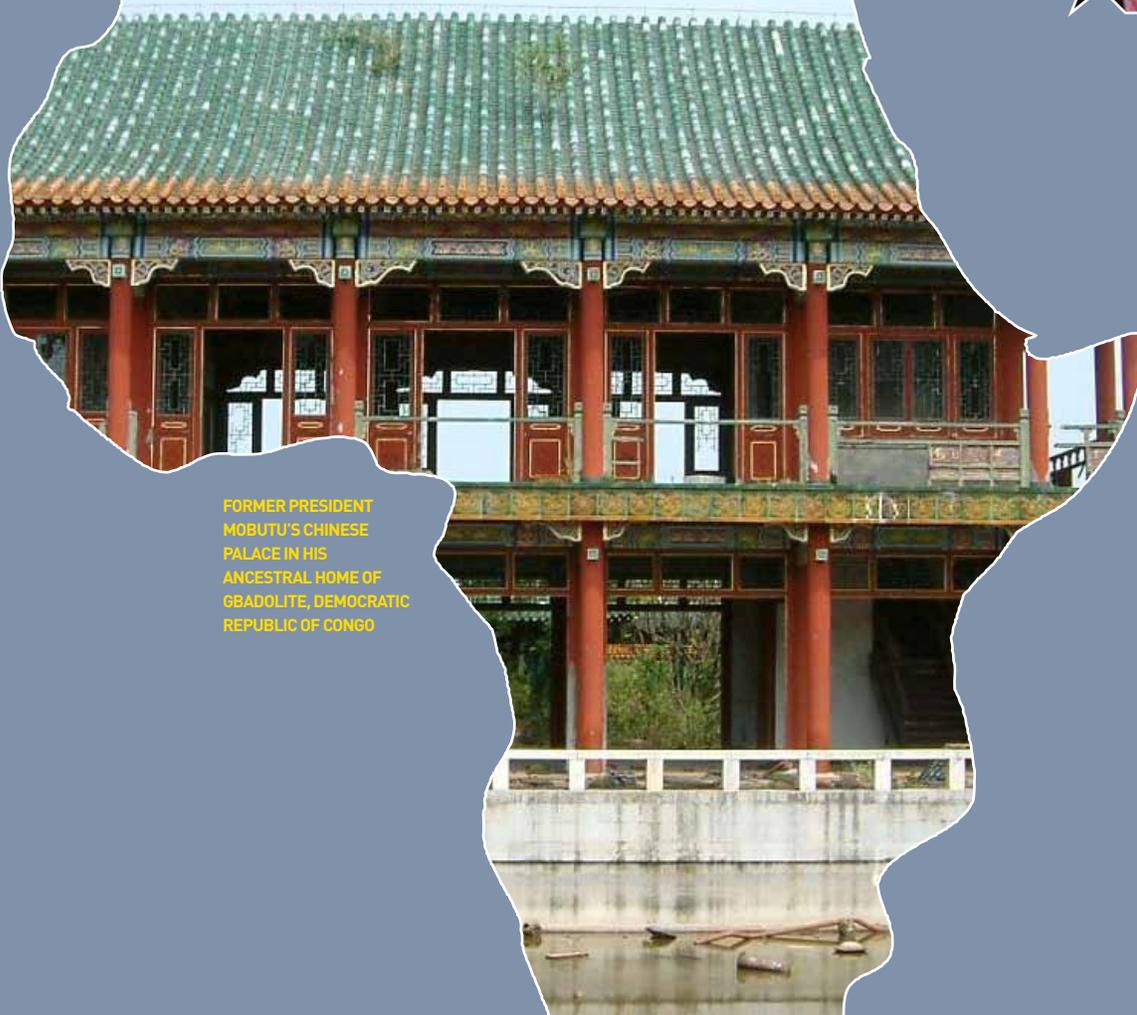


# A PRELIMINARY MAPPING OF CHINA-AFRICA KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS

PREPARED FOR  
THE CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACE FORUM BY

Tatiana Carayannis and Nathaniel Olin

IMPERIAL PALACE,  
FORBIDDEN CITY, BEIJING,  
CHINA



FORMER PRESIDENT  
MOBUTU'S CHINESE  
PALACE IN HIS  
ANCESTRAL HOME OF  
GBADOLITE, DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF CONGO



**SSRC**  
The Social Science  
Research Council

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January 2012

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## Introduction

The twenty-first century has witnessed China's emergence as Africa's second-highest trading partner, behind the United States and ahead of France and Britain, and as the leading personnel contributor to UN peacekeeping operations of any of the five permanent members of the Security Council. As such, the economic and political implications of the China-African relationship have received an unprecedented amount of attention from journalists and scholars alike, with many academic journals publishing special issues on the China-Africa relationship.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, in many policy environments today, one can hardly discuss politics, trade, and security in Africa without also noting the role of China. However, given the dearth of knowledge in much of Africa and elsewhere about China—its history, culture, its foreign and domestic policy drivers—the conversation at best ends there, or at worst, continues with a series of truisms and clichés, either of the drawbacks or the promises of Chinese engagement in Africa.

Given the growing importance of Chinese engagement in Africa, over the past year, the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF) of the SSRC has expanded its research engagement and policy outreach on China-Africa. The origins of this preliminary mapping report lie in an effort to identify Chinese researchers working on Africa—particularly on countries of UN engagement in the region—and on multilateral affairs, in order to expand CPPF's networks of United Nations, and peace and security specialists to include the Chinese research community.

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<sup>1</sup> Traditionally Africa-focused journals such as *Africa Confidential* have begun publishing "Africa-Asia" newsletters, while more thematic academic journals like *International Peacekeeping* have released special issues focusing on China's participation in UN peacekeeping, mostly in Africa.

In November 2010, CPPF Africa/Deputy Director Carayannis undertook a short, introductory research trip to China (Beijing) where she met with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), individual university researchers, and think-tanks working on Africa specifically and international/UN affairs generally. She also met with representatives of international NGOs and the international diplomatic community who follow China in Africa and China and UN peacekeeping. This trip was followed by a second research trip in May 2011 that built on the list of contacts developed on the first trip. Meetings explored the political, social, and economic implications of China's growing role in Africa, as well as China's growing role in UN peacekeeping. They also explored whether the rise in Chinese engagement in Africa is being matched with a comparable increase in investment in Chinese research and research institutions on Africa. Over the course of the last 18 months of CPPF's Africa program activities, these discussions were bookended by seminars and interviews with researchers and analysts throughout Africa, Europe, and the U.S. about research capacity on and interest in China and Africa.

It became clear very quickly that while there is a large volume of research activity underway on China in Africa as well as on African diaspora communities in China—including a growing body of literature exploring various aspects of the relationship, university conferences, and emerging trans-regional research collaborations—much of it remains ad hoc and disconnected. Ultimately, a consensus has emerged around the need for a mapping of who in the research community is doing what. As a result, we have attempted to investigate the “big picture,” getting a sense of trends and recurring themes in research activities and discussions between and among academics and policymakers.

These trends have had three general foci: 1) China's growing involvement in international peace operations, including UN peacekeeping; 2) The impact of Chinese economic engagement in Africa, especially in the resource sector but also large-scale infrastructure projects, on the economic development of African states, and on conflict situations directly; and 3) Historic as well as more recent migration routes and their resulting diasporas, including African migrant labor communities in China, and questions of identity.

In this mapping of China-Africa research communities we have attempted to identify individual researchers with ongoing projects, expertise, or both, on various aspects of the China-Africa relationship. This is by no means exhaustive. Nor is it based on any systematic methodology or systematic review of the literature as our effort has focused largely on English-language scholarship and policy (grey) literatures. This paper is meant to help launch discussions and to be built upon, not to stand as the final word.

The Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF) was founded in 2000 as a program of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), and works to strengthen the knowledge base and analytical capacity of the United Nations system in the fields of conflict prevention and management, peacemaking and peacebuilding. It supports UN policymaking and operations by providing UN decision-makers rapid and unfettered access to leading scholars, experts, and practitioners outside the UN system through informal consultations, off the record briefings, and commissioned research.

CPPF also helps create greater coherence within the UN system and between the UN and key partners in conflict and peacebuilding situations. CPPF's comparative advantage stems from immediate access to senior UN decision-makers, first-hand experience with UN policy and operational planning, combined with an extensive network of experts who complement its own staff's expertise. In the twelve years since its founding, CPPF has become a trusted partner of senior UN officials in the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs, in UN agencies, and of those in peace operations and UN Country Teams in the field.

The Social Science Research Council, CPPF's parent institution, was founded in 1923 with a mandate to reach across disciplinary and institutional boundaries and bring the best social science researchers together to address problems of public concern. It has also provided over 10,000 fellowships to graduate students and young researchers around the world, including the recently launched Next Generation of African Social Science fellowships. The Council's distinctive niche is to innovate and incubate, to identify emergent lines of research of critical social importance that will be enhanced by interdisciplinary or international ties, and to help scattered researchers build networks and nascent fields to achieve critical mass. The SSRC has had an agreement of cooperation with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) since 1998, following on earlier engagements with the institution, and maintains an active Inter-Asia program which supports research collaborations.

## Preliminary Findings and Conclusions

This preliminary mapping process identified several common themes around which ongoing work on China-Africa is organized: Economics and Trade, Political and Security Engagement in Multilateral Institutions, and Diasporas and Identity Issues. It also has identified gaps, stereotypes, and truisms within each of these broad thematic clusters, all of which could be usefully addressed by further evidenced-based research.

There is little coordination or cooperation among individual researchers and research institutes working on these issues, a condition often exacerbated by tensions between area specialists within institutions over who leads on cross-regional issues. We found this to be the case globally. So while we are witnessing a "re-regionalization" of research and policy activities, this has yet to lead to any visible transformation of international or area studies, or emerge into a coherent "field."

In this mapping process we also have sought to assess the existing research capacity on these key issues in China and the African continent. We have found that the capacity for cross-regional research and collaboration is limited in both regions, as it is elsewhere. African studies in China, much as area studies in the United States, have been generally neglected, with very limited depth in research. By contrast, African researchers and universities have demonstrated significant interest in building real capacity for research on China, but are limited by the scarce resources available.

The recent uptick in China-Africa research activity has been accompanied by a growing recognition in advocacy and policy communities that they do not sufficiently engage with China, and that targeting New York, Washington, Brussels and Addis Ababa on conflict prevention and peacebuilding issues, especially in Africa, misses a key actor. This recognition has led to efforts by a

handful of Western non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to begin to identify entry points and interlocutors on China's Africa policies, as well as efforts to support China's emerging leadership role in UN peacekeeping while also broadening the discourse of peacebuilding within China itself.

The relationship of universities and think tanks to policy circles varies both within and between these two regions. In much of Africa, researchers and policy-makers lack an institutional relationship for research to feed into public policy. This is partly due to the paucity of think tanks in the region and to the resource and capacity challenges faced by African universities, but also because in many cases, researchers have placed themselves in opposition to sitting governments. By contrast, China claims several policy think tanks, including ones embedded within key government ministries, specifically mandated to help inform policy. In both cases, researchers engaged in policy research are demand-driven--in China by the state, whereas in Africa by external consultancies--and their autonomy to set independent and longer-term research agendas is therefore limited. These debates and discussions must be expanded, both within the research and policy communities, and trans-regionally.

Due in part to this research-policy gap, and in part to economic and political disparities, Africa has limited capacity to define its China strategy and position itself to take maximum advantage of Chinese growth. There is a recognition of this deficit within the African policy and research communities, which has led to a significant need and interest for China research, but this is hamstrung by limited capacity. One potential first step in this process that has emerged from our discussions with African academics would be the creation of summer institutes for African researchers devoted to studying China, or thematic workshops that would aim to develop and deepen understandings among researchers in multiple regions.

The peacebuilding discourse in China is very limited, despite the country's growing involvement in multilateral operations in Africa. Although there has been an uptick in research on UN reform and UN peacekeeping operations in the last decade, "UN scholars" in China are still focused on strategic US-China issues. There is also a growing recognition in China of the responsibilities of international leadership and therefore the need to maintain a "responsible" international image, with UN peacekeeping viewed as one such tool. However, there is room to broaden the dialogue on peacebuilding issues, and need for more substantive work on peace studies in China. There are also opportunities for south-south learning as peacebuilding research in Africa is much more developed than in China. This would complement the south-south learning currently underway around China's successful poverty alleviation efforts.

This paper attempts to respond to the many calls for a mapping of China-Africa knowledge networks, but more field-mapping is needed to better understand the direction of China-Africa research. Firstly, we cannot speak to the evidence base of the existing list. The literature review presented here is not systematic, but focuses on a narrow selection of the existing literature. This includes mostly English-language academic scholarship published in the U.S., Europe, and Africa, and policy research published by think tanks and advocacy organizations in these regions. Second, researchers and institutions working on China-Africa were identified through a snowball approach, but time constraints limited those whom

we were able to interview or visit. A proper mapping of the field would undertake a broader literature review, and would also include Chinese academic and policy literature.

Secondly and more crucially, as much of the work presented here is ad-hoc in nature, we see the need for a cross-regional, inter-institutional task force that would convene stakeholders from the research, funding, and policy communities working on China-Africa issues in each region. This task force would be given the short-term goal of sharing information, the medium-term goal of undertaking a proper mapping exercise and identifying areas for further research, and the longer-term goal of field-building. We also see several fruitful areas for cross-regional research and collaboration.

Without a measure of useful direction, the burgeoning interest in China and Africa will dissipate, and we will have lost an opportunity to shape an emergent field that has the potential to inform critical policy in multiple regions. In this regard, the catalytic and convening ability of the Social Science Research Council stands to play a crucial role going forward. Our field presence in Beijing and close links with both research and policy communities in China, Africa, and the United Nations places the SSRC in a key position to facilitate dialogue and collaboration going forward.

## Research Themes

During the course of our discussions, we identified three themes under which much of the research of the day falls. We have identified these as Trade and Aid, Political and Security Engagement in Multilateral Institutions, and Diasporas and Identity Issues. There is both an academic and policy research component to each of these, though some lend themselves more to policy research and advocacy. Despite these three clusters, and because this is still very much an emerging field, there are gaps within each research theme that would benefit from additional research.

### Trade and Aid

The twenty-first century has witnessed China's ascension to its current role as Africa's second-highest trading partner, behind the United States, and ahead of France and Britain. The discussion within the international research community about the emerging relationship between Africa and China has been dominated by the growing economic linkages and ties between the two regions. China's economic activity, trade, and bilateral agreements with African states are frequently viewed—in research and policy communities alike—in contrast to the history of Western engagement on the continent, including both the colonial period and the still-uncertain legacy of post-war development aid.

#### *The “China Model”*

To date, much of the scholarship on African and Chinese economic cooperation and linkages has focused on several distinct but related subjects, all of which will require further fieldwork and empirical research. Much of this emerging area of research centers around the relevance or existence, even, of a “China model” of development. The so-called *Beijing Consensus* has been hotly debated both among Western researchers and media and their Chinese counterparts. In a full-page spread on the question with the headline “The Emergence of a Growth Model,” the China Daily Editor noted that, “It is still debatable whether there exists a ‘China Model,’ but the debate itself will help us better understand the emergence of China.”<sup>2</sup>

One area of focus has been the differences—both in form and effect—between development aid from China and development aid from the West. Particular attention has been given to the extractive industries and infrastructure projects. Many NGO and think tank reports typically focus on high-level agreements and concessions between African states and the Chinese government or subsidiary bodies. While some scholars have analyzed the form of these loans and infrastructure projects, including conditionalities, relative interest rates and financial terms, other scholars have focused their analyses on the ultimate impact of Chinese lending programs on African policy and development. Beyond lending programs, other scholars have explored the more localized impacts of Chinese-run development projects and enterprises, and their relationships with local communities.

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<sup>2</sup> Editor's Note. 2011. The emergence of a growth model. *China Daily*, April 27 2011. ([http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-04/27/content\\_12401942.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-04/27/content_12401942.htm))

A growing body of work argues that Chinese economic cooperation in Africa does not fall into the traditional definition of “development aid” used by the West—its official development aid (ODA) is minimal,<sup>3</sup> while the activities of the various state-owned companies and independent entities are better characterized as a form of investment.<sup>4</sup> Actors from all sides have aligned their rhetoric along a narrative which presents Chinese engagement in opposition to Western engagement, and a debate has emerged in the policy and research communities over whether the new trend of Chinese engagement is “better” or “worse” for Africa than the post-war history of Western development aid.

Before exploring this polemic, it is important to note that Chinese economic engagement in the African continent is by no means monolithic, nor is it new. While large-scale bilateral trade and development agreements between the Chinese state and African governments typically do align with Chinese government policy, the various agencies of the Chinese state—as in any country—can and do occasionally pursue diverging interests. Moreover, the many independent and parastatal Chinese commercial actors that operate in Africa do not necessarily conform to the foreign policy priorities of the Chinese state. While certain companies may be used as a tool of Chinese policy on the African continent, others operate, as Western corporations do, to make a profit. Then there are the multitudes of individual Chinese merchants, traders, and migrant workers who operate with little or no infrastructure. It is important to keep all of this in mind when evaluating “Chinese” engagement; while it may exhibit overarching aspects or trends, it no more reflects a unified agenda than “Western” economic engagement in Africa.

Those researchers and policy makers that view Chinese engagement as beneficial for the region typically point to the contrast between Africa’s post-war development history and that of post-war East and Southeast Asia. The leaps and bounds made by these Asian economies—made largely without the large-scale development aid flowing from the West that Africa has enjoyed—have led many African policy makers and economists in recent years to turn to the East when looking for economic models and development lessons. While Western aid, according to many, has undercut home-grown economic activity in Africa,<sup>5</sup> the rapidly-growing economies of East and Southeast Asian states have made dramatic strides in poverty reduction and improving their standard of living, without significant external assistance. Moreover, many African policy makers view the heavy focus on governance to which much Western aid is linked as imposing unnecessary limitations on their economic and fiscal policy. By

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<sup>3</sup> According to China Daily reporting, Africa’s annual foreign direct investment is estimated at \$80-90 billion and China’s contribution to that is only \$1 billion. Fu Ziyang. 2011. Official urges Africa to ‘open wider’. *China Daily*, April 27 2011. [http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2011-04/27/content\\_12404096.htm](http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2011-04/27/content_12404096.htm).

<sup>4</sup> Brautigam, Deborah. Forthcoming 2011. Chinese Development Aid in Africa. In *Rising China: Global Challenges and Opportunities*, 203-222.

<sup>5</sup> This argument is the subject of a significant body of literature, most visibly set forth in recent years in Dambisa Moyo’s 2009 book “Dead Aid: why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa” which argues that Western “charity” has increased dependency, undercut growth, and helped to maintain poverty levels rather than reducing them. Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. *Dead Aid: why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.

contrast, Chinese and other Asian development efforts—which have been largely unconcerned with governance—have seen remarkable success.<sup>6</sup>

### *Barter or Resource-for-Infrastructure Agreements*

Recent oil-for-infrastructure agreements between Angola and China are frequently cited in the literature on China-Africa economic cooperation as a case in point of how Chinese loans are often more attractive for African countries than similar loan agreements with the West.<sup>7</sup> In the early 2000s, emerging from a civil war, Angola faced significant difficulty in securing reconstruction funds, as donor countries demanded that it improve its relationship with the IMF. The Chinese government imposed no such restrictions, however, and in 2003 and 2004 Angola was able to secure a loan from the Export-Import Bank of China. While the loan required that 70% of the goods and contractors financed by the loans come from China, it imposed no governance or policy restrictions, provided better interest rates than commercial loans, and was secured by Angolan oil.<sup>8</sup> By the end of the decade, the Chinese government and subsidiary financial organizations had provided upwards of \$14 million USD in loans for infrastructure and reconstruction projects in Angola, financed by Angola's own oil resources.

At the same time, skeptics of China's engagement in Africa have identified the lack of conditionality, transparency, and contingency on governance reform as a crucial problem with Chinese engagement in Africa. While the lack of conditions on aid usage does increase the policy space available to African governments in spending funds and developing programs, the lack of conditionality and transparency makes it arguably more susceptible to misuse or diversion. While many African elites welcome the alternative source of investment that China presents, a growing number of analysts and academics from within Africa have begun to express misgivings about whether Chinese aid and investment can be turned towards the continent's advantage and meet African development priorities.<sup>9</sup>

Beyond issues of transparency and governance conditionality, the impact of Chinese commercial ventures on the ground is also attracting attention. A prevailing popular narrative, particularly within the African continent, is that Chinese infrastructure and extractive projects are imported into Africa wholesale, complete with a Chinese workforce, creating resentment with local communities. The reality may be more complex. Many Chinese development projects do bring in both equipment and skilled labor—engineers and technicians—but often employ local laborers in large numbers. Moreover, in some cases (the DRC, for example), the Chinese “barter” system of commodities in exchange for public works

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<sup>6</sup> Janneh, Abdoulie. 2010. Asia in Africa: New Connections in Historical Perspective. Panel discussion, Columbia University, New York, December 3, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Alves, Ana C, and Jesse S Ovadia. 2010. Oil, Energy and Power in Sino-Angolan Relations. *The China Monitor* (54). [http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/China\\_Monitor\\_AUGUST\\_2010.pdf](http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/China_Monitor_AUGUST_2010.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> Alves and Ovadia. Oil, Energy and Power in Sino-Angolan Relations

<sup>9</sup> See French, Howard. 2010. The Next Empire. *The Atlantic* (May 2010): 1-13; Large, Daniel. 2010. Asia in Africa: New Connections in Historical Perspective. Panel discussion, Columbia University, New York, December 3, 2010; Lee, M. 2010. Political Economy and Global Geo-Politics. Presentation at the conference “The ‘New Scramble for Africa?’ Contemporary Formations Between China and Africa,” Yale University, April 23, 2010; and Human Rights First. 2008. Investing in Tragedy: China's Money, Arms, and Politics in Sudan. <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf/080311-cah-investing-in-tragedy-report.pdf>.

programs is criticized by some local policymakers who may find themselves cut out of an earlier profitable patronage system. Indeed, as one scholar has been known to note, one cannot put roads into Swiss bank accounts<sup>10</sup>—in other words, resource-for-infrastructure projects limit opportunities to embezzle funds, in contrast to traditional western donor practices. Nevertheless, many development projects have been criticized for producing infrastructure without any corresponding increase in capacity, as the expertise and technology often departs with the Chinese company.

While these characteristics are by no means unique to Chinese business ventures, they have at times exacerbated already strained relationships with local populations, in some cases leading to violent incidents. In Zambia, for example, a Chinese-operated copper mine became the focus of controversy after more than fifty Zambian workers (paid below minimum wage and forbidden from unionizing) were killed in an explosion in 2005. Protests the following year turned violent when a Chinese supervisor opened fire on Zambian laborers.<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that these sorts of incidents are by no means unique to Chinese engagement—many Western companies<sup>12</sup> have been implicated in similar abuses<sup>12</sup>—but some analysts note such incidents as evidence for a larger argument that rejects the idea of Chinese economic activity and trade as “better” for Africa than traditional Western models.<sup>13</sup> More research must be conducted in order for the policy and research discussions to go beyond anecdotal understandings of the impact such Chinese business ventures have on local communities and regions.

While much scholarly attention to date has been devoted to extractive industries, particularly in the context of armed conflict—minerals in eastern Congo, or oil in the Niger delta, for example—there have been reports of Chinese businesses discreetly moving into the African agricultural sector, albeit in fits and starts, and with limited success.<sup>14</sup> Although farming captures fewer headlines than conflict over minerals, debates over land rights for farmland and pastures lie at the roots of many of Africa’s longest-running conflicts, from the Sudanese civil war to political struggles in Zimbabwe. As such, researchers have highlighted the possibility that such economic activity could elevate tensions, both between local communities and Chinese businesses, and between populations and the African administrations cutting the deals.<sup>15</sup> However, accusations that China is implementing a systematic strategy of acquiring African farmland, a concern often expressed by populations in the region, are difficult to substantiate and not necessarily reflected in the evidence.<sup>16</sup> Scholarship on this emerging activity has been limited to date, compared to the amount of attention paid to oil or mineral extraction and large bilateral loan or trade agreements, and further study will be required.

As Chinese investment in extractive industries and agribusiness in Africa grows, so has eco-systems related work in Africa and China, if a proliferation of meetings and seminars around these issues

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<sup>10</sup> Herbert Weiss. 2011. interview, 17 October 2011.

<sup>11</sup> French. *The Next Empire*.

<sup>12</sup> The long-standing conflict between Shell Oil and the Ogoni people in the Niger River Delta, for example.

<sup>13</sup> French. *The Next Empire*.

<sup>14</sup> Cotula, Lorenzo. et al. *Land grab or development opportunity? Agricultural investment and international land deals in Africa* (London/Rome: FAO, IIED, IFAD, 2009), 55

<sup>15</sup> French. *The Next Empire*.

<sup>16</sup> Cotula. *Land grab or development opportunity?*

is any indication. This suggests that the link between environment and development may be a new, emerging area of collaboration that could usefully be encouraged.

Whatever the outcome of the debate over Chinese engagement in Africa, a general consensus exists that Chinese economic activity presents a significant opportunity for African development going forward. The critical task of the research and policy communities—especially within Africa itself—is to ensure that Chinese engagement serves African development priorities. Experiences to date have been uneven, and the jury is out on whether Chinese trade and development assistance will serve to lift Africans out of poverty.

### Political and Security Engagement in Multilateral Institutions

As Chinese economic engagement in Africa continues to grow, China’s involvement in the African continent’s political and security spheres has inevitably kept pace. Scholars have analyzed Chinese political engagement in the region through the country’s stated principles of “non-interference” and respect for state sovereignty, and China typically does not condition its relationship with a country on the government’s human rights or democratic credentials. At the same time, China has repeatedly expressed a strong interest in African stability, both in rhetoric and in action. Over the past decade, as the amount of Chinese trade with Africa has skyrocketed, researchers have found that China’s “non-interference” stance has become more flexible, and the country has expressed growing support for—and involvement with—multilateral peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations on the African continent.

Researchers investigating these political and security engagements, particularly in the context of the UN and multilateral institutions, have identified several key areas for China-Africa research. China’s increasing engagement with UN peacekeeping is one of the most visible shifts in Chinese policy in recent years, with significant implications for both Africa and peacekeeping as a whole. This has been paralleled with a growing acceptance of “peacebuilding” as a key priority for China. Meanwhile, other researchers have focused on Chinese engagement in the UN Security Council, which has similarly shifted in character and carries significant implications for international operations in Africa. Finally, researchers—particularly within the human rights community—have identified the Chinese-African arms trade as a key topic for further research. The majority of this research has stemmed from the NGO community, consisting primarily of gray literature produced by think tanks, human rights organizations, and humanitarian networks. However, China-Africa political and security relations are seeing an increasing amount of attention from African and Western academic literature as well.<sup>17</sup>

#### *UN Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding*

As a permanent member of the UN Security Council since 1971, China historically opposed UN peacekeeping operations as violations of sovereignty and interference in internal state matters by the

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<sup>17</sup> See the recent special issue of *International Peacekeeping* on China’s Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping. 2011. *International Peacekeeping*. 18 (3)

West, and typically refused to participate in voting on peacekeeping resolutions altogether.<sup>18</sup> However, Chinese engagement in UN peacekeeping has grown dramatically in recent years, beginning with its participation in the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor in early 2000. At the time of writing, China contributes 2,041 personnel to UN peacekeeping missions around the world, including 1,896 troops, 92 police, and 53 military observers—the largest contributor by far of any of the permanent five members of the Security Council, and fifteenth in the world overall.<sup>19</sup> Over the course of its increasing involvement, China has also opened a Civilian Peacekeeping Police Training Center in Langfang, outside of Beijing, in 2004,<sup>20</sup> and established a military peacekeeping training center in the Beijing suburb of Huairou in 2009. These centers provide pre-deployment training and serve as venues for international exchanges in peacekeeping best-practices.<sup>21</sup>

China's shift towards direct support for peacekeeping reflects a growing appreciation in Chinese policy circles of the utility of multilateral peacekeeping operations for addressing insecurity on the African continent, both through peacekeeping and peacebuilding.<sup>22</sup> In addition, peacekeeping has been recognized as a conduit through which China can promote its reputation for good citizenship, leadership, and responsibility on the global stage.<sup>23</sup> The previous policy of strict non-interference has given way to a more nuanced approach that recognizes peacebuilding as both a critical development priority and a key goal of Chinese engagement in Africa. China's approach to peacebuilding has been characterized by a "top-down" approach, privileging the strengthening of state institutions over local or community-level interventions—a position consistent with the emphasis on sovereignty and host country cooperation.<sup>24</sup> While China continues to balk at "mission creep," in which peacekeeping operations take on traditional responsibilities of the state, and rejects democratization language in peacekeeping mandates outright,<sup>25</sup> it has dramatically increased its support for multilateral peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict situations over the past twenty years.

### *China and the Security Council*

Beyond peacekeeping missions, China's official position on African issues in front of the Security Council is one of deference to the positions of African countries and the African Union (AU). Its rhetoric of deferring to African member-states on African issues falls both within its global position of non-

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<sup>18</sup> International Crisis Group. 2009. China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping (Asia Report No. 166).

<sup>19</sup> Monthly summary of contributors as of 30 June 2011, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (accessed 5 August 2011 at [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2011/jun11\\_1.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2011/jun11_1.pdf)). It should be noted that China's troop contributions fall primarily under the category of "force enablers," including logistical units, engineers, and medical staff; to date, China contributes no combat troops.

<sup>20</sup> 2004. Annan tours China's new peacekeeping training centre. *UN News*, October 12 2004. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=12197&Cr=china&Cr1=>

<sup>21</sup> 2009. China opens up 1<sup>st</sup> peacekeeping training center. *Xinhua*, June 25 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-06/25/content\\_8324367.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-06/25/content_8324367.htm)

<sup>22</sup> Huang Chin-Hao. 2011. Principles and Praxis of China's Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping* 18 (3).

<sup>23</sup> Richardson, C. 2011. A Responsible Power? China and the UN Peacekeeping Regime. *International Peacekeeping* 18 (3).

<sup>24</sup> Saferworld. 2011. China's growing role in African peace and security. 62

<sup>25</sup> Zhao Lei. 2011. Two Pillars of China's Global Peace Engagement Strategy: UN Peacekeeping and International Peacebuilding. *International Peacekeeping* 18 (3)

interference, and the rhetoric of south-south cooperation that drives much of China's economic engagement in the developing world. Naturally, however, African states do not always see eye-to-eye on the various political and security challenges facing the continent. While supporting the AU has led China to be more proactive in addressing crises such as Somalia in 2006, it has also led to vetoing sanctions against Zimbabwe in 2008, and reinforced China's objection to the indictment of Omar al-Bashir by the ICC in 2009.<sup>26</sup> Some have argued that Chinese support for African policy in the Security Council is merely a tool to deflect criticism,<sup>27</sup> but there is no denying that China has made significant effort to maintain a perception of support for the positions of the developing world, in the face of Western interventionism.

### *Arms Proliferation*

Bilaterally, China enjoys limited military cooperation with a number of African states. Most of this official cooperation, carried out at high levels, consists of weapons transfers, defense infrastructure (usually constructed by Chinese enterprises), training, and de-mining efforts. As official Chinese military cooperation has not kept pace with the growth in its economic and political ties, remaining relatively constant over the past ten years,<sup>28</sup> some analysts have argued that China's military cooperation is more a method of cementing good relations with the recipient country than affecting defense policy.<sup>29</sup> However, this cooperation is largely opaque, and its ultimate impact on African peace and security is unclear.

By contrast, China's role in the arms trade has generated significant attention both through Western NGOs and human rights advocacy groups. Again, the full extent of the Chinese arms trade in Africa is difficult to assess, but it is doubtless significant—according to some sources, China is the single largest supplier of small arms and light weapons to sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>30</sup> The lack of transparency or end-user controls over Chinese arms transfers to Africa has led to significant concern over their use in the perpetration of human rights violations. The UN Group of Experts on Darfur recently reported evidence of Chinese ammunition being used by armed groups in Darfur, prompting heated denunciations of the group by China and an attempt to block the report's publication.<sup>31</sup> Chinese weapons have also been found with armed groups in the DRC, and intercepted en route to Zimbabwe during a period of civil unrest, causing significant embarrassment for China on the international stage.

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<sup>26</sup> Saferworld. "China's growing role in African peace and security." 61-65

<sup>27</sup> Aning, Kwesi and Francis Tsidi. 2010. China and Africa: Towards a new security relationship. Paper presented at the *China-Africa Civil Society Forum on Peace and Development*, Beijing. June 2-4 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Saferworld. China's growing role in African peace and security. 39

<sup>29</sup> Saferworld. China's growing role in African peace and security. 41

<sup>30</sup> Grimmett, Richard. 2010. *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2002–2009*. United States Congressional Research Service, 32

<sup>31</sup> Ford, Peter. China dismisses UN report that Chinese bullets were found in Darfur. *Christian Science Monitor*, October 21, 2010. <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/2010/1021/China-dismisses-UN-report-that-Chinese-bullets-were-used-in-Darfur>

China is by no means unique in supplying arms to the continent, but the scope of its engagement in the arms trade has been raised as cause for concern—even within Chinese policy circles.<sup>32</sup>

Overall, the dramatic shift in Chinese policy towards supporting multilateral peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts has been welcomed by the UN and African states alike, as peacekeeping missions continue to face complex and intractable situations, with only scant resources to address them. On the one hand, China’s position of non-interference and open engagement with authoritarian regimes often brings it into conflict with the West, particularly regarding human rights and democracy. However, as with its economic engagement, China’s demonstrated interest in the security and stability of the African continent presents a significant opportunity for the region. While many human rights organizations have expressed concerns regarding the opaqueness of Chinese engagement—particularly in the domain of arms trading—China’s increasing role in peacekeeping on the continent, and its desire to be seen as a “responsible” member of the international community has been welcomed as it could well motivate Chinese policy makers to be more proactive in their attempts to address conflict in Africa.

### **Diasporas, Migration, and Identity**

While economic and political implications of the Sino-African relationship have received an unprecedented amount of attention from journalists and scholars, the significant social change that has accompanied China’s increased economic ties with the continent, specifically new waves of migration from China to Africa and from Africa to China, remain understudied and under-researched. Though Chinese migration to Africa has existed since the nineteenth century and Africans have been migrating to China for over forty years, in the last decade these flows have increased exponentially, with new and flourishing communities currently shaping economic, social, and political relations in both China and Africa.

Media coverage on the subject has mainly focused on conflict and tensions between these migrant communities and their respective hosts, while in recent years a burgeoning body of scholarship has provided information on the historical geography of Sino-African diasporas, trends in current migratory flows, and the organization of migrant communities. Comprehensive reports on the state of the Chinese diaspora in Africa do exist, but these have not been compiled for the African diaspora in China. On both fronts, literature on the trends of this scholarship has yet to surface. This section of the mapping study attempts to summarize these trends and some avenues for further research, specifically with regard to issues of settlement, integration, and identity formation between Chinese and African migrants and their respective host communities.

#### *Chinese in Africa*

The first wave of Chinese migration to Africa occurred during the nineteenth century, the same century that saw the first large influx of Chinese migrants to the gold mines of California, although some scholars date the point of contact between China and Africa as early as the fifteenth century, some as early as

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<sup>32</sup> Saferworld. 2011. China’s growing role in African peace and security. 55

600 CE.<sup>33</sup> Also recruited to dig for gold, Chinese migrants to South Africa comprised the first group of a migrant pool from China that, in the twenty-first century, numbers in the hundreds of thousands.<sup>34</sup> Over the past twenty years, most of the attention towards China's global migratory flows has been focused on Chinese migration to the "North"—America and Europe. The current scholarship on Chinese migration to Africa can be seen as an extension of this literature, nicely compiled by sinologist Frank Pieke.<sup>35</sup> It should also be noted, however, that Africa's more recent Chinese diasporas are marked by China's unique history of solidarity with the greater "Third World" during the 1950s and 1960s and its current economic relationship with countries throughout the continent.

In 2007, the Rockefeller Foundation compiled a report on the present state of Chinese migrants to Africa. As part of its effort to provide an overview of the state of knowledge on Chinese diasporas in Africa (focusing both on the present and the trajectories for the future), the authors outlined the three phases of Chinese migration to the continent:

- between 1850 and 1960, longstanding communities in South Africa and Mauritius were established as a result of a colonial demand for labor;
- between 1960 and the 1980s, thousands of Chinese technical advisors, laborers, and doctors entered Africa as part of Chairman Mao's "Third World" solidarity movement, while apartheid South Africa saw an influx of professionals from Taiwan, with whom it had a political alliance;
- between the 1990s and the present, in the wake of China's economic reforms, an unprecedented number of entrepreneurs, temporary migrants, and people in transit<sup>36</sup> have flocked to the continent.<sup>37</sup>

Over the last few years, reports, ethnographic case studies, and media coverage have proliferated out of an interest in the marked increase in Chinese migrants to the continent during this most recent phase of migration. Acting in response to the burgeoning literature on China's political and economic interests in Africa,<sup>38</sup> overviews such as those commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation and

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<sup>33</sup> Wyatt, Don. 2010. *The Blacks of Pre-Modern China*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

<sup>34</sup> Official statistics on the exact amount of Chinese laborers in Africa are difficult to come by. Malia Politzer has compiled the different opinions on this figure: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=690>

<sup>35</sup> Pieke, Frank. 2007. Editorial introduction: Community and identity in the new Chinese migration order. *Population, Space and Place* 13 (2): 81-94.

<sup>36</sup> Ma Mung, Emmanuel. 2008. Chinese Migration and China's Foreign Policy in Africa. *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 4. 91-109.

<sup>37</sup> Mohan, Giles and Dinar Kale. 2007. The invisible hand of South-South globalisation: Chinese migrants in Africa. Report for the Rockefeller Foundation prepared by the Development Policy and Practice Department, The Open University.

<sup>38</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography, see Daniel Large. 2008. Beyond 'Dragon in the Bush': The Study of China-Africa Relations. *African Affairs*, 107/426, 45-61. Examples of this type of literature are: Chris Alden. 2007. *China in Africa*. London; New York: Zed Books.; Giles Mohan and Marcus Power. 2009. Africa, China and the 'New' Economic Geography of Development. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 30: 24-28.; Kweisi Kwaa Prah. 2007. China and Africa: Defining a Relationship. *Development* 50(3): 69-75.; Robert Rotberg. 2008. *China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.; Denis Tull. 2006. China's Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences. *Modern African Studies* 44(3): 459-479.; Arthur

by Edward Mung, focus on drivers and phases of emigration; source regions, destination countries, and patterns of settlement; family ties and homeland connections, integration and separation, organization and institutions, and longstanding and emerging tensions among Chinese migrants and between these groups and their host communities. Microscopic profiles of migrant communities throughout Africa have provided the majority of these overviews' source material. Due to the subject's recent emergence in the academic literature, scholars in the field not only introduce new knowledge about these communities, but offer insights into new migratory trends from China to Africa.

While the majority of the literature on Chinese communities in Africa is dominated by specific case studies, some work has been done on the cumulative reaction of Africans towards Chinese migrants. Barry Sautman, who began his research on Sino-African relations through the examination of anti-black racism in China,<sup>39</sup> has recently devoted his attention to a rebuttal of the international media's "putative 'African view' of Africa," which assumes that African views toward Chinese migrants are negative and that only African ruling elites are positive about these links. Along with Yan Hairong, Sautman concludes that African views are not nearly as negative as the Western media makes them out to be—not only are African ruling elites positive about these links, African perspectives towards Chinese migrants vary by country. Moreover, politicians' "China" platforms and Western domestic influence also influence popular attitudes towards China.

#### *Africans in China*

Chinese migration to Africa has been an ongoing phenomenon since the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Although there were some Chinese training programs for Africans in the mid-twentieth century, African migration to China, on the other hand, is a much more recent trend. Prior to 1978, African students and diplomats were the only "migrant groups" on the mainland. In the thirty years following China's economic reforms, the country has become a major destination for international migration, attracting foreigners from all over the world. Foreign communities have appeared in large cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenyang, as well as in smaller cities such as Suzhou, Yiwu, and Dongguan.<sup>41</sup> While students and diplomats still comprise a portion of African migrants in China, it is African businessmen and women who now dominate the African migrant community. Today in cities such as Guangzhou, Yiwu, and Hong Kong, small traders from African countries have formed sizable ethnic enclaves. Attracted to China's large wholesale markets, these traders buy cheap goods including small appliances, electronics, and motorcycles to be sold back home.<sup>42</sup>

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Waldron. 2008. *China in Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Jamestown Foundation.; and Ali Zafar. 2007. The Growing Relationship Between China and Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic, Trade, Investment, and Aid Links. *The World Bank Research Observer* 22(1):103.

<sup>39</sup> Sautman, Barry . 1994. Anti-Black racism in post-Mao China. *China Quarterly* 138: 413.

<sup>40</sup> Accone, Darryl. 2006. 'Ghost people': Localising the Chinese self in an African context. *Asian Studies Review* 30, no. 3: 257-272

<sup>41</sup> Li Zhigang., et al. 2008. The African enclave of Guangzhou: a case study of Xiaobeilu. *Acta Geographica Sinica* 63, no. 2: 207-218.

<sup>42</sup> McGovern, Michael, Roderick McIntosh, and Helen Siu. 2009. China-Africa Diasporas: A Research Project Proposal.

Prior to the surge of African businessmen on the mainland, scholarship on the African presence in China was almost nonexistent. In the late 1980s, scholars Barry Sautman and Michael Sullivan attempted to parse anti-black racist sentiments towards African students on Chinese university campuses. Between 1979 and 1988, anti-African protests riddled Chinese campuses in Shanghai and Nanjing, ultimately leading to the 1988-1989 Nanjing anti-African protests, mass demonstrations against African students in Nanjing, China.<sup>43</sup> However, the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 quickly overshadowed the Nanjing protests. Little work directly related to tensions around race and ethnicity has been done since, though the issue does come up in some of the scholarship on Guangzhou's African enclaves.

While literature on the African presence in China is still quite scarce, throughout the last several years there has been an explosion of interest on this front from Chinese, British, German and French scholars. The sheer *visibility* of Africans in Guangzhou is perhaps one of the major reasons underlying the increased interest in this region. Whereas major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai host several thousands of Africans,<sup>44</sup> Guangzhou has an official record of over 20,000 long-term African residents,<sup>45</sup> though the actual number is most likely in the hundreds of thousands.<sup>46</sup> Li Zhigang was the first scholar to contribute a thorough study of Guangzhou's African migrants. Li situated the community within existing literature on socio-spatial restructuring, transnational migration, and "globalization from below," as well as work on African diasporas elsewhere. In addition to offering several theoretical frameworks, Li mapped out the city's transnational ethnic enclaves and administered a survey aimed at understanding the basic living conditions of African migrants in Guangzhou. The survey found that while relations between the Africans and Chinese traders, as well as the local police, were "by no means harmonious," Chinese businesses have accommodated migrants in exchange for commercial opportunities.

Tensions within these foreign enclaves, however, persist, though this varies city by city. Acknowledging the existence of tensions caused by "immigration restrictions and irregularities," Adam Bodomo has found that migrant communities like that in Guangzhou "act as linguistic, cultural and economic bridges between their source communities and their host communities."<sup>47</sup> In an article about Yiwu, where 30,000 African entrepreneurs work in China's largest commodities market, Bodomo argues that Yiwu serves as a safer place of work, as visa restrictions and regulations are more lenient than in Guangzhou, and the government is more accommodating towards freedom of religion, commissioning the construction of a mosque for the African Muslim population (2010). In contrast, in the mid-2000s, media coverage of Guangzhou focused heavily on the novelty of Africans living in the city. An African-led

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<sup>43</sup> Sautman. Anti-Black racism in post-Mao China; and M.J. Sullivan. 1994. "The 1988-89 Nanjing anti-African protests: Racial nationalism or national racism?" *China Quarterly*, 138: 438.

<sup>44</sup> Sautman, Barry. 2007. Friends and Interests: China's Distinctive Links with Africa. *African Studies Review*. 50, no. 3: 75.

<sup>45</sup> 2009. Guangzhou's African Bind. *South China Morning Post*, 29 November 2009.

<sup>46</sup> Coloma, Tristan. 2010. In Africa Town, everything to gain. *The Globe and Mail*, May 15 2010. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/g8-g20/opinion/in-africa-town-everything-to-gain/article1569451/>.

<sup>47</sup> Bodomo, Adams. 2010. The African Trading Community in Guangzhou: An Emerging Bridge for Africa-China Relations. *The China Quarterly*. 203: 693-707

riot against the police, sparked by the death of a man who had escaped an immigration search, was the catalyst for articles about the incident and the illegal status of African merchants.<sup>48</sup>

Researchers have addressed the presence of Africans in China mostly through the macro lens of migration and diaspora studies. Ethnographic studies of relations between Chinese and Africans are few and far between except for short descriptions of Chinese perceptions of Africans -- a generally ignored yet critical and sensitive topic.<sup>49</sup> Simon Shen and Martha Saavedra have done some of the more interesting work on this through their analyses of Chinese blogs<sup>50</sup> and a Hong Kong soap opera.<sup>51</sup>

While scholarship on Chinese migration to Africa is arguably more developed than that of African migration to China, ethnographic case studies are sparse on both ends, and there are still many paths for continued research that have yet to be explored. The Rockefeller Foundation report highlighted several gaps in the current literature on Chinese migrants in Africa, noting that the most general issue for future research is the need for systematic case studies examining the same issues across countries and localities, and include African researchers.<sup>52</sup> Among other topics, the report suggests that case studies address both levels and types of migration, and African responses. Examples might include government data on the number of Chinese immigrants in African countries; the source regions of Chinese emigrants, where new immigrants are settling, and what determines their locational choice. Other foci would include how African business and labor organizations are responding to Chinese competition or how ordinary Africans perceive the quality and price of Chinese imports. Or how African political elites politicize the Chinese presence for personal or party gain.

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<sup>48</sup> Chan, Carrot. 2007. Ersha Island, Xinghai Concert Hall, Guangdong Museum of Art. *Life Of Guangzhou*, September 30 2007. [http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node\\_10/node\\_228/node\\_284/2007/09/30/119113535127915.shtml](http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node_10/node_228/node_284/2007/09/30/119113535127915.shtml); Ji Beibei. 2010. Guangzhou police deny targeting Africans. *Life of Guangzhou*, November 10 2010. [http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node\\_981/node\\_989/node\\_997/node\\_1007/2010/11/11/128944065582271.shtml](http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node_981/node_989/node_997/node_1007/2010/11/11/128944065582271.shtml); Mackenzie, Tom and Moxley, Mitch. 2009. Guangzhou's "Little Africa" is under pressure. *Life of Guangzhou*, February 24 2009. [http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node\\_10/node\\_31/node\\_557/2009/02/25/123553433960774.shtml](http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node_10/node_31/node_557/2009/02/25/123553433960774.shtml); Qiu Quanlin. 2009. Guangzhou to increase checks on illegal immigration. *China Daily*, July 17 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-07/17/content\\_8439196.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-07/17/content_8439196.htm); W. Wen, et al. 2010. Illegal immigrants face no repatriation in census. *China Daily*, November 10 2010. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-11/02/content\\_11488137.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-11/02/content_11488137.htm).

<sup>49</sup> Yang Yang. 2010. African traders in Guangzhou, China: routes, profits, and reasons. Postgraduate Student Forum, Chinese University of Hong Kong, January 21-22 2011.

<http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ant/PostgraduateForum2011/Econ/YANGYang.pdf>; Le Bail, H. 2009. Foreign migration to China's city-markets: the case of African merchants. *Institut Français des Relations Internationales*.

[http://www.ifri.org/files/centre\\_asie/AV19\\_LeBail\\_GB.pdf](http://www.ifri.org/files/centre_asie/AV19_LeBail_GB.pdf); Li Zhigang., et al. 2008. The African enclave of Guangzhou: a case study of Xiaobeilu. *Acta Geographica Sinica* 63, no. 2: 207-218; and Yang Yang. African traders in Guangzhou, China: routes, profits, and reasons.

<sup>50</sup> Shen, Simon. 2009. A constructed (un)reality on china's re-entry into Africa: The Chinese online community perception of Africa (2006–2008). *Journal of Modern African Studies* 47, no. 3: 425-48.

<sup>51</sup> Saavedra, Martha. 2009. Representations of Africa in a Hong Kong Soap Opera: The Limits of Enlightened Humanitarianism in The Last Breakthrough. *China Quarterly* 199: 760-776

<sup>52</sup> Mohan, Giles and Dinar Kale. 2007. The invisible hand of South-South globalisation: Chinese migrants in Africa. Report for the Rockefeller Foundation prepared by the Development Policy and Practice Department, The Open University.

Research on Africans in China has primarily focused on business communities in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Yiwu. Li Zhigang has suggested the need for studies that would reveal the internal dynamics of African migrants' social networks in China and in their home countries, as well as research designed to illustrate the internal diversities among African migrants in terms of religion, language, socioeconomic background, and country of origin.<sup>53</sup> Thus far, however, there has been but one study on living conditions within the African migrant community in Guangzhou—an illustration of the absence of research on these communities.<sup>54</sup> And while there is no shortage of case studies and media reports on Chinese policies on religious rights and freedom, how these operate in the Sino-African context is less obvious, and very little has been written about it.<sup>55</sup>

## Capacity Building and Strengthening: African research on China / Chinese research on Africa

### African research on China

As Chinese engagement on the African continent increases, the number of research institutions and think tanks in African universities that study China is growing. However, the research community on the continent is still quite limited, and African universities continue to struggle across the board. The shortage of well-trained faculty is now reaching crisis proportions in African higher education, while university enrollment across the African continent has soared due to the demands of an economy predicated on knowledge workers with flexible skills and mobility. The SSRC estimates that undergraduate student numbers have increased at a rate of 8% each year over the last decade—at this rate of enrollment the total undergraduate population in Africa will double every ten years.<sup>56</sup> While university enrollment is on the rise, African universities continue to face significant faculty attrition due to excessive teaching loads, the lure of more lucrative and higher status work from the public and private sectors, NGOs, and universities outside the region, leading to a severe shortage of experienced faculty in all social science fields, including the study of Chinese politics, economics, and culture. The result is a lack of well-trained teachers to staff the burgeoning courses and insufficient numbers of

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<sup>53</sup> Li Zhigang et al. 2008. An African Enclave in China: The Making of a New Transnational Urban Space. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*. 50 (6): 699-719.

<sup>54</sup> Shiding Huang(黄石鼎). 2008. "Zai Sui Waiguo ren Shenghuo Zhuangkuang Diaoyan Baogao"(Report of Investigation on Living Conditions of Foreigners in Guangzhou 在穗外国人生活状况调研报告). *Guangzhou Shehui Fazhan Baogao* (Report of Social Development in Guangzhou 广州社会发展报告). Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe.

<sup>55</sup> Evan Osnos. 2009. The Promised Land: Guangzhou's Canaan market and the rise of an African merchant class. *The New Yorker* 85 (1): 50. For worship practices in Guangzhou, and for mention of the government's involvement in providing places of worship for African Muslims in Yiwu, see Adams Bodomo. 2010. From Guangzhou to Yiwu: Emerging facets of the African Diaspora. *International journal of African renaissance studies*. 5 (2): 283.

<sup>56</sup> 2011. Developing and Retaining the Next Generation of African Social Scientists. SSRC conference, March 2011, Accra, Ghana.

advanced researchers to produce knowledge needed for national and regional development and to address pressing public problems.

In recent meetings and conferences convened by the SSRC, African academics have expressed concern that their research universities have very limited programs for regional studies outside of Africa and Europe. Emerging economies such as China, India, Brazil, Russia and Turkey are increasing their bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region, but this has not been matched by a comparable increase in African capacity to study these regions of the world, China included.

The first and only university research center in Sub-Saharan Africa devoted to the study of China is the Centre for Chinese Studies (CCS) at Stellenbosch University, located near Cape Town, South Africa. It publishes the *China Monitor*, a monthly publication on China-Africa relations and circulates electronically a weekly briefing compiled by CCS that tracks China business news with a special focus on Chinese trade and investment activity on the African continent. Some of the Centre's research projects include work on Chinese multinational telecommunications companies in Africa, transparency of Chinese foreign assistance to Africa, environmental policy in China-Africa cooperation, and China-Africa migration. It also offers a fellowship funded by the Chinese government for study in China. The Centre's work focuses largely on economic and trade issues and in recent years has supported some of its research activities through consulting work for private business.

Founded in 2004 as a Confucius Institute, CCS came into its own as a research center in 2009 and the Confucius Institute at Stellenbosch University moved into the University's Postgraduate and International Office. While it maintains a separate activity base, CCS occasionally collaborates on projects with the University's Confucius Institute. The CCS has exchange agreements in place with Xiamen University (that date back to its Confucius Institute roots), the Institute of West Asian and African Studies within the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the Shanghai Institute for International Studies. The Centre recently underwent a major reorganization and recruited a new director in November 2010.

In recognizing the need for increased research capacity on China, CODESRIA, or the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, is leading a region-wide effort to address this deficit. CODESRIA was established in 1973 in Dakar, Senegal and is the only Pan-African independent research organization with a primary focus on the social sciences. It is recognized not only as the pioneer African social research network but also as the principal non-governmental centre of social knowledge production on the continent. Its ten journals make it the leading publisher of African social science.

In March 2011, CODESRIA signed a cooperation agreement with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences during a conference it facilitated in Nairobi on China-Africa relations. Attended by over fifty African researchers, research institutions, think tanks, and policy makers and their Chinese counterparts, the conference was organized within the framework of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) framework and as a follow up to the recently launched FOCAC Joint China-Africa Research Cooperation and Academic Exchange Programme. The principal outcome of this conference was the agreement to create a forum or knowledge platform for the study and research on China and Africa-China relations.

The Forum's priorities include an inventory of publications, researchers, institutions, and think tanks working on China-Africa relations, as well as developing a research program. But while a steering committee has been established, the modalities, program, and funding of this Forum have yet to be identified, and the effort is still in its very early stages.

Much of the China-Africa research activity in the region remains in the form of ad hoc trainings and faculty exchanges often organized or funded by the Chinese government or external actors; or research projects built around one individual—for example, Chris Alden's China in Africa Project at the University of the Witwatersrand. An example of the former, the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Accra, Ghana, participates in joint training programs with China's Civilian Peacekeeping Police Training Center in Langfang, funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Ottawa. Established in 2004, KAIPTC has become West Africa's key research institution for conflict prevention and peace studies. Delivering courses to military and civilian personnel involved in Peace Support Operations throughout the world, it is a leader in original research into the causes and subsequent management of conflict and the promotion of peace. Despite being a relative newcomer, the KAIPTC has developed into a regional centre of excellence where education, training, and research on peace support operations are delivered to the highest academic and professional standards. But it has yet to develop an institutional research capacity on China or on China-Africa issues.

The paucity of African research capacity on China is of concern not simply for the breadth and depth of the research agendas in Africa, but also for African policy makers. Government officials often lack in-depth analysis on the agendas, motivations and goals of their international partners, and thus have difficulty negotiating trade and loan agreements on an equal footing. Without a solid base of independent research in African universities on both the effects of Chinese engagement in Africa, and serious study of China itself—its government structures, decision-making processes, foreign policy priorities, and so forth—it will be difficult for African policy makers to ensure that they can turn Chinese engagement to the region's benefit.

One of the ultimate goals of strengthening research capacity in African universities is to make the insights and data of African researchers available to policymakers, including both domestic officials and international partners. However, the limited resources available to African universities constrain both their research and advocacy agendas. Furthermore, if African researchers fail to influence public and foreign policy, they allow two other groups to take policy in a potentially harmful direction. The first is policy makers within their country, who often lack capacity and political will to go beyond their own interests. The second is international institutions or consultants, who are motivated by very specific objectives that do not always align with the country's own priorities. As such, putting African researchers into the policy process is crucial.

Despite this need, there are very few research institutions in the region specifically dedicated to influencing or impacting foreign policy, and even fewer devoted to the study of China's growing presence in the region. In much of Africa, researchers and policy-makers lack an institutional relationship for research to feed into public policy. This may be due in part to a government attitude

that academic research findings have no place in public policy, and that their own research is more than sufficient. However, the problem can stem from the research community as well. Certain research centers that produce high-quality results have placed themselves in opposition to the authorities, and are not interested in talking to policy makers. As a result, research institutions with a critical and non-complacent view of their country's political processes or their foreign partners are sidelined.

To date, most independent research on the China-Africa relationship has come from Western institutions and research centers, and African scholars who publish in Western journals. While the expansion of this research overall is desirable, it is critical that capacity on the African side be expanded. Much of the research coming out of the West is useful, but the ongoing debate in Western policy circles over whether Chinese engagement is "better" or "worse" than Western development aid obscures the more complex questions regarding the actual impact of Chinese engagement in Africa. Many Chinese and African intellectuals and policy makers have noted that unless the research is being generated by the communities that are most aware of both the impacts of China-Africa relations, and the critical questions that need to be addressed, much of the research on China-Africa will continue to struggle to escape the truisms that have sprung up surrounding what is "commonly understood" about Chinese engagement in Africa and vice-versa. As such, the expansion of capacity within universities and research institutions in both China and Africa should be a critical priority for better understanding the relationship between the two regions.

### Chinese Research on Africa

Although it is still very much a fledgling field, research on Africa in Chinese institutions is on the increase in both government think tanks and universities. African studies does not yet constitute an independent research branch in most cases, and Africa is often either combined with West Asia/Middle East due to their vicinity or categorized under "Developing Countries Studies." However, the importance of Africa within these programmatic clusters is growing. An understanding of African experience and perspectives is also increasingly relevant to research and policy on global challenges such as migration, climate change and infectious diseases, in which regional knowledge is necessary but not a goal in itself. Different institutional mandates and resources shape the direction, nature and quality of the research conducted, as well as the way in which it relates to policy. The following discussion outlines the orientation and capacity of some of the major institutional actors with regard to the study of Africa, including some general background information for those not familiar with Chinese context.

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) has the longest track record and largest institutional commitment to African Studies. CASS, and its natural science counterpart, the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) are government think tanks whose mandate includes research and graduate training. CAS and CASS have ministerial status and report directly to the State Council. Smaller but influential think tanks with more specific topical foci are attached to particular government ministries or agencies. These include the CICIR and CSIS whose work is discussed in some detail below. As public institutions think tanks have earmarked funds in the government budget. Staff researchers are assigned to disciplinary, geographic or topical fields which they monitor and report upon on a regular basis. They are also called on to provide research to support policy, often in the form of "special

projects". Provincial and (in some major cities) municipal academies of science and social science operate at a more local level, focusing on issues of policy relevance in the region.

Staff turnover at government think tanks is usually low and many researchers spend their careers within one institution. Because of their closeness to the center of power, researchers at CAS and CASS are sometimes referred to as "royal scholars," and when their participation in international events and collaboration takes place through institutional auspices, it can have a quasi diplomatic flavor. However, CAS and CASS researchers also apply for competitive grants from the national research foundations and international funding agencies which allow them to pursue their own intellectual interests and many participate in international exchanges of various kinds on an individual basis.

The other major institutional base for Africa Studies is universities, with experts scattered across various social science departments and a limited number of Africa studies programs. University researchers also receive assignments from the government, but have more flexibility in terms of the focus of their research than their counterparts in government think tanks.

As with most social science research in China, much of the capacity and knowledge about African issues is concentrated in CASS and in the elite universities in Beijing and Shanghai (Beijing is also the location of two major UN peacekeeping training centers, noted below). A notable exception is the African Studies Center of Zhejiang Normal University, which has funded its growing Institute for African Studies through the Chinese business community with business interests in Africa. The University of Hong Kong also has a growing program on China-Africa relations.

Some government agencies, such as the Policy Planning Department and Africa Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the West Asian and African Affairs Department of the Ministry of Commerce, also conduct a certain amount of policy research. Given their internal (among agencies) and external (embassies and inter-governmental) access to information, they have unparalleled advantage in analyzing issues and developing recommendations. However, their involvement in daily affairs and operational details makes it difficult to perceive and portray the broader strategic picture.

The Institute of West-Asian and African Studies of CASS has the largest and most prominent African studies program. The Institute itself has six research offices, four of which work on Africa. They are:

- African Studies: focuses on the politics and economics of Africa, including the liberation movement, the development of socialism, the political transformation and democratization, tribalism and traditional political culture, economic development, Sino-Africa economic cooperation and the sustainable development of African countries.
- International Studies: focuses on the inter-regional and intra-regional relations, especially the relations between big powers and African countries. In particular, the office studies the national interests and policies of big powers, the inter-regional economic, social and political relations, cross-border religious, ethnic and ideological issues and factors pertaining to regional peace and stability.

- Southern Africa Studies: focuses on the 14 members of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), especially their political economy. The office accumulates systematic data on key countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe, and on issues including local natural resources and market and relations among the members of SADC.
- Social and Cultural Studies: focuses on the history, ethnic relations, religion, society and culture of African countries.

The Institute has 20 full-time staff working on Africa, several of whom are widely regarded as the top Africa experts in the country. These researchers were following African affairs in a systematic fashion long before others in China became interested in the region, and this, combined with the high status of CASS as a whole, gives the institute an authoritative voice on many issues, be it Nigeria elections or Zambian domestic politics. CASS Africa experts are frequently sought out by other ministries, and appear frequently in the media, as well as participating in international delegations and conferences.

CASS researchers generally focus on the big picture of China-Africa relations and its broad implications for China's standing in the world. Research and recommendations regarding specific issues or policies are less common. Although CASS has a large team in comparison to other institutions, resources and capacity currently seem to be concentrated with a small number of the most prominent scholars with fewer opportunities for junior researchers to develop their expertise. This concentration of resources, coupled with the broad mandate, means that the research agenda seems to be mostly demand driven and reactive, with little capacity as yet to predict and prevent future trends and challenges.

The China Institute for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) is the think tank of the Ministry of State Security. It is widely regarded as the best foreign policy think tank in China. CICIR's strengths come from more than three decades of rigorously monitoring global affairs, intimate relationships with top foreign think tanks, and a superb research team. The African Studies of CICIR is placed under the Institute of West Asian and African Studies. Although CICIR also undertakes country studies and follows local political economy, its key focus is strategic and security studies. The issues CICIR follows most closely in Africa are hot button issues like the Darfur conflict, ethnic conflicts and other drivers of violence in the region, as well as regional organizations such as African Union.

Although CICIR's African Studies is rather small compared to that of CASS, a narrower focus permits more in depth research into the political and security issues that are its primary concern. As a result, on issues like the Gulf of Aden or the safety of Chinese workers in Sudan or DRC, CICIR is comparable to CASS in its influence. As members of a smaller team, CICIR's junior researchers also have more opportunities to develop their expertise. In particular, field trips to multiple African countries each year enable them to gain first-hand information and experience. Despite these advantages, African Studies remains a relatively low priority at CICIR and, without additional resources, the program is unlikely to expand.

The China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) is the think tank of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and therefore has a unique position in foreign policy circles. The president of the organization has always been a former ambassador to a key country (the previous president, Ma Zhengang, was an Ambassador to UK, and the current president Qu Xing used to be the DCM in Paris). Compared with CICIR, which specializes on security studies and CASS, which focuses on country studies, CIIS' interest is strictly on foreign policy studies.

CIIS does not have a strong African studies program and did not have full-time staff on Africa until two years ago. However, this disadvantage is made up by its unparalleled work on multilateral institutions. CIIS has an intrinsic interest in multilateral institutions and diplomatic efforts within them, a focus it inherited from MOFA. It is the only think tank that has targeted programs on EU and Shanghai Cooperation Organizations. Furthermore, the Institute of International Strategic Studies at CIIS in particular, specializes on multilateral diplomacy, international institutions, United Nations, and Security Council reform. The Institute has several full-time staff and their findings occupy several chapters in the annual Blue Book on International Affairs and Chinese Foreign Policy, the "foreign policy bible" produced by CIIS and endorsed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

CIIS is tightly linked with the MOFA. Senior diplomats are frequently placed at CIIS before moving up the Foreign Service ladder. And researchers of CIIS are constantly seconded to Chinese embassies world-wide. These channels offer CIIS unique access to information on the ground and an accurate grasp of China's foreign policy calculations. For example, Yang Xiyu, a senior fellow at CIIS, used to be the head of Korean Peninsula Affairs office responsible for the Six Party Talks; the head of policy research at the Chinese Embassy in Israel is seconded from CIIS and plays a major role in shaping China's position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, the circulation of personnel between CSIS and MOFA also brings institutional challenges in terms of ensuring that enough top researchers remain available to conduct analysis on global affairs.

## African academic institutions and research centers with China-Africa programs

### African Economic Research Consortium

Nairobi, Kenya (<http://www.aercafrica.org/home/index.asp>)

*Mandate:* The African Economic Research Consortium has a threefold mandate: Enhancing the capacity of locally based researchers to conduct policy-relevant economic inquiry, promoting retention of such capacity, and encouraging its application in the policy context.

*Recent publications:* AERC published a series of policy briefs on the impact of China-Africa economic relations in November 2010. The briefs cover Angola (three briefs), Cameroon, Kenya, Mauritius (two briefs), Nigeria, Sudan, and Uganda.

### Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)

Dakar, Senegal (<http://www.codesria.org/>)

*Mandate:* CODESRIA is a pan-African research organization with a primary focus on the social sciences. Its objectives include supporting comparative African research with a focus on development issues, combating the fragmentation of knowledge and of the African research community (particularly along linguistic lines), and promoting the publication and dissemination of African scholars' research results. The organization has recently partnered with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and is currently leading a region-wide effort to address the deficit in research on and understanding of the China-Africa relationship.

#### *South-South Program*

- Reviving cooperation and collaboration among scholars of the global South working in the broad field of the social sciences.
- Provides research fellowships, international workshops, and summer institutes in Africa, Asia and Latin America.
- Partner organizations: Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA); Southeast Asian Conflict Studies Network (SEACSN); Latin American Council of Social Science (CLACSO)

#### *South-South Exchange Program for Research on the History of Development (SEPHIS)*

- Encourages south-south links between researchers, particularly regarding the history of development, and questions of identity and equity.
- Core activities include dissemination of academic knowledge, training workshops for young researchers, south-south exchange programs for doctoral researchers and faculty, and strategic research through independent research projects/grants.
- Funded primarily by the Netherlands Ministry of Development Cooperation

### Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

Accra, Ghana (<http://www.kaiptc.org/>)

*Mandate:* The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) aims to contribute to the development of regional and sub-regional capacity in the delivery of integrated peace support

operations. This includes enhancing regional and sub-regional capacity for conflict prevention, management, resolution and peace building; enhancing understanding of critical peace and security in West Africa in particular and the continent as a whole; and creating an effective, efficient and sustainable management and support arrangements for the KAIPTC.

*Funding:* KAIPTC draws its funding from the UN and donor countries, including Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of America.

*Research Programs:* KAIPTC is broken down into Research and Training departments. The research department has programs on

- Conflict and Security
- International Institutions
- Small Arms and Light Weapons
- Gender, Peace and Security
- Training for Peace

*Training Department:* The training department is split into three sections:

- The Individual Training Section which is responsible for all training related activities at the KAIPTC;
- The Collective Training Section, which oversees the pre-deployment training activities of the Ghana Armed Forces; and
- The Training Evaluation and Development (TED) section, which monitors and evaluates training programmes. This section also develops training programmes/courses and conducts lessons learned design & development (LDD) processes. TED also develops and manages the database of the centre's facilitators and participants.

### **Stellenbosch University: Centre for Chinese Studies (CCS)**

Stellenbosch, South Africa (<http://www.ccs.org.za/>)

*Mandate:* The CCS “promotes the exchange of knowledge, ideas and experiences between China and Africa.” It evaluates China’s developmental role in Africa, from trade and investment to humanitarian assistance, and provides analysis to stakeholders in Government, business, academia, and NGO communities. It provides lectures to academic and business audiences at Stellenbosch University and other local universities, and organizes “China Forum” events in collaboration with other institutions. It also publishes the monthly “China Monitor” and a weekly electronic briefing.

*Funding:*

- South African Department of Education
- Chinese Ministry of Education
- Chinese Embassy and Consulate General in South Africa
- Stellenbosch University

*Key staff and affiliates:*

- Sven Grimm, Director

- Sanne van der Lugt, Research Analyst
- Matthew McDonald, Research Analyst
- Olu Ajakayi, Director of Research, African Economic Research Consortium
- Chris Alden, Senior Lecturer, London School of Economics
- Scarlett Cornelissen, Professor, Stellenbosch University
- Deborah Bräutigam, Professor, American University
- Liu Haifang, Institute of West-Asian and African Studies

*Recent publications:*

- *Assessing China's Role in Foreign Direct Investment in Southern Africa*, March 2011
- *Evaluating China's FOCAC commitments to Africa and mapping the way ahead*, January 2010 (for the Rockefeller Foundation)
- *Chinese Companies in the Extractive Industries of Gabon & the DRC: Perceptions of Transparency*, August 2009, by Johanna Jansson, Christopher Burke & Wenran Jiang

*Partner Organizations*

- Xiamen University
- Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: Institute of West Asian & African Studies
- Shanghai Institute for International Studies
- Development Research Centre of the State Council
- Confucius Institute, University of Stellenbosch

**University of the Witwatersrand, South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA): China in Africa Project**

Johannesburg, South Africa (<http://www.saiia.org.za/>)

*Mandate:* SAIIA's China in Africa research project investigates emerging relationships between China and Africa, including the character and content of China's trade and foreign policy towards the continent, and studies the implications of this strategic cooperation in the political, military, economic and diplomatic fields. Research objectives include the motives and institutional structures guiding China's Africa policy, and assisting African policy makers in their engagement with China.

*Funding:*

- Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
- UK Department for International Development (DFID)

*Key staff:*

- Project head: Chris Alden (LSE)
- China research fellow: Ana Cristina Alves (Wits)

*Recent publications:*

- China in Africa "toolkit" for African policymakers
- *Chinese Economic and Trade Co-operation Zones in Africa: The Case of Mauritius*, January 2011
- *China's Overseas Foreign Direct Investment Risk: 2008–2009*, January 2011

- *The Chinese Stance on the Darfur Conflict*, September 2010
- *China's Exceptionalism in Africa: from Rhetorical to Substantive Difference?* August 2010
- *Chinese Business Interest and Banking in Nigeria*, July 2010

## Chinese academic institutions and research centers with China-Africa research programs

### Development Research Center (DRC) of the PRC State Council

Beijing, China

([http://www.drc.gov.cn/english/aboutdrc/Table%20of%20DRC%20Organizations\\_d.asp?departid=1](http://www.drc.gov.cn/english/aboutdrc/Table%20of%20DRC%20Organizations_d.asp?departid=1))

*Mandate:* The Development Research Center (DRC) of the State Council is a policy research and consulting institution directly under the State Council. Its main functions are to undertake research on strategic and long-term issues concerning China's economic and social development. The DRC provides policy recommendations for the government's Central Committee and the State Council.

The Asia-Africa Development Research Institute, a division within the DRC, conducts the Center's China-Africa research.

### China Institute for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)

Beijing, China (<http://www.cicir.ac.cn/english/default.aspx>)

*Mandate:* The China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) is a comprehensive research institution for international studies established by the State Council and linked to the Ministry of State Security. CICIR consists of 11 institutes, 2 research divisions under direct supervision of CICIR leaders, 8 research centers and several administrative departments, e.g. the President's Office. CICIR has now a staff of 380, including researchers, administrative and logistic personnel, among whom 150 are research professors or associate research professors.

*Key staff:*

- Xu Weizhong, Deputy Director, the Institute of West Asian and African Studies; and Deputy Secretary General, China-Africa Studies Society
- Zeng Qiang, Senior Fellow, the Institute of West Asian and African Studies
- Li Wentao and Qin Tian, Associate Fellows, the Institute of West Asian and African Studies

### China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)

Beijing, China (<http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/index.htm>)

*Mandate:* The China Institute of International Studies is affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and focuses strictly on foreign policy studies. CIIS only recently established full-time staff positions covering Africa, but has engaged in significant work on multilateral institutions such as the EU and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. CIIS also houses the Institute of International Strategic Studies, which specializes in multilateral diplomacy and the United Nations.

### Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS): Institute of West-Asian and African Studies

Beijing, China (<http://bic.cass.cn/english/>)

*Mandate:* The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is a leading academic research organization in the fields of philosophy and social sciences as well as a national center for comprehensive studies in China.

The organization is made up of 31 research institutes and more than 50 research centers studying all aspects of the social sciences. It is affiliated with the State Council of the Chinese government.

The Institute of West-Asian and African Studies is the research center within CASS responsible for China-Africa research.

*Key staff:*

- Zhang Hongming, Deputy Director
- Cui Jianmin, Deputy Director, He Wenping, and Yao Guimei (African Studies)
- Zhang Xiaodong and Zhang Yongpeng (International Studies)
- Yang Lihua, Director (Southern Africa Studies)
- Li Zhibiao, Director (Social and Cultural Studies)
- Yao Guimei, (African economy/development)

### **Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)**

High-level triannual summit (<http://www.focac.org/eng/>)

*Mandate:* The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation is a high-level official summit between China and various African states, and has taken place every three years since 2000, alternating between Beijing and various locations in Africa. Held on the ministerial level, each FOCAC has resulted in outcome documents laying out next steps for China-Africa relations, and often serve as a venue for announcements of new Chinese lending programs, development projects, or debt forgiveness.

*Recent publications:* FOCAC Sharm el Sheikh Action Plan (2010-2012), adopted 12 November 2009

### **Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences**

Hong Kong, China ([http://www0.hku.hk/ihss/eng/en\\_about.html](http://www0.hku.hk/ihss/eng/en_about.html))

*Mandate:* The Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (HKIHSS) has a mission to promote multi-disciplinary work in the humanities and social sciences by supporting platforms for a critical community of scholars to share experiences across the globe. It organizes field-oriented and team-based research programs by means of lecture series, advanced summer workshops, research clusters, conferences, and academic publications. Its outreach programs and commissioned projects connect with policy and business professionals.

*Relevant programs:* HKIHSS has partnered with Yale University to conduct research on Chinese-African diasporas, investigating how Chinese citizens are operating on the African continent and how Africans are operating in China.

### **International Poverty Reduction Center in China (IPRCC)**

Beijing, China (<http://www.iprcc.org/>)

*Mandate:* The IPRCC was established by the government of China, UNDP, and other international organizations in 2005. The Center aims to advance poverty reduction research and policy, disseminate good practices, and strengthen international exchanges and collaboration on poverty reduction.

In 2010, IPRCC signed a memorandum of understanding with UNDP for strengthened south-south cooperation, establishing a dedicated “China-Africa Window” within the framework of the IPRCC.

*Recent publications:*

- 2011 Working Paper Series No. 2: Tanzanian Government Poverty Alleviation Strategies
- 2011 Working Paper Series No. 3: South-South Cooperation-A Concept Paper
- 2010 Working Paper Series No. 6: China Africa in Agriculture: A background paper on trade, investment and aid in agriculture

*Partner organizations:*

- Chinese government (various ministries)
- UNDP
- World Bank
- Asian Development Bank
- DFID

**Tongji University, School of International Relations and Political Science**

Shanghai, China (<http://dl8.tongji.edu.cn/spsir/english.asp?id=1040>)

*Mandate:* Tongji University has established the “Library of International Conventional Arms Control,” in partnership with the UK-based organization Saferworld (see above). While not exclusive to Africa, much of the literature deals with Chinese arms transfers to the continent.

**Zhejiang Normal University: Institute of African Studies**

Jinhua, China (<http://ias.zjnu.cn/en/>)

*Mandate:* The Institute of African Studies at Zhejiang Normal University consists of four research centers: the Center for African Political and International Relations Studies, the Center for African Economic Studies, the Center for African Educational Studies and the Center for African Historical and Cultural Studies. In addition to graduate programs, including exchange programs with African universities, IAS researchers focus on development challenges facing Africa, and the implications of Sino-African relations for both partners.

*Recent publications:*<sup>57</sup>

- Hu Mei, *Rising aid donors and African development*, 2011
- Liu Qinghai, *The regional effect and geographical features of international technology transfer & of African economy growth*, 2011
- Hu Mei, *50-year Chinese aid to Africa and Innovation of International Aid Theory*, 2011
- Liu Hongwu, Henry Smith, “*Opportunities for international action on Sudan: Two views*” (December 2010, with Saferworld)

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<sup>57</sup> Please note that while authors and abstracts are listed on the institution’s website, publications are not available in full.

## Western Academic Institutions, Think-tanks and NGOs with China-Africa research programs

### American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

Philadelphia, USA; international office in Beijing (<http://afsc.org/office/china>)

*Mission:* The AFSC is an American-based international non-governmental organization committed to addressing the root causes of poverty, injustice and war. AFSC's North East Asia Quaker International Affairs Representative works throughout the Asia Region and in collaboration with other local offices and the Quaker United Nations Office to facilitate dialogue, research, and exchanges between China and the United States and between China and developing countries.

*Recent activity:* Six of China's leading researchers participated in a recent study tour in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), supported by AFSC's Asia and Africa programs and the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) in New York. Their interest in broadening their studies on the United Nations and Africa to explore civil societies meshes with AFSC's decades-old support for similar work both in China and Africa.

*Key staff:* Jason Tower, North East Asia Quaker International Affairs Representative

### Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Globalization Team

London, UK (<http://www.ids.ac.uk/go/research-teams/globalisation-team/projects-and-outputs>)

The Institute of Development Studies hosts six research teams and a number of post-graduate courses on various topics surrounding international development. The Globalization Team in particular houses a number of projects studying China-Africa, listed below.

#### *Strengthening the Capacity of the International Poverty Reduction Center in China for South-South Cooperation*

- *Goal:* Exploring how international development aid (IDA) works in developing countries, particularly in Africa, and ways to improve China's IDA
- *Funding:* The Chinese Minister of Commerce
- *Partner organizations:* Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), UN Development Program (UNDP), International Poverty Research Center in China (IPRCC)
- *Key staff:* Jing Gu, Director

#### *Understanding Chinese Investment and its Impacts on East Africa*

- *Goal:* An overall assessment of level and destinations of Chinese FDI in Ethiopia and Kenya based on the collection of data from the Ministry of Commerce in China, Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Ethiopian and Kenyan Investment Promoting Agencies
- *Methodology:* In-depth interview work with Chinese investors in Ethiopia and Kenya.
- *Funding:* UK Department for International Development
- *Partner organizations:* Addis Ababa University, IDS Nairobi, China-Africa Business Council (CABC)

- *Key staff:* Jing Gu, Dorothy McCormick (IDS Nairobi), Kaiyong Ge (CABC), Alamayehu Geda (Addis Ababa University)

#### *China's Private Sector Investment and the Investment Climate in Africa*

- *Goal:* Examines the role of Chinese private enterprises in Africa.
- *Methodology:* Researchers have had direct access to private Chinese companies working in Africa, including 100 in-depth interviews with Chinese firms and business associations and officials in both China and Africa.
- *Funder:* DFID, via the Center for the Future State (part of IDS)
- *Partner organizations:* CABC, IPRCC, CASS
- *Key staff:* Jing Gu, John Humphrey, Song Hong (CASS), Rongping Kang (CASS), Kaiyong Ge (CABC)

#### *China-Africa Development Prospects and Perspectives*

- *Goal:* The purpose of the study is to understand and establish the most productive way to nurture the expanding from China of trade and investment in Africa. The ultimate aim is to generate knowledge on what is the best way that Africa can benefit from China's strong economic engagement with the continent.
- *Funder:* Research Department (EDRE) of the African Development Bank
- *Partner organizations:* Part of a wider collaboration with other researchers and institutes (including the Centre for Chinese Studies at the University of Stellenbosch and the OECD)
- *Key staff:* Jing Gu, Richard Schiere (African Development Bank)

### **International Crisis Group**

Brussels, Belgium (<http://www.crisisgroup.org/>)

*Mandate:* International Crisis Group is a non-governmental organization that conducts field research and produces reports with recommendations for policymakers, aimed towards the resolution of deadly conflict. Headquartered in Brussels, the organization has program offices throughout the world conducting research, and advocacy offices in Brussels, New York and Washington.

Although the organization does not have any formal China-Africa research team or structures, there is a liaison office in Beijing which has produced a background report on China's evolving role in multilateral peace operations (noted below). The Africa program, based in Nairobi, has recently increased its engagement with the China liaison office.

#### *Key staff:*

- Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt, Project Director, North East Asia / Adviser, China
- Comfort Ero, Program Director, Africa
- Fabienne Hara, Vice-President, Multilateral Affairs

*Recent publications:* International Crisis Group, "China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping" (April 2009)

### Oxford University China-Africa Network

Oxford, UK (<http://oucan.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php>)

*Mandate:* Founded in 2008, the Oxford University China-Africa Network (OUCAN) is a student-driven, multi-dimensional organisation that seeks to forge cross-disciplinary and trans-regional links between researchers, practitioners, and officials around the emerging phenomenon of Chinese engagement with Africa. It brings together scholars, graduate students, and experts from the field to push forward the research pertaining critical political, cultural and socio-economic trends, both from a macro and a micro perspective. The focus is not just on governments and state-owned enterprises, but also on cultural bodies, NGOs, small and medium-sized businesses, minorities and ordinary people. OUCAN aims to help provide an empirical basis for a better understanding of the nature and future of these interactions.

*Recent conferences:*

- "Chinese Investment and African Agency," 11-12 March 2011
- "China's Diplomacy, Aid, and Investment in Africa and South East Asia," 29 November 2011

*Key staff:* Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, Lecturer in African Politics, University of Oxford

### Saferworld

London, UK (<http://www.saferworld.org.uk/>)

*Mandate:* Saferworld is a non-governmental organization that works with governments, international organizations and civil society to encourage and support effective policies and practices for the prevention and reduction of violent conflict, and the promotion of cooperative approaches to security. Saferworld is working with Chinese academics to encourage debate on how China can play a more active role in international efforts to counter arms proliferation. It is also working with School of International Relations and Political Science at Tongji University in Shanghai to set up a resource center on conventional arms (<http://dl8.tongji.edu.cn/spsir/english.asp?id=1040>, also see Tongji University below).

Saferworld is also holding a series of lectures and seminars at Tongji University, as well as in other universities across China, to introduce graduate students to the current discourse on conventional arms transfer controls, conflict prevention and international security.

*Key staff:* Thomas Wheeler, China project coordinator

*Recent publications:*

- Saferworld, "China's growing role in African peace and security" (January 2011)
- Liu Hongwu, Henry Smith, "Opportunities for international action on Sudan: Two views" (December 2010)

### School of Oriental and African Studies: Africa-Asia Centre

London, UK (<http://www.soas.ac.uk/africaasia/>)

*Mandate:* The Africa Asia Centre studies the intensifying relations between Africa and Asia, with a particular interest in their impact on sustainable development. It seeks to engage with governments, pan-African institutions, academics, businesses, local, national and international civil society organisations, the media and others with a view to enhancing knowledge about the economic, social, environmental and political impacts of Africa-Asian relations.

*Key staff:* Research director Dan Large

*Partner organizations:*

- Royal Africa Society
- London International Development Centre

### School of Oriental and African Studies: Centre of Chinese Studies

London, UK (<http://www.soas.ac.uk/chinesestudies/>)

*Mandate:* The Centre of Chinese Studies was established to facilitate and develop interdisciplinary research, teaching, and other activities relating to China in the United Kingdom and Europe. The Centre works closely with The China Quarterly, the Early China Seminar, the Contemporary China Institute, and the China Postgraduate Network at SOAS. The Centre fosters postgraduate research on Chinese societies, and is responsible for the MA degree in Chinese Studies. It organises interdisciplinary research seminars and provides annual events for the analysis of developments in contemporary China.

*Recent events on Africa:*

- Seminar: *What really are China's lessons for Africa against poverty?* Dr Le-yin Zhang (UCL), January 2010
- Seminar: *Can China help increase policy space for African governments?* Dr Carlos Oya (SOAS), February 2010
- Lecture: *Limited sovereignty: Chinese peacekeeping operations in Africa*, Dr Jianxiang Bi (UWE), February 2011

*Partner organizations:*

- Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK
- DFID
- European Commission
- Chatham House

*Key staff:*

- Center Chair: Dic Lo
- Various SOAS faculty

## Social Science Research Council (SSRC)

New York, USA (<http://www.ssrc.org/>)

*Mandate:* The Social Science Research Council (SSRC), founded in New York in 1923, is a non-profit organization devoted to the advancement of social science research and scholarship. The SSRC consists of a number of research programs, fellowship programs, and cross-disciplinary initiatives designed to lead innovation in the social sciences, build interdisciplinary and international networks, mobilize knowledge on important public issues, and educate and train the next generation of social science researchers. The SSRC pursues its mission by awarding fellowships and grants, convening workshops and conferences, participating in research consortia, sponsoring scholarly exchanges, organizing summer training institutes, and producing print and online publications.

*Relevant programs:* The SSRC maintains a liaison presence in Beijing through its *China Environment and Health Initiative*. A number of SSRC programs in New York have also increased their research and activity on China-Africa relations in recent months, including:

- *Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF):* Beyond preparing this mapping study, CPPF has a particular focus on the security aspects of the China-Africa relationship, as well as China's growing involvement in international peace operations and the UN system.
- *Inter-Asia Program:* As a convening body stretching from the Middle East to East Asia, the Inter-Asia program has been investigating possible areas in which networks of academics and researchers can be built and strengthened.

### *Key staff:*

- Tatiana Carayannis, Deputy Program Director (Africa), CPPF; China-Africa lead
- Jennifer Holdaway, Director, China Environment and Health Initiative
- Seteney Shami, Director of both the Middle East and North Africa program and the Inter-Asia program

*Recent publications:* This mapping study represents some of the SSRC's first official work on the China-Africa relationship, but is envisioned to serve as the basis for future activities in which SSRC may be able to play a convening role. Additional SSRC publications may be found at <http://www.ssrc.org/publications/>

## Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: China and global security program

Stockholm, Sweden (<http://www.sipri.org/>)

*Mandate:* SIPRI established its China and Global Security Programme to advance contemporary China studies with a particular emphasis on China's role and impact in global, non-traditional and transnational security. It conducts research and analysis, produces policy-relevant publications, and aims to help policy makers, scholars, businesses and the general public more fully understand the foreign and security policy implications of China's role.

*Key staff:*

- Bates Gill, Program Director
- Bernt Berger, Senior Researcher
- Mathieu Duchatel, Senior Researcher (based in Beijing)

*Recent publications:*

- Gill, B., and Huang Chin-hao. 2009. "China's Expanding Role in Peacekeeping: Prospects and Policy Implications." *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute* (25).
- Gill, B., Morrison, J. S. and Huang, C., 'China–Africa relations: an early, uncertain debate in the United States', *China Returns to Africa: A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*, (Hurst Publishers: London, 2008).

## Yale University

New Haven, USA (<http://www.yale.edu/>)

Yale University's Graduate Councils on African and Asian Studies have been developing possible programming around the China-Africa relationship, and have held several planning seminars. The Council on Asian Studies in particular has partnered on a China-Africa research project with the Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Hong Kong with initial funding from the Council on East Asian Studies at Yale University through the Sun Hung Kai-Kwok's Family Foundation. The research will inquire how Chinese citizens are operating in new ways on the African continent and how Africans are operating in China, and possibly along an inter-Asian route.

*Key Staff:*

- Helen Siu, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University
- Kamari Clarke, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University
- Roderick McIntosh, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University
- Mike McGovern, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Yale University

## Foundations

### MacArthur Foundation

Chicago, USA (<http://www.macfound.org/>)

*Mandate:* In addition to selecting the MacArthur Fellows, the Foundation works to defend human rights, advance global conservation and security, make cities better places, and understand how technology is affecting children and society. Through the support it provides, the Foundation seeks to foster the development of knowledge, nurture individual creativity, strengthen institutions, help improve public policy, and provide information to the public, primarily through support for public interest media.

*Programs (International):* The International Programs focus on international issues, including human rights and international justice, peace and security, conservation and sustainable development, higher education in Africa and Russia, migration and human mobility, and population and reproductive health. MacArthur grantees work in about 60 countries; the Foundation has offices in four focus countries: India, Mexico, Nigeria, and Russia.

MacArthur is in the initial stages of establishing a fellowship program for Asian practitioners to undertake training courses in peace and security studies in the United States.

*Key staff:*

- Robert L. Gallucci, President
- Kole A. Shettima, Director, Africa Office / co-chair, Higher Education Initiative in Africa
- Mary R. Page, Director, Human Rights and International Justice
- Amy E. Gordon, Director, International Peace and Security

### **Open Society Foundations**

New York, USA (<http://www.soros.org/>)

*Mandate:* The Open Society Foundations work to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens. To achieve this mission, the Foundations seek to shape public policies that assure greater fairness in political, legal, and economic systems and safeguard fundamental rights. On a local level, the Open Society Foundations implement a range of initiatives to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, we build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as corruption and freedom of information. The Foundations place a high priority on protecting and improving the lives of people in marginalized communities.

*China-Africa planning:* OSF is currently undergoing a strategic review to identify possible China-Africa programming within the remit of the organization.

*Programs:*

- *AfriMAP:* AfriMAP works to complement the work of the AU peer review mechanism by providing in-depth research on selected themes, in order to provide an independent source of information on governance issues. AfriMAP works with national partners and civil society groups to compile systematic country reports on governance issues, using a framework linking respect for human rights to progress in development. Reports are based on a standardized template, allowing cross-country comparison and learning, encouraging debate, and highlighting best case practices. All materials produced are publicly available. AfriMAP works with national and regional partners to raise awareness of the reports' findings on good governance and human rights.
- *Open Society Fellowship:* The Open Society Fellowship supports individuals who are developing innovative solutions to pressing open society challenges. Recent fellows have explored several topics related to the China-Africa relationship, such as the role of new media in authoritarian societies, the prospects of applying criminal law to arms manufacturers trading in war zones, and the diverse and contradictory effects of Chinese migration to Africa.

*Autonomous foundations:* OSF has established regional foundations throughout the world, with several semi-autonomous offices in Africa: the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), Open Society Initiative for East Africa (OSIEA), Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA), and Open Society

Foundation for South Africa. Each of these subregional initiatives develops its own programming within the OSF umbrella.

*Key staff:*

- Akwe Amosu, Director, Africa Advocacy
- Sisonke Msimang, Executive Director, OSISA
- Tom Kellogg, Program Director, China North East Asia

### **Rockefeller Foundation**

New York, USA (<http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/>)

*Mandate:* The Rockefeller Foundation focuses its resources and energies on five interconnected issue areas, selected because they are critical global challenges that the Foundation is distinctively positioned to address: 1. Basic Survival Safeguards (secure food, water, housing, and infrastructure); 2. Global health, 3. Climate and environment, 4. Urbanization, 5. Social and economic security.

*Programs:* Rockefeller Foundation programs typically link two or more of the Foundation's five stated issue areas, with a focus on measurable impact. Relevant activity includes:

- Developing climate change resilience
- Strengthening food security: alliance for a green revolution in Africa
- Transforming health systems
- Harnessing the power of impact investment

*Program-related investments:* In addition to its grantmaking, the Rockefeller Foundation also provides PRIs, in the form of loans or investment, to a number of for-profit organizations doing work on the Foundation's five issue areas. Organizations working in Asia and Africa include Seven Seas Capital Management and Acumen Capital Markets.

*Key staff:*

- James Nyoro, Managing Director, Africa
- Ashvin Dayal, Managing Director, Asia

## Confucius Institutes in Africa

The Confucius Institutes are government-sponsored cultural centers established in countries around the world, offering courses in Chinese language instruction and promoting Chinese culture. Some of the Confucius Institutes in African universities are essentially composed of a classroom in the existing university that provides language instruction and cultural events; others have a larger presence and more substantial programming. As of November 2009, there were 21 Confucius institutes on the African continent, and 4 “Confucius Classrooms.”

- University of Abomey-Calavi, Benin
- University of Botswana, Botswana
- University of Yaounde, Cameroon
- Suez Canal University, Egypt
- Cairo University, Egypt
- CRI, Alexandria (classroom), Egypt
- University of Nairobi, Kenya
- University of Liberia (classroom), Liberia
- Antananarivo University, Madagascar
- Asika School (classroom), Mali
- Université Mohammed V-Agdal, Morocco
- Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Nigeria
- University of Lagos, Nigeria
- Kigali Institute of Education, Rwanda
- Cape Academy of Mathematics, Science and Technology, South Africa
- Rhodes University, South Africa
- Stellenbosch University, South Africa
- Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa
- University of Cape Town, South Africa
- University of Khartoum, Sudan
- University of Lome, Togo
- CRI, Safagis (classroom), Tunisia
- University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe

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