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"New Chinese Migration in Europe: Network, Community and Ethnic Business"

Chinese economic immigration in Europe has a long history and a well-developed strategy, but recently we discovered an installation of a new migration network through the territory of Russia and some other Eastern European countries. This particular flow of migrants being already very important has a clear seen tendency to grow up within last five – ten years. The socio-demographic profile of this new population appeared to be quiet different from that of the previous generations of Chinese migrants who have already settled in the main cities of the European Union.

The newcomers are much less linked to specific areas of origin, although the residents of the north-eastern region (provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Shandong and two monopoles – Beijing and Tianjin) are dominating in the total flow. The majority of Chinese migrants are in the most active, employable age, but we also observe the important increasing of the number of migrants over the age of 25 (especially the age group of 25-34). Another important phenomenon that draw attention is the growing presence of women in this new population movement, they represent at the very least 45 % of the actual flow.

The social, educational and professional backgrounds of this population varied greatly. The percentage of semi-illiterate peasants is insignificant but there are a lot of former employers (highly qualified white collars workers, qualified and unqualified workers) of big state enterprises which have been recently closed or reorganized in north-eastern and central China. Massive unemployment in these old industrialized regions is creating the waves of legal and illegal human flow. Although many of them had previously been well qualified, their qualifications were no longer considered sufficient in the new Chinese economy; so for this population the economic interest is the primary motivation to migrate.

However, this population has not chosen already existent networks of migration, and developed instead its own effective strategy. Partly it could be explained by the fact that these new migrants, especially from Dongbei region, have neither the direct strong connections with the old Chinese communities in Europe or in Northern America nor the historical tradition of immigration.

This policy of migration includes: legal using of Russia and of some other former USSR countries, as a preliminary platform for workers, students and entrepreneurs within at least one year to get required knowledge and necessary connections in order to find a job and a place to live in the country of their final destination. The main reasons of choosing Russia as a transit, intermediate country are:

- singular geographical position of Russia which has a common frontier from one hand with China and from other hand with five countries of the European Union;
- pouring character of its borders that are quiet easy to cross both legally and illegally;
- absence of efficient migration policy and of regular migration control in Russia.

To enter Russia the Chinese are often using the services of special so-called travel agencies which provide them with passport and work or student Russian visa, as well as with air or train tickets¹. These agencies are working in tight cooperation with numerous Chinese firms and organizations in Russia which help the new arrivals not only to settle in the host country (to find some kind of job and of accommodation), but also to set up the enterprise and to deal with Russian authorities.

Once arrived, Chinese migrants are working hard in order to earn money and to be able to pay their trip to one of the states of the European Union. This period should be regarded as a kind of adaptation to the western way of life and economical conditions. For the next step of migration both legal and illegal ways are used². However, not all these migrants have the same migration project; some of them stay in Russia for quiet a long time. They set up here fast-grown ethnic enterprises that become in its turn an additional source of immigrants.

² For more information on the illegal and legal Chinese migration in Europe, see LI, Minghuan, 2004 « A Changeable Social Status: Immigration between Legal and Illegal Approaches », *Migrations internationales, mobilités et développement*, Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 99 – 130.

¹For more information on the activities of these agencies, see PINA-GUERASSIMOFF, Carine, 2004 « Circulation de l'information migratoire et mobilité internationale des Chinois (R.P.C.) », *Migrations internationales, mobilités et développement*, Paris : L'Harmattan, pp. 169-189.

In order to study this new network of economical migration and to learn more about its efficiency, a special survey among the Chinese population in Saint-Petersburg area have been realized. We have chosen Saint-Petersburg as a case study for many quiet different reasons. First of all for its singular geographical position – on the doorstep of the European Union, that gives a lot of opportunities to enter into the Schengen zone (especially through the common border with Baltic States). Recent economic development of the city (construction of the new harbour, revival of some old industries) and its particular politic status have attracted Chinese businessmen (from the RPC and from other Russian cities) but also Chinese workers, who answered the emerging labour shortage in Saint-Petersburg. There are many new cooperation contracts which have been recently signed between China and Saint-Petersburg. Some of them are really impressive, for example, the "Baltic Pearl" project (2005 – 2013) when the big investment group from Shanghai has invested 2 billion of the USD into the construction of the business area of 208 hectares on the coast of the Finland Gulf. All this factors had played the important role in the fast growing of Chinese population in Saint-Petersburg and in the forming of the well-organized community.

We have distinguished 3 type-groups of respondents corresponding to the described below profile of the new Chinese migrant:

- 1. Students in different fields (arts, medicine and sciences) as the most young, mobile and adaptive group to become potential migrants;
- 2. Businessmen, for whom migration is a way to develop their business;
- 3. Temporary workers (less skilled of three), who don't have other job possibilities in China and have to immigrate.

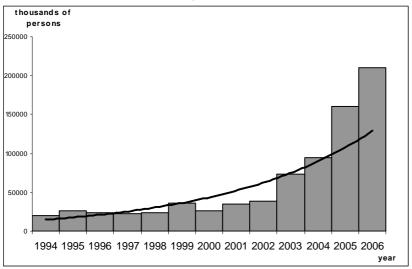
The percentage of people willing to immigrate in these three groups is different being in correlation with their socio-demographic background and economic hopes. This paper presents the first results of this study.

When the Soviet Union ceased to exist and Russia became a relatively opened independent state, a flow of migrants of all origins poured across its borders (during the 1990s the migration rate was 330,000 people per year on average). Over the past decade, the Chinese have emerged as the fastest growing ethnic minority in Russia. Due to the strong fluidity of population, it is rather difficult to estimate the exact number of Chinese migrants in Russia, composed of both legal and undocumented flows. The official statistics and Russian

population's experts estimate the total number of the Chinese settled in Russia from 1992 to 2005 being from 300 000 to 500 000 of people³.

In 2006, Russian Federal Migration Service has registered 210 000 Chinese migrants, who received the official work permit; they represented 21 % of the total number of legal migrants in Russia⁴. In 2004 there were 94 064 Chinese citizens in Russia on a work visa, while in 2005 their number was 160 569.

Figure 1. Number of Chinese migrants with the official working permits, Russia, 1994-2006



Source: Russian Federal Migration Service (Federalnaya Migracionnaya Slugba), http://www.fmsrf.ru/start.asp

exponential The trend revealed on figure 1, shows that the annual augmentation of the Chinese number of citizens with working permit has a constant rate of growth. Statistically it means that there is no factor, which slows down this process. However, the data published by Migration Service don't

take into the account neither the Chinese who entered Russia illegally or entered legally but stayed illegally once their visa had expired and nor the Chinese with other type of visa – students, businessmen, and tourists.

The two main Chinese communities of Russia are those in Moscow and those in the Russian Far East. However, the community in Saint-Petersburg is also quiet important numbering according to the official estimation from 20,000 to 25,000 people. Chinese community leaders give even higher estimates in the 30,000 - 40,000 range. About 60 % of them are students or rather persons with student type of visa. It's easier to get the student visa

³ GELBRAS, Vilya, 2004 « Perspektivi kitaiskoi migracii na Dalnem Vostoke» (Perspectives of Chinese Far East), Otechestvennie zapiski (Homeland migration to the Russian Notes). http://magazines.russ.ru/oz/2004/4/2004 4 9.html; ZAYONCHKOVSKAYA, Ganna, 2005 « Migracionnaia situacia sovremennoi Rossii » (Actual migration trends in Russia), special journalist project Publichnie lekcii http://www.polit.ru/lectures/2005/01/26/migration.html; « Polit.ry » (Open lectures of Polit.ru), SHLAPENTOKH, Vladimir, 2007 « China in the Russian Mind Today: Ambivalence and Defeatism », Europe-*Asia Studies*, Vol. 59, n° 1, pp. 11-21.

⁴ Russian Federal Migration Service (Federalnaya Migracionnaya Slugba), official Internet site: http://www.fmsrf.ru/start.asp

at the Russian embassy in Beijing than the visa for temporary workers or for businessmen, which requires more official documents and authorization papers. In order to obtain student visa, an applicant needs only his passport, official invitation from some Russian university, copies of his Chinese diplomas and a medical certificate. This type of visa gives the Chinese citizens a right to stay legally on the Russian territory during one year, to work and to rent an apartment. Some of them are real students; for others it's just an opportunity to enter Russia and to gain money or to move further in one of the EU countries.

Other 40 % are composed by persons, who have the official working permit, business or tourist visa. The percentage of the Chinese, who have entered Russia illegally, without any type of visa, is rather small in Saint-Petersburg⁵. The majority came in a legal way, but once their visa has expired, they stayed illegally and continued to work. This distribution of Chinese migrants into 4 unequal groups was taken into the account during the constitution of the representative sample of the population later covered by our survey.

During the preparations of the survey in Saint-Petersburg we have consulted a number of Russian experts in the actual Chinese migration trends and have analyzed previous studies of the Chinese population in Russia, which were realized between 1991 and 2006⁶. Then a questionnaire composed of 32 questions in both Chinese and Russian languages has been worked out. The main topics were: sex, age, matrimonial status, geographical origin, educational level, reasons to come in Russia (who gave the idea, why not choose another country, whether their hopes have been realized or not and why so), professional activity in Russia, accommodation in Saint-Petersburg, self-evaluation of Russian language skills, future family and professional projects (to marry with the Chinese/Russian, to bring wife/husband/children in Russia; to stay in Russia, to immigrate in some other country, to return in China), financial situation in China and in Russia, relations with Russian population and authorities, evaluation of Russian economic situation and investment opportunities.

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⁵ Illegal migrants from China usually come to Russia through Kazakhstan, then they go on to the western part of the country.

⁶ The Carnegie Center in Moscou (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, site http://www.carnegie.ru/en/) has realized two surveys among the Chinese migrants in different Russian cities in 1997 and 2000. Another survey was carried out by Professor of Moscou State University and eminent Russian sinologist, Vilya Gelbras, in 2003: GELBRAS, Vilya, 2004 Rossia v usloviah globalnoi kitaiskoi migracii (Russia within the context of global Chinese migration), Moscow: Muravei, 203 pages.

The questionnaire was then tested on the small group of respondents (two men and two women) of different age and with different social and educational backgrounds. The testing persons showed us questions that they had some difficulties to understand or to answer and then explained us why. After that preliminary work, the questionnaire was modified once more in order to make it easier to understand and to fill out correctly.

The survey was realized in Saint-Petersburg in December 2006 within the framework of French government program "Airs Culturelles – Aide à la mobilité internationale". There were two Chinese-speaking interviewers, who explained to the Chinese respondents the goals of the survey and how to fill out the questionnaire. We didn't accept the interference of the intermediaries – people or tutors engaged in the organization of the life and work of the Chinese, because they could influence the answers of respondents. However, before starting the survey, we had to show the questionnaire and explain the goals of our study to the direction board of four universities in Saint-Petersburg, that usually accept a big number of Chinese students and to the executive manager of China-Russia construction project, whose workers we intended to interview.

The respondents were divided into four groups: students, temporary workers, small-business owners, and middle/big-business owners. At the beginning we were planning to distribute 250 questionnaires, but once the survey was finished, the total number of questionnaires amounted to 209. Such difference is the result of the fact that some of the respondents after consulting the questionnaire refused to answer or returned their questionnaire not completely filled out, so we judged their quality too low to be included in the final data base.

The field work was divided into four parts according to the number of the groups of respondents. First of all we questioned Chinese students, then – temporary workers, small-business owners and finally middle/big-business owners.

The students were interviewed during their Russian language lessons in their university. For our survey we have chosen four different universities in Saint-Petersburg that enrol a great number of Chinese students every year and therefore they have developed a particular

educational structure especially for them (Russian language lessons, special program of selected subjects, new dormitories, reinforced security measures etc.)⁷.

We planned to distribute 190 questionnaires, but there were a lot of refusals due to the fears that some information of the survey could be then passed to the Russian authorities or police. As we have mentioned before, a considerable number of Chinese students came in Russia not to study, but to work or to do business. Still, it is very important for them to learn Russian language, so they willingly attend Russian language classes organized by the university, especially knowing that they have paid tuition fees in order to get the official invitation required by Russian embassy in Beijing. That's why the refusal rate in this group is quiet high - 16.8%. So at the end, we counted 158 questionnaires: 42 in the University of Medicine, 25 in the Polytechnic University, 67 in the Academy of Arts and 24 in the Conservatory.

Second group was composed of temporary workers employed by the direction of China-Russia construction project "Baltic Pearl". In 2005 Saint-Petersburg city government signed a contract with the group of Chinese investors, who will construct the whole district in the north-west of the city (business centres, apartments, official buildings, hotels, restaurants, supermarkets, one school and a hospital). In order to realize this great project, Chinese investors got the permission from city government to recruit 3000 workers in China, who will do the major part of the work. We interviewed 24 of them and there was only 1 refusal (the refusal rate is 5 %).

There were 14 refusals in the third group, so the refusal rate here is the highest one, rising up to the 30 %. This group was composed of Chinese shopkeepers who were selling different kinds of "made in China" products on the "Apraksin dvor" market in the very centre of Saint-Petersburg. This is mostly clothing market, composed of numerous small shops and cafes run by merchants of different nationalities, but the Chinese are dominating there. The high refusal rate could be explained by the fear that the survey is in reality carried out by Russian police or migration service in order to take a census of the Chinese and then apply some kind of restrictive measures on them. This population is very vulnerable to the police

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⁷ Security is one of the major topics for Chinese students who are afraid of the emerging wave of nationalism in Russia in general and in Saint-Petersburg in particular, where the number of attacks on foreign students (mostly of African and of Asian origin) has considerably grown during the last 3 years. The Saint-Petersburg University of Education, for example, provides their Chinese students with special hot line telephone number, so in urgent situation they could directly call to the attorney general of the city.

controls, because many of them are working illegally or have no Russian visa, so their distrust is quiet logic. In order to persuade the population to answer the survey's questions we asked a Chinese friend, working on the market, to present us to his business partners, colleagues and friends, so his presence was a sort of guarantee for the respondents that the survey is safe to participate.

The group n°4 was composed of entrepreneurs who run the middle or big sized enterprise. They were not easy to contact, so we asked the head of the Chinese community in Saint-Petersburg for the assistance. He recommended us to 15 Chinese businessmen willing to participate in the survey and helped us to get the appointment with them. After being reading the questionnaire, only 2 of them have refused to fill it out (the refusal rate is of 13.3%). There were 6 managers of big Chinese or Japanese restaurants⁸, 4 directors of construction firms, 2 executive managers of transport companies and 1 director of the centre of Chinese traditional medicine.

We also have realized several detailed interviews within the groups, from which we have chosen 5 case studies, as the most representative ones. In order to increase the reliability of our survey we have also interviewed 11 Russian experts: Chinese migration's researchers, sinologists, officials who deal with population and migration problems. These interviews allowed us to get a lot of interesting information on the studied subject, as well as some important documents and data (state service's internal statistics, national demographic reports etc.); it also helped us to analyze the work of different Russian institutions on behalf of the Chinese migrants.

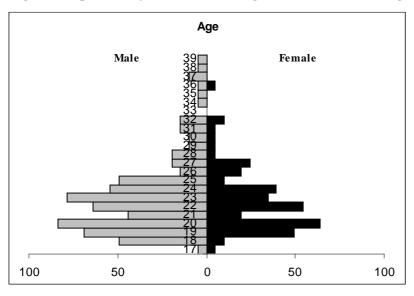
Once the survey was finished, we have counted and analyzed all the questionnaires in order to evaluate the quality of information. There were some mistakes and omissions, part of them we could rectify thanks to the additional sources of information that we had (list of all students who have been participated with the date of birth and sex indicated). The questionnaires with serious omissions were not included into the final data base, so the total number of accepted questionnaires amounts to 206.

Among these 206 respondents, 132 were men and 74 – women. As shows figure 2, men dominate in all age groups representing 64.1% of the total population. Population pyramid is a

⁸ Almost all Japanese restaurants in Saint-Petersburg were set up by the Chinese, because Japanese dishes are very fashionable in Russia and at the same time more expensive ones, so the profits could be more important.

graphical illustration that shows the distribution of the population by sex and by age at the moment "t", which is in our case the 15th of December 2006 (the reference day for our survey).

Figure 2. Population Pyramid, Chinese Migrants in Saint-Petersburg



Source: Survey in Saint-Petersburg, Russia

The pyramid that we could observe in our case is an expansive one, because it is showing a broad base, indicating a high proportion of young people; a rapid rate of population growth and a low proportion of older people. The majority of respondents belonged to the age group of 20-24 years, representing 52.9%

of the total population. It is possible, however, that our data on this group of population overstates their actual percentage due to the rate of students. The next age group of 25-29 is also quiet important, representing 17.5% of the total population. People of more mature age are less represented: 9.4% of the total population.

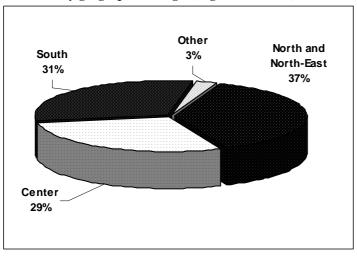
Although in our survey the male population is dominating, the percentage of women in total population revealed to be high (35.9%), especially in comparison with the first flows of Chinese migrants in the beginning of the 1990th. The history of Chinese migration shows that during the first few years of migration to various countries unmarried men made up an absolute majority of the new arrivals. Later, they were followed by women. A balance between the sexes was gradually established, and full-scale communities were formed. Recently the experts have observed the growing involvement of women in international population movements; in some European countries the migration of Chinese women became more significant numerically than that of men⁹.

The distribution of the Chinese in Saint-Petersburg by provincial origin is different from that of the Chinese in the Russian Far East, where the inhabitants of the three north-eastern Chinese provinces (Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning) are dominating. The respondents of our

⁹ PINA-GUERASSIMOFF, Carine, 2006 « Gender and Migration Networks: New Approaches to Research on Chinese Migration to France and Europe », *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, n° 2, pp. 134-145.

survey come from most provinces of China, although 37 % are originated from north and north-eastern industrially depressed regions of China (figure 3).

Figure 3. Distribution of Chinese migrants in Saint-Petersburg by geographical origin (regions of China)



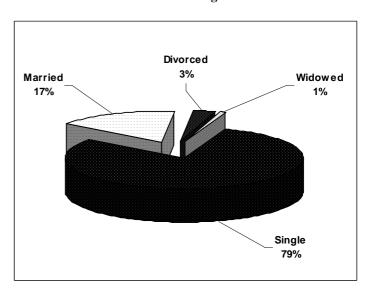
Source: Survey in Saint-Petersburg, Russia

As for the provincial distribution, the Jiangsu is leading with 14 % of respondents originated from this coastline province, then Beijing and Hebei with 14% each, Shandong with 11%, and Liaoning and Sichuan provinces with 10% each. Thus Chinese migration to the Russian Far East is a local phenomenon, being the result of the interaction between frontier regions of the two countries. The Chinese community Saint-Petersburg in

reflects the interaction not only between China and Russia as a whole, but also between China and Europe.

The absolute majority of respondents declared to be unmarried (figure 4), and knowing the number of young persons who have participated in our survey, such result seems to be logic. However, in 1990th very many Chinese came to Russia with their families. Other surveys that have been recently carried out in Russia revealed the sharp increase in the number of unmarried Chinese migrants¹⁰. These changes in population structure could be explained by the development of

Figure 4. Marital status of Chinese migrants in Saint-Petersburg



Source: Survey in Saint-Petersburg, Russia

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GELBRAS, Vilya, 2004 « Perspektivi kitaiskoi migracii na Dalnem Vostoke» (Perspectives of Chinese migration to the Russian Far East), *Otechestvennie zapiski* (Homeland Notes), n° 4, http://magazines.russ.ru/oz/2004/4/2004 4 9.html

migration channel through the territory of Russia that became a transit state or a country of temporary residence for many Chinese migrants moving to the EU. From the other hand, we could also observe the gradual decline of the small family Chinese business in Russia along with the fast development of the medium and big size migrant enterprises, which remain ethnic but not the family ones. Still, our survey is not an all-embracing census; it is difficult to say to what extent the obtained data actually reflects the reality.

Many countries have learnt that studying abroad is the most common form of legal migration to another country, so 77% of respondents in our survey declared that the reason of their coming in Russia was to study. Then 14% said that they were hired workers and that they have been sent in Saint-Petersburg by some Chinese enterprise. Only 8% admitted that they have come in Russia to do their own business.

Research conducted in 1998-2003 had shown that Chinese students are likely to fill employment positions needed by Russia as they are familiar with the Russian language, culture and customs, so they would wish to become Russian citizens or stay in Russia for quiet a long period of time. They are also the most mobile and active part of the population of Chinese migrants in Russia, so they are more likely to move to another country from Russia once they have finished their studies or once they have got the necessary financial resources and physical opportunity.

Our survey shows that Chinese migrants in Saint-Petersburg have very different plans for the future. Only 19 % of respondents planned to settle in Russia (apply for Russian citizenship or for 10 year's resident card), whereas over 21.4 % planned to leave for other countries via Russia. Almost the half of the respondents, 58.7%, said they would return back to China. The analysis of Chinese migrants' plans for the future shows that among those wishing to return home, an absolute majority is made of respondents who have lived in Russia less than one year. Apparently, the first year in Russia is a critical period, when the new comer should adapt to the different social and cultural environment in the host country, which is not the easy process especially in the case of illegal migration. In-depth interviews revealed that many migrants have been deceived and frustrated, because their real life in Saint-Petersburg didn't answer their expectations. Only 14 % admitted that their hopes have been realized, while 29% declared that they were waiting for a better life and that they were totally unprepared for such a sever reality.

In these circumstances, it was very interesting to analyze the considerations, which the participants of our survey expressed about their future business and professional plans. Most of the respondents from the groups 3 and 4 said their plans depended on the market situation and the success of their business. As for the general view of population, 25% of respondents wanted to start or extend their business in China, whereas 12% gave preference to doing business in Russia. Only 5% of respondents planned to remain hired workers. However, the majority of survey's participants, 49%, wanted to continue their studies that could be explained by the prevalence of the students in our survey. Nevertheless many of them were planning to start their own business once they have graduated from the university.

Although only 25% of the survey respondents declared that they want to do business in Russia, the number of Chinese enterprises in Saint-Petersburg has grown rapidly within the last few years. It has started with the small trade companies, and then the whole Chinese market appeared, as well as numerous restaurants and hotels¹¹. Recently, within the fast economic development of Saint-Petersburg, some new types of Chinese enterprises have been set up construction and transport companies, farming, brick making factories, cement plants, consulting companies and law firms. Almost every new Chinese enterprise is a potential source of the new migrants, because all these enterprises need personnel to work there or to construct its buildings and premises. So the number of Chinese hired workers and employees has greatly increased in Saint-Petersburg and its region.

During the interviews, certain students admitted that they have already tried to do some small trade business in Saint-Petersburg or have worked in several Chinese enterprises in Russia. For some of them, this experience showed that there are a lot of possibilities to make money in Russia in an easy and a fast way, if you know how to do it. For others, on the contrary, it showed all the difficulties of setting up an enterprise here – high taxes, hostile social environment, criminal laws of life, flourishing of corruption and of bribery. These circumstances were named as the main reasons for leaving Russia and moving to another country, within the European Union or the North American continent. Thus, from 44 respondents who wanted to move in other country through Russia, 18.2% have chosen France

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¹¹ There are more than 150 Chinese restaurants in Saint-Petersburg, for all tastes – from the most simple and cheapest cafes, to the very luxury and extremely expensive high ranking restaurants with world known chefs. Saint-Petersburg is also a very popular tourist city overcrowded with the Chinese from May to November, so many businessmen from the PRC decided to invest into the construction of the hotels and restaurants especially for the Chinese tourists.

as their final destination, 11.4% - Germany, 6.8% - Italy and UK, 18.2 % - Canada and 13.6% - USA.

When analyzing the questionnaires and interviews of those, who wanted to move in Europe (France in particular), we could see that the majority of them are students, who plan continuing their studies. They have chosen Europe, because of relatively low cost of education there. At the same time the image of Europe is much more idealized than that of Canada or the USA, their vision of the EU was formed by some romantic and emotional stereotypes. For example, many respondents explaining their choice of France said "it is a very romantic country, I was always dreaming to see it" or "I have heard that the French people are very nice, gentleman like" etc. These answers show that their choice was not practical one, that they have a very indefinite image of country and of the organization of life in Europe. This image is based on the rumours, on the stories of someone who have been there, or even on the old films, it sounds more like a dream than a real design which has been worked out.

The situation with the choice of Canada is quiet different, it was the main destination in the groups of hired workers and businessmen. The motivation of their choice seems to be more practical and somehow more logic than in the case of France or other European country. Here, the respondents have a developed migration project, quiet reasonable and fixed. This is not only the result of the Canadian migration policy, which includes the free access to the detailed information about how to immigrate in Canada, how to find a job and an accommodation there etc., but also the result of their well-developed integration program that allows to the new comers to adapt quickly and successfully to the Canadian mode of life and to become the real part of the society of the host country. So, in order to explain their choice of Canada, the Chinese were saying "Canada is a very perspective country; I think there are a lot of opportunities for me to find a good job", "It's a free country where talents and skills counts more than your origins" or "The economic situation in Canada is very stable, so that's why I want to do my own business there". As we can see, the image of Canada is also quiet idealized but nevertheless it is more close to the reality than in the case of the Chinese migrants who have chosen Europe.

The data collected from the survey provides a general picture not only of the Chinese migration to Russia, but also of the transit Chinese migration to Europe. Some part of this population flood stays in Russia only for a short period of time and then using both legal and

illegal ways enters to one of the EU countries. Although this migration channel appeared only recently, it has a great impact on the whole migration environment of the European Union.

The study of the population sample in Saint-Petersburg, revealed that the new Chinese migrants have a very interesting demographic and social profile which is quiet different from that of the old Chinese migrants already settled in Europe. They have developed their own very efficient migration strategy within the transnational Chinese migration network to which they added new links.

The survey has included many questions related with different aspects of the Chinese migration chain and system. The present paper analyzed only the first preliminary results of this survey and many other characteristics of the population flood issued from this new way of migration remain to discover and will be open to further analyze.

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