

Department of Sociology

Rhodes University

Honours Course: Sociology of Development

Module One: Theory and Concepts

Module Two: China in Africa

Second Semester, Third Term 2012

Course presenters: Professor Monty J. Roodt and Dr Yoon Jung Park

Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 14:30-17:00

Venue: Barratt Lecture Theatre 3

Please note: due to Dr Jung Park's availability, Module Two ("China in Africa") will be presented first (i.e. during the first three weeks of Term 3) and Module 1 ("Theory and Concepts") in the last three weeks of Term 3.

Module Two: China in Africa

Lecturer:

Dr Yoon Jung PARK, Senior Research Associate, Sociology, Rhodes University;
Visiting Professor, African Studies, Howard University (Washington, DC)

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Module Description:

In the past, Africa has often been cast as poor, underdeveloped, and in need of the West's assistance. Headlines used to scream of Africa's pathetic state. In the past couple years, this has changed; today, Africa is often touted as *the* place for investment and innovation. Economic growth in many African countries has superseded growth in most European countries and foreign investors are flocking to Africa. China leads this charge and can largely be credited with the change in attitude toward the continent – from basket case to miracle zone. At the same time, China is accused of being predatory and neo-colonial, in search of mineral resources to fuel its own growth; markets to dump its excess, cheap manufactured products, and land to grow food for its growing population. And questions remain about lasting development impacts and perhaps, more importantly, poverty alleviation amongst the African masses.

This module is designed to examine the links between China and Africa from the beginning of their historical and political relationship through to present times. While larger issues of China's foreign policy, development aid, and trade in Africa frame this module, the main purpose of the module is to explore in detail the following:

- some of the key myths and rumours about China's engagement in Africa,
- the role of migration and migrants in Africa's development, and
- preliminary development impacts of Chinese engagement in African countries

The module aims to provide students the opportunity to critically discuss and analyze China-Africa (or Africa-China) socio-economic relations and their implications for future relations between the country and the continent. It also aims to allow students the opportunity to examine a number of inter-related topics that shed light on China's (possible) influences and impacts on the economies, politics, and societies of individual African countries.

Module Requirements:

Given the short length of this module, attendance at seminars is **compulsory**. Student participants are expected to have read all the assigned readings prior to coming to class. Each session topic is listed below together with required and recommended readings. All students will be expected to give a short analysis and synthesis of ONE of the readings AND pose one or two questions to the class to stimulate discussion; students will be randomly selected at the beginning of each class to ensure that everyone keeps up with all the required readings. Each presentation should be under five minutes and will be marked as part of your participation grade.

Students will be required to write a 3,000-3,500 word essay for this course (excluding the bibliography). You may write on one of the themes designated for a particular

session of the module; alternatively, you may formulate an original essay topic in consultation with the lecturer. Your topic must address a specific issue or a particular country within the broader context of China-Africa relations. In addition to readings suggested in the module outline, you are encouraged to find additional outside readings and resources.

Session 1: Introduction

(Introductions, Housekeeping/Admin, Syllabus review)

Why are China-Africa linkages relevant? What are the key myths & rumours surrounding China's engagements in Africa?

(Tuesday 24 July)

To watch during class:

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2012/01/20121484624797945.html>

Required readings: (Note: for the first session, you are only required to read ONE of the three readings below; please come to class with questions/comments.)

[Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong, "Friends and Interests: China's Distinctive Links with Africa," *African Studies Review*, Vol. 50, No. 3 \(Dec., 2007\), pp. 75-114.](#)

[Deborah Brautigam, "Rogue Donor? Myths and Realities" \(Chapter 11\), pp. 273-306, in Brautigam \(2009\), *The Dragon's Gift. The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.](#)

[Sarah Raine, "Contextualising Today's Sino-African Relations" \(Chapter 1\), pp. 13-58, in Raine \(2009\) *China's African Challenges*, Oxford, London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies.](#)

For further reading:

Chris Alden, Dan Large, and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, "China Returns to Africa: Anatomy of an Expansive Engagement," Real Instituto Elcano, Working Paper 51/2008.

Dominik Kopiński, Andrzej Polus & Ian Taylor, "Contextualising Chinese Engagement in Africa," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* (2011) 29: 2, 129-136.

Garth Shelton, Afro-Chinese Relations in an Era of Globalization, In *Afro-Chinese Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Edited by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2007).

Baohui Zhang, "Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition: Trends and Implications," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (2010) 39: 2, 39-68.

**Session 2: China-Africa relations in historical context
(Thursday 26 July)**

Required readings:

Jamie Monson, [“Introduction”, \(Chapter 1\), pp. 1-14](#) and [“Conclusion” \(Chapter 7\), pp. 147-156](#) in Monson (2009) *Africa’s Freedom Railway. How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

For further reading:

Snow, Philip. *The Star Raft: China's encounter with Africa*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Larkin, Bruce D. *China and Africa, 1949-1970: The Foreign Policy of the People’s Republic of China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Chris Alden & Ana Cristina Alves, “History & Identity in the Construction of China’s Africa Policy,” *Review of African Political Economy* (2008) 35: 115, 43-58.

Giles Mohan and Marcus Power, “New African Choices? The Politics of Chinese Engagement,” *Review of African Political Economy* (2008) 35: 115, 23-42.

M. M. M. Bolaane, “China’s Relations with Botswana: An Historical Perspective,” In *Afro-Chinese Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Edited by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2007).

Yan Hairong and Barry Sautman, “Chinese Farms in Zambia: From Socialist to ‘Agro-Imperialist’ Engagement?” *African and Asian Studies* (2010) 9: 307-333.

**Session 3: Chinese “aid”, trade, and investment in Africa or “How China has turned Africa into the next best thing”
(Tuesday 31 July)**

Required readings:

News Media: Sharon Lafraniere and John Grobler, “China Spreads Aid in Africa, with a Catch,” *New York Times* September 21, 2009
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/22/world/africa/22namibia.html>

Deborah Brautigam, “Africa’s Eastern Promise. What the West Can Learn from Chinese Investment in Africa” January 5, 2010 in *Foreign Affairs*,
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65916/deborah-brautigam/africa%E2%80%99s-eastern-promise>

“Going abroad. The world in their hands. State capitalism looks outward as well as inward.” *The Economist* Jan 21st 2012

<http://www.economist.com/node/21542930/print> together with

Deborah Brautigam, "China's Foreign Aid: The Economist still doesn't get it" Sunday, January 22, 2012, <http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/>

Dambisa Moyo, [Chapter 7, "The Chinese Are Our Friends" pp. 98-113](#) and [Chapter 8, "Let's Trade", pp. 114-125](#) in *Dead Aid. Why Aid is Not Working and how there is a better way forward for Africa.*

For further reading:

Deborah Brautigam, Prologue: "The Changing Face of Chinese Engagement in Africa", pp.1-21 and Chapter 5, "Orient Express: How Does Chinese Aid and Engagement Work?" pp. 131-161 in *The Dragon's Gift. The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Harry Broadman, "Chinese-African Trade and Investment: The Vanguard of South-South Commerce in the 21st Century" (Chapter 5), pp. 87-108 in Robert I. Rotberg (Ed.) 2008. *China into Africa. Trade, Aid and Influence.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press..

Lucy Corkin, "China's strategic infrastructural investments in Africa" pp. 134-150 in Grace Guerrero and Firoze Manji (Eds) (2008) *China's New Role in Africa and the South. A search for a new perspective.* Cape Town, Nairobi and Oxford: Fahamu.

Chris Alden and Anna Ying Chen, "Chinese Development Co-operation and Africa: The Case of Tembisa's Friendship Town," in Christopher M. Dent, ed. *China and Africa Development Relations* London and New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 103-117.

Sven Grimm with Rachel Rank, Matthew McDonald and Elizabeth Schickerling (August 2011) "Transparency of Chinese Aid. An analysis of the published information on Chinese external financial flows" Cape Town: Centre for Chinese Studies

Johanna Jansson, Christopher Burke and Tracy Hon, "Patterns of Chinese Investment, Aid and Trade in Tanzania," A briefing paper by the Centre for Chinese Studies, Prepared for World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), October 2009.

Deborah Bräutigam, "China, Africa and the International Aid Architecture," African Development Bank, Working Paper Series, N° 107 - April 2010.

May Tan-Mullins, Giles Mohan, and Marcus Power, "Redefining 'Aid' in the China-Africa Context, Development and Change, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

**Session 4: Natural Resource Extraction and Human Rights Concerns (Choose one topic and read accordingly)
(Thursday 2 August)**

Required readings (Natural Resource Extraction):

[John Rocha, "A new frontier in the exploitation of Africa's natural resources: the emergence of China", pp.15-34 in Firoze Manji and Stephen Marks \(Eds.\) \(2007\)](#)

[African Perspectives on China in Africa. Oxford, Cape Town and Nairobi: Fahamu. ISBN: 978-0-9545637-3-8](#)

[Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, "Making Sense of Chinese Oil Investment in Africa" \(Chapter 4\), pp. 83-110 in Alden et.al. \(eds\). 2009. *China Returns to Africa. A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*. London: HURST Publishers, Ltd.](#)

Required readings (Human Rights Concerns)

Christopher Walker and Sarah Cook, "The Dark Side of China Aid," *International Herald Tribune* op-ed, March 25, 2010
<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/25/opinion/25iht-edwalker.html>

"Don't Worry About Killing People: By Coddling Guinea's Dictator, China Again Mocks Human Rights in Africa," October 15, 2009. *The Economist*,
http://www.economist.com/world/middleeast/africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14664647

[Ian Taylor, "The Issue of Human Rights" \(Chapter 4\), pp. 89-112 in Taylor, 2009. *China's New Role in Africa*. Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.](#)

For further reading (Natural Resource Extraction):

Erica Downs, "Who's Afraid of China's Oil Companies?" Carlos Pascual and Jonathan Elkind, eds. *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategy, and Implications* (Brookings Institution Press, 2010, pp. 73-102.

Erica S. Downs, "The Fact and Fiction of Sino-African Energy Relations," in *China Security* (Summer 2007) 3: 3, 42-68.

Erica S. Downs, "The Chinese Energy Security Debate" *The China Quarterly*, 2004, pp. 21-41

An Chunying, "Mining Industry Cooperation between China and Africa: Challenges and Prospects," In *Afro-Chinese Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Edited by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2007)

Conservation International. 2011. "Do Chinese Extraction (Mining, Oil, Gas) Activities in Africa Overlap with Areas of Conservation Value?" A Report by Conservation International.

For further reading (Human Rights Concerns):

Paul Midford and Indra de Sousa, "Enter the Dragon! An Empirical Analysis of Chinese versus US Arms Transfers to Autocrats and Violators of Human Rights, 1989–2006"
http://stockholm.sgir.eu/uploads/Midford%20de%20Soysa%20AUG%2022%202010_fi nal.pdf

Pádraig Carmody and Ian Taylor “Flexigemony and Force in China's Resource Diplomacy in Africa: Sudan and Zambia Compared”, *Geopolitics*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2010, pp. 1-20.

Stephen Brown & Chandra Lekha Sriram, “China’s Role in Human Rights Abuses in Africa: Clarifying Issues of Culpability” (Chapter 12), pp. 250-271 in Robert I. Rotberg (Ed.) 2008. *China into Africa. Trade, Aid and Influence*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press.

Hong Yonghong, “The African Charter and China’s Legislation: A Comparative Study of Ideas of Human Rights” (Chapter 3), pp. 88-100 in Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Ed.). 2007. *Afro-Chinese Relations. Past, Present & Future*. Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society.

Ndubisi Obiorah, “Rise and Rights in China-Africa Relations,” School of Advanced International Studies, Working Papers in African Studies 03-08.

Ali Askouri, “China’s Investment in Sudan: Displacing Villages and Destroying Communities,” in Firoze Manji and Stephen Marks, eds., *African Perspectives on China in Africa* Cape Town: Fahamu.

Daniel Large. “The End of Abstraction: China’s Development Relations with Sudan,” in Christopher M. Dent, ed. *China and Africa Development Relations* London and New York: Routledge, 2011, 6767, pp. 87-102.

Session 5: Chinese labor issues and Chinese migrants in Africa (Choose one topic and read accordingly)
(Tuesday 7 August)

Required readings (Chinese Migrants in Africa)

BBC. “Tanzania Orders Chinese Out of Dar es Salaam Market,” January 7, 2011
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12138811>

Bloomberg Business Week: “Namibia Will Ban Chinese from Investment in Beauty Salons,” <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2010-02-22/namibia-concerned-by-chinese-influx-bans-some-investment.html>

[Tu T. Huynh, Yoon Jung Park, and Anna Ying Chen, “Faces of China: New Chinese Migrants in South Africa, 1980s to Present,” *African and Asian Studies* \(2010\) 9, 286-306.](#)

Required readings (Chinese Labour Issues in Africa)

Barry Bearak, “Zambia Uneasily Balances Chinese Investment and Workers’ Resentment,” *New York Times*, November 20, 2010.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/21/world/africa/21zambia.html?pagewanted=all>

[Ching Kwan Lee \(2009\). Raw Encounters: Chinese Managers, African Workers and the Politics of Casualization in Africa's Chinese Enclaves," *China Quarterly*, 199, pp. 647-666.](#)

For further reading (Chinese Migrants in Africa):

Yoon Jung Park. January 2009. "Chinese Migration in Africa" Occasional Paper No. 24, China in Africa Programme, South African Institute for International Affairs. Johannesburg: SAIIA (17 pp) <http://www.saiia.org.za>

Emmanuel Ma Mung Kuang, "The New Chinese Migration Flows to Africa," *Social Science Information* (2008) 47, 643-659.

Romain Dittgen, "From Isolation to Integration? A Study of Chinese Retailers in Dakar," South Africa Institute of International Affairs, March 2010. http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_57_dittgen_20100326.pdf

Nina Sylvanus and Linn Axelsson, 2010. "Women Traders' Responses to the Entry of Chinese Wax Prints in Accra (Ghana), and Lome (Togo)", in F. Cheru & C. Obi (eds.) *The Rise of China and India in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Critical Interventions*. London: Zed Books. Pp. 132-141.

Françoise Bourdarias, "Chinese Migrants and Society in Mali: Local Constructions of Globalization," *African & Asian Studies* (2010) 9: 3, 269-285.

Gregor Dobler, "Chinese Shops and the Formation of a Chinese Expatriate Community in Namibia," *The China Quarterly* (Sep., 2009) 199, 707-727.

Elisabeth Hsu, "Medicine as Business: Chinese Medicine in Tanzania", *China Returns to Africa: A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*, pp. 221-235. 2008.

"New Silk Roads: African and Chinese traders in Southern China and South Africa," *The China Monitor*, Issue 61, April 2011.

Antoine Kernén, "Small and Medium-sized Chinese Businesses in Mali and Senegal," *African and Asian Studies* (2010) 9: 252-268.

For further reading (Chinese labour issues in Africa):

Anthony Yaw Baah and Herbert Jauch (Eds.) "Chinese Investments in Africa: A Labour Perspective" May 2009, African Labor Research Network

Human Rights Watch. 2011. "You'll Be Fired if You Refuse" Labor Abuses in Zambia's Chinese State-owned Copper Mines. Human Rights Watch.

Session 6: From Africa's perspective: African policy alternatives, African perceptions of China and the Chinese, and the Future of China-Africa relations (Thursday 9 August)

Required readings:

(Read both the Economist piece & the Brookings Institution piece and then CHOOSE ONE of the articles – i.e. read the Rebol, Harris OR Large).

The Chinese in Africa. Trying to pull together. Africans are asking whether China is making their lunch or eating it." Apr 20th 2011 | NAIROBI | from the print edition found on <http://www.economist.com/node/18586448>

[Vera Songwe and Nelipher Moyo. 2012. "China–Africa Relations: Defining New Terms of Engagement." The Brookings Institution, Africa Growth Initiative.](#)

[Max Rebol, "Public Perceptions and Reactions: Gauging African Views of China in Africa" in Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, 9 \(4\): 149-186, Winter 2010](#)

[Karen L. Harris, "Anti-Sinicism: Roots in Pre-industrial Colonial Southern Africa," *African and Asian Studies* \(2010\) 9, 213-231.](#)

[Daniel Large, "Beyond 'Dragon in the Bush': The Study of China-Africa Relations," *African Affairs* \(2008\) 107: 426, 45-61.](#)

For further reading:

Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong, "African Perspectives on China-Africa Links," *The China Quarterly* (Sep., 2009) 199, 728-759.

Mario Esteban, "A Silent Invasion? African Views on the Growing Chinese Presence in Africa: The Case of Equatorial Guinea," *African and Asian Studies* (2010) 9, 232-251.

Kwekuh Ampiah & Sanusha Naidu, "The Sino-African Relationship: Towards an Evolving Partnership?" (Chapter 18), pp. 329-340 in Kweku Ampiah and Sanusha Naidu (Eds.) 2008. *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon? Africa and China*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Chris Alden, "Africa without Europeans" (Chapter 18), pp. 349-360 in Chris Alden, Daniel Large, and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira (Eds.) 2009. *China Returns to Africa. A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*. London: HURST Publishers, Ltd.

Christopher Clapham, "Fitting China In" (Chapter 19), pp. 362-370 in Alden et.al. (see above)

Raphael Kaplinsky, "What Does the Rise of China Do for Industrialisation in Sub-Saharan Africa?" *Review of African Political Economy* (2008) 35: 115, 7-22.

Daniel Large, “Conclusion: ‘All Over Africa’”, pp. 371-376 in Chris Alden, Daniel Large, and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira (Eds.) 2009. *China Returns to Africa. A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*. London: HURST Publishers, Ltd.

Kwesi Kwaa Prah, “Nationalism, Revolution and Economic Transformation in China: Any lessons for Africa?” In *Afro-Chinese Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Edited by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2007)

Percyslage Chigora and Taderera Hebert Chisi, “The Eight Years of Interaction: Lessons from Zimbabwe’s Look East Policy and the Future of African Countries and Asia-Pacific Region,” *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* (2009) 10: 4, 147-161.

Further information about marking criteria for this half of the course AND for the writing assignment will be provided in due course.

Useful websites & blogs

The **Centre for Chinese Studies (CCS)** at Stellenbosch University (South Africa) is the first institution devoted to the study of China in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Centre promotes the exchange of knowledge, ideas and experiences between China and Africa. As Africa’s interaction with China increases, the need for greater analysis and understanding between our two regions and peoples grows. This involves evaluating China’s developmental role in Africa that is felt in various capacities ranging from trade and investment to humanitarian assistance. The Centre seeks to fulfill this role. The Centre conducts analysis of China-related research to stakeholders in Government, business, academia and NGO communities.

<http://www.ccs.org.za>

The **South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA) China in Africa Project** investigates the emerging relationship between China and Africa, analyses the character and content of China’s trade and foreign policy towards the continent, and studies the implications of this strategic co-operation in the political, military, economic and diplomatic fields.

<http://www.saiia.org.za/china-in-africa-project/china-in-africa-project.html>

Pambazuka News – Emerging Powers in Africa Watch

‘Pambazuka’ in Kiswahili means the dawn or to arise as a verb. Pambazuka News is produced by a pan-African community of some 2,600 citizens and organisations - academics, policy makers, social activists, women’s organisations, civil society organisations, writers, artists, poets, bloggers, and commentators who together produce insightful, sharp and thoughtful analyses and make it one of the largest and most innovative and influential web forums for social justice in Africa. The Emerging Powers News Round-Up, includes a comprehensive list of news stories and opinion pieces related to China, India and other emerging powers.

http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa_china/

Former US ambassador **David Shinn** is an adjunct professor; he's been looking at US-China-Africa relations for the past 4-5 years.

<http://davidshinn.blogspot.com/>

Deborah Brautigam is a professor in American University's International Development Program in the School of International Service, currently spending 2011-2012 as a visiting fellow at IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute). She's lived in Asia and Africa, studied Chinese for years, and done research in more than a dozen countries in Africa. In January 2010 she published *The Dragon's Gift*, a book on Chinese aid and economic engagement in Africa (Oxford University Press -- revised and updated for the paperback edition, published May/June 2011). This blog takes up where that book left off.

<http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/>