



**International Relations
Doctoral Program**

SUMMARY OF THESIS

Andrea Sára Vári

China's development co-operation with Africa
entitled Ph.D. dissertation

Supervisor:

Prof. Mihály Simai
academician

Budapest, 2016

Institute of World Economics

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I. Purpose and scope of the research

The global weight of China cannot be challenged; its political, economic and military great power ambitions are strong. During the past fifty years it has gone through a spectacular social and economic development and modernisation, and by the early 21st century it has become the workshop of the world. Differently from its earlier policy of isolation it has become an active participant of the international political and economic life, and has become an unavoidable actor of world economy and world politics (Szunomár 2012; Tálas 2012; Vámos 2006), and since the turn of the millennium it has been shaping an ever closer partnership with African countries.

The appreciation of Africa after the turn of the millennium has several reasons. The global management consulting firm, The Boston Consulting Group calls Africa as the “final frontier, the last sizeable area of untapped growth in the global economy”. The company attributes the continent’s steep growth and market attractiveness to several factors besides rising commodity prices: a youthful and better-educated workforce, improvements in physical and digital infrastructure as well as improvements in political stability and governance. These developments also result in an emerging middle class of African consumers with discretionary income to spend.

To follow on the growth trajectory, African countries need to be integrated in the world economy, through trade, investment and development-cooperation. International development co-operation is the co-operation of official actors along given norms, during the course of which more developed donor countries unilaterally provide resources - money, technology, goods and know-how - to their partners. These resources, also known as development assistance or aid mean a source of financing to the developing countries; their significance and contribution to economic growth is different for each partner country.

Since the turn of the millennium China has been becoming an increasingly important player in the international development co-operation system. However, it is not a new, or in other terms “emerging”, but rather a “re-emerging” donor in the development regime, because in the period of Cold War it had been an active donor of the then aid system. From the 1960s’ donor China has switched sides and became one of the most largest partner countries in the 1980s and 1990s, and from the beginning of the 21st century it has again become a donor. The weight of Africa has been appreciated in this renewed Chinese development co-operation;

China considers Africa as its strategic partner, and almost half of its aid flows to the continent.

As China has become an important actor of the international donor community, and Chinese development co-operation has been playing a considerable role in development financing of individual African states, it is necessary to understand what the aims and characteristics of the Chinese aid policy are. During the past years China's development co-operation activities have got increasingly into the focus of researchers and papers analysing Chinese aid policy have grown in number. But since no systematic and methodologically coherent statistical database have been available until recently about Chinese aid, therefore most of the researches have applied qualitative methods (Davies 2007; Brautigam 2009; Bräutigam 2011; Davies, Draper, and Edinger 2014; Lancaster 2009; Sato et al. 2011; Kragelund 2011; Saidi and Wolf 2011; Shimomura and Ohashi 2013; Kjøllesdal 2007; Zhang, Gu, and Chen 2015).

Up to 2011 only various estimates existed on the size and allocation of Chinese aid (Davies 2007; Lancaster 2009; Brautigam 2009; Glosny 2006), and in 2011 the first White Book on aid, published by the State Council, offered guidelines about the volume and distribution of Chinese aid. The first database which made it possible to perform detailed statistical calculations was brought out by the AidData containing Chinese aid published in 2013. Following the launch of the AidData database a number of papers appeared analysing the various aspects of Chinese aid with quantitative methods (Dreher, Fuchs, Hodler, et al. 2015; Dreher, Fuchs, Parks, et al. 2015; Davies, Draper, and Edinger 2014; Li 2016). The aim of this thesis is to understand the relation of China's aid giving and its quest for African markets' share growth. Our dissertation contributes to the above analyses by quantitative methods and new approaches.

The uniqueness of the dissertation and its major value-added to the domestic and international literature is that it does not only provide geographical aid allocation analysis but also sectorial analysis on the one hand, and it studies sectorial aid allocation together with sectorial trade and investment data on the other.

Our assumption is that one of the aims of China's aid giving to African countries is market acquisition, and China grants aid to its African partner countries in order to gain advantages against other competitors in the international race for developing markets. We attempt to empirically show the connection between Chinese aid allocation and the intensity of trade and investment relations. If there is such a relationship then we explore the the nature of the relationship and whether it can also be observed on a sectorial level.

We formulate the following hypotheses:

1. Within the Chinese–African development partnership China prefers allocating more aid in the sectors in which *trade relations* are more intensive, and
2. Within the Chinese–African development partnership China prefers allocating more aid in the sectors in which *investment relations* are more intensive.

In the thesis we discuss the major changes in the developing world by the 21st century, the role of the international development co-operation and its function in solving global problems related to poverty. We then study Chinese development co-operation in the context of international relations theories, in the world economic context of aid, and in the context of aid giving motivations. We review the history of Chinese development partnership from 1953 to the present, and we present the trends and shifts in China’s African aid policy during the past decades.

In our quantitative analysis we study how China’s African aid allocation has changed, which countries have a prominent role in Chinese aid policy, and which countries are the most contingent upon China where Chinese aid is a significant source of development finance. We study the relationship between development co-operation and trade and development co-operations and in investments and whether there is any significant and quantifiable relation between these areas.

II. Methodology

2.1 Data sources

The Chinese aid data were taken from the AidData database mentioned earlier to the quantitative studies constituting the backbone of the thesis, as official statistics were not available. AidData is a system building from the bottom upwards which contains project-level information accessible in public sources about the Chinese development projects. They are the following: period of project; contents of the project; sector(s) it touches upon; status of the realisation of the project; type of aid; and the size of aid. It is important to keep in mind that the reliability and precision of the AidData database cannot be compared to the official statistics of developed countries containing their aid data. Thus the aim of our analysis was not to determine the precise sum of aid, or to compare the volume of Chinese aid to that of other donors. Yet we have chosen AidData database because we are of the view that the most important trends become accessible for quantitative study by the information obtainable from the project data, for instance how the growth, geographic and sectorial distribution of Chinese aid have changed in Africa and what types of aid are given to the countries of the continent by China.

The database of the UN COMTRADE was used to trade data, and for the FDI data we have used partly the bilateral FDI statistics of UNCTAD, and partly the database created by the American research institute, The Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute, The China Global Investment Tracker, each of which was converted into USD of 2009.

2.2 Concepts and definitions

Under the term ‘foreign aid’ usually developmental, humanitarian and military aid is understood as granted by donor countries to their partners directly, in a bilateral way, or indirectly, through the co-operation of multilateral development institutions to their partners. Under the term ‘development aid’ usually the definition of the official development assistance (ODA) as accepted by the international community, the literature and the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of OECD is understood. According to the definition of the OECD all those financing resource transfers qualify as development aid which contain at least 25 per cent of donation and promoting economic development or the increase of well-being which are granted by the donor states on official level to states and territories figuring on the

list composed by DAC and to the benefit of multilateral development institutions. Official support not corresponding to the ODA criteria, such as support for representation or non-refundable assistance of basically commercial purpose, further on, such transactions of developmental purpose the donation element of which are lower than 25 per cent, or other export-facilitating assistance, the donation element of which may be higher than 25 per cent, will be classified by the OECD DAC under the category of 'Other Official Finance' (OOF). Despite differences of content the thesis uses terms such as development co-operation and aid, as well as aid, development aid and development assistance as synonyms. In the following we do not only understand official development assistance (ODA) in the literal sense of the term under aid and development aid but also the other official development assistances as well. We have to do this simplification because of the problems of the definition of Chinese aid, as well as of the comparability of donors, because the types of assistance of ODA and OOF are not clearly separated from each other in the AidData database. During the course of analyses we understand the ensemble of ODA-type and OOF-type assistance under Chinese aid, thus in comparisons with the aid allocation of the OECD DAC member states we calculated with all the official assistance, that is the gross values of ODA+OOF even in the case of DAC statistics.

Thus the data of the Chinese development co-operation are taken from the AidData database (1.0 version) which contains the projects offered by China to 49 African partner countries between 2000 and 2011 (1699 projects). Of them only those 889 ODA and OOF-type projects were included in the analysis which were at least at the stage of written contractual undertakings of obligation, and where the sum of assistance was known.

2.3 Analytical methods

In our thesis at first we study how the Chinese–African trade, investment and development co-operation relations have changed between 2000 and 2011. To this we have calculated basic figures of distribution and comparison as well as annual average growth rates. Our analysis is done by country and sector as well as for the entire African country involved. The country-wise and the aggregated results are compared to the results calculated from the respective data of the developed Western countries. To the latter one we have used OECD DAC statistics.

Next we investigate if there is any connection between aid allocation and trade as well as investment (Foreign Direct Investment, FDI) data within the individual sectors, and if yes

then what is its direction and strength. To this we have calculated correlations by sector (for the 6 sectors of greatest weight from the angle of Chinese–African trade relations and the 4 outstanding sectors for investment relations) between aid data and trade data, and aid data and investment data of the African countries studied and summarised for the period between 2000 and 2011. Thus we have come to know if there was any relationship partly between the difference of the value of the aid flowing into the given sector and the difference of the value of investment flowing into the given sector by country.

III. Results of the research

3.1 Characteristics of Chinese development co-operation

Several factors have affected the specificities of Chinese aid policy. At first the special socio-economic development model should be mentioned which has been followed by China since the 1990s. For instance, the emphatic role of the developing state and the practice of the differentiated treatment of various regions can be discovered in the domestic economic policy of China just as well as in its international aid practice. Experience deriving from the earlier recipient role of China and particularly from its co-operation with Japan is also an important factor. Its result is, for instance, the construct ‘experience, technology and capital in exchange for raw materials’ which was successfully implemented by China as recipient and later on applied successfully as donor. China’s objective of positioning itself as an equal partner of developing countries can also be derived from its recipient past even though basically it imports raw materials and exports processed products which reflect colonial type of trade relations similar to the traditional donors. Finally, the open declaration that China does not give its aid out of unilateral charity but along mutual advantages (the so-called ‘win-win’ outlook) is also linked to it.

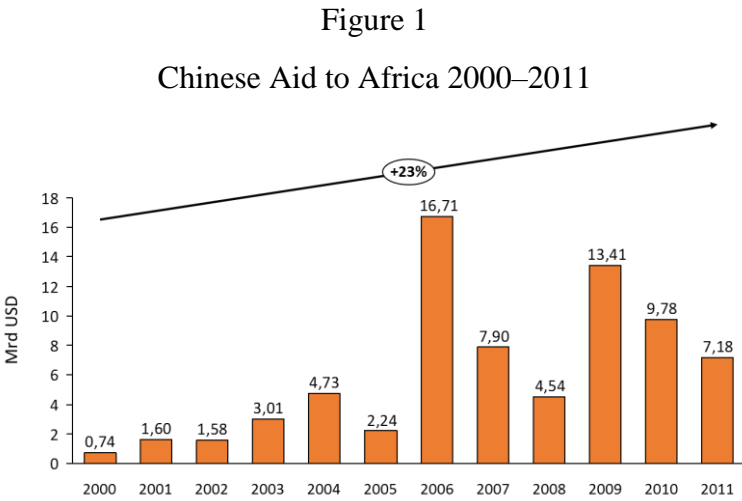
The largest part of China’s assistance is granted on bilateral basis, because it can assert its interests best at the partner states. The country has practice in project-based aid and also comparative advantage against the Western donors. It is just the administrative simplicity and rapid implementation of Chinese projects that the partner states consider to be the one of the great values of Chinese aid. In the Western practice the programme-type support of the budget of partners, or some of their entire sectors, such as education or healthcare instead of projects since the 1990s which is aimed at strengthening ownership attitude (Udvari – Pontet 2015). The programme-type assistance is totally missing from the Chinese set of tools and aid is exclusively realised as project. Chinese development co-operation mostly takes one of three forms, namely the country typically gives donations, loan without interest and loan with low interest rates to its partners. Donations typically are used for the realisation of projects in the social infrastructure such as the building of hospitals, schools and houses, in vocational training, in technical and humanitarian assistance. Interest-free loans have primarily financed projects for the development of infrastructure, and the loans with low interest rate served industrial and welfare investments besides the infrastructure (Davies 2007; Reisen 2007).

When studying the objectives of Chinese aid policy marked changes can be observed with the passage of time. In the 1950s and 1960s international aid basically served ideological and foreign policy purposes, but from the 1980s and 1990s on foreign economic and trade objectives were becoming increasingly dominant. Actually with the policy of opening up the foreign opportunities of the export market have pushed Chinese aid policy towards economic expansion and the acquisition of markets. A typical manifestation of this phenomenon is that China often offers agreements on development co-operation, investment and trade in ‘big packets’ either in the same, or in different sectors. All this naturally does not mean that other, such as political aims have totally disappeared from aid policy, but the main stresses have been transferred to economic considerations.

3.2 Chinese development co-operation in Africa after the millennium

3.2.1 Aid volume

In the decade following the turn of the millennium the real value of Chinese aid to Africa has been dynamically growing, by 23 per cent annually in the average (Figure 1). Though it started from a much lower base, this growth has been significantly stronger than the aggregate African development assistance of the OECD DAC donors the real value of which had grown by hardly 4 per cent in the average during the same period. While in 2000 the OECD donors gave a larger sum of assistance by scale to Africa, in 2006 there was no difference of scale between the aid given by China and by the DAC community.



Source: Own calculation (2009 prices)

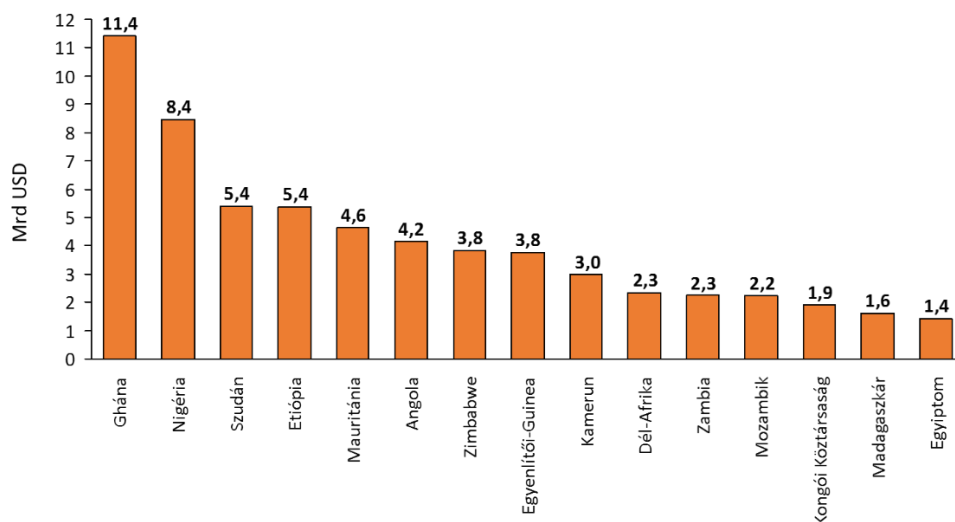
Changes in the volume of Chinese aid were not even during those 12 years. The years 2006 and 2009, years of the summit of the China–Africa Co-operation Forum, represented peaks during that period. Volatility has characterised the entire period, and though the size of aid had been growing again from 2006 on but strong fluctuation between years kept on being characteristic, only with higher levels.

3.2.2 Aid allocation

After the turn of the millennium development co-operation with China was becoming increasingly intensive with several African states. At the same time, these relations have shown vigorous diversity: while China granted development assistance to almost all the African states, some states, primarily Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia and Mauritania were given particular attention in respect of the absolute size of aid (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Fifteen Partner States Receiving the Largest Amount of Chinese Aid
2000–2011



Source: Own calculation (2009 prices)

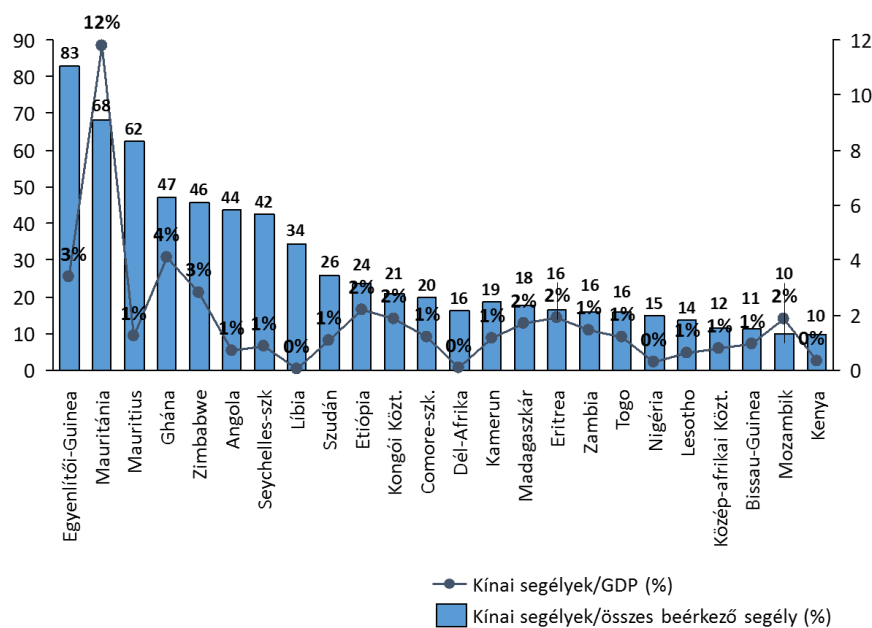
3.2.3 Comparing aid allocation of China and OECD DAC member states

If one studies how the absolute size of aid granted by the OECD DAC community and China respectively are distributed among the African countries one may draw the conclusion that though the majority of the partner states represents similar weight in the aid policy of the DAC donors as well as in that of China yet there is a group of countries which is stressed by China but the DAC donors are not yet (or not anymore) present vigorously there due to political or other considerations. Four countries are seen to be markedly separate which represent considerable development connection for China but not for the OECD donors, or at least to a far lesser extent, such as: Equatorial Guinea, Mauritania, Zimbabwe and Angola.

If Chinese aid is studied from the angle of the individual African countries, one may find that the weight of Chinese assistance within the aid given to some partner states has far surpassed that of the OECD DAC donors, and there are also some where these financing resources represented a weight impossible to disregard in comparison to the GDP of the given country (Figure 3).

Figure 3

Share of Chinese Aid of the Total Aid Arriving to the Partner state and in its GDP (2000-2011)



Source: Own calculations

Equatorial Guinea leads the line where 83 per cent of aid comes from China. While it is clearly seen that the number one development partner of Equatorial Guinea is China, it should also be kept in mind that Chinese aid still does not mean a significant source of income because of its high income from oil, because Chinese assistance only constitutes 3 per cent of the GDP. In the case of Mauritania the Chinese development partnership can be sensed better: 68 per cent of aid arriving to the country is from China and it constitutes almost 12 per cent of the rather low GDP of the country. Mauritius has also received the largest amount of aid from China, namely 67 per cent of all assistance arriving to the country, but the volume of assistance lags behind that of the ones received by the previous two countries. Mauritius is one of the most developed African countries, hence it is hardly exposed to aid, its GDP is constituted by rather diversified sources of income, and Chinese assistance has only constituted about 1 per cent of it. In the decade after the turn of the millennium Ghana had been the largest development partner of China: the total of aid had constituted almost 9 per cent of the country's GDP, of which 4 per cent was Chinese assistance. It is interesting, because it is not among the poorer African countries, as based on its GDP it was in the 12th place among the 49 countries during the period under survey. Consequently the absolute size of support arriving here is high. In the case of Zimbabwe 46 per cent of all the inflowing assistance came from China. The role of Chinese assistance was also appreciated by the fact that rather little aid had come from the DAC member states to this country, mostly due to political reasons.

The question arises why is Chinese aid present just in these countries with great weight if compared to the DAC member states? The reasons are obviously rather complex which is illustrated in the dissertation by the examples of two countries, of Equatorial Guinea and Mauritania:

Equatorial Guinea has been one of the traditional trade partners of China and it is primarily important for oil and wood imports. In this relationship the primary motivation of Chinese development partnership is access to raw materials which is made easy by the fact that Western doors are hardly present in the country because of its bad governance and dictatorial setup. Between 2000 and 2011 China has realised 18 aid programmes in Equatorial Guinea to the value of 3.8 thousand million USD, out of which 2.7 thousand million was allocated to the transport sector and 860 million USD to the development of the energy sector. It is interesting to observe that the Chinese projects for the development of the transport infrastructure were

realised just in that Province of Rio Muni where the Chinese logging and oil interests are located.

At a first sight Mauritius does not seem to be unambiguous from the angle of market acquisition: there are no natural resources to be explored, there is no available cheap labour force and the outlets of the country are also small for the Chinese relationship. Yet the moving force of the Chinese development partnership is also in obtaining access to markets, though not directly, but indirectly. Actually Mauritius may mean a kind of trade and investment gate for China towards Africa. It can be observed that Chinese aid of higher value has been given simultaneously with the creation of special economic zones of Chinese interests, opening towards the African markets.

3.2.4 Linkages between development co-operation, trade and investment

From the late 1990s on Chinese trade with Africa and the investments flowing to that continent have also set out to develop dynamically besides the development assistance granted to the region. The simultaneous movement of the three areas of trade, export of direct investments and aid is not accidental. China's characteristic attitude to the developing states, which is different from that of the traditional donors, is also manifest in this phenomenon because it understands the ensemble of those three areas under development partnership. If one investigates from the side of development relations then it is clearly visible that Chinese aid policy can be separated from its trade and investment policy with great difficulty only, and the interconnectedness of the three areas is manifest in the aims and forms of aid as well as in its set of institutions.

The growing intensity of the three areas had different space during the period between 2000 and 2011. China's trade with Africa grew annually by 20 per cent in the average between 2000 and 2011, namely its growth rate was somewhat below the growth of aid. Whereas Chinese investments had an explosive growth on the continent from the 2000s on: inflowing Chinese direct investment shows 48 per cent growth of its real value in the annual average between 2003 and 2011.

During the course of the analysis of correlations it was found that there has been a positive connection between aid and trad, and between aid and investments respectively in the relationship between China and the African states studied. A stronger than medium relationship was found between aid and import, whereas also a positive connection but of

weaker than the medium was found between aid and exports. By the study of the correlation between aid allocation and investments a stronger than medium positive direction of relations was found between aid and foreign direct investments.

3.3 Evaluation of hypotheses: sectorial-level analysis of linkages between development co-operation, trade and investment

Based on the above data it was possible to conduct also deeper sectorial analyses which also meant the study of the hypotheses. The first hypothesis, namely that China would give preference to those sectors in which trade relations are more intensive within the framework of the Chinese–African development partnership, could be accepted on the basis of calculations. When analysing the sectorial correlations the result obtained was that in three of the six sectors studied, namely in agriculture, transport and telecommunications aid moved simultaneously with import and/or export, whereas in the case of the three other sectors, such as industrial, energy and general consumption no significant relationship was found. Agriculture, transport and communications, besides the energy sector are precisely the branches where the largest amount of aid had flown and where Chinese strategic trade interests are most relevant. Based on our research results, we are of the view that in the majority of those branches where it is China’s strategic interest to expand its import or export markets it would contribute to the deepening of trade relations also by aid.

It is particularly remarkable that we have found a medium strong positive direction of connection between China’s aid to African agriculture and the import of agricultural products from the continent to China. The most probable objective of China’s expansion in African agriculture and its aid projects is to ensure opportunities of settling down for its cultivators moving out of the country on the one hand, and to ensure its own food supply in the long run which is a national security interest for China. A further consideration for China is to ensure an outlet for its agricultural technology, particularly seeds and fertilizers in these countries of strategic importance. According to Brautigam (2009) the Chinese sharing agricultural technology, the stock of seeds and the accumulated experience with the African countries may mean a real win–win situation for both parties. The entry and clear strategy of China in this sector is also important for the African countries, which themselves are struggling against

serious problems of food supply and their agriculture is rather underdeveloped because the Western agricultural aid has been significantly dropped by the late 1990s and have been stagnant ever since.

In the transport sector we have also found significant sectorial relations between aid allocation and trade. A less than medium strong relationship of positive direction can be identified between aid directed to the African transport industry and the export of the means of transport arriving from China to the continent. After the turn of the millennium the African transport sector has had considerable growth potential and China had also noticed the possibility in it. During the period between 2000 and 2011 the means of transport had a prominent significance in China's export to Africa both in respect of its explosive growth as well as the significant growth of the African share of exports. The real value of the export of transport means had grown by 25 per cent in the average annually and the export of motor vehicles and spare parts by 35 per cent. China's export of the means of transport had started from a relatively high basis and it was doubled: while in 2000 Africa shared about 5 per cent of the total export of the means of transport, by 2011 this proportion grew to be more than 10 per cent. We also wanted to find out how far this dynamic growth was related to aid. It could be established during our analysis that in the countries where China had implemented several aid projects in transport, like in Ghana and Angola, it was just after the realisation of the aid projects in transport that Chinese export of the means of transport had grown significantly. Apparently China's strategic aim is to grant aid in transport to those countries which mean an outlet for the Chinese means of transport and this strategy has been successfully implemented in several countries and China has expanded its export market opportunities.

Telecommunications was the last branch where we have found significant correlation between aid allocation and trade. There is a somewhat weaker than medium connection of positive direction between aid directed to the African telecommunications sector and the export of telecommunications products arriving to the continent from China. The sector is important for China also because it had been expanding by almost 8 per cent annually in the average between 2000 and 2008, and some analyses consider the sector as one of the African sectors having the greatest growth potential (McKinsey Global Institute 2010). The branch has ensured serious opportunities of expansion for China after the turn of the millennium, as in 2000 the telecommunications products only had a 5 per cent share in its African exports but it

was 8 per cent by 2011. For instance, a significant part of the Chinese telecommunications aid flew to Nigeria and the aid projects implemented there during the 12 years were of the nature which offered expansion of the export market for Chinese electronics gadgets, and it appears from changes in the export turnover that China could utilise this opportunity. It allows for inferring that the strategic aim of the Chinese telecommunications aids may be to expand the African outlet of telecommunications means.

We reject our second hypothesis according to which it was thought that China would prefer those sectors in its aid allocation in which investment relations were more intensive. In none of the four sectors investigated, such as agriculture, energy industry, industry and transport we could discover correlations, thus we can conclude that there is no direct interrelationship between aid allocation and the intensity of foreign direct investment on sectorial level. This result does not mean that there is no connection between aid and the export of investment capital, for the relationships of investments, the acquisition of markets may not only be supported by aid granted by donors that they direct their aid to a sector important for investment but also indirectly, when they finance the development of education, of the social and other sectors by their assistance. This is made highly probable because when we were investigating the correlation between aid allocation and investments without breakdown by sectors it was revealed that there was a stronger than medium connection of positive direction between aid allocation and foreign direct investments. Thus we may assume on the basis of our data that aid may have indirectly or even directly contributed to the growth of Chinese direct investment in Africa but it could not be proved by quantitative methods.

3.4 Contribution to the literature, areas of further research

The greatest added value of our research contributing to the related literature is that we have investigated the relations between aid and trade, and aid and investments respectively on sectorial level. The most important result of our quantitative analysis is that we have discovered sectorial connections in the field of aid and trade.

We hold that the use of the AidData database offers excellent opportunities for the realisation of further and deeper analyses. We are of the view that one may draw inferences from the detailed study of Chinese aid allocation, similarly to that of the OECD DAC donors, about the

priorities of China's development and strategy in Africa. We consider it important that with the passage of time and with the continuous updating of the AidData database further similar quantitative analyses should be made which will be able to comprehend a larger horizon of time. That way actually such trends will be observed to which the 12 years surveyed by us are insufficient because such outlines could not emerge during such a period which could clearly demonstrate certain shock effects, economic downturns or upturns.

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