The Chinese Overseas Organizations on the Internet, with a Note on the Socio-Cultural Phenomena beyond the Webscape

Ann Shu-ju CHIU
The Chinese University of Hong Kong Library
ann@lib.cuhk.edu.hk

ABSTRACT

With the advancement of information technology in the past decades, increasing numbers of established Chinese overseas communities and new organizations have created an online presence on the World Wide Web. Based on observation of the Chinese overseas organizations on the Internet, this paper (1) reviews the role of the Internet in the continuity, transformation and development of the Chinese overseas organizations; (2) examines related scholarly publications to see the compatibility of their on-site analysis in the real world with our online investigation; (3) discusses the relations between the Internet application and the electronic co-ethnic global mobilization in the socio-cultural and politico-economic settings relating to Chinese overseas; (4) identifies the characteristics of representative online Chinese associations in Southeast Asia and the websites of the newly established Chinese trade, professional and student organizations in Japan, the United States and Europe to compare the old Chinese communities and the new Chinese migrants on the Internet; and (5) concludes by exploring how online discourse analysis might add depth to the studies of transnationalism and give a living face to Chinese overseas organizations.

Introduction

With more and more Chinese overseas organizations appearing on the World Wide Web, it is now feasible to experience a virtual tour of the Chinese overseas communities via the cyberspace. In the past decade, more long-standing clan, dialect, native place and trade-based associations in Southeast Asia have launched their online presence to articulate an ethnic awareness and cultural heritage. The new institutions organized by Chinese students and professionals in Japan, North America and Europe also present their online persona on the web (cf. Related Sites of Chinese Overseas Collection, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學海外華人特藏相關網站, http://coc.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/). The Internet not only accelerates the communications between people of similar interest, it also rapidly conveys the diverse ideologies of Chinese overseas establishments worldwide. This socio-technical media fosters a new communicative practice and an emerging terrain of online communities.

The origin, development and socio-cultural/politico-economic significance of the traditional Chinese associations have been thoroughly studied by historical anthropologists (方、許, 1995). In recent years, more scholars have adopted a global perspective to analyze the transnationalism of Chinese overseas organizations (Liu, 1998; Li, 1998; McKeown, 2001). Yet, it has scarcely caught the scholarly attention that the global computer networks like the Internet can facilitate the transnational process of the Chinese overseas organizations, and the webscape itself can exhibit the online persona of these establishments. The virtual communities can reflect the reality of the geographically bound societies, and the ethnic and cultural identities can be found in cyberspace. There is potential for anthropologists to use their existing expertise in human communication and culture, adapt their ethnographic methods to new technological environment and take an initiative to

conduct ethnic studies on the Internet (Wilson and Peterson, 2002), and take a more central role to define the field of transnationalism and anthropology of online communities. Nicole Constable (2003) provides a model of fieldwork based on the e-mail and newsgroups to create a virtual ethnography on transnational marriages between the Mainland Chinese women and their American husbands. Beyond such personal communication at individual level, this paper aims to further explore the realm of Chinese overseas organizations in the context of online communities.

Traditionally we see a Chinese association abroad as a geographically bound organization evolving with the settlement history of the emigrants in their host nations. For centuries, the affections and activities of Chinese overseas communities have been documented (Wang, 2003). With the progress of time and technological advancement, people witness the relics of their ancestors in various forms of recordings ranging from the epigraphs on the architecture of Chinese overseas associations and their temples, bookkeeping receipts, the printed materials of organizational publications, newspapers, newsletters, photographs, phonographic tapes, television programs, video discs and many other mass media, to the present online resources. The Internet allows the unprecedented flow of current information and speedy de-territorialized interactions between writers and viewers. The conventional practices of ethnographers fixing on a single field and their relationship with the local informants might be meliorated in some degrees by such an electronic documentation and online observation. The narration of Chinese overseas organizations on the web is emerging as a new popular genre of documents as well as an electronic communication lately. The wealth of information posted on the Internet means researchers will find the Internet a valuable medium for their studies of Chinese overseas and transnationalism. Certain websites of the Chinese overseas organizations will be selected from Appendix I to illustrate the above points.

The Internet and the Chinese Overseas Organizations

There are increasing numbers of Chinese overseas organizations realizing the value of the Internet for their social universe. Users can freely subscribe to any online discussion forum as they see fit. Hakka people, for example, use the Internet to facilitate communication among their cyber community members of the *Hakka Global Network*[1] and to strengthen their ethnic identity, worldview, as well as knowledge of Hakka tradition. The dialogues on *Hakka Global Network* exhibit much interest in the topics of language, culture, and social customs that remind users of the Chinese past. Over the Internet, they exchange their ideas about current television or radio programs, as well as new publications (such as in books or magazines) on Hakka history and culture (Lozada, 1998). In the *Huaren E-Magazine*, we gaze upon a nostalgic journey of a Chinese Mauritian searching for his Hakka identity in today's globalized world. Through the eyes of Pietro Giordan (2004), we are directed to appreciate a French poem by this Hakka Mauritian writer.

In recent years, there are academic institutions establishing their online presence like *The Hakka Research Institute of Jiaying University* (嘉應大學客家研究所) and *Shijie Kejia Zixunwang* (世界客家資訊網) in Meizhou (梅州), the heartland of the Hakka culture, and the *College of Hakka Studies of National Central University* (國立中央大學客家學院), *International Center for Hakka Studies of National Chiao Tung University* (國立交通大學國際客家研究中心) and *Hakka World* (客家世界網) in Taiwan. The senior Hakka organizations in Singapore like *Foong Shoon Fui Kuan* (豐順會館, 2003:204) and *Ying Fo Fui Kun* (應和會館) (蘇, 2000:19,21) both acclaim the web for allowing intra-ethnic communication, heritage preservation as well as organizational development. To attract and recruit young members, the Singapore *Nan Ann District Guild* (南安會館, 1998) even arranged its website launching ceremony on the Mid-Autumn Festival night to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its affiliated Youth Club held at its agelong temple

Fengshan (鳳山寺), which was built in 1836 and honored with National Heritage site status in 1978. We can be well informed of various celebrations and international conferences via the announcements by these Chinese overseas organizations on the Internet.

The initial design of these traditional organizations' websites is almost embedded in a nostalgic concern. At the same time, it is equipped with a global vision to connect with the whole world. Both the Chinese overseas and the Internet carry the transnational nature. The online Chinese overseas communities emerge with technological progress as well as globalization. Chinese associations can use the Internet as a strategic tool to strengthen the bonds of their dispersed descendents across the dialect line and promote their culture in the international arena (香港潮州商會, 1999:46-48). *Huaren* (華人), the website of a Chinese overseas organization based in North America, even mobilized and organized the global ethnic Chinese to protest the anti-Chinese atrocities of the Indonesian military in 1998 via its pervasive computer-mediated communication (Ong, 2003).

The online newsletters, newspapers and magazines published in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and all the Chinese overseas communities in Southeast Asia, North and South Americas, Europe and Japan are available (examples as in Appendix I) for global access with a networked computer. Unlike their early counterparts, who encountered much political risk and financial difficulty to produce the ethnic press in the immigrant societies before the arrival of World Wide Web, the Chinese overseas organizations nowadays can release their online publications easily in their host countries (Zhang and Hao, 1999). The layout and content aims at the audiences from "cultural China", i.e. the residents of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and Singapore, other ethnic Chinese living in every corner of the globe, and the non-Chinese individuals interested in Chinese overseas studies (Yang, 2003:470; Tu, 1994). When navigating these websites, users will find their knowledge

of Chinese language and history a cultural capitalism. With shared history
and expressive symbols, Chinese civilization and cultural tradition has
been built into the screen menu. They can read the news, retell the stories
and add comments because their linguistic and cultural abilities allow
them to delve into a common cultural repertoire and a wealth of
information for a Chinese discourse, then extend the transnational
contacts with their Chinese counterparts across time and space in the
online social world.

The production of a Chinese platform benefits the Chinese minorities
in the diaspora. With the Chinese as the language of communication on
the Internet, the online reading can largely soothe the psychological needs
of the new migrants in a foreign land. No matter whether they acquire
local linguistic skills or not, they face little ideological dilemma of
national/ethnic identity while expressing their views in the cyberspace. In
Hungary, Spain and Russia, new Chinese migrants from Wenzhou and
Qingtian can read the online newspaper *Qingtian Xinwen* (青田新聞) and
information related to Wenzhounese in Europe over the website of
euchn.com (歐華熱線) to update their knowledge of hometowns and
immigrant societies. It merits attention that Hungary alone has at least six
popular Chinese electronic publications such as *Uj Szemle* (新導報)[2],
Who's Who of Chinese Origin Worldwide (世界華人名人錄)[3], *Shichang
Piac Lap* (市場報)[4], *Budapest Hetilap* (布達佩斯周報)[5], *Europa-Azsia
Hetilap* (歐亞新聞報)[6], and *China Times* (中華時報)[7]. These e-serials
not only reflect the recent booming migration flows from Mainland China,
but also tell the socio-cultural activities and economic pursuit of the new
migrants in East Europe.

Joint Substantiation of On-site Investigation and Virtual Communities

The active online presence of the Chinese overseas organizations has become visible in the past decade. The missions and events of those organizations, however, have been practiced long before their presence on the World Wide Web. There are numerous scholarly works on Chinese overseas organizations. These findings are not at variance with the phenomena exhibited in the cyberspace.

The dialect group identity (麥, 1985) and organizational principles (謝, 1985) have been discussed as important in the formation of early Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese voluntary associations. Indeed, certain centuries old collective rituals of traditional Chinese associations such as ancestral worship, Chinese New Year banquet, Spring Rite at Qingming Festivals, Autumn Rite at Chongyang Festival, birthday celebration of the deities, scholarship fund for descendents, tribute money for the elderly members and funeral matters, continued into modern times. They can be still recognized on the website built by *Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan Associations* (新加坡宗鄉會館聯合總會). The proficiency of Singaporean Chinese clan associations in articulating ethnic awareness and cultural heritage on the Internet shows that cyberspace can be used as a backdrop to study the transnational discourse of Chinese overseas organizations. The application of the Internet in ethnographical research is congenial to those anthropologists who believe that "Internet media … happen within mundane social structures and relations" (Miller, Slater and Suchman, 2004:78).

Reviewing the historical development of Chinese schools in Japan, we sense the changing ethnic and cultural identity of Chinese Japanese since World War II. Their conceptualization of identity has gone from overseas Chinese (華僑), through Chinese overseas (華人) to Chinese descendents (華裔). The affiliated educational institutions of Chinese

overseas organizations have also evolved with the politics of different periods of time since the late 19th century (Benjamin Ng, 2003). Web surfers can easily tell the political inclination of *Kobe Chuka Dobun Gakko* (神戸中華同文学校)[8] by its frequent appearances over the electronic China news channels in accord with Chinese patriotism. The web version of *Wikipedia* (フリー百科事典)[9] categorizes the *Chuka Gakko* (中華学校 Chinese schools) in Japan into two groups, pro-PRC and pro-ROC (Taiwan). In the first group, *Yokohama Yamate Chuka Gakko* (横浜山手中華学校) and *Kobe Chuka Dobun Gakko* (神戸中華同文学校) are akin to the lineage of the People's Republic of China. In the second group, *Yokohama Chuka Gakko* (横浜中華学校), *Tokyo Chuka Gakko* (東京中華学校) and *Osaka Chuka Gakko* (大阪中華学校) belong to the lineage of the Republic of China. Due to the localization of the younger generations with shifting identification, all these Chinese schools find it more difficult to run than ever before.

The ethos on the webpage corresponds well with the scholarly findings on the nature and transformation of the Chinese overseas organizations since World War II in the United States (Lai, 1998) and Canada (Ng, 1998). The cultural identity, localization and social welfare consciousness of the young generations can be read from the professional websites of *Chinese Culture of San Francisco* (舊金山中華文化中心) and *Chinese Cultural Centre of Greater Toronto* (大多倫多中華文化中心). As to the new migrants from Mainland China in North America, the cyber identity of the electronic forums founded by the students and professionals (Wu, 1999) with more socio-political interests like *Chinese News Digest* (華夏文摘) can be distinguished from those established by the new immigrants with more China state orientation and pragmatic business interests like *Chinese News Net* (多維新聞網). The former emerged in the late 1980s shortly after the Tian'anmen Square Incident while the latter appearing after the mid 1990s when the importance of June Fourth Incident had gradually faded (Shu, 2003).

The Internet allows free crossing of temporal/spatial boundaries. Users may send and receive their messages day and night at various places. The field is characterized by de-territorialized transnational interactions. It helps promote the global vision and multi-sited approach in Chinese overseas studies. Some use the related multi-sited approach to trace the recent Chinese migrants of high mobility in Europe, especially the Fujianese having extensive kinship networks or townsmen connections throughout the whole continent and beyond. These researchers and their fieldwork teams use frequent e-mail contact to achieve the transnational ethnography (Pieke, Nyiri, Thuno and Ceccagno, 2004:8). Since new Chinese migrants in East and South Europe are more familiar with e-mail contact, Yahoo chat-rooms and Internet cafes than the locals, a Chinese globalization within the world system might be accelerated through information technology (Nyiri, 2002:71,81). Their interactions with their Chinese counterparts in their hometown or in China's government can be facilitated via these socio-technical media. With the strict orchestration of China government towards the new migrants and Chinese overseas organizations (Nyiri, 1999), all the website news and organizational activities information are pooled in a centralized Internet sever before their circulation and consumption among the huge immigrants dispersed in different countries (Nyiri, 2001:640). The agenda and public narratives of the recent Chinese overseas organizations in Europe on the Internet conform well to the patriotic and state oriented discourse initiated by China government. We might search *Budapest Hetilap* (布達佩斯周報) to read the same stories over *French Chinese Nets* (法國華人網).

Electronic Co-ethnic Global Mobilization and The Scenes Beyond the Webscape

Given the convenience of the Internet, the distribution of knowledge is much improved. But here comes the problem of some socio-cultural phenomena that we can hardly read from the webscape. Since the late 1970s, quite a number of Southeast Asian Chinese have migrated to Europe. Particularly are the Vietnamese Chinese who moved to France in the wake of the Vietnam War. They have engaged in business activities, created their own cultural organizations and developed a distinctive identity to reconstruct their religious belief and political rhetoric in the host societies (Live, 1998). Nevertheless, these Southeast Asian Chinese organizations have scarcely showed up on the Internet. It seems that the existing Chinese overseas organizations on the Internet do not fully reflect the numerical strength and diversity of the new Chinese migrants in Europe. Taking a closer look, we then find the Chinese overseas organizations in certain developing countries like socialist Vietnam under-represented on the web. Some might argue that the construction of a cyber environment itself would be a luxury for the long-standing traditional Chinese associations in Vietnam struggling against poverty. Again, the well-to-do Chinese minority can hardly develop their own cyber communities under the severe control of the Vietnam government with racial policy unfavorable to them. To better understand the subtle situation of these marginal Chinese communities least appearing on the Internet, a brief fieldwork was conducted at the ancient capital Hue (順化), archaic port-city Hoi-An (會安) and metropolis Ho Chi Minh City (胡志明市, former Saigon) in January 2004. In the daytime, the ancient palace complex located in Hue appears stately and serene. At night, we several researchers hired the rickshaws to travel along the canal and streets to experience her dynamic and exciting aspect. To our surprise, we passed through at least five Internet Cafes. The cyberspace is apparently not so inaccessible to the locals.

The evidence of Chinese merchants can actually be found in various regions around South China Sea on the map since the 16[h] century. Near capital Hue, the ancient port city Hoi-An in the central Vietnam, was especially popular among the merchants from China, Japan, The Netherlands, Great Britain and other European countries interested in maritime commerce. The Chinese merchants built their own clan and district associations of Guangzhao (廣肇), Jiaying (嘉應), Fujian (福建), Qiongfu (瓊府), Chaozhou (潮州), and Zhonghua (中華). Each association has its own temple to worship its deities. The gods and goddesses are believed to carry symbolic meaning for their native place and to bless their descendents in foreign land. There were quite a number of Chinese elites and Ming Dynasty royals who migrated to Vietnam after their regime was replaced by the alien power of Manchu. The Ming people constituted of unique Chinese villages and had their own associations known as Mingxiang Huiguan (明鄉會館). With more and more Chinese merchants and elites pushing their horizon southward to the fertile Mekong provinces, Saigon emerged after the 18th century as the hub for Chinese emigrants with an imposing downtown to accommodate the major Chinese clan and dialect associations. Traditional as they might seem, these establishments also engage themselves in a globalization process. They have extensive networks with other ethnic Chinese communities beyond Vietnam. From the refurbishment sponsor lists inscribed on the temple walls, we learn that the locals elicit the support of their Vietnamese counterparts in France, the United States, Switzerland and many other areas.

These association architectures and their religious establishments appear on the websites of the travel agencies in China[10] and Taiwan[11] to promote the tourism of Vietnam. They look inviting on the celebrity hall of the popular sites to visit for those nostalgia tourists in the postmodern world fond of the authenticity of cultural relics and cultural invention of heritage on the cyberspace (邱 and Bosco 2004). The remigration

phenomenon of Vietnamese Chinese in Euro-America since the late 1970s or the centuries old Chinese overseas organizations under globalization in Vietnam, is relatively invisible on the webscape. The related websites, *Chinese Mutual Aid Association* founded by the Vietnamese Chinese refugees in Chicago, and *Vietnamese Buddhist Association/Temple Vietnam*[12] profiling a group of Vietnamese members (ten percent of whom are ethnic Chinese) in Boston, caught our eyes after the fieldtrip. We begin to take note of the factors contributing to the discrepancy between the promise of the Internet and the scenes missing from the webscape.

Obviously ignoring the variations among Chinese overseas communities of different origins in the real world causes one to underestimate the distinctiveness of every physical territory based establishment. As mentioned above, *Huaren* is remembered for its tremendous electronic power to collect global spotlight of the anti-Chinese Indonesian riot. This website effectively organized the Internet users, especially the ethnic Chinese residents in the West, to demonstrate before the embassies their serious concern for the Chinese Indonesians in a sorry plight. The majority of the international communities also celebrated the overwhelming success of this electronic co-ethnic mobilization. Nevertheless, certain Chinese intellectuals of Southeast Asian origin like Ien Ang (2001:52-74) expressed his uncomfortable experience of such a co-ethnic diasporic solidarity called by *Huaren* website. Some cautious scholars like Aihwa Ong (2003) even reminds us the danger of this de-territorialized cyberpublic's operation upon the citizens of Chinese ancestry embedded in the geographically bound nation. Ong points out that the transnational cyber activists attack the Indonesians in general without sensing the sophisticated socio-political settings of the local Chinese in Indonesia. It might jeopardize their situation in their societies of residence because such a cyber intervention

lacks the sensitivity to their history, political constituency and existing social structure.

The immigration of Chinese in Southeast Asia has started in the 16th century and went through the West colonial period to the present postcolonial nation/state era. With the syncretized cultural background, they would rather deem themselves as the creolized Chinese with bounded citizenship identity. The membership of a global ethnic Chinese against their adopted societies with an electronic mobilization would simply alienate them from their fellow countrymen. After the 1998 crisis, Indonesian Chinese had to repair the relations with their government and the Indonesian public on the ground. Aihwa Ong (2003:96-97) notes that these local Chinese actively joined the national programs to urge their government to eliminate the racial discrimination that barred ethnic Chinese from political participation. They channeled the socio-economic resources to uplift the indigenous people and set up many NGOs to fight for human rights of Indonesians in general irrespective of whether the victims were Chinese descents or not. The Internet was applied in these organizations with a non-ethnic approach. The computer-mediated communication is used to raise international support for the welfare and interests of all the ethnic groups and religions in Indonesia without specially addressing to the ethnic Chinese issue.

On the one hand, the Internet as a product of globalization raising "a deterritorialized Chinese subjectivity that cannot be contained by the state apparatuses" (Guobin Yang, 2003:469; Mayfair Yang, 1997) in cyberspace can facilitate the democratic transnational discourses of Chinese overseas communities and prevent the immediate mishap like anti-Chinese riot to occur in any corner of the globe. On the other hand, it would turn out to be disastrous if a worldwide action initiated on the Internet by cyber activists without considering the delicate variations of Chinese communities located in different regions. Both the political rhetoric and humanitarianism as an appeal to approach the ethnic issue

should be therefore treated prudently in the electronic global mobilization. Although Chinese communities everywhere share certain cultural heritages, their origin, history and development cannot be identical. The Chinese communities of a rich variety in the real world should be carefully studied before jumping to an online co-ethnic action that claims the representation for a scattered people.

Old Chinese Communities and New Chinese Migrants on the Internet

The identification of the Chinese overseas is largely based on their length of stay and degree of localization in their adopted nations as discussed above. Given the heterogeneity of the ethnic Chinese communities grounded in the real world, we can discern the different online persona between the old Chinese comminutes and new Chinese migrants. The same food imagination via the Internet, for example, can mean something different to them. For the Chinese descents in their receiving countries for generations, a recipe prepared for *Hakka Chinese Jamaican* (牙買加華人) can hardly associate with other geographically bound materials in China. But for the new Chinese immigrants like Wanning Sun (2002:137-158) in New Zealand, the physically displaced body might be led to his/her homeland through the homepage transmission of familiar hometown foods. With sort of sojourner mentality, the traveler of cyberspace is "going back in time to fantasize about returning to a motherland that is territorial and sovereign … these virtual travelers … have a body … kept alive by eating food" (Sun, 2002:137).

There are features that we can tell to distinguish the old Chinese overseas communities evolving through the late 19th century from the new Chinese migrants that emerged since the early 1980s. The topography of the old Chinese overseas communities in Southeast Asia,

North America, and Australia, contrasts well with that of the new Chinese migrants in Japan, the United States and Europe on the webscape. In the discourses of state and market, the webpages initiated by the early settlers of South China origin exhibit a telling cultural and ethnic identity while those of the new migrants from North as well as South China tend to present a modern and even China-oriented outlook.

Early Chinese migrants settled in their host societies on the strength of those traditional clan-based, place-based and trade-based associations. These centuries-old establishments were the hub of social interactions to foster ethnic identity as well as to offer economic, political and spiritual support. On the websites, their institutional goal and historical development tells the collective memory of the early settlers as well as the cohesion function of these organizations. Readers can still feel their religious, educational and charitable concern towards their kinsmen by viewing the member websites of the *Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan Associations*. They have strong and pervasive dialect groups and clan organizations established since the first quarter of the 19th century still standing firmly now. This online documentation format of immigrant history can also be found in the long established Chinese organizations in North American and the Caribbean Area. Readers might experience the migratory hardship of their ancestors in gold mining, railroad construction and sugar plantation by paying a virtual visit to *Chinese Culture Center for San Francisco*, *Jamaican Chinese* and *Chinese in Guyana*. Rich life stories and creative works of the early settlers in their nascent stage of migration are retold via the Internet. Websites are built to strengthen their shared history and online interactions among the virtual community members.

Contrary to this narration of time-honored experiences, the associations organized by the new immigrants in the past decades in North America, Europe and Japan attempt to impress the audiences with an assemblage of professionals and modern education receivers having

close ties with their homeland in Mainland China. Unlike the early settlers and indentured laborers, they see themselves taking the initiatives to study, live and work abroad. We sight an increasing number of student and scholar organizations like *Associations of Chinese Students and Scholars in Denmark* (丹麥中國學生學者聯誼會) or online organizational publications and forums such *Chinese European Post* (歐華導報) and *Chinese New Digest* (華夏文摘) emerging in Europe and North America in the past decade. Although Japan was a receiving country of Chinese migrants in the late 19th century and early 20th century, it mainly received the voyagers from Fujian Province. The old Chinese associations established then are chiefly composed of Fujianese merchants, dedicated to the economic and spiritual support for their fellow townsmen in the port cities of Nagasaki, Yokohama and Kobe (許金頂, 2003; 許紫芬, 2002). Of course, the later improvement of transportation and open door policy of China allows more immigrants from all of China to come. The new comers settling in Japan founded the professional organizations like *All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals* (全日本在職中國留學人員聯誼會, changed to 中國留日同學總會 later) and the online newspapers like *JNOC* (日本新華僑報) with an electronic forum. They even deemed themselves as an important bridge or communication platform between the government of China and their host nations. *Chinese American Association of Engineering* (中國旅美工程學會) founded in 1995 is one of those professional organizations and social communities providing consultation and seeking cooperation for the enterprises and individuals from China in the United States. There are also job opportunities and recruitment advertisement on many websites of new Chinese overseas communities informing that China needs their talents to support national construction.

The websites built by China's government units also reveal their different approaches to the old and new Chinese overseas communities. Targeting the old Chinese overseas, there are webpages maintained by the

county level organs of Qiaoxiang (僑鄉, the emigrant villages of the Chinese overseas). Journey of root searching (尋根之旅) and investment opportunities with preferential trading policy open for Chinese overseas are posted on these sites to whet their nostalgic sentiment. This kinship rhetoric and ritual of traditional clan organizations is roughly in line with the agenda of Special Economic Zones which were planned in the Qiaoxiang areas of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces in the early 1980s to provoke the ethnic and cultural identity of Chinese in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia with the same dialect and similar social custom. Now the websites initiated by Qiaoxiang organizations like *Guangdong Qiaowang* (廣東僑網) and *Fujian Xiangying* (福建鄉音) still outnumber those of the remaining regions of China. Qiaoxiang organizations have been using cultural capital (social relations) with the Chinese abroad to attract their capital for infrastructural construction, local production and charitable work since the reform era (Liu, 1998). The websites of national level organizations like *Zhongguo Qiaowang* (中國僑網) and *Huaxia Liaotong* (華夏聯通) are rather targeting to new Chinese migrants all over the world. They are keenly interested and extensively involved in overseas Chinese affairs. *Huaxia Liantong* even offers the establishment date of diplomatic relations between China and every immigrant's nation in addition to the general description of the Chinese overseas organizations. Via the menu bar of *Huaxia Liantong* to click the *Huaqiao Shetuan* (華僑社團), we can find the emerging Qiaoxiang groups, *Wenzhou Tongxianghui* (溫州同鄉會) and *Qingtian Tongxianghui* (青田同鄉會) from Zhejiang Province, and Shanghai trade associations (上海總商會) are booming and thriving in Euro-American countries. The *Wenzhou Qiaowang* (溫州僑網) based on Mainland China also reports their emigrants abroad in a high profile.

The growing population of new migrants behaves differently from their early counterparts in socio-political and cultural-economic aspects. While new migrants actively share their recent immigration and working

experiences on the websites in their host societies, the old Chinese overseas in Southeast Asia and North America might simply enjoy Chinese things as a traditional cultural repertoire. There are celebration event announcements of Chinese New Year, Lantern Festival, Dragon Festival, Moon Festival, etc., Chinese legends as well as Chinese literature works on their webpages. But this might only demonstrate that their affection still clings to certain ancient Chinese customs after generations of settlement. Beyond the obvious elements of an ethnic culture, we might find in cyberspace certain tailored Chinese things. Chinese overseas are children of their own contemporary culture. They cannot avoid the influence of their own host societies. All the impact of adaptation, assimilation and globalization can create a new culture or mold a culture of hybridity. Internet surfing itself can propagate the global culture and multiply the variety of choices for the consumers of information commodity. The Chinese culture of the real world can never be the sum of the stereotypical categories such as Chinese martial arts, Feng Shui (geomancy), gardens, food, games and other traditional lifestyles appearing neatly on the menu bar of *Chinatown Online* (網上中國城) and *UnityChinese.com* (華聯網).

To the young generations of the old Chinese overseas, the clan notions cannot be identical with those of their forerunners seeking the support of the native place associations at their nascent stage of migration. The content of Chinese overseas organizations has been going through an incessant process of change and creation according to the needs of their local communities. There are modern Chinese organizations in Japan (陳, 2004:79-80; 段, 2003), Europe and North America professionally run by social workers and community volunteers of young generations merged to the mainstream society and dedicated to their adopted countries such as *Chinese Overseas Christian Mission* (基督教華僑佈道會) and *Chinese American Medical Society* (美洲中華醫學會). For the young generations of the old Chinese overseas, the "root search" project is rather like a

classroom to offer a Chinese cultural education and understand their ancestors better. There is an "In Search of Roots" program posted on *Chinese Culture Center of San Francisco* to allow young Chinese Americans an intern fieldtrip to their ancestral villages in China after researching their family and archival records in the United States. Of course they earn the chance to witness the peculiar East and West blended buildings and other grandiose constructions donated by the patriotic overseas Chinese in their emigrant communities during the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic Era in Guangdong Province. But the students might possibly come back with the realization that "their identities are indisputably Chinese American and different from Chinese in China" (Cheng and Lai 1999).

Conclusion: The Internet for the Studies of Chinese Overseas Organizations

It is apparent that the globalization process via the Internet does not make the ethnic Chinese feel the same way throughout the world. Various cultural identities of ethnic Chinese come into being according to their local settings and real needs under the influence of global culture. The recent development of the old Chinese overseas communities and the new Chinese migrants are vividly exhibited on the web. Cyberspace can justifiably serve as a site where one can study the features, patterns and possibilities of the Chinese overseas organizations behaving in the cultural, social, economic, and political aspects. There exist online Chinese overseas organizations and their publications in Mainland China, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Americas, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Europe and other areas in the world. These institutions and publications were established from the mid 19th century to the turn of the 21st century (as indicated in Appendix I). In other words, they cover the stories of the old and new Chinese migrants in various parts on earth. The Internet as

an ethnographic approach can be applied in the ethnic Chinese studies. The topology of geography and time span of the Chinese overseas organizations over the online field site is comprehensive. The temporal/spatial dimensions are built into this kaleidoscope to review the Chinese overseas organizations on the Internet.

Generally speaking, the early Chinese settlers resided almost exclusively in Southeast Asia and the Americas. Southeast Asia was especially the dwelling place of ninety percent Chinese overseas. It is therefore not surprising that most of the oldest Chinese clan associations are located in Southeast Asian countries. Although similar century-old clan associations have also been established in the United States, they declined before World War II due to the government policy that restricted Chinese immigration. Yet, some important research institutions on Chinese Americans were founded later on. And a noticeable number of new Chinese immigrant associations are added to North American area starting from the 1980s. Japan, Europe, Latin America and Africa have smaller populations of ethnic Chinese. However, they are also the areas receiving larger members of migrants in the past two decades. An obviously growing number of Chinese overseas organizations emerged since the 1980s in these regions.

Realizing the widespread availability of the Internet in the temporal/spatial travel, Chinese overseas organizations are motivated to articulate their online persona in the cyberspace. New migrants introduce their existence by staging themselves on the webscape to further their economic pursuit and expand their socio-political horizon on earth. Old Chinese overseas also reassure their organizational continuity and development by transforming themselves into a dynamic entity to accommodate more young members. To keep abreast with the technological trend and societal need, many of the associations like *Singapore Teochew Poit Ip Huay Kuan* (新加坡潮州八邑會館) are now running tutorial courses of computer, singing, dancing, yoga, sport

exercising, and native culture and language classes to whet the interests of young generations. Some of them like *The Federation of Hainan Association Malaysia* (馬來西亞海南會館聯合會) even offer scholarships to sponsor the college attendance of their clansmen/women. The Chinese American institutions organize film or art exhibition and field visit to museums or historical sites. The old institutions are rejuvenated and tradition is thus perpetuated. It becomes a popular practice for these traditional associations to sponsor world conferences with their ethnic counterparts in other regions, and to organize tour trips to visit their emigrant villages and find investment opportunities in China. Every level of Chinese government warmly receives the delegations and encourages their activities. All these discourses might be well observed on the webscape. Table I shows how the electronic archives can be collected for a stimulating ethnography interwoven with the Internet empirical studies. The online discourses of organizations are not only traced and recorded, but also categorized and analyzed in the socio-cultural context. To achieve this, an approach of thick description can be exercised to code, analyze and interpret the findings of intensive online observation participation.

Table I. Online documentation for the activities of old and new Chinese organizations

Organization	Traditional functions in religion, education, charity, etc.	Current interactions with emigrant communities, China government, or other ethnic Chinese groups	Sources and dates

Some Chinese overseas organizations seek to play a rather active agent role between the government of China and their host nations. New Chinese overseas organizations are still growing at an amazing speed these days. The years of 2003 and 2004 alone witness the birth of 160 Chinese overseas organizations. Among them, 89 are situated in the Americas, 13 in Asia, 26 in Europe, 16 in Oceania, 11 in Africa, and 5 in Mainland China (as listed in Appendix II). In addition to modern professional and student organizations, China-oriented establishments like promotion of peaceful reunification between China and Taiwan (和平統一促進會) are expanding their base over the five continents. They are new genres different from those traditional hometown organizations with the rhetoric of kinship developed by old Chinese overseas.

In the near future, we can expect more Chinese overseas communities to extend their domain in cyberspace, and to find out more interesting online discourses over the proliferating virtual societies and cultures. Although personal visit to geographically based organizations to supplement the socio-cultural data beyond the webscape is still of great importance, the Internet as an ethnographical approach will become more and more indispensable for the macro level analysis in the studies of migration and transnationalism. As the Chinese overseas organizations display their well-defined mission, distinct policies and concrete measures on the Internet, a pilot study to analyze the online phenomena would be absolutely beneficial to a sound framework before focusing on any area study.

In the global village, members of one organization try to be networked with the rest of the world. Online publicity of their news and activities accelerates social interactions and enlarges organizational influence in scale and scope. In an efficient way, the Internet helps to grasp the pulse of Chinese overseas organizations. *The Japan Society for the Studies of Chinese Overseas* (日本華僑華人学会), for example, gained academic attention once it announced on its website the

publication of a scholarly journal, *Chinese Overseas Studies* (《華僑華人研究》) in 2004. Hakka speakers then instantly found a relevant article on the online table of contents. The Internet functions to index the printed materials of significance susceptible to being skipped. For instance, a small Hakka village like Riam Road, difficult to locate on the Malaysian map, might become visible for the online readers of *Report of Sarawak Chinese Studies* (《砂拉越華人研究通訊》), the publication of *Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association* (砂拉越華族文化協會). The stability of electronic archives also justifies the existence of documentary kind organizations like *Historical Chinese Language Materials in British Columbia* (加華文獻聚珍) and *Friends of the Kong Koan Archives* (公館檔案) in the Netherlands.

Ambitious comparison studies propelled by the Internet to review the old and new Chinese overseas organizations in the East and West Hemispheres should be confirmed. Of course, there exists the seemly inconsistent scenes shown in cyberspace and the real world such as the electronic co-ethnic global mobilization by *Huaren* website, the remigration of the Southeast Asians in Euro-America, and the traditional Chinese associations under globalization in Vietnam. Yet, this can only whet our appetite to seek more details embedded in the socio-cultural environment beyond the webscape. The Internet as an ethnographic approach for Chinese overseas studies might be further fine-tuned for a well-grounded report equipped with the sound empirical cases. More diversified Chinese overseas communities can therefore be better identified. The Internet will certainly update our impression on the Chinese overseas organizations across time and around the world. Socio-technical media might turn out to be a methodology of alterative importance for researchers to better understand the dispersal familial and kinship clans and add flesh and blood to the whole stories of Chinese overseas organizations in the past, the present and even the future to come.

Notes

1. *Hakka Global Network*,
   http://www.asiawind.com/pub/forum/fhakka/mhonarc/msg02144.html.
2. 新導報，http://www.xindb.com/.
3. 世界華人名人錄，http://www.whoswhochinese.com/index.htm.
4. 市場報，http://www.sczmz.com/.
5. 布達佩斯周報，http://www.bpweekly.com/.
6. 歐亞新聞報，http://www.ouya.hu/.
7. 中華時報，http://www.chinatimes.hu/index2.htm.
8. 神戶中華同文学校，http://tongwen.ed.jp/home/toppage.html.
9. *Wikipedia*, http://www.ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/.
10. 會安華人會館，載《中越商務網》，
    http://www.cntovn.com/huian.htm.
11. 會安華人會館，載《國際山水旅行社網站》，
    http://www.vietnamtravel.com.tw/new_page_2.htm; 胡志明市華
    人會館，《國際山水旅行社網站》，
    http://www.vietnamtravel.com.tw/prod01.htm.
12. *Vietnamese Buddhist Association/Temple Vietnam*,
    http://www.pluralism.org/research/profiles/display.php?profile=66768.

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許紫芬 (2002). 「日本華商商幫組織的變遷－以長崎福建華商組織為例」，載張啓雄主編《東北亞僑社網絡與近代中國》，頁 145-193。台北：中華民國海外華人研究學會。

Appendix I. The Established Year (= est. yr) of the Chinese Overseas Organizations

香港中文大學海外華人特藏『海外華人研究』相關網站

港、澳、台 Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan

1. 香港潮州商會 Hong Kong Chiu Chow Chamber of Commerce [香港] (http://chiuchow.org.hk/b5/scripts/welcome/) (est. yr = 1921)

2. 福州十邑旅港同鄉會 The Foochow Association Limited [香港] (http://hk.geocities.com/fuzhou88hk/) (est. yr = 1937)

3. 崇正網：全球客家、崇正會聯合總會 Global Union for Tsung Tsin and Hakka (GUTTHA) Association Ltd [香港] (http://www.guttha.com/) (est. yr = 2003)

4. 香港嶺南大學族群與海外華人經濟研究部 Research Programme on Ethnicity and Overseas Chinese Economies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong [香港] (http://www.ln.edu.hk/eocb/) (est. yr = 1998)

5. 香港城市大學東南亞研究中心 Southeast Asia Research Centre, The City University of Hong Kong [香港] (http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/) (est. yr = 2000)

6. 海外華人研究學會 The Society of Overseas Chinese Studies, Taiwan [台灣] (http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~socs/) (est. yr = 1989)

7. 僑務委員會 Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission [台灣] (http://www.ocac.gov.tw/) (est. yr = 1933?)

8. 大陸資訊及研究中心,行政院大陸委員會 Mainland Affairs Information and Research Centre [台灣] (http://www.mac.gov.tw/big5/rpir/) (est. yr = 1994)

9. 客家世界網 Hakka World [台灣] (http://www.hakkaworld.com.tw/) (est. yr = 2000)

10. 國立中央大學客家學院 College of Hakka Studies, National Central University [台灣] (http://140.115.170.1/Hakkacollege/) (est. yr = 1999)

11. 國立交通大學國際客家研究中心 International Center for Hakka Studies, National Chiao Tung University [台灣] (http://hakkacenter.nctu.edu.tw/c_index.htm) (est. yr = 2004)

中國大陸 Mainland China

12. 暨南大學華僑華人研究所 暨南大學 ，中國廣州 The Institute of Overseas Chinese Studies, Jinan University, Guangzhou, China (http://www.jnu.edu.cn/mercury/hqhr/introduction-c.html) (est. yr

= 1981) 華僑華人文獻信息中心 暨南大學，中國廣州
(http://hqhr.jnu.edu.cn/) (est. yr = 2000)

13. 嘉應大學客家研究所 The Hakka Research Institute of Jiaying
University, Meizhou, China
(http://www.jyu.edu.cn/kejia/index.html) (est. yr = 1990)

14. 世界客家資訊網 [中國廣東梅州市]
(http://www.mzmap.net/index.asp) (est. yr = 2003)

15. 客家之光 [中國大陸] (http://www.hakkazg.com/) (est. yr = 2000)

16. 廈門大學東南亞研究中心 [中國大陸]
(http://nanyang.xmu.edu.cn/index2.asp) (原南洋研究所 est. yr =
1956)

17. 中國僑網 [中國大陸] (http://www.hsm.com.cn/) (est. yr = 2001)

18. 華夏聯通 [中國大陸] (http://www.hxuc.com/) (est. yr = 1999)

19. 國際潮州聯誼年會專題網站 [中國大陸]
(http://www.chaonet.net/chaoren/index.asp) (est. yr = 2001)

20. 廣東僑網 [中國大陸] (http://www.gdoverseaschn.com.cn/)

21. 福建鄉音 [中國大陸] (http://www.fjxy.com/) (est. yr = 2002)

22. 溫州僑網 [中國大陸]
(http://www.66wz.com/cmsweb/webportal/W55154834/index.html)
(est. yr = 2002)

東南亞 **Southeast Asia**

23. 海外華人研究 新加坡國立大學中文圖書館所建網
站 [Singapore]
(http://www.lib.nus.edu.sg/chz/chineseoverseas/) (est. yr = 2001)

24. Chinese Overseas Collection comprises information on Chinese
outside of China, Taiwan, & Hong Kong
The National University of Singapore Chinese Library, Singapore
(http://linc.nus.edu.sg/setscope)

25. 新加坡宗鄉會館聯合總會 Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan
Associations (http://www.sfcca.org.sg/) (est. yr = 1986. It is
composed of 191 clan associations whose established years ranging
from 1821 to 1931)

26. 新加坡潮州八邑會館 Teochew Poit Ip Huay Kuan [Singapore]
(http://www.teochew.org.sg/) (est. yr = 1845)

27. 全球華人專業人士網絡 A Global Network for Chinese
Professionals [Singapore]
(http://www.networkchinese.com/chineseprof/index.html) (est. yr =
2003?)

28. 華裔館 Chinese Heritage Centre [Singapore]
    (http://www.chineseheritagecentre.org/main/index.htm) (est. yr =
    1995)
29. 華裔網 HuayiNet = Chinese Overseas Databank [Singapore]
    (http://www.huayinet.org/chinese/c_index.htm) (est. yr = 2000)
30. 新加坡中華總商會 Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce &
    Industry [Singapore] (http://sccci.org.sg/) (est. yr = 1906)
31. 吉隆坡暨雪蘭莪中華工商總會 CCC&I of Kuala Lumpur &
    Selangor [Malaysia] (http://www.chinesechamber.org.my/) (est. yr
    = 1904)
32. 雪蘭莪中華大會堂 The Selangor Chinese Assembly
    Hall [Malaysia]
    (http://www.scah.org.my/modules/tinycontent/index.php?id=2) (est.
    yr = 1921)
33. 砂拉越華族文化協會 Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association
    [Malaysia] (http://www.inet.com.my/scca/index.htm) (est. yr =
    1990)
34. 馬華公會 Malaysian Chinese Association [Malaysia]
    (http://www.mca.org.my/) (est. yr = 1949)
35. 新山中華公會 Persekutuan Tiong-Hua [Malaysia] (http://www.jb-
    tionghua.org.my/) (est. yr = 1922)
36. 馬來西亞海南會館聯合會 The Federation of Hainan Association
    Malaysia [Malaysia] (http://www.hainan.org.my/) (est. yr = 1933)
37. 南方學院華人族群與文化研究所 Research Institute of Chinese
    Ethnicity & Culture, Southern College [Malaysia]
    (http://www.sc.edu.my/ricec/ricecintro.htm) (est. yr = 2003)
38. Kaisa Heritage Center [Philippines] (http://www.kaisa.ph/) (est. yr
    = 1987)
39. 泰國中華會館 The Chinese Association in Thailand (Chong
    Hua)[Thailand] (http://www.chonghua.or.th/en/)
40. 泰國潮州會館 The Tio Chew Association of Thailand [Thailand]
    (http://www.tiochewassthai.org/) (est. yr = 1938)
41. 印尼華裔總會 Perhimpunan Indonesia Keturunan Tionghoa
    (http://www.inti.or.id/) [Indonesia] (est. yr = 1999)

北美洲 **North America**

42. Dr. You-Bao Shao Center Overseas Chinese Documentation &
    Research Center, Ohio University Libraries, Athens, Ohio, U.S.A.
    (http://www.library.ohiou.edu/subjects/shao/main.htm) [List
    of] Institutes on Overseas Chinese Studies Dr. You-Bao Shao

Center, Ohio University Libraries, Athens, Ohio [U.S.A.]
(http://www.library.ohiou.edu/subjects/shao/institut.htm) (est. yr =
1993)

43. 美國華人歷史學會 The Chinese Historical Society of
America, San Francisco [U.S.A.] (http://www.chsa.org/) (est. yr =
1963)

44. 客家 Hakka - an important element of Chinese culture [U.S.A.]
(http://www.asiawind.com/hakka/) (est. yr = 1995)

45. 華人 Huaren [U.S.A.] (http://www.huaren.org/) (est. yr = 1998)

46. ChinaSite.com: Overseas Chinese The complete reference to
Overseas Chinese web sites [U.S.A.]
(http://www.chinasite.com/Lifestyle/OverseasChinese.html) (est. yr
= 1994)

47. 加州首府華人網站 Sacramento Chinese Web [U.S.A.]
(http://www.sacramentochinese.com/) (est. yr = 1999)

48. 聖荷西華人天主教會 San Jose Chinese Catholic
Community [U.S.A.] (http://www.sjccc.org/) (est. yr = 1976)

49. 舊金山中華文化中心 Chinese Culture Center, San
Francisco [U.S.A.] (http://www.c-c-c.org/) (est. yr = 1965)

50. 美洲中國工程師學會 Chinese Institute of Engineers [U.S.A.]
(http://www.cie-usa.org/) (est. yr = 1917)

51. 中國旅美工程學會 Chinese American Association of
Engineering [U.S.A.] (http://www.caae.org/facelift/index.php) (est.
yr = 1995)

52. [海外] 華人物理學會 Overseas Chinese Physics
Association [U.S.A.] (http://www.ocpaweb.org/) (est. yr. 1990)

53. 美洲中華醫學會 Chinese American Medical Society [U.S.A.]
(http://www.camsociety.org/) (est. yr = 1963)

54. 美華協會 Organization of Chinese Americans [U.S.A.]
(http://www.ocanatl.org/) (est. yr = 1973)

55. Asiawind: Bridging East and West in Business, Technology and
Culture[U.S.A.] (http://www.asiawind.com/) (est. yr = 1996)

56. Chinese Mutual Aid Association [U.S.A.]
(http://www.chinesemutualaid.org/) (est. yr = 1981)

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(http://www.fujianese.cn/) (est. yr = 2004)

58. 大多倫多中華文化中心 Chinese Cultural Centre of Greater
Toronto[Canada] (http://www.cccgt.org/) (est. yr = 1998)

59. 加華文獻聚珍 Historical Chinese Language Materials in British Columbia: An electronic inventory [Canada] (http://www.sfu.ca/davidlamcentre/hclmbc/) (est. yr = 2000)

日本 **Japan**

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61. 日本華僑華人學會 The Japan Society for the Studies of Chinese Overseas [Japan] (http://www13.ocn.ne.jp/~yamakiyo/frameR.htm) (est. yr = 2003)

62. 神戶華僑歷史博物館 [Japan] (http://www16.ocn.ne.jp/~ochm1979/index1.html) (est. yr = 1979)

63. 橫濱華僑總會 [Japan] (http://www.yokohama-chinese.gr.jp/index.html) (1868?)

大洋洲 **Oceania**

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歐洲 **Europe**

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67. 華聯網 -- 華人社區網站 UnityChinese.com -- The Chinese Community Network [UK] (http://www.unitychinese.com/Chinese/NATIONAL/Home/Homepage.htm)

68. 基督教華僑佈道會 Chinese Overseas Christian Mission [UK] (http://www.cocm.org.uk/chinesechurch/chinesechurch.html)

69. Chine, Diaspora chinoise, Chinois d'Europe, de France et de Paris China, Chinese overseas, Chinese in Europe, France and in Paris [France] (http://www.chinoisdefrance.com/)

70. 法國華人網 [France] (http://www.fahua.net/) (est. yr = 2003)

71. 公館檔案 Friends of the Kong Koan Archives [The Netherlands] (http://www.kongkoan.org/index.htm) (est. yr = 1998)

72. ERVA 網站: 荷蘭世華社群 [The Netherlands] (http://www.erva.nl/) (est. yr = 2000)

73. 歐華熱線 [Hungary] (http://www.euchn.com/html/) (est. yr = 2001)
74. 丹麥中國學生學者聯誼會 Association of Chinese Students and Scholars in Denmark [Denmark] (http://www.acssd.dk/)

拉丁美洲 **Latin America**

75. Chinese in/from Latin America Chinos en/de Latinoamerica [Latin America] (http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/chu/chinos/) (est. yr = 1999)
76. 牙買加華僑 Jamaican Chinese [Jamaica] (http://www.chinesejamaican.com/beci/index.html)
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報刊網頁 **Newspaper and Serial Publications**

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3. 福建僑報 [中國大陸] (http://www.66163.com/Fujian_w/news/fjqb/) (est. yr = 2001)
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5. 聯合早報 [Singapore] (http://www.zaobao.com.sg/) (原南洋商報 est. yr = 1923)
6. 全球華社網 聯合早報網專輯 [Singapore] (http://www.zaobao.com/chinese/chinese.html) (est. yr = 1999)
7. 星洲互動 [Malaysia] (http://www.sinchew-i.com/) (est. yr = 2004)
8. 星洲日報 [Malaysia] (http://www.sinchew-i.com/) (est. yr = 1929)
9. 光明日報 [Malaysia] (http://www.guangming.com.my/) (est. yr = 1987, 前身星檳日報 closed in 1986)
10. 華僑日報 [Malaysia] (http://www.founder.net.my/ocdn/)
11. 光華日報 [Malaysia] (http://www.kwongwah.com.my/)
12. 中國報 [Malaysia] (http://www.chinapress.com.my/) (est. yr = 1946)
13. 南洋商報 [Malaysia] (http://www.nanyang.com.my/)
14. 工商世界 [Malaysia] (http://mag.sinchew-i.com/bw/) (est. yr = 1975)
15. 學海 [Malaysia] (http://13179.sinchew-i.com/) (est. yr = 1993)

16. 柬埔寨星洲日報 [Cambodia] (http://news.sinchew-i.com/cam/) (est. yr = 2000)

17. 商報 [The Philippines] (http://www.siongpo.com/) (est. yr = 1919)

18. 世界日報 [The Philippines] (http://www.worldnews.com.ph/)

19. 美洲文匯周刊 Sinotimes [California, U.S.A.] (http://www.sinotimes.com/) (est. yr = 1993)

20. 美南新聞 [U.S.A.] (http://www.scdaily.com/) (est. yr = 2000)

21. 華人今日網(台灣時報、中國日報) [U.S.A.] (http://www.chinesedaily.com/) (est. yr = 2001)

22. 僑報 [U.S.A.] (http://www.thechinapress.com/) (est. yr = 2000)

23. 中南報 [U.S.A.] (http://www.newcomernews.com/)

24. 佛州僑聲報 [U.S.A.] (http://www.floridachinese.com/)

25. 華僑新聞 [U.S.A.] (http://www.ocn-miami.com/index.htm) (est. yr = 2001)

26. 華府郵報 [U.S.A.] (http://www.washingtonchinapost.com/) (est. yr = 1984)

27. 華訊新聞網 [U.S.A.] (http://w3.ttnn.com/) (est. yr = 1995)

28. 聖路易時報全美華人社區新聞網 [U.S.A.] (http://www.scanews.com/) (est. yr = 1990)

29. 西華報 Seattle Chinese Post & Northwest Asian Weekly [U.S.A.] (http://www.nwasianweekly.com/) (est. yr = 1982)

30. 大紀元華人社區 [U.S.A.] (http://www.epochtimes.com /b5/ncChineseCommunity.htm) (est. yr = 2000)

31. 華夏文摘 Chinese News Digest [U.S.A.] (http://www.cnd.org/HXWZ/) (est. yr = 1991)

32. 多維新聞網 Chinese News Net [U.S.A.] (http://www7.chinesenewsnet.com/) (est. yr = 1999)

33. 世界日報 worldjournal.com [U.S.A.] (http://www.worldjournal.com/wjindex.php) (est. yr = 1976)

34. 華僑時報 La Presse Chinoise [Canada] (http://www.chinesepress.com/) (est. yr = 1981)

35. 澳洲日報 [Australia] (http://www.ausdaily.net.au/) (est. 1996)

36. 網上唐人街 [Australia] (http://www.chinatown.com.au/index.asp) (est. 1997)

37. 紐西蘭"中文一族"壹周刊 [New Zealand] (http://www.chinese-media.co.nz/) (est. yr = 1992)

38. 中文導報 [Japan] (http://www.chubun.com/)

39. 日本新華僑報 [Japan] (http://www.jnocnews.com/) (est. yr = 1999)

40.歐洲時報 Nouvelles D'Europe [France] (http://www.oushi.fr/)
41.歐華導報 Chinese European Post [Germany]
(http://www.chinesen.de/) (est. yr = 2002)

Appendix II. New Chinese Overseas Organizations established in 2003 and 2004

2003	2004
Americas (美洲)	Americas (美洲)
(中國旅美專家協會)商管學會	美國紐約州華裔輔警聯誼會
大芝加哥地區北京協會	(加拿大溫哥華)美洲新華僑華人
美國浙江經貿文化聯會	聯合總會
美國華人企業家協會	美國聖地牙哥香港商會
海外中國教育基金會美北加州分會	加拿大華人青年聯合總會
美硅谷華人扶貧教育基金會	巴拿馬中華慈愛聯誼會
美東福華商會	溫州旅美商會
美達拉斯華夏藝術團	美國大洛杉磯地區促進中國統
一中會	一聯合會
斯坦福華裔校友會	美國新澤西陝西同鄉會
旅美陝西同鄉會	(加拿大歷屆傑出華人創業家)企
舊金山亞裔社區之聲	業精英會
美大華府地區湖南醫科大學校友會	美東華人善終協助會
美俄亥俄州武漢大學校友會	(資助中國貧困學生) 加拿大福
美國溫州專業人士協會	慧基金會
洛杉磯楚漢文化研究會	美國亞特蘭大統一促進會
美東福建商會	美國克利夫蘭統一促進會
美國德州廣東總會	美國華商會
美國休士頓武漢華中科技大學校友	加拿大多倫多華人社區發展委
會	員會
美國亞特蘭大地區中國學生學者聯	統一促進會芝加哥分會
合會	美國大華府河北同鄉會
美亞淑女協會	美國新澤西福建同鄉會
全美美華學社	加拿大新疆聯誼會
美國休士頓复旦、上海醫大校友會	美國費城長樂公會
華裔美軍眷屬互援會	美國華人善終協助會
美國長樂文溪聯誼會	美國大紐約區中國統一促進會
美國華人婦女會	美國華裔選民協會(由閩僑在紐
新澤西中美商會	約華埠發起)
美國大曼菲斯華人聯合會	美國冲萎同鄉總會

美國華人創業者協會	加中企業家協會渥太華分會
紐約中國西部開發總會	達拉斯華美協會
達拉斯山東旅美人士協會	美國北京廣播學院校友會
美國北京聯合會	巴西中華總商會
紐約詩詞學會	美國柏克萊加大中華國際校友會
美國密蘇里州河北經貿會	
美國華人麻醉學會	美國大華府浙江同鄉會
美西南中國學生學者聯誼會	美東新僑聯合會(紐約)
紐約法拉盛華人社團聯誼會	美中傳媒協會
美西北中國統一促進會	美國亞特蘭大東北同鄉會
美國德州雲南同鄉會	美國蒙哥馬利市亞裔互助會
全美法政大學校友會	(美國)海外中國留學生和平統一促進會
休士頓兩岸交大聯合同學會	
美國中國留學人員專業人士聯誼會	美國舊金山灣區旅美華人作家協會
加中生物醫藥科技發展協會	
加拿大福建華聯總會	海外華人會長聯誼會(美國劍橋市)
加拿大魁北克省台山寧陽會館	
加拿大貴州聯誼會	加拿大陝西海外聯誼會
加拿大華人保守黨	美洲中華青年促進中國和平統一聯合會
巴西中國大西南同鄉總會	
Asia (亞洲)	美國明尼蘇達州華人醫師協會
(旅日華人)東北振興支持委員會	新美國人辯護基金會
日本新華僑華人會	Asia (亞洲)
第一屆全日本中國留學人員友好聯誼會	澳門地區和平統一促進會
	柬埔寨華僑華人香港聯誼會
大手町中國人俱樂部	(在日中國人)和平與和解思考會
日本華僑華人學會	(日本)國際客家文化協會
Europe (歐洲)	阿聯酋中國商會
塞黑溫州華人華僑商業協會	(香港)全球華人公共衛生協會
匈牙利上海總商會	韓國中華總商會
中國挪威學者聯合會	日本福井華僑華人聯誼會
全愛爾蘭中國學生學者聯誼會	Europe (歐洲)
盧森堡青田同鄉會	塞黑中國和平統一促進會
丹麥中國和平統一促進會	荷蘭華人參議機構
克羅地亞華僑華人中國和平統一促進會	中法服裝實業商會
	瑞士中國學人科技協會
歐洲溫州華人華僑聯合會	法國巴黎木蘭拳研究協會
歐洲溫州華人華僑聯合會德國分會	法國中國和平統一促進會南方

黑山共和國華商協會	分會
法國華商會	法國東方華人協會新分會
旅比華人專業人士協會	全法學人團體聯合會
歐洲中藥商會	法國華人軍人俱樂部
Oceania (大洋洲)	(留英中國學人)中英科技貿易協
澳大利亞廣東總商會	會
西澳大利亞州華人科學家協會	法國華夏粵華聯誼會
澳洲無錫同鄉會	留芬華人生命科學協會
澳洲巴拉瑪打市華人協會	全英清華校友會
澳洲巴拉瑪打市華商會	Oceania (大洋洲)
墨爾本湖南同鄉會	全澳華人專家學者聯合會
Africa (非洲)	(旅澳華商)澳聯集團
南非浙江商會	全澳華人商界協會
第二屆喀麥隆華僑華人工商總會	澳洲墨爾本湖北同鄉會
貝寧華僑華人會	澳大利亞中華民族文化促進會
全非和平統一促進會開普頓分會	澳大利亞維州越棉寮華人團體
南非華人華僑婦女聯合會	聯合會與和統會
Mainland China (中國大陸)	大洋洲中國和平統一促進會
世界張氏總會	中國和平統一促進會瓦努阿圖
世界溫州人聯誼總會	分會
世界中醫藥學會	澳洲南澳華人專業人士協會
	悉尼華埠促進會
	Africa (非洲)
	喀麥隆中國和平統一促進會
	納米比亞中國和平統一促進會
	南非南通商會
	西非和平統一促進會
	馬達加斯加和平統一促進會
	南部非洲溫州同鄉會
	Mainland China (中國大陸)
	世界華人建築師協會
	環球武術協會

Source from: www.chinaqw.com (*Zhongguo Qiaowang* 中國僑網, 2004)
(http://www.hsm.com.cn/node2/node116/node119/node162/node1
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/node119/node162/node2222/node2224//index.html)

網路上的海外華人組織
暨網路景觀外的社會文化現象註解

邱淑如

香港中文大學圖書館

摘 要

隨著過去數十載以來資訊科技的進步，有愈來愈多年屆世紀高齡的海外華人社群，以及新興華人移民所發起的團體，都紛紛將其組織推上全球資訊網。基於網路上的海外華人組織觀察，本文將簡要地 (1) 回顧網際網路在海外華人組織的傳承、轉型與發展上所扮演的角色；(2) 檢視相關的學術著作以衡量現實世界的即景分析，是否符合我們在線上所獲悉的調查；(3) 在涉及海外華人社會文化和政治經濟的情境下，討論網路應用與全球同族的電子總動員之間的相互關係；(4) 分別確認某些代表性的東南亞華人組織，以及日本、美國和歐洲新成立的經貿、專業和學生團體在網上所顯示的特徵；(5) 並以探討線上論述分析如何增進跨國研究的深度，以及賦予海外華人組織生動的面貌做為總結。

關鍵字： 海外華人組織，網際網路，線上社群