

## **Determinants of Economic Activity Choices: Case of Chinese Migrant in Congo Brazzaville**

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If Chinese migrants carry out economic activities in the receiving country, one question arise which is of immediate economic interest: what determines the choice of these activities? Little research has been devoted to this issue. The paper uses a detailed Centre of Research and Prospective Studies survey data collected in 2013 in Brazzaville to analyze the factors that explain the choice of an economic activity for Chinese migrant using logit model. We found that four main determinants play a major role regarding this choice, namely: relational networks, province of origin, sex, primary level.

Keywords: Chinese, Congo-Brazzaville, migration, economic activities choice

### **Introduction**

Historically, Chinese migration to Africa goes back to the nineteenth century during the "Coolie trade" when Chinese migrants worked in South African mines or sugar plantations on islands in the Indian Ocean. They sometimes replaced slaves that had been freed with the abolition of the slave trade. Consequently, the strongest Diasporas are found in Africa (OECD, 2007).

Since the early 1990s, migration from China to Africa in general and to Congo in particular took an unprecedented scale. In this connection, two new phenomena have emerged.

One the one hand, labor migration follows the penetration rate of companies. Companies arrive with their own site and workforce. Part of this workforce, undoubtedly a tiny minority, never returns home once the work is completed and becomes part of the illegal immigrant environment. On the other hand, mention can be made of individual migrations of small entrepreneurs, often traders, restaurant owners, etc.

It should be pointed out that the Chinese presence has been more remarkable in recent years, and Chinese icons have emerged in the urban field. There is certainly no "Chinatowns", but Brazzaville is overrun by what Ma Mung (2009) called "exhibition of Chinese symbols" , that is, not only Chinese products, restaurants and casinos, but also Chinese hospitals. Chinese characters have become part of the field and the advertising sign in the city. Having settled in the Congo, Chinese immigrants are in construction; they set up small businesses and import consumer goods. All these activities generate income that benefits both to the host country and china. But one may wonder why they concentrate on such activities exclusively.

In this study, we are not interested in income from these activities but rather in the process that takes place upstream: the integration into the labor market. We analyze the factors that motivate Chinese migrants to choose any economic activity. In so doing, we seek to answer the following research question: What are the determinants of Chinese migrants' choice of economic activities in Brazzaville?

The objective of this study is to analyze the factors that explain the choice of economic activities for Chinese migrants in Congo Brazzaville, namely the extent to which the choices of the type of activities depends on the migrant's individual characteristics.

Other factors that are unrelated to these characteristics may also be taken into account. For example, the migrant's province, and namely the economic activities that are carried herein, must be considered insofar as it may have an effect on the type of activity that is chosen. As a matter of fact, it may be observed that what they sell is what is actually produced in their province of origin. Similarly, household characteristics are likely to determine the choice of the activity for the migrant.

### **Literature Review**

By focusing on migration and economic activities of migrants, some authors have laid emphasis on the causes or reasons for migration, and others on activities of migrants and thus their impact on the host or origin country particularly.

As far as migrants' departure causes are concerned, several authors argue that the reasons for these migrations are essentially economic. Indeed, once they reach adulthood, every Chinese has the

ambition to obtain a stable and well-paid job that may allow him to make some investments including buying his own house, having a family and providing for the needs of the latter adequately.

However, it often turns out that some people think that their place of birth does not allow them access to a stable and well-paid job that may allow them to make the investments mentioned above. They have a desire to migrate, to go try their luck elsewhere to realize their projects.

Todaro (1969), in the light of his earnings discount model, considers that the migrant leaves his original place because he is attracted by the prospect of higher wages in urban capitalists. However, given that there is indeed an urban underemployment, he considers that migration is a response to the difference in expected income (not current) between rural and urban areas. In other words, the expected income does not only depend on the difference in opportunities between the traditional rural and urban destination, but also the probability that the new migrant will get a job in town.

However, the idea of improving the living conditions of migrants in the city has also been criticized. In this respect it is worth pointing out what a number of scholars have demonstrated with regard to the precarious living conditions of migrants in African cities. Their suggestions have been gathered in a book entitled: *Living and surviving in African cities* (Deble & Hugon, 1982). This places the migrants in an embarrassing situation: they would like to return to their original villages, but they require a prior improvement of their living conditions in the village.

For Guingnido (1992), In Benin, economic factors play an important role in individuals' decision to migrate. Therefore, migration may be viewed as a population response to imbalances in levels of economic development between regions of the same country.

Likewise, in a study entitled 'Expelled from Nigeria back in southeastern Togo', Ekuevi Koffi (2003) suggests that the main reasons behind migration are economic. The following responses: "no job", "to get money", "to learn a craft" are the most common data by respondents' to justify their migration.

According Findley (1987), economic reasons accounted for 52% of the main reasons for migration mentioned by respondents. The most commonly cited ones are: education, income and child support. In his study about people expelled from Nigeria and return in southern Togo, the same author states that the *monthly income of a farmer in the coastal region (which includes the southeast) is 12 000 FCFA, whereas that of an average worker amounts to 25 000 CFA ... migrants observed in Nigeria perceived an average monthly income of about 44,800 CFA francs*. In terms of opportunity cost, these data seem to justify the choice of migration.

Seydi (2008) argues that the unfavorable economic situation remains the main motivation for migration. Concerning the second category, the activities of migrants and thus their impact on the host or origin country, Nong Zhu and Victor Chung (2002) by analyzing the factors explaining the economic activity of immigrants, through participation in self-employment, as well as ethnic and regional disparities state that among immigrants, the decision to become self-employed depends largely on the income gap between the independent activities and salaried ones. Given the obstacles and disadvantages of the immigrant's integration into the paid labor market, immigrants have a strong tendency to engage in independent activities. In the short term, it seems difficult to change this situation dramatically, owing to the importance of socio-economic and institutional factors. The income gap between self-employment and employment will continue to play an important role in immigrant's motivation to turn in self-employment.

Yacine Salem el Anwar (2010) provides a brief overview of the differences between two types of food shops (restaurant and shoplifting), the factors that enabled their appearances as well as their social functions. The income from these activities are beneficial for both host and origin country.

Investigations by Nash (1987) and Kunin (1991) on the immigrant contractor's economic contribution in their host society, for instance, have insisted on the economic outcomes of the immigration program for business people from the Canadian government. However, other studies have considered this contribution in the origin country. For these authors, remittances from migrants are perceived as a development tool for several reasons.

First, for most developing countries they represent in annual volume, the external finance second largest source after foreign direct investment and to before the official development assistance (McKenzie and Sasin, 2007). Although remittances are very different from the other two flows of foreign capital, particularly in terms of sources, targets and beneficiaries, their relative importance suggests that they may also play a major role in the main elements of host countries national accounts.

Second, remittances represent a relatively high share of GDP and the budget of households involved in several developing countries. They tend to be stable and even to increase during economic crises and natural disasters (see especially Ratha, 2003). These characteristics make remittances a resource that can be important to initiate sustainable economic development in a region.

Third, research has demonstrated the positive impact of remittances on long-term growth, according to their use by the recipient. Indeed, Migrants' money may be associated with a better allocation of capital when it is sent to face such a poorly developed capital market (Gupta et al, 2007).

Migrants' money can also be used to invest in human capital, namely health and education (Bouoiyour Jamal 2013), which contributes to the long-term growth of the origin country (Ziesmer, 2006). Beyond the impact on GDP through investments that help finance, remittances improve the solvency of the host country and its access to international capital markets, which may also help to create economic growth (World Bank, 2006; Giuliano & Ruiz-Arranz, 2009).

Finally, it is expected that the increase in consumption of imported goods financed by remittances have a positive effect on GDP, mainly due to the increase in tax revenues of the state (Glystos, 2005).

However, if one may observe that several investigations have addressed the issue of the determinants of migration and the economic activities that are carried out by immigrants, and hence of the impact herein in the host and country of origin, it may be suggested that they have not tackled the issue of the factors that explain the choice of entrepreneurial activity. Consequently, the current study has been designed to address this rather neglected area of the empirical literature.

### **Characteristics of Chinese Presence in Congo**

How many are they? Where do they come from? When did they emigrate? Few data are available on the Chinese in Africa. As in many African countries, it is difficult to establish a precise figure on the number of Chinese in Congo. This figure often varies from one source to another depending on the criteria taken into account. It remains a taboo for both local authorities and the Chinese officials, which has led to a great deal of numerous journalistic exaggeration. Officially, according to Chinese authorities, 5,000 Chinese were living in Congo Brazzaville in 2010, but it might be suggested that the Chinese diplomatic service have willingly underestimated these data.

Yet according to our own estimates this figure could rather range from 15,000 to 25,000 people. One thing is certain: the number of Chinese from the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Congo has been increasing since the late 1990s, and has grown considerably within a few years.

Anyway, generally speaking, it is expected that there will be many more Chinese in Congo Brazzaville and in Africa in general, especially because of the great importance attached to the Chinese presence on the continent in scientific studies and on the international diplomatic scene.

Chinese employees residing in Congo Brazzaville usually for Chinese multinationals or their subsidiaries in the framework of temporary contracts lasting one or two years and in many sectors, namely: telecommunications, the extraction of raw materials, textiles, timber exploitation but also in the media and

marketing field. In addition to these multinationals, an important number of entrepreneurs with a greater economic and social capital have established their own import various types of textile products, footwear, furniture and manufactured goods or goods of their own subsidiary.

Besides, the vast majority of these companies have also recently installed in Congo, specifically over the past five years. Their Chinese employees, who should not legally represent more than 10% of their workforce, is characterized by a transient presence as well as many trips to China thus perpetuating a transnational network and a continuous flow of migration.

The other reason for the vagueness of this presence is the importance of illegal immigration that involves many workers, men and women, who sell in shops and streets; this may again be viewed as a very recent dynamic that is extending gradually throughout the country. The informal, mobile and visible nature of this type of business explains largely the difficulty of counting the Chinese population in Congo.

It is mainly this first category of migrants that will be our main concern here the more so as it is likely to promote the development of community business in the capital city, thanks to more favorable living and working conditions and having a relevant economic capital.

### **Chinese Businesses in Brazzaville**

Generally speaking, Chinese migrants have important advantages for carrying out commercial activities and have been able to fit favorably in the local economy. They have a realistic perception of the local economy, and are confident in the country's future prospects.

These Chinese who are known for their sense of solidarity and who are generally secret, and respectful workers.

Additionally, they have the opportunity to invest quickly through solidarity and a Community loan system called "Hui", which is a key word which allows one to acquire a trade and settle in a district of the city, without having to go through traditional financial institutions. The "Avenue de la Paix" and various markets in Brazzaville constitute concrete examples of these strategies.

This support system has allowed Chinese to establish themselves independently and in very diverse economic activities such as restaurants, hotels, to quote but these.

Overall, migrants do business in all sectors of the local economy. This concerns general trade or specialized trade, including small retail trade.

General trade includes the sale of clothing, cosmetics, bakery, house furniture. This list is not exhaustive. The specialized trade is understood here as the sale of products in specific sectors such as

electrical products, computer products, spare parts, music or movies CD-ROMs. These are mostly, consumer products, highly appreciated for their very low price but the poor quality is decried locally. Products that symbolize this new influx of Chinese production are mainly motorcycles, materials, ready to wear, and shoes.

On this point, an emphasis should be laid on the efforts made by some Chinese industries to specialize some of their production for the African market. For example in the area of loin clothing, Chinese companies produce traditional colored loincloth making exact copies of recent patterns designed by the original brands (in The Netherlands), and provide a final product of low quality but with unbeatable price. On different avenues in Brazzaville, there are shops owned by Chinese migrants who develop small business such as goods of all kinds, rat poison, gadgets decorating houses, etc.. The Chinese also own restaurants, hotels, photo labs, traditional pharmacy, and medical office. One may also observe the emergence of more high quality products in some sectors such as electrical or mechanical. This massive influx of Chinese products can be read clearly in the data of the Sino-Congolese bilateral trade. As a matter of fact, China has

gradually emerged as one of the main trading partners of Congo over the last decade. China's economic presence in the Congo is also reflected by the dynamism of Chinese enterprises. In this respect there has been an increase in their number and an extension of sectors of activity in which they operate. This multiplication of Chinese companies is consistent with the massive influx of Chinese goods and the Chinese migrant's arrival.

The annual number of Chinese companies being created is accelerating following the same pace as the growth of the Chinese population in the country. Some of them are also found in the building field in which where they are carrying out work either on behalf of an individual or for their own sake.

In addition, we have identified seven companies, namely: " Ji Baoguo" (specializing in home delivery of parcels sent by migrants to their families regularly), many home money transfer home services (door-to-door money transfer services), two massage parlors attended by Chinese, and hairdressers who very often work in their own homes. At least four interviewees are working in painting and building restoration. The various activities performed by Chinese migrants are shown in the table below.

Table 1: Economic activities of Chinese migrant

Economic activities	Number	%
Trade/restaurant/hotel	90	39.65
Building/ crafts	52	22.91
Others activities	40	17.62
Without activity	45	19.82
Total	227	100

Source: survey CREP, Brazzaville, May-June 2013.

The intersection of economic activities by migrants with the gender variable yields the following result:

Table 2 : Gender and migrants economic activities

Economic Activities	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Trade/restaurant/hotel	65	25	90
Building/ crafts	6	46	52
Other activities	20	20	40
Without activity	30	15	45
Total	121	106	227

Source: survey CREP, Brazzaville, May-June 2013.

## Method of Analysis

### *Sampling plan and data collection*

Our study focused on Brazzaville. This city has experienced a large influx of Chinese migrants.

Data for this study are taken from the Centre for Research and Prospective Studies Survey, 2013.

This Centre conducted in May-June 2013 a survey of 250 Chinese migrants in the age group of 20-60 years. The age of the entrepreneur can be

considered as a measure of knowledge of the world. In the survey, respondents were asked to indicate their age group (5 years intervals). The age variable takes the value for the average of age interval, divided by 10. For example, if an entrepreneur is in the 20-25 intervals, the age variable takes the value of 2.25.

In data processing 23 records with noisy data were discarded which reduces the database to 227. 121 people are women migrants and 106 men migrants.

The questionnaire contains identification variables (age, marital status, province of origin, length of residence in Brazzaville), that is variables that capture the level of integration in education and family characteristics.

In addition, 50 interviews were conducted with experts and privileged observers of this Centre. The interviewees were mainly Chinese migrants who are economically active or not. Their characteristics were as follows: 1) Individuals acting personally; 2) People who are legally resident in the Congo Brazzaville and whose age varies between 25 and 60 years.

**Estimation method**

To determine the impact of socio-economic characteristics on the probability for the choice of economic activity, we use econometric models. In particular, given the nature of our data, we use the models with qualitative dependent variables.

**Model specification**

We hypothesize that some socio-economic variables determine the choice of economic activity of migrant. We explicitly model the probability for the choice of economic activity according to socioeconomic variables that influence the migrant’s behavior in employment in different sectors. This model necessarily involves the choice of appropriate analytical tools. Indeed, any model can be used for any regression (Maddala, 1983; Gourieroux, 1989 Takeshi Amemiya 1985). It is the continuous and / or discontinuous nature of the variables that determine the choice of regression model above all.

According to Maddala (1983), Gourieroux (1989) and Daniel L. McFADDEN (1984), conventional regression models (Ordinary Least squares linear regression, double log etc..) are indicated when dealing with continuous variables. In

the case of discrete variables, these regression models may not be used. Indeed, the linear approximation is not suitable for the problem as point clouds are hardly approachable by a single curve can give the regression equation. Consequently we had to develop regression models for qualitative variables. This is the probit, logit, and Gombit. These models differ especially by the shape of the distribution function. The latter follows the standard normal distribution for the probit, logistic law for the logit, the normal distribution centered on Tobit and Gumbel for Gombit. It is worth pointing out that the probit and logit are similar unlike other models. In this respect, Gourieroux (1989) and Joseph Berkson (1951) argue that the logit models were originally introduced as a proxy for Probit models for simpler calculations. These models are in common use in economics when it comes to studying the determinants of individual choices.

Therefore, the determinant of the probability for selecting an economic activity by Chinese migrants depends on several variables. Consider that the probability of choosing an economic activity is formally represented by the following equation.

$$I^*_i = \beta' x_i + \varepsilon_i \tag{1}$$

$$\text{Ln}\left(\frac{\text{prob}(I^*_i=1)}{1-\text{prob}(I^*_i=1)}\right) \varepsilon_i \tag{2}$$

$$I^*_i = \text{Ln}\left(\frac{\text{prob}(I^*_i=1)}{1-\text{prob}(I^*_i=1)}\right) \tag{3}$$

$I^*_i$  is the probability of migrant  $i$  to choose an activity.  $I^*_i$  is latent variable, not directly observable  $x$  is a vector of explanatory variables and  $\beta$  the associated vector of parameters.  $\varepsilon$  is the hazard that we assume follow a logistic distribution. What is observed is that the migrant chooses an economic activity or not.

$$A_i = 1, I^*_i > 1$$

$$A_i = 0, \text{otherwise}$$

The equation of the model is specified as follows:  
 $P_i(I^*_i) = a_1P(X_1) + a_2P(X_2) + a_3P(X_3) + a_4P(X_4) + a_5P(X_5) + a_6P(X_6) + a_7P(X_7) + a_8P(X_8) + a_9P(X_9) + \varepsilon_i$   
 with  $P(X)$ = the probability of variable  $X$

Table 3 : description and codification of variables used in the analysis.

	endogenous variable $P_i(I^*_i)$	The probability of choosing an economic activity
	exogenous variables	
Sex	X1=SE	Dummy variable =1 female and 0 if female
Matrimoniale status	X2 =SM	Dummy variable=if the migrant is married and 0 otherwise
Duration of residence	X3=DR	Number of year living in host country
Not receiving school education	X4=AN	Dummy variable=1 if the migrant not received education at school and 0 otherwise
Primary level	X5=NP	Dummy variable =1 if the migrant have been in primary school and 0 otherwise
Original province	X6=PO	Dummy variable=1 is from Zhejiang province and 0 otherwise
Contact with entrepreneurs in networks or guanxi (GUANXI)	X7=CR	This variable indicates whether the entrepreneur has often (value equals one), or never (value equals zero) contacts with other entrepreneurs.
Age	X8=AG	age of entrepreneur.
Number of children	X9=NE	Number of children who go to school

**Interpretation of Results**

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for the analysis. We included the primary level variable as control variable.

The results of the estimation are presented in table 4,5 and 6 .

**Model Validation**

The joint Wald test, which tests the overall significance of the model is significant at the 5% level.

In addition, the optimization algorithm converged after four iterations. The model is concave and the Likelihood function reaches its maximum as evidenced by the negative value of the log pseudo likelihood.

Moreover, the area under the curve is 0.916 with a confidence interval of 95%, the prediction rate of the model is good for about 92% of people are classified as shown in the area below ROC curve (Receiver Operating Characteristic).

The error table also establishes that the model predicts the probability of choosing an economic activity correctly. In addition, the model predicts well the probability of not choosing an economic activity. The model is generally appropriate and relevant to capture the socio-economic determinants of the choice of the economic activity carried out by Chinese migrants.

**Results**

The results of the estimation are presented in table below

Table 4 : Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 0	Constant	1,397	,166	70,447	1	,000	4,044

Tableau 5: Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	158,389 <sup>a</sup>	,258	,409
2	142,799 <sup>b</sup>	,307	,487
3	134,765 <sup>b</sup>	,331	,525
4	128,630 <sup>b</sup>	,349	,553

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

b. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Table 5: Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95,0% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	guanxi	3,062	,412	55,119	1	,000	21,368	9,521	47,952
	Constant	-,391	,270	2,096	1	,148	,676		
Step 2 <sup>b</sup>	Original prov	1,976	,566	12,195	1	,000	7,213	2,380	21,862
	guanxi	3,115	,441	49,903	1	,000	22,530	9,494	53,468
	Constant	-,928	,329	7,975	1	,005	,395		
Step 3 <sup>c</sup>	Primary lev(1)	-1,387	,520	7,126	1	,008	,250	,090	,692
	Original prov	2,174	,608	12,796	1	,000	8,789	2,672	28,917
	guanxi	3,579	,525	46,413	1	,000	35,855	12,803	100,411
	Constant	-,651	,345	3,560	1	,059	,522		
Step 4 <sup>d</sup>	Primary level(1)	-1,480	,529	7,818	1	,005	,228	,081	,642
	sex	1,214	,509	5,687	1	,017	3,368	1,241	9,138
	Original prov	1,744	,643	7,345	1	,007	5,719	1,620	20,187
	guanxi	3,797	,560	46,057	1	,000	44,569	14,886	133,440
	Constant	-1,147	,424	7,309	1	,007	,318		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Guanxi.

b. Variable(s) entered on step 2: Original prov.

c. Variable(s) entered on step 3: primary.

The results show that four out of nine variables are significant at the 5% level. These are: the relational network variable (*guanxi*), province, sex and primary level.

Sex has an impact on the choice of economic activity. Women often choose business activities in which they represent the majority. Indeed, the sexual division of labor at the international level confines them in socially devalued sectors that are considered as unskilled and requiring less qualification.

Gender segregation in the labor market has been analyzed for the migrant (s) in general (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000; andall, 2003 ; Caritas, 2005) and Chinese (s) in particular. The men work in construction, either independently or dependent of for a Congolese employer, while women work in the domestic sector, care and trade. In all cases, the social networks of migrant (s), based on direct and indirect kinship, friendship and neighborhood ties constitute the main way that can enable one to find a place in these typically informal sectors.

Having a primary education level also determines the choice of activity while being illiterate has no influence on this choice. Migrants who have never gone to school find it more difficult to choose an economic activity. The more educated people are more motivated to choose it. The later generally have better information about the activities that can be carried out.

The province of origin is also one of the reasons which is the basis of the choice of economic activity migrant. As a matter of fact, 44% of interviewed Chinese migrants come from Zhejiang Province.

When we talk about people from Zhejiang, we are referring generally to people from the southern regions of Wenzhou and Qingtian, from which most emigrants to Europe come. The people of Zhejiang are predominantly traders. Considered 'quick-witted for chances, markedly self-interested, purpose-like', the Zhejiangnese are known for their capacity for hard work, physical power and endurance. They are said to prefer working for themselves than for wages. The typical progression: they begin as a peddler and end as the owner of a general store. People in the province of Zhejiang usually have small-scale, family-managed workshops, which are concentrated regionally. Each workshop specializes in the production of one part, which is then assembled locally. Production been specialized, productivity is high and management costs are low. This kind of production, termed the 'Wenzhou Economic Model' is recommended by the Chinese government to the whole country to boost the private economy. Work habits determine the choice of activity in the host country.

While immigration from the province of Zhejiang is an example of chain migration which is most often a cumulative process, new waves of immigration from other provinces are the result of the policy of "Reform and Opening ". The Chinese

from Zhejiang Province usually have relational networks both abroad and at home, and they know why they emigrate, while for the Chinese from other provinces for example going abroad is tantamount to going on an adventure, convinced that they have nothing to lose.

The existence of these networks also determines their choice of activity in the host country. Because of this system of network, a migrant of Wenzhou, even with a low cultural and professional knowledge, already knows what activity he is going to carry out, and is able to find a job within a few days and a roof in any big city worldwide. Additionally, the flow of capital between the group and alliance with other groups allows migrants to have trust loans. In fact, several studies on labor migration generally emphasize the importance of interpersonal networks, mainly family, transportation of individuals and determining the choice of activity with as a consequence for the latter, the permanent reference to several localities and the maintenance of relationships with them (Rao, 1986; Singh, 1986).

## Conclusion

Our work was to analyze the factors that explain the choice of economic activities of Chinese migrants in Congo. More specifically, respondents were asked about their personal profile, social origin, length of residence in Brazzaville, education level and family characteristics. At the end of this work, we concluded that four main determinants play a major role regarding this choice, namely:

1) The relational network forms of sociability and social recognition of people from the province of Wenzhou account to a large extent for the economic success of this population. This sociability of the individual takes form around networks of families, friends or acquaintances. These Chinese networks known as *guanxi*, constitute a true foundation of an economy of migration, in which many intermediaries in China and Congo share gains, information selling price of gold.

2) The province: migrants of a province will tend to work only with natives from the same community. The basic principle is that they will also tend to choose the type of activities that are typically carried out in their province. In addition, former settlers have the obligation to help newcomers settle down who in turn will do the same to other newcomers, hence the idea of chain migration.

3) Sex: women choose more commercial activities in which their number is superior to that of men. On the whole, because of the sexual division of labor at the international, they are usually obliged to work in sectors that do not required highly skilled labour.

4) Primary education level: Migrants with little or no education at all will have more difficulties choosing an economic activity than those who are

educated and who have a good knowledge about the kind of economic activities that one may undertake. All things considered, these findings clearly confirm the working hypothesis on the choice of the type of activities depending on the individual characteristics of the migrant. The same applies on the one hand to the province of origin of the migrant that is checked against the findings related to the course of chain migration, and household characteristics that determine the choice for activity of the migrant on the other hand.

These findings raise new questions that will constitute new paths research, namely: How do these activities work? What are their dynamics? What are their contributions in both host and origin countries? What do these activities yield to the immigrants themselves? And what may be the impact of these new economic actors on local development? Can Congo benefit from these Chinese traders in terms of expertise and job creating for local people? These issues will be discussed in a future work, and it is hoped its outcome will shed more light on a new and broader perspective on the Sino-Congolese relationships and on the strategies of what may be called the "Chinese strategy in the Congo".

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