your worker, you cannot basically pay that much. If you do not report, police will come and check, there is simply too much trouble. Normally, we report less hours. 开中国餐馆嘛，怎么讲呢，又要请工人，又要请人打扫，请這个，请那个。比方说你付哪种的工资啊，你付税，付工人的保险，你现在根本就没办法付。不报人家警察要来查，麻烦事太多了。一般我们就报少一点的时间呐。(IP1: 107)

When asked about opinions on tax and regulations, another restaurant owner voiced out his anger lucidly: “In Austria, one enterprise cannot survive if it does not evade tax. I say, sometimes it is not our initiative to avoid paying tax, but you have to do so (…) 在奥地利一家企业不偷税，就没法生存的。我说有时候并不是我们主动要偷税，而是一定要偷税(…)”(IP3: 69). Although it is exaggerated to say that no enterprise can survive without evading tax in Austria, it is somehow a reflection of the difficulties encountered and mentality of some economic actors in the mundane reality. This leads us back to the relationship between the informal sector and the existing social structures and policies. As suggested above, the informal sector does not exist and develop in isolation; it is on the one hand an integral part of the Chinese immigrant economy, and on the other, constantly conditioned by the structure of the Austrian national economy and policies.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the interplay or the interrelationship between the local and transnational opportunity structures and the Chinese immigrant economy. Concretely, it has illustrated how the Austrian national migration regime, policies regarding self-employment, local market conditions, growing trade between Europe and China, tourist visa regulations of European countries, and economic and political conditions in China exert impacts or influences at different developmental stages of the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna. While some of these serve as opportunities for the Chinese economy, some other are constraining factors.

Generally speaking, this interrelationship is characterized by increasing constraints within the Austrian national boundary on the one hand, and growing opportunities in the transnational spaces on the other. While the general national state framing conditions for migration have become increasingly unfavourable and institutionalized, the rising impacts of Chinese globalization on Austria in the form of transnational Chinese immigration, trade and capital investment have offset the structural barriers to a certain extent, providing entrepreneurial and employment opportunities in the revitalized catering, expanded trading and new tourism, cultural and educational sectors. However, there are only a relatively small group of privileged Chinese migrants who are capable of transgressing the limitations set by the national migration regime and enjoying the benefits induced by the transnationalization process. The remaining majority stays being confined by the national conditions in Austria. This double process of institutionalization of the Austrian immigrant burden regime and the transnationalization of Chinese migration and business has thus reshaped and reinforced the socio-economic landscape of the Chinese migrants in Vienna significantly, a topic which will be discussed in the next chapters.

CHAPTER 8 RESOURCES, CAPITAL AND STRATEGIES

1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has demonstrated how the local and transnational opportunity structures interact with and exert influences on the Chinese immigrant economy in Austria. This chapter turns to put the individual and group resources used as well as practices and strategies employed in the Chinese immigrant economy in the foreground. Strategies are understood as resulting from constant interplay between the opportunity structures and the available resources and group practices.

Employing the concepts of social field and capital of Pierre Bourdieu, it explores how social, cultural and economic resources are variably mobilized and converted to achieve business goals within certain opportunity structures and contexts. The aim is to go beyond the fashionable appeal made by social capital, and to understand "the functioning of the social world" by reintroducing "capital in all its forms" (Bourdieu 1986:242). Based on the empirical data, the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, taken as a social field, has been conceptualized into three main subfields, each with its own articulated values, practices, aims and specific strategies. It will emerge in the analysis that different endowments of capital are related to diversified paths of business practices, strategies and also socio-economic outcomes.

2 Forms and Conversion of Capital

Bourdieu conceptualizes a society as a configuration of a variety of fields, which are not necessarily coextensive with a nation (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 94-120). Field denotes a distinct social arena, in which all the relevant actors are influenced by its structure and struggle in pursuit of desirable resources. Economy can be seen as a field, the same as literature, photography, an industry and so on. Each social field has its own logic including rules, aims, practices and values. A field operates like a game (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97): agreeing on the rules and the aim, social agents join a game and adopt strategies for competition. Every one has a different amount of chips (understood as capital) and skills that are relevant to the game.

Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes three fundamental forms of capital - economic, social and cultural - which can be converted into each other with varying degrees of difficulty. Firstly, there is the classic notion of economic capital defined as command over economic resources and possession of financial assets. Economic capital can be directly convertible into monetary form. Immigrants who lack money or cannot convert assets into value in their new home country may have difficulties to access mainstream credit markets (Smallbone et al. 2003) and in collecting starting capital for business.

Social capital, according to Bourdieu's definition, is a product of aggregated resources held within durable networks of relationships and support that people can tap into by virtue of their social position. It can also be defined as membership of formal and informal groups that give privileged access to different types of resources. Its value emerges from upholding social norms and reciprocating help. It is argued that disadvantaged immigrant groups are more likely to pursue this form of capital than others (Light 2004). Political capital, deriving from party membership or political connections, is seen by Bourdieu as a variation or special form of social capital, as both forms of capital accumulate in relational ties. It guarantees "its holders a private appropriation of goods and public services" (Bourdieu 2002: 16).such as residences, schools and hospitals and so on. While social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors, "political capital has the additional feature of being linked to the positional power of the politician, and thus it is rooted in institutional structures of the political order" (Nee and Opper 2010:2107). Therefore, I understand political capital as a supplement to social capital with particular characteristics which helps to increase the convertible value of it.

Cultural capital refers to explicit and implicit, formal and informal cultural competences. It signifies resources deriving from knowledge, education and one's family background and includes three states: embodied in the individual as dispositions of mind and body, objectified in cultural goods such as books and encyclopaedias, and institutionalized as academic credentials and qualifications (Bourdieu 1986). Educational and professional qualifications, aesthetic taste, language, manners, values and other symbols indicating social status are often regarded as cultural capital (Waters 2007; Bauder 2008). With time, cultural capital, in all its states, can be transferred into material profits when, for example, qualifications migrants acquired in their home countries are recognized in the new country, or

when their language and cultural competences are valued in the mainstream economic spheres.

Bourdieu also mentions a fourth type of capital: symbolic capital, which is a more hidden form of capital. It refers to socially recognized legitimation based on an individual's honour and prestige, and is a vital source of power. All the above mentioned capital can have symbolic value (Bourdieu 1980). In other words, symbolic capital relies on the successful utilization of other capital forms.

The assumption of Bourdieu is that, social actors in nearly all situations strive to improve or at least safeguard their overall social status, including economic well-being, which can be defined in terms of different types of capital that are at the basis of their freedom and power to act. Apart from wealth, which is seen as the classical social status-defining resource, Bourdieu argues that social and cultural capital can also be understood as tools modelling the structure in a social field and desirable assets which drive social behaviours (Zarycki 2007). Applying the concept of capital and capital conversion to the analysis of the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna can help to bring light to the following question: how endowment of different resources or capital are related to diversified business outcomes as well as diversified paths of social mobility.

3 Conceptualizing the Chinese Ethnic Economic Fields

The concept of social field will be applied in analyzing the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna. Unfolded in my empirical data, although use of resources, strategies and approaches of practice are multiple, it is evident that every Chinese entrepreneur has access to certain social networks and utilizes them for achieving economic goals. In view of this, my conceptualization of the Chinese ethnic economic field is based on two dimensions, both relating to their social networking capability. The first dimension is the making use of bonding or bridging social capital. The second dimension is the closeness or remoteness to power, which can be understood as the access to symbolic and political capital[74].

Robert Putnam (2000) distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital. Whereas bonding resources denote ties built among in-group members, bridging relationships

[74] I am indebted to Andreas Gebesmair for his insights in these two dimensions.

refer to linkage established beyond the ethnic boundaries. As more than 80% of the Chinese immigrant economy gears towards the general consumption market in the mainstream society[75] , the differentiation between bonding and bridging resources in this study lies not in their clientele, but mainly in their social networks of information gathering, source of goods and staffing. The focal point here is not to make a judgement of how effective the two strategies are in terms of economic integration and social mobility of immigrants. As a matter of fact, both types of strategies – building and strengthening networks within one's ethnic group and explicitly beyond one's ethnic group - help to generate resources essential for the immigrant economy. The former one serves to enhance mutual support and mobilize ethnic solidarity; the latter, by contrast, facilitates exchange between cultures and contribute to the diversity and transformation of both the immigrant communities and the mainstream society. While some Chinese entrepreneurs depend primarily on Chinese networks for information, supplying and staffing such as some independent market traders and restaurant owners, other go beyond the ethnic boundary to attract inter-ethnic business cooperation such as some trading companies. Putnam suggests that while bonding may be more inward looking, having a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups, bridging may be more outward-looking and can generate broader identities and reciprocity. These are not seen as either-or categories to which networks can neatly be assigned, but "more-or-less" dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital (Putnam 2000: 22-23).

The second dimension is characterized as the distance to the social, commercial and political elites, or in Bourdieu's words, the distance to power. This can be articulated in two ways. First, it is discernable through the clientele and the offer of products. Products can be classified according to their clientele - whether they are potentially consumed by people with higher social status or by customers from the less educated strata in the society. Likewise, business owners and service providers can also be differentiated in the same way, though not always in correspondence to the status of their clientele exactly. Second, it is articulated through the endeavour of the social actors made to approach elites with positional power within the existing regimes, both in Austria as well as in China. Some Chinese migrants sustain close relationships to the local and transnational elites and work with their patronage at times. These people usually have a better social status within the Chinese community either by means of their involvement in high profile community activities, or because of their

[75] The catering sector, which constitutes more than 80% of the Chinese immigrant economy, has been traditionally targeting at mainstream clientele. Some parts of the trading sector such as food grocery aim also at the general Austrian consumers. Details see Prelude to Empirical Analyses.

business achievements. While both types of articulation refer to the pursue of social recognition, or in Bourdieu's term, symbolic power, the latter also refers to political capital embedded in elites with positional power in the political institutions.

Along this dimension, we find on the one hand Chinese travel agencies cum cultural program providers, who are supported not only by the Austrian high establishments such as the *Wiener Musikverein*, but also by the Austrian and Chinese political institutions like the Chamber of Commerce, the City Government of Vienna and the Chinese Embassy materially and organizationally. Some other people, on the other hand, stay at the margin of the Chinese immigrant economy as well as mainstream society, having no channel to obtain support from the societal elites, and are dependent merely on the consumption of a low-income clientele. Numerous market traders or some small retail shop owners can be classified at this end of the dimension. In between there are Chinese businessmen and women, who achieve various degrees of success by making use of their connections to the centre of power.

Combining the two dimensions, four subfields are identified (Table 22), each with its own articulated values, aims, practices and specific strategies. Since empirical data of the subfield "Integrating" has been scanty, focus will be put on the other three subfields (see Appendix I for the distribution of subfield of interview partners). We can find in each subfield Chinese entrepreneurs from various business branches; there is a concentration of branch in each subfield, but not exclusively. The positioning of the Chinese entrepreneurs is subject to change according to the individual's capital as well as the on-going developments of the opportunity structure. In the following, I will examine the articulated values, specific practices and strategies in the different subfields, and at the same time, how these have been shaped by their accessibility to different capital.

Table 22 Typology of Chinese Immigrant Business in Austria

	Bonding Social Capital	**Bonding and Bridging Social Capital**
Remote from Power	**1 *Enclaving***	**4 *Integrating***
Close to Power	**2 *Developing***	**3 *Bridging***

Source: own compilation

4 "Enclaving"

The subfield of "Enclaving" consists of Chinese entrepreneurs who are strong in bonding social capital and weak in political capital. This means that social actors are rich in socially grounded resources deriving from in-group co-ethnic networks, but poor in power-conferring resources such as money and personal education. Business is usually of smaller scale, with some being in the semi-formal economy. While some of the entrepreneurs have managed to develop a stable business, most of them are still enduring economic hardship and remain at subsistence-level with relative low profit margins. Here the word "enclave" is used metaphorically to denote the strong embeddedness in community-based co-ethnic social relations and its inward-looking character of one part of the Chinese immigrant economy. The following illustration of the Zhao family helps to highlight some charactersitcs of the use of resources and some common strategies in "Enclaving".

4.1 Mr. and Mrs. Zhao

Walking into the 40-square meter shop of Mr. and Mrs. Zhao[76], located at the end of a long shopping street *Thaliastrasse* in Vienna, one could not avoid being puzzled by the mismatch of atmosphere between their gloomy shop and the bustling surrounding. Two teenagers came in, looked around, asked for price of a toy gun, and left. This was a low-income neighbourhood, where many people lived on unemployment benefits. I was told that most of the residents had the time to look around and bargain, but no money to buy.

Although the business was poor, the owner couple had been incredibly rich in kinship and friendship networks all over Western Europe, from Spain to Italy, and from the Netherlands to France. Sponsored by a fellow villager to come to Austria as a tourist from Wencheng in 1992, Mr. Zhao moved on to work in France and Italy, where his brothers resided, and re-entered Austria in 1997. Having worked for years in Chinese restaurants as cook and as kitchen helper respectively, Mr. Zhao and Mrs. Zhao felt the need to be their own boss, a wish which they had envisioned for long. When they began to run their retail shop in 2001, Mr. Zhao's brothers rendered some money to help, and his friends, borrowed him merchandise to sell. His wholesaler village fellow told him: "if you don't have the money to do business, you can just come to me and take the goods first. You sell them first, and

[76] IP16

afterwards you give me back the money. 你做生意如果没有钱，可以到我们家先拿货啊。你先卖了，然后再给我钱。” (IP 16:237) Throughout the years, the Zhao family was stocking in only from their relatives and fellow villagers, as the practice of taking the goods first and settling the bill later functioned smoothly, although without legal binding. No one in their circle worried about their running away without payment.

Over the past years, they remained obstinately loyal to their business and kept it running day after day as how it was, despite the fact that profit made was very marginal. They had not made any serious thought on business strategies including the match of goods and customers and marketing, let alone changing business. They bought in whatever goods available at their fellow-villager suppliers, without making too much consideration of the suitability of merchandise. The average monthly turnover was around €1500 when they were interviewed in 2007; they were grateful if it could be pushed up to €2000 to cover all the cost - the rent, electricity and gas, tax as well as buy-in prices of good – not to mention salaries for both of them who were the only labour for the shop. In fact, this shop could not earn them a reasonable living; instead they had to depend on their son’s wage employment for subsistence and keeping their shop running. The family finally closed the shop in 2009, and have been earning marginal income from being market traders since then.

4.2 Strong Bonding Social Capital and Economic Resources

Chinese entrepreneurs in “Enclaving” rely extensively and almost exclusively on their co-ethnic network resources, which are drawn from blood ties and connections based upon kinship and place of origin. Bonding social capital is generated when these resources are mobilized. Within this close and extensive in-group networking, what are found to be central and can be utilized as resources in business context are the strong sense of trust, in-group solidarity and the practice of mutual help.

Scholars of overseas Chinese business have argued that business trust developed in traditional China is personal and particularistic rather than systematic and universalistic trust (Redding 1990; Wong 1991; Fukuyama 1995). Personal and particularistic trust has been defined as being “dependent on familiarity”, rested upon “personal, familial or semi-familial relationships” in contrast to system or universalistic trust which denotes trust in the functioning of a system or an institution (Wong 1991:14-15). In commercial context,

personal trust is articulated through higher personalized methods such as introductions and recommendations by former employers or employees, friends and relatives rather than open recruitments. In this study, trust identified in the subfield of "Enclaving" tends to be more personal and particularistic in nature. Like the Zhao family, their "business transactions" took place without formal papers, and business partnerships were grounded purely on personal relations and oral agreements, not professional competence and institutional completeness. What made this function appeared to be a certain expectation, or a kind of unwritten rule, shared among the Zhao family and their fellow villagers that fraudulent actions would be penalized by socially enforced exclusion from the in-group network. This is the enforceable trust, a term coined by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) and Portes (1998, 2010), generated through bounded solidarity which socially binds a group together with support for each other in need, while at the same time exerting internal force of sanctioning if misconduct is known.

Another informant Liu Hua[77] was supported by her first restaurant employer, who was a family friend, to migrate to Austria from Shaoxing (绍兴) in the early 1990s. She recalled how this employer friend expected her to work for free: "I wanted to leave [her restaurant], after some months. She said I was heartless. Other people would work without wage for three years in return for taking him or her out from China. 然后我就要走了，没几个月，后来就说我没良心，说人家这样带出来白干三年啊 (IP6:14) "

Liu Hua finally stayed not longer than twelve months. Years afterwards, she gave this employer friend a helping hand by working for her again upon request: "no matter how, we were friends. I went back to help her then. 不管怎么说，我们是朋友，然后我又回去帮她了 (IP6:70)"

What tied Liu Hua and her employer together is something parallel to what upheld Zhao's business partnership with his fellow-villagers: a strong sense of mutual support stimulated by the unfavourable environments for business and employment. What is also implicit in both cases, and maybe even explicit in Liu Hua's case, is a sense of reciprocity, the expectation that one day the person will repay for what you have done good for him or her. While reciprocity is a matter of calculative and practical consideration, signifying the social exchange principle of "giving and taking" (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes

[77] IP6

1998, 2010), it is no less a matter of moral commitment as shown in Liu Hua's case. This moral commitment appears to be another aspect of understanding solidarity and mutual support in economic activities (Sayer 2000) among migrants, besides the practical consideration of "force of sanctioning" and "giving and taking". For instance, the employer-friend of Liu Hua expected that the support for Liu Hua's emigration should be remunerated by at least three years of free labour, and the willingness and ability to do this was perceived as a kind of conscience. Even acknowledging the unfair working relationship, Liu Hua felt the need to work for her employer-friend, and to help her again without a second thought when she was asked to. For her, ethically they should stand behind each other as they belong to the same place of origin, and the fact that the Shaoxing group was a small group in Austria added to her determination to do so. This was the ethical feel for the situation, which directed her action, and which, has also become part of the habitus of her group.

As shown in the cases of the Zhao family and Liu Hua, no matter whether they are based on practical or ethical consideration, trust, solidarity and mutual help developed among kin and native-place members have been utilized as assets to achieve economic goals. While trust and solidarity seem to be long-existing properties within the co-ethnic circles, they also appear to be induced by some external conditions such as the size of the native-place group and unfavourable business and employment environments in the mainstream economy. The usefulness or value of trust and solidarity is manifested when they are drawn to solve the economic problems of funding, supply of commodities and work labour. In the absence of sufficient financial capital, human capital as well as high level of earnings, socially bounded resources such as trust and sense of mutual support play a compensatory role, although not always sufficiently, in reducing starting and operation cost. In this sense, we can say that collectively generated bonding social capital supports the attainment of economic outcomes of individual persons by offering an alternative means in entrepreneurial activities.

4.3 Living within Constraints of Social Bonds

Depending extensively and almost exclusively on the internal co-ethnic ties, Chinese entrepreneurs in "Enclaving" appear to be more inward looking, both in social and economic terms. Socially, this is shown in their pride and sense of being, which rest mainly upon narrowly-defined prestige built in the limited circle of kin and native-place members. At the same time, their sense of shame arises from the lack of recognition due to deviation from

norms and behaviours accepted by the in-group. People live under the watchful eyes of other members in the in-group circle, and care about how they are judged by them. Continuously they compare their accomplishments with each other secretly and openly. Signs for accomplishments range not only from the size of their flat to the business success, but also from effective ways of gaining legal residence to the acquisition of the Austrian citizenship. Constant comparison becomes a source of motivation as much as a source of pressure. For instance, I was told by another family coming from Wencheng that within the circle of about 400 Wencheng co-villagers, nearly everyone knows each other:

> If you do not venture your own business, you can never raise your head. When you work for others for too long and do not have your own career, they will look down upon you (…) For example my cousin, he came to Austria later than I did, but his shop is better than mine. So for us, to open this shop, isn't it actually because of prestige? 不创业就抬不起头。你打工太久，没有自己的事业，人家会看不起你的 (…) 好像我的表哥，他比我晚几年才来，但是做的比我好呀。所以我们开这些店，还不都是为了面子。(Conversation on 18.12.2007)

Prestige, equating to the ownership of a shop, has a symbolic meaning for acquiring and maintaining status. In a sense, it is the endeavour for symbolic capital within the close in-group circle. This was a family I encountered while working as a part-time family counsellor in Vienna years ago. As their teenage daughter played truant and ran away from home repeatedly, the parents worried about their family affair being known in the Wencheng circle. Therefore, they only dared to seek help from me, someone who was an outsider to their in-group. This was the feeling of embarrassment which revealed the anxiety to disclose their family problem and their inability to deal with it. This seeming contradiction - people rely on each other's support while trying to hide family matters from each other – is a reminder of the double character as well as the negative side of social ties and sociability (Portes and Landolt 1996; Portes 1998; Lin 2000; Fong and Ooka 2002; Smith 2007a; Wahlbeck 2007). Whereas group solidarity cement people together and facilitate their social and economic activities, the tight in-group bonds and surveillance exert social control and norm enforcement which constrains privacy, individual autonomy and dynamic life trajectories.

Economically, inward looking attitude is reflected in the absence of business contacts and support networks beyond the in-group circle. In the case of the Zhao family,

while the excessive reliance on kin members helped to reduce their business cost, it handicapped their motivation to diversify their merchandise as well as to develop alternative business ideas at the same time. Moreover, as shown by the experiences of Liu Hua, the obligation attached to the close social bond is often used too conveniently by economic actors to serve personal economic objective, which has the danger to justify exploitation of in-group co-ethnics.[78]

4.4 Deficiency in Political Capital

Social players in "Enclaving" are generally situated far away from the centre of power, meaning that they generally lack access to the socially recognized elites and political institutions that embody power. These refer to the consumers of their commodities as well as to people in their support networks. In this sense, I would describe the condition as a deficiency of political capital.

The remoteness to the socially recognized elites and political institutions may be attributed to the fact that most Chinese migrants in this subfield are short of power-conferring resources such as material wealth, human capital and cultural capital. The fact that most of the petit entrepreneurs can only afford low-end goods and rent in cheaper areas, such as the Zhao family, confines their clientele to lower-income people who are relative weak both in consumption power and in societal status. The following excerpt from Mrs. Zhao shows how poor economic condition hinders their social networking with some Chinese community elites running the Chinese voluntary associations:

> The association of Chinese women, when you go with them to play or to KTV, or to attend a meeting, you have to spend money. So you can avoid spending money if you stay at home (…) you have to pay more than €10 once you sit down for a drink. There goes the money I need for food tomorrow. What shall I do then? 人家妇女会啊，什么会，跟人家去玩的话去 ktv 或是去哪里开会你参加一定要花钱的嘛，那呆在家里就不花钱了(…) 喝杯水，一下子坐下去就要十几块了。还有明天买菜的钱都没有了，怎么办? (IP16:203)

[78]More illustrations of co-ethnic exploitations will be provided in the next chapter.

While some of them are financially incapable to come nearer to the community elites, some other refuse to do so due to their dislike of the instrumental use of the Chinese associations. Zhang Ming explained his disdain on the associations led by the "new Chinese elites"[79]:

> I have never had connection to them [the associations] (…) Take a look of the several voluntary associations here, I think they all work for their own purposes, using the associations to achieve personal benefits. 我从来就和他们没有联系。(….) 你看这里的几个协会，我认为他们都是为了达到自己的目的，在为自己搞一些东西。(IP2: 186-190)

What Zhang Ming meant by personal benefit is the personal reputation which could potentially serve as a pass to obtain business opportunities in China. Zhang Ming does not desire for that, as he sees his chance in the restaurant business in Vienna. As such, being neither well-connected to the Austrian local political institutions nor to the Chinese elites both in Austria and in China, these entrepreneurs in "Enclaving" are usually deprived of the "good" information and the "right" opportunities for business. What is worth-noting is that closeness to elites, powerful figures or political institutions is not necessarily a preferred condition for every Chinese, even though one has the ability to do so. Zhang Ming's case suggests that sometimes individual actors have their "revolutionary" thought and step against what is usually expected: to come closer to the elites and power.

4.5 Strategies: Reactive, Short-Term and Lack of Innovation

Chinese entrepreneurs in "Enclaving" usually aim at quick financial gains. Towards this end, short-term or ad hoc reactive strategies are often employed. Economic actors in "Enclaving" are not the most obedient and docile ones – and they do not claim themselves to be - in regard to complying with the legal regulations in areas such as immigration, employment, social security, taxation and food hygiene. Instead, they take every chance to bypass the rules and regulations.

[79] Talking about elites in overseas Chinese communities, Pal Nyiri (1999) has categorized two types of elites inferring from his observations in the Chinese community in Hungary: the traditional elites and the new elites. The former group refers to those with good relation in China because of previous position or family background, while the latter refers to those who gain the status through active participation in overseas Chinese associations. Nyiri has also called this latter group pseudo-elite or semi-elite.

Formal rules and regulations stipulated by the Austrian authorities are perceived as too stringent and demanding. Moreover, following them correctly require much knowledge (German and legal understandings), which many Chinese entrepreneurs do not acquire. In response to the government restrictions, people have developed strategies or counter-strategies by drawing on resources which are available from their in-group networks. For example, it is not unusual in the Chinese economy that due to the restrictive legal measures on foreign worker employment, irregular Chinese without papers are hired informally. Even though sometimes the workers are legally hired, employers often register them for fewer hours than they in reality work in order to lower wage tax and social insurance contributions. This is an internal trade-off agreed between Chinese employers and employees, with the former offering earning opportunities for the latter who are in need of jobs, although the payments are less than the standard. While these are widespread strategies in the overall Chinese economy in Austria, they seem to be most commonly practiced in this subfield of "Enclaving", at least employers do not deny employing such practices. After being penalized for using a passport of another person to register his Qingtianese cook, who was without legal paper, a restauranteur, Mr. Chen[80], told me that he had often been fined for not following the rules, and ignoring the deadlines.

Business landscape in "Enclaving" is also marked by the lack of innovation, and thus the use of a lot of copy-cat strategies including ways of decors, restaurant menu and even name of restaurant, etc. In Vienna, after *Ra'mien* and *Mr. Lee*, two stylish and creative restaurants had obtained good reputation in the Viennese circle of gourmet dining, restaurants such as *Mr. Li*, *Mr. Chen* or *La'mian* sprung up in a noticeable way, though not in large number like mushrooms after a spring rain. Other examples were the *dimsum* and *sushi* waves at the turn of the millennium, or the *huoguo* (Chinese hotpot) battle in the period 2006-2009 in Vienna, where a new *huoguo* menu was supplemented to the usual one every two or three months in many Chinese restaurants. Successful innovative attempts (mostly situated in other subfields) are followed by many others until the niche becomes overcrowded and the bad-quality copycats are eliminated. There are Chinese businessmen and women who copycat ad hoc again and again until something will be worked out, while there are some who just keep things unchanged for years, like the Zhao family and Zhang Ming. Zhang Ming openly

[80] IP11

revealed, with an unexciting tone, that Europeanized Chinese dishes offered in his restaurant had been imitated and reproduced year after year since his first day in a Chinese restaurant.[81]

To sum up, Chinese entrepreneurs in "Enclaving" are generally less educated Chinese migrants who are devoid of power-conferring resources (such as financial and educational background) to come closer to the centre of power. To a certain extent, such disadvantages (lack of economic capital, human capital and cultural capital) have been compensated by the socially grounded resources available in their close kinship or native-place circles, where bonding social capital arises. Closely-knit circles with strong sense of trust, mutual support and bounded solidarity have emerged as a result. These aspects resemble some distinctive features of an ethnic enclave economy. Economically, whereas some are stable, like the case of Zhang Ming, many of them are less settled or are under precarious conditions. Semi-formal and informal businesses which aim at short-term gains and quick money dominate the subfield, and they remain primarily at subsistence-level with low profit margins. Long-term development plans or directions with careful consideration and pioneering spirit have been absent. Partly due to the deficiency of language proficiency and understanding of the legal requirements, strategies adopted to deal with market competition and authorities are ad hoc and invariably reactive ones such as modelling, copycatting, tricks, risk-taking and perfunctory trial and errors, lacking innovative and proactive approaches. Overall, this is the apparently less resourceful and marginalized part of the Chinese immigrant economy, where economic viability is manifested covertly in enclave-like social formations with muddling through attitudes and strategies.

5 "Developing"

a. Mr. Guo

Mr. Guo[82] came to Austria from Qingtian in 1986 to follow the emigration path of his kin and fellow villagers. Back in China in the 1980s, he was among the first contractors of the township and village enterprises (TVEs, 乡镇企业) of trading Qingtian stone carving. He therefore accumulated financial capital for his emigration and future business projects in Europe.

[81] See Chapter 7, 2.1
[82] IP44

He started with the aspiration of Qingtianese people when he recalled his earlier years in Austria:

> We Qingtianese have a mindset, namely, no matter how hard it is, once we've gone overseas, we will make efforts to stay. No one thinks of returning to China (…) You can see, all those overseas Chinese seem to be so respectable and well-liked. Therefore every one of us wants to establish a career outside. 青田人我们有一种观点，就是觉得不管你怎么辛苦，出了国，就都想要留下来。没想要回去的。(…) 看到他们那些华侨， 好像每个都很风光，好吃香， 所以都想着要在外面干一番事业什么的。(IP 44:4)

His business and voluntary work careers, obviously, have been grounded on this strong belief and persistence. After working for a Taiwanese restaurant for a while, Guo opened his own restaurant in 1987 with the money he earned as a stone carving trader in China. However, the first project upset him for he could not deal properly with the business regulations and practices in Austria. In 1991, he changed strategy by moving his business to Belgrade, where he enjoyed unexpected profits in running the first Chinese restaurant in the pre-war Yugoslavian capital. When the war broke out, he returned to Austria and continued making money in the catering sector in Innsbruck and Graz. Before he shifted his concentration to wine trading business in China and founded a company in Wuhan (武汉) in 2005, he owned a successful Chinese food grocery shop in Vienna in the period 1997-2004.

Guo is an active and well-known figure in the Chinese community in Austria, and in particular, among the Qingtianese people. His name was first made public in the local Chinese media when he was elected as the first chairman of the *Verein der Chinesen Qingtian Gemeinschaft in Österreich* (Association of Qingtian Community in Austria, 旅奥青田同乡会) in 1999. A locally edited free Chinese newspaper, *Qingtian Community Newspaper* (青田同乡报), was issued by this association since the beginning. Guo later took over the newspaper under his own name in 2003，founded another Qingtianese association in 2007, *Verein von Chinesen der Provinz Zhejiang in Österreich* (Association of Zhejiang Chinese in Austria, 浙江华人联谊会), and renamed the newspaper to *Europe Huaxinbao Newspaper* (华信报). Guo cooperates with the *People's Daily* (人民日报) and distributes the *People's*

Daily Overseas Edition (人民日报海外版) under the name of *Europe Huaxinbao Newspaper* since October 2007.

For Guo, doing business in Austria is not at all difficult, although one cannot become very rich. Leading an association and operating a newspaper, however, have been more effort-consuming and sometimes frustrating. This is because they involve a lot of dynamics in the Chinese community which are out of his control. Fortunately, Guo has a good relationship with the Chinese Embassy in Vienna all along, and his work has been recognized. He was honoured as overseas Chinese representative to participate in several high-profile meetings in China such as the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 2004 and the World Chinese Media Convention in 2003. Apart from being the leading person of *Verein von Chinesen der Provinz Zhejiang in Österreich* (Association of Zhejiang Chinese in Austria, 浙江华人联谊会) which issues the renamed newspaper *Europe Huaxinbao Newspaper* (华信报), Guo has been holding more than 13 other public posts such as consultant and board members in numerous associations both in China and in Austria.

5.2 Bonding Social Capital Based on Professionalism

Reliance on co-ethnic ties is a similar feature as in the previous subfield. What is different is that their co-ethnic networks are based not only on ties of kin and native-place fellows, but also on business and professional interests. That means, although cooperation and partnerships still take place primarily within the co-ethnic boundary, they are not confined to people from the same place of origin and the close circle of kinship. Business trust established in this economic subfield of "Developing" tends to be based also on professional competence rather than merely on personal relations. For instance, for his newspaper *Europe Huaxinbao Newspaper*, Guo employs young Chinese students who are not originating from Qingtian on ground of their educational level and language competence. Students coming from cosmopolitan areas in China are perceived to be endowed with cultural knowledge, whereas Qingtian people are generally perceived to be lacking it. In this sense, the use of students in the operation of a cultural product, newspaper, helps to add cultural capital as well as symbolic capital to it. Another example illustrates how Chinese entrepreneurs maintain trust based on the quality of product and services. The Beijing-born former medical doctor

Ms. Wang[83] gave up her hope to pursue her original profession and has been operating together with her husband a restaurant, which has established the credibility for bean curd products for more than 20 years. She continues to deliver them to different Chinese restaurants even though profit is marginal:

> I purchase bean curds and bean sprouts everyday from them [producers], meaning that I buy in wholesale and deliver them to others. This is because all old customers still patronize me. (…) We have been in this business for over 20 years, they have trust in us. Although profit is little, we still do this for serving all fellow customers and for not disappointing their trust in us. 我每天从他们[生产商] 那拿豆腐和芽菜，等于是批发过来再送出去，因为顾客还在我手里啊 (…) 我们送了 20 多年，他们相信我们，虽然没什么好的利润了，但我们还是做，为了服务大家嘛，就是不愿意辜负大家对我的信任。(IP5 :20-22)

5.3 Accumulation of Political Capital

Parallel to the above feature, prestige and sense of being are built beyond the limited circle of native-place people, that is, in a broader sphere of Chinese community and established Chinese institutions. The meaning of prestige has been diversified to include professional achievements and success in community services. As shown in Guo's case, social and commercial activities surpass this in-group boundary and for him, personal pride means recognition of his engagements in the Chinese community by the Chinese authorities:

> The Chinese Embassy does not intervene in our association affairs. They also cannot participate. But they do have an eye on the performance of the responsible persons of the voluntary associations. They have an idea whom they should support in their mind, but will not say it openly. When the important moments come for meetings or some matters, they will look for the persons they support to go (…) Important meetings are those held by the State Council or the Political Consultative Conference. I took part in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 2004. Certainly this is my personal honour. 使馆是不会干涉协会会务的。他们也无法参与。但是他们会看社团的负责人的表现，心中会有数说我们支持谁谁

[83] IP5

> 谁。但是不会公开说。那么到了有什么重要的会和事情的时候就是找一些他们支持的人去。(…) 重要的会嘛，就是什么国务院的会呀，政协呀这些。我2004 年去过参加政协开会。这当然也是我个人的光荣啦。(IP 44:47)

While this is the case, personal honour is also pursued through gaining professional status acknowledged in the Chinese community. Ms. Wang's restaurant was awarded the "Star Restaurant" in Europe in 2005 by the *European Federation of Chinese Tourism* (欧洲华人旅游界联合总会) and the *Phoenix Television* (凤凰卫视) for its meritorious services and contribution rendered in developing the Sino-European tourism. For her, running such a restaurant is a pleasant and honoured job for it serves as an interface to let Chinese tourists know more about the beauty of Austria:

> Although what I do is nothing magnificent, just operating a small restaurant, this can more or less let Chinese fellows understand the beauty of Austria. I am quite happy, feel that I have done something very minor, but I have contributed a bit, I am happy. 虽然我做得一些是微不足道的事，开个小饭馆，可是多多少少也让大家了解到奥地利的美好，我自己挺高兴的，觉得自己做了一件很小的工作，但我觉得出了一点力，挺高兴的。 (IP5: 112)

On ground of their professional achievements and honour gained in the Chinese community, social players in "Developing" have accumulated economic capital and symbolic capital which enable them to broaden their social networks to the centre of power, and in particular, to the Chinese political elites both in China and in Austria. Different to those in the previous subfield of "Enclaving", social actors here are willing to approach or be approached by the Chinese elites. With the time, they themselves turn to be the new elites in the Chinese community. The story of Mr. Guo illustrates a typical trajectory of a Chinese migrant becoming a new elite: solid business establishment is followed by or paralleled by active participation in voluntary Chinese associations. Engagement in these associations is recognized by the Chinese authorities as making positive contribution to the overseas Chinese community. Guo is therefore rewarded by invitations to high-profile community activities and to take part in some overseas Chinese meetings in China. All these signify upgraded social status. With such status, he makes himself accessible to various business opportunities

or partnerships which are usually beyond the reach of most of the Chinese entrepreneurs, such as the chance to cooperate with the *People's Daily*.

At some point, social players' own educational and family backgrounds – human and cultural capital – play a role in paving a convenient path for becoming new elite. For instance, Ms. Wang has been approached by various Chinese associations to be their council members for she is an educated and gentle person:

> Actually they all want me to participate, mainly because they think that I am quite educated, and have a gentle personality, therefore every association has asked me to join, for example the Women Association, the Federation of Chinese in Austria. I was once a council member. Then the Women Association wanted me to be their vice chair-lady, I said no, I really had no time. 其实大家都挺愿意让我参加的，主要是认为我有一点文化吧，为人比较温和，所以各个组织都曾经找过我，比如说妇女会呀，奥华总会呀，我当时还当了个理事呢，然后妇女会让我当个副会长，我说不要，我真的一点时间都没有。(IP5: 144)

As such, mobilizing resources within and beyond the close circle of native place fellows, social players in "Developing" have been able to accumulate wealth and prestige which facilitate their access to the Chinese social and political elites. Cultural capital represented by medical qualification obtained in China loses its transferable value in the Austrian job market as illustrated in Ms. Wong's case. However, it has not fully lost its symbolic value. Ms. Wong's cultural knowledge has enabled her to come closer to influential people in the Chinese community. The establishment of linkages to the social and political elites in the Chinese community can be seen as a way of accumulating political capital.

5.4 Strategies: Well-Behaved, Active, Long-Term Planning with Creativity

As social actors are consciously aware of their image and social standings, most of them try to deal meticulously with the legal regulations stipulated by the local Austrian authorities. Although they also complain about the restrictive laws and the concomitant difficulties such as those on immigration of skilled labour, they are willing to follow the rules and regulations, at least ostensibly. Even though they themselves do not have the sufficient knowledge to

understand how to do, they will hire someone for professional assistance. For instance, while Ms. Wang is confronted with the problem of lacking a good chef, she refuses to employ workers without legal documents. She also expresses her readiness to cooperate with the Austrian law-enforcers even though communication with them is never comfortable:

> My German is very poor, I do need to have a translator for understanding many things appearing on the newspaper (…) I have an Austrian accountant, who especially translates things I do not understand; she comes to my place two or three times monthly to explain to me (IP5:14) (…) Looking for worker is a problem, and I will never use the illegal ones. Therefore I have to stay here all the time, (…) I feel that no matter we are in China or outside China, we should be disciplined citizens. I know how to follow the laws, that means how citizens can basically serve the society, I know this, and I am willing to do so. But often I cannot express myself properly, this has created distance between them and me, and caused misunderstanding. 我德语很差的，很多报纸上的东西，我根本就要专门找翻译，(…) 我有专门的奥国会计，专门给我翻译一些我看不懂的，一个月到我这来两三次，让她给我讲一下 (IP5: 14) (…) 找工人是个问题，而且我绝对不用黑的人，所以我自己必须还老蹲着, (…) 我觉得无论在国内还是国外，我们都要做守法公民，我也知道应该怎么守法，就是基本的公民应该怎样服务于社会，我是比较知道的，我也愿意这么做，可我总是表达得不好，所以就跟人家形成了距离，容易引起误会 (IP5:50).

Business strategies in “Developing” is marked by more active approaches, innovative attempts and longer term planning, comparing to the field of “Enclaving”. Entrepreneurs use to promote their products through active marketing such as advertisements in the Chinese newspaper and door-to-door delivery of leaflets. They pay more attention to the quality of goods and market conditions, and are more prepared to make modifications accordingly. For example, the wholesale trader Mr. Lin[84], who is the pioneer in importing Chinese-produced leather goods from Italy to Austria, keeps diversifying his commodities and is confident to survive even facing increasing competition:

[84] IP17

> I believe that I can survive, because this is based on my own feeling. Other people compete with each other, but I expand, I increase the variety of products and the size of place. I have just expanded a bit. If the competition becomes fierce, I will increase more, there are needs for such goods, the bags, belts and scarf, like clothes, people need them. 我相信我还可以生存下去，因为我就是凭我自己的感觉，人家竞争但是我扩大，我就增加产品增加位子，我现在就是扩大了点，竞争再厉害的话，我就再增加点进去，市场上这些东西毕竟都是需要的，包皮带围巾，和衣服一样，都是需要的。 (IP17:100)

Another food grocery wholesaler cum retailer, Ms. Zhu[85], devotes particular care to the quality of products besides keeping an eye on prices and government regulations when importing goods:

> It mainly depends on price, but also on the quality. I strive for the quality of goods. Since we trade food, we have to guarantee our customers business ethics, the quality must be OK, we cannot just take everything. Some products are prohibited in Austria and are forbidden to be imported. Then, we cannot import them. (…) We look at the quality, price and also the market. 主要是看价钱，还有货的质量，我是很讲究货的质量的。因为我们做食品，对顾客必须要保证生意道德，质量上面一定要过关，不能说什么货我们都要。有些货奥地利禁止的，不能进的，我们不可以进的 (…) 看它的质量、价格和这里的销售市场怎么样。 (IP18:94)

Business men and women also try to imitate others' successful examples. But while doing this, they pay efforts to add in their own creativity rather than just copying blindly. For instance, I was told by a sushi-bar owner[86] that she went to a Korean restaurant nearby to taste a popular dish before she studied the seasoning carefully and modified it to become one of her own dishes on the menu.

Overall, social and economic actors in this subfield are predominately Chinese migrants who are economically more settled. They are either the earlier *qiaoxiang*

[85] IP18
[86] IP1

entrepreneurs who have achieved economic success and stability (economic capital) after so many years of hard work, or later migrants who possess better economic and cultural capital prior to their migration. Both groups are occupants of resources necessary for approaching the centre of power. The nearness to the centre of power not only enhances the social status of economic players, but also serves as potential to further business development. Regarding operational patterns and styles, this group of Chinese entrepreneurs are more ready to cooperate with law-enforcers, to pay greater care to marketing strategies and quality of products. Furthermore, they are more prepared to make bold attempts to experiment and innovate. In short, they are actively developing their business and social status, especially the social status within the Chinese community.

6 "Bridging"

a. Urban-Chao

The owner of the well-known Sichuan Chinese Restaurant in Vienna, Mrs. Urban-Chao[87], has an unconventional migration and career biography. Born in Sichuan in the PR China, she spent her childhood and teenage years in the then British colony of Hong Kong, where her father worked as the chief editor of the pro-Chinese Communist Party newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* (大公报*).* As a teenage girl, Urban-Chao actively took part in the 1966 Hong Kong civic protests and she became one of the youngest activists arrested and imprisoned by the colonial Hong Kong government.

Urban-Chao came to Vienna as a young piano student in 1972. However, she did not choose a career in music making after graduation. She was instead an interpreter for years. Moreover, she held preparation courses for driving licence as well as for licence examination of hotel and restaurant industry for Chinese migrants. Translating the course materials of the licence examination word by word, Urban-Chao finally compiled a thick course pack of about ten centimetres.

She took over the Sichuan restaurant in 1998, which was previously a joint project ventured by the Sichuan provincial government together with some Chinese migrants in

[87] This is the real name of Mrs. Urban-Chao as she is a well-known figure in Vienna. I was not able to make an interview with Mrs. Urban-Chao. Data for this case study is obtained mainly from reports and media coverage (Binderhofer 2005, Stuhlpfarrer 2005, Eurofound 2011, China-Austria 2011) on her as well as the website of her restaurant: www.sichuan.at

Austria in 1989. Even though she had already accumulated plenty of theories in head, she was practically an inexperienced boss at that time. Today Urban-Chao runs her restaurant with a team of over ten personnel, and she is one of the most successful restauranteurs in the Chinese catering scene in Vienna. In 2008 she was honoured as a "Famous Entrepreneur for Chinese Cuisine Industry" and her restaurant, the first "International Famous Restaurant for Chinese Cuisine" in Austria by the *World Association of Chinese Cuisine* (世界中国烹饪联合会). In 2009, she became one of the 22 successful immigrant entrepreneurs in Vienna honoured by the Viennese Chamber of Commerce.[88]

6.2 Bridging Social Capital and Economic Resources

One main feature of this subfield of "Bridging" is that social actors do not rely exclusively on co-ethnic networks and resources. They go beyond the ethnic boundary not only to attract inter-ethnic clientele and to include inter-ethnic business cooperation, but also to establish private friendships and social circles. These help to build bridging social capital, which does not materialize as a concrete resource immediately, but can help to gradually unlock access to resources in the mainstream society like information, expertise and language competence, etc. Essential conditions for these cross-boundary initiatives and social interactions appear to be the ability and confidence to communicate in German in a more sophisticated manner. While some are willing to go beyond the ethnic boundary due to pragmatic considerations, others do so because they want to be open and more integrated into the Austrian society. Mr. Yang[89] is the owner of a popular chain of restaurants in Vienna. Many young Chinese as well as middle-class local Austrians patronize his restaurants. In an interview, he reveals that it is a need for survival to go along with *laowai* (老外)[90]:

> Those *laowai* who socialize with me, no matter whether we eat, make jokes, or socialize, I can perceive all these as work. Or we can make friends, this is OK. Sometimes I feel that this is a necessary means for my survival, a kind of social need (…). 和我在一起的老外，无论是吃饭，开玩笑，还是交际，我都可以当

[88] It was a campaign named as "Success Knows No Border!" (Erfolg kennt keine Grenze!). Details see http://www.vorteilvielfalt.at/0401_de.html
[89] IP3
[90] *Laowai* is an informal word in both spoken and written Chinese for foreigner, and it refers almost exclusively to Caucasian foreigners.

他们是工作，或者是交朋友，还是可以的。有时候会觉得这是我生存必须要的一个手段，一个社交的需要 (…)。(IP3:163).

Mr. Wu[91], who is running a travel agency and trading company in Vienna, interacts with local Austrians as much as with Chinese migrants. While his travel agency serves primarily Chinese clientele and cooperates with Chinese partners, he works together with an Austrian partner in the newly-established trading company. For him, one should be more open when living in Europe in order to be more integrated. Commenting on his fellow country people, he says that they do not take the initiative to broaden their social circles and attributes this to their goal of making quick money in Austria rather than living:

> They [fellow country people] feel that they should consider themselves only as Chinese. Yes we are Chinese, but, they socialize only with Chinese, this is because there is no possibility on the one hand, and on the other, they do not take the initiative to contact the circles of local people (⋯.) some people may not understand, because they work here primarily to earn money (⋯). 他们觉得应该只把自己当成中国人，虽然我们也是中国人，但是，他们打交道都是和中国人打交道，一方面当然是没有这个可能，另一方面也不主动接触当地的圈子吧 (…) 有些人可能不能理解，因为他们主要在这里赚钱。 (IP27: 126)”

6.3 Prestige and Vision

Prestige and pride are pursued through professional achievements made not only in the Chinese community, but also among the local mainstream Austrians. Business usually aims to serve customers with higher social status, including CCP cadres travelling in Europe, local politicians, or simply restaurant goers with better education and strong consumption power. The following excerpt is a proud account of Mr. Hu[92], a trained chef originating from Sichuan, on his restaurant patrons:

> We serve local Austrians. Our focus is put on the local, the local higher officials, or the big bosses, or artists. This enhances the level of our restaurant. The Austrian

[91] IP27
[92] IP4

> President Fischer came twice to our restaurant to eat. (IP4: 58) (…) We have also high-profile delegations from China, such as Deng Nan (the daughter of Deng Xiaoping), who came once to us, because she wanted to have authentic Chinese food. (IP4: 72) 我们做的还是当地的奥地利人，我们的重心还是摆在当地，当地的这些高官啊，或者是大老板啊，艺术家啊。对我们饭店的层次会提的比较高。奥地利的总统 Fischer 也来我们这里吃过两次。(IP4:58) (…)还有国内的高级代表团来，像邓楠（邓小平的女儿）她就到我们这里来过，因为她要吃正宗传统的中国菜。“(IP4:72)

Compared with the Chinese entrepreneurs in other fields, social players in “Bridging” are the ones who devote efforts to combine their commercial activities with visions and/or missions of life, and the ones who can lucidly articulate these thoughts. Thus the meaning of prestige and pride has been linked to the realization of their visions and missions. As for Mr. Hu, it is the sense of responsibility for upgrading Chinese cuisine and for revitalizing Chinese culture which drives him to strive for his professional betterment. In the course of realizing his mission, as told by Mr. Hu, the importance of professional recognition and respect seem to override that of financial profits:

> We feel that we have great responsibility, because I perceive problems differently from the other people. Looking from the history of Chinese restaurants, we have set ourselves back decades. (IP4: 42) (…) Those customers who come to us, they are happy (…) we feel honoured, with such wonderful Chinese restaurant here, their impression of the Chinese people will change greatly (IP4: 86). This means, individual honour, self respect, and the manifestation of self value, all these are more important than money. Being a cook, I have never felt to be inferior. 我们觉得责任重大，因为我看问题和其他人不同，从中国饭店的历史来讲，我们倒退几十年 (CA4, 42) (…)到这里的客人，来到我们这里也是很高兴，(…) 我们也觉得很有面子，有这么好的中国饭店在这里，这样他们对中国人的印象也会大大的改变。(IP4 :86) (…) 这个就是说，个人的荣誉，自尊，还有自身价值的体现，这比金钱更重要，我从来就没有觉得自己做厨师就低人一等。(IP4: 122)

6.4 Being Educator and Advocator

When networks and social circles are built, Chinese entrepreneurs can move freely across boundaries to mobilize resources. Being the vice-president (2008 – 2011) and now president (since 2011) of the *Verband des Chinesischen Gastgewerbes in Österreich* (Chinese Association for Catering Business in Austria, 奥地利华人餐饮业联合会), Urban-Chao manages to be one of the significant bridging figures for the Chinese community and the local mainstream society. For instance, she helps to promote legal mindset in business operation and pass official messages from the Austrian authorities to the Chinese entrepreneurs through cooperating with the Austrian business organizations. Stable relations have been maintained with the two rivalry interest groups for enterprises in Austria: the *Social Democratic Business Association* (*Sozialdemoraktischer Wirtschaftsverband, SPÖ*) and the *Business Union* (*Wirtschaftsbund*) which is affiliated with the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP). Her restaurant premises is offered for both groups to organize training and consultation sessions for Chinese restauranteurs on topics such as hygiene regulations, ban of smoking in restaurants and punishment of illegal employment. [93] In this sense, she works as an educator as well as an advocator for the Chinese community. Moreover, with the awards honoured to her and her restaurant, Urban-Chao has become the model of successful overseas Chinese entrepreneur who upholds the professional image of Chinese cuisine. She has taken up the role of facilitating the professional dialogues between the Chinese and the Austrian restauranteurs and improving the standard of Chinese catering business in Austria by inviting experts from homeland to offer training courses.[94] Her bridging role is articulated not only in connecting the Chinese entrepreneurial community and the mainstream Austrian society, but also in linking Chinese in the diaspora and those in China.

The role of advocacy played by social players in "Bridging" can be further illustrated by another example in the Chinese tourism. The Austrian law[95] regulates strictly that only licensed and registered tourist guides (*Fremdenführer*) are allowed to guide tours and individual visitors. A state-controlled examination has to be passed before one can be certified and registered. In the first years of the new millennium, there were only less than ten licensed tourist guides in Austria who could offer services in the Chinese language. In view of the upcoming influx of Chinese visitors to Europe and the lack of qualified tourist guides,

[93] One example is the briefing session on hygiene regulations held on 22.09.2008 in Urban-Chao's restaurant. http://www.vdcm.at/shownews.asp?id=182

[94] One example is the reception of catering professional delegation from China in May 2010. http://www.ouline.com/topic/?id=europe&story_id=38877

[95] Article 108 of the Trade, Commerceand Industry Regulation Act (Gewerbeordnung)

Li Yang[96] and his colleagues, in the name of the then newly-founded *Verein der Chinesischen Reiseführer in Österreich* (Association of Chinese Tour Guides in Austria 奥中旅游促进会), tried to negotiate with the Austrian authorities to loosen the threshold for the Chinese-speaking tour guides. Finally, in cooperation with the Austrian Chamber of Commerce and the Austrian Tourist Office (*Ősterreich Werbung*), the Association managed to organize tailor-made short-term courses in 2004 and 2005 for over 50 Chinese speaking people who were attracted by the working opportunities in the Chinese tourism in Europe. The students were awarded the certificate of tour leader or tour manager (*Reiseleiter*) upon completion of the course. Tour leaders do not officially replace the role of tour guides; and this short-cut approach of "fighting for" a qualification caused grievances of the licensed Chinese tour guides. Nevertheless, this approach has opened the door for some Chinese who were unable to pass the difficult examination for tour guides, and allowed them to enter the Chinese tourism business through a side-door. Through connections and lobbying, Li and his colleagues were able to make the Austrian authorities aware of the specific situation of the Chinese tourism at that time and to undertake actions accordingly.

6.5 Traditional Elites and Their Political Capital

As shown in the above cases, Chinese entrepreneurs in "Bridging" are people who are close to the elites, very often both in the commercial and political arenas, and both in China and in Austria. Using the classification of Pal Nyiri (1999), many of them are themselves traditional elites. Different to those new or semi-elites in the previous subfield of "Developing" who win reputation primarily in the Chinese community, these traditional elites in "Bridging" enjoy their professional status also in the local mainstream society. While educational level, language proficiency and financial backups contribute to their business achievements, family backgrounds seem to play an essential role in some of these cases as well, although not apparently. For instance, both Urban-Chao and Li Yang, backed up by their family connections (parents were old cadres with significant positions in the political institutions) back in China, enjoyed convenience and procured business opportunities they would otherwise not get: to be able to take over the then government-invested Sichuan restaurant (Urban-Chao), and to start taking care of official delegations from China (Li Yang). These opportunities were given before they obtained their business achievements and started engaging themselves in the voluntary associations in the Chinese community. Although these

[96] IP30, see Chapter 7 session 5 for his backgrounds and business experiences

opportunities alone did not guarantee their later success, they gave them an edge over other Chinese migrants in business development. As such, economic advantages appear to be conferred by virtue of previously established political connections.

Political connections on the Chinese side prior to migration provided access to privileges right at the beginning of the business ventures. With the time, achievements made in business enhanced not only the competence of these traditional elites to build up ties with the local Austrian authorities or political institutions, but also bargaining power to advocate for the co-ethnic fellows. While proactively bridging the two communities, political ties on both sides are nurtured continuously. This is customarily done by inviting Chinese and Austrian officials to attend festival celebrations of the Chinese voluntary associations or constant participation of meetings organized by the Austrian authorities. Moreover, showing support for the Chinese official campaigns have been of paramount significance. Examples are the campaign of anti-Taiwan independence in 2005, pro-Beijing Olympics and anti-Tibet independence protest in 2008 and the donation campaign for the Sichuan earthquake victims in 2008. Involvements in these activities are gestures of support for the existing PRC regime and signs of willingness to become part of the unifying force of the Chinese nation. And these gestures help to reinforce the social status of these elites both within and beyond the Chinese community, which will in effect provide further convenience and booster in their businesses. For instance, Urban-Chao and her restaurant have made themselves known to many wealthy and eminent patrons. Li Yang's active involvement in Chinese tourism and community activities has earned him trust among Chinese individual tour leaders as well as Austrian business partners. These are manifestations of how politics and business are interdependent and mingled together in overseas Chinese community (Liu 1998; Barabantseva 2005)

6.6 Strategies: Pioneering, Proactive and Personnel Management

Business in "Bridging" can be characterized by their prosperity, proactive approaches and pioneering attempts. Similar to the previous subfield, Chinese entrepreneurs are keen to promote themselves and their products proactively, not only in the Chinese newspapers, but also in the internet and through the mainstream marketing channels such as gourmet magazines and advertisement boards in the underground stations. One interesting example is provided by Mr. Yang[97]. Mr. Yang originates from Shaoxing and revealed in the interview

[97] IP3

that he worked in a Yue opera (越劇) theatre in Wenzhou prior to his emigration to Austria. Going through the website of his restaurant, I read a slightly different story: the owner of the restaurant was trained in Peking opera[98] and worked in Beijing before he headed abroad. Whether the pre-migratory expertise of Mr. Yang is in Peking opera or in Yue opera obviously does not affect the quality of food his restaurants offer, but probably makes a difference in the presentation of the owner's cultural embodiment. After all, as a symbol of the Chinese high culture, Peking opera enjoys a higher international reputation than Yue opera. A description as such might convey a more authentic "Chinese" touch and be more appealing to his potential customers. This is the bringing to life of cultural capital, which has been quietly stored under individual entrepreneurs' ownership when not in use.

Social actors in "Bridging" are probably Chinese migrants best perceived as entrepreneurs in its classical Schumpeterian sense – with entrepreneurial spirit (*Unternehmengeist*) and innovations. Instead of being trend followers, they are usually the trend setters, someone who is able to convert a new idea into a successful experience. For example, in the catering sector, they are the ones who first introduced Chinese hotpots[99], running sushi[100] and mixed Asian dishes[101] to the Austrian restaurant goers at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of 2000s. At the turn of the new millennium, these new taste and sensation served as stimulus which helped to booster the Chinese catering business to a certain extent. Because of the novelty and excitements experienced by his customers, Mr. Zhu[102] describes his first running sushi restaurant in the *Donauzentrum* as an "adventure restaurant" (*Erlebnisrestaurant*). Another trend setter, Mr. Yang, proudly recalls how he has become a pioneer and founder of a brand name restaurant:

> I started in May 2001 to establish the brand XXX, and combined Vietnamese food, Japanese food and Chinese food into one menu, which has been developed into a brand. You can see that almost all other Chinese restaurants have changed to Asian cuisine. Basically they are based on my menu. 我 2001 年 5 月份，开始建立 XXX 这个品牌。开始把越南餐，日本餐，中国餐集合成一个菜单，成为一个品牌

[98] A form of traditional Chinese theatre developed mainly in Beijing and Tianjin in the Qing dynasty. It is also named as Beijing opera.
[99] IP9
[100] IP8
[101] IP3 and IP 8
[102] IP8

后，现在为止你看所有的中国餐馆都开始改成是亚洲菜了。基本上全是我的菜牌。(IP3: 139)

Business in “Bridging” is also featured by more thoughts and concerns on management made by its actors. The fact that the few medium sized companies employing more than 50 workers exist in this subfield makes it understandable that entrepreneurs are more motivated in systematic management of their personnel. Owning 10 restaurants with altogether over 100 employees, Mr. Zhu emphasizes the significance of morale of the working team. In order to keep up the motivation of their employees, he and his wife adopt a democratic management style. Moreover, internal trainings are underscored with the aim of enabling internal mobility of employees.

> That is the management of our employees. How can you attract workers to come to work for you? How can you stimulate their motivation? How can you make them follow your rules? My way of doing it is: to discuss with them. If I am reasonable, they will accept my opinions. This is the most effective way. 那就是员工的管理了，那就是说用什么办法能够叫工人喜欢到你这儿来打工，用什么办法把他们的积极性调动起来，用什么办法让他们能遵守这边的规矩。我的处理方式就是：和他们讨论 ，如果有道理，他们会接受我的观点，这也是最有效的一个办法。 (IP8: 65)

> Our chefs are not employed from outside. This gives our workers a feeling: the boss values us. We offer them a chance continuously, and give them trainings, to push them to become chefs. 我们师傅级的工人，不是在外边招的，给工人一个感觉：老板很重视我们。我们不断地给他们一个机会，去培训他们，把他们往师傅的位置上推。(IP8: 75)

In sum, social actors in “Bridging” are Chinese entrepreneurs with better education and cultural competence, or even better political connections to China. These have enabled them to draw on co-ethnic as well as inter-ethnic resources on the one hand, and to come closer to the influential figures in the commercial and political arenas on the other hand. For example, some of them take up the role of advocator and educator for the Chinese business community, and in the process of which, their social networks have been strengthened and status has been enhanced. Economically, they have access to more convenience than their co-

ethnic counterparts, partially due to their social connections and status. Moreover, many of them are enjoying stable or prosperous growth of businesses. Strategically, they are usually proactive entrepreneurs with ambitions, mould-breaking innovators of new ideas, and systematic managers of long-term business development.

7 "Integrating"

Empirical material of "Integrating" has been scanty and insufficient to form a comprehensive understanding of this subfield. Nevertheless, limited data (see Appendix I) suggests that social actors in this subfield possess both bonding and bridging social capital. Their relative strong educational background and language ability seem to have enabled their access to the mainstream job market[103] and/or social circles in the mainstream Austrian society. Business or job status seems to be stable and social actors do not show great interest to approach elites. The case of one locally grown-up Chinese restaurant owner has been interesting[104]. While he wants to distant himself from the community elites, he was requested by his father to join a high-profile meeting for young Chinese overseas organized by the Zhejiang Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese in China in 2007. This suggests that second-generation Chinese entrepreneurs may not want to pursue political capital even though they have the criteria to do so, displaying a rather different set of business mentality and practice from that of their parent generation. Therefore, more case studies of second or third generation young entrepreneurs as well as student-turn-entrepreneurs might help to enrich the overall picture of this subfield.

8 Summary and Discussions

The above illustrations have explored firstly, the multiple ways how Chinese entrepreneurs combine and use different individual and group resources; and secondly how the accessibility and use of the different resources shape their articulated values, practices, strategies and outcomes in the pursuit of business achievements. The application of the forms-of-capital approach has enabled the variation of capital endowment among Chinese entrepreneurs in Vienna to be teased out (Table 23).

[103] IP 35
[104] IP 10

Table 23 Resources, Practices and Strategies of Chinese Entrepreneurs

	Enclaving		**Developing**		**Bridging**	
Resources in the form of capital	Strong bonding social capital	Basis*	Strong bonding social capital	Basis + Outcome	Strong bonding and bridging social capital	Outcome
	No political capital		Medium political capital	Outcome	Strong political capital	Basis
	Weak economic and cultural capital	Outcome*	Medium economic and cultural capital	Outcome	Strong economic and cultural capital	Basis
Business Rationale**	Prestige in the close kinship circle		Prestige in the broader Chinese community		Realization of vision or mission of life	
Practices & Strategies	No or limited involvement in community activities; Reactive, short-term and lack of innovation		Active involvement in community activities; Active, long-term plan, well-behaved with creativity		Advocate for and educate the Chinese business community; Active involvement in community activities; Proactive, long-term, pioneering with innovation	
Economic Condition	Struggling at subsistence level		Growing with potential to develop further		Prospering	

Source: own compilation.
* The classification of capital into basis or outcome has been inspired by Zhou and Lin 2005.
** Rationale here means the motivation behind the business activities apart from the aim of achieving economic well-being. It is the common understanding among people in the specific social subfield concerning what makes their business activities rational and comprehensible.

In the literature it is often argued that immigrants who turn to self-employment tend to be poor in economic capital, human capital and cultural capital which can be better transferred into value in the mainstream economy. It is believed that self-employment is only an alternative avenue for them to find a living (e.g. Jones et al. 1992; Nee and Sanders 2001). It could be that this argument includes elements of truth. However, empirical data of this study unfolds somehow a more diversified picture. While entrepreneurs concentrated in "Enclaving" lack the economic, human and cultural capital or the right circumstances to utilize them, fitting the typical image of petit ethnic entrepreneurs, those in "Developing" and "Bridging" do possess the different forms of capital to various degrees which lead to advantages in their business activities.

In the absence of financial funding, qualifications, language skills and sufficient knowledge of how things work in Austria, entrepreneurs in "Enclaving" depend primarily on

family and kinship networks for carrying out economic activities, such as funding, supply of commodities and work labour. Strong bonding social capital is the basis and serves as compensatory cost-cutting provision. Economic capital can be accumulated gradually and becomes the outcome of the process of social capitalizing. In contrast, entrepreneurs situated in "Bridging" possess usually not only strong economic, human and cultural capital, but also political capital already at the beginning. Specific economic advantages enjoyed by some are based on their political connections in China established prior to their migration. Ownership of these forms of capital has enabled them to win social support among co-ethnic fellows and to gain entry to higher status elites and political institutions in Austria, which in turn have long-term positive bearing on their business activities. For example, better educated and equipped with knowledge of the German language, they have been able to go beyond the co-ethnic group to reach the mainstream social circles, which helps to accumulate Austrian-based embodied cultural capital, a kind of competence of understanding the mainstream society's norms and values. In this way, bonding and bridging social capital have been developed as a result of social actors' economic, cultural and political capital.

In "Developing", while social actors also rely strongly on bonding social capital, it arises from a broader social circle, including co-ethnics with professional competence, rather than merely family and kinship members. The ability to do this could be partially attributed to their ownership of economic capital and/or cultural capital which have/has been accumulated either in their previous years of hard work in Austria or before they migrated. In case of scarcity of cultural capital, entrepreneurs make use of money to employ competent co-ethnics to fill up the gap, as shown in the examples of Mr. Guo and Ms. Wong. In contrast, most of the social actors in "Enclaving" lack the financial base or the willingness to do so. Moreover, it is shown that it is exactly the economic achievements and articulated cultural capital, which have enabled Chinese entrepreneurs to accumulate political capital, a way of expanding and enhancing the value of their existing social capital.

Worth-noting is that, as revealed in this study, capital used and strategies employed are shaped by their interactions with the opportunity structures. Specific forms of capital are not fully inherent in social actors, but are properties which are in some aspects conditioned by the structure. For instance, cultural capital represented by medical training has not been useful in their catering business environment in the cases of Zhang Ming and Ms. Wang. It is Ms. Wang's contact with the Chinese voluntary associations which brings its transferrable

value to life as she is treasured as an educated and gentle person among the Chinese community elites. But for Zhang Ming, his medical qualification is neither used nor useful in his existing business environment.

Regarding the rationale of business, it ranges from gaining prestige among close ties of kinship and co-ethnics in "Enclaving" to winning recognition in the broader co-ethnic community in "Developing", and realizing one's mission in life in "Bridging". While there are differences, they can be perceived as various articulations of the core value deep-rooted in the mind of many overseas Chinese: to glorify one's ancestor (光宗耀祖). Traditionally, Chinese people believe that if one can establish a good business or career, one will make his or her ancestors proud. This is particularly the case for overseas Chinese in the older times, who usually resided with a sojourner mindset in their receiving country, aiming to return to their roots one day. Although no such exact expression of it appears in my interview transcription, the repeated underpinning of prestige suggests that if one can do good business and thus glorify his or her ancestor, one will enjoy prestige in his or her circle. It is revealed that the more inward-oriented (with merely bonding social capital) the Chinese entrepreneurs are, the smaller and closer their social circle is, and thus the more social control they encounter in the in-group. The more outward-oriented (with also bridging social capital) Chinese entrepreneurs see their circle much larger, ranging from the broader Chinese community to the whole Chinese nation, as illustrated in the cases above. With PR China's integration of overseas Chinese into its national project, "upgrading Chinese cuisine" and "revitalizing Chinese culture" can be seen as an expression of nationalistic sentiment. At the same time, it is no less an implicit articulation of "bringing glory to one's ancestor". What should not be overlooked is that, while gaining prestige is the articulated rationale of the interviewed Chinese entrepreneurs, economic well-being is still a prime motivation behind their activities.

In terms of practices and strategy, there are invariable short-term ways of copycatting and trial and errors, and a lack of innovation and careful planning in "Enclaving". This might be linked to the limiting effects of bonding social capital as well as the lack of other forms of capital which restrains social actors' courage and ability to go beyond the familiarized "safe" zone. Most of the Chinese entrepreneurs in this subfield still struggle hard for subsistence. In "Developing", active involvements in Chinese voluntary associations and Chinese political campaigns are found as a common way of accumulating political capital.

Besides, social actors tend to be better-behaved law followers who pay greater care to market situations and qualities of products. In terms of economic performance, they are stable with potential to develop better. In "Bridging", educating and advocating for the Chinese business community are found to be prevalent practices. In terms of strategies, social actors are usually innovative with entrepreneurial spirit and long-term plans. Businesses are usually prosperous with positive future.

Comparison of the three subfields suggests that those who are supported by networks and power either in Austria or in China, or in line with the rationality of the existing PRC regime have more advantages in business. It is also shown that that pre-migratory socio-economic position and political connections have implications for capitalization in their entrepreneurial pathways in the new country.

Class factor appears to play a role, affecting not only the accessibility to economic and cultural capital, but also the type and scope of social capital and political capital one can accumulate. It is revealed that the more class resources a Chinese migrant possesses, the more flexible and creative he or she can make advantage of the ethnicity-based social capital and the less one will be constrained by it in his or her business activities. Here I call to mind (Cheong et al 2007; Smith 2007a) that social capital tends to be highly variable by class, with affluent, better educated individuals enjoying richer, more influential social connections with the capacity for better economic reward. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 97-101) remind us that a field is unequally structured with chips and skills (capital). The unequal distribution of capital causes unequal possibilities of action which further define one's position. A field is therefore a social space of power relations. Bourdieu (2001) also argues that while the value of resources and capital at stake are largely defined by the dominant group, it is continuously contested and thus potentially open for change. This chapter shows that Chinese migrants who are poorly equipped with class resources are still profoundly constrained by their limited chips and skills at hand – economic, social, cultural and political capital – to act. Moreover, not all social actors strictly follow the established value of capital at stake, as we have seen in the case of Zhang Ming. These will be contrasted by the possibilities of change and upward mobility in the increasing globalized and transnationalized Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, which will be the theme of the coming chapter. Recognizing their different opportunities and differentiated capital accessibility helps to understand the reproduction of social inequality under increasing globalization. This will bring light to why increasing

globalization and transnationalism do not necessarily provide more people with more access to resources.

Figure 24
Poster of Chinese New Year Concert in the Golden Hall of *Wiener Musikverein*, 2007

Figure 25
VCD Cover of Song Zuying Solo Concert in Vienna, 2006

CHAPTER 9 SOCIAL MOBILITY AND STRATIFICATION

1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, it is revealed that opportunity structures, including Chinese transnationalism, have given thrust to new business and employment opportunities in the Chinese immigrant economy. Moreover, it is shown how different endowments of individual capital and group resources have implied differential possibilities in economic actions, the results of which can range from being "enclaved" in the immigrant economy to being "integrated" in the mainstream society.

This chapter looks at the social mobility and stratification in the Chinese community. While transnationalization has offered new economic opportunities for some Chinese migrants and facilitated their upward mobility, it has neither challenged the pitfalls of the current Austrian welfare and migration regime, nor the making use of bounded solidarity and enforceable trust by the social actors in the Chinese economy. It is unfolded in this study that a reshaping of the socio-economic landscape of the Chinese community has gradually taken place as a result of the intersection of Chinese transnationalization, the increasing constraints of the Austrian migration regime, the cultural features of the Chinese immigrant economy as well as individual characteristics and resources. This reshaping or stratification of landscape takes place through a process of social mobility and immobility, in which Chinese migrants' life conditions and chances have become increasingly divisive, polarized and fragmented (Castles and Miller 2009) based on the combination of some attributes such as education, region of origin, gender and legal status, etc. In a sense, this chapter extends and deepens the discussions in the previous one by exploring the relationship between differentiated individual opportunities and the emerging structural change in the Chinese community.

2 Bounded Solidarity, Enforceable Trust and Internal Trade-off

Although the Chinese immigrant economy can be claimed neither as an ethnic enclave nor as a middleman minority economy, the catering-based Chinese economy has exhibited some enclave-like features which deserve attention and discussions at this point. According to the literature, enclaves usually include not only structural features such as geographical concentration of business and residence, but also cultural ones. They are bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, on which co-ethnic relationships between workers and owners are

based on. They "generally transcend a contractual monetary bond and are based on a commonly accepted norm of reciprocity" (Zhou 2004:1044).

In discussing the relationship between international migration and dual labour market, Massey et al (1998) examine ethnic enclaves as a "third employment sector that blends features of primary and secondary labour markets" (1998:31). Specifically, ethnic enclaves combine the "low status jobs characterized by low pay, chronic instability, and unpleasant working conditions" of the secondary labour market with "significant economic returns to education and experience, as well as the very real prospect of upward socio-economic mobility, thus replicating features of the primary sector" (1998: 31). Drawing on Portes and Bach (1985), Massey et al relate structural and cultural features of the ethnic enclave, arguing that ethnic solidarity and the prospect of future mobility lead "immigrants working in the enclave [to] trade low wages and the acceptance of strict discipline upon arrival", and for the "honour and prestige" that "foreign labour and hard-currency remittances carry in the home community" (1998: 30-31). Finally, Massey et al note that a functional ethnic enclave over time "requires a steady stream of new workers willing to trade low initial wages for the possibility of later mobility", creating an "independent source of labour demand for immigrant workers, complementing that emanating from the secondary sector" (1998: 32).

Unlike some of their transnational co-ethnics who tend to move within a system of cross-border networks of the Chinese diaspora, many Chinese petit entrepreneurs and workers in Austria are restricted to the national boundary. Further, unlike the classical guest workers recruited to work in the Austrian local labour market, the Chinese come to work in the immigrant economy with its own internal trade-off logic that operates separately yet within the structures set by the Austrian welfare state and migration regime. This internal logic is built on the interdependent co-ethnic relationships between business owners and workers based upon bounded solidarity, enforceable trust and a sense of reciprocity. Its meanings are two-fold. On the one hand, it provides most Chinese migrants with earning opportunities, for many of them are denied employment on the local labour market because of their lack of German language skills and recognized qualification. For educated people it means that they would have to spend years and painstaking efforts in order to go through the bureaucratic procedure for the recognition of their qualifications. For example, Ms. Wang[105], who was a trained medical doctor in China, made up her mind to switch to the Chinese

[105] IP5

catering business in the early 1990s after some time of difficult considerations. She would have to spend more than ten years to obtain the equivalent Austrian medical qualification. And even then, there would be no guarantee that she could find a qualified job.

On the other hand, it deprives Chinese migrants of their rights to annual leave, unemployment benefits, dismissal protection and pension, isolating them from the Austrian social and labour system. This deprivation of rights is often offset by shorter term financial gains of cash income which are usually higher than those in the local Austrian labour market. For instance, a Chinese waiter can earn more in cash than the average Austrian worker, if one is not concerned with actual gross income, accrued social benefits from taxation and working hours. However, Chinese ethnic employers usually register their employees as part-time workers with incomes under the marginality line (*Geringfügigkeitsgrenze*) to avoid paying wage tax and most social insurance contributions to the Austrian state, thereby excluding the Chinese workers from enjoying benefits of the local Austrian welfare regime.

Liu Hua[106] was supported by a family friend back in China to migrate to Austria from Shaoxing (绍兴) in the early 1990s. Her first job was to work as a kitchen helper in the restaurant of this family friend. Later she spent most of her time working as waitress in various Chinese restaurants. She did not like her job and thought of going to study or opening her own shop at the beginning. Due to the fear of losing the working permit, she was confined to stay in the catering business for years.

> Actually I particularly wanted to study or open my own shop initially (…) but how about working permit? If your working permit falls out of the tax registration (…) this is a real problem, your residence will immediately be cut off, you have to settle this first, once settled, you can make working permit be connected to a working post, at that time we seemed to take residence permit as something very serious (…) actually I have never liked it [the job in the restaurant] since the beginning, all because of the residence permit, because I have to survive. 其实我当初来的时候特别想去念书或是开店。(…)你的工作纸怎么办？你那个工作纸没人报税的话(…)这是很现实的问题，居留马上就没有掉了，先要稳住再说，稳定下来，让工作纸有个联系，那个时候好象把居留看得很重。(…)其实从头到尾都没有喜欢过，只是为了延居留，要生存才这样子。(IP6: 42-48)

[106] IP6

Liu Hua finally obtained the Austrian citizenship in 2003, a security of both residency and access to job market, thus becoming one of the shareholders of a Chinese restaurant. However, the business did not go on well and she returned to be a waitress after that. For her, a single person without family, income of a waitress is at least stable and sufficient for living. Liu Hua could cash in an average wage of ATS 20,000 (about €1,500) monthly in the period 1995-2000 as Chinese restaurant waitress. In her present job she earned about €1,700 monthly when she first started in 2005, and since 2010, a bit more as she has been promoted to take up some administrative work for the restaurant. Yet, she did not and does not enjoy any paid annual leave. She works six days in a week and 10 hours every day. In comparison, the median annual net personal income in Austria for the year 2005 was €16, 801, which meant €1,400 per month (Statistik Austria, Statistisches Jahrbuch 2006), a sum which was lower than what Liu Hua could cash in. However, Liu Hua has been always registered as a part-time wage earner. She was unemployed for some short periods. As a practice of many Chinese employers, her boss also reported her wage under the marginality line. This deprived her of the entitlement of unemployment benefits. For visiting her family in China once every two or three years, Liu Hua either quits the job or goes for unpaid holidays if her employer allows, for there is no paid annual leave in a Chinese restaurant. Before she filed in her application for the Austrian citizenship, she had to pay the extra expenses herself in order to be registered as a 40-hour full-time employee (IP 6: 48, 92).

While the Austrian social welfare regime is featured by its linkage between social protection and participation in work, a marginality line (*Geringsfügigkeitsgrenze*) is set and adjusted annually as a standard for social benefits. In the case of a marginal wage earner, the employer is only obliged to pay accident insurance for the employed and no wage tax is required, meaning that the employed will not be protected by the general medical care, unemployment insurance as well as pension insurance. Seeing the marginality line as a comfortable legal excuse to be made use of, many Chinese employers register their employees as part-time workers, either as marginal wage earners or wage earners with only half of their actual net income, although most of them work full-time in the reality and receive a full wage in cash[107]. Whenever there is a need to show sufficient income to the authorities, such as in case of application for family reunion or for Austrian citizenship, Chinese employers are willing to report full-employment but request the employees to pay

[107] See also chapter 6, section 2.3 and chapter 7, section 5 for details about the exploitation of the marginality line.

the expenses for tax and social securities incurred for the extra hours. Lacking sufficient knowledge about the Austrian social system, many Chinese migrants are not aware of their unprotected and risky position as marginal wage earners. For those who have the full social insurance (with unemployment, medical and pension protections), the benefits they are entitled to are minimum as their registered wage is low. Moreover, as unemployment could mean the termination of an immigrant's staying permit in Austria, Chinese migrants, as in the case of Liu Hua, usually put up with the unfavourable and even exploitative working conditions as long as possible.

This appears to be a common habit and an unwritten agreement within the Chinese immigrant economy that the abandonment of the above mentioned benefits and protection has to be taken for granted for the sake of maintaining the working opportunities and right of residence. At the same time, it is no less a common understanding that violation of this unwritten agreement would mean social exclusion in the Chinese immigrant economy. I remember a restaurant owner told me that he would usually ask around to see whether the interested person had any dispute in the Labour and Social Court (*Arbeits- und Sozialgericht*) before hiring him or her as a new employee. This is a manifestation of enforceable trust.

Different sources of literature tell us that business operated in ethnic economies have never been in full accord with the legislations in the mainstream societies. This is indeed one of the reasons why such economic formations can be competitive and function as a means for social mobility for some people (Portes and Bach 1985; Zhou 1992). The Chinese case in Vienna appears to be no exception. As such, an internal logic of trade-off, based upon bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, has facilitated the channelling of Chinese migrants into the Chinese immigrant economy, who are willing to trade relative exploitation for a chance for work and quick cash income under the condition of national legal barriers in immigration and labour market integration. This logic of trade-off has simultaneously made it increasingly difficult for Chinese migrants to enter the protected labour market and national economy with full access to the Austrian welfare state. Separating labour and economic contributions of Chinese migrants from the national social welfare protection, the Chinese immigrant economy has been functioning somehow differently from the mainstream one. While it offers economic security to co-ethnics, and particularly new comers in their initial years, it impedes the social and economic integration of Chinese migrants in the mainstream Austrian society to a certain extent.

3 Social Mobility and Emerging Stratification

In the literature, mobility outcomes of ethnic economy have been much discussed. Generally, there is a strong consensus that activities in ethnic economy create opportunities for upward social mobility of ethnic group members (Portes and Bach 1985; Waldinger 1986; Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Zhou 1992; Zhou and Lin 2005; Portes 2010). The main arguments lie firstly in that it creates job opportunities for the self-employed as well as for ethnic workers who would otherwise be excluded by mainstream labour markets. Secondly, ethnic entrepreneurship not only nurtures an entrepreneurial spirit and set up role models among co-ethnics, but also trains prospective entrepreneurs through informal business apprenticeships.

As illustrated above, the internal logic of trade-off has channelled Chinese migrants into the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, which yields direct earning benefits for co-ethnic workers despite their relatively hard and exploitative working conditions. Previously, under the circumstances of relatively limited economic opportunities, the chance of upward mobility in the Chinese immigrant economy laid straightforwardly in the ability to save up sufficient money to own one's restaurant or shop. This was the sole meaning of social mobility which served as an attribute to stratify Chinese migrants, relatively irrespective of his or her educational background, region of origin or social connections. In the course of Chinese transnationalization, economic activities have diversified and business opportunities increased. Attributes such as education, social connections, gender, legal status, place of origin and even accent have been invested with a different meaning and attached with more value in the social positioning of Chinese migrants. This has given rise to new opportunities of social mobility within the Chinese immigrant economy, and at the same time, perpetuated an emerging social hierarchy based not only on the ownership of restaurant or shop, but also on the intersection and combination of the mentioned attributes.

Stratification refers to the persistence of positions in a hierarchy of social relations. It is about who gets what and how, and is concerned with how some people have more freedom and choice in life than others. People who possess good education, money and power have greater control over the external forces, and can open doors which might otherwise be closed. On the other hand, if one starts off at a very disadvantaged point, the disadvantages are likely to accumulate and be reinforced over the life course (Bottero and Prandy 2003). Stratified

social relations occur when social differences are organized hierarchically along some dimensions of inequality including occupation, prestige, reputation, property, income, education, skill, gender, age and ethnicity, to name a few. While these dimensions of inequality are not completely independent, they are neither connected to each other straightforwardly. Some of them intersect and combine to form differentiated social relations influencing the overall position of an individual (Bottero 2006).

Among different dimensions of inequality, occupation is one central element in stratifying social relations and defining people's social status and life-style, as occupations are differentially rewarded not only in terms of pay, but also social status and life-styles. Here the symbolic meaning of work plays a role: some jobs are clean and some are dirty; the former often being perceived as more desirable regardless of the amount of financial rewards and the latter less desirable, reflecting the different social values of non-manual versus manual work. While economic activities of work are crucial to life, work is socially divisive. This occurs in a society as well as in an immigrant economy, which is to a certain extent, an epitome of the larger society.

The following sessions will explore how social mobility within the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna takes place along both the traditional path and the alternative one. They will also look at how mobility of some people is blocked under certain circumstances. It will then emerge that a hierarchy of social relations has begun to form based on division of work.

3.1 Safe Haven and Traditional Path of Upward Mobility

As we have seen, while both the Austrian national structural constraints and the internal logic of trade-off have facilitated the channelling of Chinese migrants into the Chinese immigrant economy, about 80-90% of them have been absorbed by the catering and the trading sectors. A myriad of people with different backgrounds find their living in these two sectors. Zhejiang Chinese have been dominating the catering and trading businesses, either as self-employed entrepreneurs or wage workers, although more and more Fujianese have followed the path in the recent years. Jobs in these two sectors are often seen as convenient and moderate access to earnings, with opportunities of straightforward upward mobility depending on the qualifications, networks and legal status of individual migrants.

As reflected by Liu Hua's case, payment from working as an employee in the catering business is stable and reasonable in cash, if one is not concerned with the actual gross income and the overall working conditions. Moreover, working in the catering business implies the opportunity to acquire necessary skills passed by co-ethnics in order to fulfil one's aspiration to be his or her own boss in future. Owning a restaurant, even a tiny restaurant filled up only by a couple of family members as labour, is perceived as a sign of prosperity and a favourable way of earning a living:

> I feel that everyone has to eat, so [even] this sector of catering may not be a particularly big piece of fat flesh, it is definitely a piece of fat flesh, there is really profit. If a family runs a restaurant, no matter how poor the business is, they will still earn adequately. 我觉得人都是要吃饭的，餐饮这个行业不算是一块特别大的肥肉，但一定是块肥肉，真的是有油水的。一家人如果开餐馆，再怎么没有生意，一家人的温饱还是过得去。(IP6: 142)

Chinese who come to Austria either as pioneers or as followers of family members habitually target at earning their first money in Chinese restaurants. Many start as kitchen help or dish-washers, as these are the least skilled jobs. Through skill learning and accumulation of experiences, they are later promoted to be waiter, waitress or cook, with the goal of saving enough to be their own boss. Chinese from urban areas with trained cooking skills or better educational backgrounds and language ability are usually employed directly as a waiter/waitress or a cook. In the case of Liu Hua, as an urban Chinese from Shaoxing who finished senior middle school in China, she worked only briefly as kitchen helper before she was advanced to be a waitress. This is a job which is more desirable in the sense that it is cleaner and more demanding for language skills, although it still involves manual work.

Saturation in the catering market as well as tough working conditions have turned many to other alternatives such as market-trading, wholesale or retail businesses. Retail shops for Asian groceries and textile products absorb many female job-seekers with certain language ability. These are women who usually have to take up the role of child-caring and could not afford to stand the long working hours in a restaurant. Wang Shan[108], a mother of two children and the owner of a wholesale store at the same time, is an example of such female figures. Although running such a moderate size wholesale store in the

[108] IP19, details see chapter 7, section 4.1

Sechshauserstrasse is no comparison to a moderate size restaurant in terms of prestige in the Chinese community, Wang Shan finds it satisfactory to have found something which fits her family situation.

For a long time, climbing up to the top of the hierarchical ladder in the immigrant economy means to become one's own boss. This is how Liu Hua explains her vision:

> I feel that if you work as employee, you will never have the chance to hold up your head (…) you can only have a future if you can develop with investment based on accumulated money, but this will be difficult if you always work as employee. This is my feeling. Who can make a fortune out of employed work? Besides, being a boss means to be free, I can do whatever I like to; an employed person can never have this autonomy. 我是觉得你要做工的话永远没有出头之日(…)把积累的钱作为投资再发展才有出头之日，如果只是做一份工的话根本就没戏唱，这是我的感受，哪个打工打发财的？而且当老板又自由，我可以怎么样就怎么样，当工人永远都没有自主权。(IP6:138).

In Liu Hua's understanding, this is the day when she does not have to follow others' instructions and be able to cash in a good amount of money. For people coming from the traditional *qiaoxiang* areas through chain migration, there is usually more support from families and kin members in the course of achieving their determined goal. Zhang Ming and Meizhen[109] are typical example. Comparing to them, Liu Hua, a single woman living in Vienna without a strong kin circle, has been lacking necessary support network in assisting her to become her own boss, not even being able to be a self-employed market trader:

> I thought of being a market trader, this is because I did it for other people, and found it was not bad. But I could not find a partner, at that time I could not drive, at that time a woman who drove [it was risky], and I needed to earn a living. 我想过去跑马克，因为之前跟人家去跑过马克，觉得跑马克挺好的，但是找不到合作的，那个时候我不会开车，那时候一个女的开车，又要吃饭。(IP6:102)

[109] IP2, details see chapter 7, section 3.1

As Fujianese migrants are later comers in Austria compared to the pioneering Zhejiang Chinese[110], they are less established in catering and trading in terms of business ownership. However, Fujianese workers have become more and more popular among Chinese business owners, and they have gradually filled up most of the harder and unfavourable jobs in catering and trading. For Chinese business owners, Fujianese workers who possess the temporary right to reside in Austria without official working permit are comfortable employees, as they are diligent, submissive and cheaper labour without complaint, comparing to the Zhejiang and Dongbei Chinese. Mr. Chen[111], a Qingtianese whose restaurant caters averagely 150 Chinese tourists from China or Taiwan everyday and has a daily turnover of about €1000, hires two cooks cum helpers for the kitchen work. They are both asylum seekers originating from the Sanming region in Fujian. The first cook earns about €1000 and the second one, about €900 in cash monthly without any social security protection. For someone with all the legal requirements, the monthly wage can range from €1500 to €2800 in net depending on the working experiences and the prestige of the restaurant. Different to the situation more than a decade ago when asylum seekers could still somehow locate a channel to legalize themselves, though with much struggle and hardship, the door for legalization today has been mercilessly shut. Chinese asylum seekers with temporary right to reside in the Austrian national boundary feel lucky to be able to work in a restaurant, though knowing of the insecure and dim future. Promotion in terms of financial reward and better position seems to be hopeless owing to their legal status.

As such, the catering and trading sectors represent a safe haven for Chinese migrants who can find relatively stable earnings in either the lower strata as kitchen helper or in the higher strata as restaurant owner. Moreover, as shown in the previous chapter, social mechanisms of bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, manifested in transfer of skills or supply of staff, prevail. These mechanisms serve as vehicles for upward mobility, yet can also be constrained by the legal status and the resources the individual migrant possesses. Previously, when possibility for irregular migrants to gain a legal foothold existed, their upward mobility in the immigrant economy was not an unheard story. Besides, to move up to be a restaurant owner or the boss of a trading company was perceived to be the best achievement within the Chinese ethnic economic hierarchy. Since the new millennium, upward mobility for irregular migrants have been made more difficult or even impossible

[110] For the Fujianese migratory history and situation in Austria, see chapter 5, section 3
[111] IP11

while at the same time, the door for prosperity in the new transnational business sector has been opened for a specific group of Chinese migrants.

3.2 An Alternative to Move Up: Transnational Economy

Since the new millennium, an alternative to move up the social ladder has been offered by the emerging transnational economy of tourism and cultural industries, largely filled by urban Chinese migrants who have a higher educational level and the legal status to travel freely within Europe and between China and Europe. Many of them were educated professionals in China and came to Austria in the 1990s, amid the gloomy atmosphere in the aftermath of 1989 Democratic Movement. They formerly worked as restaurant waiter/waitress, individual market trader, shop assistant, or even restaurant owner, earning money and arranging their life in a similar fashion as many Zhejiang and Fujian Chinese do. However, they felt physically overstrained and intellectually mismatched staying in the catering and petit trading sectors. As soon as the tourist and cultural industries open up new business markets, these qualified Chinese change to become tour guides, tour leaders, operators, travel agency owners or cultural program organizers, leaving their previous jobs to those who are less qualified. These new positions are preferable in terms of social value as the task is non-manual, clean and deals with serving respectable guests from China.

Shan Ling[112] became a tour guide through the help of her husband, who is also doing the same job. While her husband travels usually to China and throughout Europe, she stays mainly within Austria as tour-guide for Vienna and the surrounding cities such as Budapest, Linz and Salzburg. She summarizes succinctly how people like her husband went through the process to work in the tourist industry:

> Like my husband, he worked previously in a theatre [in Beijing], his work was easy and light. At the beginning, he worked in a restaurant owned by Qingtianese and could not stand more than two months. Later he went to do some trading business, and tried to bring some goods from China. He said he was not willing to carry plates for those Zhejiangnese farmers. In fact, they [educated Chinese with good working conditions in China previously] lack the physical strength to work in a restaurant, and they will not do the job better and quicker than us, the Zhejiangnese. Therefore, many

[112] IP29

of them turned to do trading or market trading and later tourism when it emerged (…) Many tour guides originating from Beijing and Shanghai entered tourism while they were working as market traders. At the very beginning, when the organization of Chinese tourist groups was not yet professionalized, one main requirement was that you could drive. Many market traders could drive well, and find places, and that is enough. Therefore, this path [of tourism] was started by them in this way. 好像我先生一样，他以前是在戏剧团里工作的，工作很轻松，来奥地利后在青田人开的餐馆里做了两个月就受不了，就自己跑出来做贸易，当时候他试着把一些国内的货弄过来。我先生就说，不愿意为浙江的农民端盘子。他们的体力也不够，做餐馆工也不会比我们浙江人来得好和快。所以大家就去做贸易或跑马克，旅游业兴起后，大家也就去做旅游了。(…) 很多北京上海的导游是跑马克跑出来的。 刚开始的时候中国旅游团还没那么专业，主要还是要求你能开车。那么很多跑马克的人都很会开车，很会找路，这就够了。所以这条路也是从他们开始的。(IP29:24)

When I had a chance to talk to Shan Ling's husband, I asked him if he would consider venturing into catering business as his younger brother was having a great success in running some restaurants in Vienna. His reply, instilled with a sense of superiority to his brother and the catering industry, confirms me of the social status enjoyed by or expected by people working in the Chinese tourism: "Yes, he is making good money now, much better than I am doing. But it is still the Chinese restaurant; he cannot go beyond the deemed destiny of being a restaurateur. People he deals with are still ordinary customers."

Another tour guide, Zhu Yao[113], went through a similar career path as Shan Ling's husband. He was a trained computer technician originating from Shanghai, and had been restaurant worker, market trader as well as retail shop owner before he started working in tourism. For Zhu, the satisfaction in the tourist industry comes primarily from the proper amount of money he earns. Besides, it is a decent work which requires him to dress nicely for his high-ranking guests. In those good months, he could cash in up to €8000 or €9000 monthly; and there were averagely seven or eight such good months in those good years. However, competition has become fierce as travel agencies in China has started to organize tour groups to Europe with their domestic tour guides, without using services provided by the Chinese migrants in Europe who have the relevant expertise and experiences. Since 2008, Zhu Yao has taken a more proactive step in order to compete with his fellow colleagues in

[113] IP31

China. He has been stationing in Shanghai, his home city, in order to keep up-to-date business information and take more care of contacts with his business partners. While his family stays in Austria, Zhu has become a perennial traveller, constantly traversing the territorial and cultural spaces of China and Europe.

The ticket to enter the Chinese tourism in Europe, particularly to work as tour guides or tour leaders, seems to be the level of education and cultivation, namely the possession of human and cultural capital. The industry bypasses the requirement stipulated by the Austrian authority that all tour guides need to be licensed[114], and has its own unwritten norm: ability to speak good Putonghua, a basic general knowledge of history and society, and an understanding of what Chinese customers need. This is how Ms. Wu[115], the owner of one of the first Chinese-run tourist agencies in Vienna expresses her opinions on the suitability of a tour guide for Chinese tour groups:

> My point of view is, even tour guides with licence are not necessarily good tour guides (…) My point is, for those official delegation groups, you just need to mention a rough time[when introducing some historical tourist sites], it is sufficient to say the 19th century or the 20th century, there is no need to make it so detailed.(…) what they want to understand is, how Austrian people live, what Austrians rely on for making a living, how the economic, political and religious conditions of Austria are.(…) It is neither that the person must be a good tour guide when he or she is licensed, nor is a tour guide without licence a bad one. I find this is much related to one's own quality. 我的观点是这样的，有导游认证的人也不一定就是很好的导游, (…) 我的观点就是，这里来的公务考察团，你就讲一个大体的时间就好了，你说十九世纪，二十世纪就好了，不要讲的太清楚。(…) 他们想了解的是，奥地利人怎么生活, 奥地利人靠什么生活，奥地利的经济是什么样的，政治情况是什么样的，宗教是什么样的。(…) 不是他有导游认证就是一个好的导游。那么也不是没有的话就不是一个好的导游，我觉得这个是和每个人的素质有关系的。(IP24:32)

Shan Ling, herself a Zhejiangnese from Li Shui, explains what general knowledge implies and her need to catch up with standard Putonghua as a Southerner:

[114] See Article 108 of the Trade, Commerce and Industry Regulation Act (*Gewerbeordnung*)
[115] IP24

First and foremost, it is your general knowledge, if you cannot even understand the general European history after reading, it means insufficient qualification. Then it is the language. Southern Chinese are not so good in Putonghua, I have to work hard to correct my Putonghua. 首先就是看你的一般常识，看了书连欧洲的一般历史都读不明白的话就是素质不够了。然后就是语言。南方人的普通话不够好。我很努力去纠正我的普通话。(IP29:27).

Besides good language ability and educational level, extensive social or political connections in China, either based on their previous working relations or family networks, are crucial. These connections, transformed to be their social and political capital, allow them to maintain connections in China and to obtain business contracts. As Chinese tourism in Europe began with small group official delegations, their connections in the sphere of economic or political elites in China are preconditions. Li Yang[116] is an example. Ms. Wu[117], who formerly worked for the Ministry of Culture in China and then the Chinese Embassy in the USA, is another one. She embarked her business already in the early 1990s in Vienna. The first group she received was a delegation led by Qiao Shi (乔石) in 1991, a then member of the Politburo Standing Committee（中央政治局常务委员会）of the Communist Party of China. Without these socio-political connections, they would not have been able to contact or be contacted by their Chinese partners to become transnational entrepreneurs such as arranging tours in Austria and Europe or study programmes in Austria.

While the high-level transnational socio-political networks enjoyed by the traditional elites[118] like Li Yang and Ms. Wu are purposeful in pioneering Chinese tourism, recognition and social connections among co-ethnic migrants are essential to enable someone who is not a traditional elite as such to be included in the industry as later comer. In the case of Shan Ling and her husband, on top of their own educational background, it is their close relationship with a group of Beijing Chinese which allows them to be accepted in the working circle of Chinese tour guides. For Zhu Yao, being a Shanghainese has been the comfortable key for him to enter the tourism circle.

Within the tourism sector, it is not uncommon to hear opinions like this:

[116] IP30, detailed story see chapter 7, section 5
[117] IP24
[118] According to Pal Nyiri (1999), the traditional elites are Chinese migrants or offspring of those who enjoyed their privilege and higher status already back in China based on their official positions in the government or CCP.

> It is difficult for them [Zhejiangnese] to enter this circle of tourism. You can see that most tourist guides come mainly from four cities, namely Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu and Shenyang (…) At least he [the tourist guide] has studied history, knows history and is knowledgeable of the international practices, and some of them are quite good in language. But for Zhejiangnese, although those who grow up here are not bad in language, but they do not know anything when you ask them, their level is very low. 他们没有办法打入这个导游的圈子。你发现做导游的居多的主要来自 4 个城市，一个是北京，一个是上海，一个是成都，一个是沈阳。(…)他起码念过历史，知道历史，知道国际的惯例，甚至有的语言也不错。浙江人呢，虽然从小在这里长大的小孩子语言也不错，可是你问他一些什么东西，他什么都不知道，水平很低。(IP 26:34)

With a few exceptions, like Shan Ling and his husband (both of them are Zhejiangnese from different cities), Zhejiang Chinese in Austria are perceived to be a homogenous group which is insufficiently knowledgeable, or in other words, lacking necessary human and cultural capital to be fit for the industry. Zhejiang Chinese, and particularly Qingtian migrants, are often being countrified by people coming from the North and the cosmopolitan cities, and thus being consciously excluded from the circle.

The aforementioned illustrations reveal that some Chinese migrants with better education and social connections have been provided with an alternative to achieve social mobility beyond the conventional business terrain of catering and trading. Most of these people worked previously in humble positions in the catering or trading sectors, leaving now their jobs to the less qualified co-ethnics. Their own resources, namely their ownership of human, social and cultural capital, which had little opportunity to function in the earlier period, are now acting vigorously. This new transnational sector of tourism, educational and cultural industry offers work opportunities with higher social status and decent material return, while simultaneously drawing a boundary separating the general Zhejiang migrants from the educated urban Chinese. The latter have managed to bypass some of the national legal frameworks in their venturing into the new transnational business terrain, while the former have been denied the entrance to the circle of the new opportunities.

3.3 Stuck in the Lower Strata

The lowest strata of the immigrant economy are filled by Chinese migrants without legal status, working in casual low-skilled and low-paid jobs as street peddlers, child carers for Chinese families, kitchen help in Chinese restaurants and even prostitutes behind closed doors. This irregular or informal sector is largely composed of newly arrived groups of Chinese from Fujian and Dongbei, who have come to Austria since 2000, along with some Zhejiang Chinese unable to migrate within the legal framework of family reunion.

Mr. Chen[119], the Qingtianese restaurateur who employs two Sanming Fujianese with status of asylum seeker in his kitchen, hires also someone to take care of his three minor children at home. This person frees him and his wife from child-caring work in order to be able to work in their own restaurant. Having discharged the former Dalian (大连, a city in Northeastern China in Liaoning province) nanny who was perceived to be not sufficiently diligent, he found a young woman from Sanming. This Fujianese nanny possesses no single paper for residence. For Mr. Chen, therefore, she can be more hard-working and submissive, costing him less to hire, with around €600 monthly.

Zhao Long[120], a mid-aged Northerner originating from Liaoning, is also one of them in this irregular working group. Zhao left his job as a mine worker in a state-run mine in Shenyang amid the waves of out-migration in 2000, and spent about 20,000 RMB to buy a visa to come to Austria. He has overstayed the visa until now and has not applied for asylum. This means, he obtains neither working permit nor staying permit, not even a temporary staying permit. Although Zhao Long knows that a temporary staying permit could mean a temporary protection in case of a police raid, for him, it is just a paper without any de facto effect on his status at the end.

Having worked in different places as kitchen helper and renovation worker, Zhao has finally settled down in a Zhejiangnese-owned grocery store in the *Naschmarkt* area since 5 years. Working six days in a week and from 8 am to 7 pm everyday, his main duty is to deliver food grocery to customers in the neighbourhood. Zhao is therefore a known face for Chinese people who regularly do their grocery shopping in the *Naschmarkt* area. This is also how I came to know him when he helped to explain me something in the store. With a

[119] IP11
[120] IP23

monthly wage of €800, Zhao plans to save up sufficient money before he will leave the country and return to China. A chance for him to settle down in Austria seems to be next to zero.

Zhao feels that Europe offers good conditions to work and expresses his doubt about people who earn their living from prostitution:

> In fact you have good conditions here in Europe; you will find something and will not die of hunger if you are willing to work. Therefore I do not understand why some people have to betray their soul and body. Many of them, including my hometown fellows from Liaoning, work as masseuse. But they are not proper masseuse. Really, if you can rely on your own efforts, if you are willing to work, you must find a job, no need to do that. Maybe this is a way for quick money. 其实欧洲有很好的条件，只要你肯做，不会说找不到工作, 不会饿死你的。所以我就不能理解，为什么她们有些人要出卖灵魂和肉体。她们很多女的搞按摩的，不是很正经的按摩，包括我们自己辽宁的也有。这里真的只要靠手靠脚，你愿意做，肯定可以找到工作的，不用那样。可能这样做挣钱挣得快吧。(IP23)

What Zhao may not be aware of is that, while he has been able to sustain his living through manual work, many of his female hometown fellows have been constrained by their physical strength to do the same.

Possessing neither legal status nor extensive kin support, Zhao and many other irregular Chinese migrants are nevertheless an integral part of the Chinese immigrant economy. Although working most of the time behind the scene, the tasks and responsibilities they take up such as cooking, child caring and manual work in delivery are indispensable to the businesses of their employers. An omission of any single part would cause the break-down of the normal daily operation of business. Without the availability of these newer flows of cheaper labour, Chinese employers would have to increase wages and improve working conditions in order to maintain their businesses.

While these irregular Chinese are equally driven by the motivation to accumulate financial holding as their “legal” co-ethnic fellows do, they are practically being excluded from labour protection in the local welfare system, the internal upward mobility as well as the

opportunities in the transnational sector of the Chinese immigrant business under the existing legal conditions.

3.4 The Students

The creation of the transnational education industry has also provided a flow of students after 2000, with an estimated number of around two thousand, and whose position in the Chinese immigrant economy has been ambivalent.

On the one hand, students work in the same low-skilled segments as Dongbei and Fujian Chinese in restaurants and as private child-carers, but with much lower pay. For example, students can be paid for only €2 or €3 per hour for their work as a restaurant helper. Luo Yuan[121] arrived in Austria in 2003 and has been studying computer science. He earns his living expenses by working as a promotion leaflet distributor for some Chinese restaurants. While he is paid for €25 for every thousand leaflets he distributes to potential household customers, the Austrian Postal Office charges €70 for the same amount of service. "Only students are willing to do this job, because we need money and we need flexible working time", Luo Yuan told me. The low pay in casual employment reflects Austrian law on student labour which was very restrictive, resulting in a denial of a student visa extension if caught, allowing Chinese employers to take advantage of students who wanted to work. Since 2009, there has been relaxation of this restriction, allowing foreign students limited hours of employment. Usually, young students depend on these low-skilled casual jobs at the beginning of their stay in Vienna, when they are still incompetent in German language and are unfamiliar with the local conditions.

On the other hand, students provide a potential valuable resource for the higher skilled segments of the immigrant economy as they are skilful in languages and high-end technologies, and in particular if they stay in Austria after graduation of their studies[122]. As a group of urban educated Putonghua-speaking young people, many of them are hired as technicians for computer programming or maintenance, travel agency operators and sometimes even tour guides, reporters for the local Chinese newspapers, private tutors or

[121] IP38

[122] Theoretically Chinese students were able to stay in Austria upon graduation if they could find employment which fit the "key personnel" requirements before 2011. It was however difficult in reality. The introduction of the red-white-red card system in 2011 has theoretically enhanced the chance of obtaining a staying permit for foreign students upon graduation.

private music teachers for children in the Chinese families. They offer capabilities which were absent before their arrival, and are difficult to be replaced by other groups in the Chinese community. Although jobs in these higher-skilled segments are also irregular without official labour protection, they are nonetheless better in payment and enjoy better social status in the Chinese community. Whether the latest reform of the Austrian immigration laws and the introduction of the red-white-red card system will bring changes to the economic landscape of the Chinese immigrant economy, in particular the role of students, remains open.

Besides working as irregular employees, young students have also ventured into business, creating opportunities for self-employment. These are usually young migrants who first came with a student visa and have finally given up the determination to finish the study due to various reasons. A Chinese student friend of mine, Ping, who has been studying law at the University of Vienna since 2003, has just launched her business project, a sushi bar, in cooperation with an experienced Taiwanese cook in 2011. While the Taiwanese cook contributes his expertise in preparing food, this young friend of mine contributes her skills in restaurant management, knowledge in language as well as in local law acquired in the previous years working in different places in the immigrant economy. Her previous experiences include being an under-paid waitress in Chinese restaurants, an operator in a travel agency as well as an assistant in a law firm. Other examples of young Chinese students' business initiatives are internet bar, mobile phone store and transportation companies.

As such, the inflow of Chinese students after the turn of the millennium has offered a cohort of young people who have become convenient and readily available resources in the Chinese community. While some of them are being taken advantage of, some other, as active beings, are taking advantage of the opportunities found in the Chinese immigrant economy. Socio-economic positions of these young Chinese people are diverse and dynamic, but sometimes ambiguous, stretching from the low-skilled and worst-paid ones in the lower strata to those innovative and well-paid ones in the higher segments of the hierarchy. One can change position with the time and experiences accumulated. The case of my Chinese friend, Ping, suggests how the Chinese immigrant economy, with its mechanism of training and channels of information, can function as a means for social mobility.

4 What Matter and How?

It has been illustrated in the preceding sessions how social mobility can take place and emerging stratification in the Chinese immigrant economy occurs gradually against a backdrop of transnationalization of Chinese migration and business activities, as well as the tightening of the Austrian migration regime. As the process goes on, it is unfolded that some attributes such as gender, education, social connections, legal status, place of origin and even accent, which roles were relatively unnoticeable previously, have been invested with different or more meaning, playing now a more salient role in Chinese migrants' path to social mobility or immobility. How do these attributes matter and how do they play a different role than before? This will be the focus of exploration in the following discussions.

4.1 Gender

Despite the insignificance of gender difference shown in the official statistics (refer to Chapter 5), gender does play a role in the differentiation of economic activities in the Chinese community. The role of women in biological production and mothering has limited their flexibility, employability or the ease with which they can go to work. Gender difference has been long-existing in the catering and trading industry where some women, being also mothers, could not afford the long working hours in a restaurant. Those with German speaking ability prefer to turn to work in retail shops for Asian food or textile products, while those without German language skills usually become Chinese child-carers.

With the opportunities offered by the Chinese transnationalism, gender appears to have a more obvious bearing on the immigrant economy. Working opportunities in the better-paid jobs in tourism that require mobility are mainly filled by well-educated men rather than well-educated women. Women are generally restricted to being Austrian day tourist guides, even though many have an official tourist-guide license and are better trained than their male counterparts. The case of Shan Ling and her husband offers illustration of this gender hierarchy, which seems to be based on stereotypes of women as mother and wife, who are deemed physically unable to guide tours for two weeks throughout Europe. This gender differentiation has its significance in material terms since commissions earned from souvenir

shopping and extra sight-seeing, a main income source for tour guides and tour leaders, are much higher in cities like Paris and Rome than in Vienna[123].

Further, it is believed that some irregular female migrants, unlike their male fellows who can earn their living from manual work, have been coerced into prostitution. This seems to become a business following the increase of wealth in the Chinese community and in Chinese tourism.[124]

4.2 Education

In the traditional catering-based Chinese immigrant economy before the turn of the new millennium, it was not uncommon to find overqualified Chinese migrants working as restaurant employees or market traders. Good education was not a requirement and did not mean a lot in the catering and petit trading industry. Unless one could find a reasonable employment in the mainstream job market, educated Chinese were often stuck in the Chinese immigrant economy, feeling frustrated due to the mismatch and inapplicability of their knowledge and talent. The case of Shan Ling's husband helps to illustrate this. While this was the case, it does not mean that education was devalued by the Chinese migrants. On the contrary, most of the Chinese parents always put great emphasis on their children's education, with the hope that they could have a better career development in the mainstream society.

As tourism and the new cultural industry emerge, which require people with higher standard of general knowledge and language ability, educated Chinese are given a chance not only to earn more decent money, but also to reclaim the value of their education and knowledge within the Chinese immigrant economy. In other words, they can now act on their stored resources and activate the transferability of their human and cultural capital, which were of little use previously.

4.3 Place of Origin

[123] Information obtained from IP25, IP29 and IP31. This is simply because most of the Chinese tourists spend more money in France and Italy than in Austria in buying brand name luxury goods.
[124] No evidence can be found in either the Chinese media or the Austrian local media about illegal prostitution. It is rumoured in the Chinese community that some women from Dongbei and young female students earn their living from being prostitutes. Details such as how Chinese tour guides help to enrich the evening programs of some Chinese male tourists by introducing them girls, or in which districts the secret places are located, are obtained from casual talks with IP11, IP23 and IP31.

Formerly in the catering-based immigrant economy, Zhejiang Chinese and in particular Qingtian Chinese dominated in the business activities. Simply being a Zhejiangnese was already a convenient entry ticket to the ethnic job market as they speak the "same language". The non-Zhejiang Chinese migrants were being absorbed into the Zhejiangnese-dominated businesses to a certain extent. While they were not intentionally excluded by the Zhejiangnese, many did not feel comfortable to work for or with them, as the case of Shan Ling's husband demonstrates. With the diversification and transnationalization of the immigrant economy in the new millennium, being a Zhejiangnese has gradually lost its absolute convenience as before. Instead of joining the new burgeoning transnational business activities, most Zhejiangnese, and again specifically Qingtianese, have been countrified and thus excluded by Chinese who dominate tourism and cultural industry. At the same time, place of origin such as Beijing, Shanghai and other Chinese big cities serves almost as prerequisite for people to enter this new sector. Even in the catering business, Zhejiang restaurateurs are perceived to be unable to offer "authentic" Chinese food to suit the taste of Chinese tourist guests coming from cosmopolitan areas (Kwok 2009b).

Related to place of origin is one's ability to speak standard Chinese, Putonghua. Formerly, when the immigrant business geared almost exclusively to the Austrian mainstream society, it was one's knowledge of German which counted. With part of the immigrant business, namely the transnational part of it, geared also towards Chinese customers, significance of standard Putonghua has increased. As such, place of origin and language ability have gradually become markers signifying the different opportunities and positions of Chinese migrants obtained in the hierarchy of the immigrant economy.

4.4 Social Connections

Previously social connections which could be useful for business were primarily developed around co-ethnics, and more specifically among kinship circle or acquaintance from the same place of origin, be it a village or a city. These can be reflected by activities such as fetching someone from the same hometown in China to help in a restaurant in Vienna[125], or stocking in some made-in-China goods from a Qingtian kin member in Slovakia or in Italy[126]. Most of these connections remained within the close kinship or acquaintance circles. Using Granovetter's term, they are strong ties.

[125] Such as Zhang Ming, see chapter 7, section 2.1 and 2.2
[126] Such as Wang Shan, see chapter 7, section 3.1

For transnational economic activities, beneficial contacts imply linkages going beyond the close kinship and acquaintance circles, reaching out also to the political and business elite both in China and in Austria. In other words, they are featured by weak ties as well as extensive geographical stretching. This can be shown in the examples of Li Yang[127] and Ms. Wu[128], whose transnational socio-political contacts play an indispensible role in pioneering their business activities as well as in maintaining their business contracts in Chinese tourism. This means, social ties have to be "upgraded" in order to facilitate the development of the transnational sector of the immigrant economy.

5 Summary

Immigrants in Austria have long been considered dependent workers expected to live from poor wages and to rise in the social hierarchy only slowly over generations. Usually, they are not expected to be independent entrepreneurs who achieve economic success and change of class position within a short period of time. Notwithstanding this, this study has shown that the enclave-like Chinese economy in Vienna has offered Chinese co-ethnics opportunities for upward mobility within one generation, although at the expense of fair labour right treatments. This is generally achieved through mobilizing collective sources of social capital, and combing them with other personal resources to create sustainable petty enterprises.

Chinese transnationalization with respect to migratory, capital and trade flows has transformed the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna. While creating more opportunities for some Chinese entrepreneurs and workers for upward mobility, it has challenged neither the pitfalls of the current Austrian welfare and migration regime, nor the exploitative use of bounded solidarity and enforceable trust by some ethnic entrepreneurs. This has gradually shaped and reinforced a process of socio-economic stratification. Privileging the well-educated and well-connected migrants, and marginalizing the less educated and irregular ones, this process of stratification has widened and polarized the socio-economic distance among Chinese migrants to a certain extent. While the former have been able to better utilize their resources (articulated in different forms of capital) to go beyond the Austrian national boundary in order to obtain material gains and expand their middle-class status, the latter are however excluded from the same opportunities and have been strictly confined by national

[127] IP30, details see chapter 7, section 5.1
[128] IP24, details see section 3.2 in this chapter

legislations. This could be partly accounted for by the differential resources and attributes such as gender, education, place of origin and social connections, which play a more obvious and significant role than before in determining the socio-economic relationships of Chinese migrants. To a large extent, these findings echo the literature of transnationalization, saying that not all migrants are transnationals and not all can enjoy the advantages brought by transnationalization (Portes 2003; Vertovec 2004). While transnationalism represents a "strategy of survival and betterment" (Faist 2000:191) and transnational economic strategies offer alternatives to achieve economic goals and social mobility for some migrants, some other or the non-migrants are deprived of the advantages and remain socially and economically impoverished (Portes 2003; Vertovec 2004; Tayor et al. 2007).

When this analysis is paralleled by the conclusion drawn from the previous chapter, that unequal distribution of resources causes unequal possibilities of action in the Chinese immigrant economy, it suggests a more thorough understanding of the whole situation. With unprecedented economic growth in China, a certain amount of *nouveau riche* and urban middle class people have emerged. While they are the winners of market economic reform, there are losers who have been lagged behind: the rural population and urban dwellers abandoned by state enterprises reform. This divergence, as the overall result of the developments in China, has not only been reflected in the diversified patterns, origins and destinations of Chinese global migration in the last decades, but also in the diversified socio-economic paths of Chinese migrants in their receiving societies. Revealed in the Austrian case, those less connected and less protected Chinese migrants possess simply less freedom and choices to act, thus are relatively powerless to grasp the chances provided by transnationalization as the well-educated and well-connected ones can do. Suffice it to say, the increasing coupling of economic opportunities with personal attributes and endowment of resources signifies what Pieke et al. (2004) marked as a new form of social inequality resulting in the process of migration, globalization and transnationalization.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSION

Having presented the stories of Chinese entrepreneurs in Vienna with discussions, it is time to go back to the questions posed in the beginning chapter and recapitulate the implications and limitations of this study. What kind of Chinese immigrant economy can be identified in Vienna? What has been revealed about the different transnational and local, structural and cultural factors in shaping the Chinese immigrant economy in a Western receiving society? How far has this mode of economic operation contributed to the improvement of lives and integration of Chinese migrants? What light does this case study bring to our rethinking of transnationalism and globalization?

1 Cross-Ethnic Chinese Immigrant Economy

As a social phenomenon, immigrant economy refers to a set of economic activities surrounding and connecting an ethnic or immigrant group of people sharing common cultural backgrounds. For the Chinese economy in Vienna, it involves not only people originating from PR China, but also ethnic Chinese coming from Taiwan, Hong Kong and other Asian countries, and covers a range of people including employers and employees, self-employed, non-paid family members and customers. Is the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna a kind of ethnic enclave, one which is bounded by an "identifiable ethnic community", and embedded in "community-based co-ethnic social relations and observable institutions" (Zhou and Lin 2005: 265), self-sustaining, self-segregated and socially mobile community with spatial concentration of residence and densely interwoven businesses serving primarily co-ethnic clientele (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes 2010)? As shown in this study, the Chinese immigrant economy has been marked by its cross-ethnic feature ever since the beginning, with more than 80% of the business targeting at the general consumption market in the mainstream society presently. Moreover, the geographical development of the Chinese community in Vienna has been relatively dispersed, restraining the establishment of a classical ethnic enclave or "Chinatown". The Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna is thereby far from self-sustaining and self-segregating. While this is the case on the one hand, it has exhibited some structural and cultural features similar to those of an ethnic enclave on the other hand.

Structurally, we witness a sizeable petit entrepreneurial class (about 10-12% of the ethnic Chinese population in Vienna), rising interdependence of co-ethnics in businesses and

increasingly visible locations – *Naschmarkt*, and also to a lesser extent *Sechshauserstrasse* - which draw both commercial and social activities of Chinese migrants. Culturally, we can see how bounded solidarity and enforceable trust based on Chinese ethnicity have contributed to the reciprocal co-ethnic relationships and the building of bonding social capital. They serve as resources for the internal trade-off mechanism as well as for compensatory cost–cutting provision in business operation. While in-group ethnic solidarity and trust play a significant role, the Chinese economy has not excluded cross-ethnic relationships, such as business cooperation with local business people or networking with Austrian authorities, which help to generate heterogeneous identity and broader reciprocity (as illustrated in chapter 8 and chapter 9). In other words, economic activities are not solely governed and constrained by the Chinese ethnicity as in the narrowly defined ethnic enclave, but are open to a social world beyond the ethnic boundary in both economic and social terms.

Scholars (Light and Gold 2000; Zhou 2004) have pointed out, that enclave economy should be regarded as a special case of immigrant economy, and that some distinctive aspects of the general social phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship can be captured by the explanation of ethnic enclave (Zhou 2004:1046). Bearing this in mind and with the above identified features, I argue that the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna tends to be a cross-cultural economy rather than a closed ethnic enclave

Although interest has been shown on the side of both local politicians and Chinese community leaders to develop a "Chinatown" in the *Naschmarkt* area (Europe Weekly 2008b), there have been worries. In an informal gathering, a Chinese entrepreneur expressed his concern in this way: "we need to keep our own culture, but also accept and accommodate other cultures. With a Chinatown, are we not going to lock ourselves tightly in it? The majority of Chinese in Austria are Qingtianese from Zhejiang, that would become a Qingtian Town rather than a Chinatown, and that would be unrepresentative then. 我们要保持自己的文化，也需要接受容纳其他的文化。建了个中国城，不就是把自己关得死死的嘛。在奥地利的华人大部分是浙江青田人，到时候建了的是青田城而不是中国城, 也没有代表意义了" (conversation on 06.05.2009). While this simple articulation reveals something about the internal differences and tensions among subgroups within the Chinese community, it also remarks the vision of some Chinese entrepreneurs to break out of the Chinese economy and to reach out to the mainstream society.

2 Dual Embeddedness

As a conceptual framework guiding the analyses, dual embeddedness has two meanings in this study. First, it denotes that immigrant economy is shaped both by the local opportunity structure such as the immigration policies, welfare arrangements, consumer market and labour market conditions of the receiving country as well as by the transnational opportunity structure including the policies and socio-economic situations in the country of origin. Second, the concept signifies the double embeddedness or orientations of immigrants' economic activities in both the host society and their own immigrant community socially and culturally. Both meanings bespeak a certain "life in two societies" (Lichtenberger and Faßmann 1987), a notion already used more than two decades ago to describe the life situations of the Yugoslavian guestworkers in Vienna in the 1970s and 1980s. Dual embeddedness offers a perspective for understanding not only how various factors in different social spaces contribute to the emergence and developments of the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, but also how the interaction or interrelationship of these factors does.

Empirical data unfolds that this interrelation is characterized by the intersection of two processes: increasing constraints of the Austrian migration regime on the one hand, and growing opportunities in the transnational space on the other. While the general Austrian state framing conditions for migration have become increasingly unfavourable and institutionalized, the rising impacts of Chinese globalization and transnationalization on Austria in the form of Chinese migration, trade and capital investment have offset some structural barriers to a certain extent, providing entrepreneurial and employment opportunities in the catering, trading and new tourism, cultural and educational sectors. Nevertheless, only limited Chinese migrants can transgress the structural limitations and enjoy advantages induced by the Chinese transnationalization process. This has somehow led to a second consequence: an emerging stratification and reshaping of the socio-economic landscape of the Chinese community in Vienna, a topic which will be highlighted in a later section of this chapter.

Besides, it has been illustrated that specific policies regarding immigration, self-employment, taxation and welfare policies of the Austrian regime, the local market conditions, and policies in China have exerted impacts at different stages of the Chinese economy in Vienna, and how Chinese migrants have reacted to them with their internal

resources. While some of these serve as opportunities for the Chinese immigrant economy, some other are constraining factors.

3 Resources and the Role of Culture

The typical image of petit ethnic entrepreneurs who are poor in financial resources and education does not reflect a fair picture of the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna. Using Pierre Bourdieu's concept and perceiving the Chinese immigrant economy as a social field, the investigation of this study has shown a spectrum of Chinese entrepreneurs situated in different subfields: "Enclaving", "Developing", "Bridging" and "Integrating". Chinese entrepreneurs are variably endowed with individual and group resources including cultural capital and social capital. The endowment and mobilization of different capital do not only shape the business strategies, practices and rationale, but are also closely related to differential possibilities in economic outcomes, ranging from struggling hard for subsistence in the "Enclaving" to prospering in the "Bridging".

Apart from the individual financial capital, social capital, cultural capital and political capital, Chinese entrepreneurs are also embedded in their group cultural resources. This study adopts the view that culture is neither a system of fixed traits internalized among migrants directing their business activities, nor merely a result of reactive adaptation to the post-migratory environments. While the former overemphasizes the role of culture, the latter tends to underemphasize it. Instead, based on the insights of economic sociologists such as Swidler (1986) and DiMaggio (1994, 1997), this study sees culture as contingent upon time and space. Thus, the role of culture in immigrant business lies in offering a collective set of repertoire, *cultural toolkit* in Swider's term, which serves as the pre-fabricated links to the culture of origin. Components in this *cultural toolkit* can be drawn by its members as rationale for their post-migratory economic actions or to be used as a commodity according to the varying situations and structural conditions.

Concrete illustrations and insights obtained from this study can be classified into two groups. First, it is the tangible (such as ethnic food, clothes and handicrafts) and intangible components (such as music and dance) in the Chinese collective *cultural toolkit*, which Chinese migrants make use of as commodifiable objects to develop their business. Examples are the catering, trading and even the new transnational business sector in tourism and cultural industry. All these sectors would either never have emerged without being able to

make use of the Chinese *cultural toolkit*, or have declined and died out in the absence of refreshed meanings attached to the cultural elements. For instance, in the course of time, the mainstream Chinese cuisine in Vienna has shifted gradually from the classical Europeanized style to more innovative Asian mix and "authentic" hometown taste (see chapter 7). As such, not only the taste, but also the image and meaning of Chinese food have been changing – from low-priced food to trendy healthy food - according to the societal developments, market demands as much as what Chinese cooks in Vienna can offer.

Second, it is the "shared collective understanding", value and practice, something which also belong to the intangibles of the cultural repertoire. Confucian values, familism, particularistic trust and personal networks or *guanxi* within kinship are the most frequently mentioned and discussed ethos and practices in the scholarship of overseas Chinese business (Redding 1990; Hamilton 1989; Yeung and Olds 2000). In the culturalist discourse, these values and practices are believed to be the intrinsic cultural endowments of Chinese people, and play a prime or even deterministic role in facilitating their post-migratory entrepreneurial activities (Dirlik 1996; Gomez and Benton 2004). Although it is evidenced that some of these practices such as particularistic trust and strong personal networks prevail in the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna, this study lacks sufficient empirical proof to make a claim on the deterministic link between pre-migratory values and post-migratory economic actions, for which an extensive longitudinal study of the Chinese entrepreneurs before and after migration would be necessary. Empirical examples in this study suggest it is difficult to purport that particularistic trust and personal networks commonly found among smaller circles of kinship or place-or-origin fellows should be understood as a set of fixed cultural ethos intrinsic in Chinese people. Instead, they are shown to be conditioned on the one hand, by external factors such as the size of the in-group circle, the mainstream job market situation in Vienna as well as the policies of the migration regime in Austria, and on the other hand, by individual possession of resources and the ability to make use of them. For instance, it was the fear of losing residence permit and the difficulty to find employment in the mainstream job market which bond Liu Hua and her employer-friend together at the very beginning[129].

Another related issue here is the boundary and extent of trust and networks. As just mentioned in the last section, networks and trust built are not confined to co-ethnics, but are extended to local customers, business firms, Austrian institutions and authorities. That means,

[129] Details see chapter 9, section 2

social capital, which has been often singled out in the literature as the special ability for specific ethnic group (Therborn 2007; Jones and Ram 2007), has been shown to be based not only on the Chinese ethnicity in this study. Cross-ethnic relations and resources leading to bridging social capital have also played a role in the Chinese immigrant economy. This poses a serious question to the culturalist claim of social capital vested in ethnicity in the ethnic economy discourse. In fact, as revealed in chapter 8, the more class resources a Chinese migrant possesses, the more flexible and creative one can get hold of the *cultural toolkit* or Chinese ethnicity, and the less one will be constrained by it in his or her business activities. This suggests that some Chinese are more "ethnic" and some other less, depending on the usefulness of ethnicity in the concrete situation.

In addition, it is unfolded that the ethos of "bringing glory to one's ancestor" (光宗耀祖), a value commonly shared among many Chinese people seems to prevail among Chinese entrepreneurs. However, it does not appear in a clear and explicit, but implicit and multi-faceted manner. Its manifestations vary, ranging from strong expression of pursue of personal prestige to expression of realizing one's mission in life, depending on their positions in the field of the Chinese immigrant economy. There are also Chinese entrepreneurs, who do not seem to be motivated by this value in their economic endeavours.

All these illustrations add to our understanding that it is in the process of migration and integration that certain cultural components, skills, values and practices start to take on significance for entrepreneurial behaviours. These cultural elements are heterogeneous in content and function, and the meaning and manifestations of which are subject to change according to concrete circumstances. Therefore, the role of culture should not be overstated; at the same time, Chinese culture and traditions are not irrelevant in business activities. They influence immigrant entrepreneurship not by "providing the ultimate values toward which action is orientated", but by shaping a set of cultural repertoire from which migrants can construct their business strategies.

4 Social Mobility and Integration

Does the Chinese immigrant economy improve the lives of people who participate in it? In the literature, one of the central ideas is that ethnic economy is not just a "shelter" for the disadvantaged to seek for self-employment or marginal-wage work, but also offers an

effective alternative path to social mobility and gradual integration in the mainstream society (Portes and Bach 1985; Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Zhou 1992; Zhou and Lin 2005). This study has shown that the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna has been offering Chinese migrants a "shelter" with relative security, like a safe haven. In general, Chinese migrants, no matter whether they are new arrivals or old timers, irregular or regular, less skilled or well-educated, can find earning opportunities in the immigrant economy to which they are denied in the mainstream labour market. Opportunities range from being employed in the lower strata as house cleaner or in the middle strata as waiter/waitress to being owner of a restaurant or a travel agency in the higher strata. For a long time, climbing up to the top of the hierarchical ladder means to start from the bottom as kitchen helper to become one's own boss of a restaurant or a retail shop. This was the classical avenue of upward mobility accessible to all who had the aspiration to do so. In the wake of globalization of China's economy and Chinese migration, Chinese transnational activities have emerged, giving thrust to new business and employment opportunities in Vienna such as those in tourism and cultural industries. These new economic activities have not only reinvigorated the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna to a certain extent, but also unlocked the door of an alternative path of prosperity and social mobility, in particular for a group of well-educated and well-connected Chinese. Better educated Chinese migrants, with their connections to business and political elites both in Austria and China, are now given the opportunities to earn more decent money and to upgrade their social status.

However, being able to move upward in the Chinese immigrant economy does not necessarily guarantee integration in the mainstream society straightforwardly. The explanations are two-fold. On the individual and subjective level, it depends very much on the ability and willingness of individual migrant to establish cross-ethnic ties not only in business arena, but also in social and even political aspects. These are ways of accumulating bridging social capital which helps to facilitate understanding and appreciation of norms and values of the mainstream society and being recognized as an equal citizen. As unfolded in this study, even most of the Chinese business targets at the general consumption markets in the mainstream society, and social actors in the Chinese immigrant economy have constant interactions with local Austrians and authorities, many of them (both employers and employees) do not feel close to or integrated in the Austrian society psychologically. This is especially the case for Chinese migrants situated in "Enclaving" and "Developing" (refer to chapter 8) who are mostly confined to in-group ethnic resources. When asked about opinions

on their integration, they attributed the psychological distance to the mismatch of education and cultural roots.

> There is still a distance, because of our language. We cannot really communicate because of the language (…) you see that people who left China in our time, what we want is to work, and to sustain our living. There is no chance to go to school, to learn, to further study, we, who emigrated so early, do not have the favourable conditions. 还是有点距离，因为我们的语言。我们的语言沟通不起来嘛, (…) 你看我们那个年代出来的人，好象就是打点工，维持点自己的生活。就没有好好的去读书啊去学习啊，去深造，根本就没有那个条件，像我们那么早出来的人。(IP1:127)

> 40% adapted, 60% not adapted (…) this is closely related to our cultural foundation. This foundation thing is much relevant. Things which are implanted in my mind right at the beginning are deep-rooted; they are difficult to be changed. I should say, those 40% are the result of my gradual adjustments after so many years here. 4 分适应，6 分不适应 (…) 这点就跟我们的文化基础有关，这个基础东西关系很大。最初在脑子里的东西也是根深蒂固了，也是很难改变了。应该说，这 4 分也是在这里这么多年，慢慢调整出来的。(IP2: 161-168)

This phenomenon may be partly attributed to the demographic profile of the Chinese community in Vienna, which is still primarily filled up by less-educated first generation *qiaoxiang* migrants. Different to the smaller proportion of better educated second generation or urban dwellers from big Chinese cities, many first generation *qiaoxiang* migrants still embody the sojourner mindset. Although they have de facto settled down in Austria and do not really plan to return to China, they regard their residence in Austria as primarily instrumental (for making money and raising children) and do not consider this place as home[130].

On a group level, it depends on the inclusion of Chinese migrants in the Austrian national welfare system. As demonstrated in chapter 7 and 9, the informal sector or grey area exists in the Chinese immigrant economy, in which employment can be arranged in a way

[130] This can be an interesting issue to explore for understanding migrants' identity formation. The example of the first generation *qiaoxiang* migrants in this case study suggests that identities of settler and sojourner are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

that Chinese employers can avoid paying full taxes and social security, and that employees can continue to work without registration or registered as a worker with minimal protection. Recognizing that the Chinese immigrant economy does not operate in isolation from the local economy, the above mechanism has separated the labour contribution of Chinese employees from the national social welfare protection to a large extent. This is despite the fact that the Austrian social welfare regime highly underscores the linkage between social protection and participation in work. As a result, rights to annual leave, unemployment benefits, dismissal protection and pension are to a large extent deprived. It should be underlined that hidden economic transactions, irregular employment or avoidance of taxes and social security are not unique in ethnic entrepreneurship in Austria. They are not uncommon in small or family businesses in Austria in general, regardless of ethnicity (Feld and Schneider 2010; Schneider 2011). To investigate whether these informal transactions are more common in the Chinese immigrant economy is beyond the scope of this study. Nor can this study make any moral conclusion judging whether it is correct or wrong.

Based on the empirical data of this study, what is important to point out is that, the Chinese immigrant economy functions with an internal trade-off widely accepted by its members: While Chinese workers' rights are deprived, this deprivation is offset by the earning opportunities and shorter term financial gains unavailable in the mainstream economy for both Chinese employers and employees. Whereas this trade-off mechanism is known and widely accepted in the Chinese immigrant economy, people may not be conscious of its consequences: isolation from the Austrian social and labour system which impedes their social and economic integration. This can be understood as, among other[131], one social cost of joining the immigrant economy, particularly in a society where the linkage between labour participation and social welfare protection is a norm.

5 Transnationalization and Inequality

Chinese transnationalization in terms of migration, capital and trade flows has transformed the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna. Taking the class factor into account in this study, it is revealed that while some Chinese migrants can enjoy the economic advantages induced by this transnationalization process, some other are excluded and remain marginalized,

[131] Such as exploitation, negative effects of strong ethnic social networking and trap in marginal business sector. See for example Portes and Landolt 1996; Fong and Ooka 2002 and Wahlbeck 2007.

thereby leading to the emergence of internal stratification and widening of socio-economic distance among members of the Chinese community in Vienna.

Under the previous circumstances of limited opportunities in the Chinese immigrant economy, upward mobility simply meant saving up sufficient money to own one's restaurant or shop. Relatively irrespective of one's educational background, region of origin or social connections, being a boss or not was almost the only yardstick in the differentiation of social positioning. In the course of Chinese transnationalization, new meanings and significance have been attached to personal characteristics such as education, gender, legal status, place of origin, social connections and even accent of individual Chinese migrants. For example, the new tourism and cultural industry require better standard of general knowledge and language ability. This has given chance for educated Chinese, especially people originating from cosmopolitan areas in China, to act on their human capital and cultural capital, which were of relatively little use in the Chinese catering and petit trading business previously. While they enjoy earning more decent income and the expansion of their social status by better utilizing their resources and participating in the transnational sector, a social boundary has been simultaneously drawn between them and the less-educated Chinese, preventing the latter to join the "club" of the former.

Moreover, transnational business in tourism and cultural industry relies not only on strong ties of close kinship circle, but also heavily on weak ties of extensive social and political connections at transnational level. Chinese migrants who are in possession of good education, money, skills and social connections have simply more choices (in terms of different forms of capital) and freedom to act in such new situations, and thus greater control over the external forces. They can sometimes even overcome the structural barriers set by the Austrian authorities. In contrast, people who are poorly equipped with financial, human and cultural capital, such as the less educated *qiaoxiang* migrants and irregular new migrants, are profoundly limited by their chips at hand to grasp the opportunity. The intersection of Chinese transnationalization and increasing constraints within the Austrian migration regime implies double disadvantages for them: Not only are they excluded from opportunity to become an equal member of the receiving society, but are also denied advantages brought by Chinese transnationalization.

While some authors suggest that increased globalization would mean more recognition for people with different characteristics and more access to resources (Nederveen Pieterse 2004b; Savage and Bennett 2005), some other point to the deepening of social inequalities produced in the processes of globalization and transnational migration (Bauman 1998; Castles 1998). Specifically, scholars of migration remind us that not all migrants are transnationals and not all can benefit from transnationalization (Portes 2003; Vertovec 2004; Taylor et al. 2007). The contribution of this study lies in its bringing to light how some migrants become transnationals and some other not, and how divergent paths and new form of social inequality (Pieke at al 2004) can take place in the process of rising globalization and transnationalization. Among other examples, the case unravelled by this study is that social inequality could be reproduced through more coupling of economic opportunities with individual attributes and endowment of class resources, which cause unequal possibilities of action. This has prompted us to reconsider whether globalization and transnationalism will always bring more access to resources to all people involved.

It is also a point worth noting that the unequal pathways of Chinese migrants in Vienna seem to epitomize or extend the contrasting experiences of winners and losers of market economic reform at home in China to a certain extent. As mentioned in the opening chapter, for a long time, China has been a sending country with out-migrants in search of a better life in terms of economic or/and political security elsewhere. Today, with its emergence in the global economy, China exports not only out-migrants, but also economic opportunities, its language and culture, and even home-bred logic and patterns of capital accumulation. The ones who can best seize the exported economic opportunities and fit into the logic of Chinese capital accumulation are those urban affluent class or politically well-connected Chinese migrants in Vienna, people who have benefited or would benefit from the economic reform at home if they would remain in China. The ones who are excluded appear to be the same group of people who were left behind in China, among them the rural population and urban dwellers abandoned by state enterprise reform. A study of the transnational economic activities of Chinese migrants in Vienna has shed light on how unequal opportunities can be exported channelled by transnationalization.

6 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

As a single case study, I am aware of the limitations of this dissertation, which has not been able to offer full empirical ground to support all the propositions it suggests. Further research

directions can be considered to broaden the material basis and to verify the theoretical arguments of this research.

Firstly, it is about the transnational dimension. It has been discussed in the literature that studying transnational migration requires methodological shifts - from single-sited to multi-sited – and reconceptualization of the level of transnational social fields beyond simple sending and receiving society (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2003; Levitt and Jawarsky 2007; Glick-Schiller 2010). This is to avoid taking the nation-state as the natural and logical category for organizing social life, or in Wimmer and Glick Schiller's word, "methodological nationalism". Although I made efforts to follow some of my interview partners to their European tour and working sites outside Vienna, due to time and financial constraints, my exploration of these other sites of the transnational social field was limited. A more detailed description of how things go on beyond the Austrian national boundary of the transnational space has been missing. I believe further empirical researches at other sites such as Paris, Rome and Shanghai, to which the transnational Chinese migrants in Vienna are closely connected, could help to offer "social thickness and empirical specificity" of the whole picture and offer larger theoretical contributions to the study of Chinese transnational economic activities.

The second direction is to make comparison of different generations of Chinese entrepreneurs. This study has taken into account the class and regional differences of Chinese migrants in Vienna and has included the marginalized voices. However, it has not made generation a specific variable in the analyses. The Chinese community in Vienna, especially the Chinese immigrant economy, is still largely constituted by first generation pioneers up till now. Roughly estimated, while the second and third generation entrepreneurs have gradually emerged, they are not yet in the majority. Although without specifically looking into this dimension, the overall findings of this study suggest that the younger generation Chinese entrepreneurs, who are either born or grown up in Austria, have displayed quite different mindset and style of business operation compared to those of their parent generation. How have the younger generation Chinese entrepreneurs as well as customers changed the Chinese ethnic economic landscape and would change in the time to come? What are the similarities and dissimilarities in business operation between the younger generation Chinese entrepreneurs and their predecessors? Are there differences between the various regional subgroups among the younger generation? Exploration of these questions would be helpful to better capture the complexities and diversity of the Chinese immigrant economy in Vienna.

The third and last direction is to further the research depth in area of the Chinese informal sector or grey economy. A preliminary understanding of the mechanism of internal trade-off which offers earning opportunities and gives rise to co-ethnic exploitation has been gained. More details can be explored regarding how this trade-off logic has been differently exploited in order to maximize benefits. When someone who owns a prosperous business equally makes use of the trade-off mechanism as someone who is struggling for subsistence like Mr. Zhao, would the meaning of their exploitation be different? And from the perspective of an employee, would the consequences of being exploited be different between someone who is totally excluded from the social welfare system and someone who is socially protected? Research can also be broadened to include other ethnic economies in Vienna, studying the different mechanisms and their interactions with the structural factors. These comparisons will be contributive to a more thorough and balanced understanding of the role of the informal sector both in relation to the mainstream economy as well as to the specific immigrant economy.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF INTERVIEW PARTNERS

IP	Occupation	Business Branch	Work District In Vienna	Year of birth	Sex	Place of Origin	Education	Year entering Austria	Nation-ality	Field	Trans-cription
1	Sushi-bar owner	Catering	1	1960	F	Lishui, Zhejiang	Lower middle school	1980	Austria	1+2	√
2	Restaurant owner		23	1961	M	Qingtian, Zhejiang	Chinese medicine education	1990	Austria	1	√
3	Restaurant owner		1	1961	M	Shaoxing, Zhejiang	Theatre education	1987	Austria	3	√
4	Restaurant owner		7	1947	M	Chongqing, Sichuan	Cook education	1988	Austria	3	√
5	Restaurant owner		15	1956	F	Beijing	University	1992	Austria	2	√
6	Restaurant employee		20	1966	F	Shaoxing, Zhejiang	Upper middle school	1993	Austria	1	√
7	Restaurant owner		1, 3	1950	F	Taipei, Taiwan	Music Conservatorium	1975	Austria	3	√
8	Restaurant owner		10	1958	M	Beijing	University	1983	Austria	3	√
9	Restaurant owner		3	1945	M	Shanghai	University	1967	Austria	2	√
10	Restaurant owner		6	1974	M	Qingtian, Zhejiang	University	1981	Austria	3+4	
11	Restaurant owner		4	1965	M	Qingtian, Zhejiang	Lower middle school	2002	PR China	1	
12	Restaurant employee		20	1958	F	Beihai, Guangxi	Primary school	2000	PR China	1	
13	Restaurant employee		6	1978	M	Sanming, Fujian	Vocational school	2000	PR China	1	
14	Restaurant employee		21	1963	M	Changle, Fujian	Lower middle school	1993	PR China	1	√
15	Retail shop owner	Trading	15	1964	M	Qingtian, Zhejiang	Upper middle school	1990	Austria	1	√
16	Retail shop owner		16	1960	M	Wencheng, Zhejiang	Primary school	1992	Austria	1	√
17	Wholesale trader		3	1970	M	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Upper middle school	1990	Italy	2+1	√
18	Wholesale trader & grocery shop owner		5	1965	F	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Upper middle school	1985	Austria	2	√
19	Market		Not	1954	M	Shanghai	Upper	1990	Austria	1	√

	trader		fixed				middle school				
20	Retail shop owner		15	1971	F	Qingtian, Zhejiang	Upper middle school	1992	Austria	1	√
21	Retired market trader		---	1930s	M	Jinan, Shandong	University	1979	Austria	1	√
22	VCD and DVD street vendor		Not fixed	1957	F	Tianjin	Lower middle school	2001	PR China	1	
23	Grocery shop employee		4	1966	M	Shenyang, Liaoning	Upper middle school	2000	PR China	1	
24	Travel agency owner	Tourism and cultural industry	8	1954	F	Shanghai	University	1980s	Austria	3	√
25	Tour guide		Not fixed	1960	F	Taipei (Taiwan)	Music education	1974	Austria	3	√
26	Souvenir shop owner		5	1971	M	Beijing	Tourism management	1995	Austria	3	√
27	Travel agency owner		5	1965	M	Shaoxing, Zhejiang	Business management	1993	Austria	3	√
28	Travel agency operator		10	1982	F	Shenyang, Liaoning	Music education	2001	PR China	1	√
29	Tour guide		Not fixed	1973	F	Lishui, Zhejiang	Hotel management	2003	PR China	2	
30	Travel agency owner		15	1954	M	Shanghai	University	1988	Austria	3	√
31	Tour guide		Not fixed	1965	M	Shanghai	University	1992	Austria	3	√
32	Computer firm manager	Other	22	1956	M	Taipei (Taiwan)	University	1995	Austria	3	√
33	Bookshop owner and newspaper publisher		4	1954	M	Beijing	University	1990	Austria	3	√
34	Retired factory worker		---	1936	M	Haiphong, (Vietnam)	Middle school	1980	Austria	1	
35	Nurse		14	1957	F	Shanghai	Nurse education	1991	Austria	4	
36	Karaoke bar owner		7	1963	M	Qingtian, Zhejiang	Primary school	1980s	PR China	1	
37	Hairdresser		Not fixed	1970	F	Sanming, Fujian	Vocational training	2003	PR China	1	
38	Student		---	1981	F	Zhibo, Shandong	Music education	2002	PR China	1	
39	Student		---	1983	M	Yingkou, Liaoning	University	2003	PR China	1	

40	Student		---	1980	F	Fuzhou, Fujian	University	2003	PR China	1	
41	Voluntary association ex-chairperson		---	1952	M	Wencheng, Zhejiang	Primary school	1975	Austria	3	√
42	Voluntary association chairperson		Linz	1952	M	Siam Reap (Cambodia)	Middle school	1978	Austria	2	√
43	Voluntary association chairperson		---	1940s	M	Taipei (Taiwan)	University	1978	Austria	3	
44	Voluntary association chairperson and newspaper publisher		6	1956	M	Qingtian, Zhejiang	Lower middle school	1986	PR China	2	
45	Voluntary association ex-chairperon		10	1950s	M	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Lower middle school	1987	Austria	2	
46	Voluntary association chairperson and grocery shop owner		7	1960	M	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Lower middle school	1990s	Austria	2	

APPENDIX II

SURVEY RESULTS OF 76 CHINESE BUSINESS UNITS

Number of Interviewed Person/Business Unit		**76 (100%)**
Age	21-30	11 (14%)
	31-40	16 (21%)
	41-50	36 (48%)
	51-65	13 (17%)
Sex	Male	49 (64%)
	Female	27 (36%)
Nationality	Austria	54 (71%)
	PR China	20 (26%)
	Portugal	2 (3%)
Place of Origin	Zhejiang	45 (59%)
	Beijing & Shanghai:	8 (11%)
	Guangdong, Sichuan, Guangxi, Henan, Liaoning, Shandong	14 (18%)
	Fujian	5 (6%)
	Hong Kong & Taiwan	4 (5%)
Business Area	Catering	48 (63%)
	Trading	17 (22%)
	Tourism	4 (5%)
	IT	2 (3%)
	Hairdresser & Salon	2 (3%)
	Translator	1 (2%)
	Accountant & Bookkeeping	2 (3%)
Company Type	Sole proprieties (Einzelunternehmen)	20 (26%)
	Limited partnership (KG)	12 (16%)
	General partnership (OG)	13 (18%)
	Limited companies (GesmbH)	26 (34%)
	No registration	5 (6%)
No. of Self-Employed	168	Average: 2.2/unit
No. of Employed Persons (including the self-employed and persons hired clandestinely)	412	Average: 5.4/unit

APPENDIX III

CHINESE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN AUSTRIA

	Name of Association	Founding Year
	General/ Umbrella Associations	
1	Chinesischer Verein in Österreich 旅奥中国人协会(台湾)	1971
2	Verband der Chinesen in Österreich 奥地利华人总会	1991
	Cultural and Educational Associations	
3	Taiwan - Chinesische Schule in Österreich 奥地利台湾中文侨校	1982
4	Austria-Chinese Wushu Association 奥中武术协会	1991
5	Chinesischer Kulturverein in Österreich 奥中文化交流协会	1994
6	Bildungszentrum für chinesische Sprache in Wien 中文教育中心	1995
7	Verein für chinesische Sprache und Kultur 维也纳中文学校	1995
8	Peking Oper Verein in Wien 维也纳京剧社	1995
9	Jians Institut, Zentrum für chinesische Kultur, Gesundheit und Bewegung	2003
10	Österreichische Chinesische Gesellschaft für Sprache u. Kultur 奥中语言文化学社	2004
11	Asiatische Gemeinschaft in Wien 维也纳亚洲联会	2004
12	Österreichische Chinesische Kultur–Mediengemeinschaft 奥地利中国文化传媒协会	2005
	Business and Professional Associations	
13	Überseechinesenkomitee der ÖGCF- Gesellschaft für China-Freundschaft u. China- Forschung 奥中友协华人委员会	1991
14	Österreichisch Chinesische Gesellschaft für internationale Wirtschaftsförderung 奥中国际经济贸易促进会	2002
15	EU-CN-MED-COMM European-Chinese Society of Medical Communication 欧中医学交流协会	2006
16	Chinese Writers Association in Europe 欧洲华文作家协会	1991

17	Chinesische Künstler Verein 华人美术家协会	1999
18	Verein der Chinesischen Reiseführer in Österreich 奥中旅游促进会	2003
19	Verband des chinesischen Tourismus in Österreich 奥地利华人旅游协会	2006
20	Verband des Chinesischen Gastgewerbes in Österreich 餐饮业联合会	2009
21	Verein des Austausches von europäischer und chinesischer Kultur und Technik 奥地利欧中科技文化交流协会	2006
22	Business Association of Southern Zhejiang (*) 浙南商会	
23	Federation of Chinese Industry and Business in Austria (*) 奥地利中华工商联合会	1999
24	Chinesischer Wirtschaftsverband in Österreich 华人商会	1999
25	Association of Austrian-Chinese Exchange of Science and Technology (*) 奥中科技交流促进会	
	Regional and Native-Place Associations	
26	Verein der Chinesen Qingtian Gemeinschaft in Österreich 旅奥青田同乡会	1999
27	Verein von Chinesen der Provinz Zhejiang in Österreich 奥地利浙江华人联谊会	2007
28	Verein von Chinesen aus Shanghai in Österreich 奥地利上海人协会	2007
29	Hangzhou Overseas Chinese Association (*) 杭州华侨华人协会	2008
30	Verein der Chinesen Wencheng Gemeinschaft in Österreich 文成同乡会	2002
31	Hubei Hunan Association (*) 湖北湖南同乡会	2008
	Religious Associations	
32	Chinesische Evangelikale Gemeinde in Wien 华人基督教协会	
33	Maitreya Buddha Forschungsverein in Österreich 弥勒大道(奥地利弥勒佛道德研究协会)	
34	Verein für chinesische Kultur und Religion 中国文化和宗教协会	
35	Verein zur Förderung des taiwanesischen Buddhismus	1995
36	Tien Tao Philosophische Denkschule Austria 天道奥地利总会	2005
	Women Associations	
37	Verein chinesischer Frauen in Österreich 奥地利中国妇女协会	1991

38	Taiwanesische Frauen in Österreich 台湾妇女会	1991
39	Chinesischer Frauenverein in Graz 奥地利格拉茨华人妇女联合会	
	Student and Scholar Associations	
40	Austrian Chinese Student and Scholar Union 奥地利学生学者联谊会	2001
	Other Associations	
41	Association of Promotion of Chinese Peaceful Unification (*) 中国和平统一促进会	2004
42	Association of Honour (*) 荣光会	1999

Note: I list out the German and Chinese names of the associations as the German ones are their officially registered names, while the Chinese ones are the names appear in the Chinese media. Those indicated with a (*) sign are my own translations from the Chinese names.

APPENDIX IV

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR SELF-EMPLOYED PERSONS

Catering/Other Business

- **出生年份 (year of birth)**
- **来奥地利年份 (year of arrival in Austria)**
- **原住国家/省份 (place and country of original residence)**
- **国籍/居留 (citizenship/residence status)**

1	背景资料	General Information and Backgrounds of Migration
	• 这餐馆店是什么时候开业的? • 这是你的第一家餐馆/店吗? • 你什么时候来奥地利? 怎么来的? • 你是那里人? • 以前在中国时做什么? 念什么? • 你父母亲是做什么的? • 你在奥地利和欧洲有亲人吗?	• When did you start this restaurant/shop? • Is this your first restaurant/business? • When and how did you come to Austria? • Where do you come from? • What did you do in China/education? • What did/do your parents do? • Do you have family members and relatives in Austria and in Europe?
2	**动机以及经营初期**	**Motivation and Start-up of Business**
	• 为什么选择经营这餐馆? • 当时候有没有想过做其他行业/事情? • 是不是一开始就想有自己的店? • 开这店之前你做过什么? • 开业资金是多少? • 你怎样解决经费问题? • 这餐馆买下来时是老店还是新店? • 你是向谁买下的/租下的? • 开始的时候最困难的是什么? 你当时候怎样解决?	• Why did you start this business? • Have you thought of doing something else • at that time? • Did you aim to have your own business at the beginning? • What is the start-up capital? • How did you collect your start-up capital? • Did you buy an old restaurant or start it up by yourself? • If you have bought it or rented it, from whom? • What was the most difficult thing to deal with when you started this business and how did you solve it?
3	**策略: 挑战, 限制以及资源**	**Strategies: Challenge, Constraints and Resources**
	• 你卖的主要是什么? • 你怎样推广你的产品你店的特色是什么/ 最吸引人的地方是什么/?	• What are your products? • How do promote your products/ what are the most attractive things of your restaurant? • Who are your customers?

	• 谁是你的顾客群? • 有什么挑战/困难的地方以及怎样保持竞争力?(怎样减低经营成本) • 有多少工人? 怎样找工人/ 有什么要求/ 会不会特别找同乡的帮忙? • 你的店有没有跟其他在奥地利的或是其他地方的中国人的生意有来往? • 你认为还有什么其他的因素影响这餐馆的运作?	• What are the challenges/difficulties in the business and how to keep competitive (cost-reducing strategies)? • How many employees do you have and how do you recruit them? What are the criteria? Will you particularly look for workers from the same place of origin? • Is your business connected with any other Chinese business in Austria and somewhere else? • What are the other factors affecting the operation of your business?
4	**奥地利的生意环境**	**Business environment in Austria**
	• 奥地利的各方面条件对于经营生意有利吗?(法律规定 , 市场) • 当中最有利与最困难的是什么? • 官方有任何刁难吗?	• Do you find Austria a favourable business environment (including policies and market) for Chinese catering? • What are the most favourable and the most unfavourable things in running a business like this? • Difficulties with the authorities/bureaucracy?
5	**中国经济发展**	**China and Economic Developments**
	• 你对中国经济的迅速发展以及国内的对外开放有什么看法? • 这对你的餐馆有什么影响吗?	• How do you comment on the rapid economic developments in China and its open-door policy? • Do these developments have impacts on your business?
6	**融入奥地利社会**	**Integration in the Austrian Society**
	• 你认为你适应奥地利，融入这里的 社会吗? • 经营这餐馆对于你的融入有帮助吗?(尤其是经济上)	• Do you find yourself integrate in the Austrian society? Why? • Does your business help in your integration?
7	**中国人社群内外的联系**	**Inter and Intra Group Connections**
	• 有需要帮忙的时候你会去哪里，找什么人? 怎样获得消息的? • 你的家人以及亲戚朋友的网络有没有帮上一些忙/ 怎样帮? 你在这有多亲戚朋友吗? • 你跟其他中国人，或是中国人办的协会或商会联系怎么样?	• Where do you go to when you need help and how do you keep yourself informed? • How do your family/kinship/co-ethnic networks help in your working life here in Austria? • How is your contact with Chinese voluntary associations or other Chinese living in Austria? • How is your contact with people outside the

	• 你在中国人以外的社交圈子的接触怎么样? • 你的生意需要你有很多奥地利以外的接触吗 (欧洲，中国)?	Chinese community? • Do you need to have contacts outside Austria (either Europe or China for your business)?
8	**未来计划**	**Future Plan**
	• 你未来有什么计划? • 有没有想过以后改行去做其他 事? • 你怎么看餐饮/ 小商品/旅游行业以后在奥地利和 欧洲的发展? • 你认为中国餐饮/ 小商品/旅游从业者的社会地位是怎样的?	• What do you plan in the future? • How do you see the chance of doing something else in future? • What is your opinion on the future of Chinese catering/trading/tourism in Austria and in Europe? • What do you think of the social status of people working in the Chinese catering/trading/tourism?

APPENDIX V

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR EMPLOYED PERSONS

Catering/Trading/Tourism

- **出生年份 (year of birth)**
- **来奥地利年份 (year of arrival in Austria)**
- **原住国家/省份 (place and country of original residence)**
- **国籍/居留 (citizenship/residence status)**

1	**背景资料**	**General Information and Backgrounds of Migration**
	• 请你讲一讲你是什么时候和怎样进入这行业的? • 在这之前你做过什么? • 你什么时候来奥地利? 怎么来的? • 以前在中国时做什么? 念什么? • 你父母亲是做什么的? • 你在奥地利和欧洲有亲人吗?	• Could you tell me when and how did you start this job? • What did you do before you started this job? • When and how did you come to Austria? • What did you do in China/education? • What did/do your parents do? • Do you have family members and relatives in Austria and in Europe?
2	**动机**	**Motivation**
	• 为什么选择这份工作, 这行业? • 当时候有没有想过做其他行业/事情? • 是不是一开始就想进这行业? • 进这行需不需要什么特别的资格, 需不需要任何投资(e.g.导游证)? • 这是你唯一的经济来源吗?	• Why did you choose to do this job? • Have you thought of doing something else at that time? • Did you think of having this job from the very beginning? • Do you need any qualification for this job and have you needed any investment at the beginning (e.g. licence)? • Is this the only source of your income?
3	**策略: 挑战, 限制以及资源**	**Strategies: Challenge, Constraints and Resources**
	• 你的工作性质和内容是什么? • 你工作上需要面对一些什么人? • 你的工作伙伴是什么人, 你跟他们的相处怎么样? • 你的老板是什么人, 你跟他们的相处怎么样? • 你怎么接到旅游团的 (旅游业)? • 你满意工作的待遇吗?	• What are your job nature and content? • Who are your customers? • Who are your working partners and how do you get along with them? • Who are your employers and how do you get along with them? • How do you get your job order (in the case of tourism)? • Are you satisfied with the pay? • What are the challenges/difficulties in this job

	• 有什么挑战/困难的地方以及怎样面对? • 你认为现在竞争怎么样，怎样保持自己的竞争能力?	and how do you face them? • What is your opinion on competition, and how do you keep yourself being competitive?
4	**奥地利的工作环境/结构性因素**	**Working Environment and Structural Factors in Austria**
	• 奥地利的各方面条件对于你的工作和生活有利吗? (法律规定 , 市场，居留) • 当中最有利与最困难的是什么? • 官方有任何刁难吗?	• Do you find Austria a favourable place to work and to live (including laws, market and immigration regulations)? • What are the most favourable and the most unfavourable things in working and living here? • Difficulties with the authorities/bureaucracy?
5	**中国人社群内外的联系**	**Inter and Intra Group Connections**
	• 有需要帮忙的时候你会去哪里，找什么人? 怎样获得消息的? • 你的家人以及亲戚朋友的网络有没有帮上一些忙/ 怎样帮? 你在这有多亲戚朋友吗? • 你跟其他中国人，或是中国人办的协会或商会联系怎么样? • 你在中国人以外的社交圈子的接触怎么样? • 你的工作需要让你有很多奥地利以外的接触吗 (欧洲，中国)?	• Where do you go to when you need help and how do you keep yourself informed? • How do your family/kinship/co-ethnic networks help in your working life here in Austria? • How is your contact with Chinese voluntary associations or other Chinese living in Austria? • How is your contact with people outside the Chinese community? • Do you need to have contacts outside Austria (either Europe or China for the job)?
6	**中国经济发展**	**China and Economic Developments**
	• 你怎么看中国经济的迅速发展以及国内的对外开放? • 这对你的工作机会有什么影响吗?	• How do you comment on the rapid economic developments and the open-door policy in China? • Do these developments have impacts on your job opportunities?
7	**融入奥地利社会**	**Integration in the Austrian Society**
	• 你认为你适应奥地利，融入这里的 社会吗? • 从事这项工作对于你的融入有帮助吗?	• Do you find yourself integrate in the Austrian society? Why? • Does your recent job help in your integration?
8	**未来计划**	**Future Plan**

	• 你未来有什么计划? • 有没有想过以后改行去做其他事或 是自己当老板? • 你怎么看餐饮/ 小商品/旅游行业以后在奥地利和 欧洲的发展? • 你认为中国餐饮/ 小商品/旅游从业者的社会地位是怎样的?	• What do you plan in the future? • How do you see the chance of doing something else in future or to be your own boss? • What is your opinion on the future of Chinese catering/trading/tourism in Austria and in Europe? • What do you think of the social status of people working in the Chinese catering/trading/tourism?

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