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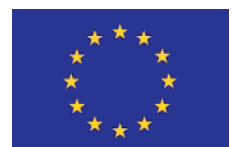
Chinese Migration and Chinese Diaspora in Russia

Sergei Ryazantsev

MPC Research Report 2014/01



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**EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
MIGRATION POLICY CENTRE (MPC)**

Chinese Migration and Chinese Diaspora in Russia

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Mission statement

The Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute, Florence, conducts advanced research on global migration to serve migration governance needs at European level, from developing, implementing and monitoring migration-related policies to assessing their impact on the wider economy and society.

Rationale

Migration represents both an opportunity and a challenge. While well-managed migration may foster progress and welfare in origin- as well as destination countries, its mismanagement may put social cohesion, security and national sovereignty at risk. Sound policy-making on migration and related matters must be based on knowledge, but the construction of knowledge must in turn address policy priorities. Because migration is rapidly evolving, knowledge thereof needs to be constantly updated. Given that migration links each individual country with the rest of the world, its study requires innovative cooperation between scholars around the world.

The MPC conducts field as well as archival research, both of which are scientifically robust and policy-relevant, not only at European level, but also globally, targeting policy-makers as well as politicians. This research provides tools for addressing migration challenges, by: 1) producing policy-oriented research on aspects of migration, asylum and mobility in Europe and in countries located along migration routes to Europe, that are regarded as priorities; 2) bridging research with action by providing policy-makers and other stakeholders with results required by evidence-based policy-making, as well as necessary methodologies that address migration governance needs; 3) pooling scholars, experts, policy makers, and influential thinkers in order to identify problems, research their causes and consequences, and devise policy solutions.

The MPC's research includes a core programme and several projects, most of them co-financed by the European Union.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: www.migrationpolicycentre.eu

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Abstract

Russian Federation is the closest Northern neighbour of China. Relations with Russia are thus in the center of Chinese geopolitical and economic interests are nowadays. In 1990-2010 socio-economic and political cooperation between the two countries got more dynamic and presented the following features: cross-border labor increased; the amount of investments and trade increased; new forms of migration appeared, and intercultural exchanges between the populations intensified. The transformation of socio-economic and political relations changed also the style of living and infrastructure of the border regions of Russia and China. The objective of the present paper is to probe the links between the Chinese investments and migration of the Chinese to Russia in the period 1990-2012. The paper proceeds thus in the following four steps: brief description of investments and trade exchange between Russia and China; analysis of migration flows between China and Russia in the new economic context; categorization of Chinese migration to Russia and of economic activities of Chinese diaspora and their links to investment; analysis of specificities of socio-economic adaptation of Chinese migrants in Russia.

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Introduction

Russian Federation is the closest Northern neighbour of China. Relations with Russia are thus in the center of Chinese geopolitical and economic interests nowadays. In 1990-2010 socio-economic and political cooperation between the two countries got more dynamic and presented the following features: cross-border labor increased; the amount of investments and trade increased; new forms of migration appeared, and intercultural exchanges between the populations intensified. The transformation of socio-economic and political relations changed also the style of living and infrastructure of the border regions of Russia and China.

The objective of the present paper is to probe the links between the Chinese investments and migration of the Chinese to Russia in the period 1990-2012. The paper proceeds thus in the following four steps: brief description of investments and trade exchange between Russia and China; analysis of migration flows between China and Russia in the new economic context; categorization of Chinese migration to Russia and of economic activities of Chinese diaspora and their links to investment; analysis of specificities of socio-economic adaptation of Chinese migrants in Russia.

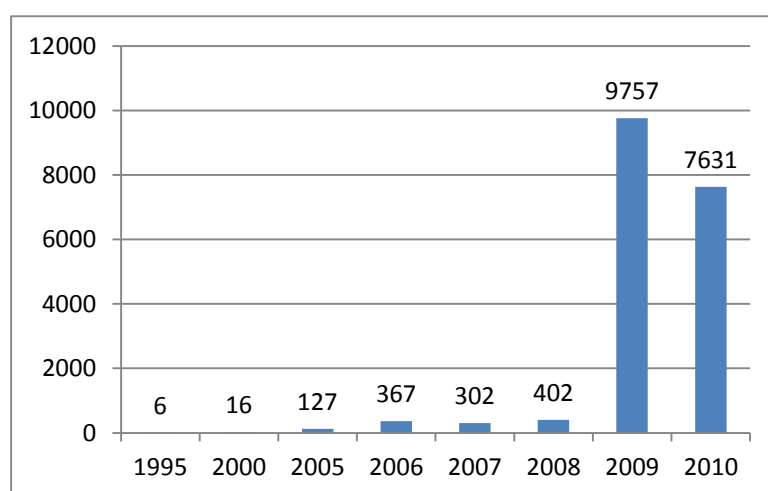
Research methods included:

- 1) a statistical method – the collection and processing of data from Russian and Chinese ministries and agencies (the Ministry of Trade and Economic Development of the RF, the Federal Migration Service of the RF, the Customs Service of the RF, the Border Service of the RF, the Interregional Association of Economic Cooperation of Constituent Entities of the RF, the Ministry of Commerce of the PRC etc.), government statistics (the Federal Service Statistics Service, Rosstat), regional institutions for trade, investment, and migration;
- 2) a sociological method of research included expert interviews (with scientists, government officials, business people, journalists) and a survey of Chinese labor migrants working in Russia;
- 3) an analytical method included an analysis of scientific literature and legislation. The use of a comprehensive approach and varied methods of research revealed key aspects of the interaction of economic mechanisms and migration from China to Russia.

1. Russian-Chinese Trade Economic Relations: Modern Trends

Foreign direct investments between China and Russia during the 2000s developed quite dynamically. Although currently China is not among principal investors in Russia, its role in the investment processes in Russia increased significantly. While in 1995 the share of Chinese investments was only 0.2% of the total investment flows to Russia from foreign countries, in 2010 their share reached 6.7%. In 2009 the share of Chinese investments was the highest and constituted 11.9%.¹ In 2003 there were 549 projects with Chinese investments registered in Russia, for the total amount of 582 million US dollars (Alexandrova 2005: 155-156). In 2004-2007 four investment forums took place (in Khabarovsk, Saint-Petersburg, Beijing and Sochi); in the framework of these forums 33 project agreements were signed, in the amount of over 4 billion US dollars. In November 2006 an agreement was signed between the Government of the Russian Federation and that of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter PRC) on stimulation and mutual protection of capital investments. This document stipulated mutual admission of capital investments under the legislation of receiving countries. Each party provided national regime (or maximum facilitation regime) to the investments by investors from the other country. Most certainly, this fact had a positive impact on the growth of Chinese investments in Russia. They went up significantly, and their absolute value in 2009 constituted 9.8 billion US dollars, whereas in 2010 the total volume of Chinese investments in the Russian economy reached the level of 7.6 billion US dollars (see Figure 1.1). It is obvious that was due to higher levels of Chinese investment in resource projects in recent years in Russia (in particular, in the production, refining, and transportation of oil, timber, and minerals).

Figure 1.1. Dynamics of Chinese investments in Russian economy in 1995-2010 (billion US dollars)²



Main priorities of investment activities of Chinese businessmen in Russia are focused in the sector of timber logging and processing, mining, trade, light and textile industry, household appliances,

¹ Inflow of foreign investments by top investing countries, see the Official web-site of the Federal State Statistics Service of Russia (www.gks.ru).

² Inflow of foreign investments by top investing countries, see Official web-site of the Federal State Statistics Service of Russia (www.gks.ru).

telecommunications, services and food industry, agriculture.³ There are plans to increase the volume of Chinese investments in Russia by joint effort by 2020 up to 12 billion US dollars.⁴ For this purpose prospective investment sectors are outlined, including: energy, mining and processing of natural resources, constructions, machine building, construction projects, and science and technology.

China invests funds proactively first of all in the border regions of Russia. In 2004 Russian-Chinese investment forum took place at which Chinese investment agreements were signed for Chinese investments in the economy of Russian Far East, in the total amount of 700 million US dollars. By 2005 Chinese investors actually invested in the border regions of Russian Far East and Transbaikalian region about 35.4 million US dollars. Most investments were invested in Khabarovsk Krai (about 78% of the total volume of investments in this region), Primorsk Krai (17%), Amur Oblast (3%). In the mid-run Chinese are ready to increase the investments in the economy of the Far East up to 1.5 billion US dollars.⁵

Interviews with experts show that Chinese investments in Russia include at least two types. First type is *investments by large Chinese state companies*, which purposefully invest in the basic projects related to development of transportation infrastructure, communications, exploration of natural resources and mining in Russia. The purpose of these investments is to ensure export of natural resources from Russia to China for their further processing. According to the experts, bridges, access ways, roads to mining and timber logging locations, etc. were built in some border regions of the Far East with the help of Chinese investments.⁶ As a rule, this type of investments come through official channels, legally, based on official contracts. According to the estimates the total value of contracts for Chinese contract and construction works in Russia in the mid-run reached 8.2 billion US dollars by 2010.⁷

Second type of Chinese investments includes *private investments in development of business sectors with quick pay off* – trade, food service, tourism, and hotel business. These are the sectors which are explored by Chinese capital in Russia in the first turn. In this part of investments Chinese private business aims at semi-legal and illegal methods of entering the Russian market (Gelbras 2004b: 68). For example, Chinese businessmen often develop their enterprises in Russia through front parties, when officially the owners are Russian citizens, but actually businesses are owned by Chinese.⁸ On the one hand it is determined by non-transparent rules of doing business, and corruption in Russia. On the other hand, Chinese businessmen have a strong habit of solving economic issues by building up personal relations with representatives of the public authorities (like in China). The consequence of this factor is that often at the local level Chinese entrepreneurs become “respected people” among local Russian officials, who treat them as a real source of funds for the local budget.⁹ There is an established practice in the Russian regions with presence of Chinese businessmen, to solve economic issues with the use of interpersonal relations with the representatives of public authorities.

Currently, among private Chinese businessmen doing business in Russia there is a category of dollar millionaires. However, at this time most of the earned capital is exported back to China. V. G. Gelbras (2004b: 69) notes that Chinese bank “Elos” in Russia functions as a money transfer office. It

³ Data of the Ministry of Commerce of PRC (available on: <http://www.russchinatrade.ru/ru/ru-cn-cooperation/investment>).

⁴ Data based on the interview of Vice Premier of the State Council of PRC Wu Yi (information from the News Agency ITAR-TASS).

⁵ Data of Interregional Association for Economic Cooperation of Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation (available on: www.assoc.fareast.ru).

⁶ Interview with the professor of the Pacific State University L.E. Blyakher of 8 December 2012 in Irkutsk.

⁷ Data of the Ministry of Commerce of PRC (available on: <http://www.russchinatrade.ru/ru/ru-cn-cooperation/investment>).

⁸ Interview with professor of Irkutsk State University V.I. Dyatlov of 8 December 2012 in Irkutsk.

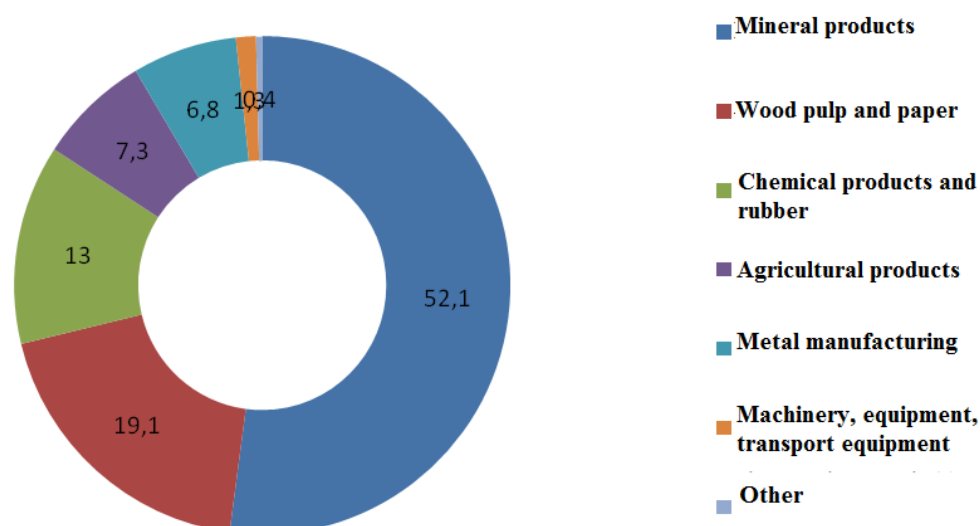
⁹ Interview with professor of Irkutsk State University V.I. Dyatlov of 8 December 2012, in Irkutsk.

is in the second place by the value of currency deposits after Sberbank, but there are no credits in its asset part. Chinese capital will stay in Russia when either Russian authorities will set positive actual interest rates, or when political risks in China will increase significantly. So far commercial banks have not explored the possibility of attracting Chinese savings in Russia.

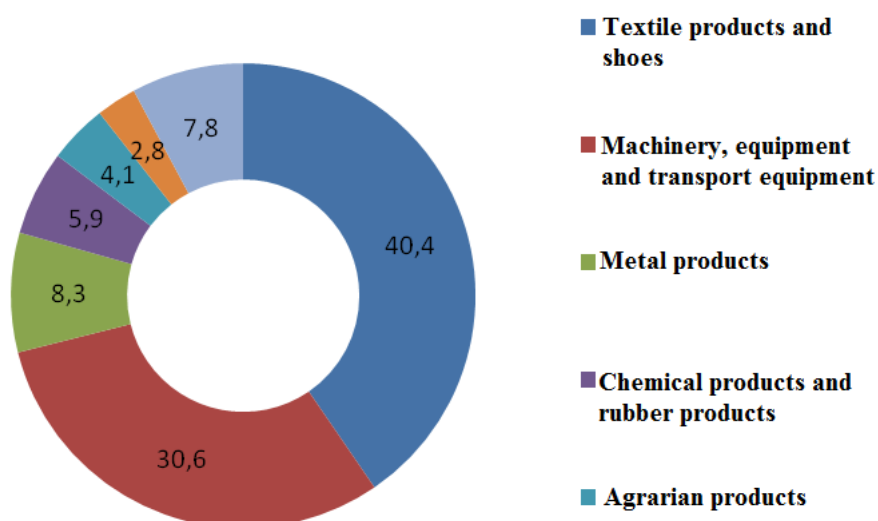
It is worth mentioning the two new investment trends. Firstly, currently large Chinese companies, when discussing the issues of capital investments in Russia, or joint projects, require as a mandatory prerequisite, equal or even greater participation of the Russian side at the initial stage. Secondly, Chinese private business invests in Russian sectors with long pay-back period only those funds which have been acquired and accumulated in Russia. Trade occupies a very important place in the economic collaboration between Russia and China. Trade volumes see stable growth. In the middle of 2000s import of goods from China to Russia exceeds export from Russia to China. In 2010 import reached the level of 39 billion US dollars, and export 20.3 billion US dollars.

According to the expert estimations the share of near-border trade in the overall trade turnover is about 20% (Alexandrova 2005: 146). The leader among border Chinese regions, as well as other provinces and autonomous regions of China in the development of trade economic relations with Russia is Heilongjiang province. In Russia regions with the highest volumes of trade operations with PRC are Irkutsk, Kemerov, Novosibirsk Oblasts, Zabaykal'sk and Krasnoyarsk Krai. Border regions of Russia and China have been interacting since mid-1980s. The principal form of border collaboration has traditionally been trade. In the end of 1980s barter exchange of goods was predominant form of trade between the border territories of the USSR and PRC. Despite centrally-controlled economy in both countries, with strict monopoly on foreign trade activities, barter transactions virtually fell out of control of central foreign trade authorities of both countries. Barter relations at this stage were characterized by high profit, seeming easiness and simplicity of the execution of barter operations, minimum financial obligations, and human resource requirements to their participants. According to the research by M. V. Alexandrova (2005: 145-146) in 1992 about 90% of trade transactions between China and Russia were barter transactions, in 1994 their number decreased to 50%, and in the end of 1990s it was less than 10%. A significant contribution to development of near-border trade in the form of barter was made by traders (so called "shuttle traders") – owners of trade spots in the markets of Russian cities in the border regions. For a certain part of Russian population this form of economic activity became a kind of "buffer" against negative consequences of economic reforms of the 1990s. As the Russian customs legislation tightened, transportation of goods from China to Russia gradually transformed. In the 2000s in order to decrease the value of customs duty for goods imported from China owners of trade spots quit going to China by themselves, and started using hired labor of carriers who give appearance of carrying goods across the border for personal use. In Russia legislation sets the limit of 50 kg of luggage and five units of the same good. Delivery of large lots of goods is organized through front persons. Researcher N. P. Ryzhova (2004: 155) writes about so-called "bricks", "camels", "lanterns", who are hired by businessmen for carrying the goods across the Chinese-Russian border. They receive compensation for their services after they deliver goods to the given address in Russia. University students, unemployed persons are largely employed in this jobs, receiving small payment for each trip.

The trade relations between two countries are characterized by an asymmetry in the organization structure of trade relations: Chinese part in trade economic relations is represented by large, including state-owned, companies, facing small Russian entrepreneurs. Secondly, there is greater differentiation in the qualitative structure of export and import in trade, as reflected in the Figure 1.2 (see below).

Figure 1.2. Structure of Russian exports to China in 2007 (in percent)

The structure of Russian import from China is fundamentally different, as reflected in the Figure 1.3. Significant role in delivery, distribution, and trade of consumer goods belongs to Russian and Chinese traders – “shuttle traders”, who in the 1990s imported such goods in small lots to the territory of Russia avoiding significant taxation. Gradually this sector went under control of large suppliers who continue using labor of “shuttle traders”, but now in the capacity of hired workers. Import of goods in small batches is more profitable from the point of view of saving in taxes. Therefore, large companies break down large batches of goods between hired “shuttle traders” who carry the goods across the Chinese-Russian border. Such practice is widely spread in Primorsk, Khabarovsk, Amur Oblast, and a number of other border regions.

Figure 1.3. Structure of Russian imports from China in 2007 (in percent)

Near-border trade

Legal foundation for modern interregional relations between RF and PR China is the on principles of collaboration between constituting entities of Russia and provinces, autonomous regions, and country-level cities of the PRC signed on 10 November 1997. Moreover, in 1992 the State Council of PRC declared four cities bordering on Russia (Manchuria, Heihe, Suifenhe, and Hunchun) “cities of cross-border collaboration”. Since then Chinese have been proactively raising the issue of joint “free trade zones” on the border in the regions of primary border-crossing points. In 1992 simplified regime of crossing the Chinese-Russian border was introduced. In the end of November 1996 Chinese trade centers were opened on the border, where Russian citizens are admitted based on special permits (the lists are compiled by the local authorities).

Development of near-border trade is facilitated by significant benefits provided by China to its participants (reduction of import tax by 50%). In order to facilitate individual commercial activity for the residents of near-border regions of Russia in February 1998 Russian-Chinese Agreement on organization of simplified admission of Russian citizens to the Chinese parts of trade centers was signed by exchange of notes. New rules of regulation of near-border trade entered into force on 1 January 1999, whereas in particular, residents of border regions are allowed to bring tax-free goods to China in the value of 3,000 yuan (earlier the limit was 1,000 yuan).

Near-border trade is characterized by clear preponderance of China. There are significant disproportions in the structure of near-border trade. First of all, it is confirmed by significant preponderance of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods in the export from Russia to PRC, and preponderance of ready-made goods and processed raw materials in the structure of imports from PRC to Russia. Despite presence of some ready-made raw materials in the structure of exports from Russia to PRC (for example, machine building products), their share remains insignificant. Besides, the system of infrastructure of near-border trade in Russia is significantly behind. Of course, Russia needs to reconsider its trade policy with respect to reduction of the raw material component of its exports, and enhanced support for the national infrastructure of the near-border trade.

2. Trends and Scales of Migration Flows from China to Russia

For China, Russia is one of the largest labor force export markets, and for Heilongjiang province it is the only market. For Russian Far East and East Siberia import of labor force from China solves the issue of lack of labor force in agriculture (cultivation of vegetables) and construction, which exists even in the conditions of unemployment.

Unfortunately, there is no precise information about the number of Chinese immigrants in Russia, due to the patchy data collection on this topic. Below we present main sources of information.

1) The *data of border statistics on the number of border crossings by foreign citizens* (Federal Border Guard Service of the Federal Security Service of Russia).

It contains information based on migration cards filled by foreigners entering Russia. However, migration cards are not properly processed, hence only general information about Chinese migration can be obtained from border statistics. Besides, the statistics registers facts of border crossing, and not people, therefore “double” or even “triple” registration is possible. For example, in 2010 Chinese citizens crossed Russian border (entered Russia) 748,000 times (Rosstat 2011: 84). A lot of them did it more than once throughout the year. Dynamics of increased number of border crossings is obvious and can be explained by enforced economic contacts between China and Russia, especially in the border regions. According to the experts, approximately 80% of Chinese citizens come to the territory of Russia through checkpoints in the Far East, and 50% of Chinese citizens through checkpoints in Primorsk Krai.

According to the data of border statistics citizens of PRC normally declare three purposes of their trip when entering Russia: private visit, business, or tourism. In 2002 Russian Statistics Committee performed sampling survey of foreign tourists at Sheremetyevo airport. Out of 19,600 Chinese citizens in the sample, 14,100 arrived to Russia for “tourism and entertainment”, and only 4,000 for business (Rosstat 2003: 41). According to expert estimations every third migrant from China (about 2/3 in some border regions of Russia) calls him/herself “tourist” or states that he/she is arriving for business (Table 2.1). According to the information obtained in expert interviews, in fact most Chinese migrants come to Russia for commercial purposes or to work, and not to go sightseeing. It is just that for Chinese citizens it is easier to obtain tourist Russian visa, than to wait for work or business visa. It is easier and cheaper. There are a lot of intermediary companies in China which help to obtain an invitation. Interviews with experts show that it costs around 900 US dollars for a Chinese citizen to obtain one-year Russian visa, extension for the second year will cost 650 US dollars. That being said, prices in the intermediary service market decreased significantly in the last two years.

Table 2.1 Structure of the flow of migrants arriving from China to Russia by purpose of arrival in 2003-2011, according to the data of Border Guard Service (in percent)

Purpose of Arrival to Russia	Migrants arriving from China to Russia					Migrants arriving to Russia from all non-CIS countries in 2010
	2003	2006	2009	2010	2011	
Private visit	43,1	31,5	43,1	34,5	23,6	61,5
Tourism	29,9	20,6	16,1	21,1	27,7	9,6
Business visit	14,7	33,6	27,2	27,2	33,2	19,9
Service staff	11,3	12,8	13,0	16,9	15,3	7,8
Transit	1,0	1,2	0,6	0,2	0,1	1,2
Permanent residence	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to the border statistics the share of Chinese migrants who come to Russia for business purposes increases at the account of reduction of the share of migrants who come for private visits and tourism. This confirms the fact that the market of intermediary services in migration sector (“visa support”, i.e. preparing the documents for Chinese who wish to go to Russia) is gradually monopolized by commercial structures. According to the Chinese migrants most of the owners of companies authorized to issue invitations for Russian visas are Chinese citizens who had settled in Russia earlier.

Most Chinese come to Russia legally, in possession of the required documents – passports, visas, invitations. In 2002-2003 free travel passport issuance regime was introduced in 50 cities of China. There are 200 companies in PRC specialized in employment of Chinese citizens abroad. However, there is also illegal migration from China to Russia. It takes various forms and pursues different objectives. For example, some of Chinese migrants arrive to Russia through Russian-Kazakh border, which is the longest land border in the world, remaining at the same time the most “transparent” one. They pursue the purpose of transiting the territory of Russia to the West European countries. However, it is very hard to get to the territory of EU countries, therefore transit extends for many years, and

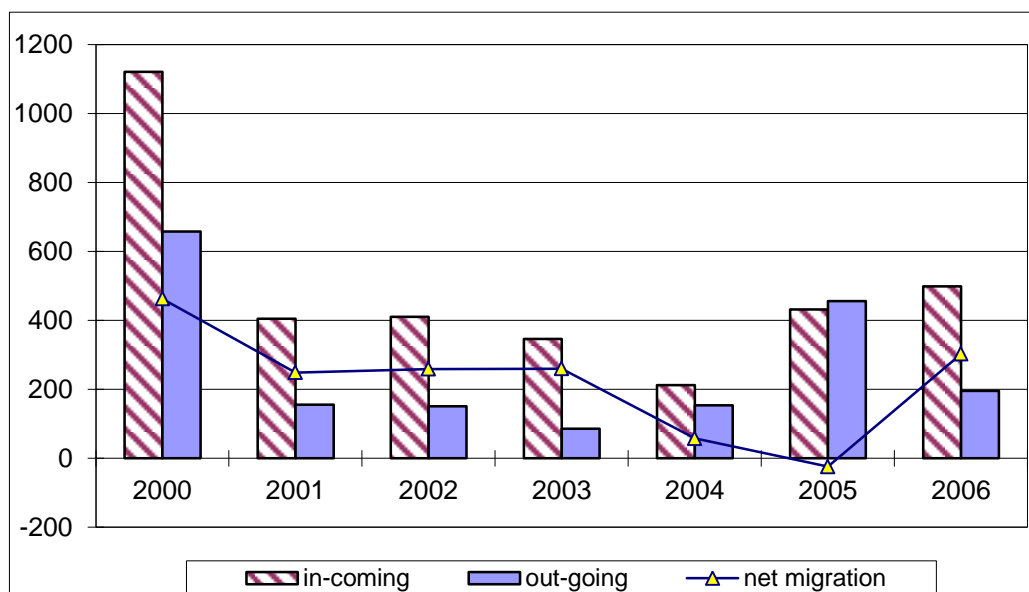
migrants turn into illegal migrants on the territory of Russia. Some of the Chinese migrants who benefit from visa-free regime in the border regions come to Russia as tourists, and then stay to work. For example, according to the experts, 95% of Chinese “tourists” in Amur Oblast engage in trade in the market. The number of “trade tourists” in the region is 5-6 times greater than the number of legally employed migrants from China. There is a “study channel” of irregular migration. In this case Chinese citizens come for studies or internship at Russian universities, but soon they quit their studies in order to engage in trade or to work. According to the interviews with experts studies are the second most widely spread channel (after visa-free regime) for arrival of migrants to the Far East, and for migrants traveling to the European part of Russia this method is generally the most popular one. Another wide-spread trend is coming to Russia on business visa and then engaging in shuttle trade.

2) *Registration of migrants at their place of residence* (Ministry of Interior of Russia, and Federal State Statistics Service).

Traditionally this statistics included migrants who had permanent registration at their place of residence, which in its turn was closely related to availability of housing, residence permit, citizenship and a number of other circumstances. As a result a significant number of migrants who were in Russia with temporary registration (registration at the place of residence), were “invisible” for this statistics. Several years ago Rosstat decided to expand the database for registration of migration and these numbers started to include migrants who had registration for over one year, and later those with registration for over nine months.

According to the official data the number of Chinese migrants who arrived for permanent residence not only did not increase in 2000-2006, but even decreased significantly to 400-500 persons per year. Taking into account the limitations described above, most probably these were Chinese who married Russian citizens or acquired Russian citizenship. One cannot speak of this as mass phenomenon, however, obviously this form of migration was determinant in these years. Even migration balance situation in these years was quite curious: in 2005 it was negative for Russia! (see Figure 2.2). That is, more Russian citizens went to China for permanent residence than Chinese citizens to Russia! This is characteristic for the new trend: Russians started to emigrate largely to China for permanent residence there, open business, or live after retirement there. Experts note that Russians consider that it is safer in China, more comfortable and life is cheaper, consumer market is more saturated.

Figure. 2.2. Main indicators of permanent migration between Russia and China in 2000-2006 according to Rosstat data (thousands people)

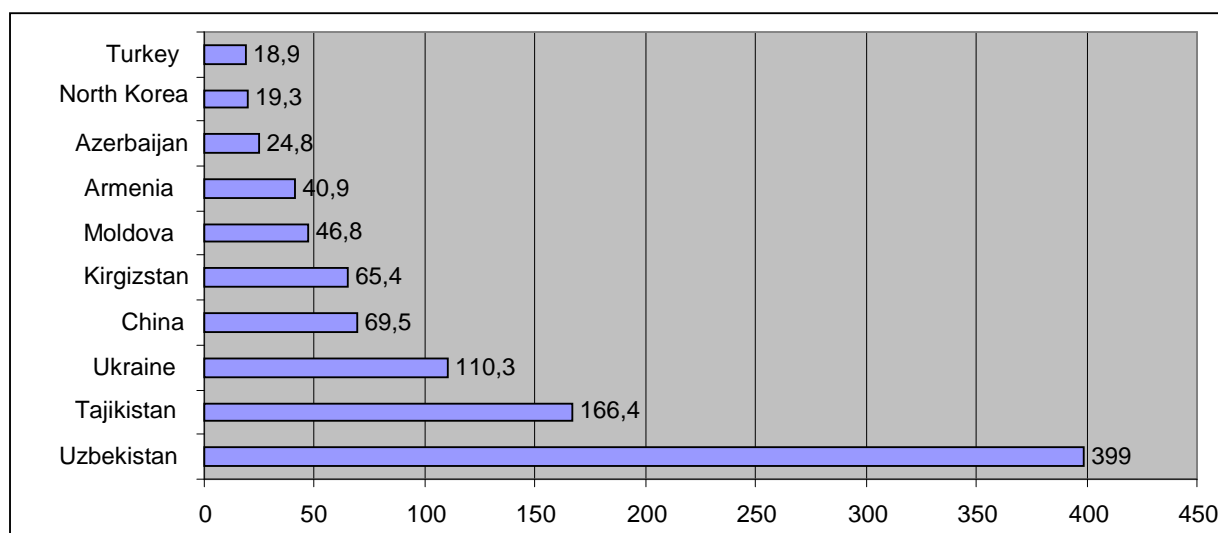


After the expansion of the statistical database of migrants at the account of those who had registration at their place of stay for over 9 months the number of Chinese immigrants to Russia also went up. For example, in 2010 1380 persons arrived to Russia from China, 248 persons left Russia for China. Thus, migration surplus constituted 1132 persons (Rosstat 2011: 55-61). Acquisition of Russian citizenship is still a complex issue for the Chinese. According to interviews with experts who live in the Far East it is known that in the regional offices of Federal Migration Service there is a tacit understanding to register Chinese citizens at their place of residence and issue residence permits and grant citizenship to as few Chinese as possible. However, Chinese learned a way around these obstacles: they appeal to attorneys and law companies who do a good job leading their case along the complex and bureaucratic way of acquiring residence permit and citizenship. For this purposes legal and sham marriage schemes with Russian citizens residing permanently in the Far East are widely used.

3) The *data on Chinese labor migrants who obtained special work permit in Russia* (Federal Migration Service of Russia).

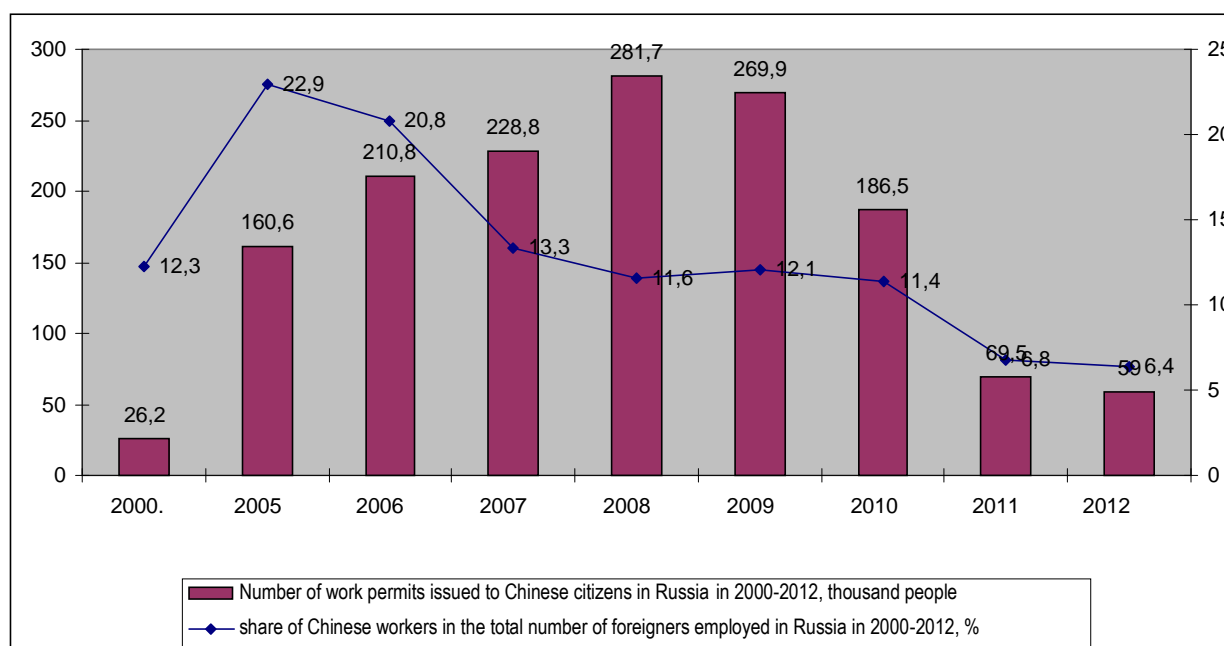
Until 2007 China consistently ranked high in the top of countries supplying foreign workers to Russia. In 2007 Russia simplified rules of registration at place of residence and issuance of work permits to citizens of CIS countries with visa-free regime. In this situation the number of labor migrants from the countries of Central Asia and Ukraine went up significantly. More precisely, a lot of those who were previously working unofficially could legalize their stay in Russia. Moreover, since July 2010 patents were introduced in Russia for labor migrants from CIS countries with visa-free regime who work for natural persons. All these changes resulted in that China shifted down to the fourth place in the rating of the top countries supplying labor force to Russia. However, it continues to be the largest supplier of human resources for Russia from outside of the former USSR, followed by Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Turkey, Vietnam and others (see Figure 2.3).

**Figure 2.3. Ten top countries supplying labor force to Russia in 2011, thousands people
(data of Federal Migration Service of Russia)**



According to the official statistics the number of legal Chinese workers in Russia grew continuously up till 2008 when it reached the maximum figure of 282,000 work permits. Afterwards there was certain decline which can be explained on the one hand by the consequences of economic crisis; on the other hand by replacement of Chinese labor force with workers from the countries of Central Asia who now benefited from a facilitated employment authorization issuance regime. This trend also found its reflection in the share of Chinese labor force in the Russian labor market. While in 2005-2006 every fifth foreigner working in Russia originated from China, in 2011-2012 the share of Chinese workers decreased to 6-7% of the total number of foreign workers (see Figure 2.4).

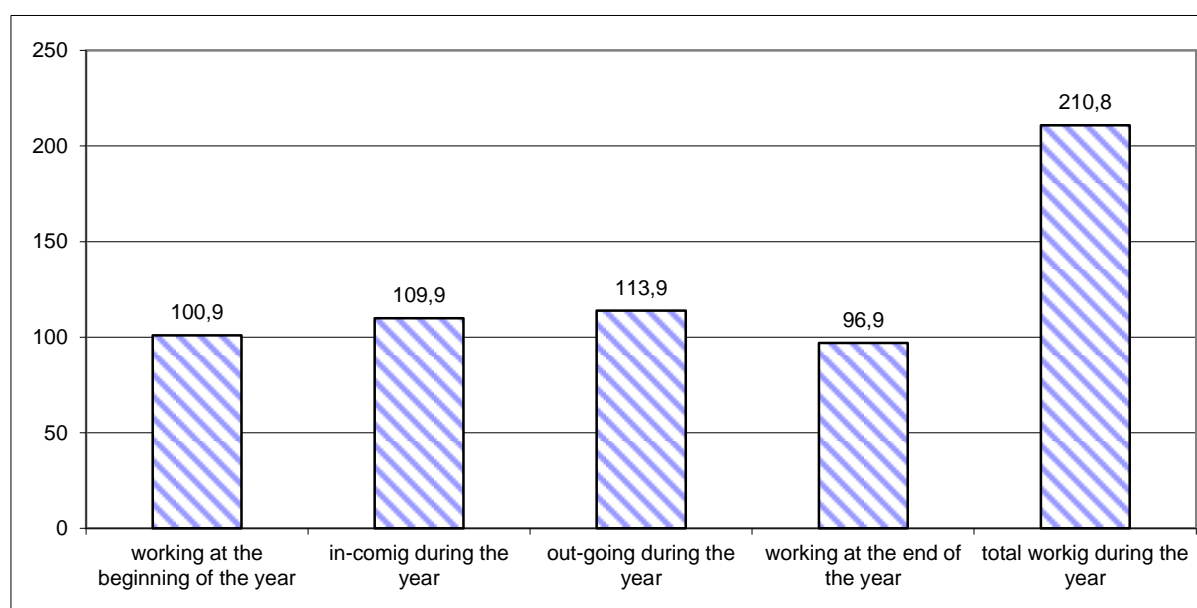
**Figure 2.4. Number of work permits issued to Chinese citizens in Russia and share of Chinese workers in the total number of foreigners employed in Russia in 2000-2012
(thousands people and percent) (data of Federal Migration Service of Russia)**



Major flows of Chinese migrants coming to Russia currently originate from the North-Eastern part of China – provinces Liaoning, Heilongjiang, and Jilin, autonomous region Inner Mongolia. Largest exporter of Chinese labor force is Heilongjiang province, the share of which is over 80% of the total number of workers coming to Russia. Besides Chinese (Hans) the territory of this province is inhabited by representatives of numerous minorities – Hui, Manchurians, Mongolians, Koreans. These ethnical groups form to a large extent flows of labor migration to Russia, especially for work in agriculture (Rimashevskaya and Yakovleva 1998: 75).

Research shows that Chinese labor force is characterized by high degree of mobility. Having worked in Russia for several months Chinese workers return back home. After that they are replaced by other workers. This is confirmed by the data of Federal Migration Service. For example, during the year 2006 110,000 Chinese citizens arrived to Russia, and at the same time 114,000 people left Russia. As a result, in 2006 211,000 Chinese citizens were employed in Russia under contracts of different validity. At the end of the year there were 97,000 men left, which is even less than in the beginning of 2006 (101,000 persons; see Figure 2.5). However, according to interviews with experts, many Chinese work illegally, without obtaining work permit. Basically, this is true for Chinese who work for Chinese companies.

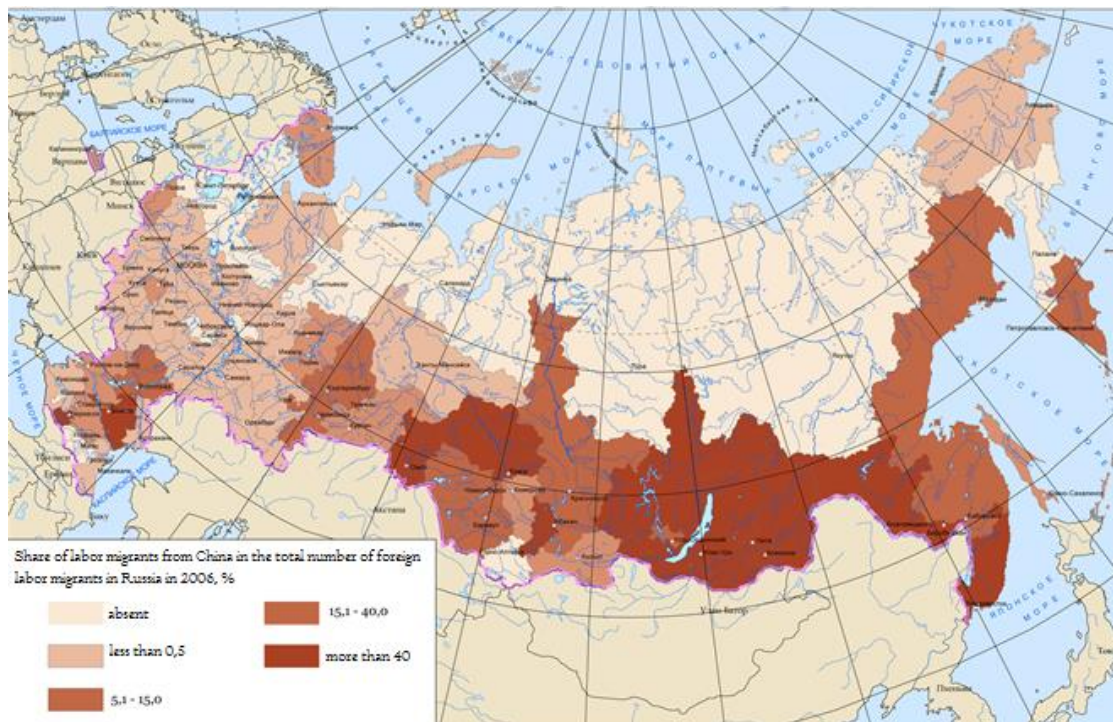
Figure 2.5. Dynamics of flows of Chinese labor force in Russia in 2006 (thousands people)



Source: Federal Migration Service of Russia

Although Chinese citizens work in almost all regions of Russia, their distribution across the territory of the country is very uneven. Generally, Chinese labor force is concentrated in the border regions of Russia, mostly in the Eastern parts – Siberia and Far East. This is clearly demonstrated by the map reflecting the share of Chinese workers in the general structure of foreign labor force in Russia in 2006. Over 40% of all foreign workers in Primorsk Krai, Amur Oblast, Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Chita Oblast, Buryatia, Omst and Tomsk Oblast, and some other Eastern territories of Russia are Chinese citizen. The share of Chinese is also high in Kalmykia, Karachay-Cherkessia (see Figure 2.6). Their presence is notable in Moscow, although Moscow is a huge city with very large number of labor migrants from different countries.

Figure 2.6. Share of labor migrants from China in the total number of foreign labor migrants in Russia in 2006 (percent)



If we look at the share of Chinese citizens in the total employed population of Russia, it is relatively low. Only in four regions of the Far East bordering on China it is over 20%: in Primorsk Krai, Amur Oblast, Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Chita Oblast (Figure 2.7). This shows that Chinese labor migration in Russia has a well-defined “Eastern vector” and is oriented towards Far East and Siberian regions, in particular those bordering on China. Obviously this is explained by the fact that Chinese business mostly focuses on near-border regions of Russia which are more accessible for China, have better transportation possibilities and communications. Chinese business to a great extent determines distribution of Chinese workers on the territory of Russia.

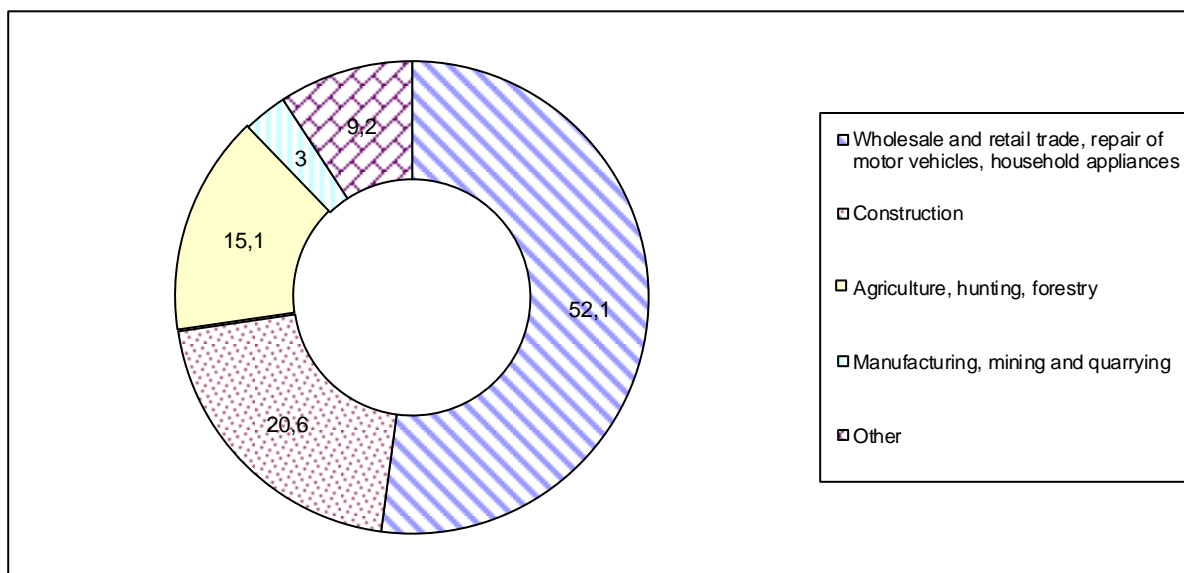
Figure 2.7. Share of labor migrants from China in the total employed population of Russia in 2006 (percent)



The structure of Chinese labor migrants in Russia is quite uneven. The structure of migration flows changes. First, in 1990s men at the age of 20 to 50 were the predominant category among Chinese citizens coming to Russia (up to 90%). Labor migrants arriving legally were coming from the poorest categories of rural population who had an extremely low level of general and professional training. It is acknowledged in the PRC that there are not enough qualified workers in the country, and in the nearest future their deficit will only become worse due to retirement of great numbers of specialists with higher education. Chinese workers mostly have had poor understanding of technological discipline in industry and construction. They were exceptionally undemanding in what concerns labor and living conditions; they were ready to work for 12-14 hours a day without days off and holidays. At the same time the bulk of Chinese traders included mostly people with secondary education and average incomes, who are already quite demanding in what concerns living conditions, and tend to settle with greater comfort either in rented housing, or at hotel, especially in the recent years. Over 70% of these had higher or secondary education. According to the studies, the main purpose of Chinese migrants in Russia traditionally was to open their own trade business. Many migrants, even those who initially came as workers, having learned the language, often switched to small and medium business.

Currently, according to the Federal Migration Service of Russia most of Chinese labor migrants are men (about 90%). Among labor migrants slightly more than 80% of men and 90% of women are 18 to 39 years old. The most numerous group of foreign workers are those at the age of 30-39 (about 40%). Half of all the Chinese in Russia (over 52%) in 2006 were employed in retail and wholesale trade, food service, about 21% in construction, about 15% in agriculture and forestry, about 3% at industrial enterprises and in mining industry (Figure 2.8). Thus, neither the employment structure, nor qualification structure of Chinese migrants currently corresponds to the needs of the economy of Eastern regions of Russia. Only those who entered the country legally, under contract, are employed in sectors experiencing labor deficit (construction, agriculture).

Figure 2.8. Employment structure of Chinese labor migrants in Russia by sectors in 2006 (percent) (according to the data of Federal Migration Service)



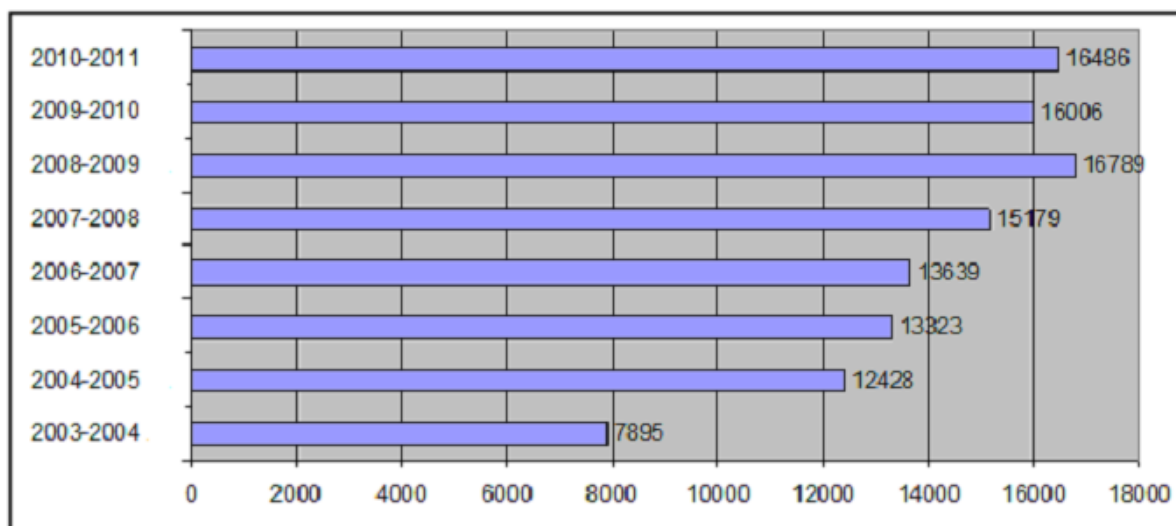
It is noteworthy that appearance of Chinese labor force in the Russian labor market initially had certain disciplining impact on Russian workers, currently there is no competition between them and the Chinese. Locals prefer to stay unemployed, rather than engage in hard and low-paid labor in construction or agriculture. There is a notable surplus of local workers with construction specializations in the Far East. There is even greater discrepancy between supply and demand in agriculture. However, based on the global experience, the possibilities to fill vacancies in labor deficient and labor intensive sectors by re-training the unemployed, are inefficient and require significant financial expenses and lengthy period of time. Therefore, it is easier for the employers to lobby for attraction of foreign labor force.

4) The *data on Chinese undergraduate students, graduate students, and PhD students at Russian universities* (Ministry of Education and Science of Russia).

This type of information is most precise compared to many other sources, because it is based on the reports submitted by the national universities. However, as a result of the research we discovered that some Russian universities do not reflect the real number of foreign students who pay for their studies, obviously, concerned about non-compliance with formal criteria – endowment with literature, space, lecture halls (Gavrilov *et al.* 2012). Still, this underestimation distorts the number of foreign students by 1-2% at most.

According to the most recent available data the Chinese are the most numerous group of foreign migrant students in Russia. In 2009 there were 16,800 Chinese undergraduate, graduate and PhD students studying in Russia, which makes up for about 16% of the total number of foreign migrant students (Figure 2.9). In 2010-2011, 16.5 thousand Chinese students were educated in Russian universities in a large number of specialties: economics, international relations, foreign languages, and Russian language (Gravilov *et al.* 2012).

Figure 2.9. Number of undergraduate, graduate and PhD students from China studying in Russia in 2003-2011 (persons)



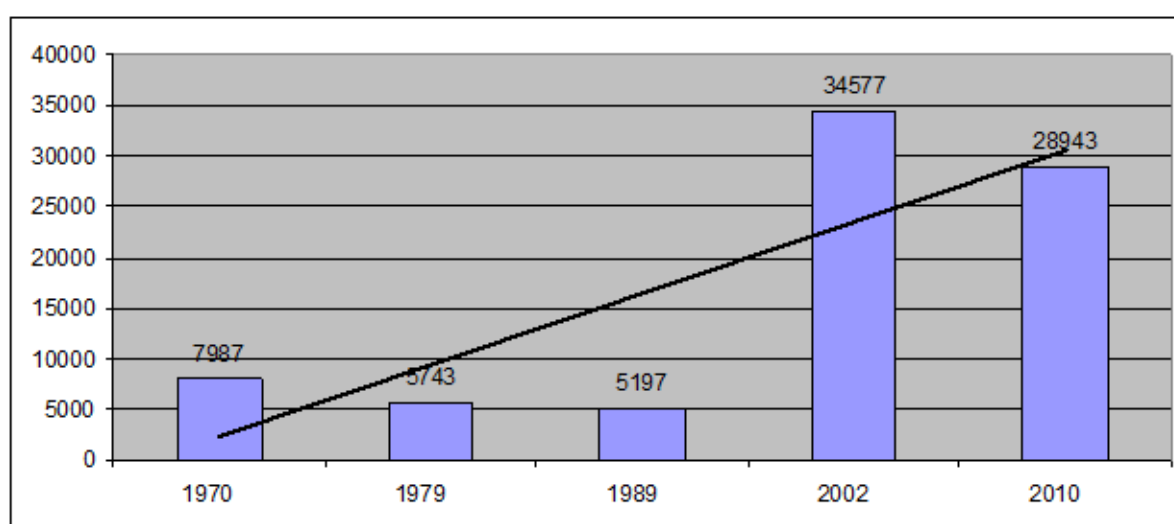
Recently, Russian universities, faced with the decline of student population, began to promote more proactively the policy of attracting Chinese students. In 2000 Russian-Chinese Commission for collaboration in education, culture, health care and sports was created. Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed between the PRC and Russian Federation in 2001 gave a new impulse to the bilateral collaboration in the sphere of higher education. One of the real results of expanded international collaboration between higher educational institutions of the PRC and Russia was exhibition-conference of Russian universities “Russian Higher Education in the Third Millennium” held in Beijing in May 2001. Thereafter similar exhibitions of education services provided by Russian universities were held in Shanghai and Beijing, and Chinese ones in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg; bilateral (partnership) connections between Russian and Chinese universities expanded; academic exchange of students and professors expanded as well (Arefiev 2006: 13). Also, Russian authorities planned to accelerate and approve the cooperation plan in education before 2008, which includes increasing the quota for academic exchange at national level from 100 to 500 persons per year (Kommersant-Dengi 2004: 8). According to the statistical data flows of migrant students from China to Russia will most probably increase in the nearest future.

Thus currently flows of trade, business, and student migrants are predominant in the flows of migrants from China to Russia. However, Chinese migration to Russia has an implicit nature, hidden from the statistical observations. It prevents Russian authorities from having an overall idea about Chinese migration.

3. Distribution and Economic Activity of the Chinese Diaspora in Russia

Currently Chinese diaspora (ethnic Chinese) live in 150 countries of the world and according to different sources include from 55 million to 62 million persons (Seagrave 1995: 14). Chinese diaspora accounts for around 1% of the global foreign labor force market, which earns around 22.5 billion US dollars annually (estimates of the World Bank).¹⁰ In 2010 China ranked second among top countries receiving remittances from abroad, after India (World Bank 2011). In this context Russia is a country where Chinese presence currently is relatively small. Moreover, throughout the years of existence of the USSR the number of Chinese in the country even decreased. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the size of Chinese diaspora increased almost seven-fold between population census of 1989 and 2002. According to the population census of 2002 there were just 35,000 ethnic Chinese and 31,000 citizens of PRC who lived in Russia. The most recent Russian census of 2010 gave a somewhat lower number – around 29,000 ethnic Chinese and 28,000 citizens of China on the territory of Russia (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Number of ethnic Chinese in the Soviet Union and Russian Federation in 1970-2010, people (according to the population census data)¹¹



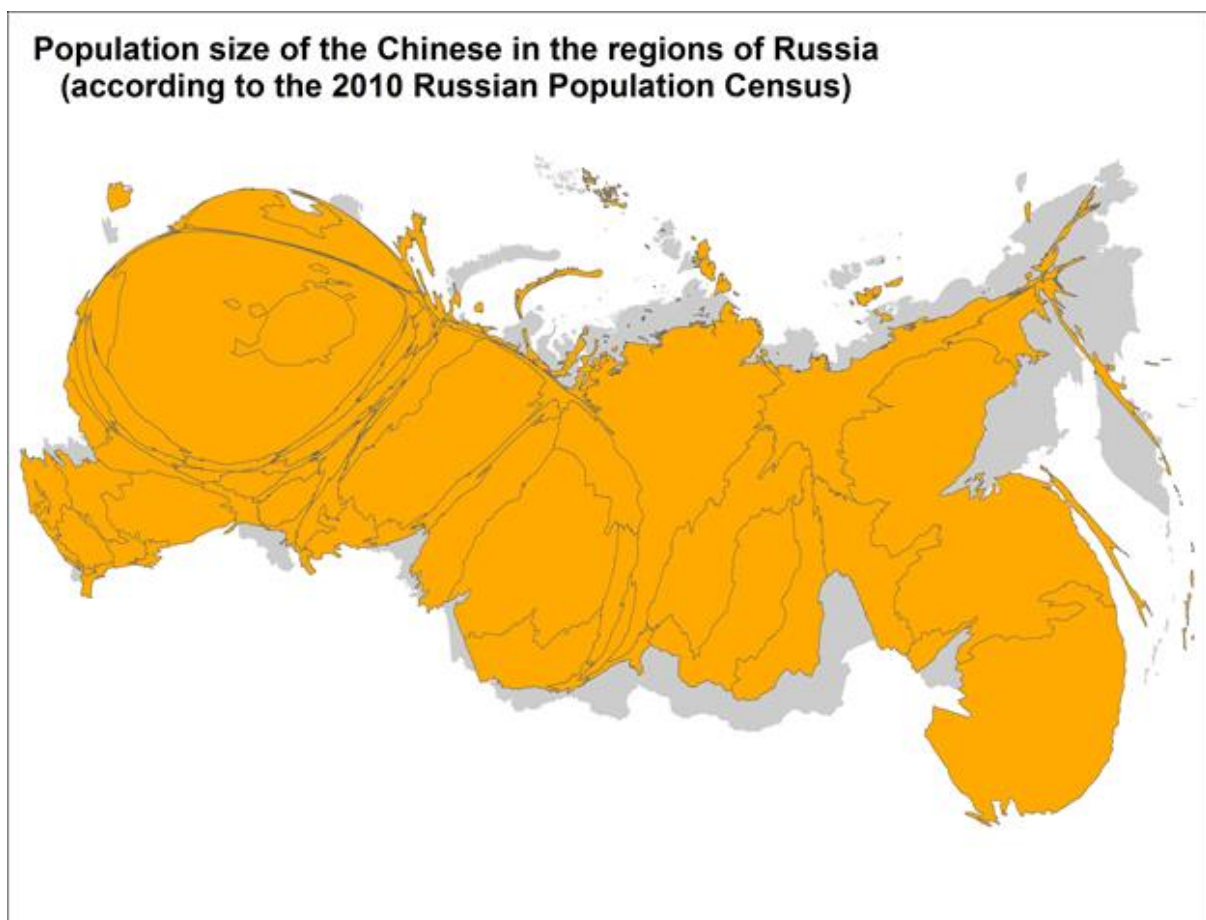
Numbers obtained as a result of most recent Russian population census can be considered a clear underestimation, at least for three reasons. First of all, only permanent population was included in the population census, i.e. those who have resided on the territory of Russia for over one year. It should be taken into account that many migrants from PRC as a rule stay in Russia for short periods of time, working temporarily. Second of all, there was a serious underestimation committed in the population census due to impossibility to collect information at some locations (for example, at the markets, construction sites, rural areas, etc.). Thirdly, foreign workers who were not duly registered intentionally avoided population census, as they are afraid of any contact with the authorities. Many experts acknowledge that underestimation in the course of 2002 population census was 5% to 10% of the population. It can be considered that for such a strongly localized ethnic group as Chinese underestimation could be much more significant – up to 90%. Thus, real number of Chinese in Russia may constitute not less than 350,000-400,000 persons. This corresponds to the estimations by other authors.

¹⁰ See www.migratie.md (В Китае принята правительственная программа по стимулированию экспорта рабочей силы [Governmental program for promotion of export of labor force was adopted in China]).

¹¹ Results of population census in Russia, available on Official web-site of Federal State Statistics Service of Russia (www.gks.ru).

It is also confirmed by other studies and experts. For example, according to the Russian researcher V. Larin (2001: 88) currently there are about 200,000-400,000 Chinese in Russia. According to the data obtained by the Council for Independent Research on Migration of CIS countries and Baltic states, Chinese presence on the overall territory of Russia is estimated to be around 500,000-800,000 persons (KDU 2004: 128). In another interview the chief of the Center Zh. A. Zayonchkovskaya stated the number of citizens of PRC permanently staying on the territory of Russia to be equal to 400,000-500,000 people, most of whom stay here permanently. For most Chinese Russia today is just a place to make money, for some of them it is a “transit” zone on the way to the “Western paradise”, but not at all a place where one can live permanently.¹² The number of 400,000 is confirmed by the research of Russian sinologist Gelbras (2004a: 29). Researcher from Krasnoyarsk, V. Datsyshen (2004: 54), names the number of 200,000-450,000 Chinese. E. Bazhenova (2010: 208) considers that at any given moment there are approximately 300,000-350,000 Chinese in Russia, including Chinese undergraduate and graduate students, as well as those working under labor contract. The number of 500,000 to 1 million Chinese in Russia is stated in the research of one of the institutes of Far East Department of RAS (Zolotykh 1999: 35). Western sources name the number of 680,000 Chinese in Russia. We see that although there is a significant discrepancy between the estimates, they are quite close to each other.

Figure 3.2. Distribution of ethnic Chinese on the territory of Russia in 2010 (according to the results of population census in Russia in 2010)¹³



¹² Interview of Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya for magazine “Itogi.ru” [in Russian], 5 April 2005.

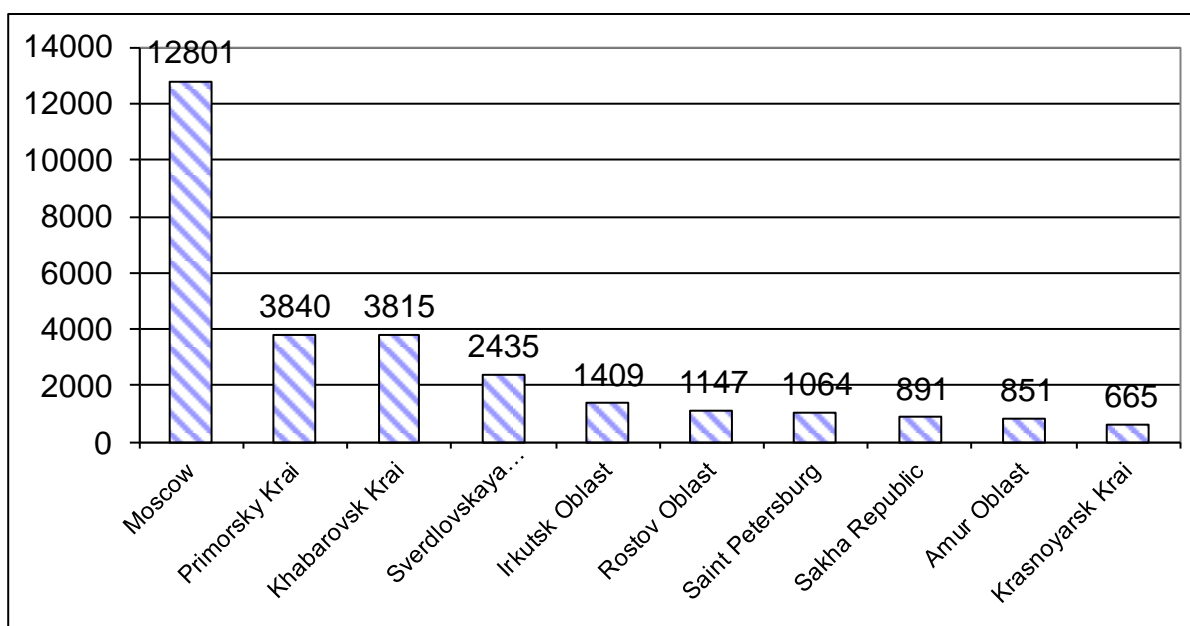
¹³ The map is compiled by method of anamorphosis. Anamorphosis method means that the area of the regions of Russian Federation is distorted depending on the absolute number of ethnic Chinese. In case of such distortion of the area of regions, density of Chinese population in each region is the same.

Precise estimation of the size of Chinese diaspora in Russia is impossible. Besides poor quality of statistics, it is also affected by high mobility of Chinese (for example, a lot of them come to Russia as seasonal and temporary workers, “shuttle traders”), as well as closed nature of the community and criminalized nature of relations around it (it is a well-known fact that in the conditions of Russian corruption even representatives of Federal Migration Service not always can perform control in the Chinese markets).

Most important regions of distribution of Chinese migrants in Russia are Moscow region, Far East, Siberia. The size of Chinese diaspora here grows most intensively. According to the official data of 2002 population census there were around 13,000 ethnic Chinese in Moscow. According to the non-official estimates Chinese community in Moscow includes up to 100,000 persons. According to the studies, Chinese community mostly consists of young men (about 70%) at the age of 40 (68%), half of which are single. Almost 70% Chinese live in hostels and hotels. Some hostels in Moscow have so-called “Chinese” floors, where at the price of 1,000 US dollars Chinese migrants rent one room for 4-5 persons. Other Chinese migrants rent apartments close to their work places – markets and trade centers. Regions of higher concentration of Chinese in Moscow are Izmaylovo, Cherkizovo, Maryino, Yasenevo, Krylatskoe, Ochakovo. About 40% of the Chinese sell goods in the markets, others work in service sector (in the centers of traditional Chinese medicine and cosmetology), 15-20% at hotels, restaurants, or organize their own businesses.

According to 2002 population census the maximum number of Chinese residing in Moscow is 1,800 persons, Primorsk Krai and Khabarovsk Krai 3,800 persons each (Figure 3.2). The number of Chinese in the Far East grew sweepingly from 1,700 (1989) to 15,000 (1990), and then to 100,000 (1993). Thus, for the five years from 1989 to 1993 Chinese diaspora in the Far East increased almost 50-fold, while for the previous ten years between population census of 1979 and 1989 it almost did not change (Rybakovskiy, Zakharova and Mindogudov 1994: 19). According to the unofficial estimates, there were about 200,000-300,000 Chinese in the border regions of Russia along the border from Irkutsk oblast to Primorsk Krai (Vitkovskaya and Zayonchkovskaya 1999: 98).

Figure 3.3. Regions of Russia with maximum absolute population of ethnic Chinese according to 2002 population census (people)

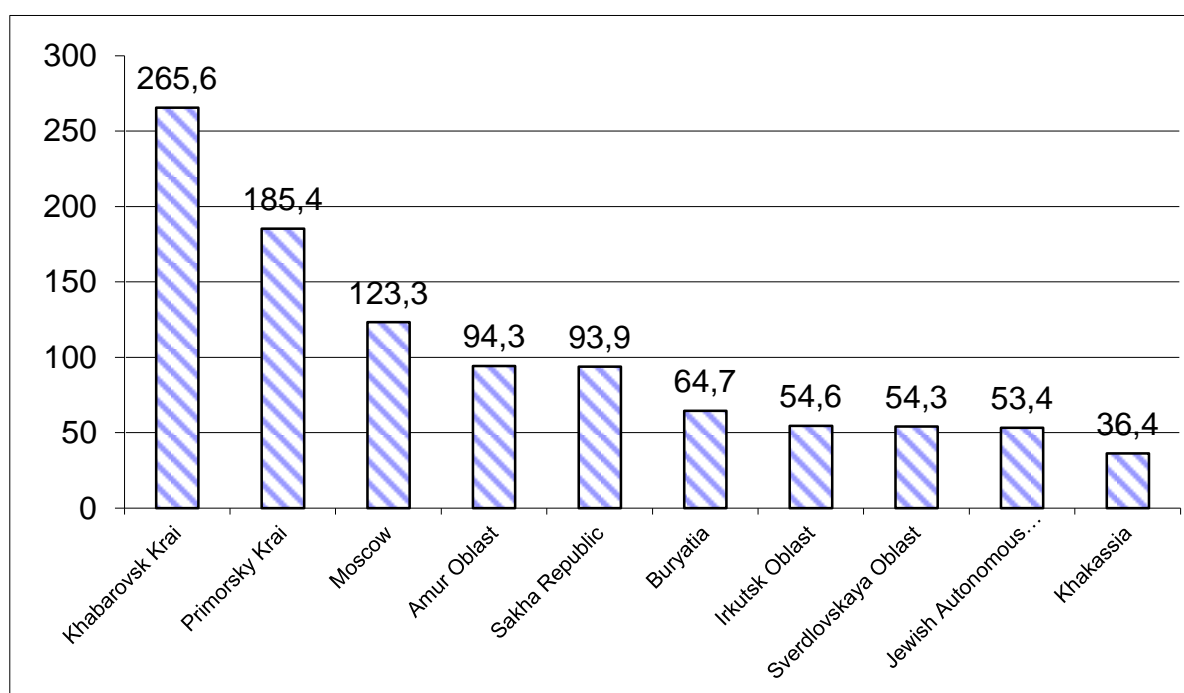


Within the limits of the Far East vast majority of Chinese – about half of them – are currently distributed in Primorsk Krai, about one third in Khabarovsk Krai, about 15% in Amur Oblast. Mostly Chinese reside in the near-border regions of the Southern area of the region, and in large cities. In Primorsk Krai these are Pogranichnyi and Grodekovski Rayons, Vladivostok and Ussuriysk. In Khabarovsk Krai, Khabarovsk, Bikin, Khabarovsk rural region, S.Lazo rayon. In Amur Oblast, Blagoveshchensk-na-Amure, Blagoveshchensk rural region, Solobodnenskiy and Shimanovski rayons.

Chinese migration causes concerns among local authorities and residents of the near-border territories. In the near-border regions of the Far East Chinese work under contract in agriculture, sell Chinese goods in the markets of large cities, repair shoes, rent industrial enterprises. Traditional service business is very undeveloped in Russia at the time – hotels, cafes, restaurants, municipal cleaning services, individual services. According to some of the experts Chinese migration to Russia is mostly poor, patient, unpretentious category of the population, eager to make money, even if it is not too much (Vitkovskaya and Zayonchkovskaya 1999: 111). It is considered that Chinese have higher business activity and entrepreneurial spirit compared to the local population.

Concentration coefficient of the Chinese population across regions of Russia was calculated based on the 2002 population census. It represents correlation between the number of ethnic Chinese and permanent population as calculated per 100,000 of local residents in the given region. Based on the results of the calculations territories of Russia were divided into seven groups. Classifying these groups allowed to determine geographic range of distribution of the Chinese in Russia. This coefficient has maximum value in three constituent entities of the federation – Khabarovsk and Primorsk Krai (Figure 3.4). The second group of the regions with a high value of the coefficient includes Moscow, as well as Far East regions (Amur Oblast, Yakutiya, Irkutsk Oblast), Ural (Sverdlovsk Oblast) and Siberia (Buryatia, Irkutsk oblast, Khakassia).

Figure 3.4. Regions of Russia with the highest value of concentration coefficient of ethnic Chinese according to 2002 population censuses, persons per 100,000 local residents



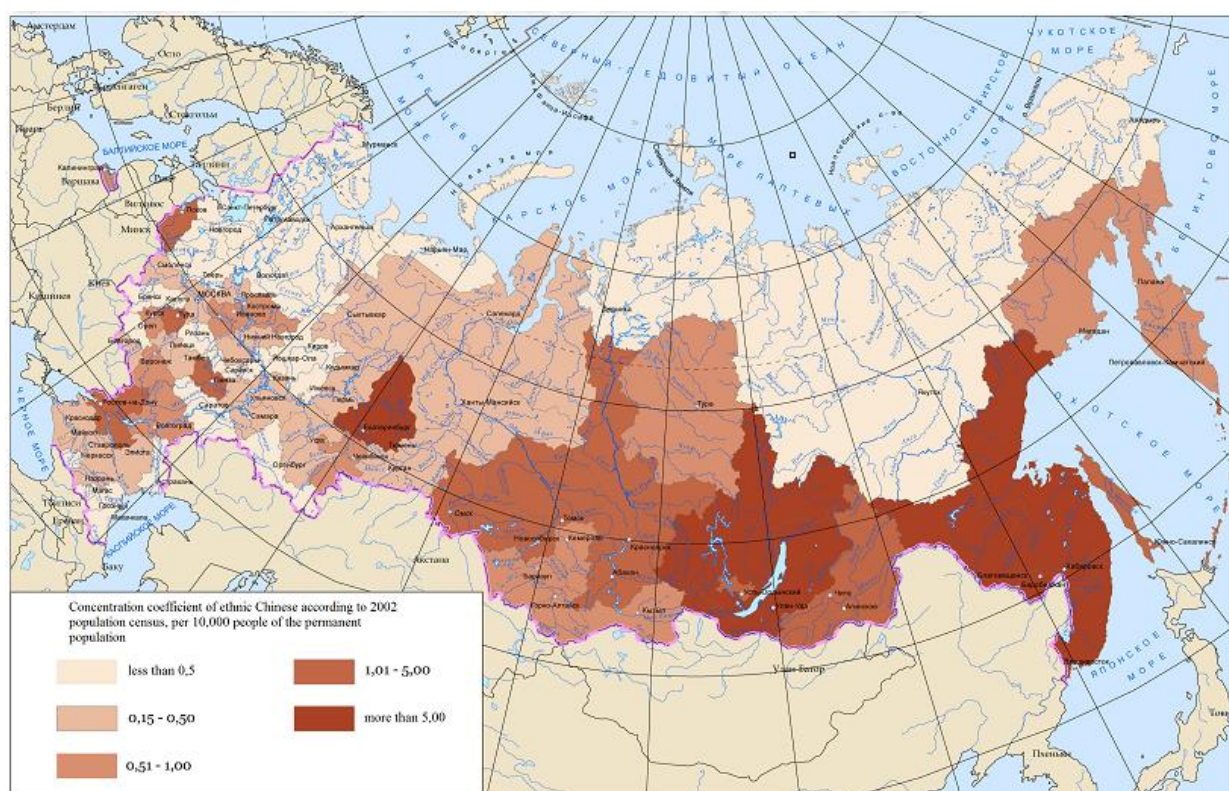
Advanced values of the concentration coefficient of Chinese are observed in many regions of Siberia, Saint-Petersburg, and Rostov Oblast. Here the value of the coefficient is in the range of 10 to 40 Chinese per 100,000 people of the local population (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Classification of the regions of Russia by concentration coefficient of ethnic Chinese according to 2002 population census, persons per 100,000 people of the permanent population

Groups of regions by concentration coefficient of Chinese	Regions
Extremely high (over 150)	Khabarovsk Krai (265,6), Primorsk Krai (185,4)
High (30.0 to 149.9)	Moscow (123.3), Amur Oblast (94.3), Sakha (Yakutia) (93.9), Buryatia (64.7), Irkutsk Oblast (54.6), Sverdlovsk Oblast (54.3), Jewish Autonomous Oblast (53.4), Khakassia (36.4)
Advanced (10.0 to 39.9)	Tomsk Oblast (27.1), Rostov Oblast (26.0), Chita Oblast (25.5), Sakhalin Oblast (24.0), Ust-Ordyn Buryat Autonomous District (22.9), Saint-Petersburg (22.8), Krasnoyarsk Krai (22.4), Aghinsk Buryat Autonomous District (16.6), Novosibirsk Oblast (15.4), Tula Oblast (15.0), Omsk Oblast (14.7), Penza Oblast (10.7)
Average (5 to 9.9)	Magadan Oblast (9.9), Volgograd Oblast (9.4), Kamchatsk Oblast (8.1), Koryak Autonomous district (8.0), Altay Krai (7.9), Oryol Oblast (7.7), Tambov Oblast (7.0), Kostroma Oblast (6.7), Altay (6.4), Voronezh Oblast (6.3), Kaliningrad Oblast (6.3), Tyva (5.9), Evenk Autonomous District (5.7), Vladimir Oblast (5.5), Chelyabinsk Oblast (5.3), Ivanov Oblast (5.2), Kemerov Oblast (5.2)
Lower (2 to 4.9)	Belgorod Oblast (4.7), Kalmykia (4.1), Komi (3.8), Perm Oblast (3.1), Ulyanovsk Oblast (2.9), Samara Oblast (2.8), Moscow Oblast (2.7), Krasnodar Krai (2.7), Bashkortostan (2.3), Stavropol Krai (2.3), Kabardino-Balkariya (2.3), Kurgan Oblast (2.3), Tyumen Oblast (2.3), Adygeya (2.2), Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District (2.2), Tatarstan (2.1), Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District (2.1), Smolensk Oblast (2.0)
Low (from 1.9 to 0.1)	Nizhny Novgorod Oblast (1.9), Yaroslav Oblast (1.8), Lipetsk Oblast (1.6), Kursk Oblast (1.5), Orenburg Oblast (1.5), Mordoviya (1.4), Astrakhan Oblast (1.4), Novgorod Oblast (1.4), Kareliya (1.4), Karachaevo-Cherkessia (1.4), North Ossetia (1.4), Tver Oblast (1.3), Saratov Oblast (1.2), Ingushetia (1.1), Udmurtia (1.1), Leningrad Oblast (1.0), Bryansk Oblast (0.8), Kaluga Oblast (0.8), Arkhangelsk Oblast (0.8), Pskov Oblast (0.8), Ryazan Oblast (0.7), Murmansk Oblast (0.7), Kirov Oblast (0.7), Dagestan (0.6), Vologda Oblast (0.5), Chuvashia (0.5), Mariy El (0.3), Chechen Republic (0.2)
None (0.0)	Komi-Permyatski Autonomous District, Nenets Autonomous District, Taymir Autonomous District, Chukotka Autonomous District

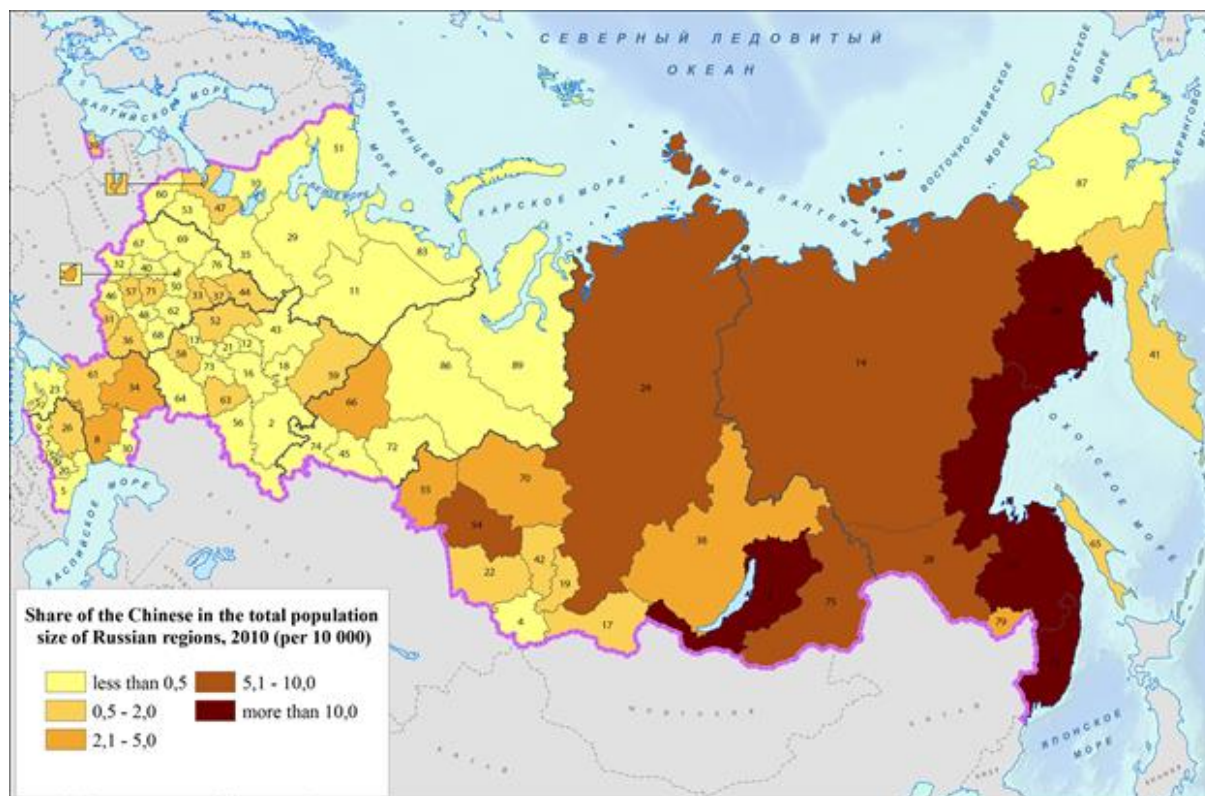
Average rate of concentration of Chinese population is observed in the Central part of Russia, Volga region, Ural region, and some territories of the Far East. Lower and lowest rate of concentration of Chinese migrants is observed in the European part of the country, in the North Caucasus, West Siberia, and European North. Finally, no ethnic Chinese were found in the four autonomous districts of Russia (Komi-Permyatski, Nenets, Taymyr, Chukotka) in the framework of 2002 population census. According to the study the main geographic range of distribution of Chinese in Russia is in the Eastern part of the country – Far East and Siberia –, and is shifted towards the regions bordering on China and Mongolia. The farther to the West and North, the lower is the concentration of Chinese in the permanent population of Russia (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5. Distribution of regions of Russia by value of concentration coefficient of ethnic Chinese according to 2002 population census, per 10,000 people of the permanent population



Chinese diaspora in Russia represents not only a stable steady community with its own laws, customs and traditions, but, what's more important, it is constantly supplemented with new representatives. Chinese communities represent a phenomenon which Russia will not be able to get rid of anymore. The total population of Chinese community in Russia according to experts' estimates may reach 8-10 million people by 2010 (Ayrapetova 1999: 12). According to Zh. A. Zayonchkovskaya in the middle of XXI century Chinese in Russia may become the second most numerous ethnicity distributed across the entire territory of the country. Their number may reach up to 10 million people, including about 3 million who will be living in the Far East (it is one quarter of the total population of the region).

Figure 3.6. Distribution of the regions of Russia by value of concentration coefficient of ethnic Chinese according to 2010 population census, persons per 10,000 of the permanent population



At this time due to certain objective reasons there is no Chinese diaspora in Russia in its classic form with “China-towns”, it is hidden from the uninformed general public. The situation of Chinese communities is unstable, it is largely dependent on political changes, approaches to regulation of the migrants’ position by local authorities, economic infrastructure, etc. However, at that, Chinese diaspora has undergone the stage of initial accumulation of capital in Russia, has solid economic potential, ethnic infrastructure. Chinese have their banks, businesses and companies (in Moscow alone there are around 1,000 of them), legal support; they build up connections with the local administration and various branches of Russian authorities, have registered several ethnic communities, publish daily papers in Chinese. Chinese migrants brought in new aspects to the everyday life of the local population. In Moscow and other large cities there are established ethnic places of residence and work of Chinese (hostels, markets, trade centers). There is social infrastructure for sustaining the adaptation process of the Chinese migrants in the Russian society. In fact, in Russia there are now prerequisites for creation of “China-towns”. Most probably this will happen within the nearest decade. Chinese communities will become increasingly important factor of social-economic development of cities and regions of Russia.

4. Social Economic Adaptation and Migration Plans of Chinese Migrants in Russia

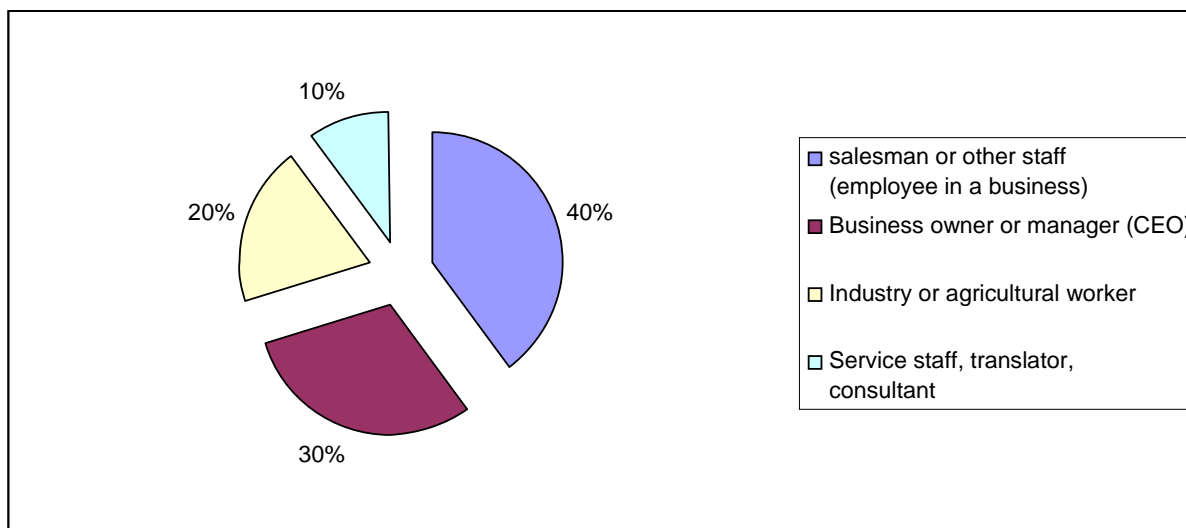
In order to reveal the specific characteristics of social economic adaptation and migration plans of Chinese migrants in Russia the Center for Social Demography and Economic Sociology at the Institute of Social and Political Research of the Russian Academy of Science in 2006 performed survey among the Chinese who were staying on the territory of Russia at that time for various purposes (Ryazantsev and Hunmei 2010: 92). Sample size was 120 people. Respondents were selected based on quota sampling by gender, age, and geography, based on the data of 2002 population census about size, age and gender structure, and geographic distribution of the Chinese citizens in Russia. The survey was conducted by method of interviews at work places of labor migrants. Mostly these were markets, commercial centers (malls), trade companies, industrial enterprises, educational institutions. The questionnaire was translated into Chinese, interviews were conducted in Chinese by graduate students from China.

We shall look more closely at the most important results of this study which help us understand the correlation between investments and migration. About 40% of Chinese migrants at the time of the survey were employed in trade sector, mostly working as hired sales persons, sellers of goods in the markets, commercial centers, and shops. About one third of the Chinese called themselves managers, although sometimes it is hard to draw a precise line between managers and sellers. Usually Chinese regard as managers those persons who organize and control the sales process, although he/she can be the salesperson him/herself.

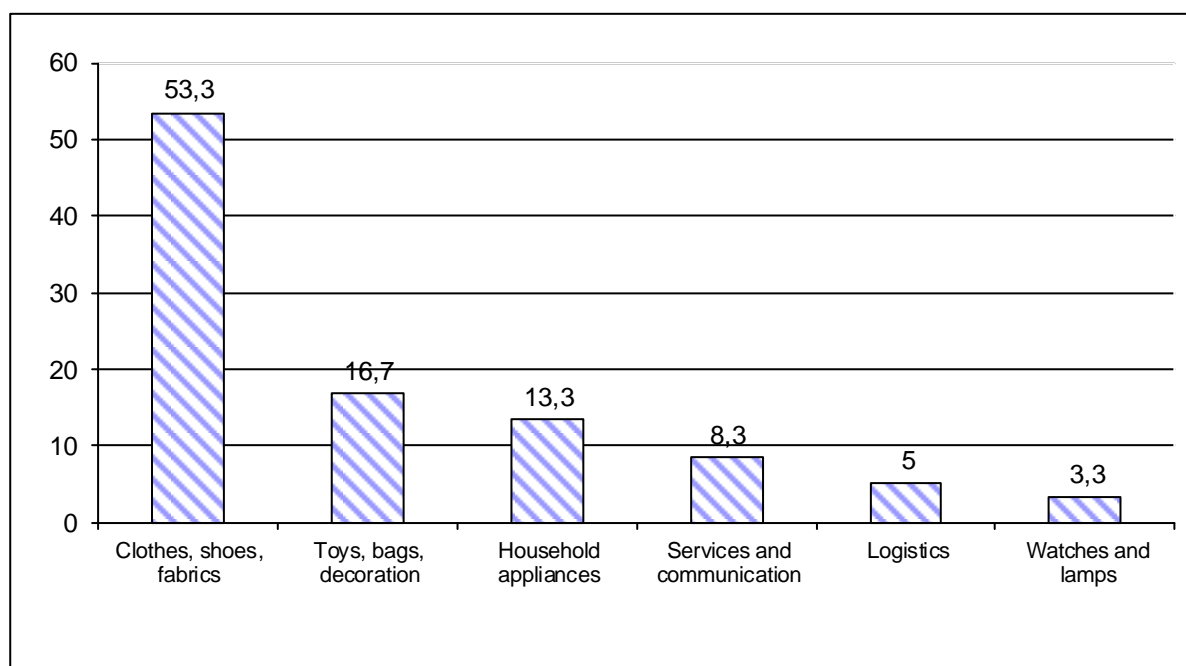
In 2007 Russian authorities prohibited foreign citizens to engage in trade in the markets, which reduced employment of Chinese in trade. The study shows that Chinese keep abreast of the events, and as a rule, react to the changes in Russian legislation by redirecting their capital into the other branches of economy not subject to prohibitions or restrictions. For example, V.I. Dyatlov in his interview mentioned the following example: “Closure of the large clothes market “Shanghai” in Irkutsk was accompanied by traders’ protests. They even published newspaper which existed for one year. Sellers protested in different forms, including going out to the square in front of the city administration. These were predominantly Russians, but there were also Chinese among the protesters. This is a great deed for the Chinese who do not always hold legal status and documents! But usually Chinese will not go openly on strikes. They prefer not to participate in politics and solve everything in a peaceful manner; they will just transfer their capital to another branch. This was also the case in this situation. Before closure of the market a lot of Chinese owners of trade spots transferred their money to different branches of the economy – construction, restaurant business, etc.”¹⁴ Prohibitions and restrictions of the Russian legislation banning foreigners from trade in the markets also made Chinese entrepreneurs hire more actively Russian citizens as sellers (sales persons) of the goods, invest money in construction of shops at commercial centers.

About 20% of the Chinese called themselves workers. They were employed at companies producing clothes, shoes, toys, accessories on the territory of Russia. There are quite a lot of Chinese workers in agriculture, forestry in the Far East and other regions of Russia. About 10% of Chinese interviewees were employed in the intermediary service industries (tourism, translations, consulting services, providing means of telecommunications, restaurant services, etc.), as a rule, providing services to their fellow countrymen (Figure 4.1).

¹⁴ Interview with professor of Irkutsk State University V.I. Dyatlov on 8 December 2012 in Irkutsk.

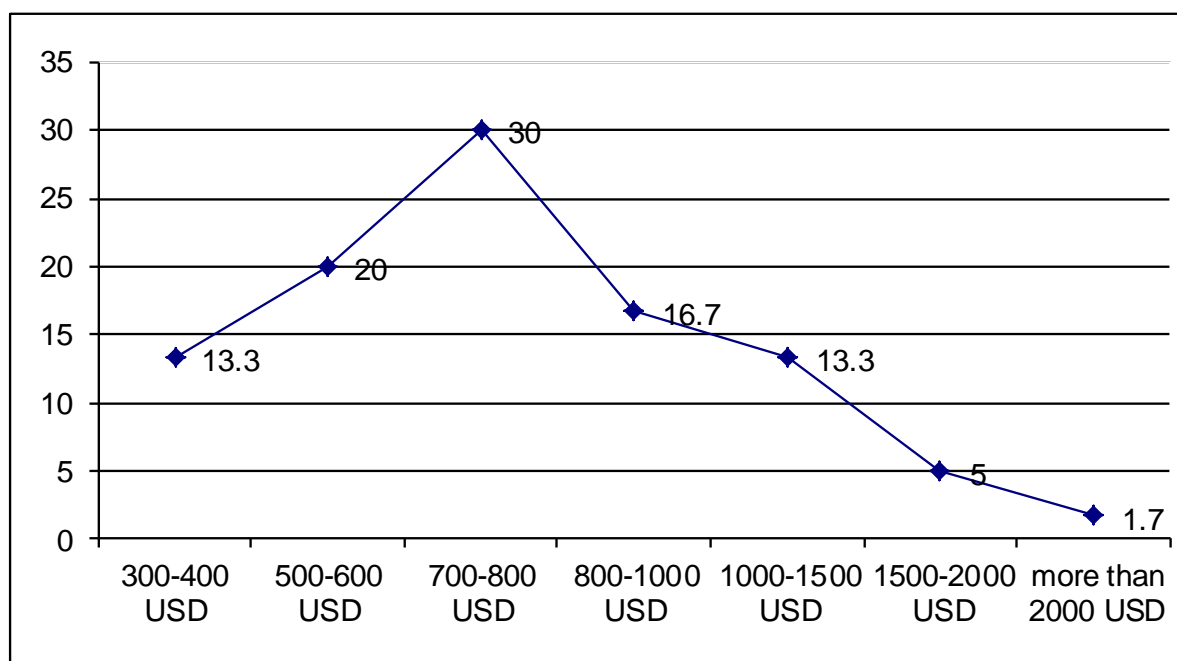
Figure 4.1. Occupation of Chinese migrants in Russia (percent of interviewees)

Firms and enterprises which employ Chinese migrants mostly concentrate in the sphere of production and trade of consumer goods (clothes, textiles, shoes, etc.) – over 53% of Chinese are employed in this sector. About 17% of the companies engage in production, supplies or trade in leather accessories, jewelry and toys. It is noteworthy that in this sphere Chinese can be considered worldwide leaders – most of the toys sold in Europe and USA are produced in PRC. Some of the Chinese migrants in Russia work in service sector and logistics – total of 13% (Figure 4.2).

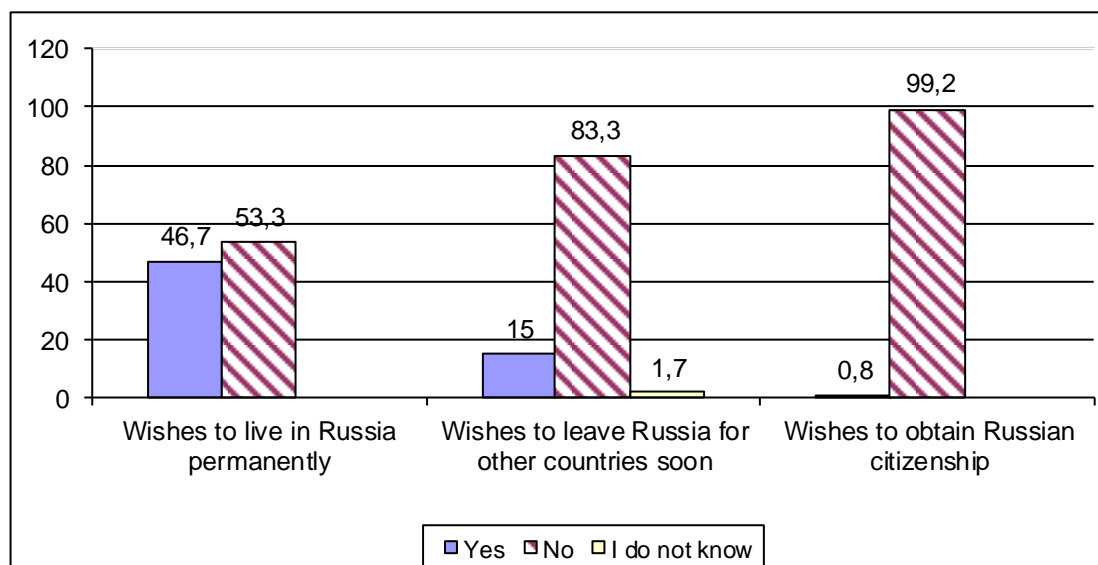
Figure 4.2. Primary types of products produced (supplied, sold) by the companies which employ migrants from PRC in Russia (percent of interviewees)

The study shows that the level of income of Chinese migrants in Russia turned out to be quite high. About 30% of interviewees declared that they make 700 to 800 US dollars per month, which can be considered a quite decent wage in the Russian labor market. About 20% of migrants earn 500 to 600 US dollars. About 13% of migrants have income of 300-400 US dollars per month. About one third of Chinese migrants (around 36%) earn much more than what's stated above. In particular, about 16% of Chinese earn 800 to 1,000 dollars, over 13% 1,000-1,500 dollars, 5% 1,500 to 2,000 dollars, about 2% over 2,000 US dollars per month (Figure 4.3). This shows that Chinese migrants adapted quite successfully to the Russian labor market.

Figure 4.3. Average monthly wages of Chinese migrants in Russia in US dollars in 2006 (percent of interviewees)

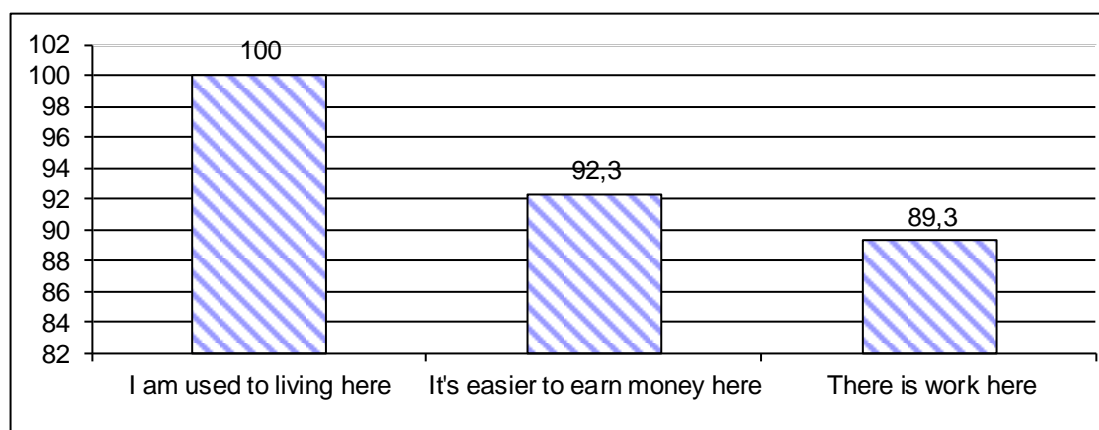


Migration plans of Chinese migrants are an indicator (so-called “litmus test”) of the level of their social economic integration in the Russian society. Over 83% of Chinese migrants who took part in the survey, did not intend to leave Russia in the nearest future. About 47% wanted to stay and live permanently in Russia. But 99% of Chinese interviewees do not want to acquire Russian citizenship! (Figure 4.4). On the one hand, possibly, they are afraid of the bureaucratic procedures. On the other hand this is quite indicative of the fact that Chinese do not wish to tie their lives permanently to Russia. Different data was obtained by researchers from the Far East. According to the results of one of the surveys about 13% of citizens of PRC staying on the territory of the Far East are ready to register a sham marriage with Russian citizens, and about 10% intend to obtain not only residence permit, but also citizenship of Russia (Zolotykh 1999: 37). Despite varying results, both studies prove that Chinese migrants maintain strong ethnic and civil Chinese identity in spite of successful social and economic integration in the Russian society. The issue of sham marriages between Chinese and local population in this context represents a method of Chinese adaptation to imperfect laws and bureaucratic procedures of legalization of migrants in Russia, rather than a strategy of their migration behavior.

Figure 4.4. Migration plans of Chinese migrants in Russia, % interviewees

All Chinese migrants intending to stay permanently in Russia state that they are used to living here. Slightly over 92% are confident that it is easier to make money in Russia than in China and other countries. Finally, about 89% of interviewees want to stay permanently in Russia, because they have a job here (Figure 4.5). This confirms the fact of successful moral and psychological adaptation of Chinese labor migrants in Russia. Results of our study do not match with the data of IOM experts about the fact that Chinese rather view Russia as temporary place of stay for accumulation of capital and do not intend to live permanently in Russia (IOM 2001: 6). We consider that compared to the 1990s migration plans of Chinese migrants in Russia have changed. At least it is true for that part of Chinese who adapted successfully to the Russian labor market.

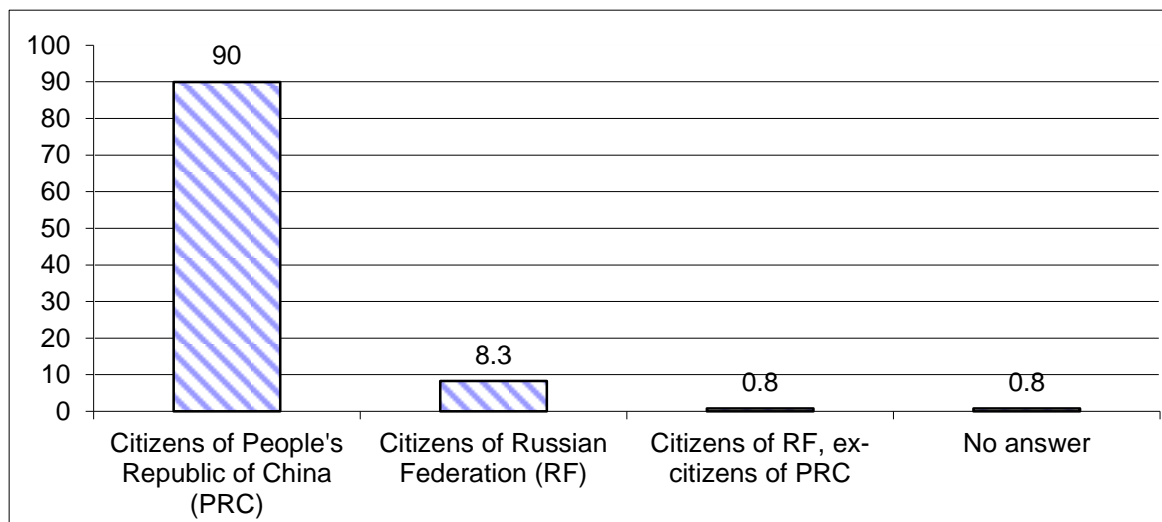
Figure 4.5. Reasons for which Chinese migrants want to stay permanently in Russia (percent of interviewees who answered this question positively)¹⁵



According to the official statistics of Federal Migration Service most of the Chinese migrants in Russia (97.5%) worked for legal entities; only 2.5% of migrants from China worked for natural persons (Figure 4.6) (FMS of Russia 2006: 18). It speaks of quite high interest shown by companies and organizations in labor migrants from PRC. Citizenship of the owners of these companies is a totally different issue. According to our information employment of Chinese migrants has an ethnically restricted nature, i.e. they are mostly employed by citizens of PRC and ethnic Chinese – former citizens of PRC. Most of the migrants (about 90%) work at companies and organizations which are owned by Chinese citizens, another 1% by Chinese who became citizens of Russia. About 8% of interviewees work for companies which are owned by Russian citizens. However, it is noteworthy that in Russia the practice of “front persons” is quite widely spread, i.e. when Chinese (as well as representatives of other ethnic groups) open a company in the name of Russian owner. In their opinion it decreases the costs and makes doing business easier.

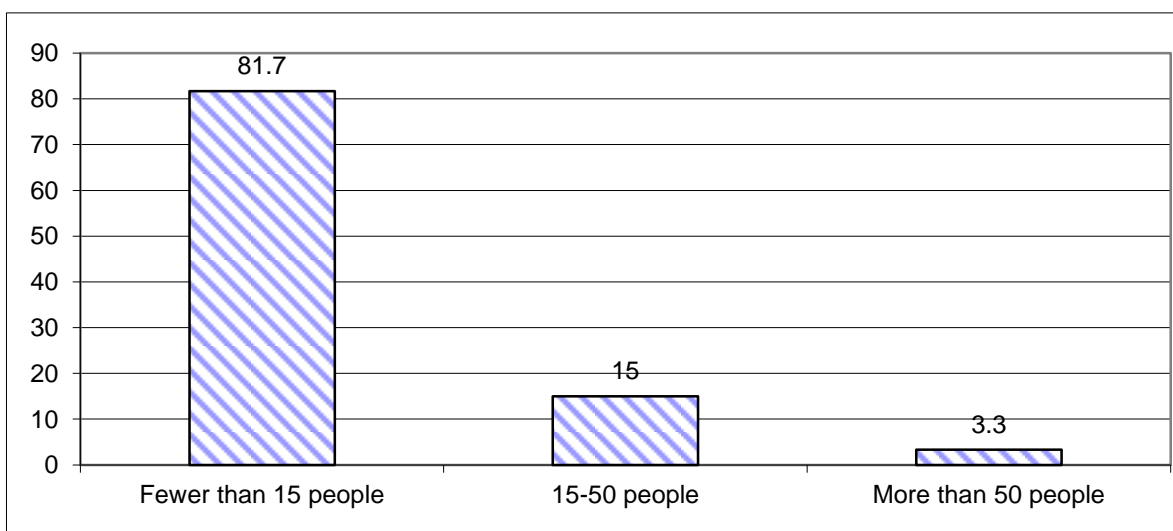
¹⁵ The total number of answers is more than 100%, because interviewees could choose more than one answer to this question.

Figure 4.6. Citizenship of company (enterprise) owners in Russia, employing Chinese migrants as hired labor (percent of interviewees who work as contract workers)



Most of the Chinese migrants (about 82%) work for small companies, enterprises, and organizations employing less than 15 workers. One-sixth of Chinese migrants work for mid-size companies, employing from 15 to 90 persons. Only 3% work for large organizations with personnel exceeding 50 persons (Figure 4.7). Such concentration of Chinese labor migrants in small business can be explained by the fact that as a rule such companies have ethnic nature. Most probably, such form of business organization is more convenient from the point of view of tax evasion, i.e. possibility to save on costs. It is a known fact that doing business in Russia is rather difficult, for foreigners it is twice as difficult. Many Chinese entrepreneurs are used to working fully or partially in the grey market. It is important for Russia to bring grey-market relations “to the light” in general, including those in the Chinese business sector.

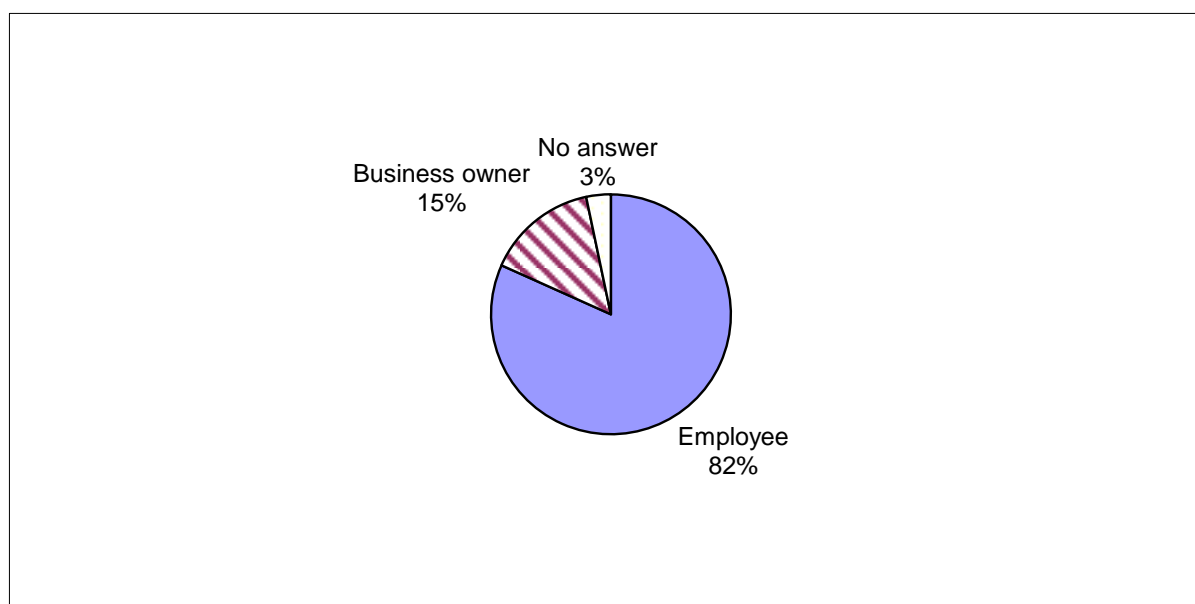
Figure 4.7. Size of companies (enterprises) employing Chinese migrants in Russia by number of employees (percent of interviewees)



82% of Chinese labor migrants work as hired workers, only 15% have their own businesses (Figure 4.8). This circumstance most probably can be explained by difficulties of doing business in Russia in general, and for foreign citizens in particular. Possibly, restrictions which entered into force on April 1, 2007 which prohibited foreign citizens from selling goods in the market also played their role in this process. In 1990s researchers noted that Chinese business traditional for other countries (restaurants, cafes, medical salons), only started developing in Russia (Dyatlov 2000: 129). In 2000s the number of traditional Chinese business entities grew significantly. Chinese restaurants and cafes were opened in almost all large cities of Russia, production and construction companies appeared.

Real estate market experts note that Chinese construction companies appeared in Russia as contractors in Primorsk Krai, Amur Oblast, Chita Oblast, Siberia. Finally, Chinese begin implementing pilot projects in construction as developers (investors). In particular, Chinese construction corporation “East” intends to invest about 500 million dollars in construction of 1.2 million square meters of housing in Krasnoyarsk. A pool of Chinese construction companies is ready to invest about 1.5 billion dollars in project called “Baltic pearl” in Saint Petersburg, under which over 1 million square meters of housing and 400,000 square meters of commercial spaces are supposed to be built. In 2007 construction of the business center “Park Huamin” with total area of 200,000 square meters started in Moscow. The complex including two small skyscrapers will host Chinese companies (Stupin 2006: 42).

Figure 4.8. Forms of employment of Chinese migrants in Russia (percent of interviewees)



Thus, the study shows that Chinese migrants adapted quite well in the Russian labor market. Social and economic component of their integration can be considered particularly successful: they have jobs, relatively high level of income for migrants. However, social and psychological component of their adaptation is much less efficient and successful. Their community is quite locked, localized, not prone to assimilation and cultural mixing. Most of the representatives of Chinese diaspora in Russia live in quite isolated conditions, their Russian is quite poor, they do not strive to obtain Russian citizenship. All of this strengthens the idea of temporariness of their stay in Russia in the mass conscience of Chinese migrants. In the context of normal relations with the state and authorities, and in the conditions of high corruption surrounding Chinese diaspora this leads to even greater isolation of migrants, their alienation. Thus, Russian authorities need to use more proactively the cultural and social psychological components and stimulate integration from the point of view of studying Russian language, Russian culture, Russian traditions and laws.

Conclusion

This study allows to draw the following key conclusions regarding correlation between investments from China and Chinese migration.

1. Currently Chinese investors in Russia are represented by investments made by large Chinese state-owned companies which purposefully invest their funds in basic projects related to development of transportation system, communications, exploration of mineral resources in Russia. This type of investments goes through official channels, legally, based on official contracts. The second type of Chinese investments includes private investments in development of business with quick pay off: trade, food service, restaurant and tourist business. In this part of investments Chinese private business is oriented at semi-legal and illegal methods of penetration in the Russian market. For example, Chinese businessmen often develop enterprises in Russia through their front persons, when officially the owners are Russian citizens, but actually the companies are owned by Chinese. On the one hand this is determined by non-transparent rules of doing business and corruption in Russia itself. On the other hand Chinese businessmen have a strong habit of solving any economic issues by building up personal relations with representatives of the public authorities (like in China). It is widely accepted in Russian regions with presence of Chinese businessmen to solve economic issues at the level of interpersonal connections with the representatives of the public authorities.
2. Chinese migration to Russia has a “hidden” nature, meaning that it is hidden from statistical records, and occurs under cover of migration for business, private visit, or tourism purposes. For China Russia is one of the largest labor force export markets, and for Heilongjiang province it is the only market. For Russian Far East and East Siberia import of labor force from China solves the problem of lack of labor force in some branches of the economy (agriculture, construction, etc.), which is maintained even in the conditions of unemployment. However, at this time import of the labor force from China to Russia is not expected to grow due to insufficiently intensive level of economic development in the Far East. Still, due to formation of strong commercial and economic connections and enhancement of the investment process, the demand for Chinese labor migrants in Russia will grow.
3. Chinese labor force is characterized by high degree of mobility. Having worked in Russia for several months Chinese workers return back home. Then they are replaced by other workers. A lot of Chinese work illegally, without obtaining work permit. Mostly this is true for those Chinese who work for Chinese companies. Chinese are known as great farmers, who know perfectly well the characteristics of agro-climatic conditions, they are much more efficient, professional, and disciplined workers than Russians. They are not prone to drinking. Despite the concerns of the local authorities regarding the possibility of appearance of “Chinese villages” in the Far East, vast experience has been already accumulated in providing land for rent to Chinese farmers. Appearance of Chinese labor force in the Russian labor market at first had some disciplining impact on Russian workers, currently there is no competition between them and the Chinese. Local population prefers to stay without work rather than work in hard and low-paid jobs in constructions or agriculture. There is a notable surplus of local workers with construction specializations in the Far East. There is even greater discrepancy between labor supply and demand in the agricultural sector. However, according to global experience it is inefficient to fill the vacancies in labor-deficient and labor intensive sectors by re-training the unemployed, as it requires significant financial costs and lengthy period of time. Thus, it is easier for the employers to lobby for attraction of foreign labor force.
4. Chinese migrants adapted to the Russian labor market quite well. Social and economic component of their integration can be considered particularly successful: they have jobs, relatively high level of income for labor migrants in Russia. Employment of Chinese migrants is ethnically locked in its nature, i.e. they are mostly hired by citizens of PRC and ethnic Chinese – former citizens of PRC. Most migrants work at companies and organizations which are owned by Chinese citizens. Also the practice of “front persons” is quite widely spread in Russia, when Chinese (as well as representatives

of other ethnic groups) open companies in the name of Russian owner. This reduces the costs and facilitates doing business for Chinese in Russia.

5. So far Chinese diaspora in its classic sense with “China-towns” has not formed in Russia for certain objective reasons, it is hidden from the uninformed general public. The situation of Chinese communities is unstable, it largely depends on political changes, approaches to regulation of the situation of migrants undertaken by local authorities, economic infrastructure, etc. However, that being said, Chinese diaspora has undergone the stage of initial accumulation of capital in Russia, it has quite solid economic potential, ethnic infrastructure. Chinese have their own banks, firms and companies (in Moscow alone there are around 1,000 of them), legal support, they have built up relations with the local administrations and various branches of the Russian authorities, registered several national communities, issue daily papers in Chinese. Chinese migrants have brought in new aspects to the life of the local population. There are ethnic places of residence and work of the Chinese in Moscow and other large cities (hostels, markets, commercial centers). Social infrastructure has been built in order to sustain the adaptation process of the Chinese migrants in the Russian society. In fact, there are premises for creation of “China-towns” in Russia. Most probably these will be possible already within the nearest decade. Chinese communities will become a more and more important factor of social and economic development of Russian cities and regions.

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Annex 1. Bilateral Documents in the Sphere of Migration Regulation between the USSR/Russian Federation and People's Republic of China (PRC)

Date signed	Type and name of the document	Basic categories of migrants to whom the document applies	Basic aspects of migration related in the document
17 November 2006	MINUTES ON AMENDMENTS MADE TO THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON VISA-FREE GROUP TOURIST TRIPS DATED FEBRUARY 29, 2000	Tourists from PRC to Russian and from Russia to PRC	Conditions of visa-free regime for visits made by Chinese citizens to the territory of Russia as part of organized tourist groups have changed. The maximum number of persons in a tourist group may not exceed 50, and period of visa-free stay may not exceed 15 days
9 November 2006	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OF THE PRC ON COOPERATION IN EDUCATION	Migrant students, migrants who are highly qualified professionals	High-school, undergraduate, graduate student exchange, scholar exchange
15 June 2006	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF MEMBER STATES OF SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION ON EDUCATION	Migrant students, migrants who are highly qualified professionals	Facilitation of mutual exchange of students and scholars, professors and employees of educational institutions/organizations
16 May 2006	MINUTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON CREATION OF JOINT WORKING GROUP ON MIGRATION ISSUES	All categories of migrants, including illegal migrants	General issues of regulation of migration, including border control, border crossing and combating illegal migration, exchange of information on migration issues, protection of migrants' rights
16 May 2006	REGULATIONS ON JOINT WORK OF THE WORKING GROUP ON MIGRATION ISSUES	All categories of migrants including illegal migrants	Coordination of activities of the authorities of the two countries on migration regulation issues

Date signed	Type and name of the document	Basic categories of migrants to whom the document applies	Basic aspects of migration related in the document
20 November 2001-24 October 2002	AGREEMENT IN THE FORM OF EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON SIMPLIFIED REGIME OF CROSSING RUSSIAN-CHINESE BORDER AND TEMPORARY STAY ON THE TERRITORIES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND PRC FOR PERSONNEL WORKING IN CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE BRIDGE BORDER CROSSING ACROSS THE ARGUN RIVER IN OLOCHI-SHIWEI REGION, AS WELL AS TRANSPORTATION OF TECHNICAL AND TRANSPORTATION MEANS, EQUIPMENT, CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND CONSUMABLES NEEDED FOR CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE	Temporary labor border migrants (“frontier migrants”) from Russia in PRC and from PRC to Russia	Procedure of crossing the national border under visa-free regime by citizens of PRC and Russian Federation employed in construction, operation and maintenance of the bridge border crossing on the Argun river
7-12 September 2001	JOINT PRESS RELEASE ON THE RESULTS OF THE SIXTH REGULAR MEETING OF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS OF RUSSIA AND CHINA	All categories of migrants	Declared need for cooperation in the field of regulation of migration processes, including consideration of the possibility of creation of a joint working institution

Date signed	Type and name of the document	Basic categories of migrants to whom the document applies	Basic aspects of migration related in the document
3 November 2000	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON TEMPORARY WORK ACTIVITY OF THE CITIZENS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN THE PRC AND CITIZENS OF THE PRC IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION	Temporary labor migrants from the PRC in Russia and from Russia in the PRC	Attraction and use of labor migrants from PRC in Russia and labor migrants from Russia in PRC under organized procedure for up to 1 year (with a possibility to extend contract validity for one year)
29 February 2000	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON VISA-FREE GROUP TOURIST TRIPS	Tourists from the PRC to Russia and from Russia to the PRC	Visa-free regime has been set for visits of Chinese citizens to the territory of Russia, as parts of organized tourist groups (not less than 5 persons), for a period of time not exceeding 30 days
9 December 1999	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON JOINT ECONOMIC USE OF CERTAIN ISLANDS AND ADJACENT WATER ZONES OF THE NEAR-BORDER RIVERS	Near-border migrants ("frontier migrants")	Visa-free regime for crossing the state border by citizens of Russia and PRC who reside permanently near Russian-Chinese state border and engage in traditional economic activity in the areas of common economic use
2 June 1999	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON EXPANSION OF THE SIMPLIFIED ADMISSION REGIME FOR CITIZENS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO TRADE CENTERS IN CITIES HEIHE AND SUIFENHE OPERATING ON THE CHINESE SIDE OF RUSSIAN-CHINESE BORDER, IN THE FORM OF EXCHANGE OF NOTES OF JUNE 2, 1999	Trade migrants ("shuttle traders") from Russia to the PRC and from PRC to Russia	Visa-free border crossing regime for citizens of PRC to visit Russian trade centers in Zabaykalsk, Blagoveshchensk, and Pogranichnyi, and for citizens of Russia to visit Chinese trade centers in Heihe and Suifenhe

Date signed	Type and name of the document	Basic categories of migrants to whom the document applies	Basic aspects of migration related in the document
3-4 June 1998	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON SIMPLIFIED REGIME OF CROSSING RUSSIAN-CHINESE BORDER, AND TEMPORARY STAY ON THE TERRITORIES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND PRC EMPLOYED IN CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE PIPE LINE IN THE REGION ZABAYKALSK-MANCHURIA, AND TRANSPORTATION OF TECHNICAL AND TRANSPORTATION MEANS, EQUIPMENT AND CONSUMABLES FOR CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE PIPE LINE (IN THE FORM OF EXCHANGE OF NOTES)	Temporary labor near-border migrants (“frontier migrants”) from Russia to PRC and from PRC to Russia	Visa-free regime of state border crossing by citizens of PRC and Russian Federation, employed in construction, operation and maintenance of the pipe line in the region Zabaykalsk-Manchuria
17 February 1998	AGREEMENT IN THE FORM OF EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE PRC ON ORGANIZATION OF SIMPLIFIED REGIME OF ADMISSION OF THE CITIZENS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO A NUMBER OF TRADE CENTERS LOCATED OFF TO THE CHINESE SIDE OF THE RUSSIAN-CHINESE STATE BORDER	Trade migrants (“shuttle traders”) from Russia and PRC	Visa-free regime of border crossing by citizens of Russia for visiting Chinese trade center Manchuria

Date signed	Type and name of the document	Basic categories of migrants to whom the document applies	Basic aspects of migration related in the document
10 November 1997	AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF COMMON ECONOMIC USE OF CERTAIN ISLANDS AND ADJACENT WATER ZONES IN THE NEAR-BORDER RIVERS	Near-border migrants ("frontier migrants")	Crossing of the state border by citizens of Russia and PRC who reside permanently near Russian-Chinese state border based on special documents certifying the right to cross the border and authorizations for engaging in economic activity
30 April 1997	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON SIMPLIFIED REGIME OF CROSSING THE RUSSIAN-CHINESE BORDER AT PROVISIONAL CHECK-POINT KANI-KURGAN - CHANFATUN FOR PERSONNEL EMPLOYED AT JOINT CONSTRUCTION OF THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE AMUR RIVER (HEILONGJIANG), AS WELL AS TRANSPORTATION OF CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS, EQUIPMENT AND MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION	Temporary labor migrants ("frontier migrants") from Russia to the PRC and from PRC to Russia	Border crossing procedure for citizens of PRC and Russian Federation employed in construction of the bridge across the Amur river based on temporary authorizations
26 June 1995	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF EDUCATION CREDENTIALS AND SCIENTIFIC DEGREES	Migrant students and labor migrants from PRC to Russia and from Russia to PRC	Mutual acceptance of degrees of all levels with a possibility to continue professional activity based on these degrees, to do internship, continue education with Russian diplomas in PRC and with Chinese diplomas in Russia

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3 November 1993	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON COOPERATION IN TOURISM	Tourists from PRC to Russia and from Russia to PRC	Intentions to facilitate direct exchanges and development of tourist cooperation between the regions and cities of the two countries, sustain the efforts of travel companies and agencies in organization of short-term tourist trips in the border regions, including maximum simplification of traveling formalities for the citizens of both countries
18 December 1992	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON COOPERATION IN SOCIAL AND LABOR FIELDS	Labor migrants from PRC to Russia and from Russia to PRC	Intention to sign agreements on the issues of sending Russian and Chinese citizens for work at enterprises and organization in PRC and Russia
19 August 1992	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON PRINCIPLES OF ASSIGNMENT AND ACCEPTANCE OF CHINESE CITIZENS FOR WORK AT RUSSIAN ENTERPRISES, ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS	Temporary labor migrants from PRC to Russia	Procedure of assignment and use of labor migrants from PRC at Russian enterprises under organized procedure for a period of up to three years
30 August 1990	AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON PRINCIPLES OF ASSIGNMENT AND ACCEPTANCE OF CHINESE CITIZENS FOR EMPLOYMENT AT ENTERPRISES, ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS OF THE USSR	Temporary labor migrants from PRC to the USSR	Organized acceptance of Chinese citizens for employment at Soviet enterprises under contracts (economic agreements)

Date signed	Type and name of the document	Basic categories of migrants to whom the document applies	Basic aspects of migration related in the document
21 March 1986	MINUTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON CONDITIONS OF MUTUAL BUSINESS TRIPS OF ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL	Highly qualified migrants from the USSR to PRC and from PRC to the USSR	Procedure of sending Soviet Specialists on business trips to the PRC and Chinese technical staff on business trips to the USSR for providing technical assistance in construction and reconstruction of properties
10 July 1985	AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC ON ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION IN CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL OBJECTS IN PRC	Highly qualified labor migrants from the USSR to PRC and from PRC to the USSR	Intent to send Soviet specialists to the PRC under mutual agreements and Chinese technical staff to the USSR, for construction and reconstruction of industrial objects