Recent Trends in Chinese Migration to Europe: Fujianese Migration in Perspective

No. 6

IOM MIGRATION RESEARCH SERIES

IOM International Organization for Migration

Frank N. Pieke prepared this report as an independent consultant to the International Organization for Migration. Opinions expressed in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of IOM.

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Publisher: International Organization for Migration
17 route des Morillons
1211 Geneva 19
Switzerland
Tel: +41.22.717 91 11
Fax: +41.22.798 61 50
E-mail: hq@iom.int
Internet: http://www.iom.int

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ISSN 1607-338X
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Prepared for IOM by

Frank N. Pieke

University of Oxford, UK

March 2002

IOM International Organization for Migration

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents some of the main findings of a research project on Fujianese migration to Europe entitled, *At the Margin of the Chinese World System: The Fuzhou Diaspora in Europe*.[1] Among the new Chinese migrants, the Fujianese are an important flow, part (although by no means all) of which is irregular. Fujianese snakeheads have rapidly become the most visible expression of some of the changes taking place in Chinese migration worldwide, not least in Europe. A more detailed discussion of the characteristics of this flow will help to highlight some of the most salient issues and the policy choices confronting the governments of sending and receiving areas alike.

The report begins first, with an overview of Chinese migration to Europe with a particular focus on developments in the last 15 years. Drawing on recent scholarship and other available sources of data, this part of the report identifies the main gaps in our knowledge and suggests areas for future research. The overview of the main trends in Chinese migration to Europe serves as a backdrop for the presentation of some of the preliminary findings of a study on one particular flow of Chinese who have recently received considerable attention in the media and from policy-makers, namely migrants from the central and western parts of Fujian province. This part of the report concludes with identifying the implications of the study's findings for policy making and migration management. In the appendix, estimates and statistics are given from several sources on the number of resident Chinese and Chinese immigration to Europe.

Four general trends can be discerned that have fundamentally reshaped Chinese migration to Europe since the 1970s.

1. After the Second World War, Britain, France and the Netherlands were the countries with the largest Chinese communities. These countries continue to be the core of the European Chinese migration system, from where the Chinese spread across the semi-periphery of central and northern Europe (Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and the Nordic countries from the 1970s), and the new frontiers of southern Europe from the 1980s and eastern Europe from the 1990s.

2. Migration from the old overseas Chinese home areas in Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong started afresh during the final years of the Maoist era (mid-1970s) and quickly globalized and professionalized, reaching out beyond the traditional areas of destination. In the 1980s, Europe, too, was included in these new, global migratory flows of mass migration.

3. Renewed emigration from old overseas Chinese areas is joined by new types of Chinese emigration from a variety of urban backgrounds and areas. Although initially mainly directed to North America and Australia, students, businessmen and women, and redundant urban workers currently make their way to Europe in increasing numbers. In this regard eastern Europe sets the pattern that western Europe is only now beginning to follow.

4. Both emigration from traditional overseas areas and from China's cities are becoming increasingly trans-national in nature. Chinese no longer migrate to one particular country. Migration is but one (and not necessarily the first) step in an increasingly cosmopolitan life. As a corollary, Chinese emigration no longer simply is the move to the centres of a world system fully dominated by the West, but is just as much an aspect of the outward extension of a world system centred on China itself. In other words, international migration, or better, international mobility as Chinese increasingly move back and forth as part of a cosmopolitan life, is becoming just one aspect of the globalization of Chinese society, culture and economy.

1. AN OVERVIEW OF CHINESE MIGRATION TO EUROPE BEFORE 1980[2]

Before 1945, two main types of migratory flows from China can be distinguished. First, many Chinese came to Europe as contract labourers, much like the Chinese coolies in South-East Asia, South Africa and the Americas half a century earlier. Cantonese seamen waiting for recruitment in western Europe's main harbour cities (London, Liverpool, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Antwerp) helped European shipping companies break the power of the unions of European sailors (Bowles, 1992; Eberstein, 1988; Knödel, 1995; Pang, 1993; Parker, 1998; Pieke and Benton, 1998). Chinese contract labour also played an important role in opening up Russia's Far East before the Revolution of 1917 (Larin, 1998). The Allied forces in the First World War recruited well over one hundred thousand labourers from Shandong, Shanghai and Zhejiang.[3] Contract workers who had stayed in Russia after 1917 helped the Bolsheviks in their war against the Whites (Larin, 1998).

Second, peddlers and traders from southern Zhejiang province and to a much lesser extent Shandong province found their way overland to Moscow and Berlin and across the sea to Marseilles and Paris. From there, they scattered all across the continent, although curiously enough not to Britain (Thunø, 1999).

In western Europe, the Cantonese seamen and Zhejiangese peddlers were the pioneers who formed the core of communities that grew rapidly in the 1920s and which, after temporary setbacks caused by the Great Depression and the Second World War, again expanded swiftly after the war. During the post-war boom, these pioneers set up migration chains along which new arrivals joined their kin and fellow villagers already in Europe.

After the Second World War, the single most important development was the commencement of large-scale immigration from the New Territories in Hong Kong (Watson, 1976) and on a smaller scale from Malaysia and Singapore. When migration from the People's Republic of China halted, Hong Kong became the chief supplier of labour for the booming catering trade in western Europe, first in Britain and the Netherlands and subsequently in Belgium, Germany, and Scandinavia. More modest numbers are now also found in France and southern Europe.

Political factors also played an important role in promoting or inhibiting migration after the Second World War. First, the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 made it increasingly difficult for prospective migrants in the Zhejiang and Guangdong home communities to join friends and relatives in Europe, leaving

continental western Europe to the eastward expansion of the Hong Kong Chinese community in Britain. After 1974, and especially with the start of the reforms in China in 1978, migration from mainland China resumed, first and foremost from southern Zhejiang. Nonetheless, Hong Kong Chinese and the Cantonese language continue to dominate the communities in Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and, to a lesser extent, Germany.

Second, economic uncertainty and persecution under the new regimes in South-East Asia after decolonialization brought hundreds of thousands of Chinese to France (Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia), the Netherlands (Indonesia) and Portugal (Macao).

Third, the communist regimes of eastern Europe, following the earlier example of the Soviet Union, banned any further immigration from China. Eastern Europe remained out of bounds for the Chinese until the fall of these regimes in 1989-1990. However, so thoroughly had Chinese immigration been banned that no memory existed of the earlier Chinese and communities had to be formed from scratch in Russia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania and elsewhere.

Fourth, national immigration regimes have also shaped the Chinese communities in Europe. Many Chinese from Hong Kong and former British colonies in South-East Asia have studied in Britain, leaving behind an ample body of educated professionals, some of whom are actively involved in the overseas Chinese community. Much earlier, Chinese work-study students in France and Germany in the 1920s, Indonesian-Chinese students in the Netherlands before Indonesia's independence in 1947, and Chinese students in the Soviet Union in the 1950s received all or part of their tertiary education in Europe. Nevertheless, Europe has been far less generous than the United States in enrolling and funding Chinese students. Combined with strict limitations on employment and settlement after graduation, this policy has largely excluded the European economies from the benefits of the brain drain from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong on which the United States has so effectively capitalized. The Chinese communities in Europe were moreover deprived of a much-needed elite, a vacuum that is only now gradually being filled by the emerging second generation and the gradually increasing numbers of students and other educated immigrants from the People's Republic.

To recapitulate, the complex history that has been presented in only its barest outline above had by the mid-1980s brought three major groups of Chinese migrants to Europe. Originating from different areas or even different countries, these groups spoke mutually unintelligible languages or Chinese "dialects", and arrived more or less independently of each other. They were:

(1) Zhejiangese from the hinterland of the port city of Wenzhou and the nearby rural area around the town of Qingtian, speakers of southern Wu dialects;
(2) Cantonese and Hakka speakers from Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong province;
(3) South-East Asian Chinese speakers of several dialects, including Hokkien (southern Fujianese), Teochiu (Shantounese), Cantonese and Hakka.

2. RECENT TRENDS IN CHINESE MIGRATION TO EUROPE

In the 1980s, Chinese migration to Europe entered a qualitatively and quantitatively different phase, whose full ramifications only became apparent in the 1990s. In the most general of terms, these changes can be attributed to the fact that throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Europe's Chinese migration system had remained profoundly parochial. A handful of sending areas specialized in European migration and the flows that they generated often had little to do with the global trends in Chinese migration. Although the special characteristics of Europe's Chinese migration system are still there, notably in the flows of New Territories Hong Kong Chinese to northwestern Europe and of southern Zhejiang Chinese to continental Europe, the changes in the global Chinese migration system rapidly caught up with the continent in the 1980s and 1990s.These changes are described below under the following headings:

(1) Greater diversity in source areas and socio-economic background;

(2) New and old destination areas, types of employment and entrepreneurship;

(3) New migration modalities and regimes.

2.1. Old and New Origins

2.1.1. Reduction of the migratory flows that had caused the spectacular growth of the 1960s and 1970s

Before 1980, Chinese politically motivated migration to Europe came in two main waves. Indonesian Chinese had fled to the Netherlands in the wake of anti-Chinese persecution in the late 1950s and in the 1960s, after which this migration flow continued at a much lower level. In France (and, as far as the Vietnamese Chinese were concerned, the rest of western Europe as well) the sudden influx of Indochinese refugees stopped as abruptly as it began. In the years following the conclusion of the war in Vietnam in 1975, France received one of the largest Chinese communities in Europe, transplanted almost wholesale from Indo-China, but much fewer were in a position to come in the years that followed. Henceforth, the Chinese communities in the Netherlands and France would continue to grow, but only as part of more general, European patterns of immigration.

Economically motivated migration from Hong Kong's rural areas, Singapore and Malaysia to western Europe very gradually levelled off as European wages became increasingly uncompetitive. The source areas themselves became increasingly urban-

ized and economically developed, while western Europe itself got bogged down in a long-term economic downturn. This situation was made worse by the fact that the number of Chinese restaurants in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the two most important receiving countries in the 1970s, gradually reached saturation point. Hong Kong and South-East Asian Chinese rose to the challenge by exploring territory farther afield, first in Germany, Scandinavia and Belgium, and somewhat later modest numbers also found their way to central and southern Europe. However, by this time they met with increasingly stiff competition over employment and restaurants from the new Chinese migrants from the People's Republic of China, particularly those from southern Zhejiang and northern Fujian.

2.1.2. Renaissance of emigration from the traditional overseas Chinese areas in Mainland China

In the early 1970s, small numbers of migrants were again granted permission to leave the People's Republic of China. This trickle initially was simply a return to the pattern from before the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), when family members of overseas Chinese living in designated overseas Chinese home areas (*qiaoxiang*), mainly located in the coastal provinces of Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang, were allowed to leave. With the onset of the reforms in 1978, and particularly after the emigration law of 1985 came into force, a completely new emigration regime took shape in the overseas Chinese home areas. Being granted a passport became a right that everyone who could produce a letter from an overseas Chinese sponsor could avail himself or herself of (see section 2.3.1. below). The result was the infusion of new blood into the aging and increasingly isolated communities of overseas Chinese from these areas in Europe and North America.

In Europe, the new flows of migrants from the traditional overseas Chinese home communities mainly come from the Wenzhou/Qingtian area in southern Zhejiang, with more modest numbers arriving from the Fuzhou/Fuqing area in Fujian province. Initially, Zhejiangese migrated in a classic chain migration pattern to those areas where they could count on a network of friends and kin: the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France. Soon afterwards, Zhejiang migrants in search of business opportunities or employment reached Scandinavia, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Spain and Portugal. In the 1990s, Zhejiangese entered the former Communist countries of central Europe and, as emigration increasingly came under the control of professional people smugglers (rather obliquely called travelling "on the back of the yellow ox", *huang niubei* in Wenzhounese), North America as well. From a peripheral stronghold in western Europe (mainly the Netherlands and France) in the 1960s and 1970s, the Zhejiangese are now well underway to become a truly global diaspora; curiously enough, like

before the Second World War, Britain remains one of the few countries in Europe that they have not explored.[4]

The arrival in Europe of the first new migrants from the Fuzhou/Fuqing area in Fujian province illustrates the reverse process of Europe gradually being incorporated in a global migratory flow. The Fuzhounese are dealt with in considerable detail in a later section below; a few sentences will suffice here. In the 1890s, this part of Fujian specialized in emigration to British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, and the links established then continued to be reinforced by visits, migration and return migration, although the numbers involved were relatively small after about 1910. In the 1980s, Fuzhounese suddenly arrived in rapidly rising numbers in completely different parts of the world: North and South America, Japan, Australia and Europe. Although the area's earlier specialization in emigration to South-East Asia left a lasting legacy of migration in the Fuzhou/Fuqing area, it clearly does not explain the direction of the massive out-migration of more recent times. More important here are sailors from the area who settled in very small numbers all over the world, including Europe, from at least the 1940s onwards, although more recently independent pioneers and people smugglers (snakeheads, *shetou*) have played an equally, if not more important role.

Like their counterparts in southern Zhejiang, the traditional overseas Chinese home areas in Fuzhou/Fuqing in the 1980s and 1990s were transformed into the hub of a huge migration configuration and global diasporic community. This transformation has little to do with the specifics of the earlier migratory history of the areas concerned. More important are the local impact of more general political, social and economic factors, specifically: (1) the preservation of a local culture of migration and remittance dependence throughout the collective period despite the practical impossibility of emigration; (2) the rapid increase of geographical mobility in the 1980s, either within China itself or by means of fixed term contract work outside China, which prepared the way for subsequent emigration; (3) the liberalization of the emigration regime in the traditional overseas Chinese home areas; and (4) the professionalization of emigration, ultimately making emigration universally available in overseas Chinese home areas and opening up hitherto inaccessible destinations.

2.1.3. Extension of global Chinese migration flows to Europe

As emigration from traditional overseas Chinese areas professionalized, globalized and universalized in the 1980s and 1990s, it blended with other migratory flows that were (1) much less linked to specific areas of origin; (2) involved migrants across a much broader spectrum of social backgrounds; (3) were truly cosmopolitan from the

very start; and (4) often had no direct historical connection to earlier, pre-1949 types of migration.

Among the new, cosmopolitan type of migrants leaving China after the onset of the reforms, the most visible group to emerge were students and visiting scholars who left in rapidly increasing numbers for the United States, Australia, Canada and Japan, adding to the already large numbers of Chinese students from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South-East Asia in these countries. Although leaving China on a temporary basis, only a minority ever returns there.

Initially, Europe only received a trickle of this Chinese brain drain, mainly because of limited funding made available to students, restrictions on work-study and a much more strictly enforced requirement to return upon graduation. Gradually, however, Europe has become more popular among Chinese students (although universities still find it difficult to compete for the best students, particularly with the top universities in the United States). Germany, France and Britain are the most common destinations. As at least some students and scholars become more involved in local Chinese life, the Chinese communities in Europe simultaneously become endowed with a Mandarin-educated elite who supplement the economic and political elite of overseas Chinese businessmen and community leaders and the locally educated second generation.

It would be a mistake to think of Chinese students and scholars as a migratory flow that is completely unrelated to other flows of "new migrants" from China. Firstly, as China gets richer, its new entrepreneurial elite find it within their means to pay for a university or even elementary and high school education for themselves or their children. For students with rich parents, self-financed study abroad is an alternative if they do not get a sufficiently high score on the college entrance examination to gain admission to a Chinese university. Certain western universities cater to this emerging market in higher education, actively recruiting in China and offering remedial English courses before commencement of regular university education. Unfortunately, no research has as yet been done on this important subject, yet anecdotal evidence suggests that a significant number of children from the Wenzhou area are enrolled in European schools either as boarders or as lodgers with locally resident kin, a phenomenon that seems very similar to the so-called "astronaut" families and "parachute" kids from Hong Kong in North America (Skeldon,1994; Zhou, 1998).

Second, a student visa can be a safe and cheap way to gain entry for those with the required qualifications, which usually include a foreign language test. For potential migrants, study abroad can simply be an alternative to other ways to go abroad that include family reunification, acquiring a share in a business, temporary contract labour,

quota immigration for skilled professionals, a legal invitation to work in a Chinese enterprise, postgraduate on-the-job training, political asylum and illegal entry. Indeed, migrants often move from one category to another in the course a migratory career.

International study and research visits are best viewed as part of a much broader phenomenon. In the late 1980s China was caught up in the "leave China fever" (*chuguo*). This type of emigration is part of the huge changes in Chinese society wrought by the reform of the urban bureaucracy and state-owned sector of the economy. This paper clearly is not the place for a detailed discussion of these reforms.[5] Suffice it to say that reforming the state-owned enterprise sector has been a process that has been extraordinarily difficult to engineer. Yet despite these difficulties, in the late 1980s for the first time state enterprises and other state units such as schools, hospitals and administrative organs began to shed increasing numbers of personnel, usually not by means of straightforward redundancies – which as a rule require the formal bankruptcy of the enterprise – but as part of an arrangement (called "leaving one's post" *xiagang*) that allows former employees to keep a minimal connection with and basic salary from their former "work unit" (*danwei*).

Equally important, as many state enterprises failed to innovate and were burdened with often huge pension liabilities, they could no longer compete with imports or the products of domestic private, collective, or foreign-invested companies. Against the onslaught of the market, an increasing number of state enterprises could only continue operating by passing on their losses to the government that owned them.

To many Chinese, state sector employment, previously viewed as high prestige, became a dead end, a mere meal ticket without any prospects of a career or personal challenge. Increasingly, state enterprises could no longer retain their most talented employees, a phenomenon that in the early 1990s became known as *xiahai* (literally "to go to sea"), that is, to give up employment in the state sector to try one's luck in the rapidly growing market sector, either independently or in the employment of a private or foreign enterprise. Indeed, increasing numbers of young Chinese never bothered with state-allocated work at all. A significant number of the urban Chinese explored their new freedom by looking for employment or business opportunities elsewhere: in a large, modern city like Peking, Shanghai, or Canton perhaps, or else one of the Special Economic Zones, or indeed abroad.

Yet the geographical and social mobility of urban Chinese is but a small part of the greatly expanded mobility of the Chinese population. Rural Chinese, who make up the vast majority of the population, have also found their way to the cities, richer rural

areas, and foreign countries. Many among this "floating population" (*liudong renkou*) do menial work in small private or foreign invested companies, construction, or agriculture, often as part of a contract team. Others work as itinerant craftsmen or peddlers in the hope of eventually opening a market stall, store or workshop.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the new internal mobility of both urban and rural Chinese quite literally began to spill over into northern and central Asia and Europe. As mentioned earlier, the top end often found their way directly to the urban centres of North America, Australia, Japan or Europe as students, entrepreneurs, or skilled professionals. However, equally interesting from a European perspective were cross-border traders and teams of construction and agricultural workers in the Russian Far East, where they quickly became an essential part of the local economy. In fact, in the 1990s the Chinese presence grew so much that it sparked considerable anxiety among the Russians, who suddenly remembered that the Chinese Empire had involuntarily ceded these territories to an expanding Russia under unequal treaties in the nineteenth century. From the Russian Far East Chinese shuttle traders rapidly found their way to Moscow, which, much like the period just before the First World War, became a crucial hub for further mobility into eastern and central Europe (de Tinguy, 1999; Portyakov, 1996; Shkurkin, 2000).

3. OLD AND NEW DESTINATIONS AND OCCUPATIONS

3.1. Central and Eastern Europe

In eastern and central Europe in the early 1990s several flows of Chinese migrants and transients met, making this a formative time and place for the pattern and shape of the new Chinese migration and settlement in the area and indeed prefiguring several crucial developments currently underway in the whole of Europe. The shuttle traders themselves were an extremely heterogeneous category, consisting of urban *xiagang* private entrepreneurs, Wenzhou traders working from their base in "Zhejiang village" in Peking (Xiang, 1999), and even some Fujianese from rural or urban backgrounds. They were met by a handful of intellectuals who had left in the wake of the 1989 Tian'anmen crackdown, highly qualified *xiahai* entrepreneurs in search of business opportunities, often also on behalf of a state-owned enterprise, smuggled Fujianese or Wenzhounese in transit to western Europe, in addition to a significant number of Chinese from western Europe keen to explore the potential of post-socialist eastern Europe.

From a Chinese perspective, eastern and central Europe are frontier areas with a low density of ethnic Chinese competitors and a post-socialist economy that urgently requires the cheap consumer items (mainly clothes and shoes) that the marketized economy of China produces in abundant quantity. In eastern and central Europe in the early 1990s, migration of Chinese was therefore linked to the expansion of the changing economy of China rather than to the growth of a Chinese segment (restaurants, sweatshops) of the local economy like in western and southern Europe.

Key to the westward expansion of the Chinese was Hungary, which between October 1988 and April 1992 allowed visa-free entry to Chinese citizens. During this period, an estimated 45,000 Chinese passed through the country as a stepping-stone to further migration to other central European countries (Romania, Czechoslovakia), western Europe (Germany, France), southern Europe (Italy) and North America (Moore and Tubilewicz, 2001: 2-3; IOM, 1998: 325; Nyíri, 1998: 353). Since the termination of visa-free entry in 1992, the number of Chinese in Hungary has been much reduced and Hungary has in the main become a country of residence rather than transit, although the latter has by no means come to a halt. Currently, Hungary remains the centre of the central-eastern European world for Chinese migrants, and many businessmen and other Chinese use the country as their base to explore opportunities in Romania, the Czech Republic, the Balkans or Poland.

After the “Hungary fever” (*Xiongyali re*) had subsided, the Czech Republic (particularly Prague) emerged as a main transit point in central-eastern Europe, although an increasing number of Chinese settle there as well (Mezlíková, 2000; Moore, 2001; Moore and Tubilewicz, 2001). In 2000, Yugoslavia received considerable media coverage as the latest stepping-stone to the West, with more fanciful reports citing numbers of upwards of 100,000 Chinese waiting to be smuggled into Italy and other countries. During a research trip to Yugoslavia in November 2000, Pal Nyíri found little evidence of this (Nyíri, personal communication).

3.2. Southern Europe

The principal new destination in southern Europe is Italy.[6] Like the rest of continental Europe, Italy had a modest population of southern Zhejiangese in the 1930s, who had all but disappeared after the War. Only in the early 1980s did Italy become a country of Chinese immigration again, when the first Zhejiangese from northern Europe (principally France and the Netherlands) arrived in Milan and Prato. The growth in the number of Chinese has been most spectacular in the latter area, where they began by purchasing faltering small leather workshops from their Italian owners. Principally relying on abundant and cheap labour from Zhejiang, they quickly turned this sector around, attracting a sustained flow of in-migrants in search of work. By the early 1990s, garment and leather workshops in the area employed an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 Chinese (Campani and Maddi,1992: 56). Concentrations of workshops also emerged in Milan, Rome, Naples and more recently the area between Venice and Padova and Carpi (Modena).[7] Soon, the more successful entrepreneurs started to branch out into the more capital-intensive restaurant business, which has been the main trade of Zhejiang and Hong Kong Chinese in much of Europe for decades. Around the same time, the rapid growth in the number of workshops also began to attract Chinese from other areas in China, principally Sanming in western Fujian. This migratory flow will be discussed more fully below.

In the late 1990s, Italy’s Chinese community rapidly came of age. Of the officially resident Chinese population of 50,000 in 2000, an increasing number had been born and raised in Italy and a pioneering attitude was replaced by permanent settlement, increased community life and social stratification. Equally important, faced with a large number of immigrants from the Balkans, it seems unlikely that the Italian Government will call another amnesty for illegal immigrants (the last one happened in 1998), which in time will make the country less attractive for further immigration. No longer a frontier, Italy’s Chinese community will begin to resemble its older counterparts in northern Europe.

Spain, Portugal and Greece are even newer and rapidly growing frontier areas for Chinese immigrants, who are principally attracted by the opportunities of the catering trade in the tourist areas. There is no information available on Greece apart from the demographic figures reported in the annex, which suggest that this country was discovered only in the 1990s. However, some research has been carried out in Spain (Beltrán, 1995, 1998; Beltrán and García, 2001; García, 1994; Nieto, 1999) and Portugal (Teixeira, 1998), which indicates that the growth in the number of Chinese started in the 1970s. Migration started with Hong Kong and Vietnamese Chinese, whose numbers were quickly eclipsed after 1978 when southern Zhejiangese mass emigration to Europe commenced. More recently, the Fujianese discovered Spain as well, although unlike Italy they mainly come from Fuqing rather than inland Sanming, most likely due to the fact that Spain's relative distance from Hungary (the main transit country for Sanming Fujianese) is much greater. Another interesting contrast with Italy is that, as the number of restaurants in the tourist areas reaches saturation point, Spanish Chinese have only recently started an as yet modest number of workshops (Beltrán and García, 2001: 284).

3.3. Western Europe

In the 1990s, the old core countries of the Chinese migration system to Europe, the Netherlands, England and France, played a double role both as transit country and source of "twice-migrants" to southern and eastern Europe and as a primary destination of both old and new flows of migrants. This pattern is not unlike North America's, where the old Chinatowns – particularly in New York and to a lesser degree also in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Vancouver – act in a similar fashion, albeit on a much larger scale and for a much greater variety of migratory flows (Fang and Brown, 1999). Between the eastern and southern frontiers and the western core lies the "semi-periphery" of Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Nordic countries. These countries received their first sustained flow of Chinese immigrants from the western core countries in the 1970s. By the 1990s they had become the home of well-established Chinese communities, yet at the same time continued to have considerable room for further growth.[8]

The country that most clearly reveals the ambiguity of migration in the old core is Britain. Of all European countries, Britain arguably has the longest history of Chinese immigration, with a presence of Chinese sailors going back to at least the 1860s. In the 1960s, Britain was the crucial hub of the spread of Hong Kong Chinese across the continent. Lastly, with a relative large British-born population and a substantial group of (former) Chinese students, mainly from Hong Kong and South-East Asia,

Britain has the most mature and diverse Chinese community in Europe. Yet at the same time, over the past several years Britain has also become the country of preference for new migrants from the Fuzhou/Fuqing area, who cite the high wages in local Chinese restaurants as the main reason for their choice. This paradox can be resolved when one realizes that the established Chinese community in Britain is drawn from countries like Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia, which are now economically and socially very well developed: work in Britain's Chinese kitchens is no longer the attractive option it once was. Yet unlike continental Europe, Britain has no community of southern Zhejiangese, who would normally have filled this void. Britain is therefore attractive to Fuzhou/Fuqing Chinese, because their main competitors in the migration market elsewhere in Europe, the southern Zhejiangese, are not present.

4. NEW MIGRATION REGIMES AND MODALITIES

The issues that attract by far the most attention in the migration of Chinese to Europe are illegal border crossings, human smuggling and asylum. In this regard, the current flows of Chinese mass migration to Europe are merely part of a much larger number of flows from countries of the developing world to countries of the developed world. At the most general level of analysis, macroprocesses of globalization and commercialization that increase people's exposure to and familiarity with a modern lifestyle and Western culture also spur migration to Europe. With the inequalities of the world system being more visible than ever and the means of global communication and transport within reach of ever more people, the demand for migration has increased to levels unprecedented only 20 years ago. In this context, the nature of migration regimes and modalities become a major explanatory variable of the volume and direction of migratory flows, including those of Chinese.

4.1. Chinese Emigration Regimes

With the onset of reforms, the strict controls on population mobility that had been put in place from the mid-1950s onward were relaxed significantly; by the mid-1990s, administrative barriers had ceased significantly to restrict both the internal and international mobility of Chinese. This is not to say that the Chinese administration is no longer a factor. It clearly still is, but importantly a lack of population mobility beyond what the plan ordains is no longer a policy goal. In the course of the 1990s, the administration in fact gradually moved to the position that certain types of mobility, of certain types of people from certain origins to certain destinations, were in fact desirable.

However, the Chinese administration, like any administration anywhere else, hardly speaks with one voice in the matter of international migration. Nationally, China still lacks a unified emigration policy beyond the acknowledgement in the 1985 emigration law that Chinese citizens with a legitimate reason to leave should be allowed to do so.[9] Despite the legally guaranteed freedom to travel abroad, Chinese citizens often experience considerable difficulties when trying to obtain a passport from their local public security organ. Once a passport has been issued, however, the authorities usually do not put any further obstacles in the way of international travellers, who thus have considerable freedom to return and leave again as often as they wish.

In practice, China continues to privilege emigration from designated overseas Chinese home areas. China's emigration policies therefore still hinge on the elaborate

overseas Chinese policy framework developed since 1978, which in turn was modelled on policies developed between 1955 and the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. This policy framework makes it much easier for relatives of overseas Chinese to get permission to leave the country for visits or emigration than for ordinary Chinese without such a connection.[10]

The problem with the connection between overseas Chinese policies and emigration is that the former are really not designed to deal with the latter. The main thrust of overseas Chinese policies has always been and continues to be to protect the rights and privileges of overseas Chinese abroad and their kin residing in China. The reason for the special care lavished upon overseas Chinese in turn is to secure a steady inward flow of overseas Chinese investment and remittances and to counter any influence that the Republic of China may wish to gain over overseas Chinese communities. Creating "new overseas Chinese" through emigration at best enters the equation as an afterthought.

In a recent paper Mette Thunø argues persuasively that the Chinese government is positioning itself to free itself from the straightjacket of its own overseas Chinese policies (Thunø, 2000). Increased talk of "new migrants" (*xin yimin*) in the media and official documents signals the beginning of a much broader approach to emigration and overseas Chinese issues that considers emigration itself potentially beneficial to China, thus paving the way for a future national standardization of scattered local practices that are now merely condoned. At this point in time, however, the national government does not yet have the policy apparatus in place to deal with emigration routinely and systematically. This means that presently there is room for governments of the destination countries to help the administration of the People's Republic to regulate and streamline its emerging national emigration policies, opening a window of opportunity that should not be missed.

The diplomatic fallout after the July 2000 Dover incident, for instance, forced the government to impose a blanket ban on the issuance of passports to any male applicant under 35 years of age in Fuzhou prefecture. However, it is not clear what impact this measure has had. One effect may have been that the cost of smuggling fees increased.

4.2. European Immigration Regimes

If China does not yet have the policy apparatus in place to manage emigration, Europe suffers from an equally serious policy deficit in dealing with Chinese immigration. Elaborating on Gary Freeman's article on immigration politics in liberal

democratic states, the distinction can be made between three different immigration regimes in Europe (Freeman, 1995: 889-896).[11] The countries of western and northern Europe do not consider immigration a solution to any of the demographic, economic or social constraints that their societies may face. Consequently, a strict distinction is made between economic migrants, who are considered undesirable, and persons who wish to settle for a variety of other reasons (family reunification, political asylum) that may under certain conditions be considered permissible. Partially due to the mismanagement of the guestworker programmes of the 1960s and early 1970s, governments doubt their capacity to manage migration to suit the requirements of their societies. As a result, policy, until very recently, aspired at zero immigration and a tough line on asylum seekers and illegal entrants.

The countries of southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece) only recently made the transition from net emigration to net immigration and these countries are still finding their feet in the immigration market. On the whole, immigration is considered a valuable contribution to the labour needs of their economies. Migration management mainly takes the form of periodic regularizations of illegal residents,[12] which are reactive rather than proactive. As the level of essentially unchecked immigration increases and under the pressure applied by the European Union to conform to the immigration regimes of the north, a shift towards more restrictive policies seems only to be a matter of time. Italy, in fact, seems to be in the throes of just such a transition (Veikou and Traindafyllidou, n.d.).

The countries of eastern Europe resemble southern Europe to the extent that Chinese immigration is a very recent phenomenon. Only with the fall of the Soviet bloc in 1989-1990 were they incorporated in the world migration system. Yet eastern Europe is fundamentally different as well. Although many countries in eastern Europe initially imposed few if any barriers to immigration, a consensus was soon reached that their fragile economies and newly found independent nationhood could ill afford sustained mass immigration; visa requirements were subsequently imposed or tightened. Nevertheless, as eastern Europe draws closer to the European Community (EU), it becomes both a more desirable destination in itself and a migration buffer for the EU (Moore, 2001; Moore and Tubilewicz, 2001; Nyíri, 1998, 1999; Portyakov, 1996; OECD, 2001).

As a result of the very dissimilar immigration regimes, the north and west, south and east of Europe pose very different challenges to Chinese migrants. The countries of the north and west at best only allow modest numbers of Chinese economic migrants in, usually as specialist cooks. Chinese migrants wishing to settle in the west or north use a variety of ways to gain entry. Family reunification, adoption and applying

for political asylum are the chief legal ways to gain permanent or temporary entry, while in certain countries such as the Netherlands a significant number apply for asylum as Unaccompanied Minors.[13] However, an unknown but significant number enters illegally. Illegal entry does not necessarily mean that Chinese migrants passively accept their fate as members of an invisible underclass without any legal rights or protection. Chinese migrants are acutely aware of the inequities of their position, an issue that was brought to the fore during the protests of "paperless" residents in France in 1996 and 1997, in which Chinese played a leading role (Picquart, 1999; Porquet, 1997; Guerassimoff, 2000).

Migrants destined for the south use similar methods, but with the crucial difference that they do so with the explicit hope of gaining a residence permit with one of the periodic regularizations of illegal residents. For Chinese, this essentially meant that residence in an EU country was wide open: all they had to do was find a resident Chinese employer who was willing to provide the necessary documentation proving the required period of residence, employment and tax payments.

In the east, illegal entry is also common, although mostly among migrants on their way to the west or the south. Most migrants destined for the Czech Republic and Hungary at any rate gain entry legally as visitors of resident family members or by applying for a visa as a worker or the owner of a locally registered Chinese company. Interestingly enough, the Czech Republic and Hungary in particular are also receiving an increasing number of applications for political asylum from Chinese.[14]

Much of the upsurge in asylum applications and illegal entries across Europe is due to the increased professionalization of Chinese migration. Since the mid-1980s, Chinese migration to Europe has been increasingly facilitated, and sometimes even driven, by professional human smugglers, whose services do not include a bona fide residence and work permit for the destination country. The opportunities and costs smugglers face determine the price, risk and even availability of transit to specific destinations. Although the vast majority of migrants decide themselves where they wish to go, the smugglers' operation sets certain parameters for their choice. Sometimes this goes even further with migrants being transported to countries they did not choose. However, the main role of the smuggler is that of a professional service provider and source of information and advice.

Publicity and academic writing on Chinese and particularly Fujianese migration have paid undue attention to smuggling, which to migrants at the end of the day is merely their way to get where they want to go to; as said earlier, Chinese moreover remain highly mobile also after arrival in Europe, and not infrequently change smuggler

when in transit. A focus on smuggling also obscures the fact that many Chinese travel legally part or whole of the way. Most migrants remain very much in control of their own destiny, an issue often obscured by the publicity on trafficking, kidnapping and debt bondage.[15]

Many illegal entrants apply for political asylum either immediately upon entry, or else later if apprehended, which gives them at least the temporary right to remain until their claim has been processed. Table 1 on the next page presents data from the British Home Office that show that in the vast majority of cases it was deemed that there were insufficient grounds to grant refugee status to the applicant. One may expect that mistakes are bound to occur in even the most careful decision-making procedures. Yet even if we allow for such mistakes, the figures provide a strong indication that Chinese asylum seekers in the United Kingdom on the whole have left China for reasons other than a reasonable fear of persecution.

The very high level of rejected Chinese asylum applications revealed by the Home Office figures allows us logically to conclude that Chinese asylum-seekers in Europe may be considered a subpopulation of a larger group of Chinese who have gained entry without proper documentation. Although we have no way of knowing the absolute size of the population of such irregular entrants, we may use changes in the number of refugees/asylum seekers in a particular country or region from year to year as a crude indicator of trends in the total inflow of irregulars. Data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) enable us to do exactly that. UNHCR regularly publishes data on the number of refugees globally and in individual countries, which include figures on the number of refugees from China in European countries. It recently published a report on the issue that contained the following graph, reproduced as figure 1 below:

Notes: a) Figures are provisional and round to the nearest 5, with * = 1 or 2; Figures may not sum due to rounding, b) Decisions taken in a particular year do not necessarily relate to applications made in that year; c) Cases decided under measures aimed at reducing the pre-1996 asylum application backlog; d) Principal asylum applicants removed or departured voluntarily, including removals on safe third country grounds. Data before 1992 unavailable; e) Nationality breakdowns for 1999 and 2000 are unavailable; f) Port data includes persons departing voluntarily up to and including the point of notification of the decision on their asylum application and persons who have had their asylum application refused and leave the country before they have exhausted their rights of appeal; g) Nationality figures for in-country removals during 1998 are estimates; h) In-country data includes removals under enforcement powers and those departing voluntarily following enforcement action but exclude all other voluntary departures; i) Figures for Jan-Mar 2000 not available.

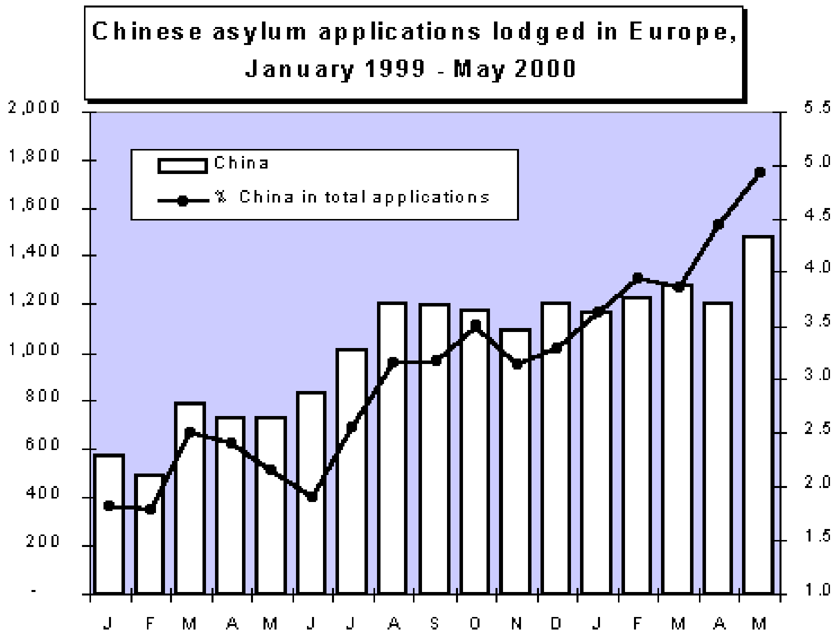
Source: United Kingdom Home Office, April 2001.

TABLE 1

INITIAL DECISIONS ON, AND REMOVALS AND VOLUNTARY DEPARTURES OF, CHINESE ASYLUM APPLICANTS, EXCLUDING DEPENDENTS

Year	Cases considered under normal procedures				Backlog clearance exercise		Removals[de]		
	Total initial decisions[b]	Recognized as a refugee and granted asylum	Not recognized as a refugee but granted exceptional leave	Refused asylum and exceptional leave	Granted asylum or exceptional leave under backlog criteria[c]	Refused under the backlog criteria[c]	Total removals	Port removals[f]	In-country removals[g]
1985	*	*	-	–	–	–	…	…	…
1986	*	–	*	–	–	–	…	…	…
1987	*	–	*	–	–	–	…	…	…
1988	*	–	–	*	–	–	…	…	…
1989	25	20	5	*	–	–	…	…	…
1990	60	45	15	*	–	–	…	…	…
1991	105	35	60	15	–	–	…	…	…
1992	65	15	15	40	–	–	5	5	-
1993	70	15	5	45	–	–	10	10	*
1994	295	15	10	265	–	–	20	15	5
1995	690	10	15	665	–	–	100	85	15
1996	490	10	5	470	–	–	70	50	20
1997	1,420	25	15	1,380	–	–	120	75	45
1998	1,520	5	15	1,500	–	–	95	45	50
1999	470	5	5	200	245	20	…	…	…
Apr-Dec 2000[i]	4,990	30	100	4,655	160	45	…	…	…

Figure 1



Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Chinese asylum applications submitted in Europe, January 1999 to May 2000." Website www.unhcr.ch/statist/chiasy0006/text.htm (11 April 2001)

Figure 1 reveals both a sharp absolute rise in the number of Chinese asylum applications and an even sharper rise in the percentage of Chinese applications of the total number of applications. However, since the publication of these data, the rising trend in Chinese asylum applications in Europe quite suddenly reversed, declining from 1,459 in May to 211 in December 2000 (UNHCR data spreadsheet "Asylum Applications Lodged in Europe and North America, 2000. Origin: China"). The decline in Chinese applications prefigured a similar, albeit less dramatic decline in total asylum applications in Europe and Australia that began in November 2000 (UNHCR, "Asylum Applications Lodged in 18 Industrial Countries, January and February 2001", www.unhcr.ch/statist/0102asy.pdf, 9 April 2001). Interestingly, the latter document also reveals that the level of Chinese applications already is beginning to rebound: the total number in Europe for the two months of January and February 2001 stood at 1,231.

To a certain extent, this drop and subsequent rebound very likely may have been caused by the fallout of the Dover tragedy in July 2000, which made it much more

difficult (and perhaps also less attractive) to migrate to Europe illegally. Very tentatively, we nevertheless may conclude from these figures that Chinese asylum immigration (and most likely, other forms of irregular migration) proves to be extremely sensitive to external factors affecting the level of asylum applications more generally, and that Chinese levels of asylum applications in fact are an indicator of future trends in general levels of asylum applications.

4.4. Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

As we have argued elsewhere (Pieke, 1999), the mobility of people is the outcome of a range of different processes and takes many different forms. What from the perspective of receiving areas comes across as a single phenomenon – large numbers of people from a particular country arriving at the door – may in fact be a composite epiphenomenon that upon closer scrutiny has to be disaggregated into its many, highly diverse bits.

Chinese migration to Europe rather dramatically illustrates this point. Chinese have arrived at and left from this continent for well over a century. They come from many different countries in many of which the Chinese are only one of many ethnic groups, have many different nationalities, and increasingly arrive without documentation. Chinese migration to Europe consists of many different flows and is hardly a single phenomenon. The vast differences in the timing and especially the volume of these flows make the Chinese community in each European country a unique configuration.

Britain's Chinese community, for instance, continues to be dominated by Hong Kong, Singaporean and Malaysian Chinese to the almost total exclusion of other Chinese groups. Only in recent years have the Fujianese inserted themselves in Britain, where they both provide a much needed source of unskilled and cheap labour and are the cause of much concern and even discrimination by the established community, who for the first time are in direct contact with immigrants from the People's Republic of China itself. France, by contrast, has a majority of Chinese from Indo-China and a much smaller group of Zhejiang and Fujian Chinese. The Netherlands is at the crossroads of at least five migration waves; its Chinese community includes Cantonese, Zhejiangese, South-East Asians (Indonesia and Viet Nam), Surinamese, and a growing group of Fujianese. The community in Hungary consists largely of northern Chinese who arrived on Trans-Siberian trains from Beijing, and Fujian and Zhejiang Chinese who have come either straight from China or by way of some other country in eastern or western Europe. Italy has the most mature of the southern European Chinese

communities and is dominated by Zhejiang Chinese and a much smaller group from Fujian.

Five general trends can be discerned that have fundamentally reshaped Chinese migration to Europe since the 1970s. These have been discussed in some detail in the preceding sections, and are merely briefly summarized here.

1. After the Second World War, Britain, France and the Netherlands were the countries with the largest Chinese communities. These countries continue to be the core of the European Chinese migration system, from where the Chinese spread across the semi-periphery of central and northern Europe (Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and the Nordic countries from the 1970s), and the new frontiers of southern Europe from the 1980s and eastern Europe from the 1990s.

2. Migration from the old overseas Chinese home areas in Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong started afresh during the final years of the Maoist era (mid-1970s) and quickly globalized and professionalized, reaching out beyond the traditional areas of destination. In the 1980s, Europe, too, was included in these new, global migratory flows of mass migration.

3. Renewed emigration from old overseas Chinese areas is joined by new types of Chinese emigration from a variety of urban backgrounds and areas. Although initially mainly directed to North America and Australia, students, businessmen and women, and redundant urban workers currently make their way to Europe in increasing numbers. In this regard eastern Europe sets the pattern that western Europe is only now beginning to follow.

4. Both emigration from traditional overseas areas and from China's cities are becoming increasingly transnational in nature. Chinese no longer migrate to one particular country. Migration is but one (and not necessarily the first) step in an increasingly cosmopolitan life. As a corollary, Chinese emigration no longer simply is the move to the centres of a world system fully dominated by the West, but is just as much an aspect of the outward extension of a world system centred on China itself. In other words, international migration, or better, international mobility as Chinese increasingly move back and forth as part of a cosmopolitan life, is becoming just one aspect of the globalization of Chinese society, culture and economy.

Starting almost from scratch roughly 20 years ago, research on the Chinese in European countries has by now yielded a reasonably reliable picture of the basic facts

and broad outline of Chinese migration and settlement. Yet huge gaps in our knowledge still exist and much of what has been written in this report remains tentative. We know, for instance, virtually nothing about the vital role played by Moscow as a hub of Chinese overland migration in the early years of the twentieth century (and again in the 1990s), or about the spread of Chinese across central and eastern Europe between the two world wars. In fact, also much of the more recent history of Chinese settlement in north, central and east Europe remains shrouded in ignorance: we still know very little about Switzerland, Austria, or Germany and the Nordic countries except Denmark, and next to nothing about the recent forays of Chinese into Poland and the Balkans.

Yet equally important as filling in the blanks on the Chinese map of Europe is our ignorance of recent shifts in Chinese migratory flows and patterns of onward mobility, in particular the rise in immigrant numbers from the urban areas of Northeast China (Manchuria) and the partially overlapping phenomenon of the rapid increase in the numbers of fee-paying Chinese students in institutes of higher learning. In the United Kingdom, these two phenomena are regarded with increasing apprehension by the Home Office, but very little information is as yet available to policy makers.

Likewise, our lack of understanding of the demography of the Chinese in Europe beyond the crude numbers presented in the appendix to this report is worrying. Policymakers also remain almost wholly in the dark regarding vital issues, such as the economic and fiscal contributions and the welfare and infrastructure costs of the Chinese communities. In order to fill the yawning gaps in our knowledge, further research is urgently required.

5. FUJIANESE MIGRATION TO EUROPE

5.1. The Research

Among the new Chinese migrants, the Fujianese are an important flow, part (although by no means all) of which is irregular. Fujianese snakeheads have rapidly become the most visible expression of some of the changes taking place in Chinese migration worldwide, and not least in Europe. A more detailed discussion of the characteristics of this flow will help to highlight some of the most salient issues and the policy choices confronting the governments of sending and receiving areas alike. To that end, some of the main findings of the ESRC research project, *At the Margin of the Chinese World System: The Fuzhou Diaspora in Europe*, are presented in this section.

Beginning in 1999, the first phase of the project started with gathering basic information on immigration, through-migration and employment patterns in selected European countries (the United Kingdom, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Romania and Russia). Subsequently, exploratory field research was carried out in the home areas of Fujian migrants. During the second phase of the research, the project focused on three countries in Europe (the United Kingdom, Hungary and Italy) selected on the basis of the exploratory research of the first phase. The fieldwork in Europe entailed systematic interviews with over 130 migrants, supplemented by interviews with employers, landlords, police, lawyers, employment agencies, community workers and others professionally involved with Fujianese migrants. Simultaneously, detailed ethnographic research was carried out in two sending communities in Fujian, which were likewise identified during the first phase of research. 106 interviews were completed with officials and ordinary people. A survey was also conducted of "emigrant households". A questionnaire was administered to 81 emigrant households in the village located in Mingxi county (26 per cent of all households in the village).

In March of 2001, exploratory research was also carried out on the Fujianese in New York City, which, as the hub of the overseas Fujianese diaspora, continues to have an important impact on developments in Europe. The third and final phase of the project consists of data analysis and dissemination of results. The project is scheduled for completion at the end of 2001.

In Fujian province in-depth fieldwork was conducted in Mingxi county and Fuqing counties,[16] two very different sending areas. The social and economic differences

between Mingxi and Fuqing have yielded rather different and separate *migration configurations* that follow from very different histories of previous forms of mobility. A migration configuration is the sum of the social institutions and networks in sending, receiving and transit areas that maintain and direct a migratory flow. It thus constitutes a transnational social and cultural space populated not only by migrants, but also travel agents, smugglers, government officials, immigration lawyers, "immigration service companies", and even anti-immigration activists, temples and churches. We prefer this concept to the more conventional term of migratory flow, because it draws attention to the fact that migration is sustained by elaborate social structures and practices that connect destination and source areas.

5.2. Findings

Fuqing is located along the coast in the southern tip of Fuzhou prefecture in central Fujian near the eastern coast. Fuqing is an area with more than one hundred years of history of migration to South-East Asia. The current flow from this area to Europe and Japan in particular clearly follows from and is part of elaborate, highly diversified and long-standing migratory practices that currently include family reunification and contract labour circulation to Singapore and Macao, irregular migration to and study in Taiwan, Latin America, Europe and Japan, irregular or regular through-migration from and to any of these areas, and also labour circulation to cities in China itself, such as Fuzhou, Xiamen, Shenzhen and Beijing.

Mingxi county is located in Sanming prefecture in the mountainous interior of Fujian province. Mingxi is a newcomer in the emigration market, but emigration is intimately connected with Sanming's earlier role as a destination area of mainly state-initiated in-migration from elsewhere. Mingxi, despite its remote location, is something of a miniature regional cosmopolitan area itself. Natives from south Zhejiang and urban state sector workers spearheaded emigration from Mingxi to Europe in the late 1980s. Many of them or their parents had moved to Mingxi from elsewhere in Fujian or even farther away in the 1960s and 1970s.

Whereas Fuqing emigration to Europe is the result of a revitalization and lateral extension of existing migratory practices to South-East Asia, the Mingxi migration configuration had to be built up from scratch. The Mingxi/Sanming pioneers in eastern Europe and Italy in the late 1980s and early 1990s could not depend on established smuggling routes and networks of relatives. Instead, they had to carve out their own space and quite often relied on their original, pre-Mingxi regional identity to link up with migrants from other areas in China. Furthermore, these early migrants did not

travel from Mingxi to a pre-selected destination, but changed direction and explored new places depending on the information received *en route* from other, often non-Mingxi fellow migrants, the availability of local smugglers, or simply out of curiosity. Migration for them was very much an exploration of the unknown: events, contacts, information and decisions taking place during migration itself determined where migrants headed and what they ended up doing for a living.

Despite their real and continuing differences, in both Mingxi and Fuqing emigration is the most profitable locally accessible opportunity to younger, able-bodied men and women for employment and subsequent entrepreneurship. However, emigration is more than a calculated economic investment. Emigration is moulded and sustained by a wide spectrum of social and cultural institutions. These institutions provide the context in which Fujianese migration takes place; not considering them would often render Fujianese migrant behaviour quite irrational.

First, Fujianese emigrate and continue to move after first having touched base in Europe as part of a family strategy for advancement. The core objective is to generate savings and remittances for the migrant's natal and/or nuclear family. Migrants thus do not assess their earnings abroad in terms of local purchasing power, but in terms of how much they can save and how much these savings will be worth back home. Major decisions such as through-migration to a third country, extension of the time abroad, investment in an enterprise, or having further family members or other kin emigrate are usually made in consultation with the other members of the transnationally dispersed family, which remains the core reference group for the migrant. However, we should not be under the mistaken impression that Chinese simply surrender their personal ambitions and desires to the interests of the family. Like in other contexts, Chinese migratory behaviour often entails fraught decisions and conflicting claims; at the end of the day, the individual decides what he or she wants to do. Migration in Fujian is couched as much in the language of self-sacrifice for the family's survival and prosperity as in terms of personal ambition, adventurism and success.

Emigration in Fujian is the dominant locally available opportunity of advancement. Migration is an often dominant strategy in what could be called local "folk theories of success": discourses on social mobility that prescribe what constitutes success and how to attain it, while proscribing (often simply by remaining silent about them) others that locally quite literally are not considered an option. In the source areas of Fujianese mass migration a *culture of migration* has taken root that prepares all able-bodied men and women for their eventual departure. In the Fujian home communities, the culture of emigration stigmatizes local alternatives to emigration as second rate or even a sign of failure. Such a culture of emigration can and often does

persist even after the opportunity structure in the destination countries and/or the home areas has changed. The sediment of past rational choices, a culture of emigration often renders current emigration decisions unintelligible in terms of a narrow cost-benefit analysis. Migratory flows from Fujian are therefore sensitive to factors (including policies) that change the cost-benefit calculation of emigration, but, once started, such flows can never be fully contained by government policies. In this respect, Fujianese migration is no different from migration from many other parts of the world.

In the Fujian home communities, migration is an opportunity for people to invest resources (remittances from earlier migrants, family or individual savings, loans and gifts) in a venture that potentially will pay back many times the original investment. Potential migrants only have limited information on destination countries at their disposal and the information they have has, moreover, a clear positive bias. Nevertheless, they generally know full well that their sojourn (very few contemplate permanent emigration at this point) will very likely entail a considerable financial and personal risk and great hardship, particularly during transit and the first several years abroad.

Chinese immigrant labour creates and perpetuates a Chinese segment of the economy that produces for the non-Chinese economy, but does not directly compete with non-Chinese workers or enterprises. Second, although the Chinese labour market exists largely separate from the non-Chinese labour market, it is firmly embedded in a transnational Chinese labour market. This transnational fragmentation of the global labour market shields immigration from the direct impact of the balance between supply and demand for labour globally and in the destination country. What is relevant to Chinese transnationals are the wage differentials and possible level of savings in the Chinese world across the globe. Not only does Chinese labour continue to flow from the home communities, but just as importantly, Chinese migrants quite easily move from country to country in Europe and even beyond in search of better paying jobs, more favourable immigration policies, or better investment opportunities. It therefore makes no sense at all to think of (Fujianese) immigration as a national (political, social and economic) issue. On the contrary, it can only be located and dealt with on an intergovernmental level.

To many Fujianese migrants, migration is an open-ended experience and process rather than a simple move of people from one place to another: transnational, migratory and localizing practices mutually condition each other and cannot be treated as separate factors. Migration is a profound biographical event that ingrains many migrants with a new cosmopolitan attitude: their life, social environment and aspirations will never again be limited to just one place. Once on the move, many migrants, even

those who have returned home, never reach a final destination, but can always move on if the conditions are right. Chinese migration is therefore a constantly evolving process as new areas of origin emerge and as migrants find new ways of migrating, new countries to go to and new things to do in these countries.

Chinese immigrants rarely compete with non-Chinese for jobs, although they do quite often compete with other Chinese groups. They bring the local branch of the Chinese world to the destination country or further develop it and thus constitute a net gain to its economy. Examples are the Chinese catering trade in much of western Europe, leather and garment workshops in Italy and the import, wholesale and retail trade in eastern Europe. All these sectors would either never have emerged without the Chinese, or else would all but have collapsed in the absence of fresh Chinese entrepreneurship and labour.

The flip side of this is that the level of Chinese immigration remains independent of the general supply of labour in the destination country and is only adjusted indirectly and partially to the extent that the local branch of the Chinese world is integrated in the economy of the destination country. Furthermore, migrants send much of their earnings back home to repay debts incurred to finance their emigration and maintain their dependants back home. Later, such remittances are used in large part to build new, ostentatious houses and on other forms of conspicuous consumption. We have only found limited evidence of successful investments in the home areas. The chief economic benefits of migration for the source areas clearly are a reduction of unemployment and underemployment, a higher standard of living and a general boost to the local economy provided by increased consumptive spending.

Fujian migrants come to Europe with one overriding motive: making money by working as hard as they can. In their migratory decisions, they assess as much as possible the risks and cost of transit, the income to be earned, employment opportunities and chances of gaining legal residence. They are, on the whole, neither hapless victims of unscrupulous smugglers, nor political refugees fleeing political persecution, nor attracted by the spoils of the western welfare state. They are, and should be treated as, immigrants who generate their own employment and, ultimately, wealth. As such, they make an important net contribution to the economies of the sending and receiving areas.

Emigration from Fujian is shaped, restricted or encouraged by a range of professional or institutional actors. Human smugglers obviously play a key role in perpetuating or even initiating migratory flows. Arguably more important than smugglers in shaping Fujianese emigration are various agents and levels of the state, both in the

country of origin and destination. Immigration restrictions, efficiency of border controls and even corruptibility of individual officials have had and continue to have a clear impact on Fujianese migration flows in Europe. Yet it would be a mistake to think of this impact as absolute or permanent. The general "immigration climate" of a particular country is an important factor entering the migrants' calculations, but usually only has a temporary effect, redirecting flows to other countries or simply raising the price or ways of illegal entry.

A more important instrument in the hands of policy-makers than facilitating or blocking entry is the ease with which permanent residence can be obtained, for instance through the granting of political asylum, periodic amnesties for illegal immigrants, or simply by sale or quota. Despite appearances to the contrary, it transpires very clearly from our interviews that migrants care a great deal about their legal status and consider their emigration successful only after they have obtained permanent residence somewhere, somehow. Crucially, with permanent residence comes the right to return visits, the possibility of finding a bride back home, improved salaries and employment opportunities, the possibility of onward legal migration to countries that are very difficult to enter directly from China (such as Japan, the United States or western Europe), and the possibility perhaps simply to enjoy life just a little bit more. In sum, permanent residence makes the migrant a real person again, instead of someone merely in transit. The management of Fujianese immigration should therefore focus not on border controls, but on residence rights.

Equally relevant are the policies and practices of the Chinese state. China normally issues passports to Chinese citizens who wish to emigrate and have a valid invitation from a direct relative abroad. It is then up to the migrant to use the passport to obtain the actual visa and travel legally, or alternatively place himself or herself in the care of a professional smuggler. Increasingly, the Chinese government has become aware of the potential benefits of the "new migration", and there is even talk of "new migrants" becoming the "new overseas Chinese", a cash cow potentially on a par with the established overseas Chinese. The Chinese government is also under conflicting pressure from destination countries (chiefly the United States). On the one hand, it is often alleged that China restricts emigration of dissidents or political activists, and political asylum is often granted on grounds such as the birth control policy or religious persecution. On the other hand, China is increasingly criticized for being too lax on illegal emigration.

The central government in China is as sensitive to the latter criticism as it is enraged by the former allegation. Beijing periodically applies considerable pressure on the local governments in the areas of origin of emigrants to enforce the law and strictly

curtail illegal emigration. Yet at the same time both central and local government continue to consider overseas Chinese and legal emigration good things altogether. This profound ambiguity translates into a very complex picture of local emigration regimes in Fujian. For example, the governments of the two counties where fieldwork was conducted, Fuqing and Mingxi, express rather different attitudes towards the new migration.

Fuqing, with its relatively large established overseas population and under a great deal of scrutiny from the press, foreign governments and the Chinese central government, tries to be tough on irregular migration, largely ignores recent immigrants and focuses on its old overseas Chinese communities in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia as a rich source of cash and prestige. Conversely, Mingxi has no tradition of overseas migration. The government there in fact encourages new emigration in order to catch up in the overseas Chinese business with the coastal areas of Fujian. In reality, the picture is considerably more complicated than even this. In each area, individual government agencies involved in migration and the overseas Chinese have their own agendas (for instance, the Overseas Chinese Association and the Bureau of Public Security think rather differently about emigration), an issue that is further compounded by the realities of individual and institutional corruption that feed on and facilitate illegal migration.

5.3. Policy Implications

That constructive policies will have to deal with migration as a reality to be managed rather than a threat to be contained is an observation that is by now commonly made. However, *how* to manage migration has proved a much more elusive question. Below, we present some preliminary thoughts on this question borne from our analysis and interpretation of the nature of Fujianese migration to Europe. These thoughts should emphatically not be read as prescriptive policy recommendations for migration management, but merely as a modest and tentative contribution to an ongoing discussion.

First of all, it may be helpful if we clarify that we would *not* want to argue for a system of fixed country quotas, or even worse, a system whereby employers are issued with work permits for specific jobs. The former at best only cater for the short-term labour needs of the receiving country, while the latter would render immigrants virtual serfs of their employers. Furthermore, both quota and permits linked to jobs would replicate all the mistakes that we so much deride in planned socialist economies. Immigration works best for the economy and society of a receiving country if left to find its own opportunities and niches: migration management should aim to facilitate the

free play of the market forces, not to replace them. Over the last two years Germany and the United Kingdom for instance have begun to issue work permits to immigrants with scarce and marketable skills, schemes explicitly modelled on those already in place in countries like Australia and Canada. Whereas this arguably is a laudable first step, it begs the question of how one determines which skills are scarce. Quite apart from the fact that central planners have never been good at predicting the "needs" of an economy, these schemes also ignore the fact that many immigrants actually work in jobs that require few skills, their chief selling point being low wages, ease of termination of employment and quite often a cultural and linguistic background similar to that of the employer. In other words, the continued growth of the European economies, including the ethnic sectors in them, requires the importation of cheap, unskilled labour as much as the infflow of highly skilled employees.

In our view, migration management should allow the market forces to find their own equilibrium as much as that is possible without infringing on overriding national interests or the interests of the weak, poor and unemployed in the sending or receiving countries. Such migration management should be predicated on the following three principles: (1) migration management will have to include both elements of control and facilitation; (2) migration is a composite phenomenon, and there is no magic formula that can be applied to all forms and flows of migration; (3) migration management should involve and cater for the interests of all relevant parties involved.

(1) American research (Chin, 1999; Zhang and Chin, 2001) on Chinese human smugglers has revealed that snakeheads are not triad-like criminal organizations that can be countered by conventional law-enforcement methods aimed at eliminating the organization's leadership. Rather, snakeheads are independent and highly specialized entrepreneurs enmeshed in loose networks, only cooperating on specific consignments. Consequently, countering snakeheads should focus on spoiling their market, both by raising the risks and costs of their operations and by taking away the demand for their services (Zhang and Chin, 2001). The key issue then becomes how many Fujianese a country should admit under a programme of managed migration to make a sufficient number of snakeheads abandon their trade for something less risky and more profitable.

The conclusion that migration management requires a mix of control and facilitation is corroborated when we look at the issue of human smuggling against the background in sending and receiving contexts outlined in this report. Chinese smuggled migrants take substantial financial and personal risks. Their picture of life in Europe may be unduly positive and their understanding of the risks of smuggling may be limited, but in the final analysis they emigrate because of the demand for cheap, Chi-

nese labour in the ethnic Chinese economies in Europe. Likewise, migrant villages in Fujian have come to specialize in emigration at the expense of almost all other career choices: emigration itself thus promotes further population movement. This process cannot abruptly be countered, but only very gradually be reversed by promoting local economic development that generates economic opportunities on a par with employment and entrepreneurship in developed western countries. Reinforcing the barrier between China and the West will therefore make migration more difficult or costly, but will not address the underlying factors that generate and promote migration in the first place. We fully concur with Ko-lin Chin, who concludes that Chinese will continue to emigrate for a long time to come. Stepping up efforts to stem the tide of illegal immigration and reform of the asylum system are essential and overdue, but on their own will never be enough and will have to be matched by measures that increase the opportunities to migrate legally (Chin, 1999: 165).

(2) Our research comparing the rather different flows from Mingxi and Fuqing counties offers a view of the differences and similarities between the many Chinese migration flows, which helps unpack and demystify the large and seemingly threatening fact of Chinese (or even Fujianese) mass migration. Chinese come to Europe from many different places and social backgrounds, settle into a variety of careers, or alternatively migrate on to other countries. That migration is not one, but a collection of many different phenomena is the first crucial step toward the realization that Chinese migration need not be the unmanageable domestic and diplomatic hot potato that it is often thought to be, without, however, wishing to deny the seriousness of the challenge that it poses to policy making and implementation in the areas of origin and destination alike. However, this also means that measures that may help manage migration from for instance Mingxi to Europe do not necessary apply to other Chinese migratory flows. Likewise, measures that are effective now may very well quite suddenly become obsolete as the migratory flow changes in nature, volume, or direction. In other words, there is no panacea for the problem of migration. Each migratory flow will have to be managed individually, although certain measures may of course apply across a range of such flows.

(3) In our research we found that Fujianese migration is embedded in robust configurations of social and cultural institutions. Managing such configurations and the migration flows that they produce clearly is a complex political task. Unilateral measures will at most only have temporary effects and at worst even further criminalize and harden the migration trade. What is needed is a coordinated set of measures that involves as much as possible all relevant actors. When we try to think of measures that could help us deal with the current flows of Fujianese immigration, we first need to consider not only what we wish to achieve, but also what the interests of others involved in this particular migratory flow are. Catering for our own interests and

those of migrants, Chinese local and national governments, national and local governments of other destination areas, and the established overseas Chinese communities, is possible and even desirable. Such cooperation enlists the considerable influence and power of the other players involved in achieving a key joint policy aim: the creation and management of a sustainable level of Fujianese migration to Europe.

Some of the key interests involved in Fujianese migration might be read as follows:

- Migrants: stable, predictable and safe access to employment and entrepreneurial opportunities abroad that allow for minimal living expenses and a high level of remittances and savings.
- Chinese national government: minimization of the diplomatic liabilities that come with illegal emigration and accusations of human rights abuses; maximization of overseas Chinese investments in China (remittances are less important at the national level); minimization of Taiwanese influence on overseas Chinese communities.
- Local governments in sending areas: minimization of central government pressure to curb illegal migration, maximization of remittances and overseas Chinese investment.
- Established overseas Chinese communities in receiving countries: minimization of stigmatization and discrimination caused by the influx of new illegal immigrants; minimization of competition from new immigrants for jobs, investment opportunities and political power; maximization of access to cheap migrant labour.

Catering to the interests of migrants, Chinese governments and established overseas Chinese communities in conjunction with those of the governments and general population in the receiving countries may be possible if we create and manage a sustainable level of Fujianese migration to Europe. One way that this could be done is when local governments in the sending areas in China and European governments sign and jointly carry out migration contracts under the sponsorship of the European Union and the Chinese national government. However, in order to avoid at least some of the problems caused by past labour procurement schemes, we would want to argue that work permits are initially issued for one year. Their extension and the level of further migration of others in subsequent years should be assessed on the basis of the employment record, tax payments and criminal record of the cohort of first year immigrants of the previous year. This would create a flow of managed migration that ties new immigration *post facto* to the track record of the cohort of immigrants immediately before them. By building in a feedback mechanism, we might find a way to transcend the deadlock between the two traditional positions of either in favour or against immigration, while also avoiding the alternative of a quota-points system that mainly caters for the short-term interests of the receiving country.

NOTES

1. This project was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of England and Wales (ESRC) under its programme on Transnational Communities (award number L214252012). The research staff on the project included Dr Antonella Ceccagno of the University of Bologna, Dr Mette Thunø of the University of Copenhagen, and Dr Pál Nyíri and the author of the University of Oxford. Although the research project represented a collective effort by all members on the research staff, the analysis, conclusions and recommendations in this chapter and the next remain the author's responsibility.
2. The first part of this section draws on the introduction to and several of the articles in *The Chinese in Europe* (Benton and Pieke, 1998).
3. Figures range between 100,000 and 200,000 (Griffin, 1973; Pan, 1991: 78-83; Summerskill, 1982).
4. Studies specifically of southern Zhejiangese migration include: Béja and Wang, 1999; Cologna, 1997; Giese, 1999; Li, 1999; Poisson, 2000; Tomba, 1999; Wang and Béja, 1999.
5. There is a substantial literature on this topic. As a start, the interested reader may want to consult the following works: Byrd, 1992; Child, 1994; Steinfeld, 1998.
6. There is a surprisingly large literature on the Italian Chinese, reflecting both the strong sinological tradition of the country and a keen administrative interest in immigration issues. See for instance: Campani, Carchedi and Tassinari, 1994; Campani and Maddii, 1992; Carchedi and Ferri, 1998; Ceccagno, 1997; Ceccagno,2000; Tomba, 1999.
7. The latter is fast becoming one of the most important garment-producing areas in Italy, and its products tend to be of a higher quality than those from the Prato area (Antonella Ceccagno, personal communication).
8. Unfortunately, few studies exist of the European "semi-periphery". The main exception is Mette Thunø's work on Denmark (Thunø, 1997, 1998, 1999). In addition, some work has been done on Belgium (Pang, 1993) and Germany (Bowles, 1992; Giese, 1999; Gütinger, 1998; Knödel, 1995).
9. "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Control of the Exit and Entry of Citizens" adopted on 22 November 1985 (English translation published in *The Laws of the People's Republic of China, 1983-1986*, The Legislative Affairs Commission of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (Ed), Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1987: 197-200). Articles 5 and 8 of the law clearly stipulate that Chinese citizens who desire to leave the country for private purposes will be granted approval to do so, except in cases of people who are under criminal investigation, have criminal or civil cases pending, have been convicted and are serving a sentence or are undergoing re-education through labour, or whose exit is considered harmful to state security or cause a major loss to national interests. However, the law merely speaks of "leaving", and does not mention emigration, which therefore still is left in a state of legal limbo.
10. Key documents are Liao Chengzhi, "Attention Must Be Paid to Overseas Chinese Affairs" (*Peking Review,* 20 January 1978: 14-16) and "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Returned Overseas Chinese and the Family Members of Overseas Chinese," adopted 7 September 1990 (English

translation published in *The Laws of the People's Republic of China, 1990-1992*, The Legislative Affairs Commission of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (Ed), Science Press, Peking 1993: 111-114). The emigration policies on overseas Chinese emigration are only very imperfectly reflected in these two documents, and there is much variation between different overseas Chinese areas, as will be illustrated in the section on Fujianese emigration. However, unfettered emigration clearly is an important right in overseas Chinese areas: the 1990 Law does devote no less than four of its 22 articles to the right to foreign travel and settlement abroad of overseas Chinese dependents and returned overseas Chinese (articles 15-18).

11. In the article, Freeman distinguishes three types of immigration policies in liberal democratic states, namely those of English-speaking settler societies, European states with postcolonial and guestworker migrations, and the new countries of immigration. Only the latter two are relevant to Europe, to which this article adds a fourth, the former socialist countries of eastern and central Europe.
12. Regularization has recently also been a way to solve the problem of a large population of residents without documents in France (1997) and Belgium (2000). However, in these countries regularization was not intended as a periodic immigration policy, but rather as a way to wipe the slate clean and prepare the way for a uniformly strict immigration regime.
13. Between 1996 and 2000, China has consistently been first or second on the list of countries of origin of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in the Netherlands. In the first eight months of 2000, 665 unaccompanied minors accounted for a full 67 per cent of the total number of asylum seekers for China in the Netherlands (Ministry of Justice, 2000: 7).
14. In 2000, the Czech Republic received 241 such applications and Hungary 198, 1.9 and 1.6 per cent respectively of the total number of Chinese applications lodged in Europe (UNHCR data spreadsheet, "Asylum Applications Lodged in Europe and North America, 2000. Origin: China").
15. Literature on Chinese human smuggling focuses mainly on the United States, which still is the most important destination for many migrants. See Chin, 1999; Kwong, 1995; Liu, 1996; Smith, 1997; Xinjing, 1995a-c; Yang, 2000; Zhang and Chin, 2001. A broader view of Chinese human smuggling is presented in Skeldon, 2000.
16. Fuqing is officially classified as a "county-level city" (*xianji shi*), but for clarity's sake all counties and county-level cities are here referred to as "counties".

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APPENDIX

Quantifying Chinese Migration

This appendix contains a review of some of the available data on Chinese migration and the total Chinese population in Europe. It does not claim to discuss all possible data sources, nor does it present an analysis of the demography of Chinese migration in Europe. Rather, the objectives of this exercise are much more limited. They are, first, to give an indication of the magnitude of the phenomena under scrutiny here and, second, to get a clearer picture of the many gaps in our knowledge that should be filled by future demographic research on the Chinese presence in Europe. The data presented in this appendix are quite patchy and do not provide a clear overview of the size and demographic dynamics of the Chinese population in Europe. Interpreting such data will have to happen with great care, as patterns and trends apparent from the data may often simply be a result of the vagaries of population registration and data collection. The data that will be presented below derive from the following sources:

- Publications based on European and Taiwanese data and estimates, mainly for the early 1990s;
- The Eurostat THEME3 database;
- The 2000 edition of the Council of Europe's annual publication, *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe*;
- The 2000 edition of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) annual publication, *Trends in International Migration.*

Gazetteers published in Chinese provinces and prefectures (*shengzhi*; *shizhi*) with major overseas Chinese areas were also investigated, but no useful aggregate data were found. Chinese gazetteers sometimes provide very useful micro-level data on the number, background and achievements of overseas Chinese migrants from a particular village or township. It is possible that trawling through the dozens of relevant local gazetteers might yield interesting data that otherwise are unavailable, but such an effort is clearly beyond the scope of this project.

Most sources only allow a breakdown by nationality. Where this is done, the presentation of these data has been limited to nationals from the People's Republic of China, the main focus of this report. Several sources also contain data on Hong Kong and Taiwan nationals. But even if these nationalities had been included, the data show only part of the picture, since nationals of South-East Asian countries, many of whom are Chinese, and ethnic Chinese who are citizens of a European country are not included.

1. Publications Based on European and Taiwanese Data and Estimates

In the articles in a recent volume on the Chinese in Europe, the authors provide estimates on the Chinese population in individual European countries, mainly based on government statistics (labour force surveys, national censuses, valid residence or work permits issued, population registers) supplemented by estimates of the size of the population not captured in such data (Benton and Pieke, 1998). These figures mainly refer to the resident population of Chinese rather than immigration and emigration of Chinese, although population growth gives some indication of net migration if one is prepared to accept certain assumption on natural population growth. Similarly, Dudley Poston and his co-workers have published figures on the total numbers of "overseas Chinese" worldwide and in individual countries in the early 1980s and in 1990 (Poston and Yu, 1990; Poston, Mao and Yu, 1994). The others mainly draw on data published by the Overseas Chinese Commission of the Republic of China on Taiwan in the *Overseas Chinese Economy Yearbook* (Overseas Chinese Economy Yearbook Editorial Committee, various years), supplemented by the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* (United Nations, various years).

In Table 1 on the next page the data from Benton and Pieke and Poston et al. are presented as a first estimate of the total Chinese population in some of the main European countries in the early 1990s. When interpreting these data, the reader should obviously bear in mind that they provide only part of the total picture, are based on often very different definitions of "Chinese", and derive from many, often quite incompatible sources. The reader is asked to refer to the original publications for details on the sources and nature of the data presented in the table.

Since the publication of the article by Poston et al. in 1994 and the book edited by Benton and Pieke in 1998 publication on the Chinese in Europe has continued unabated and more research is currently under way. Several of these publications contain figures on Chinese immigration or the size of the Chinese population in a particular country, but they are insufficient to hazard an estimate of the number of Chinese in Europe as a whole in the late 1990s. At this point we can do no better than report some of these individual figures. For the Czech Republic Marketa Moore and Czeslaw Tubilewicz report an "unofficial" figure from the Ministry of the Interior of 9,000 Chinese residing legally or illegally in the country in the late 1990s (Moore and Tubilewicz, 2001). In another paper, Moore gives the number of 4,167 Chinese with residence permits for the Czech Republic in 2000 (Moore, 2001: table 3). Antonella Ceccagno gives a total of 41,237 Chinese holding an Italian residence permit in 1999 and 47,108 in 2000, plus an additional 6,148 Chinese pupils in Italian schools in 1999 (Ceccagno, 2000). In her Ph.D. thesis Mette Thunø updates the total number of Chinese

in Denmark in 1996 to a total of 3,467 (Thunø, 1997: 129), or about 200 more than the figure for 1995 reported in her article in Benton and Pieke (Thunø, 1998: 180). For Belgium, Ching Lin Pang gives a total of 2,908 Chinese nationals in 1991.

TABLE 1

THE CHINESE POPULATION IN EUROPE CIRCA 1990: INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND TOTAL

Country	Poston et al.		Benton and Pieke	
	Year	Total number of Chinese	Year	Total number of Chinese
USSR/Russia (incl. Asia)	1989	274,000	1994	200,000
France	1990	200,000	–	120,000
UK	1988	125,000	1990	156,398
Netherlands	1987	45,500	1990	59,000
Germany (West)	1990	39,500	1993	37,077
Italy	1991	20,700	1993	22,875
Spain	1991	15,000	1994	18,519
Portugal		–	1994	2,027
Belgium	1991	13,000		–
Sweden	1990	12,000		–
Austria	1991	6,000		–
Denmark	1991	6,000	1995	3,276
Switzerland	1991	5,000		–
Czech Republic		–	1994	2,907
Hungary		–	1992	16,000
Other countries (N=13)		7,800		–
Sum total		769,500		638,079

Sources: Poston, Mao and Yu, 1994: table 1 ; Benton and Pieke, 1998: 77, 102, 137, 204, 220, 240, 264, 301, 326 and 353.

In 1998 and 1999, Li Minghuan, working on behalf of the European Federation of Chinese Organisations (EFCO), collected estimates of the Chinese population in 17 individual western, northern and southern European countries (no countries of the former Soviet bloc were included), yielding a total of 932,000 Chinese (EFCO, 1999: 19). Although the source of these estimates is not given, we can assume that in most cases they came from representatives of local Chinese organizations, who have a vested interest in overstating the numbers involved. Li's figures are reproduced in Table 2.

TABLE 2

THE CHINESE POPULATION IN EUROPE IN 1997:
INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND TOTAL

Country	Total number of Chinese
USSR/Russia (incl. Asia)	–
France	250,000
UK	250,000
Netherlands	100,000
Germany	100,000
Italy	100,000
Spain	30,000
Portugal	5,000
Belgium	30,000
Sweden	15,000
Austria	20,000
Denmark	7,000
Switzerland	8,000
Other countries	17,000
Sum total	932,000

Source: European Federation of Chinese Organisations, 1999: 19.

2. Eurostat

The relevant data maintained by Eurostat are held in the THEME3 (Population and Social Conditions) database domain MIGRAT (International Migration and Asylum). The database contains data for many EU and non-EU European countries for years going back to the mid-1980s or even earlier. The relevant fields are the following: Acquisition of citizenship, Asylum, International migration flows and Population by citizenship. A detailed classification plan for the database can be found on the Eurostat website www.europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat/. Recently, Eurostat published selected data from the database for 1997, the most recent year that data are reasonably complete (Eurostat 2000). This publication has several tables with a separate entry for China. However, to present data for various years and, crucially, stock data for Chinese nationals not available from the publication, Tables 3-6 below were extracted directly from the database.

The data in Table 3 on the stock of Chinese national in European countries for selected years clearly are fairly patchy. There are no data at all for Luxemburg, Austria

and Ireland, the most recent figure for France dates from 1990 and for many other countries data are only available for a few years. For this reason, a column was added with the highest available number in the 1990s. This column gives a better picture of the size of the population of Chinese nationals in Europe, although it obviously obscures the shifts in the distribution of the Chinese population across Europe that have taken place during the decade.

TABLE 3

CHINESE NATIONALS (EXCL. HONG KONG AND TAIWAN) IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, ON 1 JANUARY FOR SELECTED YEARS

Country	2000	1999	1998	1997	1995	1990	Highest number in 1990s
Belgium	–	–	3,891	3,952	3,852	2,168	3,952
Denmark	–	2,266	2,136	1,911	1,536	–	2,266
Germany	42,925	38,726	42,230	40,156	32,316	–	42,925
Greece	–	–	669	566	454	–	669
Spain	–	20,690	16,273	11,446	8,713	–	20,690
France	–	–	–	–	–	14,051	14,051
Ireland	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Italy	48,650	–	–	26,298	17,629	8,531	48,650
Luxemburg	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Netherlands	8,188	8,175	7,830	7,855	8,185	6,163	8,701
Austria	–	–	–	–	–	–	3,537
Portugal	3,033	2,796	2,482	2,380	1,981	1,102	3,033
Finland	1,677	1,666	1,623	1,485	1,293	–	1,677
Sweden	4,322	4,025	3,760	3,659	3,421	1,414	4,322
UK	–	20,983	–	23,000	–	21,000	26,000
Iceland	109	93	73	72	67	44	109
Norway	–	–	1,433	1,690	1,938	1,219	1,938
Switzerland	5,875	5,021	4,897	4,374	4,215	2,935	5,875
Hungary	–	–	7,907	–	–	–	7,907
Latvia	–	–	32	–	–	–	32
Slovenia	–	–	146	104	–	–	146
Total EU	108,795	99,327	80,894	122,708	79,380	54,429	180,473
Total	114,779	104,441	95,382	128,948	85,600	58,627	196,480

Source: Eurostat database THEME3 (Population and Social Conditions).

The flow data presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6 are even more patchy than the stock data in Table 3 and should be interpreted with great restraint. The negative values for total net migration in 1999, for instance, are simply an artifact of incomplete data. The most reliable will be the data for 1997, which can be expected to be as complete as possible. Naturally, we should also bear in mind that Chinese immigrants and emigrants could very well hail from or be destined for another European country, and the totals given in Tables 4, 5 and 6 therefore do not represent totals for movement into and out of Europe, but merely represent the total mobility of Chinese nationals in Europe.

TABLE 4

IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE NATIONALS (EXCL. HONG KONG AND TAIWAN) TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, SELECTED YEARS

Country	1999	1998	1997	1995	1990
Belgium	698	–	652	692	444
Denmark	–	536	440	283	282
Germany	–	–	7,785	5,464	–
Greece	–	262	162	85	–
Spain	–	1,007	772	672	–
France	–	5,464	2,566	–	1,000
Ireland	–	–	–	–	–
Italy	–	–	7,297	1,448	–
Luxemburg	119	118	119	–	–
Netherlands	–	1,608	1,375	1,345	931
Austria	–	542	473	–	–
Portugal	–	105	46	82	–
Finland	–	199	146	138	156
Sweden	–	733	655	577	574
UK	–	5,779	1,000	5,000	1,000
Iceland	31	22	28	28	22
Norway	–	417	313	198	325
Switzerland	1,960	1,743	1,423	918	701
Hungary	–	–	979	–	–
Czech Republic	–	–	20	6	–
Slovenia	–	–	65	–	–
Total EU	817	16,353	23,488	15,786	4,387
Total	2,808	18,535	26,316	16,936	5,435

Source: Eurostat database THEME3 (Population and Social Conditions).

TABLE 5

EMIGRATION OF CHINESE NATIONALS (EXCL. HONG KONG AND TAIWAN) FROM EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, SELECTED YEARS

Country	1999	1998	1997	1995	1990
Belgium	214	–	237	182	68
Denmark	–	–	195	115	87
Germany	–	–	5,801	4,567	–
Greece	–	–	–	–	–
Spain	–	–	–	–	–
France	–	–	–	–	–
Ireland	–	–	–	–	–
Italy	–	–	85	40	–
Luxemburg	33	–	218	–	–
Netherlands	212	–	305	242	145
Austria	–	–	277	–	–
Portugal	–	–	–	–	–
Finland	72	–	32	33	–
Sweden	255	–	282	187	16
UK	3,996	–	–	2,000	–
Iceland	6	–	18	4	–
Norway	–	–	130	84	47
Switzerland	1,331	–	773	734	456
Hungary	–	–	30	–	–
Czech Republic	–	–	–	–	–
Slovenia	–	–	21	–	–
Total EU	4,782	–	7,432	7,366	316
Total	6,119	–	8,404	8,188	819

Source: Eurostat database THEME3 (Population and Social Conditions).

3. Council of Europe

The 2000 edition of the Council of Europe's annual publication, *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe,* contains more complete data for net Chinese migration to individual countries in Europe, which are summarized in Table 7 below (Council of Europe, 2000).

TABLE 6

NET MIGRATION OF CHINESE NATIONALS (EXCL. HONG KONG AND TAIWAN) TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, SELECTED YEARS

Country	1999	1998	1997	1995	1990
Belgium	484	–	415	510	376
Denmark	–	536	245	168	195
Germany	–	–	1,984	897	–
Greece	–	262	162	85	–
Spain	–	1,007	772	672	0
France	–	5,464	2,566	–	1,000
Ireland	–	–	–	–	–
Italy	–	–	7,212	1,408	–
Luxemburg	86	118	-99	–	–
Netherlands	-212	1,608	1,070	1,103	786
Austria	–	542	196	–	–
Portugal	–	105	46	82	–
Finland	-72	199	114	105	156
Sweden	-255	733	373	390	558
UK	-3,996	5,779	1,000	3,000	1,000
Iceland	25	22	10	24	22
Norway	–	417	183	114	278
Switzerland	629	1,743	650	184	245
Hungary	–	–	949	–	–
Czech Republic	–	–	20	6	–
Slovenia	–	–	44	–	–
Total EU	-3,965	16,353	16,056	8,420	4,071
Total	-3,311	18,535	17,912	8,748	4,616

Source: Eurostat database THEME3 (Population and Social Conditions).

4. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Like the Council of Europe, the OECD publishes an annual report on international migration (OECD 2001), with data on flow (immigration, emigration and net migration), asylum applications and population stock (both foreign nationals and foreign-born citizens where data is available). However, the countries covered in the report

TABLE 7

NET MIGRATION OF CHINESE NATIONALS TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1996-1999

Country	1999	1998	1997	1996
Belgium	244	15	109	162
Denmark	462	–	–	–
Germany	5,194	1965	1872	1,303
Greece	–	262	162	85
Spain	–	1,076	821	512
France	–	–	–	–
Ireland	–	–	–	–
Italy	–	6,817	7,220	4,438
Luxemburg	86	94	-100	301
Netherlands	1,577	1,555	1,305	–
Austria	287	144	205	126
Portugal	248	–	–	–
Finland	98	163	114	32
Sweden	535	545	–	–
UK	–	1,542	740	900
Iceland	24	17	14	8
Norway	277	367	184	138
Switzerland	638	669	625	166
Czech Republic	22	11	23	10
Croatia	2	–	–	1
Estonia	2	–	2	9
Hungary	0	1,158	940	0
Lithuania	7	1	0	-1
Moldova	17	14	13	10
Poland	23	22	18	20
Romania	1	–	–	–
Russia	1,073	2,605	5	-16
Slovak Republic	2	6	5	2
Slovenia	3	28	44	29
Macedonia	10	9	12	3
Belarus	336	126	–	–
Total EU	8,731	14,178	12,448	7,859
Total	11,168	19,211	14,333	8,238

Source: Council of Europe, 2000: country specific tables on migration, 119-672.

are only OECD Member States and selected non-Member States. More seriously, tables do not include a separate entry for China for about half of the countries that are included. The only published OECD data that are a useful addition to the data available from other sources are those on inflow, which are listed in Table 8 below. For a discussion of sources and comparability of data, please refer to the original publication (OECD, 2001b: 295-301). Due to the many missing data, no EU or non-EU total figures have been provided.

TABLE 8

INFLOW OF CHINESE NATIONALS TO SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1995-1999

Country	1998	1997	1996	1995
Belgium	700	600	600	600
Denmark	–	–	–	–
Germany	–	–	–	–
Greece	–	–	–	–
France	5,700	2,800	700	900
Ireland	–	–	–	–
Italy	3,400	–	–	–
Luxemburg	–	–	–	–
Netherlands	1,400	1,600	1,300	–
Finland	200	100	100	100
Sweden	–	–	–	–
UK	–	2,500	3,200	3,200
Norway	400	300	300	–
Switzerland	–	–	–	–
Hungary	900	1,500	1,700	1,200

Source: OECD, 2001, tables B.1.1, 311-319.