UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S DISCOURSE ON SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION AND CHINA-AFRICA HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE: A FIELD RESEARCH STUDY AT ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY’S CHINA-AFRICA INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL

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UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S DISCOURSE ON SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION
AND
CHINA-AFRICA HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE:
A FIELD RESEARCH STUDY AT ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY’S
CHINA-AFRICA INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL

A Dissertation Presented

by

YI SUN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2019

College of Education
UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S DISCOURSE ON SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION AND CHINA-AFRICA HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE: A FIELD RESEARCH STUDY AT ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY’S CHINA-AFRICA INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL

A Dissertation Presented

by

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Mzamo P. Mangaliso, Member

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Jennifer Randall
Associate Dean of Academic Affairs
College of Education
DEDICATION

To my parents

and

all the others who made this journey possible.

“The most important attitude that can be formed is that of desire to go on learning.”
(John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, 1998:49)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Earning a Ph.D. would feel like an endless journey for me if I was not fully engaged in my research; and the person who has brightened the pathways along and guided me through this journey is deeply appreciated. I was very lucky to meet my academic advisor, Bjorn Harald Nordtveit, six years ago in the Center for International Education at UMass-Amherst. Bjorn has both rich institutional and field research experiences in international development and comparative education worldwide, and who always sets high academic standards for himself as well as for me. I decided to work with Bjorn not only because of his high accomplishments as a professor but also his great patience, encouragement, and rigorous attitude towards the world which has inspired me constantly as well as challenged me critically. He also introduced me to academic communities which has allowed me to collaborate with many other scholars who share similar interests. I cannot say enough thanks to Bjorn; it has been invaluable to have a great advisor like him who has given me sincere support along the journey and has enabled me to develop my academic capacity.

My great gratitude is also for Jacqueline Mosselson, a professor and my committee member in International Education. She has inspired me to examine cultural studies differently by considering both critical and psychological perspectives. These perspectives have become valuable methodological and theoretical approaches for my current and future researches. For my dissertation proposal and thesis, Jacqi has provided invaluable and critical feedback for me to facilitate improvements.

I am also thankful to have Mzamo Mangaliso, a professor at UMass Isenberg School of Management, in my dissertation committee. Although Mzamo studied business, his research combines theories of cultural sociology and business management, which has offered me a unique insight when conducting field research and comparing cultural components in China-Africa studies in business settings.

I also want to thank Dr. Xiulan Wan, Dr. Changsong Niu, and Dr. Shurong He from the Zhejiang Normal University who have enabled me to conduct the field research, understand the changing international education dynamics in Chinese universities, and share insights about China-Africa higher education with me during my visits. Their hospitality was greatly appreciated. Moreover, thanks to all Chinese students, international students, and Chinese faculty members at ZJNU who participated in the research; without you, this dissertation would be impossible.

Last but not least, appreciations are given to my family and friends. Growing up in an education-prioritized Chinese family until I finished my college degree, I left my parents for the United States for advanced degrees. It has been ten years since the day I left home and my parents have always been there to support my dreams. At the same time, I would like to thank my aunt’s family; I remember that they drove 9 hours to visit me in Boston when I first arrived. Ultimately, my years in Boston and Amherst have left me unforgettable memories with friends inside and outside of the academic settings. David Garland, Rosa Medina Riveros, and Meilan Frame were there for me in the moments that I needed support. I have to convey a very special thanks to Dr. Donaldo Macedo and Dr. Pepi Leistyna, who were mentors in my early years of academic development. I appreciated your encouragement for me to pursue a higher degree, which now enables me to walk further to pursue greater success.
ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S DISCOURSE ON SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION AND CHINA-AFRICA HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE: A FIELD RESEARCH STUDY AT ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY’S CHINA-AFRICA INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL

SEPTEMBER 2019

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Directed by: Professor Bjorn H. Nordtveit

This dissertation research attempts to distinguish China’s model from that of the traditional North-South relationship, with a focus on how China’s philosophy articulates its foreign policy and the nation’s higher education engagement with African countries. It examines the China-Africa higher education partnership in response to China’s discourse on South-South Cooperation (SSC), Africa’s human resource flows, and the benefits and constraints of current China-Africa cooperation. In order to achieve these goals, the dissertation uses one of the China-Africa partnership universities in China, Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU) as a site for its field research. The fieldwork looks at both a student level (e.g., studying experience and human capacity building) and an institutional level (e.g., university policy for foreign student management), aims to gauge the partnership’s potential effects on African countries by examining the African students’ motivation for and perceptions of studying and living in China, their plans after graduation, and opinions on cooperation and development. Research data came from national and institutional statistics, and 75 interviewees from ZJNU, including African students, students of other nationalities, Chinese students, and Chinese faculty members.

The dissertation has six chapters. The first three chapters provide background information, discuss theoretical framework, and describe the methodologies applied for the fieldwork research. The following chapters attempt to deconstruct research questions and explore China’s discourse on SSC, and to analyze its engagement with Africa’s higher education and human capacity building by looking into China’s Africa policy and China’s alternative model of development (with Chinese characteristics). Since each research component is inextricably linked with China’s socio-economic development and policy changes, the analysis for the field research has the potential to open up areas of knowledge that have been overlooked in the past few decades.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAIBS</td>
<td>China-Africa International Business School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAIF</td>
<td>China-Africa Industrial Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CASTEP</td>
<td>China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>CATTF</td>
<td>China-Africa Think Tank Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Confucius Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSC</td>
<td>Chinese Scholarship Council</td>
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<td>CWTO</td>
<td>China WTO Committee Africa Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOCAC</td>
<td>Forum on China-Africa Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSK</td>
<td>Chinese Proficiency Test (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communications Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>MFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOC</td>
<td>Ministry of Commerce</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
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<td>MSR</td>
<td>Maritime Silk Route</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCEE</td>
<td>National College Entrance Examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBOR</td>
<td>One Belt One Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>SREB</td>
<td>Silk Route Economic Belt</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSC</td>
<td>South-South Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UASR</td>
<td>University Alliance of the Silk Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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<td>ZJNU</td>
<td>Zhejiang Normal University</td>
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Overview

Development is not a dance for just one person; it requires two or more partners who move hand-in-hand and practice compatibility with certain pieces of music. Choosing the right music and the right dance partner is the first step towards successful harmony. If your dance partner cannot follow your steps or lacks the patience to lead, neither one of you will enjoy dancing together. Also, if one of the dancers exploit the other, or force him or her to follow a path that is not desired by the “partner,” then the dance would not be an attractive and visually harmonious one. The metaphor of dance can be applied to international relations and cooperation between the global North and the global South.

The historic roots of the term “North-South relations” began during the period of late 19th and early 20th century European colonialism (Phillips, 2013). Countries in the global North, such as France and Britain, with their greater political, economic, and military powers, exploited natural resources and human labor in their colonies across Africa, Latin America, and Asia (Phillips, 2013). They also extended aid loans to their colonies to improve infrastructure, such as railways and roads (Phillips, 2013), thereby successfully addressing pressing human needs at the time but also creating debts for most of the recipient countries. The modern “donor-recipient” model can be traced to major developments that followed World War II in 1948; one was the implementation of the “Marshall Plan”¹, another was the founding of international organizations, such as the United Nations, IMF, and

¹ Marshall Plan is also called the European Recovery Program (ERP). Post-World War II, Europe remained ravaged by war; in a June 5, 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall issued a call for a comprehensive program to rebuild Europe. The Marshall Plan generated a resurgence of European industrialization and brought extensive investment into the region. It was also stimulated the U.S. economy by establishing markets for American goods. Economic historians have debated that the Marshall Plan was a great humanitarian effort; it institutionalized and legitimized U.S. foreign aid programs, which have become an integral part of U.S. foreign policy (U.S. Office of Historian, n.d.) Please visit: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/marshall-plan
the World Bank (Williams, 1998). The modern “donor-recipient” model clarifies the roles of the “giver” and the “receiver,” not only in the context of world economy but also in politics and social development. The very nature of this one-way aid created a hierarchical structure through unequal applications of power and wealth by the North in relation to the South (Cui, 2016). Moreover, the influx of Northern aid merely helped to solve short-term problems of immediate human needs without considering the South’s future needs. All these gave rise to new problems. According to Swanson (2015) and Cui (2016), the influx of Northern foreign aid has not contributed much to the economic growth of the global South. Cui (2016) claimed that the Western countries impose various conditions when providing foreign aid, which is not consistent with the concept of equality but more similar to control from power. Swanson (2015) claimed that the traditional form of one-way, needs-based foreign aid is incapable of generating long-term economic growth. This is due to two main reasons. First, many donor countries built foreign aid projects on commercial or political interests rather than the interests of the recipient countries’ local people. Second, when foreign aid goes to countries in the global South, it does not go directly to the powerless (people) but instead has to go through those in power (government). Any effective foreign aid plan for countries in the global South must not only prioritize the immediate needs of their populations but also the countries’ long-term economic and social development.

If traditional aid is a one-way street, does “cooperation” offer a promising alternative path? At the very least, cooperation implies a more balanced and egalitarian partnership, with or without benefits, conditional or unconditional. During the Cold War period, South-South Cooperation² (SSC) was

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² South-South Cooperation (SSC) is a broad framework of political, economic, social, educational, cultural, environmental, and technical collaboration among countries of the South. Developing countries share knowledge, skills, expertise, and resources to achieve their developmental goals through concerted efforts (United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation, 2018). Please visit: https://www.unsouthsouth.org/about/about-sstc/. This terminology is explained in more detail later in this chapter.
driven by political motivations and seen as a means for strengthening the political development of the
global South’s developing countries (UNDP, 2013). However, in the 21st century, SSC has often been
seen as a “best-practice” transfer within the global South (Morais de Sa e Silva, 2009 as cited in
Chisholm & Steiner-Khamsi, 2009). Theoretically, the modern concept of SSC was built on a similar
past and/or common goals for the future development of countries in the global South. Aid is defined
in this context as an approach to “knowledge and resource exchanges,” such as higher education
exchanges and human resource flows within regional blocs of the global South (United Nations Office
for South-South Cooperation, 2018). In this sense, countries in the global South can take into account
their partners’ present and future developmental needs, including formulating policies concerning
educational opportunities. This alternative approach can lead to long-term social development rather
than short-term economic success by creating a knowledge-based economy through cultivating the
available talents of the citizens of the partner countries.

China’s higher education cooperation with African countries is a pertinent topic in an era of
globalization. The dynamics of China-Africa’s cultural and educational exchanges not only embody
characteristics of the SSC but also reflect both positive outcomes and constraints that need to be
analyzed within the context of the international political economy. This dissertation research attempts
to distinguish China’s model from that of the traditional North-South relationship, with a focus on
China’s philosophy and the country’s higher education engagement and human capacity building with
African countries. It examines the China-Africa higher education partnership in response to China’s
discourse on SSC, Africa’s human resource flows, and the benefits and constraints of current China-
Africa cooperation. In order to achieve these goals, this dissertation uses one of the China-Africa
partnership universities in China, Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU) as a site for its field research.
The fieldwork aims to address issues at both a student level (e.g. studying experience and human
capacity building) and an institutional level (e.g. university policy for foreign student management). It also aims to gauge the partnership’s potential effects on African countries by examining the African students’ motivations for and perceptions of studying and living in China.

1.2 Theoretical Perspectives
The basic theoretical structures for this dissertation can be illustrated as a “pyramid” (see Figure 1.1). Conceptually, South-South Cooperation refers to the sharing of knowledge and resources between developing countries that aims to achieve agreed-upon development goals. Therefore, using the SSC as a theoretical framework for this dissertation research helps link together China’s model, China’s Africa policy, human capacity building in the global South, and educational mobility and globalization. While doing so, this research also applies world-system/dependency theories, human capital theories, soft power theories, and comparative education theories for further analysis of current China-Africa cooperation. The field research of China-Africa’s higher education partnership provides an analysis of China’s current model of SSC through interview questions aimed at determining African students’ motivating factors for studying in China, their plans after graduation, their perceptions about studying in China’s higher education institutions, and their opinions on cooperation and development. Since each research component is inextricably linked with China’s socio-economic development and policy changes, the analysis for the field research has the potential to open up areas of knowledge that have been overlooked in the past few decades.
Several research studies regarding China-Africa higher education exchanges were published in the 1970s and 1990s, but very few studies were done in the 1980s or in the first five years of the 2000s. Since higher education cooperation between China and a large number of African countries has been increasing dramatically since the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000, one would expect an increase in the number of research studies and an expansion of study topics thereafter. However, most China-African studies have focused on the economic benefits of cooperation and development; and there are far fewer studies reporting on evaluation-related research regarding African students’ lives in Chinese universities since the rate of return on educational investments takes a longer time to realize and the size of the educational programmes are still comparatively small.

---

3 The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is an official forum made up of the People's Republic of China and all African countries (with the exceptions of Burkina Faso and Swaziland). There have been five summits held to date, with the most recent meeting having occurred in 2015 in Johannesburg. For more information, please visit: [http://www.focac.org/eng/](http://www.focac.org/eng/)
The concept of a global South is associated with the determination of Third World designations of the 1950s and 1960s, which were primarily based on the order of world economy. The foundations of the theoretical framework of the SSC were built on Immanuel Wallerstein’s classic world-system theory configured in the 1970s; his work divided the world into three areas: “core,” “semi-periphery,” and “periphery” (Robinson, 2011). According to Wallerstein’s designations in the 1970s, China and Africa’s countries belonged to the “periphery” (Grell-Brisk, 2017). In the 1980s, the term “North-South” was more commonly used in government documents and reports created by countries of the global North (Thérien, 1999).

Academically, the world-system theory and dependency theory in comparative education help to better understand the obstacles to education and human capacity building in economically poor regions and nations such as the countries in the global South. According to Noah and Eckstein (as cited in Schriewer & Holmes, 1988), a school or university as a place for learning the “body of knowledge that is selectively organized and transmitted to students” (p. 1) usually ties that knowledge to its curriculum and the use of certain teaching materials, as well as the instructors’ knowledge constructs and academic background. Therefore, dependency theory sheds light on reproduction theory by viewing educational structures and their contents as an essential means for knowledge reproduction. Based on that, the education institutions in the global South are, according to Noah and Eckstein (as cited in Schriewer & Holmes, 1988) “at a disadvantage in the international knowledge network” (p. 1) because many education institutions in the global South either have been borrowing the models of the countries in the global North or have difficulties “upgrading” or “escaping” from some of the traditional models due to historical, political, and other reasons.
Due to different histories, China and African countries have different foundations for their development of higher education. Before Africa’s decolonization took place in the 1950s, most African countries’ (especially those in sub-Saharan Africa) public higher education institutions were branches or remote campuses of European countries’ higher education institutions (Samoff, 2009; Sall, 2004). The institutional-based instruction and knowledge production of African universities in both the colonialism period and the time of early independence have limited their long-term development; higher education was a postcolonial phenomenon in Africa (Sall, 2004). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, except in South Africa, there were fewer than 10 universities in sub-Saharan Africa (Sall, 2004) and their higher education development has largely depended on Western ideology. By comparison, China’s higher education development was more diverse and independent. In ancient China, the Bi Yong (璧雍) during the Western Zhou dynasty, the Tai Xue (太学) during the Han dynasty, and the Guo Zi Jian (国子监) during the Jin dynasty were all higher education institutions that trained high-ranking officials (Gu, 1984). According to Gu (1984), in spite of its long higher education history, China’s higher learning institutions were not created in the modern sense until 1898. During the late Qing Dynasty, due to an increase in interaction between China and the rest of the world, the Chinese government borrowed Gui Mao (癸卯)⁴ from Japan in 1903 and Ren Xü (壬戌)⁵ from the United States in 1922 to improve its higher education system as well as to receive new educational ideologies from the outside (Gu, 1984). At the time of the Chinese liberation in 1949, there were 204 higher education institutions in the entire country, with a total enrollment of 117,000 students (Gu, 1984).

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⁴ Gui Mao (癸卯) is Chinese Beiyang government’s Education Act in 1904. It includes 18 chapters and is a modern educational idea that tries to combine Chinese culture and Western applied scientific knowledge. Chinese Confucianism is the basis of this Act, it emphasizes the core status of Chinese culture in the educational system to consolidate traditional moral obligations. The Act also advocates the application of western knowledge, focusing on the practical values to “improve self” and to “protect the nation”. The relationship and the tension between the two constituted the core principles of the Gui Mao educational system (Yuan, 2013).

⁵ Ren Xü (壬戌) is Chinese Beiyang government’s Education Act in 1922. It is a significant revision of previous Educational Acts, emphasizing on the democratic and scientific perspectives of education (Li, 1997).
Since 2015, one of the most important changes in China’s higher education policies has been governmental and university initiatives to establish more “world-class” universities nationwide. In order to follow the trends in globalization and compete in global higher education, China intends to have its own world-class universities as attractively competitive as Harvard and Oxford. Theoretically, the initiatives attempt to “promote a batch of high-level [Chinese] universities and disciplines to enter the world’s top ranks or the front ranks [and] speed up the Chinese higher education governance system and the modernization of governance capacity” (Peter & Besley, 2018, p. 1075) to “follow Deng Xiaoping’s theory as well as Xi Jinping’s speeches outlining the policy of supporting development based on innovation and driving the development strategy of socialism with the core of Chinese characteristics” (p. 1075). Although the policy addressed independent development of China’s higher education institutions, ironically, in reality, the initiative has done something quite different. First, it encouraged a more Western education style instruction for international students studying at Chinese universities. Second, it increased the number of Western professors teaching in China. Third, it largely encouraged Chinese scholars who hold degrees from Western institutions to return to China to teach.

In light of this irony exemplified in China’s recent higher education initiatives, the dependence and the independence factors of a country’s development lend themselves to comparison in many cases across countries. In this time of globalization, not a single country can fully develop without interacting with other countries. And each developmental stage of a country can be greatly affected by the trends

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6 China’s World-class Universities can also be called China’s Double First-class University Plan or Double Top University Plan. It was a Chinese government plan announced in 2015. The plan aimed at developing a group of top Chinese universities and individual university departments into world class universities and disciplines by the end of 2050 (Peter & Besley, 2018). Please visit this website to receive more information: https://cwauthors.com/article/double-first-class-list
or themes of the times. Therefore, the positives and negatives of being dependent on or independent of another country (or countries) seem to be relative. Within the global context, the uneven development between the North and the South generates unbalanced power relations; when standards (e.g. social, economic, and educational, etc.) are embedded in those richer countries’ systems, the process of globalization not only becomes the delivery mechanism of their ideology but also legitimizes it.

Educational and cultural development builds on the flow of knowledge, an exchange of meanings, and the social mobility of everyday life. Following a model of best practices, one would expect this process to be built on equity and respect. However, the cultural hegemony of the West has made the flow of knowledge seem more like the “one-way only” exchanges reminiscent of the one-way flow of aid. Even though the Western approach has not proven to be a panacea in the 21st century, in reaching for alternative developmental approaches in the time of globalization, countries in the global South have largely engaged with the Western model, hoping to successfully fit parts of it into their own systems. Following this logic, two important questions to consider here are: What is globalization? And whose globalization is it?

Globalization is a double-edged sword—we should not simply define it and judge whether it is good or bad but instead examine the issues caused by globalization through the lens of development (Hoyt & Brooks, Winter 2003/2004). China’s development during the time of globalization lends itself to this pertinent research because China’s system and societal development are a mixture of tradition and modernity. Studying the higher education exchange and cooperation between China and Africa through the lens of China’s unique development model provides valuable insights on related issues. For instance, when examining the ties between China and Africa from a political economy point of
view of South-South Cooperation (SSC), many scholars claim that China might be using “soft power” for its political gains. Analyzing China’s Africa policy through the lens of higher education may help scholars gain new perspectives on China’s development model and how this model differs from the West. From an economic point of view, since China-Africa’s higher education cooperation aims at assisting African countries’ human capacity building, human capital theory provides a framework from which to determine whether higher education cooperation has been a factor in the economic growth in Africa during the years of this cooperation. Among other topics, the field research for this dissertation examined African students’ plans after graduation from the Chinese university in which they were enrolled at the time of the study in order to gain greater insight into this consideration.

Therefore, the findings of this study will benefit not only scholars in the education field but also those interested in interdisciplinary studies such as the studies of politics, sociology, and economics.

1.3 China-Africa Relations: Background Information

China and Africa share a long history of association. This section covers the historic, social, cultural, economic, and educational connections between China and the countries of Africa during different phases.

1.3.1 Four Phases of China-Africa Relations

China-Africa relations can be divided into four phases historically based on McConnell (2010) and Daoud (2018).

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7 Soft power is the ability to attract and persuade. In contrast to the hard power that grows out of a country’s military or economic might, soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. Joseph Nye first proposed and introduced this term in his paper “Soft Power” in 1990. His paper can be retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1148580.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A810d7c69fcca58ab13702ca44ac335a4
• First period: From Zhang Qian’s Silk Road to Zheng He’s expeditions (Han Dynasty–late Qing Dynasty)

Chinese silk was introduced and traded in Africa from as early as the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). In 119 BC, China’s Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the West; Zhang Qian’s journey on the Silk Road covered central Asia, Southwest Asia, the Roman Empire around the Mediterranean, and North Africa. In the early Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), Zheng He led seven maritime expeditions across Western seas, landing several times on the East African coast. At that time, the purpose of Zheng’s visit was simply to demonstrate the superiority of the Ming dynasty; thus the connections between China and Africa’s countries were mainly based on trade. However, in the 19th century, especially after the First Opium War (1840–1842), in the hopes of making their fortune in the South African diamond and gold mines, the British brought Chinese workers to South Africa for gold mining and later as laborers for railway construction.

• Second period: Cooperation for independence and solidarity (1940s–1970s)

Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, and during the period when many African countries were also gaining their political independence, the common tasks and issues facing both China and Africa’s countries were to develop and modernize their national economies (CIIC, 2000). In 1955, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai led a delegation that attended the Bandung Conference, where he indicated that China was seeking common ground and solidarity with Asian and African countries. On May 30, 1956, China established diplomatic relations with Egypt, starting the trend that saw formal ties created between China and 51 African countries by the late 1990s (CIIC, 2000). From the mid-1950s to the late 1960s, the Chinese government supported many African countries in their quest for their political independence. Besides, from the end of 1963 to the beginning of 1964, Premier Zhou Enlai visited 10 African countries, a milestone in China-Africa relations.

• Third period: Moving forward for long-term cooperation (1980s–2000s)
From its implementation in the 1980s, China’s Reform and Opening-up policy gave the country more opportunities to cooperate with the outside world; the policy attached great importance to developing relations with African countries within different spheres of interest, as well as with other countries in the global South. Chinese leaders visited 11 African countries between 1982 and 1983, expounding “mutual benefits” as a core principle in their cooperation plans. These visits continued into the 1990s, with various Chinese leaders visiting African countries multiple times for the purpose of establishing “long-term stable and all-field cooperative Sino-Africa relations in the 21st century” (CIIC, 2000).

- Fourth period: “Win-Win” cooperation for sustainable development (2000s–Present)

In October 2000, the first FOCAC was held in Beijing, with more than 80 ministers from China and 44 African countries, representatives of 17 regional and international organizations, and people from China and Africa’s businesses communities all in attendance (September 29, 2006, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC). From this point on, China-Africa cooperation on economy and trade has been continuously growing with the result of China becoming the largest trading partner of Africa (UNDP, 2013).

1.3.2 Cultural, Educational, and Economic Contexts

Over the past several decades, the governments and people of China and Africa have achieved successful cooperation in many fields including trade and economy, cultural and educational exchange, public health, infrastructure, and so on.

In the trade and economic field, China’s investment in Africa occurs in the broader context of Beijing’s market-oriented “reform and opening” (改革开放) and “go global” (走出去) development strategies that have benefited the Chinese market. However, China-Africa economic relations seems to be of greater importance to the participating African countries than to China since the trade between the
countries accounts for 15 percent of the African countries’ total but only five percent of China’s total trade (Thrall, 2015). Reflecting this is the fact that from 2009 on, China has been Africa’s largest trade partner and its fourth largest investment destination (UNDP, 2013). In just a twelve-year period, China-Africa trade increased almost twentyfold from $10 billion in 2000 to more than $180 billion in 2012 (Thrall, 2015).

China began providing foreign aid to Africa in 1956; as of 2000, the nation has sent aid funds to 53 African countries (CIIC, 2000). Nearly 800 projects in the social and economic fields have been accomplished successfully, such as the Tanzania-Zambia railway (CIIC, 2000). In particular, the China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation White Paper (2013) highlighted the “win-win” partnership between China and Africa and explained how the nature and sectorial distribution of Chinese investments in Africa were evolving. The white paper also noted that since 2012, the volume of African countries’ direct investment in China totaled $14.24 billion, which included a 44 percent increase from 2009. The investments covered manufacturing and processing, petrochemical and wholesale industries, and so on (China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation, 2013). This indicates that China-Africa’s economic and trade relationship was becoming broader and also less restricted by their state-owned enterprises.

In addition to China’s direct trade and economic engagement with African countries, the countries have also increased cultural and educational exchanges over the past decades. One result of these endeavors was the expansion of Confucius Institutes8 throughout African universities. The institutes

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8 Confucius Institute (CI) is a public institution affiliated with the Chinese Ministry of Education that is committed to providing Chinese language and cultural teaching resources and services worldwide by meeting the demands of foreign Chinese learners and contributing to the development of multiculturalism and the building of a harmonious world. For further resources, please see: http://english.hanban.org/
organize cultural exchanges and activities, such as the celebration of Chinese festivals, in order to encourage an exchange of cultural perspectives between the African and Chinese students and other community members. Additionally, China’s Minister of Culture has furthered this cooperation movement to create direct exchanges between citizens of Africa and China through the sponsorship of programs such as “China-Africa People-to-People Friendship Action” and “China-Africa Cultural Cooperation Partnership Program” (Chinese Embassy in Ghana, 2017).

On the policy level, in 2006, the Chinese government released the first China’s Africa Policy Paper in Beijing. The policy stated Africa’s historical role and its partnership relations with China and established “sincere friendship and equality, mutual support and close coordination, learning from each other, and seeking common ground for development” (China’s African Policy, 2006) as its goals and principles. In terms of educational and cultural cooperation, the policy addressed the importance of human capacity building in Africa, by, for example, suggesting an increase in the number of government scholarships for African countries and by sending more Chinese teachers and experts to Africa. In 2015, China announced the second phase of its policy through presentation of its second China’s Africa Policy Paper in Johannesburg (XinhuaNet, 2015). Emphasizing its partnership relations with Africa, the policy also outlined a new concept in the development of their relationship, which was to establish a “community of shared future” between China and Africa (XinhuaNet, 2015). In this statement, China reiterated “sincerity, pragmatism, affinity, and good faith” as cooperation priorities (XinhuaNet, 2015). It encouraged further collaboration in the fields of technology, vocational training, and online education for strengthening human capacity development. It also requested local governments, higher education institutions, business enterprises, and social entities to provide
financial support for Africans who wished to study in China to better follow through on the “20+20” China-Africa university cooperation plan.⁹

The roots of the China-Africa educational cooperation plan began as early as the 1950s, when China took part in starting programs in several African countries, including Egypt, Cameroon, Kenya, Uganda, and Malawi. Twenty-four African students came to study in China and at the same time, China sent a small number of students and teachers to Africa, mostly within the fields of language, literacy, and history (China Africa Education Cooperation, 2005). Due to the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976), China-Africa educational cooperation suffered an interruption in 1966 that lasted for 10 years. But by 1978, China’s Reform and Opening-up policy was once again encouraging cooperation between Chinese schools and universities with those in other countries. By the late 1980s, 43 African countries had sent a total of 2,245 students to study in China, and as an outcome of the first FOCAC in 2000, China-Africa cultural and educational exchange programs began increasing dramatically (Yuan, 2013). Between 2005 and 2015, the Chinese Ministry of Education reported that African students’ numbers in China rose from 2,757 to 49,792 (Gu, 2017). Among these new programs were short-term professional trainings and long-term degree programs.

Along with this growth in education cooperation came an increase in the scholarship opportunities the Chinese government provided to African students. The number of applications at Chinese

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⁹ The “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Plan (also known as “20+20” Cooperation Plan) was launched in 2009; the initiative was developed by China’s Ministry of Education. 20+20 formulated partnerships between China and 20 African universities in 17 African countries. In 2011, UNESCO became the third party of the initiative; the UNESCO-China-Africa Tripartite Initiative on University Cooperation aimed to facilitate university partnerships, which benefited the production of knowledge that fostered mutual understanding between China and African countries and the cultivation of top-level citizens who could work effectively across borders. For the full list of selected universities in “20+20,” please see: [http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/international-university-cooperation/unesco-china-africa-tripartite-initiative-on-university-cooperation/university-partnership/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/international-university-cooperation/unesco-china-africa-tripartite-initiative-on-university-cooperation/university-partnership/)
universities by African students kept growing and the demand exceeded the number of scholarship opportunities. After 2010, many Chinese universities began to experience an influx of self-funded African students in a variety of majors. The reasons and motivations behind this issue will be discussed in more detail in subsequent dissertation chapters.

1.4 China-Africa Higher Education Cooperation: The Case from China’s Side

This section serves as an introduction for this dissertation’s field research. Since the data collection for the research was conducted in a Chinese university, it is important to understand more about the context of the school, such as its history, location, and its institutional settings for African studies as well as its connections to other Chinese institutions and its partnerships with African universities.

1.4.1 Zhejiang Normal University and the Institute of African Studies

[Unless otherwise cited, all statistical information in this section comes from Zhejiang Normal University (2016).]

Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU), formerly known as Hangzhou Normal Academy or Zhejiang Teaching College, was established in 1956 in Jinhua, Zhejiang Province (see Figure 1.2). It has been considered as one of China’s top 100 universities since 2014 and one of the few key comprehensive public universities in Zhejiang Province. The university currently has approximately 2,850 academic staff members, including 340 full-time professors and 680 associate professors. Among them, 800 (about 80%) hold a doctoral degree. It has an enrollment of 25,000 undergraduate students, 6,000 graduate students, and 3,000 international students.
In 1980, China's Ministry of Education named Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU) as one of the key provincial universities (ZJNU-CAIBS Website, n.d.). It specializes in teacher education and includes multiple branches of learning, serving as a key national training base for teachers of vocational education and locomotive engineers. The university has 18 colleges (see Appendix A) offering 65 undergraduate degree programs, 151 master’s degree programs, and 20 doctoral degree programs. Masters’ degree programs have three options based on both students’ learning needs and language skill, they are research master’s programs taught in Chinese (2–3 years), professional master’s programs taught in Chinese (2–2.5 years), and master’s programs taught in English (2–3 years). There are two options based on students’ language skills for doctoral degree programs: doctoral degree programs taught in Chinese (3 years) and doctoral degree programs taught in English (3 years). Among the 30 English degree programs currently offered by ZJNU, there are 12 bachelor’s degrees, 11 master’s degrees, and seven doctoral degrees (see Appendix B). In 1997, the Chinese Ministry of Education
approved and authorized the university to accept both short-term and long-term international students. In recent years, the university has cooperated with 190 universities and research institutes in 50 different countries, and 40 foreign universities with their student exchange programs.

In 2007, ZJNU established the Institute of African Studies (IAS), the first institute for comprehensive African studies among China’s institutions of higher education. The IAS employs 30 researchers in four research centers: the Center for the Study of African Politics and International Relations, the Center for African Economic Studies, the Center for African Educational Studies, and the Center for the Study of African Historical Cultures. The IAS also houses the Research Center for FOCAC, the African Museum, the Translation Center for African Studies, and the library website for the “China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program.” The research centers have over 6,000 books on Africa and more than 5,000 volumes of African books and other materials. The fields of study include African politics, economics, education, culture, arts, geography, law, and other subjects. In addition, the IAS publishes the biannual *Journal of African Studies*, which has compiled 120 volumes of African Studies Series and was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to compile the annual Africa Development Report (Zhejiang Normal University, 2018).

The IAS plans to become a nation-level institution of African studies featuring academic research, training, international exchange, and policy consulting. In response to its intentions, the IAS has conducted research on significant theoretical and practical issues such as African educational reform and development. This has resulted in its promotion of China-Africa cultural communication with the aim of enhancing Chinese-African cooperation while also taking an active role in training personnel to provide various avenues of aid to the citizens of Africa. For instance, in 2007, the IAS hosted the Middle School Principals’ Seminars for Anglophone African Countries, and in 2010, it hosted a
conference celebrating the 10th Anniversary of the Establishment of the FOCAC in Johannesburg. The China-Africa Think Tanks Forum (CATTF), initially launched by the university in 2011, created another platform for Chinese and African think tanks to share ideas. As of the writing of this dissertation, the IAS is a member of the Steering Committee of China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program, the China-Africa Think Tanks 10+10 Partnership Plan, and the Key Institutions for Region and Country Studies.

1.4.2 Introduction to China-Africa International Business School at Zhejiang Normal University
In addition to establishing the first institute of African studies (IAS) for comprehensive African Studies, in 2010, ZJNU also established the first college for African students and African business studies among China’s institutions of higher education. The China-Africa International Business School (CAIBS) was created to become a world-class international business school specializing in Chinese-African business. The CAIBS integrates personnel training, business consulting, and academic research within its short-term and long-term programs. It trains professional personnel for international business development as well as education and human resources development, thereby promoting Chinese-African economic and trade cooperation. In academic year 2016–2017, the CAIBS had 81 full-time instructors, 16 full-time professors, and 35 associate professors, with approximately 2,600 full-time domestic undergraduate and graduate students, and more than 200 full-time international students. Since 2010, the school has offered training and continuing education to more than 1,000 international students from over 100 different countries (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016).

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It is worth mentioning that the ZJNU-CAIBS is located near the world’s largest wholesale mart of general merchandise—as acknowledged by the World Bank and Morgan Stanley—the Yiwu Market (“Yiwu Market,” Wikipedia, 2014), which is approximately 34 miles from campus (see Figure 1.3). This proximity provides business opportunities for ZJNU’s African business students. Currently, the College of Economics and Management (CEM) and the China-Africa International Business School (CAIBS) both offer degrees to domestic and international students for undergraduate and postgraduate programs (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016). In particular, the CEM has 10 undergraduate programs in marketing, finance, and accounting, and two graduate programs in economic and management. CAIBS also offers two different degree tracks for international students: International Economics and Trade for undergraduate students and International Business Administration for graduate students. International students can choose elective courses at the CEM and the CAIBS based on their learning interests and needs (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016).

Figure 1.3. Geographic locations of the Yiwu Market and Zhejiang Normal University
1.4.3 Scholarships from the Chinese government and the Confucius Institute
Since the turn of the 21st century, when China, through its commitments to FOCAC, began deepening its engagement with an increasing number of African countries, more and more African students began to arrive in China on various scholarships provided by either the Chinese government or by China-African collaborative programs (see Appendix C). Statistically, in 2010, Chinese government scholarships sponsored 5,710 African overseas students: 40.8% were master’s degree students and 41.4% were undergraduate degree candidates (UNESCO, 2011) (see Appendix D). As the overall number of foreign students studying for degrees in Chinese universities has continued to rise, there has been a steady growth in the number of African students coming to China for master and doctoral degrees. By the end of 2013, more than 35,000 African students enrolled in Chinese higher education institutions had been sponsored by various types of Chinese scholarships (Onsman, 2013; Round, 2014). Most African students studying at Chinese universities had never traveled or resided in any country other than their own before coming to China; many of them chose to study in China to gain an overseas experience (Kayange & Msiska, 2016).

As one of China’s China-Africa higher education partnership universities, ZJNU has cooperated with the Université de Yaoundé I and Université de Yaoundé II of Cameroon since the 1990s. In December 1995, ZJNU set up a Center for Chinese Language and Culture in Cameroon; this became a Confucius Institute in 2007. Since then, the institute in Cameroon has offered scholarships and training for more than 20,000 students from Cameroon and other African countries. In 2010, the Confucius Institute at the Université de Yaoundé II established Chinese language training centers in five locations: Maroua, Douala, Buea, and two centers in Yaoundé. Since the classes received positive feedback from Cameroonian students, the Chinese government praised ZJNU and Université de Yaoundé’s
cooperation in higher education as a model that embodies South-South Cooperation (Confucius Institute at the Université de Yaoundé II, 2010).

Besides being one of the leading universities to build on the work of its African studies, ZJNU has also been appointed to serve as the Education Aid Center for Africa and Asia and the China-ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Education Training Center by China’s Ministry of Education (Education Aid Center, 2014). The center is currently a platform for China-Africa educational exchanges, educational aid, African studies, and Chinese language training. Since 2004, the center has carried out over 60 seminars with a focus on teacher training and other human resource training in accordance with African countries’ specific regional, national, and global needs (Education Aid Center, 2014).

In late 2015, the university initiated a two-year master’s degree program specializing in comparative education (Zhejiang Normal University, 2015). The new program sponsors young as well as middle-aged candidates from developing countries in pursuit of their postgraduate degrees, further strengthening the cooperation between China and other partners in the global South including those from African countries.

1.5 Direction of the Study
This dissertation employs field research to examine China’s higher education engagement with African countries and analyzes both the benefits and constraints of current China-Africa cooperation. Since China has become the second largest economy in the world and has taken on its new role as a leader in the advancement of the global South, its higher education industry has undergone domestic reforms that have led to the design of new features intended to increase and improve the development of the country’s international education system. These new features have also led to some unexpected
changes. For example, African students first came to study in Chinese universities because of the inauguration of the Chinese government’s scholarship programs. These international students’ experiences generated an expanding interest for more students to study in China, creating a greater number of applicants for an ever-increasing number of available scholarships. However, the supply is not yet meeting the demand. As a result of this combination of factors, over the past two decades, there have been more and more self-funded African students choosing to get advanced degrees in China’s higher education institutions (Li, 2018). Statistically, there were 84,361 African students in China during 1996-2011, with 36,918 holding Chinese scholarships while 47,443 were self-funded; in 2015 alone, there were 8,470 African students holding Chinese scholarship while 41,322 African students self-funded (Li, 2018). It is important to understand, though, that this flow of international higher education is a global phenomenon caused not only by economic factors like scholarship programs but also by additional ones found in the social and cultural realms, which will be examined in detail in later chapters of this dissertation.

This dissertation includes seven chapters, the seventh containing the study’s conclusions. The first chapter provides the background information needed to understand the topic, including China-Africa relations throughout different chronological phases as well as the countries’ unique contexts of cultural, economic, and educational cooperation and development. The second and third chapters explain the theoretical framework, methodologies, and approaches used for the field research. Chapter four discusses the history and development of the ZJNU-CAIBS, as well as its current personnel structure and student population. It continues its analysis of CAIBS’ role in engaging with three student groups: African, Chinese, and students of other nationalities.
Chapter five focuses on exploring African students’ experiences at ZJNU-CAIBS. It includes African students’ learning motivations, post-graduation plans and thoughts, shifts in cultural identity, and the challenges they encountered while studying and living in China. While putting an emphasis on African students, this chapter also gives examples of China’s higher education cooperation with other countries’ students, attempting to analyze and compare the learning motivations of the African student group with that of a second group made up of students of other nationalities. By comparing the African and the non-African student groups, the research attempts to accomplish two goals: first, to identify the similarities and differences between the two groups in terms of the perspectives stated above and second, to analyze the socio-economic factors that create those similarities and differences for international students studying at a Chinese university. Since China’s higher education institutions have also attracted many students of other nationalities, especially students from countries that are part of China’s “One Belt One Road” initiative 11 (Silk Road Economic Belt), this chapter not only offers a unique perspective on current China-Africa cooperation but also contributes to a deeper understanding of North-South and South-South cooperation in a larger context. This perspective is presented in the answers to the following question: Does China’s discourse on South-South Cooperation contribute to human resource and economic development and other potential side benefits to other countries in addition to countries in Africa?

Chapter six discusses the economic and political implications of the dissertation research, furthering an analysis of China’s new role in international development and its higher education engagement with

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11 The One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR) focuses on connectivity and cooperation between China and Eurasian countries that are geographically structured along six corridors, including countries such as Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Russia, Turkey, Myanmar, and Mediterranean countries. The belt and road includes the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the ocean-going Maritime Silk Road (MSR). For the full text of President Xi Jinping’s speech at the opening ceremony of One Belt One Road Forum, please see: http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-05/14/c_136282982.htm
African countries. As China seeks to boost African countries’ economies by helping them develop their human capacity through the means of higher education cooperation, what do China and these African countries gain from this developmental model? In the past, one major debate in the field claimed that China’s engagement with Africa was part of China’s soft power strategy, implying that China and African countries were not actually engaged in an equal “win-win” situation. This chapter does not analyze the implications from a zero-sum\(^{12}\) viewpoint but rather attempts to deconstruct some existing findings and ideas in literature and incorporate knowledge and information received in the field research into a reconstruction process to bring in new understanding of China-Africa cooperation. It asks: What are the similarities and differences between China’s Africa policy and China’s new initiatives towards other regions (e.g. “One Belt One Road” and “16+1")? What information or voices have been neglected in the past and what areas of engagement should be incorporated into the China-Africa’s higher education partnership in the future?

The conclusion of the dissertation reviews South-South cooperation and provides a few thoughts on the future prospects of the China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation by referring back to some of the major findings from the research. The research provides insights and recommendations for the benefit of future research into the field of international higher education development as well as for the sake of future cooperation between countries in the global North and the global South.

\(^{12}\) Zero-sum is a mathematical representation of a situation in which each participant’s gain or loss of utility is exactly balanced by the gains or losses of the utility of the other participants. The theory was named after John Nash in his famous Nash Equilibrium in 1951. Over the past few decades, this term began to be used as a metaphor in other fields such as politics and economics. For more information, please visit: [https://www.investopedia.com/terms/z/zero-sumgame.asp](https://www.investopedia.com/terms/z/zero-sumgame.asp)

\(^{13}\) 16+1 Initiative, first established in 2012, is a program of cooperation among China and Central and several Eastern European countries. The most recent summit was held in 2017 in Budapest, Hungry. Cooperation between China and 11 EU countries and five Balkan countries covers the areas of trade, investment, infrastructure, finance, education, tourism, and people-to-people exchanges. For more information, please visit: [http://www.china-ceec.org/eng/](http://www.china-ceec.org/eng/)
In short, the first three chapters of the dissertation provide background information, including a discussion of the theoretical framework, and describe the methodologies used for the fieldwork. In order to successfully address the issues related to the research questions, the following chapters employ South-South Cooperation (SSC) as a theoretical framework and use world-system/dependency theory, soft power theories, and China’s model to deconstruct and explore China’s discourse on SSC, and to analyze its engagement with Africa’s higher education and human resource building by looking into China’s African policy and China’s alternative model of development (with Chinese characteristics).

1.6 Personal Disclosure

Interviewing is a unique form of social interaction; it deserves greater attention and addresses the interactional dynamics of the interview by weaving experience into analysis (DeSantis, 1980). Conducting qualitative interviews has become a commonly used methodological tool in various areas of studies, and it is commonly accepted that researchers’ subjectivities influence findings, including their educational backgrounds, cultural understandings, and power relations between interviewer and interviewee (Williams, 1964). To appraise the validity of the research findings and reliability of the interview data obtained during the field research, it is necessary to understand both the positionality of the interviewer and the evolving relationship between the interviewer and the interviewees.

Since this dissertation’s field research focuses primarily on African students’ experiences in China, there are at least three relationships that were gradually formed during the interview process: the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewees, the relationship between collected interview data and the interviewer’s point of view, and the relationship between the interviewees and their perceptions about living in China. As a Chinese who grew up in an economically developed area in
China, receiving a college degree in English literature in a Chinese university, and working for an international TV channel in China after graduation, I had interacted with foreigners frequently in both academic and work settings. In 2010, I moved to the United States for advanced studies. Subsequently, I worked for two American universities where I was engaged in US-China student exchanges, English language teaching, and culture-related course teaching to immigrant workers for many years. The ten years of living experiences in the United States manifested the opportunity for me to facilitate this research in a unique way, and my past experiences also enabled me to understand many challenges African and other international students encounter in China.

Despite sharing many similar challenges with the students in China and speaking fluent English, my Chinese background was my concern when interacting with my interviewees since they might feel insecure to share their personal stories and problems with me as I could be perceived as one of the University administrators. In order to minimize such worries, I participated in various social gatherings, such as class observations, school seminars, and parties initiated by the international students themselves. Moreover, I attempted to establish connections with the student leaders first to gain trust from the other students, and also let the interviewees chose the places they felt safe to conduct the interviews. Furthermore, I shared my personal experiences with some students at various occasions in order for them to understand me better as a person. For my research, I explained to each interviewee that the research findings would not be built on any individual’s answer. Similarly, their personal information would be kept confidential. During the research process, my involvement with the interviewees was successful due to my own past experiences and dual positionalities as a Chinese and at the same time as an international citizen. My relationship with the students led them to trust me enough to share both positive and negative experiences.
As a researcher, I collect data and conduct interviews to determine various perspectives of Sino-African cooperation in education. The research process, however, not only helps me accumulate knowledge on that particular topic but more importantly, it helps me acknowledge and deal with my own subjectivities and bias. In this case, the acknowledgement of my own subjectivities and my aspiration to represent the voices of African students in China helped me represent their stories as accurately as possible. For the international students who participated in this research, developing new identities in a new environment was an important step in learning about themselves and, at the same time, increasing their cultural awareness and critical thinking skills.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 South-South Cooperation and China’s Global Development Initiatives

This dissertation explores the educational and cultural implications of South-South Cooperation (SSC) as it applies to China’s expanding educational exchange with Africa (and other areas of the world). To better understand the data findings of this study, it is important to include a brief history of the genesis of the term SSC. Historically, the concept of a South-South Cooperation is associated with the divisions created from the “Third World” map or “global South” of the 1950s and 1960s. The term global South was popularized by the Brandt Commission reports\textsuperscript{14} published in 1980 and 1983, both of which bore “North-South” in their titles (Dirlik, 2007). However, the divisions between global North and global South were not only based on geographic locations of countries but more so on certain parameters that measure their economic development, such as the global average GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and the PPP (the GDP at Purchasing Power Parity) per capita. Therefore, the global North and the global South came to be known more in terms of economics rather than geographic divisions over time. Although this is the case, the two terms were more easily divided geographically: richer countries (developed countries) were almost all “located” in the Northern Hemisphere (with the exceptions of Australia and New Zealand), and the poorer countries (developing and underdeveloped countries) were mostly located in the Southern Hemisphere. Although the North-South divisions changed over time, by the 1970s, the term global North came

\textsuperscript{14} The 1980 report was entitled *North-South, A Program for Survival*. The second report, published in 1983, was entitled *Common Crisis: North-South Cooperation for World Recovery*. In 1977, German Chancellor Willy Brandt had been asked by Robert McNamara, the president of the World Bank, to preside over an autonomous, independent commission made up of experienced international politicians and economists “to formulate ‘basic proposals on which global agreement is both essential and possible.’” This commission was formally named the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, commonly referred to as the Brandt Commission. Please see: http://www.brandt21forum.info/About_BrandtCommission.htm
simply to be called the North and now includes countries and regions such as the United States, Canada, Western Europe, the outermost regions of the European Union, Australia, and New Zealand.

Due to the large economic disparity of the global North and the global South and the direction of foreign aid flows from the North to the South in the history of international development, the North-South model became known as a term more commonly seen in the reports and government documents published by countries of the global North (Bawaskar, 2015). Later, in the 1990s, growing out of this earlier model into a model for good-neighborliness and multilateral cooperation among countries with different cultural backgrounds and social systems in the global South, the idea of “South-South cooperation” began influencing the field of development studies. The term was officially introduced and used in foreign policy statements by some of the developing countries by the early 2000s (Bawaskar, 2015).

Presently, South-South cooperation is seen as an alternative model to North-South in international development; it is widely recognized as “a key mechanism for the development agenda” (UNIDO, 2016, para. 2) of developing countries and “is guided by mutual benefits between countries” (UNIDO, 2016, para. 2) in the global South. It provides an opportunity for developing countries to work together “towards economic growth, industrial development and poverty reduction” (UNIDO, 2016, para. 1). Different from the traditional North-South donor-recipient model, South-South cooperation is an exchange of resources, knowledge, and professional skills among developing and underdeveloped countries. It is also a process by which developing countries can work together to establish a greater understanding of each country’s theoretical grounds of knowledge and experience (UNDP, 2013). In so doing, these countries can then more easily exchange technological skills, build networks to
accelerate economic, social, cultural, political, and environmental development, and expand the human capacity to strategically resolve similar developmental challenges (UNDP, 2013).

One example of such an alliance is BRICS, a regional organization in the global South that consists of five developing countries: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (Owen & Melville, 2005). Since the first BRICS Finance Ministers’ meeting in 2008 in Sao Paulo, these five countries have also met regularly at the G20 meetings, the biannual International Monetary Fund (IMF) meetings, the World Bank meetings, as well as the BRICS Summits (South African BRICS Think Tank, 2016). In addition to these high-level ministerial meetings, distinguished professors and scholars from the five countries also participate in different regional summits to discuss challenges that these countries face, to share knowledge, and to provide strategies for each other. These meetings cover such topics as small- and medium-sized enterprises, tourism, imports and exports, agriculture, academic exchange, think tanks, health, science, and technology, national security, and more. In international affairs, although the BRICS countries have different developmental agendas in some cases, they often act as one to promote a legitimate international system, sharing resources to realize in-kind national interests in areas of similar interest (Zhao, 2014).

Although the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and most African countries has been long term, the business ties may still be considered short term, and their business cooperation didn’t begin to show strong signs of prosperity until the early 2000s. By the end of 2010, China-Africa trade reached a total of $126.9 billion dollars, then $166.3 billion dollars in 2011 (Lu, 2011). According to

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15 G20 is the leading forum of the world’s major economic powers that seeks to develop global politics to address today’s most pressing challenges. The G20 is made up of 19 countries and the European Union. The 19 countries are Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, France, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. For further information, see the G20 Information Centre website: [https://g20.org/en/](https://g20.org/en/)
Strange et al. (2013), China planned to provide 15 billion dollars foreign aid to African countries between 2000 to 2011 (Strange et al., 2013 [as cited in Zheng, 2016]). However, the foreign aid reached $73 billion dollars [as cited in Zheng, 2016], which was significantly greater than the official figure of foreign aid China planned. With an average annual trade between China and Africa of 30% over the past 15 years, China has become Africa’s largest business partner to the amount of $180 billion dollars in 2015 (UN Comtrade, 2016 [as cited in Zheng, 2016]).

In addition to these investments in African countries, by the end of 2010, China has built over 150 schools, nearly 100 hospitals, more than 70 drinking water facilities, and over 60 stadiums for other developing countries (Cheng & Taylor, 2017). China has also strengthened its agricultural and human resources cooperation with developing countries. By 2010, China has completed more than 200 agricultural cooperation projects and has held over 4,000 training courses for 120,000 managerial and technical personnel in various professions for countries in the global South (Cheng & Taylor, 2017).

All these progressive achievements of engagement in the past several decades have put China in a place of prominence not only in the global South but also in the global North. In addition to economic links, China’s international higher education cooperation with developing countries has encouraged greater flow of ideas and personnel within regional blocs of the global South. The dynamics of cultural and educational exchanges have in turn influenced the flow of knowledge and global migration patterns throughout the global South. Following this line of thinking, since this dissertation focuses on China-Africa’s higher education exchange and cooperation, it also provides a new lens for seeking the answers that will lead to a better understanding of China’s discourse on South-South cooperation and its role in international higher education. This chapter attempts to unpack and generate theoretical understanding regarding the research questions by discussing the following three perspectives:

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1. How to better understand China’s educational cooperation with Africa and South-South cooperation through a field study of African students in a Chinese business school focusing on China-African economic development?

2. How to understand China’s educational cooperation with Africa from the perspectives of African students’ lived experience and career prospects in China?

3. What are the benefits and challenges of China-African higher education cooperation in an unprecedented time of higher education globalization?

To further explain the background of this dissertation research, chapter 2 is divided into six sections. The first section defines South-South cooperation and discusses its current method of engagement with partners of various regions. The second and the third sections examine China’s alternative development model. The fourth and the fifth sections discuss China’s higher education engagement with African countries, with a focus on China’s philosophies as well as its current practices in these programs within the framework of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). The last section includes a discussion of the major ideas set forth in the previous two sections and further reviews the differing opinions of aspects of the China-Africa higher education partnership, including issues of soft power and knowledge reproduction.

2.1.1 China’s engagement with Africa

Immanuel Wallerstein’s classical world-system theory, proposed in the 1970s, established the concept of “Core—Semi-peripheral—Peripheral” relations as units of analysis (Wallerstein, 1976). His concept provided a framework that identified the world economy as driven by the North’s domination of the global South, with most African countries still fitting into the scheme of world-systems analysis as peripheral (Wallerstein, 1976). China was as poor as or even poorer than many African countries in
the 1960s and 1970s and was identified as one of the poorest countries in the world in the 1980s (Lin & Wang, 2016); based on Wallerstein’s theory, it was also categorized as peripheral. During this time period, China had experimented with various strategies in attempt to create a plan that successful restructured its economy. Less than 15 years later, by the late 1990s and early 2000s, the nation had grown to be the largest economy in the global South; a little over a decade later, it had become the second largest economy in the world. While the numbers stand as testament to this fact, China’s rise to becoming a global economic giant is not easily categorized. Bilko (2016) used the term “unipolar” to describe China’s stance in world; since it is the only country in the Global South that can no longer categorize itself as either peripheral or semi-peripheral. China’s developmental model also cannot be analyzed and compared using traditional theories created by economists in the North such as Wallerstein.

China’s domestic changes influenced its foreign policymaking. Over the past two decades, China’s “win-win” cooperation and “mutual benefit” ideologies towards its foreign policy with Africa created a new geo-political pattern (Lubieniecka, 2014). As discussed in the previous chapter, China-Africa relations progressed through four phases; although their relations at each phase were distinctive, since 2000, the cooperation between China and Africa has reached a new level. In October 2000, members of the Chinese and African governments established the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in Beijing. FOCAC’s principles aim to establish “an important framework and platform for a new type of China-Africa partnership featuring long-term stability, equality and mutual benefits” (Xinhua News, September 2, 2018, para.2). Upon inception, FOCAC was only a preliminary cooperation framework between China and African countries—the specific contents and fields for future cooperation needed time to be practiced and tested. By 2018, FOCAC had held seven summits, during which cooperative programs had been largely expanded and new ones were developed with a
resultant deepening of relations between China and African countries. Meanwhile, *China’s Africa Policy Papers* in support of cooperation were becoming more expertly detailed; and the forum has gradually become an “effective mechanism for the collective dialogue and multilateral cooperation” (*Xinhua News*, September 2, 2018, para.2) between China and African countries.

Utilizing both tangible and intangible resources helps to quicken the progress of industrialization and modernization (You & Chi, 2012). In the context of China-Africa cooperation, tangible resources refer to agriculture, infrastructure, and trade and investment, and the intangible resources refer to various aspects of social development, such as the promotion of people-to-people interaction, cultural exchange, and human resource building through education. In the past decade, China’s aid efforts focused on the improvement of Africa’s tangible assets; borrowing from its own successful experience, China prioritized industrial and economic growth. In 2016, at the Seminar on China-Africa Business Cooperation,¹⁶ public and private companies from China and Africa signed more than 40 business deals, totaling about $17 billion dollars. Cooperation covered infrastructure, processing and manufacturing, finance, energy, investment, and so on. Due to a prolific alliance in the past, the China-Africa cooperation has designated industrialization as its developmental priority for the next ten years (*FOCAC Latest News*, May 19, 2016). In deepening China-Africa’s cooperation, the greatest concern is whether the resources in Africa can be more effectively developed; thus, how to make better use of resources has become the new goal of China-Africa cooperation (*Africanews*, July 29, 2016).

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¹⁶ China-Africa Business Cooperation is also called China-Africa Business Forum. It is a seminar designed for high-level Chinese and African officials and business representatives to discuss and plan for infrastructure projects and public-private partnership financing, as well as to improve China-Africa economic integration (*Xinhua News*, September 3rd, 2018). For more details, please see: [https://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx_4/jmhz/t1591172.htm](https://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx_4/jmhz/t1591172.htm)
Understanding how China and African countries cooperate to use their intangible resources is relatively new territory. It requires an ongoing exploration of the comparative advantages and interests for both sides. As Africa’s current largest trading partner but also a developing country itself, China’s government and society value the idea that economic success is largely based upon the effective utilization of intangible assets, such as knowledge and skills. Looking back at China’s own development path after 1949, the Chinese government learned that economic growth and human resource development were inseparable and that higher education was a top priority for the nation’s effective and sustainable development. In 1977, the Chinese government resumed the use of the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE); in spite of a low passing rate, this policy allowed hundreds of thousands of young Chinese intellectuals, who were sent down to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, to return to the city and study in higher education institutions. In the following years, the nation initiated economic reform by shifting from a planned economy to a market economy with Chinese characteristics, effectively adopting and applying new knowledge and a variety of new technologies (Zeng & Wang, 2007). As a result of these changes, in the 1950s and mid-1960s, China had begun to establish a more functional educational system as a primary intervention to reduce illiteracy (Lin & Wang, 2016). As a positive offshoot of the country’s educational progress, between 1978 and 2004, after the resumption of the NCEE, the population living in poverty in (mostly) rural areas of China was greatly reduced from 250 million to 26.1 million (Zeng & Wang, 2007). Therefore, at the Sixth FOCAC in 2015, the Chinese government released the second China’s Africa Policy Paper (the first policy paper was released in 2006), which advised for China-Africa’s partnership to focus more on building human capacity, including higher education exchanges, STEM teacher training, and knowledge sharing, for the sake of Africa’s sustainable development.
As can be seen in the statistics of China’s economic growth, higher education has been a primary tool for accelerating the nation’s development (Zeng & Wang, 2007). Based on this fact, the Chinese government believes that China-African higher education cooperation could also help develop a general African expertise for African countries, improve African countries’ abilities to more productively analyze their problems and strengthen their domestic institutions for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution, and respect for human rights, and enable African academics to play an active part in the global community of scholars (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2015).

China’s engagement with African countries is a new alternative to the traditional North-South foreign aid programs, which shows a new donor-recipient model. This is not only because China’s policy towards African countries directly helps with African countries’ economic growth but also because it provides a long-term strategy for the younger African generations to develop their capacities and skills to create more independent, inclusive, and sustainable societies. China-Africa’s higher education cooperation helps exchange knowledge amongst the countries of the global South and aims to bring in more egalitarian cooperation and common prosperity. With this in mind, later sections of this chapter continue to distinguish China’s role from that of a traditional North-South relationship by looking at the nation’s policies from various perspectives. One example of this is China’s “One Belt One Road” Initiative, which attempts to establish social and economic ties with more countries in the world. Examining this initiative presents China’s developmental model through a greater lens of political economy.

### 2.1.2 China’s “One Belt One Road” Initiative—The New Silk Road

In 2013, one year after the fifth FOCAC summit and the announcement of the Beijing Action Plan (2013–2015), the Chinese government announced its new initiative: the “One Belt One Road” (OBOR) (一带一路 or in short, “Belt and Road”). The initiative, also known as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI),
includes both land and sea—the area of land is referred to as the “Silk Route Economic Belt (SREB)” and the area of sea is called the “21st Century Maritime Silk Route (MSR).” The Chinese government used the phrases one belt and one road to communicate aims to increase connectivity among Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, and to enhance trade flows and promote long-term regional economic development for the benefit of all countries involved (PwC’s Growth Markets Centre, 2016). Currently, 65 countries participate in the OBOR initiative (see Table 2.1. Countries along the One Belt One Road Initiative).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Asia</td>
<td>China, Mongolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td>Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Asia</td>
<td>Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
<td>Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.1. Countries along the One Belt One Road Initiative*

17 *Industrial cooperation between countries along the Belt and Road (一带一路沿线国家产业合作报告)*, China International Trade Institute, August 2015 cited in Chin and He (2016), *The Belt and Road Initiative: 65 Countries and Beyond*, Fung Business Intelligence Centre.
Among the 65 countries, 26 are located in Asia (11 in Southeast Asia), 24 in Europe (about two thirds of these countries are located in Central and Eastern Europe), and 15 in the Middle Eastern and North African regions.

Arguably, according to the global consultancy McKinsey (cited in Phillips, 2017), OBOR is one of the most extensive development plans in modern world history. More than two thousand years ago, China’s Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.) first introduced the “Silk Road” to the world. Today, the OBOR initiative intertwines a set of economic integration initiatives seeking to relink China with the rest of the world (see Figure 2.1. China’s New Silk Road18).

Figure 2.1. China’s New Silk Road (Resource from: PwC’s Growth Markets Center, 2016)

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Based on OBOR’s geographic coverage, the Belt has three land routes and the Road has two sea routes. The SREB connects China’s central and Western areas to Europe through central Asian and Russian corridors, and the MSR connects China’s Southern provinces to Southeast Asia, South Asia, Eastern Africa, and the Middle East through ports and railways, roads and pipelines (Cai, 2017).

As said, China’s new Silk Road consists five land and sea routes in total. Countries along the Belt and Road cover 65% of the world’s population, three-quarters of its global energy resources, and 40% of its GDP (Campbell, 2017). By 2017, China’s annual trade with OBOR countries had already exceeded 1.4 trillion dollars (Campbell, 2017). Among the OBOR’s regional partners, the trade volume of Eurasia accounts for 55% of the world total (Yang, 2015). Moreover, both SREB and MSR have long
routes that connect various countries and regions: the Chinese government has divided them into six sections, namely, the six Economic Corridors (see Figure 2.2. Six Corridors Connect the New Silk Road\(^{19}\)).

Figure 2.2. Six Corridors Connect the New Silk Road (Resource from: Eurasia News Online, n.d.)

From Asia to Europe, from the East to the West, the six economic corridors link and cover: 1) China-Indo-China Peninsula; 2) Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar; 3) China-Mongolia-Russia; 4) China-Pakistan; 5) China-Central Asia-West Asia; and 6) the New Eurasian Land Bridge.

The OBOR initiative has five major goals: facilities connectivity, financial integration, people-to-people bonds, policy coordination, and unimpeded trade (Haggai, 2016). Facilities connectivity refers to the

\(^{19}\) The State Council of People’s Republic of China, 2015. Please see: 
http://english.gov.cn/state_council/vice_premiers/2015/05/29/content_281475117016994.htm
prioritization of construction areas as part of the OBOR initiative (Haggai, 2016). The term connectivity of infrastructure facilities refers to the construction of infrastructure networks that connect Asia, Africa, and Europe through railways, air routes, telecommunications, ports, natural gas pipelines, and so on (Haggai, 2016). Financial integration aims to co-resolve trade and investment issues that prevent regional economic growth, and to promote management and financial risk monitoring through regional arrangements (Haggai, 2016). The phrase people-to-people bonds expresses the plan’s intention to promote the advancement of regional cooperation; this social aim focuses on promoting cultural exchanges and mutual understanding through various educational programs and non-governmental events among partnership countries (Haggai, 2016). Policy coordination results in OBOR countries jointly formulating development plans, resolving cooperation issues, and providing policy support for project implementation (Haggai, 2016). The goal of unimpeded trade takes this one step further by basing these joint formulations on financial integration (Haggai, 2016); this step aims to broaden the field and scope of trade and investment and to strengthen cooperation, especially in the industry chain of all the OBOR countries.

Although OBOR is described as a developmental concept by the Chinese government, it is seen by some as mainly an initiative for trade and investment connectivity as exemplified by some of its work-in-progress projects; key phrases such as “open,” “every country is welcome,” “mutual benefits,” and “complementary” that the OBOR uses to deliver its intentions and goals to Western audiences remain vague. Scholars such as Leer and Yau (2016) from the PwC’s Growth Market Centre and Ekman and Nicolas (2017) from the Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI) claimed that the OBOR was a “flexible project” without concrete action plans; the initiative seems to be more like a new
version of China’s “going out” national strategy launched in the late 1990s (Nicolas, 2017; Leer & Yau, 2016). Similar to these views, Petr Kratochvil, the director of Prague’s Institute of International Relations, claimed that China’s interest in the “16+1 countries” differs from one country to another, which seemed “random”; for example, trade and investment in Poland, infrastructure in Romania and Serbia, the healthcare industry in Hungary, and real estate in Czech Republic (Maurice (2017). And in the same vein, Kratochvil (as in Maurice, 2017) also stated that the OBOR seemed to be an experiment in which Beijing is attempting to see whether this current initiative can help boost economic relations between China and its OBOR partnership countries.

Researchers such as Yang (2015), McGregor (2017), and Farr (2017), who viewed OBOR positively, believed that the OBOR would benefit all participating countries in the long run. McGregor (2017) half-jokingly stated that China’s potential partners might just ask themselves whether they want the Chinese to build high-speed railways for their country or not for long-term regional development. This perspective corroborates with Chinese president Xi Jinping’s speech at the United Nations Geneva Headquarters in early 2017; he claimed that China’s developmental ideology would build "a community of shared future for mankind" (Ding & Cheng, 2017). Although these researchers held positive attitudes toward the OBOR, they noted that Beijing has to be prepared to face challenges caused by regional differences, and that there is a long way to go before China fulfills its ambitions to work with neighboring countries and the rest of the world to bring eternal peace and harmony (as in Yang, 2015; McGregor, 2017; Farr, 2017).

20 “Going out” is a national strategy announced by the Chinese government in the late 1970s. At that time, China had built its economic modernization strategy on a philosophy that regarded foreign direct investment (FDI) as functioning in two distinct but interconnected stages. “Welcoming in” facilitates domestic capital formation, market reform, and technological advancement (Nash, 2012). It is accompanied by a subsequent “going out” of surplus capital intended to deepen access to foreign markets, natural resources, and advanced technology, bringing about additional growth and stabilization (Nash, 2012). For more information, please see: https://www.diplomaticourier.com/china-s-going-out-strategy/
In terms of culture and education, similar to China’s engagement with Africa, the OBOR also makes education a cooperation priority. The initiative puts “people-to-people” connectivity as one of its major goals. For example, Xi’an Jiaotong University created the University Alliance of the Silk Road (UASR) to develop and foster the OBOR initiative. The UASR is a non-profit NGO that aims to build educational collaboration as well as promote economic development in countries along the SREB. Established in May 2015, the UASR began with a membership of approximately 130 universities from 34 partnership countries across five continents (UASR, 2015), including Banha University in Egypt, Washington University in St. Louis in the United States, the University of Liverpool and the University of Aberdeen in the United Kingdom, the University of New South Wales and two other universities in Australia, and many more universities located in Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Russia, Kazakhstan, France, and Italy.

The Chinese government promised to provide 10,000 scholarships annually to students from participating countries in order to share higher education resources and promote cultural exchange (Belt and Road Forum for International Cooepration, April 10, 2017). As a co-host with its partnership countries, China’s higher education institutions and non-profit orgnizations, such as the Confucius Institute, hold cultural events, including arts and film festivals, books fairs, and other such programs. In addition, China and OBOR countries jointly receive designations to protect national places of historic interest as World Cultural Heritage sites, and work toward cooperation on both land and sea tourism programs. As an example of the current value of the tourism program, a large number of

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21 A list of member universities in the University Alliance of the Silk Road (UASR): https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_Alliance_of_the_Silk_Road
Cambodian students pursued Chinese language degrees in order to meet the needs of the rise of tourism in their country, according to Graceffo (2017).

There are many other examples of success for the OBOR collaboration. In the research field, China and OBOR countries have worked cooperatively in building labs and science centers, as well as to improve each others’ sci-tech innovation capabilities (Wu, 2017). Since the initiative of the OBOR, several Chinese universities have established affiliated campuses in OBOR partnership countries (OBOReurope, 2017), for example, the Malaysia campus of Xiamen University and the Laos campus of Suzhou University (also known as Soochow University). In order to address issues on human capacity building, China has also helped OBOR countries develop special education programs. For example, in July 2017, Henan Province of China launched the China-Malaysia Deaf Students Sponsorship Programmes to help students learn English and the Malay sign language. In addition, OBOR-China initiatives have spread to universities in Europe, where members hope to design specific programs, such as joint employment opportunities and skill training programs, to make the best use of the new “Silk Road” (OBOReurope, 2017).

China’s OBOR initiative seems to be focusing on connecting Asia, the Middle East, and Europe rather than the African continent. Although a majority of articles mention projects to be undertaken in some African countries, such as Tanzania, Senegal, Mozambique, upon closer examination of China’s Maritime Silk Road roadmap first released in 2013, only Nairobi in Kenya was included and identified as an OBOR hub (Nallet, 2017). Based on this fact, some scholars, including Nallet (2017), presumed that while China’s OBOR initiative did not include African initiatives in any large measure, it was the successful cooperation between China and African countries over the past decades that actually served as an incubator for the development plan of establishing the new Silk Road with other countries.
Regarding studies on the different perspectives of the OBOR initiative, the new initiative shared similarities with China’s Africa policy. First, the initiative put a focus on connectivity with the OBOR countries in the fields of economics and finance. Second, it prioritized a people-to-people exchange and educational cooperation in the promotion of human capacity-building and job opportunities. Although China’s OBOR initiative had initially achieved results in these previously mentioned fields, many of the partner countries, especially those located in middle and eastern Europe, have maintained a wait-and-see attitude due to political reasons from their shared history with China (Song, 2018). These countries are urging China to provide more concrete plans for future cooperation (Song, 2018).

With these concerns in mind, the next two sections examine China’s developmental model from a historical perspective. In particular, the sections address the following two questions: What are some of the signature characteristics of China’s domestic developmental policies? And how has these policies influenced its foreign policy making?

2.2 From the Washington Consensus to the Beijing Consensus
As previously discussed, the world-systems theory, first introduced by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s, divided the world into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral states or areas, primarily in accordance with the world economic order. Development, as part of contemporary international relations, is rooted in political and social structures (Lubieniecka, 2014). For instance, the capitalist system accumulates profits by exploiting raw materials and a cheap labor force. It captures the surpluses produced in the semi-peripheral and peripheral areas and then transmits the wealth to the core states (Lubieniecka, 2014). Thus, what developed from this model was the dependence of the peripheries on the core states, which led to unbalanced growth in the world’s economy.
To find a more independent developmental path to “counterbalance … [the] weakness position” (Lubieniecka, 2014, p. 439) of the peripheries, while at the same time gaining “a more profitable presence of the United States in the developing world” (p. 439), in the late 1980s, multilateral institutions such as the IMF and World Bank promoted a set of ten neoliberal economic policies called the Washington Consensus. They designed a standard reform package that was promoted for crisis-wracked developing countries and recommended structural reforms that increased the role of market forces in exchange for immediate financial help (Argarwal, 2018), para. 2). The term itself, Washington Consensus, was coined in 1990 by John Williamson, an economist from the Institute for International Economics, a think tank located in Washington, D.C. (Williamson, 2004–2005). Williamson explained that the new term was a “general shift towards free market policies that followed the displacement of Keynesianism.” This shift had a more “general orientation towards a strongly market-based approach” in a broad sense (also known as neoliberalism or market fundamentalism) (“Washington Consensus,” Wikipedia, 2016). Below is a list of Williamson’s ten Washington Consensus reforms from 1989 along with Williamson’s 2004 explanation of each one:

1. Fiscal policy discipline, with avoidance of large fiscal deficits relative to GDP
2. Redirection of public spending from subsidies toward broad-based provision of key pro-growth, pro-poor services, such as primary education, primary health care, and infrastructure
3. Tax reform: a broadening of the tax base and the adoption of moderate marginal tax rates
4. Interest rates that are market-determined and positive in real terms
5. Competitive exchange rates
6. Trade liberalization: liberalization of imports, with emphasis on the elimination of quantitative restrictions and with any trade protection to be implemented by low and relatively uniform tariffs
7. Liberalization of inward foreign direct investment
8. Privatization of state enterprises

9. Deregulation: abolition of regulations that impede market entry or restrict competition, except for those justified on safety, environmental and consumer protection grounds, and prudent oversight of financial institutions

10. Legal security for property rights (Williamson, 2009, pp. 9–10)

The Washington Consensus covered important developmental areas such as education, health care, and agriculture; it guided the participating countries’ economies to greater import and export competition and also promoted significant trade liberalization in many developing countries, including those in Latin America. According to Wallerstein [as cited in Lubieniecka, 2014, p. 439], until the late 1990s, the Washington Consensus appeared to be “a quite successful shift for the United States.” However, the “one size fits all” consensus did not work out the way it was intended in the long run. Much of the later criticism of the Washington Consensus tended to focus on the privatization of industrial exploitation of natural resources and the deepening gap between peripheries and core states. To solve this problem, Gobind Nankani, a former vice-president for Africa at the World Bank wrote, “There is no unique universal set of rules… We need to get away from formulae and the search for elusive ‘best practice’” (World Bank, 2005, p. xiii). Additional commentary along these lines from Sachs et al. (2004) and Rodrik [as cited in Lubieniecka, 2014, p. 439] stated that, “[N]o one believes in the Washington Consensus anymore but there are only a few examples of alternatives.” Additionally, the excessive belief in neoliberalism and market fundamentalism neglected to take into account the critical role of government, which was proven to be significant at the beginning stage of the dynamic process of development, “at least until the markets by themselves can produce efficient outcomes” (“Washington Consensus,” Wikipedia, 2016). Stiglitz (2004) and Rodrik [as cited in Lubieniecka, 2014] both argued that the Washington Consensus failed to handle the economic structures efficiently in
most developing countries, thus the current model would need alternative measures in order to recover from its failure.

As mentioned earlier, in the modern world systems view, the development of the global North and the global South is reshaped by capitalist accumulation and geopolitics in which trade-oriented exchanges compete with one another for power and wealth. The shift in the world economic order began with the “debacles of the Asian economic crisis of 1997–98 and the economic downturn of the worldwide inflation of 2007” (Jash, 2014, p. 335). Nowadays, the semi-periphery is composed of large and powerful countries in the global South (e.g., the BRICS) and some smaller countries that have intermediate levels of economic development in East Asia.

In 2004, Joshua Cooper Ramo, the vice chairman and co-chief executive of Kissinger Associates, formally introduced the notion of a “Beijing Consensus” in his influential position paper entitled with the same name. The term referred to China’s Model (“中国模式”, Zhong guo mo shi; also known as the “China’s Political and Economic Model” or “China’s Economic Model”). It described the consensus as a set of policies and rules based on its “commitment to innovation and constant experimentation,” according to Ramo [as cited in McKinnon, 2010, p. 7]. Taking a close look at the polices and rules of the Beijing Consensus, Ramo’s (2004) paper interpreted and indicated that China’s economic growth “challenges every single principle in the Washington Consensus…the Beijing Consensus is ideologically neutral and flexible” (Huang, 2010, p. 31). Moreover, the Beijing Consensus represents a movement towards “an ultra-pragmatic view of conducting policy deliberation” (Hasmath, 2014, p. 3), which is viewed as a decline in the application of the Washington Consensus. Thus, with the steady and ongoing progress of China’s economic development, the Beijing Consensus has constantly challenged the “Washington-knows-best approach” (Hasmath, 2014, p. 4) and served as an example
for other countries in the global South to become more independent in their self-governance. Most developing countries view the Beijing Consensus as a progressive path towards modernization and an attractive alternative to Western development strategy and conditionality because it “holds tightly to…[a] pragmatic idea…instead of trying to make one-big, shock-therapy leap” (McKinnon, 2010, p. 4). According to Ramo [as cited in McKinnon, 2010], the concept behind the Beijing Consensus was reflected in Deng Xiaoping’s famous words in the late 1970s as he worked to open China’s economy to the world: “I do not care if it is a white cat or a black cat… It is a good cat so long as it catches mice” or his equally famous “crossing the river by feeling the stones” to describe China’s pragmatic developmental model (p. 7).

A literature analysis demonstrates opposing interpretations of China’s development model. Scholars such as Kennedy (2010) and Naughton (2010) argued that China’s model was developed under its own national circumstances, from its then-current policies and the trajectory of its development in the past decades; as such, it is a “reflection of China’s gradualist reform policy, which has become synonymous for ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’” (Hasmath, 2014, p. 5). In contrast, scholars such as McKinnon (2010) argued that the Beijing Consensus contains traces of John Williamson’s ten rules of the Washington Consensus. It is also argued that the feasibility of China’s model remains to be seen; although China has become the second largest economy in the world, China’s GDP per capita is still considered low.²² There is a generally uneven distribution of wealth and social resources, including education and health care, and there remains a large economic gap between urban and suburban areas (World Foresight Forum, 2011).

²² Statistically, according to the IMF World Economic Outlook database for GDP per capita statistics in 2017, China was ranked 72th among 188 countries.
In light of these uncertainties, the growth in China’s economy and its distribution of foreign aid does not necessarily mean that the Beijing Consensus is a superior economic model or that China has achieved its final goals of development. China is still a developing country experimenting with the ideas and outcomes of its own brand of socialist development with Chinese characteristics. The following sections discuss China’s domestic developmental focus in order to better understand China’s engagement with African countries as far as China’s principles and approaches. For instance, exploring China’s ideologies, such as harmonious development, and its win-win strategy will shed some light on its national strategy as well as inspire developmental guidance towards South-South cooperation.

2.3 China’s Alternative Development Model with Chinese Characteristics

2.3.1 Pragmatic Approach for Domestic Development

As discussed in the previous section, some scholars in the development field have argued that China’s model was primarily based on its “pragmatism,” as reflected in both Deng’s famous saying (regarding the cat and the stones, see section above) and China’s development approach. But why is pragmatism a significant word in China’s development? According to Zhao (2005), China’s pragmatism is mostly driven by the post-Cold War ideological conflict between China and the Western powers; the Chinese leaders “retain a peculiar and persistent sense of insecurity and vulnerability on the world stage…[D]espite China’s rising-power status, its leaders have not fundamentally changed their pragmatic attitude” (p. 142). When the People’s Republic of China was established in 1949, its population had an 80% illiteracy rate and a 20% enrollment rate of school-age children (World Foresight Forum, 2011). With low education levels, innovation did not flourish and poverty persisted. Therefore, the most important factors for a developing China were to develop science and technology, encourage innovation, reform its higher educational system, and focus on human resource-centered development.
According to Ramo [as cited in World Foresight Forum, 2011, p.1], China’s current development model has three basic principles, sometimes referred to as the “new physics of Chinese power.” The first of these principles is innovation-based development. With an emphasis on education, science, and technological innovation, China aimed to turn knowledge into human resources and economic growth. In 2006, the Chinese government created a 15-year plan for developing its technology and higher education industries (World Foresight Forum, 2011). It included the following goals:

1. Ratio of total investment of research and development over GDP should rise to over 2.5% (R&D spending: $136 billion dollars, 2006 estimate)
2. Ratio of contribution of scientific and technological advancement to economic growth should be over 60%
3. Rate of dependence on imported technologies should be reduced to less than 30%;
4. Both the number of patents obtained by Chinese citizens and the number of international citations of scientific papers by Chinese-nationality authors should be within the top five in the world
5. Enrollment rates in elementary schools and junior high should rise to 99%
6. Higher education enrollment should rise to 24.2%
7. 82 million Chinese citizens should possess higher education degrees
8. $29 billion dollars should be allocated to education, with annual increases of 23.6%

In addition, receiving foreign investment in various levels of education also played a significant role in China’s economic growth, social modernization, and globalization. For example, numerous international private schools in large and medium-sized cities offered courses for all subjects in the English language. These foreign-supported, private schools usually paid higher salaries to attract
teachers from developed countries to come to China in order to prepare the children of the country’s wealthier families to study abroad.

The second principle in securing China’s sustainable development is to improve social welfare and enhance the quality of people’s lives. China’s current policy focuses on “harmony” and “sustainability,” it is human-centered development. For instance, according to the Information Office of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), instead of taking the traditional GDP as the general assessment of its economic development, China measured its achievements based on its population’s average quality of life and the nation’s equality levels (China’s Population and Development, November 2002). This pragmatic development approach has helped nearly one billion Chinese people lift themselves out of extreme poverty over the past twenty years (The Economist, June 1, 2013). Self-determination is the third principle in China’s development model. Contrary to the Washington Consensus, China emphasized the need for developing countries to actively seek independence from outside pressures.

Although scholars such as McKinnon (2010) have claimed that the Beijing Consensus, in fact, “borrowed” from and “adhered” to most of the elements of the Washington Consensus in its developmental process, scholars such as Hasmath (2014) argued that the China’s model refers to “the Chinese way of doing things” (Hasmath, 2014, p. 15), which implies that it embraces the ideology that policies should be made under specific circumstances and that a nation’s development path requires an individual approach (Hasmath, 2014). Moreover, scholars such as Chan (2016) have cited this difference by pointing out that the Washington Consensus did not address human capacity-building for Third World countries. And Naughton (2010) has even listed various characteristics of China’s development model, factoring in geography with population composition, labor market, and political
systems, to suggest that each of these features is unique and therefore disqualifies the Chinese experience from generalizations in the form of the Beijing Consensus. On one hand, China’s model was developed according to its own social and cultural circumstances, including “the long experiment with socialism, the world’s largest population, a noteworthy Confucian tradition and a unified national identity” (Turin, 2010, p. 5). On the other hand, China’s model also indicated a new turn with world pattern. As seen by Turin (2010), China’s model served as a “starting point for identifying a model of development that is independent from the currently accepted model” (p. 5).

China’s development approach is highly valued by the global South for the way in which it serves to enhance the voice of developing nations in global affairs (Lai-Ha, Lee, & Chan, 2008; Turin, 2010). Culturally, China’s model is people-centered; the ideology of “harmony is a virtue” is deeply rooted in Chinese Confucian culture, as can be seen in its current policy advocacies of “peaceful rise” and “harmonious development” (Spannaus, 2015). Politically, the rise of China impacts the global balance of power to the detriment of the Western powers, and its current development model contributes to a declining consensus on the values that underpin the international system (World Foresight Forum, 2011). Economically, scholars such as Hasmath (2014) claimed that China’s model is “ultra-pragmatic” (p. 18). In particular, they urge for the new Chinese leadership to pursue further political and economic reform as China’s growing role in the world economy may have “raised fears that China will use its economic might for political gain” (World Foresight Forum, 2011, p. 5). In order to counteract this impression, the Chinese government has been playing an important role in supporting Africa’s economic development through an unconditional approach that China claims is one of the key features that underpins the ideology driving South-South cooperation. What is China’s unconditional approach and what is the ideology behind it? The next section will address China’s African policy from various perspectives.
2.3.2 Unconditional Approach for Africa’s Foreign Aid

China’s aid and investments in Africa increased dramatically after the launch of the FOCAC in 2000. For example, according to Balk (2015), from 2000 to 2010, about 1,500 projects located in 50 African countries were funded with Chinese public or private assistance. Assistance covered major developmental areas such as infrastructure, communication technology, and manufacturing. Many scholars and policy analysts have noted that terms used in China’s Africa Policy Papers such as “mutual benefits,” “equality and respect,” and “non-interference” are outlined in China’s Five Principles, and that these aspects of China-Africa’s strategic partnership have been visible in their economic and technological cooperation, which contribute to a mutual and sustainable development (Kohli, 2009). Considering China’s growing influence in Africa over the past decade, the ideologies behind China’s African policy are worth exploring.

At the FOCAC meeting in 2015, China released the second China’s Africa Policy Paper, which retained several core ideologies from the first policy paper of 2006. The guiding principles from 2015 were:

1. Establishing and developing a comprehensive, strategic, and cooperative China-Africa partnership and consolidating and bolstering the community of shared future between China and Africa

2. Upholding the values of friendship, justice, and shared interests and adhering to the principles of sincerity, practical results, affinity, and good faith

3. Promoting all-around development of China-Africa cooperation, which includes:

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23 China’s Five Principles was originally signed in 1954 during Zhou Enlai’s visit to India. The Five Principles stated the Chinese government’s basic developmental ideology, which included the concept that humanity’s heritage ensures both cultural and political diversity. The government felt that implementing the tenets of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence would protect that heritage. For more details, please see: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/seminaronfiveprinciples_665898/t140589.shtml
3.1. Enhancing political mutual trust;
3.2. Deepening cooperation in international affairs;
3.3. Deepening economic and trade cooperation (boost Africa’s industrialization, agricultural modernization, and infrastructure development, etc.);
3.4. Strengthening development cooperation between China and Africa (continuing to increase development assistance to Africa, supporting Africa in strengthening its public health system, expanding cooperation in education and human resources development, etc.);
3.5. Deepening and expanding cultural and people-to-people exchanges;
3.6. Promoting peace and security in Africa;
3.7. Strengthening exchanges and cooperation in consular, immigration, judicial, and police areas (China’s Daily, Dec 5, 2015)

The new policy paper was more detailed than the former. It captured China’s first centenary goals, such as the “Chinese Dream” and building a “moderately prosperous society” by 2021 (China-Africa Reporting Project, December 24, 2015). In addition, China committed to help Africa achieve its own long-term goals embedded in the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 (Wekesa, 2015).

A close reading of the 2006 and 2015 policy papers illuminates the motivations behind China’s unconditional approach towards Africa. Referring to the policy paper of 2006, Taylor and Xiao (2009) understood China’s foreign aid to Africa more as a responsibility than an opportunity and that the nation had been practicing a policy based on Africa’s developmental need rather than having a grand strategy on Africa. According to Taylor and Xiao [as cited in Hadland, 2012, p. 472], China had a developmental plan of its own that included the idea that China’s engagement was “pragmatic and
diverse, and that it therefore cannot be compared to a colonial power.” Since China’s engagement with Africa was mainly based on trade and investment with fundamentally capitalistic economic policies and with no direct supervision or authority over African agents and actors, it was clear that China lacked control over any of African countries’ political forces. Therefore, China’s foreign aid approach could not be portrayed or generalized simply as neo-colonialistic or neo-imperialistic (Condon, 2012).

The ideology behind China’s Africa policy not only conveyed the intent of its policy paper but also that of Chinese president Xi Jinping’s public speech in 2015. At the 2015 Asian-Africa Conference in Indonesia, he pointed out that the world’s richer countries had made a binding agreement to fulfill their commitments to developing nations without demanding political concessions, and that China would continue to offer assistance to developing countries with no political strings attached (Xinhuanet, April 2, 2015). Xi’s words may also periphrastically indicate that China has been practicing its foreign aid policy “with no strings attached” with the rest of the Third World countries, not just those in Africa.

However, some Western governments criticize China for using its economic leverage as a political tool in Africa (Condon, 2012), stating that China’s foreign aid has “crippled Africa and burdened it with bureaucratic inefficiencies and corruption” (Condon, 2012, p. 14). According to Kohli (2009), many Western governments believe that economic development should go “hand in hand with democracy, accountability and human rights, thus democracy and participation in societal values is required in Africa for prosperity” (p. 9). These views might be justifiable in the Western discourse; however, they may not be taking China’s own development issues into consideration. There is a growing body of literature that argues that the West is “demanding too much too soon from [the
Chinese government on their progress toward human rights, transparency, and democracy” (Condon, 2012, p. 12). As a developing country itself, 85% of China’s population still lived below the poverty line a few decades ago (Condon, 2012). It seems to follow, then, that since the Opening-up policy in 1978, China has chosen to make the economy its developmental priority.

Like China, some African countries’ governments may also feel the need to develop their economy first. As Serge Mombouli, the advisor to Congo’s President Denis Sassou N’Guezzo, once claimed, “People can’t eat democracy” (Michel & Beuret, 2009; Grant, 2009). If, in fact, China’s support to African countries is unconditional, it may bring positive effects in the long run for those African countries that want to develop their economy first. This approach recognizes that instituting a stronger civil society and promoting the elimination of corruption requires longer time to develop. Yet, it is also important to point out that those who enjoy the fruits of China’s approach to Africa and can voice their support the loudest tend to be Africa’s leaders rather than its ordinary people (Grant, 2009).

In addition to understanding that an improved economy needs to be their priority, African governments are also learning that China’s rapid development means that they need China as much as China needs them. According to Grant (2009, p. 4), Africa views China as an extremely important import source, both for the mass-produced, low-cost goods (e.g. small commodities and electronics) it specializes in, and for many of African citizens’ eagerness for a new and better life. China has also long sought to diplomatically cultivate and maintain good relations with African countries to counter Western influence in international arenas such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).
Although Africa’s abundance of oil and many other natural resources that China’s burgeoning economy needs makes Africa a significant component in China’s immediate and long-term growth strategy (Grant, 2009), since China has been trying to separate politics from economics, it approaches Africa more like a business partner (Condon, 2012) with its “refreshingly non-condescending approach to development” (p. 14). In cooperating with China in their development partnership, African nations’ governments and people are becoming aware that they will also gain more attention from the West. This was reflected in the words of an Angolan minister, “Our relations with China not only allowed us to obtain large loans, but most importantly it forced the West to treat us with more respect and in a less patronizing way” (Condon, 2012, p. 17).

By stipulating minimal overriding conditions in its foreign aid to African countries, China has allowed African governments to spend the money as they see fit (Condon, 2012). However, by giving monitoring authority to African governments, China is faced with the challenge of ensuring transparency as well as distinguishing profit-oriented businesses from real development assistance (Balk, 2015). Some scholars also claim that a non-conditional approach may potentially cause government corruption and ineffectiveness in Africa (Balk, 2015). On the contrary, there are scholars such as Taylor and Xiao [as cited in Hadland, 2012] who stated that China’s unconditional approach did not cause these problems; rather if African leaders are determined to undertake reform, they must take responsibility to do so. One way to accomplish this would be for Africa to take it upon itself to regulate Chinese companies and monitor their operations (Taylor and Xiao [as cited in Hadland, 2012]).

Having to iron out issues that arise from accepting foreign aid is not unique to countries in the African continent. A Chinese representative at the World Social Forum said, “The Chinese had to make the same hard decision on whether to accept foreign investment many, many years ago. You have to make
the right decision or you will lose, lose, lose. You have to decide right or you will remain poor” (Condon, 2012, p. 14). As developing countries, China and the African nations share similar goals of development, and each side has its own comparative advantage. Africa has rich natural resources but lacks skills, education, and employment opportunities; China has skills, human resources, and offers a liberal market economy (Du Toit, 2015). In this sense, China’s engagement may help African countries realize political freedom and economic growth in the transition of achieving modernity. Moreover, China’s influence and relationships in Africa result from many decades of trade partnership and through cultural and educational exchanges. This may warrant a different view from critics as time goes on, making it harder to see the current tie of China-Africa as simply the byproduct of China’s recent economic boom and soaring demand for Africa’s raw materials (Thompson, 2005) and instead, see it as a new type of development model partnership in the context of the global South.

2.4 China-Africa Higher Education Cooperation

In addition to their business-oriented cooperation, China and Africa have had an established relationship in the domains of education and cultural exchange for over 60 years. In the 1950s, China began establishing educational partnerships with 50 African countries (Ferdjani, 2012). Most of these collaborative programs consisted of basic and relatively small numbers of educational exchanges, such as sending Chinese teachers to teach elementary-level mathematics, physics, and chemistry in African countries, and accepting African students to study in China (Ferdjani, 2012). During the 1950s, only 24 African students studied in China and only three Chinese teachers taught in Africa (Ferdjani, 2012). These numbers began to grow during the 1960s as more and more African countries gained their independence and were then able to develop relations with China; statistically, 14 African countries sent 164 African students to study in Chinese universities (Ferdjani, 2012). In addition, China sent more teachers and experts in science, mathematics, and the Chinese language to African countries,
and helped them improve education at different levels by building institutions of higher education and middle schools (China Africa Education Cooperation, 2005, p. 2).

At the turn of the 21st century, the linkage between China and African countries deepened and educational exchanges became a significant part of this new type of strategic partnership. One such example is China’s 2009 launch of the China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership Programme (CASTEP) (China Science and Technology Exchange Centre, 2013) to promote African students’ science and technology skills. The program assisted African researchers in strengthening their capacities in science and technology, with a focus on issues concerning improving standards of living and fostering economic development (China Science and Technology Exchange Centre, 2013). In addition to supporting an increase in the number of young African students studying in China, China’s Ministry of Finance also organized various short-term training courses; during 2010 and 2012, these courses involved 54 countries and regions in Africa and a total of 27,318 officials and technicians (China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation, 2013). These exchange programs helped Africans enhance human capacity-building, promote mutuality, and strengthen the Chinese-African social foundation.

Noticeably, in the past two decades, there have been a growing number of African students who have come to study in China on various scholarships. The scholarships, given by the Chinese Scholarship Council (CSC) and the Confucius Institutes (CI), have encouraged more cultural and educational exchanges and enhanced China-Africa partnerships. However, some scholars have identified these scholarships as a method for China to practice its “soft power” and achieve political gains. Bodomo (2014) warned that the thought of “all African students perceiv[ing] themselves as future players of the Sino-African relations is to be considered with high levels of caution” (p. 29). Brautigam [as cited
in Bodomo, 2014] claimed that the educational exchange between China and Africa was more like “aid” rather than “cooperation.” In other words, this exchange was a “one-way street,” as many African students came to study in China but only a few Chinese students went to Africa. Nordtveit (2009) further indicated that the scholarship program may have been “an indirect economic benefit for Chinese investments… [I]n addition to being a cultural and diplomatic strategy, [it] can also be seen as a part of the economic development strategy of China” (p. 163). Conversely, scholars such as Haugen (2013) and Chapman (2008) have challenged this idea, arguing that economic investment in scholarships for African students provides no guarantee for the enhancement of China’s soft power—only if the visiting African students gain positive study experiences are they likely to adopt the values of their host countries.

Although there is a large amount of literature on China-Africa relations, most studies have concentrated on China’s development assistance to African countries rather than their education exchange. There are only a few case studies that have examined the China-Africa relations through the lens of their higher education exchange programs or their degree programs in Chinese universities. In terms of academic and political debates about China’s use of soft power, it would be valuable to explore China’s discourse on higher education with Africa in the context of globalization by looking for the answers to several questions: What are the commonalities and challenges in China’s and African countries’ higher education development? What are China’s philosophies and practices in the China-Africa higher education cooperation under the framework of FOCAC? And to what extent does China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation contribute to African countries’ human resources development? The following sections will delve into these questions.
2.4.1 A Product of Globalization

The growth of globalization over the last two or three decades has had an impact on education. In particular, higher education exchanges have grown to become important agents in strengthening interconnections of universities amongst the global North and the global South. In doing so, higher education exchanges have also contributed to the connections between these countries in general. Higher education institutions and educational organizations in different regions and countries have increasingly collaborated in research. They have also begun to share more educational resources through online programs. For instance, the International Association of Universities (IAU)\(^{24}\), which is affiliated with UNESCO, has been a portal for more than 18,400 universities and colleges in 186 countries to share databases and explore topics such as sustainability and technology in higher education. The on-going process implies that “universities are no longer isolated institutions of society operating in particular towns or cities, but rather…global higher education institutions that are connected to the global world” (Mwesigye & Muhangi, 2015, p. 98). Moreover, the process has also ensured the role that global educational discourses play in helping to increase skilled workers for the global workplace, and in sharing common agendas for carrying out many national educational practices and policies (Spring, 2008). In terms of China-Africa’s higher education cooperation, the growth of globalization showcases opportunities and challenges. These factors should encourage both sides to recognize shared commonalities and to better succeed with their post-2015 education agenda.

When globalization leads to an expansion of the knowledge-based economy, education becomes an indispensable sector in the world’s neoliberal markets (Yuan, 2013). However, in any discussion of the relationship between education and the acquisition of skills, there is an assumption that the human capacity for development can be greatly enhanced through education at many levels (USAID, 2014).

\(^{24}\) Please see IAU portal at [https://www.whed.net/home.php](https://www.whed.net/home.php)
Many people in developing countries believe that the “growing inequality between individuals and nations… [is] a result of differences in knowledge and skills” (Spring, 2008, p. 337), and they value that expanded educational opportunities will “result in economic growth and modernization” (p. 338). Following this concept, since the first FOCAC in 2000, China has created many developmental projects and provided short-term and long-term training and degree program opportunities for Africans; for example, between 2000 and 2011, 79,000 Africans students studied in China in various scholarship programs (Niu, 2014). In the 2015 FOCAC summit reports, China again committed to expanding its higher education cooperation with African countries (China’s Second Africa Policy Paper, 2015). Under the framework of FOCAC as well as by its adherence to the principles of China’s Africa Policy Papers, China is determined to assist with Africa’s human capacity building for many years to come. Their cooperation programs are people-centered, inviting diverse interactions among China and Africa’s higher education institutions (Shelton & Paruk, 2008; Enuka, 2011).

From the founding of the People’s Republic of China in late 1949 to the late 1970s, China’s foreign policy had always been influenced by its contemporary international political situation; the aim of cooperation with other countries in the 1970s, therefore, was to “win political support from ‘the third world’” (Niu, 2014, p. 32). At that time, the higher education partnership between China and African countries has not been yet established (Niu, 2014). Domestically, China was struggling to develop its higher education model with its own Chinese characteristics while simultaneously influenced by the ideology of a knowledge-based economy in the wake of neo-liberal reforms worldwide; China’s higher education system has undergone reforms.

China had first decided to increase its universities’ enrollment rate and the scale of higher education. Over time, this change has offered more opportunities for young people to receive a formal education.
From 2000 to 2015, China’s college enrollment rate increased from 59% to 74.3%, which was 12.3 times higher than that of 1978; the number of four-year universities in China increased from 2,491 to 2,596 in 2016 (Ministry of Education of PRC, 2017). After increasing enrollment, China focused on expanding the size of its universities and on improving their learning environments, especially by adding more facilities. When faced with limited land available in the cities of many top-ranked Chinese universities, the schools expanded by establishing new campuses in other cities where had more available land. Basic educational facilities (e.g. libraries and cafeterias) and services (e.g. Internet access) are commonly seen and used in urban Chinese universities. Next, China focused on improving its education curricula and standards, especially in science and English. Math and English became compulsory subjects for high school students during the 1990s. After taking the Chinese Gaokao\textsuperscript{25} (NCEE), some universities also require students to pass the Band 4 College English Test (CET-4) and the National Computer Rank Examination Grade II (Visual Basic) test to receive a degree certificate.

In addition to these China-specific changes, China’s higher education has also taken on some of the basic characteristics of higher education in the West (Postiglione, 2001). According to the Ministry of Education of China [as cited in Hou, 2017], 544,500 Chinese students studied overseas in 2016, while 4.6 total million left to attend universities in the Western countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada between 1978 and the end of 2016. The knowledge exchange between China and the West countries and their universities increased the pace of China’s higher education development. At the same time, as a developmental need, the Chinese government and higher education institutions require a higher standard of educational talent from overseas. For instance, the Chang Jiang Scholar Program requires an overseas applicant to hold an assistant professorship or above to even apply for a university position in China. Similarly, to speed up the

\textsuperscript{25} Gaokao (NCEE): Chinese National College Entrance Examination.
process of establishing more world-class universities, China’s education development policy prioritizes hiring young Chinese talent who hold high-level degrees from Western universities as faculty members, seeking highly qualified professionals of non-Chinese nationalities, and developing international exchange programs that encourage more foreign students to study in China’s universities.

As is the case with China, African countries pursuing sustainable development have also recognized the value of human capacity building through higher education investment. In 2000, the Dakar summit on Education for All indicated the importance of developing higher education in Africa. This advocacy led to an increasing understanding on the part of African countries that higher education plays a key role in social and economic development, and should be a priority in their developmental agendas. In actual fact, Africa has never stopped investing in higher education. According to previous reports, enrollment in Africa’s higher education institutions increased from approximately 200,000 in 1970 to over 10 million in 2013 (Bloom, Canning, Chan, & Luca, 2014). In order to improve the quality of higher education, countries like Ghana, South Africa, and Mozambique increased their education budgets for teacher quality improvement, research, and partnerships. Moreover, due to regional education limitations in those above-mentioned African countries, universities have promoted remote learning to provide educational opportunities and learning resources for regionally disadvantaged African students (Bloom et al., 2014). However, remote learning requires internet access and multimedia software, specific infrastructure (e.g. computer labs), and a pool of talent with technological skills and STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) knowledge.

While online education might be a feasible solution for African students who are not able to attend university due to location or financial issues, there has been an increase in the privatization of higher education institutions in some areas of Africa. Impacted by the rise of global neoliberalism, many
economically advanced African countries have followed this course (Amponash & Onuoha, 2013) and made education a commodity inaccessible to young people from less economically secure families, enlarging social hierarchies and economic gaps (Connell, 2013). For instance, a student from an upper-class family who attends a private university may receive a better quality of education than one who attends a state-run university. His or her private school education might result in higher competitiveness for more opportunities in the global job market. While the privatization of higher education in Africa offers a better educational quality to students of rich families, it also attests to the fact that Africa’s current higher education development has been shaped by the economic agenda of global neoliberalism in order to accelerate modernity in some economically advanced African countries.

China and many African countries are in the process of achieving modernity, pushed largely by the neoliberal ideology. Chinese universities have been improving their curricula on science and technology and accelerating the building of more world-class universities. African universities have been increasing the number of online educational programs and private universities to improve overall educational quality, leveraging regional educational resources to make graduates more competitively capable in the global job market. Although Chinese and African universities have varying priorities at different stages of development, there are short- and long-term benefits and goals for them to pursue collaboratively. The next section analyzes China-Africa’s higher education cooperation from historical and cultural perspectives.

2.4.2 A Product Built on Commonalities
Learning history helps present day stakeholders reach a greater understanding of how the past contributes to the current process of change. China’s present development model relies on the many
teachings its traditional philosophies. A presentation of these historical and cultural factors may help non-Chinese observers better understand the intention behind China’s collaborative programs.

Confucius (Kong Tzu 551–479 BCE) and his two students, Lao Tzu (sixth century BCE) and Mencius (372–289 BCE) are known as the most influential philosophers and educators in Chinese history. Confucius’s greatest contributions to China’s education and society were based on his three major ideologies—humanism, harmony, and hierarchy—, which have also shaped the government’s foreign policy. As Yang Xuetong, the Dean of the Institute of Modern Relations at the Chinese Tsinghua University, once indicated, “Any creation on China’s international relations theory must be on the basis of our ancient, traditional culture and thought. On the basis of traditional culture and thought we should mirror the experience of foreign theories and in that way we can more quickly create a worthwhile theory” [as cited in Du Toit, 2015, pp. 239–240]. Yang’s explanation might shed light on why China’s development has been described by a previous Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping as “crossing the river by feeling the stones,” that is, doing by learning.

As stated in its policy papers, China’s African foreign policy is informed by its own experiences with development, aims at strengthening Africa’s capability for sustainable development (Department of Aid for Foreign Countries, Ministry of Commerce, 2007). This approach is supported by a Chinese traditional saying: “Give someone a fish and you feed them for a day, but teach them to fish and you feed them for a lifetime” (淮南子. 说林训: “授人以鱼不如授人以渔”) (Huai Nan Zi, sometime before 139 BC). In other words, China-Africa higher education cooperation is not only about China giving the “fish” it has caught to African countries, but is about sharing fishing skills with them. In that way, African countries will be able to go fishing by themselves one day to grow self-sufficiency without relying on someone else.
China and various African countries’ traditional practices and cultural beliefs share similarities, reflecting commonality between these countries’ heritages. This further provides solid foundation for mutual understanding and collaborative development. For example, according to Chun [as cited in Du Toit, 2015], Confucianism espoused, “all human beings are born and brought up in the context of a family, but that the world is nothing but an enlarged family.” This Chinese belief is quite similar to the African concept of “Ubuntu,” which is “rich with consideration for compassion and communality” (Mangaliso, 2001) and sees “the extended family as [an] important pillar of social life” (Du Toit, 2015). Moreover, ren (仁 or benevolence) is another key component in Chinese culture. During his 2011 trip to Ethiopia, Angola, Kenya, and Nigeria, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang referred to this Chinese cultural practice when he assured the African people that China would “never pursue a colonialist path like some countries did, or allow colonialism, which belongs to the past, to reappear in Africa” (Du Toit, 2015). While China’s foreign policy towards African countries could have focused only on pragmatic concerns, “it appears that its respect for tradition and age-old ideas has tremendous appeal and offers adherents hope for future” (Du Toit, 2015).

Since humanism, harmony, and pragmatism are the philosophies that affect China’s domestic and foreign policy-making to accommodate social development needs and promote bilateral relations with its partner countries, it is logical to posit that the principles under China’s Africa policy reflect these ideologies. The first White Paper on China’s foreign aid, released in 2011, highlighted China’s cooperation principles of political equality, mutual benefit, and non-conditionality. Based on that, Niu (2014) has incorporated these principles into five cooperation goals for higher education:

1. China’s education cooperation with Africa aims to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship
2. China’s approach to education cooperation with Africa emphasizes cooperation, mutual benefits, and common development

3. China’s cooperation with Africa acts in accordance with its (China’s) own capabilities

4. China-Africa cooperation in education places an emphasis on practical action

5. China’s education cooperation is Africa–based (based on African countries’ needs) (pp. 34–35)

Goals 1 and 2 adhere to China’s aspirations for mutual understanding and the resulting benefits. China and Africa have similar goals and an extensive foundation for cooperation, furthermore they can learn many things from each other. Goals 3, 4, and 5 demonstrate that China is pragmatic in its approach to foreign policy. On the one hand, due to its rapid economic and technological development, China has gained immense capabilities and experiences that it can share with its African partners. On the other hand, despite being the largest developing country in the global South, China provides aid to African countries based on China’s own capability (e.g. financial and skill-based assistance). Many higher education programs remain as small-scale pilot initiatives, such as the “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Program (see Appendix E).

Finally, it is worth noting that China and African countries share many similarities in their cultures and social development. Led by African countries’ desires to benefit from China’s developmental experiences, China’s higher education engagement with Africa not only provides an alternative approach for African countries to build human capacity but also for both sides to continuously develop their long-term goals. By following China’s win-win and mutuality policy, it is important for African countries to recognize their current development circumstances and retain their right to choose their own optimal developmental paths.
2.4.3 Mechanisms and Practices under the Framework of FOCAC

As it is critical to see that China’s domestic and foreign policies are influenced by its ancient cultural beliefs that share similarities with those from African partnership countries, it is also important to understand the basis of mechanisms and practices that China uses to support the development programs for its African partners.

According to Dale [as cited in Yuan, 2013] knowledge and skills are widely recognized as the “key drivers and [the] basis of economic prosperity” in the context of neoliberal globalization, and higher education is increasingly seen as “a central idea in the modernization theory and is a key means through which individuals in developing societies…become ‘modern’” (p. 187). As early as the 1980s, many African countries aimed to improve their higher education curriculum systems to better develop human capital. Entering the 21st century, there also has been a rising demand for vocational training and collaborative research in the fields of science and technology in African countries. Since that time, China has supported these countries by building advanced laboratories for biology, physics, engineering, etc., and donating scientific equipment and teaching facilities to supplement and facilitate lab construction (Niu, 2014). For example, the Ethio-China Polytechnic College (ECPC) was a large, higher education aid project established between China and Ethiopia; the college cost 97 million Chinese Yuan (approximately $14 million US dollars) and included 14 two-story buildings with 53 classrooms, five computer labs, 53 workshops, 50 offices, one library, one reading room, and one multi-function classroom (Niu, 2014). Recently, in 2015, the Chinese government invested $15 million US dollars in Malawi to establish five community technical colleges; prior to this, in 2012, China helped to fund the Malawi University of Science and Technology (Chitsulo, 2017). In order to help African students apply what they were learning in the classroom to real world experiences, some of China’s largest tech companies such as Huawei, the world’s third largest smart phone manufacturer after Apple
and Samsung, provided information and communications technology (ICT) scholarships and internships to Africans students (Mushangwe, 2018). Additionally, in order to improve aid effectiveness and the living conditions of African local people, China has sent science, construction, and technology experts to more than 30 African countries to give technical guidance and support since 2000s. This has assisted Africans in building public amenities, affordable housing, telecommunication facilities, and roads and railways (China Science and Technology Exchange Center, 2013).

Since the 1990s, the Chinese government has offered numerous learning opportunities for African students, teachers, and university administrators to study at China’s higher education institutions. In accordance with African continent’s developmental needs, major collaborative fields of study that Chinese universities have offered to Africans included science, agriculture, food, medicine, architecture, business, and language. Furthermore, according to FOCAC’s 2009 declaration on education, the Chinese government agreed to help African countries build 50 China-Africa friendship schools, train 1,500 school headmasters and teachers, increase the number of Chinese government scholarships for African students, and train a total of 20,000 professionals in various sectors of African countries, all between 2010 and 2012 (China Daily, April 21, 2011). Since then, cooperation has continued and expanded. In 2010, China announced its new plan to provide training to 15,000 African professionals in various fields between 2012 and 2015 (Xinhua News, Dec 23, 2010). In addition, the Chinese Scholarship Council (CSC) and the Chinese Confucius Institute (CI) have also sponsored long-term degree and fellowship programs for African undergraduates and graduates (Bodomo, 2014).

Currently, the FOCAC educational cooperation not only focuses on basic education and technical and vocational education and training (TVET) but also collaborates on more advanced academic exchange proposals. In addition to the FOCAC’s 2009 declaration on education goals, the Chinese government
proposed implementation of the “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Program and planned to raise the number of Chinese governmental scholarships offered to African students to 5,500 every year (Niu, 2014). China also expanded many higher education programs to emphasize postgraduate and postdoctoral training of African students in Chinese universities; FOCAC news (2012) reported that many long-term study programs grew to include a new emphasis on postdoctoral training of African students in addition to its focus on postgraduate education.

In order to raise the language capacity of local Africans who teach Chinese as well as Chinese language teachers who teach in Africa, as of summer 2018, the Chinese government had established 54 Confucius Institutes (CI) and 27 Confucius classrooms in 33 African countries (King, 2018). As it happens, language exchange between China and several African countries began as early as 1950, even before the establishment of the Chinese CI (Confucius Institute Annual Development Report, 2013). Later, in 1996, the Center for Chinese Language Training in Cameroon became the first Chinese language training institute in Africa (Niu, 2014). In 2005, the first CI was established in Kenya, aimed at bridging different cultures and providing student exchange opportunities for African students. As cultural and educational institutes, Chinese CIs have been offering training programs for African teachers of the Chinese language to study at Chinese universities. This will increase their capacity to teach Chinese language and culture at African universities. Compared to the number of Confucius Institutes in other regions in the world, the number of CIs in Africa remains relatively small; however, the establishment of CIs in African universities brought many scholarship opportunities for Africans to study in China. Official and national statistics show that there were over 35,000 African students who came to China through various Chinese scholarships by 2011 (Ministry of Education of PRC, 2011), with the total number of government-funded students expanding tremendously between 2012 and 2015 (King, 2014).
In 2014, the FOCAC established several sub-forums related to Africa’s human capacity building: the FOCAC Science and Technology Forum, the FOCAC Cultural Ministers’ Forum, and the FOCAC Think Tanks Forum in order to bring about a new dynamic in China-Africa’s higher education cooperation (Niu, 2014). These forums work collaboratively and contribute ideas for facilitating an improved educational partnership between China and Africa. Their importance should not be overlooked. More specifically, since China’s initiatives are primarily focused on the needs of African countries, the Chinese action committees of the forums have to collect opinions and consensus from their African partners before selecting and implementing certain projects (Niu, 2014). Both sides also hold meetings every two to three months to discuss and review project execution, as well as explore potential cooperation projects (Niu, 2014).

The FOCAC’s policy-making mechanism is based on mutual equality and mutual respect, which according to Li et al. [as cited in Niu, 2014] is “characterized by multi-level interactions between China and Africa through various exchanges and communication channels” (p. 36). On China’s side, there are 27 member units that collaborate to fulfill the commitment at FOCAC. Among them, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Education comprise the leadership of the three major action committees with the most follow-up by their members (see Appendix F). Specifically, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) takes major responsibility for making foreign policy, the Ministry of Commerce (MOC) takes charge of economic cooperation, and the Ministry of Education (MOE) is responsible for “providing human resource development support” (Niu 2014, p. 37) through educational programs. For instance, the MOE initiated the “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Program in 2010; this program has provided learning and exchange opportunities for both sides. Additionally, two major non-profit cultural and educational institutions
are affiliated with the MOE: the Chinese Scholarship Council (CSC), which offers various types of scholarships and arranges African students’ study in China, and the Chinese Hanban (Chinese Confucius Institute Headquarters), which takes charge of culture exchange and language instruction (Niu, 2014).

In summary, China’s higher education cooperation with Africa has offered an increasing number of short-term professional trainings and long-term degree programs for African students, teachers, and administrators; fields of study cover more than 20 areas. Scholarships have been a significant component in the China-Africa higher education cooperation (Niu, 2014). The short-term professional training programs intensified China’s efforts to strengthen human capacity in African countries; they are predominately sponsored by the Chinese government in addition to other collaborative partners, including Chinese universities, training centers, and companies that hold trainings sessions. Moreover, the “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Program launched by FOCAC created “one-to-one inter-institutional collaboration” (Niu 2014, p. 42) between 20 Chinese universities and 20 African universities; the university cooperation plan provided possibilities for partner schools to share and exchange useful resources efficiently and in a timely manner. According to Niu (2014), the 20 universities selected by the Chinese government were of the highest caliber; these universities provided explicit cooperation plans, had enough capable professionals who could speak different languages, and had a strong history of cooperation with African countries’ higher education institutions.

In addition to the importance of the large and ever-increasing number of educational collaborations between China and countries of Africa is the fact that the current practices of these programs are based on mutuality that emphasizes and encourages people-to-people interaction. The cooperation
also shows a “new form of China’s higher education internationalization that is characterized by a much-improved balance between introducing the world to China and bringing China to the world within an altered global landscape of higher education.” (Yang as cited in Niu, 2014, p. 43). By continuously reviewing past and current research on the comparative advantages of their partnerships as well as the lessons they have learned in the past, China and African countries will find more ways to further promote their higher education development and human capacity building.

2.5 Critical Views

As discussed previously, China’s model is based on its pragmatism or “the Chinese way of doing things” that the country is modifying its own policies in certain circumstances. Due to China’s rapid economic growth and its desire to cooperate with other developing countries, the nation has attracted wide attention from countries not only in the South but also in the North; China’s engagement with Africa has provoked much criticism. Some scholars use China’s model to criticize China for pursuing a path of neocolonialism in its seeming exploitation of African countries’ natural resources through its use of soft power, and the China-Africa higher education cooperation is a means for China to strengthen its soft power in Africa (King, 2013).

Higher education during globalization serves as a channel for cross-border knowledge flow and an exchange of values, cultures, expertise, and innovation among countries. With a growing number of African students studying in China’s universities, however, China-Africa’s higher education cooperation faces a challenging uncertainty of whether the governments and scholars in both the global North and the global South buy into the idea of soft power or believe that power need not be a zero-sum game. This section offers an interpretation of soft power by examining China’s cultural and political values and analyzes current China-Africa higher education programs in an attempt to
discover where China stands in the realm of international education with respect to knowledge transfer and reproduction in the context of South-South Cooperation.

2.5.1 Soft Power as China’s Strategy through Higher Education?
Soft power was first introduced in 1990 by Joseph Nye, the former Dean of Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government and a political scientist. His article entitled “Soft Power,” published in the *Journal of Foreign Policy*, explained that soft power was more than influence, more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by military force; it was also the ability to attract others to follow and buy into one’s ideology (Nye, 1990). Since many of its critical resources for political rule are outside the government’s control, soft power tends to work indirectly by shaping the environment for policy and it takes years to achieve the desired outcomes (Nye, 2011). He also stated that there are three major areas that a country can use soft power to increase its influence: a nation’s culture, its political values, and its policies (Nye, 2011).

Cultural factors influence policymaking and the average citizen’s understanding of those policies. Traditional ideologies contained in Chinese Taoism and Confucianism have all served as important foundations for the main values of China’s modern development. For example, Chinese Taoism espouses a belief in the importance of balance, which would suggest the need for balanced development in all aspects of China’s endeavors. Politically, Taoism embraces the ideology of “let nature take its course” (顺其自然 shùn qí zì rán) or “govern without intervention” (无为而治 wú wéi ér zhì); it implies that development has its natural rules, and governments should not intervene or intervene less. This political thinking is aligned with Adam Smith’s “invisible hand,” first used in 1759, and later on with Hayek’s “spontaneous order” introduced in his book *The Constitution of Liberty* in 1960. Although both Smith and Hayek relate this type of governance to the sphere of economics, its
core principle is based on building a free and peaceful society to increase production and equalize its social distribution.

Confucianism, serves as another influential traditional Chinese ideology, several of its main tenets are reflected in the guiding principles behind China’s approach to development: the practice of benevolence (仁 rén) as well as the qualities of mutual respect, cooperation, and harmony. With these qualities in mind, Confucius said, “One who wishes himself to be successful must also help others to be successful; one who wishes to develop himself also hopes to help others develop” (论语: “给欲立而立人,己欲达而达人”) (Analects of Confucius, c. 206 BC–220 AD). Reading these words, one can see a basis for China’s current attempts to create a win-win outcome in its South-South and other cooperative ventures. Confucianism also espouses a belief that learning can be improved when one pays attention to the views of others and learns from them. This is certainly the nature of the kind of reciprocal exchange that China seeks with its education partners. “When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select the good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them” (论语: “三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之”) (Analects of Confucius, c. 206 BC–220 AD).

These historical examples of China’s philosophical roots provide a valuable perspective to better understand China’s developmental model and how it differs from other countries’ models of the past and the present. Although each partnership country of the South-South Cooperation may have a different agenda for its development, China’s stated mission is to encourage an approach that is based on each partner’s strengths for the purpose of mutual benefit.
Yet not everyone sees China’s role as altruistically as others. As China’s role in global governance has continued to grow, so has the cooperation between China and Third World countries; many other governments, often those of the North, have expressed the viewpoint that China is using soft power, through its higher education exchange programs and other aid programs, to achieve a kind of colonial power. For instance, some earlier debates about China’s use of soft power through its higher education exchange programs were focused on the collaborative form of educational institutions. As many African university students started to celebrate traditional Chinese festivals and attend various public Chinese lectures, some scholars of the North claimed that the curriculum offered by the Confucius Institutes might have gone beyond its stated purpose of Chinese language teaching (King, 2013). Moreover, educational and cultural programs such as the CIs provided to their audience are quite different from historical Western institutes such as the British Council and the Alliance Française in that while these educational organizations set up individual offices worldwide; none of them have been located within the other country’s university system or at a nearby setting (King, 2013). This proximity to students is an extension of CI’s presence in African students’ lives.

Even if the cultural perspective of China’s model has raised some red flags among its critics, not all scholars in related fields agree that the China-Africa educational exchanges are examples of any kind of soft power takeover by China; rather, some have seen it as an opportunity for African countries to realize their cultural identities and to develop more independently. As Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow, a Senegalese educator and former director-general of UNESCO [as cited in Weiler, 1984, p. 192; Gillespie, 2001, p. 173] once claimed, the higher education exchanges will offer Africa an opportunity to ensure the full development of its cultural identity. Weiler (1984, p. 188) and Gillespie (2001, p. 173) indicated that both China and the African nations consider these higher education exchanges to be “a source of considerable value and have gone to great length to secure opportunities to train, be trained,
and thus sustain Sino-Africa relations... For many African nations, sustained relations with China represent an opportunity to begin to realize what for many is a political priority; that is, to overcome the colonial traces in the content and substance of their educational experiences.” Weiler (1984) also noted that China, as a non-colonized country in the global South, “with an indigenous modern educational system and an independent socialist economic system holds potential to partake in the opportunity and make a significant contribution to an alternative pedagogy” (p. 192).

China’s Africa policy remains in line with its general “non-interference” and “no strings attached” rules, and there is no concrete evidence that China is practicing soft power and a new colonialism in Africa. Rather than promoting the “Chinese” ways of development, China has been willing to help Third World countries explore suitable ways for them to better develop. Moreover, according to Glaser and Murphy (2009), China has promoted the concept of a harmonious world in part as its contribution as a “responsible stakeholder” (p. 24) and the nation goals to create a more balanced and sustainable world in collaboration with its developing neighbors, such as African countries it is in partnership with. According to Nordtveit (2011), China is similarly willing to collaborate in the field of education with other donors to facilitate trilateral activities and learn from their experiences in aid programming, project management and evaluation, and approaches to sustainability.

Yet for some, the question remains: Does China’s model have a coherent and comprehensive soft power strategy? Based on the predominate literature, the answer is no, at least, so far. There has been no coordination among institutions or ministries to carry out an official policy that reflect soft power and no Chinese leaders or officials have been assigned to oversee soft power promotion. Based on this, some scholars have presumed that China’s model will likely “remain largely ad hoc... aimed at combating the China-threat theory and focused on promoting cultural soft power” (Glaser & Murphy,
2009, p. 25), and the leadership will likely “continue to proscribe official discussion of the Beijing Consensus as part of a deliberation effort to avoid the appearance of challenging the United States” (Glaser & Murphy, 2009, p. 25). To ease the rest of the world’s fears as well as “shape a responsible national image in the process of promoting mutual beneficial cooperation” (Luo & Zhang, 2009) between China and African countries, some Chinese scholars such as Luo and Zhang (2009) have urged China to formulate a comprehensive plan to make future policy and development goals more transparent.

Nye (1990) in his book *Soft Power* also noted that power is a relationship. Economically, China’s success sets an example for African countries to use as a reference, and politically, in the course of China’s peaceful rise (e.g. solve territorial disputes), China needs the support of its African partner countries. For a long-term success of these partnerships to flourish, both sides need to develop a more mature and balanced relationship. In this sense, the China-Africa higher education cooperation bears a responsibility to work as a communication channel for both sides to enhance understanding, especially for the young Chinese and African generations. Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in his 2011 book *On China*, interpreted China’s past and its culture as a key to understand how Beijing related to other countries in the world. According to Kissinger (2011), Chinese value is created based on its understanding of the natural laws and itself; its historical system of values is the same value system that has been guiding the direction of China’s current foreign policy and international relations.

### 2.5.2 Whose “Win”? – African Students in Chinese Universities

Combined with its outstanding economic growth and its initiatives for building world-class universities, China and its role in international higher education has been transforming quickly. Nowadays, China is not only a big “exporter” of its domestic students, but also a popular study-abroad destination for foreign students. Accordingly, the number of international students in China increased by 400%
between 1999 and 2008, and exceeded 128,000 in 2009 (Haugen, 2013). However, by the end of 2009, African students still made up less than 6% of the international student population in China’s higher education institutions (China Association for International Education, 2017). That figure began to rise after FOCAC 2009 and, since then, there has been a marked increase in the number of African students who have been sponsored by Chinese government scholarships. As China had promised to offer more scholarships for African countries, by 2012, about 33% of the Chinese government scholarships for foreign students went to African students (Huang & Qi, 2012). Through the recent FOCAC 2015 discussions, the Chinese government reiterated its promise to continue strengthening higher education cooperation and exchanges with African countries.

Based on this fact, assuming that China is promoting the use of its soft power as a part of its model when hosting African students who come to study in China’s universities has become controversial. Yang (2007) argued that training young generations of African intellectuals, political elites, and technicians is a “subtle yet important form of soft power” (p. 25). The young African students who study in Chinese universities will return home with “Chinese viewpoints and interests, with knowledge of the Chinese language, society, culture, history, and politics” (p. 25). Yang (2007) also indicated that China prefers to recruit foreign students from developing countries because it helps the nation improve its image in the global South as well as “increase its legitimacy as an emerging superpower” (p. 25). Similar to Yang’s (2007) argument, Atkinson (2010) agreed that higher education serves as a channel for idea transmission and that educational exchange programs help to enhance a country’s soft power. Atkinson’s (2010) case study found that many students from the Soviet Union later applied the new ideology they had absorbed during their study abroad experience in the United States during the Cold War period.
Experiences through study abroad are influential to a greater or lesser degree. International students exposed to a new environment usually need time to adjust themselves to local culture, language, and customs; the learning process can potentially change their cultures and ideologies. However, there are several additional factors that may also determine whether international students will turn their higher education learning experience and learned knowledge into their own beliefs and norms. First is the factor of time spent abroad: many Chinese language programs last for only weeks or months, while Chinese scholarship programs for graduate students usually last for two years (Gao, 2015). Watson and Lippitt (1958) argued that since there are different lengths of study for African students, each group of students’ experiences would be different. In other words, whether there will be an effective change in African students’ ideologies depends on the length of their study program. A second factor is a student’s adaptation to a foreign culture (Antonakopoulou, 2013). For instance, adaptation may depend on the student’s personality and degree of cultural awareness. A third factor is a student’s expectations after graduation—such as whether the student will go back to work in his or her home country or not. African students who choose to stay in China or go to other countries after graduation will not bring their experiences from their education in China back to Africa. In these situations, although it might cause “brain drain” in the African continent in the long run, there would be little cultural influence of China on Africa as a direct result of a higher education exchange. Therefore, while a cross-cultural educational experience can be a source of identity change, it does not necessarily mean that an educational exchange would be the top means of promoting a nation’s soft power.

The fact remains, however, that thousands of African students are taking advantage of China’s scholarship programs (Burgess, 2016). Out of that group, research also shows that African self-funding students represent a promising future source of income for China (Reilly, 2015). China’s special attraction for African students is due to “moderate tuition fees, affordable living costs and
welcoming visa policies” (Haugen 2013, p. 316) when compared to many Western countries. As a result, while many Africans arrive in China with student visas for the singular purpose of receiving an education, many leave the university as graduates and as traders in Chinese goods (Haugen, 2013); both government-funded and self-funded African students in some economically developed cities of southern China enter the workforce while studying. According to Bodomo [as cited in Haugen 2013] since a tourist visa and a business visa do not offer opportunities for prolonged stays, longer-term student visas have become more attractive “in response to the social and political challenges imposed by an increasing number of African immigrants” (p. 325). According to Li et al. [as cited in Haugen 2013], China’s scholarships for African students is not only paving a pathway for knowledge exchange but may also be providing business and immigration opportunities.

Despite all the advantages that a Chinese student visa offers to African students, including improved educational opportunities, cultural awareness, and business opportunities, previous research suggests that there are two major challenges that African students face while living as students in Chinese universities and by extension, in Chinese society. For most African students, learning the Chinese language in a short period of time in order to meet Chinese universities’ academic requirements is the biggest challenge they face (V’O.A, July 23, 2014). To “solve” this problem, interestingly, more than 200 Chinese universities offer English as their course language for foreign students, including students from Africa (Burgess 2016). For instance, between 2008 and 2011, a large number of African students attended the one-year English-medium master’s program at Peking University and Tsinghua University in China (Niu, 2014), where most of the courses offered at the universities were taught in English. Nowadays, many Chinese higher education institutions that enroll foreign students are in urgent need of instructors who can teach various subjects in English. Usually, instructors hired to teach foreign students hold degrees from Western countries. If China intends to use higher education
as a means to promote its soft power in Africa, using English and not promoting Mandarin Chinese as its primary language for instruction might prove to be questionable.

Another challenge for African students in China is their discontentment with the teaching methods and the quality of education they receive from some university programs (Haugen, 2013). Some complain that Chinese education is mostly memory-based learning (Johnson & Luo, 2013), and this learning method is difficult for them to adapt to. In addition, some African students show frustration in social situations due to the differences in the cultural etiquette surrounding interpersonal relationships in China (Burgess, 2016). Due to a lack of knowledge and familiarity about African countries and African people, some Chinese people stare at the African students as they walk on the city streets; sometimes they follow them, taking pictures. These behaviors have caused discomfort for some of the African students in China, especially during the early years when China and some of its partner African countries were dramatically increasing their programs, bringing many Africans into Chinese cities and towns where so few had been before. The dynamics, however, are changing: African students now not only constitute a knowledgeable clientele but also a paying clientele that Chinese universities are pursuing (Burgess, 2016). At the same time, the residents of some small Chinese cities are becoming used to seeing people who look different to them.

Increasing enrollment of African students in Chinese universities points to the success of China’s determination to improve cultural diversity in Chinese universities, as well as of its model to promote China-African intellectual exchanges for human capacity building (Haugen, 2013). In spite of all the positive progress being made by China-Africa education cooperation, the challenges faced by African students in language, education styles, and cultural differences cannot be overlooked. As Haugen (2013) pointed out, if Chinese universities fail to impress the African students, the students’ disappointment
with their educational experience may prevent the positive promotion of China’s image in Africa, and it will negatively affect China-Africa’s educational cooperation. In addition, Li (2008) indicated that China has, first of all, not done enough to promote Chinese students’ presence in Africa’s universities and, second of all, has facilitated most of China-Africa’s higher education exchanges in China. In the future, student exchange between China and Africa need to be more reciprocal.

In addition, in order to cope with an increased trend of global education and to provide flexibility in the choice of program language, many courses offered to Africans in Chinese universities nowadays are taught in English. This has led to a movement on the part of China’s universities to pursue instructors who hold Western university degrees. Based on this, it is inevitable that these instructors will be bringing their curriculum and learning materials with them. Following these events logically, it seems that China would be reproducing and teaching courses based in a Western ideology and then sending this ideology, through students, back to the countries once colonized by the West. This is perhaps one of the most important challenges that China faces while it continues to use its international higher education model as part of its overall development plan. Noah and Eckstein (1985) once argued that a dependency theory eventually becomes a reproduction theory naturally; Third World universities that function as peripheries in an international system are “at a disadvantage in the international knowledge network” (p. 215). Hayhoe’s study [as cited in Gillespie, 2001] showed that similar to the experience of other countries in the Third World, “China’s integration into the capitalist world order underscores the power of the dominant mechanisms that maintain the international status quo” (p. 173–174). This reality may shed light on the most critical aspects of “underdevelopment”: that “the dominant mechanisms of economic, cultural, scientific, and professional control … have been generated and sustained, in part, by systems of knowledge production and higher education in the centre countries” (Weiler, 1984, p. 189). In this regard, it would be of great value for future
researchers to review and study the curriculum and instructions that China’s universities use for African students.

Based on all these factors, China’s higher education engagement with Africa cannot be simply analyzed as a zero-sum game; it is not about who is going to benefit more, but rather, it is a tentative cooperation based on China’s developmental experiences and its ideology of pragmatism, which upholds the belief that each takes what each needs. “Brain circulation” or “brain exchange” are two terms that may more accurately describe “the increasing multidirectional nature of international flows and the growing awareness that such mobility patterns or exchanges are mutually beneficial for sending and receiving countries” (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011, p. 16). In addition, since China-Africa’s higher education cooperation is driven by neoliberal ideology and pushed by the expansion of educational exchange programs world-wide (King, 2011), there is a need for African countries to pursue a knowledge-based economy to participate and compete in the global job market. There is also a need for China and Africa’s governments and higher education institutions to “respond to and engage directly with local, national and regional social-political concerns” (Popescu 2015, p. 411). To reach all these goals, it is significant for China and African countries to increase their competencies of global intellectual capital.

2.6 Conclusion
This chapter presented South-South Cooperation (SSC) as an example of a new pattern of cooperation in international relations. This chapter also discussed how and why China’s development initiatives differ from that of the North by analyzing China’s domestic and foreign policy development programs, particularly its various educational and cultural exchanges with countries in Africa and with other countries through its One Belt One Road initiative. The chapter concluded that this new pattern of cooperation among third world countries, such as China and African countries, is the product of a unique combination of features of neoliberalism and globalizing education. In order to secure a path
for long-term development, educational programs shared between China and African countries must continue to be reciprocal in nature instead of offering only one-way aid. However, reviews of previous literature also demonstrated that reciprocity, as it relates to educational and cultural exchange, brings concern about the unbalanced power and influence of one country over another, albeit in ways more covert than overt. This is often referred to as soft power. Although this study found examples in the literature that supported the belief that China might be strategically using soft power to force its values onto the cultural and economic life of its partner countries, the overall conclusion was that based on the current results from 20 years of cooperative programs; SSC is producing generally positive results for all parties.

Because it can take many decades to determine the success of any development program, early signs of its success may appear small in stature but are often telling. Many of the studies cited in this literature review that reported on the positive results of SSC referred to the partner countries’ news coverage of the programs as well as the use of certain words and phrases by China’s policymakers in both domestic and international agreements and speeches. All these reflected China’s traditional cultural values of respect and mutual understanding that are rooted in ideologies such as Taoism and Confucianism. After China’s President Xi Jinping’s 2015 visit to South Africa, many news agencies in South Africa reported this event to predict China-Africa future relations. Using related news reports covering this event and published in three major newspapers of South Africa, Tang and Shi (2016) analyzed the discourse and found that the five most frequently occurring words and phrases in these news reports were “cooperation,” “support,” “help,” “benefit,” and “assist.” During Xi’s visit, he used the word assist 11 times in his speeches, while other Chinese senior officials and ambassadors used it 40 times in their speeches. Comparatively, Zimbabwe’s then-President Robert Gabriel Mugabe used assist seven times, South Africa’s President Jacob Zuma used it one time, and the other senior officials
and scholars of South Africa used it 35 times. Although a small bit of evidence of positive intentionality, the use of these kinds of words does offer a certain amount of affirmation that China and Africa’s cooperation programs have been based on mutual benefits and not built on a Chinese “one-way” approach.

China’s engagement with African countries was first drawn to economic development, and its first investments were more like traditional foreign aid packages: a financial commitment to improve urban infrastructure, telecommunication, and energy. However, because of China’s relatively recent experience of unprecedented economic growth, it quickly became apparent that here in African countries, too, development without skill building is not sustainable. Based on that axiom, a new phase in China-Africa partnership relations began as the partners developed education and cultural exchange programs that would significantly help African countries with the much-needed objective of human capacity building. Based on China’s own developmental experience, its traditional cultural ideals, and its understanding of the needs of a global job market, China began to develop programs aimed at helping Africa establish its own knowledge-based economy. Since the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000, the Chinese government has provided African students with an increasing number of scholarships for short-term training and long-term degree programs every year. After almost 20 years of higher education cooperation, it is now no longer uncommon to find relatively large numbers of African students studying in Chinese universities, many of whom have come as self-funded students. In spite of the ever-growing number of scholarships available, the supply cannot keep up with the demand. While some African students have returned to their countries of origin, others have remained in China after graduation, establishing careers or families there. With this newly emerging trend of talent flow in the countries of the global South, the literature raises the
notion of an educational mobility that will also bring “brain circulation” or “brain exchange” rather than brain drain.

In summary, China’s model of aid is based on its developmental experience and the comparative advantages of the various methods of providing it. So far, it has found a feasible combination of traditional foreign aid with new arenas for trade and investments by focusing on its own domestic development principles as well as on “what China owns and knows best” (Lin & Wang, 2017, p. 110)—all this in spite of the short “practice time” for China’s own recent economic development. “China is successful because she is a good student” (p. 110)—good students learn fast and then, if they are rooted in a philosophy of mutual aid, they help others with “what they can” (p.110) Thus, China has been helping to transform “what these countries have” into “what they can potentially do well” in order to achieve a win-win outcome (Lin & Wang, 2017, p. 110). Facing opportunities and constraints in Africa’s quest for sustainable development, both China and Africa continuously need to be good students to learn from each other and the rest of the world.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This dissertation examines relations between China and Africa through the perspective of higher education, and uses the Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU) in Jinhua, China as its research site. The dissertation research included one trip to ZJNU in 2014 as a pilot study\(^\text{26}\) to collect data, interview African students, Chinese students and teachers, and administrators. Both government-funded and self-funded African students were interviewed. The dissertation fieldwork, conducted in 2017, included interviews with both African students and students of other continents and nationalities at the ZJNU’s China-Africa International Business School (ZJNU-CAIBS). The sources of support and documentation for the dissertation research include selected data from the pilot study, policy and research-related documents, literature, interviews, and the dissertation fieldwork data gathered through meetings with Chinese students and faculty members, and university-sourced statistics.

This chapter begins with an explanation of the research perspectives and the ways in which the field research was used in this dissertation. This is followed by a discussion of the research methodology and fieldwork study.

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\(^{26}\) For the pilot study, the researcher interviewed 20 post-undergraduate level or graduate-level African students who were studying at ZJNU at the time of the research (2014). There were 12 male (60%) and eight female (40%) interviewees, ranging in age from 20 to 35. Among these participants, only five students were studying at ZJNU-CAIBS. The remaining 15 students were studying at various colleges and departments within ZJNU, including six students in their first year of the Chinese language program at the School for International Students. After the interviews, all notes were transcribed and coded by NVIVO. Sorted by interviewees’ majors, the pilot study focused on three groups of the 20 African students: International Master of Business Administration (IMBA) (25%), those majoring in language, translation, and education (45%), and those majoring in other degree programs (30%). Among these three groups, 14 (70%) students had received scholarships from the Chinese government, and 15 (75%) students were originally from Cameroon. The large percentage of Cameroonian students at ZJNU is explained by a longstanding cooperation between ZJNU and the Universities of Yaoundé I and Yaoundé II.
3.1 Research Design, Purpose, and Significance

Over the last two decades, the growing relationship between China and Africa has mostly focused on public and private investments and bilateral trade. When reviewing current research, it is apparent that researchers have paid relatively little attention to the influential role that the China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation program has played in South-South relations. There have been few case studies that address African students’ daily life and academic experiences in China. These studies would inform the successful future expansion of the China-Africa higher education cooperation program and by extension, South-South relations in general.

Although scholars may not have fully addressed the topic of China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation, at the policy level, the Chinese and African governments have recognized the important role that education plays in the larger issue of international relations. One sign of this is that since the early 2000s, there have been an increasing number of scholarships offered by the Chinese government for African students who wish to study in China. Another sign is when the “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Program launched in 2009 at the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation) Sharm El Sheik Action Plan (2010–2012). This action plan created a new pattern of “one-to-one” interscholastic cooperation between Chinese and African universities that enriched the areas and forms of cooperation, bringing China-Africa relations to a new level of growth. Therefore, this dissertation research is significant because it examines the South-South relationship from the perspective of higher education and considers South-South cooperation as a viable, alternate pathway to human capacity building, knowledge sharing, and poverty reduction in developing countries. In particular, the field research was designed to examine current China-Africa higher education cooperation through its role in promoting South-South relations as a challenge to the current ideology that human capacity building is solely the domain of the global North.
At the same time, it highlights China’s growing presence in the field of international exchange and development.

Gathering valid information and making the best use of various sources are significant factors in ensuring that the resulting research data is reliable and its accompanying analysis is convincing. The China-Africa higher education field research for this dissertation analysis includes: 1) related literature; 2) documents and reports (including government policy reports, white papers, action plans, and important FOCAC summits speeches); and 3) fieldwork data (including statistical university- and college student-related information, face-to-face interviews with students, faculty, and administration, and notes taken from informal interactions and meetings with students and faculty members). Analysis of the research findings, the concerns and issues raised by this study, and any reflections on the interviewees’ feedback and perceptions are valuable resources for China and Africa’s higher education institutions and policymakers to take into account for the future development of their programs.

The next section presents a more detailed explanation of theoretical perspectives and research questions.

3.2 Foci of the Field Research
This section introduces the dissertation field research’s theoretical perspectives and research questions.

3.2.1 Theoretical Perspectives
Field research aims at observing, interacting with, and understanding people in their natural settings. It depicts realistic and contextually rich situations and often illustrates problems that one or more participant(s) in the study must negotiate. Used as a lens through which to carefully examine any relevant documents, field research helps ensure the validity and value of the overall research by
providing detailed and qualitative evidence. Using the theories and practices in China-Africa’s higher education cooperation as examples, this field research provides information that leads to analyses of discrepancies between theory and practice, and the academic and the social (Barkley, Cross, & Major, 2005).

While the research points out the overall benefits of China’s current higher education engagement with a number of African countries, it also reveals the constraints of their future cooperative development. According to the findings of the field research, mastering a new language—Chinese—and receiving an advanced degree could potentially help African students successfully compete in the global job market and begin to develop a successful career. However, these two advancements have also brought up new issues with unintended results. For instance, previous research refers to the “brain drain” from the African continent that might increase as more of the African students choose to either remain in China or go on to another developed country in pursuit of another advanced degree after graduation. This compromises one of the exchange program’s main goals, which is to increase human capacity building in the participating African countries. A second issue is what is termed the “knowledge reproduction of the West” in Chinese universities when they rely on Western textbooks and professors in their classrooms. Additionally, many scholars in the development fields have argued that China’s engagement with Africa is mainly driven by desire for political gains or access to the continent’s primary resources by using soft power.

Examining this study from these perspectives, the fieldwork research includes questions regarding outcomes that impact these potentially problematic issues in the higher education exchange. Student interview questions include topics such as the students’ motivation for attending ZJNU-CAIBS and future plans after graduation. The researcher also examined some of the classrooms’ teaching materials.
When comparing the information gathered from the institutional policy documents with the field research responses, it is clear that discrepancies exist between policy and practice. Examining these discrepancies on micro and macro levels (see Figure 3.1) offers valuable insight into the future of South-South cooperation. At the micro level (practice), student responses to questions such as “Where do students go?,” “What do students learn?,” and “What do students think?” provide valuable information about students’ career orientation, their perceptions about China’s higher education and China’s engagement with African countries, and their learning motivations. These issues are at the core of determining the future success of the China-African countries’ higher education cooperation program. Thus, their responses provide useful information for addressing needs at the macro level (policy and social environment) by helping universities and policymaking agents better understand their current roles in the context of international education and determine what their future roles will be in the South-South knowledge transfer.

During the fieldwork research, student, teacher, and administrator responses were not limited to academic and economic spheres of interest. This aligns with the fact that a university encompasses many more spheres of interest. Since a university functions as “a small society”, it follows certain social and development policies and rules and mimics the mechanisms of broader society. Many student responses include their experiences as non-Chinese people living within Chinese society. The research findings on the impact of their social environment, including China’s current public opinion towards African students in China, may inform other societal perspectives. Moreover, comparative education and development studies are relatively new fields of study for Chinese universities; based on the findings of this study, both of their theories and practices are worth further exploration.
Since the issues highlighted above contain more than one value to unpack, it stands to reason that more than one actor must negotiate improved cooperation plans in the overall partnership between China and countries in Africa in the future. Three actors are: 1) Chinese institutions (especially policy-making agencies, including the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); 2) Chinese higher education institutions; and 3) the African countries’ institutional counterparts, especially the Ministries of Education and Higher Education). Thus, the micro- and macro-level perspectives can also help policymaking stakeholders discover what more they can offer and learn through higher education cooperation as it continues to contribute to the development of more productive South-South cooperative growth in general.

![Figure 3.1. Influence of various levels of China-Africa higher education cooperation](image)

### 3.2.2 Research Questions

Based upon the above issues and theoretical framework, two key research questions are:

1. How do the African students’ experiences in China potentially influence their career prospects and life opportunities?
2. What is China’s current role in international higher education and South-South cooperation?
3. What are the benefits and challenges China and African countries facing in their higher education engagement under South-South cooperation?

The first question focuses on ascertaining the role of Chinese universities in their engagement with Africa’s economic development by reviewing both short-term trainings and long-term studies (e.g. degree programs) that are undertaken by African students in Chinese universities. Examples from the field research of ZJNU-CAIBS arose through interviews with Chinese students, African students, and students of other nationalities. The second question examines the benefits and potential challenges from China-Africa’s higher education cooperation at both a student level (human capacity development) and an institutional level. To deconstruct both questions, three sub-questions must be addressed: 1) What in these students’ backgrounds led them to select their current program?; 2) What perceptions do they hold for their current program?; and 3) What are their current and future career prospects? These sub-questions examine both self-financed and government-financed African students in ZJNU, with a focus on those who were enrolled at the CAIBS between the years 2015 and 2016.

3.3 Methods of Analysis
This dissertation research relies on qualitative research methodologies including elements of critical discourse analysis (CDA) for policy documents and literature, class observation, content analysis for textbooks and teaching materials, and unstructured and semi-structured interviews. The preliminary research includes a comprehensive review of government and NGO policy documents, white papers, reports, and academic journal articles on China-Africa relations (with a focus on higher education), South-South cooperation, and international development. Primarily, both empirical and analytical research methods were employed for this study. Each will be discussed in detail in the next sections.
3.3.1 Document Analysis
The research-related documents include reports and journals of organizations, conference papers, project-evaluation reports, white papers from the China-Africa economic and trade cooperation, China’s Africa policy papers from the Chinese government, various working papers, newspapers, important speeches, and interdisciplinary academic journal articles. All secondary sources used for this research were relatively new: 94 out of 140 (67.1%) were published between 2010 and 2017. For the CDA, the researcher used Fairclough’s three-dimensional model as a reference (see Figure 3.2) for analyzing text, production and consumption of text, and socio-cultural implications of text.

![Figure 3.2. Fairclough’s Three-dimensional Model](image-url)

The critical discourse analysis addressed some of the policy implications of the research questions, and to document changing discourse over time. The following documents were analyzed:

- Two white papers on China’s cooperation with Africa (2010 and 2015);
- All FOCAC reports/ action plans (six FOCAC summits since 2000):


In addition, the triangulation of the research findings from the CDA and the fieldwork interviews at ZJNU was crucial for this dissertation work. According to Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen (as
cited in Stemler, 2001, p. 2000), triangulation lends “credibility to the findings by incorporating multiple sources of data, methods, investigations, or theories.” Triangulation also aims at “deepening and widening one’s understanding, and tends to support interdisciplinary research” (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012, p. 154), such as when dissertation research employs theories and knowledge across higher education, sociology, and political economy. To ensure validity, the analysis also takes into account the year of publication, the context, and the intended use of the documents.

### 3.3.2 Analysis of Interview Data

The interview data from the fieldwork was coded and analyzed using NVIVO, an analytical qualitative tool. The coding procedures include four areas of acquired information: China’s role in international education, student motivations for studying in China, student plans after graduation, and the dynamic relationship between student learning experiences and personal identity development as influenced by both a campus environment and a social environment. Additionally, the research used descriptive statistical analysis to categorize African students at ZJNU and also in China, using both ZJNU and national quantitative data and statistics.

Descriptive statistical analysis provides an overview that systematically helps to describe and review the different outcomes of the interviews. It categorizes the outcomes according to the research questions and assessment goals (Loeb & et al., 2017). A systematic sampling involves “estimating the needed sample size and dividing the number of names on the list by the estimated sample size” (Mertens, 2014, p. 328). Therefore, in this study, according to the distribution of the African student population at ZJNU and ZJNU-CAIBS, data came from official statistics as well as different interview groups with a total number of 75 interviewees (see Table 3.1): 1) statistical student information provided by ZJNU-CAIBS for academic years 2015–2016; 2) interview data from 32 African students and 20 students from and of other countries and nationalities who were enrolled in a two-year IMBA
program taught in English at ZJNU-CAIBS in 2015; 3) ten Chinese students who were enrolled in the MBA program and two faculty member at the CAIBS; 4) four Chinese students and faculty members from the ZJNU comparative education program; 5) two African students enrolled in the ZJNU comparative education program; and 6) five international students of other majors enrolled in ZJNU.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Groups</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Students (IMBA)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of Other Countries and Nationalities (IMBA)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Students (MBA)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Members and Administrators at ZJNU-CAIBS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Students enrolled in ZJNU Comparative Education Program and its Faculty Members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Students enrolled in the ZJNU Comparative Education Program</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Students of Other Majors at ZJNU</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number</strong></td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.1. Interview Groups and Numbers*

Among the 18 African male students, six were from Ghana, two from Lesotho, two from Zimbabwe, one from Nigeria, Liberia, Burundi, Senegal, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Morocco. Among the 14 African female students, six were from Lesotho, two from Tanzania, Botswana, and Ghana, one from Ethiopia and Cameroon.

Among the eight male students of other countries and nationalities, one was from Russia, the Netherlands, Indonesia, the United States, Sri Lanka, Mexico, Kazakhstan, and Yemen. Among the
12 female students of other countries and nationalities, five were from Russia, two from Italy, one from Mexico, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan.

Both male and female African students who were enrolled in the ZJNU Comparative Education and participated in this study were from Malawi. International students of other majors who participated in this study consisted of one male Somalian student in Chinese language, one Pakistani male student in Engineering, and three female students in Chinese language from Thailand, Ghana, and Cameroon.

Describing the research methodologies that are used in field research is an important way to communicate research emphases and boundaries to the readers (Creswell, 2014). Since this study involved several groups of participants and each group contributed different perspectives to this research, citing the general reasons for selecting certain groups of participants is crucial. The following list presents this information:

- Since African students at ZJNU-CAIBS were major sources for the research, the researcher recruited a comparatively large number of interviewees in this group.

- The number of European students at ZJNU-CAIBS was comparatively smaller than the number of African students due to fewer partnerships with local universities in Eastern Europe. However, in this study, it was significant to understand why European students and students of other countries and nationalities were interested in engaging in China-Africa business programs and pursuing degrees in either HR Management or Marketing Management at the CAIBS, and also to compare ese students’ study motivations and plans after graduation with those of the African students.

- Opinions about China-Africa higher education cooperation from groups of Chinese teachers, students, and administrators were also significant. It was important to know the recruitment
procedures for foreign students at the CAIBS, their perspectives on university diversity since China has been trying to establish more “world-class” universities by enriching university culture, and their expectations and concerns for future collaboration.

3.4 Fieldwork
This section explains the research design of the fieldwork trip, the sample, and how the data and interviews were processed and analyzed.

3.4.1 Research Design
The aim of the fieldwork in this dissertation was to explore the motivations behind the African students’ decisions to study in Chinese universities, especially those students who were self-financed. Beyond that factor, this research potentially provides further insight into China-Africa’s relations and the development of their higher education cooperation in a larger context. The fieldwork consists of a CDA of policy documents and other research-related documents, class observations, content analyses of textbooks and teaching materials, interactions with African students, and personal on-site interviews.

The field research consisted of both unstructured and semi-structured interviews, either with an individual or with a focus group. Before the interviews for the dissertation fieldwork study, the researcher prepared a list of interview questions. These questions served as a guideline to instruct the researcher on how to initiate and direct each interview. In order to ensure that the questions elicited the necessary information, the researcher tested them beforehand by conferring with several experts in related fields, including the committee members of this dissertation research project (see Figure 3.3).
The interview process is designed to collect the interviewees’ stories. For this research’s purposes, the researcher designed the interview process based on the narrative inquiry method, which states that what is important is “what is happening at the time of the narration, and [that] the present, past and future time[s] are articulated” (Muylaert, Sarubbi, Gallo, Neto, & Reis, 2014, p. 186). The interviews also offered opportunities for the interviewees to voice their experiences and stories. The researcher quoted interviewees’ responses and used them as the primary analytical source throughout the dissertation.

### 3.4.2 Sample Methodology and Possible Sample Selection Bias

Within the qualitative research model, researchers aim to “develop new understandings of human lived experience” (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbon, 2015, p. 1773). According to Stake (as cited in Gentles et al., 2015, p. 1773), in this sense, the case-based field study is “a choice of what is to be
studied”; a sampling for the study presents a holistic approach to better understand the research population and its stories.

The researcher built the dissertation research on her pilot study, which was conducted in 2014 at ZJNU. While the tools used for the dissertation fieldwork’s interviews were similar to those used for the pilot study, there were some adjustments made in order to get more “thick data”\(^2\) for analysis. For example, the interviews took into account differences among the student population in categories, such as study groups and nationalities (refer to Table 3.1). After collecting the official statistical student information from ZJNU-CAIBS (primarily from the academic year 2015–2016), the dissertation fieldwork focused on examining interview data from 32 African students and 20 students of other nationalities who were enrolled in ZJNU-CAIBS in 2015 and 2016. In addition, in order to obtain a more comprehensive perspective of the responses to the research questions, a total of 23 students and faculty members from the same business school and other programs at ZJNU were also interviewed.

In order to gain more thick data in a natural, unstructured, and flexible setting at the university, the interviewees were chosen with the usage of stratified sampling and convenience sampling. After receiving the official statistical student information from ZJNU-CAIBS, the researcher applied a probability sampling technique known as stratified sampling. Based on Table 3.1, the researcher interviewed African students, Chinese students, and students of other nationalities in the business school. This required the division of the entire student list into three subgroups, followed by a random selection of the final interviewees from each subgroup. Following suggested recruitment methods of the IRB (Institutional Review Board), the researcher asked the business school office to send out a

\(^2\) Thick data is data brought to light using qualitative, ethnographic research methods that uncover interviewees’ emotions, stories, and models of their surroundings or world.
recruitment email and flyer to all potential participants. The choice of interviewees was also based on student self, their peer’s or teacher’s recommendations.

Although language may sometimes be a barrier to successful fieldwork interviews, it was not a problem in this study. Most of the interviewees who participated in this study spoke English or Chinese (or French for some African students), languages that the researcher was either fluent or conversant in. Thus, the languages for interviews did not create any communication barriers to mutual understanding.

To ensure greater comfort for the respondents during the interviews, most interviews took place in the business school or university cafés; only a few group interviews took place in the students’ dormitories or their rented apartments if they preferred.

In terms of sample selection, although academic research needs to be handled objectively, the subjective nature of qualitative research might be challenging for the researcher to be detached completely from the data. Therefore, qualitative research is sometimes criticized for lacking transparency and scientific rigor. Based on Norris (1997), selection biases could be caused based on the sampling of times, places, events, people, issues, and questions, and also the availability and reliability of various sources or kinds of data. Besides, sample selection bias could be from both the researcher and the interviewees.

In this specific dissertation research, firstly, the field trip was made about one month before the summer break started, many students were preparing tests and would not be able to promise a time for the interview. Because of this, I had to combine a probability sampling technique to narrow down my potential interviewees based on the student list and convenience sampling – as well as snowball sampling – to involve more interviewees. Moreover, by only using convenience and snowball sampling,
interviewees from one specific nationality would bring in more interviewees from the same area. In order to minimize the risk of sampling select bias, I stratified sampling as much as I could to have as many subgroups represented as possible.

Because of the impressions established among my interviewees outside of the classroom, my dual positionalities and identities as a Chinese and an international citizen enabled my interviews to be carried out in a natural way. I noticed that most of the interviewees were comfortable enough to share both positive and negative feelings with me. Alternatively, if I had any inclination that some answers from the interviews may not be true, I would either ask the question in different ways or help the interviewees to project their own feelings onto others and provide more truthful answers. In order to recruit more international students who had different nationalities and backgrounds, I asked the student union leaders or the interviewees to help me contact other potential participants from the student list. Furthermore, due to the concern of student availability during my field research, I also asked the interviewees to help me recruit their friends to achieve a comparatively balanced sample selection. For the same consideration, during data analyzing and dissertation writing, I continually re-evaluated the impressions and responses from the field research, and ensured that pre-existing assumptions from my pilot study and personal bias were avoided.

3.4.3 Data Collection Procedures
For the pilot study, the researcher made use of two major recording methods: tape recording and handwritten note-taking. During the site visit, the researcher took pictures of the university campus and the dormitories of the African students. These pictures are included in this dissertation research (see Appendix P and Appendix S). All data (including the transcribed and coded data information) have been and will continue to be stored safely and are password protected by the researcher; thus the
researcher is the only one who has access to the data. The interviews and other data collection procedures were based on the principles of ethnographic research methods, which use fieldwork as an interpretive and constructive process of discovery, making inferences, and open-ended learning (Whitehead, 2005).

For the dissertation fieldwork study, the basic structure and procedures for interviews and data collection were similar to those of the pilot study. The interviews were either recorded or taken by handwritten notes, depending on the preference of each interviewee. However, due to the recent increase in the number of international students enrolled at ZJNU in the past two years, notably the African student population at the CAIBS, the researcher intended to collect more detailed information regarding this particular student group. Since thick data provides inequivalent depth from the perspectives of research participants, first, the study included 34 African students enrolled at the CAIBS in 2015 and 2016 (the pilot study included 20 African students). Second, the researcher collected more detailed information regarding the African student population by extending the interview time; for each interviewee or focus group, the interview was lasted from one hour to one hour and a half. Third, the researcher chose to include non-African international students as well as local Chinese students and faculty members for comparison. Fourth, the interview questions were reviewed and adjusted based on data analysis from the pilot study.

The interview questions sought answers that illuminated the following areas: students’ social class, economic status, educational background, life experiences in China, learning motivations, and their views on China’s higher education program, human capacity building in African countries, and China-Africa partnership for sustainable development. The class observations took place at ZJNU-CAIBS
during May and June of 2017. The researcher conducted all three class observations prior to the mid-June graduations in order to ensure the presence of as many of the chosen interviewees as possible.

3.4.4 Data Analysis Procedures
The researcher transcribed the recorded interview responses into English if the interview was conducted in either Chinese or French. Content analysis was used to interpret the responses and potential inferences made in the interview. The researcher used the qualitative research analytical tool NVIVO for coding and content analysis. After reading the transcribed interviews, the coding model applied onto NVIVO categorized and analyzed the data. It also identified any patterns that informed the responses to the research questions.

Transcribed and coded interviews for all international students evaluated: 1) their study fields (current or potential), their specific reasons for studying at a Chinese university and their plans after graduation; 2) their opinions on China-Africa relationships (or China’s relationship with another country, if the interviewed student was from a non-African country); 3) whether their experiences in China influenced their identities and ideologies, and potentially brought new opportunities for their personal career development; and 4) whether they thought that the scholarships the Chinese government provided to them had already had or would have an impact on human capacity development in their home countries.

The first coding model was divided into four main nodes based on the interviews and research questions: 1) length of study; 2) plans after graduation; 3) reasons for study; and 4) opinions about China-Africa’s (higher education) cooperation. For each category, there were extended nodes for further investigation. For example, for the African student group, under the main node of “reasons for study,” there were seventeen extended nodes: each one presented one perspective based on
interviewees’ responses. For some extended codes, such as “home country’s needs,” the research filtered and further sorted interviewees’ excerpts and attempted to analyze the responses on a deeper level.

The interview data analysis began from an inquiry point as to whether a higher education exchange between China and a group of African countries (primarily) and other non-African countries (secondarily) would be a significant means of promoting the economic development of African countries and other countries (e.g., countries along the physical path of the One Belt One Road Initiative). The coding model included the following five major nodes: 1) motivations and expectations for attending the CAIBS; 2) study goals and plans after graduation; 3) reconceptualization of cultural identity, intercultural communication skills, and social adaptation; 4) opinions about the degree program and feedback from students; and 5) opinions about current higher education cooperation between China and African and non-African countries.

Since the interviews were conducted by a method of open-ended questions, several extended nodes were added after data transcription, including school management, visa policy, and enrollment process, as some examples. Moreover, it is important to point out that although this research included a variety of interview groups, it focused on the African student population at ZJNU (particularly at the CAIBS) and primarily studied China-Africa higher education linkages. Data information collected from students of other nationalities at ZJNU-CAIBS was compared with African students’ interview responses. This allowed the researcher to gain another valuable analytical perspective that corresponded with the current development of China-Africa’s cooperation and more importantly, the possible impact of China’s international education engagement in the global South. The role of
Chinese universities and its engagement with Africa’s human capacity development was then analyzed and understood in a larger context, adding additional merit to the study.

3.4.5 Researcher’s and Students’ Reflexivity, Positionality, and Ethics

Gathering data for the fieldwork study needs a reflection of the processes used by the researcher as well as a brief discussion of any background or personal information that relates directly to the topics of the interviews. This dissertation research looks at what China’s university system currently offers its international students, focusing primarily on African students and including students from other countries as a comparison. As a Chinese born in the late 1980s (about ten years after Deng’s open door policy) growing up in the east coastal area of China until I finished my Chinese college degree in English literature, and working for an international TV channel in my hometown, I interacted frequently with foreigners living in China before moving to the United States. After receiving my masters’ degree in linguistics, I worked for an educational and cultural exchange program at an American university where I interacted closely with American and international students in a daily context. During my doctoral studies, I taught English language to immigrant workers who work in the university for five years, and also taught culture-related courses to immigrant workers who had advanced language proficiency to raise their cultural awareness and better prepare themselves for living and working in a new environment. My past experiences enabled me to understand many of the challenges and concerns African and other international students face in China. At the same time, my educational and cultural background enabled me to facilitate this research in a unique way.

Despite sharing many similar challenges and also speaking fluent English, my visible cultural heritage was my concern during the field work since it might influence the responses of the interviewees, affecting the interview findings. In order to circumvent this potential trouble and to recruit more interviewees, I engaged with them in various social and cultural settings, such as participating in
various school events. Based on several experiences that I had during the research process, I found that almost all the students that I interviewed identified me more as an international citizen with no particular ties to ZJNU’s administration or to the Chinese government. In the subsequent paragraphs, I offer several examples of my experiences with students that illustrate my interaction with them during fieldwork.

During my visit at ZJNU, I attended several casual gatherings that were organized by international students. One of the gatherings was primarily composed of international students from Yemen, Columbia, Ethiopia, Hungary, Sri Lanka, Ghana, Pakistan, and Russia. As an international student studying in the United States, I shared my personal experience with some students at that event but was also interested to learn about their life stories. One male student from Ethiopia stated that he thought that I was “very international, not like the Chinese people I [he] know[s] from here.” One female student from Sri Lanka added, “I was about to say the same thing. I actually saw you [the researcher] this morning in the office and I heard that you were talking to another student. I thought you were from the United States, but you are not!” I was not too surprised to hear these comments since I had heard similar comments in the United States.

The dissertation field research is built on my longtime and ongoing interests in education, international relations, cultural exchange, and human development. By pursuing and seeking to represent the voices of African students in China, the research process enabled me to deal with my own subjectivities and bias, as well as to explore and think critically about the connections between past and present events on a particular topic, that of China-African cooperation in higher education.
In order to interact more with my interviewees, I conducted three class observations, and I used them as opportunities to familiarize myself with the African students during class and breaks. This led to the realization that the African students in this research generally felt safe and accepted in the classroom, although a few of them were hiding their feelings about being discriminated against by Chinese residents who lived off campus. Sometimes, if I had not initiated these topics outside of the formal interviews, the students would not have shared this kind of information with me. However, my established relationship with many of these students from inside and outside of the classroom led them to trust me enough to share both their positive and negative experiences. This additional valuable information will enhance future planning of the China-Africa knowledge exchange.

In order to get the most authentic and in-depth answers for the validity of my interview findings I reassured my subjects about their confidentiality. At the beginning of each interview I also explained to each interviewee that my research would not use any individual’s answers as general conclusions. The research findings would be built on a majority of interviewees’ opinions and they would be triangulated by comparing each response with other data resources. Additionally, I assured them that their personal information would be kept confidential.

As a researcher, I collect data and conduct interviews to determine various perspectives on a particular topic. The research process not only helps me accumulate knowledge on that particular topic but more importantly, helps me acknowledge and deal with my own positionalities and biases. For all the international students who participated in this research, looking for their personal opinions in a new culture was also important to them; it contributed to the process of learning about themselves as they adapted to a new environment and, at the same time, increasing their cultural awareness and critical thinking skills.
3.4.6 Potential Limitations and Constraints for Research Design

Since the pilot study and the dissertation field research includes more than 50 African students enrolled in a Chinese university that has a large African student population, the university served as a model site for examining African students’ general perceptions towards China’s higher education and the China-Africa partnership. However, as the university is located in Jinhua, an economic center on the east coast of China, the values and the social circumstances that this higher education institution passes on to its foreign students might differ from those of institutions located in places that do not have that same apparent business-related focus, such as Beijing in the north or Sichuan in the southwest. Therefore, it will be valuable to carry out more field research and case studies regarding African students’ experiences in other parts of China and compare how the different geographic locations shape their motivations for and perceptions of studying in China and influence their post-graduation plans.

3.4.7 Validity Controls

The field research concentrated on “the experiential knowledge of the case and... tact by the researcher of a level satisfactory to convince respondents or interviewees to respond appropriately” (Njie & Asimiran, 2014, p. 36), and employed various forms of validity control.

Prior to the dissertation fieldwork study, the researcher prepared a list of open-ended interview questions. Experts and scholars from different cultural backgrounds who hold very clear understanding of the nature of the research have reviewed all research questions. This helped create a frame for collecting the related data through open conversations that offered a low-pressure environment for the interviewees to ensure that all questions were properly understood and accurately responded to. After the interviews, the researcher verified the data with the interviewees and also
discussed the data findings with scholars in the field as well as committee members of the dissertation research project. Real names and personal information of the interviewees are not disclosed.

Since the dissertation research involves students of various nationalities, majors, and social and economic status, the replies to the research were not intended to demonstrate statistically significant trends, but rather to indicate various facets of students’ motivations for and perceptions of their studies in China. To ensure validity, the data was triangulated by comparing the results obtained from interviews with other evidence such as policy documents, other research and literature from secondary sources.
CHAPTER 4

ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY CHINA-AFRICA INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL (ZJNU-CAIBS)

This chapter introduces the history and development of the ZJNU-CAIBS, as well as its development goals, degree programs, current personnel, and student population (with a focus on African graduate students). The field research focused on analyzing and comparing the motivations, experiences, and opinions of different student groups about Chinese education. It also explored different students’ career paths after graduation, changes in their cultural identity, and challenges while studying and living in China. In particular, the data about the learning motivations of African students and students of other nationalities at the CAIBS provided a better understanding of the various socio-economic driving factors (differences and similarities) that reflect and also impact China’s international education development and knowledge in a broader context.

4.1 History and Development of ZJNU-CAIBS

ZJNU-CAIBS was founded in November 2010. It was the first and only higher education program that focused on China-Africa economic and trade cooperation among Chinese universities. As one of the universities in the “20+20 China-Africa Higher Education Collaboration Program,” ZJNU provided an important platform for the CAIBS to promote business education exchange programs between Chinese and African universities, as well as to promote China-Africa business partnership relations at different levels.

Strategically, the school has four goals: 1) teach economy, trade, and business administration; 2) cultivate and train personnel for the field of business consultation and business-related academic research; 3) train “Chinese experts of Africa” and “African experts of China”; and 4) promote China-Africa cooperation in various business sectors such as economy and trade, education, and human
resources (ZJNU-CAIBS Dean’s Message, 2011). Since its establishment, the business school has been a significant resource for researchers and practitioners who want to share knowledge and information in business-related fields. For example, the CAIBS initiated the China-Africa Economic and Trade Forum in 2015. Each year the forum invites scholars and China-African business representatives to address local and worldwide mainstream developmental topics and create strategic plans for better development practices, such as the increasing number of foreign students in China, student management on campuses, and local business opportunity exploration.

Academically, CAIBS currently offers business degrees to both domestic and international undergraduate and graduate students. Students pursuing master’s degrees at the CAIBS can choose courses depending on their personal interest and specialization. Additionally, international students who study at the CAIBS are not required to have any Chinese language background since the courses are taught in English. Chinese students who wish to take classes with international students need to pass certain English proficiency tests in order to qualify. There were only a few Chinese students admitted to the English class who were taking classes with the international students during my field trip in 2017.

As of March 2016, the CAIBS had 16 full-time professors, 35 associate professors, and 81 full-time instructors. The school enrolled approximately 2,100 full-time domestic undergraduate students and 500 graduate students, and more than 200 full-time and 2,500 part-time international students at both undergraduate and graduate levels. Since its establishment in 2010, the CAIBS has offered training and continuing education programs to over 2,500 Chinese students as well as more than 1,000 international students from over 100 different countries (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016).
The international student population at the CAIBS has grown dramatically over the past seven years. In 2011, there were only two international students enrolled in the international MBA program (IMBA) at the CAIBS. In 2012, the number increased to 12 and in 2013, the number of international students increased again to 26. Among the 26 international students matriculating in 2013, 23 students were from African countries, 17 of whom were focusing on marketing management and six of whom were engaged in the human resources management track.

The CAIBS attracts students from both African and non-African countries. In 2014, there were 22 IMBA students from African countries and 18 IMBA students from countries such as Columbia, Mexico, Yemen, Poland, and Spain. That number rose in 2015 to 43 African students and 51 students of other nationalities; in 2016, there were 95 African students and 34 students of other nationalities for a total student number of 223 for both years. Since 2014, there has been a growing trend of international students coming to study at the CAIBS from Russia, Kazakhstan, Indonesia, Chile, and Italy (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Student population growth percentiles in ZJNU-CAIBS
Statistically, Table 4.1 shows a dramatic increase in the international student population at the CAIBS since its establishment. In particular, the African student population has been growing rapidly since 2014. In 2016, their numbers were twice as high compared to 2015 and four times higher than the 2014 enrollment. Aside from the large student population from African countries, most international students at CAIBS came from the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Europe.

4.2 Degree Programs, Awards, and Activities
CAIBS has one undergraduate degree program in International Economics and Trade and one graduate degree program in International Business Management. The undergraduate degree program is four years long and the graduate degree program is two to three years long. Most undergraduate level courses are taught in Chinese, with the exception of Financial Management, Electronic Business (E-business), and International Economics and Trade, which are all taught in English. International students who pursue an undergraduate degree in International Economics and Trade and also choose to take courses in Chinese language have to pass level 3 or above of the HSK Test (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi or the Chinese Proficiency Test) for admission (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016).

Students enrolled in the CAIBS graduate programs have two to three years to complete their degree requirements. Accordingly, if students choose Chinese as the class language (MBA), they can expect to graduate in two and a half years; if students choose English as the class language (IMBA), they can expect to graduate in two years (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016). Since most international students have low Chinese proficiency level, IMBA is designed to cater to their learning needs. International students who are interested in taking any courses in Chinese
language in the College of Economics and Management (CEM) have to pass the HSK Test at level 4 or above for admission (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016).

The IMBA program does not solely cover China-Africa’s economies and businesses. Instead it focuses on developing students’ managerial and marketing skills for the global context (see Appendix H for degree information). This program has also grown since its inception. In 2013, the IMBA program offered two concentrations: human resource management and marketing management (see Appendix I for curriculum requirements). In 2017, the IMBA program offered four concentrations for international students, including international trade, human resource management, marketing management, and international business management. Each concentration had different course selections (see Appendix J). The core courses designed for IMBA students were theory-based. Almost all the textbooks selected by the instructors were originally written in English by Western scholars (see Appendix K for Book Lists 2015 and 2017).

4.3 Student Population at the CAIBS
This section divides student information into the following categories: age, gender, nationality, religion, living accommodations, and admission and scholarship information. The statistics from ZJNU include information on 138 African and 85 non-African students enrolled during the academic year of 2015–2016. Of that number, a total of 216 international students at the CAIBS were considered full-time students. The international students’ profiles are discussed in detail below.

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28 During 2015, information was not available for one exchange student from Yemen, two African students from Egypt and Ethiopia, and one Bolivian student. In 2016, two African students from Lesotho and Ethiopia, respectively, withdrew from the program.
4.3.1 Age

The age distribution of African students ranged from 21 to 45, while the age range for the rest of the international students was 22 to 48. Amongst the African students, the age range of 25 to 30 (53% of the total) was considered the largest age group, followed by the age range of 31 to 35 (23%). For non-African international students, the range of 25 to 30 (64%) was also considered the main student age group, followed by international student age groups of 31 to 35 (16%) and 22 to 24 (14%) (see Figure 4.1).

![Figure 4.1. 2015 and 2016 CAIBS IMBA students’ age ranges and percentages of the total population (%)](image)

Although ages 25 to 30 comprised the main age group for all international students at the CAIBS between 2015 and 2016, comparatively, the African student group was a little older than the non-African student group.
4.3.2 Gender and Nationality
This section gives an overview of students’ gender and nationality for both African and non-African groups during the 2015–2016 academic year.

A) African students
Of the 138 African students, 58.0% were male, while 42.0% were female; of the 29 African countries represented, female students came from 16 countries, and male students came from 26 countries.29

B) Students of other nationalities
Of the 85 non-African international students, 60.0% were male, while 40.0% were female; all 85 students originated from 36 countries. Female students came from a total of 20 countries and male students came from a total of 29 countries. Yemen had the most significant student population at the CAIBS, followed by students from Vietnam and Russia.

4.3.3 Religion
This section gives an overview of students’ religious backgrounds for both African and non-African groups during the 2015–2016 academic year.

There were three different religions represented among the international students in CAIBS: Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. Among the 138 African students, a total of 97 (70.3%) identified as Christian, followed by 22 (15.9%) who did not state any religious affiliations, and 19 (8.5%) as Muslim. Among the 85 non-African international students, a total of 34 (40%) identified as Muslim,

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29 Lesotho had the largest student population at the CAIBS. Since 2010, the Chinese Touchroad Group has provided 25 scholarships for Lesothan students who wish to pursue a master’s degree in business management at the CAIBS. The Chinese company covers application and tuition fees, the Lesothan government finances airline tickets, medical insurance, and other living expenses, and the ZINU covers dormitory fees for two years of study.
29 (34.1%) did not specify any religious beliefs, 14 (16.5%) as Christian, and 8 (9.4%) as Buddhist (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. CAIBS students’ religions and percentage of total population (%)

This table shows the religious affiliations of international students at the CAIBS during the 2015–2016 academic year. Only the non-African student group included students that identified as Buddhist. Also noteworthy is that there were more Muslim students among the non-African student group and that most of the African students were Christian (ZJNU-CAIBS International Student Information Sheet, 2016).
4.3.4 Living Accommodations

This section gives an overview of students’ living accommodations for both African and non-African groups during the 2015–2016 academic year.

In 2015, slightly more African students preferred to live off campus. This figure reversed in 2016, when more African students preferred to live on campus. Of the 138 African students attending school in 2015–2016, 62 (45%) of them chose to live off campus and 71 (52%) chose to live on campus.30

Compared to the African student group, a higher number of non-African international students preferred to live on campus for both 2015 and 2016. In 2016, 56 (66%) of the non-African students preferred to live on campus, while 26 (31%) chose to live off campus.31

Generally, amongst both groups, more than half of the IMBA students at the CAIBS chose to live on campus in the years 2015 and 2016 (see Table 4.3).

30 Information was unavailable for five students: one from Mali, one from Ethiopia, and three from Lesotho.
31 Information was missing for three of the 85 non-African students: one from Yemen, one from Bolivia, and one from Morocco.
Looking at the findings displayed in Table 4.3, it appears that while more than half the IMBA students preferred to live in the dormitories, comparatively, many more African students preferred to live off campus between 2015-2016. In the interviews, students mentioned that this fact might have been caused by a variety of reasons, including African students’ scholarship statuses, financial conditions, or safety considerations.

4.3.5 Application Fees, Scholarship Descriptions and Statistics, and Additional Programs
This section contains information on the financial aspects of matriculation for both African international students and non-African international students during the 2015–2016 academic year, as well as additional program opportunities.
To apply to the CAIBS, international students are required to electronically submit an application form (see Appendix G) with copies of personal documents, such as a bachelor’s degree and passport. In 2017, the application fee for the IMBA program was 400RMB\textsuperscript{32}. Additionally, students had to pay 18,800RMB\textsuperscript{33} (including an 800RMB\textsuperscript{34} medical insurance fee) per year if they were self-funded (ZJNU-CAIBS Degree Programs for International Students, 2016).

International students can benefit from one of the following five scholarships\textsuperscript{35}: the CSC (Chinese Scholarship Council) Scholarships, the Chinese CI (Confucius Institute) Scholarship, the Zhejiang Provincial Government Scholarship, the Sister-City Scholarship of Jinhua Municipal People’s Government, and the ZJNU Scholarship. With the exception of the ZJNU Scholarships, almost all government-based scholarships for master’s degree applicants carry an age limit between 16 (or 18) to 35.

1) The CSC Scholarships are subdivided into two types: one that is under the sole jurisdiction of ZJNU and another that is overseen by the Chinese government and the government or other institution of the recipient’s home country. When applying for the first CSC scholarship type, master’s degree applicants have to apply directly from the “Study in China” website and then send further documentation to the university. The second CSC scholarship type is based on exchange agreements between the Chinese government and applicants’ governments; international applicants first need to apply for a ZJNU pre-admission letter to meet the application requirements.

\textsuperscript{32} 400RMB was equivalent to $59.57 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{33} 18,800RMB was equivalent to $2799.95 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{34} 800RMB was equivalent to $119.15 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{35} For more detailed scholarship information, please see \url{http://iso.zjnu.edu.cn/site/scholarship.html}
2) For the Confucius Institute Scholarship application, master’s degree applicants must prove their Chinese language proficiency—the average HSK level for receiving a CI scholarship is HSK level 4[^36].

3) The Zhejiang provincial government scholarships are available to foreign students who are applying for a master’s degree in any university in Zhejiang Province.

4) The Jinhua municipal government offers a scholarship to foreign students who reside in a sister city of Jinhua and plan to study at a local university.

5) The ZJNU offers scholarships for outstanding international students based on their academic performance (see Appendix L for scholarship application form, requirements, and documents).

Since fall 2017, ZJNU-CAIBS has initiated several new scholarship awards for international students. Students who meet specific qualifications can receive awards once a year. The rewards for graduate students at the CAIBS range from 300RMB[^37] to 8,000RMB[^38], depending on the evaluation criterion. In general, the scholarship award’s criteria were designed to evaluate students’ level of social engagement (德 dé), intellect (智 zhì), and achievements in competitive events (体 tǐ). The social engagement awards recognize student participation in community service; it has to be notable enough to receive media coverage at the provincial level or higher. The intellectual awards are according to

[^36]: HSK is called the Chinese Proficiency Test (HSK). It is an international standardized test for Chinese language proficiency. It assesses non-native Chinese speakers’ abilities in using the Chinese language in their daily, academic and professional lives. HSK consists of six levels; level four is considered intermediate. It requires the learners to recognize at least 1,200 Chinese characters. Please see [http://www.chinesetest.cn/gosign.do?id=1&lid=0#](http://www.chinesetest.cn/gosign.do?id=1&lid=0#)
[^37]: 300RMB was equivalent to $44.68 on April 2, 2019.
[^38]: 8000RMB was equivalent to $1,191.47 on April 2, 2019.
students’ grades, Chinese language proficiency, and academic publications. The competitive events’ awards are determined by student achievements in sports and other areas of national competition. Among the scholarship awards, the highest scholarship award is for academic publication in a top social science journal.

Based on the information the CAIBS provided in 2017, of the 138 African students, only 36 (26.1%) were self-funded. The top five countries with the most self-funded students were: Ghana with seven (19%) students, Cameroon with five (14%), Tanzania with five (14%), Zimbabwe with two (6%), and Ethiopia with two (6%). In general, African students received either Chinese government scholarships from the Chinese Scholarship Council (CSC) or from ZJNU scholarships. During 2016-2017, 20.3% African students enrolled at the CAIBS received the CSC scholarships and 53.6% of the same student group received the ZJNU scholarships. Therefore, most of the African students received ZJNU scholarships. The ZJNU scholarships covered approximately half of the tuition fee, leaving the student responsible for the other half as well as their living expenses (see Table 4.4 in Appendix M).

Of the 85 non-African international students, 25 (29.4%) were self-funded: Five students (20%) were from Yemen, four (16%) were from Indonesia, three (12%) were from Jordan, two (8%) were from Sri Lanka, two (8%) were from Italy, one (4%) was from Vietnam, one (4%) was from Colombia, one (4%) was from Bolivia, one (4%) was from Ukraine, one (4%) was from Germany, one (4%) was from Czech Republic, one (4%) was from the United States, one (4%) was from Sweden, and one (4%) was from Bulgaria. The rest of the 60 (70.6%) non-African international students received scholarships; the top ten countries which had the most scholarship recipients were Yemen (11.8%), Vietnam (9.4%), Russia (8.2%), Pakistan (5.9%), Indonesia (5.9%), Jordan (4.7%), Uzbekistan (3.5%), Colombia (3.5%), Mexico (3.5%), and Ukraine (3.5%).
More than half of the non-African international students received scholarships. Unlike the five types of scholarships offered to African students, there were only three types available for non-African international students: Chinese government scholarships from the CSC, the Zhejiang Provincial Scholarship, and the ZJNU Scholarship. The largest number of sponsored students, 49 (57.6%), received a CSC scholarship. This was due, in part, to China’s recent “One Belt One Road” (OBOR) Initiative, which begun in 2013. Besides establishing improved economic connections, the initiative also aimed to build human capacity and people-to-people connectivity. According to the CSC, 338 higher education institutions in different Chinese provinces responded to the call of the Chinese government to accept CSC scholarships students, and these higher education institutions also offer scholarships to students from countries along the physical path of the OBOR Initiative (Latief and Lin, 2018). In the academic years of 2015 and 2016, compared to the percentage of non-African international student population who received the CSC scholarships, only 9.3% received ZJNU scholarships and 3.5% received Zhejiang Provincial scholarships; this clearly shows that a majority of non-African international students received a CSC scholarship from the Chinese government. Unlike the ZJNU Scholarship, the CSC Scholarship covers both tuition fees and living expenses, the Zhejiang Provincial Scholarship covers only the tuition fees (see Table 4.5 in Appendix N).

In addition to the scholarship awards, the CAIBS also initiated several innovative programs and activities specifically for international students at no cost to students. For example, the school hosted the First Market Survey Contest for International Students in 2016 and again in 2017. The contest provided opportunities for international students to conduct surveys in actual Chinese marketing and to engage in innovative practices that benefit different countries, such as using solar panels in Cameroon and Nigeria, developing educational tablets for kindergartens in EU, and implementing a food delivery service mobile application in Indonesia (May 19, 2016, ZJNU-CAIBS Students’ Life
Chinese Version Webpage News). In this regard, the CAIBS was important in improving China-Africa’s industrial capacity cooperation and accelerating the development of China-Africa’s economic and trade cooperation. In addition, the school also arranged for the international student group to tour the operations of some local companies and factories, such as the 2017 summer tour to the Chinese Juhua Group Corporation in Zhejiang Province (Oct. 15, 2017, ZJNU-CAIBS International Student Education Chinese Version Webpage News).

4.4 Conclusion
This chapter analyzed the characteristics of the sample. Besides the seven international students who did not provide information, there were 216 full-time African and non-African international students in the IMBA program at the CAIBS during the 2015–2016 school year. Among them, 60% were male and 40% were female.

The ages for both African and non-African students ranged from 21 to 48 years old. The vast majority ranged from 25 to 30 years old: 73 (53%) students in the African group and 54 students (64%) in the non-African group. The CAIBS international student population was diverse: its African students came from 29 countries and its non-African students came from 36 countries.

Seventy-four (53.6%) of the African students received a ZJNU scholarship while 36 (26.1%) students were self-funded. Compared to the African student group, 49 (57.6%) of the non-African students received a Chinese government scholarship, while 25 (29.4%) of them were self-funded; a higher percentage of non-African students received the Chinese government scholarship despite there being more African students and a larger increase in African students studying at CAIBS.
According to the interview notes, all international students enrolled in the IMBA program had the right to choose to live on or off campus. During the 2015-2016 school year, 62 (45%) of the African students preferred to live off campus, while 56 (66%) non-African students chose to live on campus. Proposed reasons for these decisions include an individual's financial ability, scholarship status, and/or other personal considerations. Generally, the student populations interviewed had been studying and living in China from between 8 to 20 months.

Since the students in this study all had different cultural, family, and business backgrounds, it was apparent that they would all have different motivations for and expectations about studying in China, different experiences living in China, and different plans to enact following the completion of their Chinese education. These aspects of the study are addressed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5

STUDENTS IN THE CHINA-AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL

This dissertation research involved both African and non-African student populations who were studying at the Zhejiang Normal University China-Africa International Business School (ZJNU-CAIBS). The students’ interview responses have been organized into ten subsections relating to their past, present, and future. This chapter includes the ten subsections and a conclusion with suggestions for improvement. The ten subsections are students’ motivations, admissions experience, current academic experience, living experience on and off campus, ways to overcome challenges, expectations for their Chinese education, plans after graduation, other issues such as school policies and visa policies, suggestions for the Chinese university administration, and opinions on China-Africa relations through the lens of the higher education exchange program. The first section explores the interviewees’ learning motivations—knowing what brings international students to Chinese institutions and what keeps them there sheds light on socioeconomic-driven factors that not only reflect China’s higher education cooperation with African countries, but also how China’s reforms and opening up policy brought social changes that influenced the country’s role in international education.

5.1 Motivation

Before the African students came to China, many of them had learned about Chinese people, Chinese society, and Chinese universities from social media or from Chinese workers living in Africa, such as businessmen, engineers, and construction workers. Even though African students had limited knowledge of China, they still chose China as their study destination. Therefore, it is worth exploring the learning motivations of these African students.

By analyzing the data collected in the dissertation fieldwork, this research found at least 17 factors that had attracted African students to the ZJNU-CAIBS (see Table 5.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=32 (African students)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family or friends’ influence</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s economic development</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start up their own businesses</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Chinese language and culture increases marketable skills in global job market</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s global influence</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain overseas experience</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal dream</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received Chinese scholarship (as a reason for studying at CAIBS)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordable living expenses and tuition</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestions by study abroad agency</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous exchange experience</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn Chinese model or Chinese way of doing things</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seek better quality of education</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow the trend of education’s globalization</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home country’s development needs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family has business in China</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easier to get a Chinese visa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1. Synthesized interview responses for African students’ study motivations at CAIBS.

Half of the African students mentioned that they had chosen to come because of family members or friends’ influence. A little less than half believed that China’s rapid economic development could help them gain more business opportunities in China than in their own country. Others mentioned that they had come to learn the “Chinese way of doing things” to better enable them to create import/export businesses between their own country and China. Some stated that being able to speak Chinese and understand Chinese culture would help them get ahead in the global job market. Because of China’s current global influence, some students believed that a Chinese education and living experience would broaden their views; exploring China had even been a personal dream to them. In addition, African students said that they were drawn to ZJNU-CAIBS because of available
scholarships, affordable living expenses and tuition, the encouragement of a study abroad agency back in their home country, and previous exchange experiences.

5.1.1 Family or friends’ influence

Students came to China to study because of their family members’ or friends’ influence. Although not too many of the interviewees had a family business set up in China, many of them had family members in Africa who conducted business with China. Some of their family members or friends had traveled or studied in China. Four interviewees’ responses are extracted below:

“I came to China because of a reference of a friend… That friend studied in a university in Sichuan Province before. And he told me the school [in China] is great; the teachers are good.” (Male, Ghana)

“My brother is here in China, and he got a pamphlet of Chinese universities. He didn’t study here; he was invited by some other people [to come to China], and he told me that ‘Sister, here is the best education.’” (Female, Cameroon)

“My father came to China before. When we were asking him how was everything in China, he didn’t have the words to explain everything… he was like, I can’t explain everything, you have to experience that yourself… I came to China because of my father; he just wanted me to experience the things he experienced.” (Female, Tanzania)

“It was because of my sister; she came here. You know when we were at home after finished our bachelor’s degree, we could not find something to do. I was like just staying at home and sleeping all the time. So, then my sister got the chance to come to visit China for 15 days. I
don’t know what happened to her, but she was like one day came back and called me, and she asked me, ‘Do you want to go to China?’ I was like, ‘Why not?’” (Male, Senegal)

Similar to the African students, students of other nationalities said that they came to study in China because they had friends or relatives in China. However, there were less of them came to China because of the same reason. One female student from Pakistan said,

“Some of my friends from college studied in Beijing. Actually, three years after I finished my bachelors’ degree, I applied for this master’s degree. And my best friend, she did her bachelor, masters, and now her PhD in Beijing. So she told me about the schools, and she said I could apply if I wanted, then I said okay.”

Another male student from Kazakhstan said,

“My uncle and aunt have been doing business in China; they travel back and forth from Kazakhstan. They wanted me to help with the company in the future. I am not sure if I want to do business, but I like Chinese and I am learning Chinese now.”

Half of the African interviewees’ primary motivation for choosing a Chinese university was related to their friends’ or family members’ positive views towards Chinese universities; some informed by previous experiences living in China. Compared to the African students, only a few of non-African students’ family members had travelled in China and approximately 20% of the students had family business ties with China. Despite the fact that much fewer non-African interviewees’ family members had personal or commercial relations with China, most of them supported their children’s decision to
go to China. For example, the aforementioned male student from Kazakhstan: although he had not decided whether to pursue a business career, he still chose to go to China for his family’s long-term business needs and his personal interest in the Chinese language.

5.1.2 China’s economic development
Almost half of the African interviewees went to China because of China’s current economic development, which considerably impacted their final decision. Three interviewees’ responses are extracted below:

“From an outsider of China’s perspective, this country is growing so fast, the economy is really fast and it comes a lot of new things here. So I thought I can go to school in China, and maybe… I can do an internship.” (Female, Cameroon)

“Because of China’s fast developing economy, people are now getting to know China; about its capacity and its economy.” (Male, Ghana)

“You see I am from a country that is developing; although China is also a developing country, it is more developed. Maybe in the next five years, China will be the number one economy and country.” (Male, Lesotho)

Similar to most of the African students, more than half the non-African interviewees said that China’s economic development made them curious to explore the country and seek new personal and professional opportunities.

As one female student from Kazakhstan said,
“China is a developing country, and I think soon it will cover the whole world, especially with the new program ‘One Belt One Road.’ I know China will give me a lot of opportunities”.

Another male student from the Netherland who had went back to study in China after his first studying in Beijing about two and a half years ago said,

“I came to study in China because it is far away from my country; it is exotic. And also because of China’s economic development. When I came here this time I was amazed to see how many things had changed; they are building new things everywhere, the trains and the business here… I really like it, and I want to be part of it.”

China’s economic development and new policy initiatives addressing reform and opening up provide not only more business opportunities but also more personal choices to these students to experience more cultures and develop their potential. For example, the aforementioned female student from Cameroon: she initially did not plan to work in China before she started studying at CAIBS; however, her experience living in China enabled her to see herself working in China in the near future.

Many non-African students chose to study in China because of the Chinese government’s initiatives “One Belt One Road” (OBOR) and welcoming policy. Similar to the African students, non-African students recognized that China’s fast economic growth gave rise to new opportunities in the country many of them could seize.
5.1.3 Start up their own businesses

The opportunity to plan, develop, and practice business was another motivation for many students. Because of China’s economic development, pursuing an MBA degree at a Chinese university has become useful for students who plan to live and explore business opportunities in China. According to the findings of the dissertation fieldwork, 14 African students paid more attention to starting up their own businesses than to their studies. As one male interviewee from Lesotho said,

“Because China is a business area, a lot of us came here to benefit and learn how to do business. When you come to China, you come to learn from Chinese people; everyone has a business. China has many business opportunities. So if foreign students are here, they are looking for business opportunities here, trading and stuff like that.”

Another male student from Liberia said,

“So one of the reasons I came to China was to start a business, my own business. I came to China not because I want to go to school because I had a masters already... I believe that China is the right place. I can explore the potential and start something back in Africa.”

This Liberian student also mentioned that because he had never worked for anyone before, however, he wanted to practice his business skills in China through any available internships.

Similar to the Liberian student, one male student from Senegal said,
“There are many students doing business. They don’t go to classes; they just buy and sell stuff in the market, something like that. I know opportunities are there.”

Although this Senegalese student has not started his own business yet, he had been providing procurement services, with products such as laptops and cellphones, to his friends back home.

In contrast, only six out of 20 non-African interviewees had strong intentions to start a business in China. About half of the interviewees from the rest 14 stated that they either wanted to try out their business ideas without investing too much or observe their classmates/ friends doing business in CAIBS before making a decision. If their friends successfully make money, they will try to start their own business one day.

With its intimate ties to trade expansion for the countries of the global South, China’s OBOR initiative attracted many international students interested in business possibilities after graduation. Four interviewees from Kazakhstan and two from Russia said that they mostly wanted to study in China because the OBOR initiative opened the door for more foreign students to secure opportunities for exchange and scholarships from the Chinese government. They said that if they were to find good business opportunities, they would stay in China to, at least, try out their business ideas.

One student from Indonesia said that he wanted to establish an import and export business between China and Indonesia, but for him to start the business he would first have to learn China’s business culture and the Chinese language. He found that the university’s program would supply him these necessary skills and knowledge.
Four out of 20 non-African students who had already started businesses in China seemed more confident about their decisions when compared to their classmates who were also interviewed. One believed that Yiwu had better “commercial soil” for foreigners. This is not only because Yiwu has the world’s largest small commodity market but also because of the lenient registration policy for foreign companies at the local level. A male student from the Netherlands further explained,

“The law licensee for business in China is very decentralized, so it depends on each province and district. For example, registration in Shanghai could be very different, so if I want to start a company, the outcome will depend on the district I register… So it is more like a local thing on a local level, and I heard it would not be very difficult to start a business in Yiwu compared to these bigger cities.”

Instead of focusing on a business such as importing and exporting, a CAIBS student from the United States started a language school outside the ZJNU campus. The school offers not only English language training for Chinese students in ZJNU but also Korean and Chinese language courses for all international students. As the demand for language learning at Chinese universities has always been high, the American interviewee who opened the language school used his language advantage to earn money in China. Instead of doing import and export businesses like his classmates, he chose to start a language school that gave him a more stable income.

Except for the American student who opened a language school, 3 non-African students had established their own businesses in import and export. Their products included wine, motorcycle, and watches. Unlike the non-African group, none of the African interviewees had started their own businesses during my visit. Despite the fact that more African interviewees desired to explore business
opportunities in China, only about one third of them had been providing small online procurement services between China and their home countries, such as Senegal, Ghana, and Cameroon.

5.1.4 Learning Chinese language and culture increases marketable skills in the global job market

Some of the African students went to China to learn the language and culture. Due to China’s recent engagement with African countries, China’s presence in Africa has been increasing in the form of a growing number of Chinese language learning centers, such as the Confucius Institute, and Chinese schools. Therefore, the benefit of speaking Chinese and better understanding Chinese culture to improve business and tourism related communications with Chinese people has significantly increased. As one student from Tanzania said,

“China is really growing fast. It is like you go somewhere [in an African country] and you will see a Chinese person. If you are able to communicate with the person, you need to learn their language, and understand what this person is all about, so I think this is the major reason why most people are learning Chinese now.”

Although many African students expressed their wish to learn Chinese while attending university as one of the reasons they had chosen to come to China, they described the time constraints of learning a non-English language while simultaneously pursuing a degree program that is only conducted in English.

As one student from Lesotho noted,
“I think it is good to learn Chinese, but we don’t have much time to study Chinese; we have to catch up with many classes… But still, except the [Chinese language] classes, we also learn the language from the outside. Because the classes are more technical, you have to practice [oral Chinese] outside of the class.”

Even though learning a new language requires time and effort, a few African students made time to improve their Chinese language skills, especially writing and speaking, to make themselves more marketable in the future. By being able to communicate in Chinese, they increase their chances of finding a job at a local Chinese company or a Chinese language related job in their home country or abroad. The male student from Senegal told me that he had studied Chinese for more than a year and taken the Chinese HSK test because he believed that a Chinese language certificate would give him more options in the future. He explained that back in Senegal, there were many people who found jobs in Chinese companies because they spoke the language. Based on this fact, a female student further explained that nowadays universities in Ethiopia offer Chinese language as a major; students who major in Chinese at these universities usually need three years to master the language.

Like many of their African counterparts, at least half of the non-African students believed that learning to speak the language and increasing their knowledge of Chinese culture would give them more opportunities in the future, no matter what field they got into. One student from Kazakhstan told me that even though they only used English to learn in class, he had been learning Chinese outside of the classroom by watching programs that teach Chinese, such as “Happy Chinese (快乐汉语).” His family had business ties in China; they had hopes that his Chinese language abilities would help extend their business relations in the future.
5.1.5 China’s global influence

China’s global influence and policy initiatives with African countries, other South-South countries, and Western countries attracted many international students to attend China’s universities. These new initiatives are not only limited to business cooperation; they also created more opportunities for person-to-person exchanges, especially in the fields of education and culture. As one female student from Botswana said,

“I come to study international trade in China because I was encouraged and motivated by the China and Africa investment programs. China wants to work more with Africa to see how they [China and African countries] can be in a win-win situation. And listening to President Xi’s initiative of ‘One Belt and One Road,’ I really got motivated.”

In the same light, 12 out of 32 African students noted that China has been a great country due to its long history and rich culture. However, some also noted that because they did not know too much about Chinese people, they wanted to go to China to observe what Chinese people do every day. As one male interviewee from Cameroon said,

“I believe that the biggest barrier to learning about China was not the language, but how much you could understand the Chinese culture and the way that Chinese people are doing things. In Africa, people think China has been developing very well.”

The Cameroonian student further explained that although there was a large Chinese population in Cameroon, it seemed like the Chinese people have their own communities and social circles. As cultural outsiders, many African people identified how China has economically influenced their home
countries. Meanwhile, they also found it difficult to truly communicate and understand why Chinese people sometimes do this or say that.

Half of the non-African students in CAIBS also expressed that they chose to study in China because of China’s rising global presence. Many students from countries along the new Silk Road (OBOR) mentioned China’s foreign policy as in the OBOR provides opportunities for them to study in China. As one female student from Pakistan said,

“I think China and Pakistan have very good relations. Now most of the students from my country are focusing on China… I think China is open and it has different types of scholarships for us.”

China’s global influence made it a new destination for both African and non-African students to study and live in. Although international students face cultural and language barriers in China, most of them still held positive attitudes toward future cooperation between China and their home countries. Like the aforementioned female student from Botswana, she showed her excitement in the interview each time she mentioned China’s recent policies for African countries and the OBOR countries. In terms of individual benefits for a foreign student like her, China’s rising global influence would add great value to her Chinese degree. Increased cooperation between China and Botswana would also provide her with more personal developmental opportunities in the near future in both countries and beyond.

5.1.6 Gain overseas experience
Some of the African students believed that overseas experiences were essential for personal development and their country’s development. As one male Cameroonian student said,
“For me, it is like I have to learn more from outside of Cameroon. So at least I have some overseas experience. I didn’t know much about China before I came. For the economy and culture, you just need to discover something new, something different. It is amazing to explore different cultures.”

Another male student from Ghana said,

“I think why Ghanaian people need to seek education outside of the country is [due to our curiosities]— what is out there? We need overseas experience, and how very well we can incorporate with and gain exposure to things that are out there, and bring back to our system... Maybe there are also people who get their bachelor’s degrees in the U.S., then go to the U.K. to get their master’s, and then come to China to get a Ph.D.; so you get a little bit of everything in the world. In that way, we can get different views on things.”

Compared to the African student group, students of other nationalities also valued their overseas experience. Many of them said that they liked learning about Chinese culture. They had not expected the number of fellow international students they found at ZJNU. For instance, many of them had not imagined that they would be making friends from many different countries at a Chinese university. However, because of the international student population of the university, they had. Some of them mentioned their sense of pride in being part of the international student population because it was making them think differently about the world and become more open-minded.

As one male student from Mexico said,
“I don’t just want to learn the Mexican culture; I want to know more about the other countries.”

During my fieldwork, both African students and students of other nationalities told me that, nowadays, many multinational organizations and corporations value those workers with overseas experiences; they are seen as more independent, adaptable, and open-minded. Students with international experiences are, oftentimes, ideal for organizations developing overseas operations and potential global partnerships. These students have gained a strong understanding of cultural and social norms of other countries, not just their own. Their experiences living and learning in a foreign place increase their abilities to efficiently develop solutions to issues on a global scale. International organizations recognize that these abilities increase the success of future cooperative ventures with, in the case of these students, China, as well as each students’ individual home countries.

5.1.7 Personal dream
A number of African students explained that traveling to China had been part of their personal dreams for many years. Because most African students had never been to China, most of them knew very little about the country before they studied in China. Yet the country still held a special place in their hearts long before their arrival.

As two of the African students said:

“I always wanted to visit China; I just want to really know China. I don’t have Chinese friends back home, it is difficult to be friends with them [laugh], they usually keep to themselves and have their own groups, but I learn about China from TV, from my African friends and my family… Even my father is not doing business here; I also want to come.” (Male, Burundi)
“You know China is a fast-growing economy, it is always my personal wish to explore this great country, and I always want to know about the life here.” (Male, Ghana)

Unlike the African students, only a few students of other nationalities mentioned that they went to China to study as part of their personal dream. Like the African student group, many of them had little knowledge of China before going. But after several months’ stay and interactions with Chinese students, teachers, and local people in Jinhua, many of them said they were impressed by China’s development and had become “fans of the country.” Several connected their newly gained perspective to their living environment and an increase in job opportunities.

As one female interviewee from Kazakhstan said,

“It is convenient to live in China; I can get anything I want from here.”

Another interviewee, also from Kazakhstan, told me that it was easy for him to find a teaching job in China; he had already received two offers. He said,

“A language teacher usually gets well paid in China. Before I thought I might do business in China, but now I think I will just teach English.”

Compared to the non-African students, the African students interviewed seemed to be more interested in getting to know Chinese people and how they live in China. For example, for the male interviewee from Burundi, living in China became his personal dream due to his curiosity of Chinese people and many new things he had learned from his daily life. Unlike the African student group, many students
of other nationalities did not mention that they always wanted to live in or visit China, however, they
described how their views of Chinese society changed. Like the female aforementioned student from
Kazakhstan: she did not know much about China before she came and had thought that most Chinese
cities still suffered from poverty and pollution, however, after several months stay, she started to like
her new life in China; in particular, she mentioned that the ZJNU has good campus conditions and
learning environment, moreover, everything (e.g. supermarket, movie theater, and hospital, etc. are
only few steps away from her place) seemed to be more convenient for her.

5.1.8 Received Chinese scholarship
Receiving a Chinese scholarship is yet one more reason for African students to choose to earn a degree
in China. Scholarship recipients, whose families could not afford to financially support their education
in China, were very appreciative for the opportunities offered by China’s scholarships. As one male
student from Malawi said,

“I have the CSC scholarship. That’s the best scholarship for us; we have 3,000RMB\(^{39}\) per
month in addition to other benefits… Thinking of the learning environment as well, I would
say 3,000RMB is pretty prestigious already.”

At the time of this study, students who received either the provincial or the university scholarships
still had to pay for their living expenses, or half of their tuition fee, or both. This presented more
challenges, but in most cases, the students and their families were managing.

One male student from Ghana who received the ZJNU scholarship explained,

\(^{39}\) 3,000RMB was equivalent to $446.80 on April 2, 2019.
“I need to pay half of the tuition, and I cover the rest of the half, as well as textbooks, and monthly rent. I still need to pay it every month... My father sometimes assists me somehow. Since I got to China, I haven’t got into the import and export business yet, but back in Africa, I just have a small business that can give me certain money like 2,000RMB\textsuperscript{40} per month, so it is okay.”

Another male student also from Ghana, who had finished his first master’s degree at a different Chinese university in Wuhan, described his situation, illustrating how China’s scholarships attract students to its universities:

“Because of a referral of a friend when I was in Ghana, I applied for management and engineering in that [Chinese] university, and I got admission and also a partial scholarship. After I finished my M.S., I also applied for MBA in other countries, like the U.S. and the UK, but China got me again. I would love to do my MBA in the UK. I got admitted [to a UK university] but they didn’t give me a scholarship. They gave me options for payment, but in that case, I still need strong financial support.”

Compared to the African student group, more interviewees of other nationalities had received the CSC scholarship instead of the university one. About one half of them mentioned in the interview that although 3,000RMB\textsuperscript{41} per month was enough to live on in Jinhua, it would be very difficult to live on in China’s bigger cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, or Hangzhou. Like the African students, students

\textsuperscript{40} 2,000RMB was equivalent to $297.87 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{41} 3,000RMB was equivalent to $446.80 on April 2, 2019.
who were self-funded or had only a partial scholarship had to rely on their families to be able to survive in China.

5.1.9 Affordable living expenses and tuition
Seven African students chose to study at China’s universities because of their low tuition rate and the country’s affordable living expenses. Some African students were having problems finding the additional funding they needed to study in China while a few of them who had stronger financial support from their families still preferred China as their education destination. When compared to most developed countries’ educational institutions, Chinese universities offer not only good learning environment but also at relatively low costs. Four interviewees’ responses illustrate this:

“The school fees here are not high compared to other English-speaking countries such as the United States. Affordability is a major thing for me.” (Female, Cameroon)

“You know for us, when we look for study opportunities we also look for scholarship, if we cannot find a scholarship, either we keep looking, or we find a more affordable place to go.” (Male, Tanzania)

“The tuition in China is relatively cheaper. I don’t know about other schools, but so far, the tuition here is good. I heard about my other friends. They complain about their tuition, but so far, the two schools I have attended in China, the tuitions are okay.” (Male, Ghana)

“When you compare scholarship with other countries, China is relatively affordable; it is affordable to study here compared to some developed countries.” (Male, Ghana)
Compared to the African students, more than half of the students of other nationalities chose to study in China because they could afford tuition and living expenses even without a scholarship. However, eight out of 20 said that they prefer a scholarship even if their families are able to pay tuition. As international students, receiving a scholarship would ease financial stress as a factor when deciding to study in a foreign country. Although China’s living expenses are lower compared to those of some developed countries, a few interviewees from central Asia and Europe mentioned that people in their countries believed that life in China would be much cheaper than in their home countries. This misconception began to crumble when they went to China to study.

One of the Italian students said,

“People have stereotype that life in China is cheap but in fact it is not cheap at all. Jinhua is cheaper than the other big cities in China; maybe because of my country’s currency deflation. Life in China is more expensive in general.”

For both African and non-African student groups, studying in China was more economical than studying in some developed countries. However, for some self-funded African students, although the tuition part was more manageable, the average standard of living in China’s small cities like Jinhua was much higher than that of their home countries. Many more students of other nationalities found China affordable for studying and living in. However, a few of them wished that the Chinese Scholarship Council could raise international students’ living standards by giving them a larger monthly stipend, especially to students who study in bigger Chinese cities.
5.1.10 Suggestions by study abroad agency

Another important factor driving African students’ choice to study at a Chinese university is the growing international market of study abroad agencies. Many interviewees said that China was not their first choice. However, after discussing study opportunities with a study abroad consultant, they decided on China. Although a few interviewees lacked a clear objective for their future studies, they were usually strongly motivated to study in a foreign country.

In order to study abroad, these students were willing to pay a high service fee to receive advice. Often times, they also had to pay extra service fees to study abroad consultants for assistance with submitting applications to degree programs, visa, and scholarships.

As the male student from Liberia said,

“I was in Ghana and working on the thesis for my first masters, and a friend works for the study abroad consultant company came and mentioned that China has scholarship opportunities, I was like ‘Whoa, I want to do business and I want opportunity,’ and he said I have to pay [US] $2,000... Then I gave him $2,000 later in cash, so he moved forward to do the application, and he told me that the $2,000 is only for the application fee. Then he sent out the application and I got enrolled. He told me that the accommodation in ZJNU will be free, and the school will give me an allowance.”

Similarly, a male student from Zimbabwe talked about his experience. He said,
“After I applied for this university, I contacted my study abroad consultant company, they had an online office in Beijing, and then they said that they would do everything for me. But they didn’t even pick me up in the airport. They just helped me go through the application process. They said they would either pick me up in Beijing or Shanghai… They have the service, but you have to pay extra. For me, it is fine, as long as I got admitted to the school, I don’t care.”

Another student from Tanzania also said,

“I bumped into a flyer in the newspaper and it was an advertisement of the agency—this is a consultancy—and they were telling us that they can apply for us. China was not really my first option; I was thinking of Australia because I have relatives there. Then I was just looking at the courses the schools here were offering, and I started to consider China.”

While study abroad agencies recommended African students to study at Chinese universities, including ZJNU, most students of other nationalities found CAIBS on the internet without assistance. However, the online scholarship application process revealed that the Chinese university system seems to automatically share student applicants’ stored information with universities within the system. At least five interviewees shared similar stories about their discovery of the program.

As one of the interviewees said,

“I applied for the CSC scholarship, but I didn’t get it. But then I received an email from this university [ZJNU] randomly; maybe they got my email from some email lists or database, because I registered on a website... then you can get information about Chinese universities.
They sent this email to me and to the people on the list, and I was actually being able to see who else was also getting it. Because my application was sent to apply for the CSC scholarship, this time I don’t need to do the application again; I just sent the same documents to them. Then after one week, they told me that I was accepted here, and I also got half of the tuition waived by the university scholarship.”

The interviews demonstrated that many Chinese and African educational agencies use a wide range of advertising mechanisms to incentivize international students to apply to Chinese universities and their associated programs. However, since the cooperation between study abroad agencies and universities is relatively new, the services they jointly offered need to be improved. One CAIBS administrator stated that the university was no longer concerned with not recruiting enough foreign students nowadays because of increasing cooperation between the university and study abroad agencies, and private companies in China also send direct funding to international students.

5.1.11 Previous exchange experience
A few interviewees had a good impression of Chinese society or universities from an earlier visit to the country. This was one of the reasons that prompted them to go back to China to study.

As one female student from Ethiopia said,

“In the beginning, I was coming for studying the Chinese language; I learned Chinese for six months in this university [ZJNU] and I went back to home and I applied from there for my masters.”

Similarly, another female student from Botswana said,
“I studied Chinese back home, I studied in the Confucius Institute at the University of Botswana. They took us to Shanghai for a 10-day workshop. We visited some universities there, and then we went to Beijing for three days. That experience was really good; it was a cultural experience. And I know that if I did not do that, I would never find my own interest and capability… I really wanted to come back, because we had such a good time.”

One male student from Malawi expressed his excitement when he explained,

“Before I came here, I was sent by our government to this university [ZJNU] for a seminar for a month. We went to Shanghai, Beijing, and Hangzhou; then I could see so many things like what we taught in China... In 2016 I got another opportunity, and I think it would be good if I can come back and study. So I applied and here I am.”

Like the African student group, a few students of other nationalities had been to China before pursuing their master’s degrees. One studied in Beijing, one in Chengdu, and another one in Jinhua. All of them reported great experiences in China. Besides the considerable number of scholarships received, each student had been impressed by China’s beautiful scenery and landscapes, food, and culture. All these good memories made them want to return to China to continue their studies.

5.1.12 Learn Chinese model or Chinese way of doing things

Five African students mentioned that they went to China to have different experiences and learn Chinese people’s approach in their daily lives, living philosophy, communication style, business strategies and so on. These curiosities and motivations stemmed from the students’ awareness of China’s global influence and knowledge of China’s close relationship with African countries.
As one female student from Botswana noted,

“Before I came to China, I was like China is a good place and I may transform some ideologies back to home and expand myself in that angle. Coming from a country like Botswana where now we are experiencing high levels of unemployment, I was like if I see something that can be of value, that can help me, help my family, and my fellow, it will be good. I came here maybe was influenced by my background worked in the government. I have connections in the government. I was like if I go there [China], maybe I will see something different from our nation… If I see people in the government [after I go back to Botswana], I will tell them. It will help us solve a lot of things.”

Another female student, from Lesotho, had found big educational differences between her home country and China. Although some students chose to go to ZJNU because of their prior knowledge of these differences—this student discovered and appreciated these differences after her arrival. As an administrator that previously worked in Lesotho’s education department, her hope was for Lesotho’s education administrators to inculcate some of China’s positive educational qualities into Lesothan students. In particular, she mentioned Chinese students’ learning style and their hard-working attitudes. She explained,

“Now I am telling my younger sisters to come to China, especially if they can come here for undergraduate courses, because I want them to learn the Chinese students’ style. They are always doing good, they are always studying, and they always look at things positively. I want them to learn these [Chinese students’ learning attitudes], and I believe Chinese university has
better education... I think it is good to be busy, for us, we think you have to discipline people; that’s one of the biggest differences in our educational systems. Back in the country, the primary school runs classes from 8am to 1pm, then for high school it will be from 8am to 3pm. After 1pm, the primary school students they are free, then they can play [laugh]… So we [education department in Lesotho] try to ask the kids to adapt to a busier study pace like Chinese students, we think it is good.”

Unlike the African students, not too many students of other nationalities talked about going to China to learn the Chinese way of doing things. Instead, they were more interested in learning how to interact with Chinese people, how to enjoy life in China, and how to find a job or start a business in China. Many of them would be pleased to work in China if the country’s policies permitted it. Because they were still learning about China’s policies and customs, they were not interested in making any policy changes back home. Instead, they expected to explore business opportunities and take new products back home as well as from home to China. For example, an Indonesian student wanted to bring some new agricultural products back to his country. Another student from Mexico wanted to sell avocados to the Chinese since not many Chinese people had even heard of the tropical fruit. These students came to China to learn and exchange information, the latter objective is very apparent in some of their responses. Their learning experiences were not only benefiting themselves and their home countries but also had the potential to benefit Chinese society. Thus their learning experiences are examples of how educational cooperation programs can lead to win-win scenarios.

5.1.13 Seek better quality of education

Some of the African students came to China because they believed that China had a better learning environment and higher quality of education compared to universities of other developing countries. A few of the interviewees thought that China had better educational facilities: the universities had big
libraries, good playgrounds, and their classrooms had media players and computers. They also acknowledged that a graduate degree from a Chinese institution is deemed more valuable than one from some African institutions.

One female student from Cameroon acknowledged,

“Although we pay almost the same back home for university, in my country, people think a Chinese education certificate is valuable, maybe it will help to find a better job.”

Another female Cameroonian student further explained,

“I think the teachers in Cameroon are not very good so that many Cameroonian are going out to study. I think basic education and college education in Cameroon are still good, but if I want to go further education in Cameroon, it will be difficult because the education is not good after college [in terms of limited choices of majors offered in universities and teacher quality]. For example, China is better if you want to do an MBA. Unfortunately, back home we don’t have enough universities, we don’t have business classes; we have management courses but we don’t have MBA... I think China is better; Chinese universities have richer educational resources after Bachelor’s degree [compared to Cameroonian universities].”

Differing from the African student group, not many non-African students mentioned that they went to China because they believed that China had a higher quality of education; many of them had not known very much about Chinese universities before they arrived. Only two students from Russia thought that a Chinese education was superior to that of other countries, especially at the college level.
(for both undergraduate and graduate levels). These students also gave high ratings to ZJNU’s campus facilities and learning environment. However, some of them complained about the quality of the IMBA program’s courses.

5.1.14 Follow the trend of education’s globalization
Some of the African students chose to go to China to receive an education that would help them meet the requirements of a global job market—an education they felt they could not receive in their home countries. Since many of their friends back home chose to study abroad, they did not want to be left behind. They wanted to follow this trend by pursuing an overseas experience. Here are the extracts from three interviewees:

“In terms of the educational system, we trained to be more global, and of course we need that; there are not many technology and other things there back in the home, but we try to do what other people are doing in other countries. We have many students from Tanzania study in China. I think it is a good idea.” (Female, Tanzania)

“I thought China is a perfect place to come and study because China is a center for business and trade. So I thought why can’t I just go there and explore the world, and be part of the growing initiative or a part of growing vision, international vision.” (Female, Botswana)

“It was always my interest to study abroad and work abroad when I was doing my B.A. When I go to South Africa, I got too comfortable, I was too comfortable staying in the university, but I always want to go abroad. I don’t know what pushes me. I talked to one of my friends, and he kind of changed my mind. He said the problem is you need a vision and a thing that
you want to achieve. I think I lost my vision about why I want to be a global citizen until that friend told me these things.” (Male, Zimbabwe)

Some of the students of other nationalities, being drawn by education’s increasing globalization, echoed this reason. They did not want to be left behind by their peers because they lacked international experience. Additionally, they expressed a need to explore job opportunities outside their home countries; earning a degree abroad increases the chance of landing a high-paying job in that country. A male interviewee from Russia has been teaching English language and conducting a small import and export business in Yiwu. As he stated,

“It’s better to make money here and send back to Russia nowadays. If I stay in Russia, I can only earn a little per month, so I can’t support my family; and I don’t think that’s a wise decision. Now I can still go back and visit if my family needs my help, but I don’t think I am going back.”

Two female interviewees from Italy told me that they came to China to look for job opportunities in addition to traveling and learning experiences.

5.1.15 Home country’s development needs
A home country’s development needs determine students’ learning interests when they study abroad. This was the case with some of the African students. Three of the biggest interests for these students were language, technology, and management. These interests could be traced to cooperative programs already in place. For example, ZJNU had established programs in collaboration with Cameroon’s government; one of these educational cooperation programs trained Chinese language teachers from Cameroon. If they were selected to go to ZJNU to study, they could go back to their country after
competing their degree and teach the Chinese language. Since teachers are considered government employees in Cameroon, their income is high and very stable.

Other African countries have similar cases. One of the male interviewees from Ghana said,

“Many Chinese have their own companies in Ghana. If I can learn some Chinese skills, I will have more job options in the future. It is what we need in the country.”

Another male interviewee from Liberia echoed these kinds of thoughts:

“When you go back and tell people you were studying information and technology in China, people have this perception that the technological development in China is super good. If you took some classes in this area and went back, people will believe that your calculation ability can even save the world!”

As already mentioned, students of other nationalities chose to study in China not necessarily because they wanted to return and change their home country’s educational or social systems. For them, studying in China was more like a life adventure and a way to cultivate their capabilities. Many wanted to learn the Chinese language systematically after their first year completing all coursework. They view Chinese as a new language skill and tool for securing job opportunities in China or their home countries. Some of them also expressed that the management courses they took at ZJNU-CAIBS could help them land a good job at any Chinese company in the world.
5.1.16 Family has business in China
Current or future business endeavors played a big role in some African students’ choices to gain a high-level academic degree in China. Although only two African students mentioned that they had a family business in China, most of them had family members who were currently running an import and export business between their home country and China, and hoped that the student could assist the family business or help to explore the Chinese market. As one male student explained, his mother was conducting business between Liberia and China, and she (the mother) visited Guangzhou all the time. Although he could not help the family business yet, since he was beginning to learn Chinese, he hoped he could help in the near future.

Only two interviewees from non-African countries had family members or other relatives who were currently conducting an import and export business between China and their home countries. Although none of them had established a family business in China, several of them said that they might establish one in the near future.

5.1.17 Easier to get a Chinese visa
Ease of travel was an additional reason that prompted African students to study at Chinese universities; getting a Chinese student visa is relatively easy. A few students explained that when applying for university, they sent applications to universities in different countries. Despite being admitted to some of the other universities, they could not go due to that country’s visa regulations.

As one male Senegalese interviewee explained,

“My brother is working in the U.S., but you know, when you are in Senegal, sometimes it is not very easy for you to get the U.S. visa. But from here… it would be easier to get an U.S.
visa later if I had a Chinese visa first]. Because my Chinese visa is going to expire within a month, I think it might be complicated to apply for the U.S. visa now. But anyway, they told me that I could apply for a U.S. visa from China. I think it would be better [if I hold a valid Chinese visa when applying for an U.S. one].”

Other international students from Africa and Central Asia also believed that a Chinese visa could help them successfully obtain a visa for a developed country in the near future. They said that it was much easier for them to apply and receive a Chinese student visa than a visa for a developed country.

As one female interviewee from Pakistan said,

“When some Pakistani students apply for [the visas of] foreign countries, it will be a lot of problems [for them] to get the visa if they do not have any scholarships, such as for the U.S. or maybe Australia. I also applied my MBA in Australia, but after the whole process [for visa application], then told me that they couldn’t process my visa because of this and that reasons. Then I was like ‘okay, I am not going to apply for any other foreign countries like these.’ I think China is more open and it has different types of scholarships. I was thinking, if I got the scholarship from China maybe I have a chance to go there.”

An interviewee from Yemen also shared a long, personal story of all the troubles he had faced when he applied for a Canadian visa before coming to China.

Based on responses from 32 Africans students and 20 students of other nationalities, we can conclude that there are at least 17 major reasons why the students chose to study abroad at a Chinese university.
For the African student group, many of them and their families valued an advanced degree in China and the overall Chinese education experience because they saw China’s current economic success as a learning model. Also, Chinese higher education institutions had comparatively rich educational resources and better university facilities to offer them. Simultaneously, with relatively low tuition, living expenses, and various scholarship opportunities, China’s higher education institutions became quite compelling in the international education market. Students who planned to conduct business with China intended to accumulate appropriate knowledge and experience about handling potential problems in a “Chinese way.” They understand that if they could communicate with Chinese companies and local businesses by speaking fluently Chinese and understanding Chinese culture, they would achieve their long-term business goals.

Education globalization played a big role in students’ choices. With the growing market of international higher education worldwide, studying abroad has become a personal dream for many African students; some of the interviewees spoke of this. As a result, more and more study abroad agencies have appeared in African countries over the past few years. Some students in this study indicated that they were not particular about where they went to study as long as they could learn something from their education. They dared to try new experiences and explore their potentials. Although all interviewees at CAIBS were business majors, not many of them had a family background in business. Many of them viewed China not only as an excellent study destination—one more accessible due to the ease of securing a student visa—but also as a country that offered them great potential for creating a business or offered them significantly more future job opportunities than other places. With an advanced degree and study abroad experience, these African students believed that they would feel more confident in the international job market.
The students of other nationalities in this study were also driven by China’s rapid economic development to attain an advanced degree in the country. Many of them said that they had come to explore a “new” China. Their ability to explore was made easier by China’s welcome policy and the establishment of higher education partnerships with institutions along the new Silk Road. A few of them indicated that they had come to China because they had been influenced by their family members, friends, or through a recommendation by a study abroad agency. Most of them had received a CSC scholarship. Unlike the African counterparts, many international non-African students saw China as a new destination for traveling and gaining well-paid jobs. On the one hand, they valued the overseas experience and enjoyed learning about different cultures; on the other hand, these students became more job-oriented after hearing that it’s easier for them to find a well-paid teaching job (mostly language teaching) and could therefore establish a better life in China than elsewhere. Given that some of these students went to China looking for business opportunities, one of the areas for further exploration is an increase in business exchanges between China and their home countries. One finding of interest involved some of the self-funded students from Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. They discovered that China’s living expenses were not as low as they had been led to believe, especially if they chose to study or live in one of China’s bigger cities.

In a nutshell, China’s economic development, low university tuition, affordable living expenses (what the majority of non-scholarship students found to be), and comparatively high job opportunities, were the four major reasons for both African and non-African students to choose China as their study destination. In addition, a welcome visa policy, the will to learn the Chinese language and culture, a chance to gain overseas experience, and scholarships were other important reasons in their decision making.
5.2 Enrollment

In the interviews, 40 out of 52 international students said that they found the ZJNU-CAIBS from online research. Typically, they would either type in “Business,” “MBA,” or “China” or search the Chinese business school rankings. Some of the interviewees believed it was not only the admission office that determined an enrollment decision, the applicant have to decide on their own whether to accept an admission offer. Their choice greatly depended on scholarships. Several African interviewees told me that they had been looking for a scholarship worldwide for years; they would only consider applying to a university if they saw scholarship opportunities listed on the program website.

As one male student from Tanzania said,

“I have the CSC scholarship. I actually have been applying for scholarships since 2011; for almost five years. And I have applied for so many countries in Europe, including the UK. I never applied for the U.S. though. I also applied in South Korea because I learned that I could get a scholarship if I get accepted… Then I got the Chinese CSC scholarship so I came. Each time, when I see there are scholarships I just apply. Especially the MBA scholarships are not easy to get; maybe that is why I spent so much time applying for it.”

Many African students said that it was not an easy process for them to even be able to apply for a Chinese scholarship because the demand for Chinese scholarships had exceeded the supply in some African countries.

As one female interviewee from Botswana said,
“It is really hard. The first time I applied but I didn’t get it; the second time I decided to initiate contact with the director [who was in charge of the scholarship application in Bostwana Embassy] because I was told that I should have some sort of guanxi (connection).’ I don’t like to do these random things, but I was trying to write people emails here and there, and I told them that I really wanted to apply and I really wanted to study in China, so I think maybe what I did helped. They got 1,000 to 2,000 applications every year. They don’t make the final choice back home. They scan all applications and stamp on your course certificates, and they put on your photos. So if you don’t have all these, your application is disqualified. The hardest part is for our embassy to send in your application, but for the CSC, the selection is really simple I think.”

Another male student from Malawi further commented,

“Nowadays only rich Africans or those who master information can send their children to study abroad, so the selection of African students of foreign universities needs to be concerned and questioned.”

Compared to the African students who applied by themselves, the enrollment process seemed to be much more straightforward for the African students who applied through study abroad agencies. They usually needed to have a pre-application conversation with the agency (either in person or online) telling them what major and levels of courses they would be interested in applying to. The agency completed the rest of the application for them after they paid a certain amount of money in service fees. Some agencies also provided other follow-up services at extra cost to the students.
As to the university end of things, some students of other nationalities said that CAIBS invited them to apply by sending them emails. In related responses, some interviewees said that once they applied to some universities on the internet (e.g. a specific website for applying to degree programs), other universities would send them an advertisement about their degree program and encourage them to apply. After applicants submitted all application materials through the online system or by emailing the universities of their choice, they were promised by the institutions to receive notification of an enrollment decision within seven to 10 business days. During this review period, the universities would request any supplementary materials if needed. One common enrollment criterion for MBA programs worldwide is to review applicants’ previous work experiences in related fields. However, CAIBS does not have such a fixed requirement; international students without a business-related background can also enroll.

In 2016, there were 26 Lesothan students at CAIBS who had been co-funded by a Chinese company, the Lesothan government, and ZJNU. For the decision’s process, the local ministry and other appropriate departments were requested to select approximately 50 qualified candidates. Then ZJNU sent interviewers to Lesotho to meet with the candidates before making a final decision; half of the candidates were selected. I was told by the administrator of the CAIBS that this type of higher education cooperation between China and Africa would keep growing in the next few years of the program.

5.3 Academic Experience
The academic experience for all international students at CAIBS was similar. Like other international students who study in foreign countries, students who came to study in China faced various challenges; they had to adapt to the Chinese way of learning in a short period of time.
First issue: Study aids. One challenge the students at CAIBS had to solve was finding study aids. Because the IMBA program courses at CAIBS are offered in English, there are usually only one or two Chinese students who passed a certain English test to take classes with foreign students. Most of the time, if a foreign student has learning difficulties, they have to ask the teacher questions or form a study group to discuss problems with peers. So it was interesting to observe that the international students in this research tended to study with their country mates or peers who spoke the same language as they did.

Second issue: Student-teacher ratio. Another challenge the students at CAIBS had was the student-teacher ratio. At the time of this study, the number of students in one business class taught by one Chinese teacher but ranged anywhere from 16 to 30 students. Due to this high student-teacher ratio in the department, some interviewees complained of their frustrations dealing with various learning difficulties outside of the classroom on their own. As one female student from Botswana said,

“I know some teachers they have like six students; that’s a lot [for them]. For our MBA class, we have 24 to 26 students, so maybe one teacher can have two or three students. But for classes that have about 60 students, they don’t increase the numbers of teachers, so that’s why one teacher could have six or seven students at the same time.”

Since an MBA is a graduate level degree, each student in the program was assigned to a specific academic advisor during their studies. The African students who came to study at the Chinese university expected their advisors to give them appropriate instructions about how to format and write academic papers. However, the students often had to figure these things out by themselves due to their advisors’ busy schedules. Another female student from Cameroon also said,
“The program needs teachers; when you are writing your papers you need teachers to help you. I think most of the courses are international trade and investment, and the teachers are rarely available for the students. It bothers us sometimes; we just struggle ourselves most of the time.”

One male interviewee from Russia said, “In Russia we do not have academic advisors for students, so I was glad to be in China. But I wasn’t so lucky here, because my advisor is kind of busy because he has his own business and teaches at two different universities.”

Third issue: teacher’s English proficiency. 80% of interviewees discussed another problem in the program—the lecturers’ lack of English language proficiency. Not only had this caused simple communication problems, it had also affected the overall course quality. Instead of giving a presentation, many teachers would only read their PowerPoint or the textbook materials to the students in the class. And sometimes, if the teacher did not know how to say a specific English word, he or she would say it in Chinese. As one male student from Burundi said,

“I hope the teachers can improve their English language. For example, my advisor has ten students. To meet with her, it is easy, but for communication, it is difficult. Sometimes, she tries to explain something to you, but because of the language barrier, she doesn’t know how. For the class materials, if the teacher sends us PPT [PowerPoint], we can read and understand, but if we have questions... well, it is still the problem of language barrier. When we want the teachers to explain something, the teachers’ explanations are always not enough, and we are
confused. So you have to look for someone’s documents, online papers, or maybe books to help you understand.”

Another female student from Tanzania further explained,

“All lectures are delivered in English, and the people who deliver English are Chinese; sometimes they fail to express the concept in English because their native language is not English. The communication here with professors is difficult; even when they try to explain the point, you may still not get the way they expected you to get. We need some translation.”

At least half of all the international students in this research said that before coming to China, they thought everyone in China could speak good English. They imagined an even higher level of proficiency among Chinese students and teachers in the higher education institutions. They did not think communication would be an issue. Therefore, many of them were disappointed and frustrated to discover that this was not the case.

Fourth issue: Program and course structure. About 70% of the interviewees also complained about the degree program’s course structure. They suggested that the courses placed too much emphasis on rote learning of business theory rather than providing real-life practicums for the students, such as internships in local businesses. As one female student from Ethiopia said,

“For business major students, we must have an internship—we must practice the theories and see if they [the theories] are applicable to the business culture. Especially we are in China; we want to know how the Chinese companies are doing things, we want to learn. You know,
China is a very developed country, and China is developing very fast, so there are many things we want to learn. But we don’t have this chance as foreign students. I think the school should think about this, maybe [give us] a six-month internship training.”

Although the school did not offer any internship opportunities as a part of the course requirements, the school provided a few chances for the students to go to the trade fairs and visit some local companies. One male student from Ghana said,

“We actually have something called ‘investigation in real business.’ It is a one-credit course. So we went to a company that the school chose, then we go there to learn different parts of what people do in the company, what is the company about, and we ask things about what we want to know, and exposure to the real business. And also, we have been to the Yiwu market, and the school organized trips for us to attend trade exhibitions there, so we actually did something real.”

Holding opposing views to this Ghanaian student, a male student from Tanzania claimed,

“It [the business course contents] is not practical; too many theories there, the concentration is lacking, and this is not something you will get in your hands. Of course, we go to Yiwu market, but you know, we went with the same group of people and the time was limited, and it was not well-organized. I may just go there and spend two or three hours there; you can’t just learn something like how to do business in two hours, you need more time to practice.”
Fifth issue: Program course level. Both African and non-African interviewees mentioned that the MBA course level expectations for international students in ZJNU was relatively low. This may be related to the program’s lax enrollment policy. As one female student from Tanzania said,

“The learning experience is very different here. For example, back in Tanzania, we do coursework, and we give internship opportunities to MBA students. And if we study accounting and finance, we only need to take a few courses. My perspective wasn’t fostered here. So first I was irritated because I was like ‘I am a MBA student, why am I doing this? I have done these courses for my bachelor’s degree!’ But I think because not everyone has a business background, so being honest, in terms of the [program course] levels, it’s not high.”

One female interviewee from Pakistan noted the same matter, however, she thought quite differently than this Tanzanian female student. She said,

“Even I have learned all these courses when I was in the college, I think it is good to review all these things again; the business theories will help me in the future because I want to do a PhD in China if I can.”

Sixth issue: Learning style. Many African students stated that China’s higher education system and its expectations for domestic Chinese students are very different from what they were accustomed to. Depending on interviewees’ past academic experiences, some of them thought that their first year at a Chinese university was like high school; they always had many classes to attend and many assignments to finish. Since the program required students to finish all courses and submit their degree
proposal by the end of the first year, many students complained that this schedule was too demanding for them to adhere to. As one female interviewee from Tanzania said,

“The timetable is crazy, and you don’t have time for yourself. You don’t even have time to adapt to the new place and meet new people because now you have a lot of courses to deal with!”

In contrast, some other interviewees (both African and non-African) felt that even during the first-year program, it was easy to study in China. Chinese teachers expect students to give the same answers on tests that they are told in class or have read in their textbooks. Many students said that they only needed to memorize all the contents of the class materials before the test to get good grades. Second year students had a more flexible timetable; their only academic objective was to finish writing their degree paper and prepare a defense for graduation.

Some of the interviewees liked this program design because they had free time to do or learn something else, while others did not like it because they believed that it was a waste of time to spend one whole year only working on a paper, especially when there was nothing else planned for them to do. Since MBA focuses on particular aspects of business such as a specialization or concentration, a lot of work experience is required of candidates. It is notable that the African students in the business school might have different learning needs than those in the other majors.

Seventh issue: Course materials. At the beginning of the semester, the teachers asked the students to buy specific textbooks that were originally written in English but had Chinese translation between the lines. For some courses, there was no need to purchase specific textbooks; the study materials such as
readings and handouts were usually given in the class. Some teachers would share their PowerPoints used to teach with their students after each class session. However, many original editions of textbooks were not sold in big Chinese bookstores (and the prices were generally high if they were). The students had to buy translated editions from local bookstores, which were located a few steps from the university campus. The translated books in these private bookstores often were photocopied from original books (often, interviewees indicated, without copyright). The printing quality was poor; often times, there were printing and translation mistakes. As one female interviewee from Botswana stated,

“I study international trade. Not all my textbooks are in English; there is a paragraph of English and a translated paragraph of Chinese. I think the translation is done here in China. When the book is translated from its original language to another [with many translation mistakes], it makes the reading a little bit difficult.”

Another male student from Liberia further explained,

“The books are originally written in English, but they just changed the cover and used Chinese. Everything is in English and you see dollar signs [and not RMB signs]. When you look at the examples, you see that the currency is in US dollars… I think this is something China has to work on, because when you look at China, especially at this point, if China wants to be a global dominance, some of the textbooks are the ways to communicate with the mind of students, and you can’t have that kind of dominance if you use others’ ideology. This is knowledge reproduction, especially from the U.S.; because all examples in the textbooks are from America... By using these non-Chinese written textbooks, I feel like the education here and what I am doing is not real; they are just theories.”
According to my interview data, many African students chose China to practice and develop their business ideas because they want to learn the Chinese methods of doing business. If textbooks and other learning materials all come from Western countries, it is likely that there will be discrepancies between the learned theories and the actual context for business praxis in China.

Studying in China offered the African students a look at a different style of learning. Many of the African students stated that the Chinese students are usually hard working, therefore, studying with their Chinese friends incentivized them to study more. As one student from Ghana said,

“When you are in a different environment and you see [how] things are getting done, it is like you also get that influence to become a part of it. My Chinese friends, if they don’t see me in the library, they will text me and check up on me.”

Although some interviewees complained of learning difficulties, including language barriers, course contents, and learning style, the majority of interviewees expressed great satisfaction with the university’s student-teacher relationships and campus learning environment. Many of them said the teachers and the students in the program appeared to be quite close; some observed that the teachers treated their students like friends, which was very different from the student-teacher interactions at universities back home. Additionally, the vast majority of interviewees said that the ZJNU campus had advanced learning facilities and rich educational resources; they were glad that they had a safe and convenient learning environment.
5.4 Living Experience
The living experience in this research refers to both African and non-African student groups’ levels of satisfaction with their living environment, community engagement, and cultural acceptance. Since international students studying at the CAIBS have diverse cultural, ethnic, and economic backgrounds, the collective of their living experiences is more comprehensive.

5.4.1 Accommodations
The ZJNU provides on-campus living to all international students who study at the CAIBS. The International Office assigns housing based on academic program, funding source and student preferences. Students who come for Chinese language programs or undergraduate studies live in the International Student Dormitory. Students in graduate degree programs typically live in the Qiming Dormitory; however, there are also graduate students that live in the International Student Dormitory. During my dissertation fieldwork, most of the CSC scholarship recipients of 2015 stayed in the International Student Dormitory. Due to the limited rooms in that building, most international students that enrolled in 2016 stayed in Qiming Dormitory, which are comparatively older buildings than the International Student Dormitory. In the Qiming Dormitory, students share a big kitchen on each floor and a laundry room on the first floor (see pictures in Appendix P).

Since the CSC scholarship covers both tuition fees and living expenses, students who received the CSC scholarship were most likely to choose to live on campus. Recipients of other types of scholarships (provincial and university) were divided in their choices since the students still needed to pay rent and monthly electric bills: some chose to live on campus and some chose to live off campus, depends on individual’s economic background. The university charged each student 450–600RMB\(^\text{42}\) dormitory fees per month (for a double or a single) plus utilities and water. However, many students

\(^{42}\) 450-600RMB was equivalent to $67.02-89.36 on April 2, 2019.
chose to pay the extra 200–300RMB\textsuperscript{43} to live off campus with more freedom. For example, they did not need to adhere to the 11pm curfew when the university gates closed. They also did not need to share their small room and kitchen with anyone else, and they had more privacy. For safety considerations, students who wish to live off-campus must notify the International Office. One female student from Tanzania shared her experience living off campus; she said,

“\textquote“I live outside of the campus. I pay 1,400RMB\textsuperscript{44} per month in total, including rent, utilities, and food, everything. I have my own space and my own kitchen. It is better than living in the dormitory. It is the same if I live in the dormitory, I also need to pay electricity.”\textquotenewline

Chapter four showed that during the academic year 2015–2016, slightly more than half the African students at CAIBS chose to live on campus, a comparatively smaller number than the non-African students. CSC scholarship recipients (mostly non-African students) chose to live on campus because the Chinese government had paid their dormitory fees and it was more convenient to go to classes. They also thought that it would be safer to stay on campus because the university had security guards working every hour of the night and day. They were also closer to their peers, whom they could easily study and share fun things with. For living conditions in ZJNU, one male African student from Malawi further commented,

“\textquote{Thinking of the living environment here, I would say 3,000RMB\textsuperscript{45} is pretty prestigious already. I sleep in a single room in the new dormitory building; we have a kitchen for each floor, and the room has good size with basic facilities.”\textquotenewline

\textsuperscript{43} 200-300RMB was equivalent to $29.79-44.68 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{44} 1,400RMB was equivalent to $208.51 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{45} 3,000RMB was equivalent to $446.80 on April 2, 2019.
Most interviewees’ monthly expenses were about 1,500–2,000RMB\(^{46}\). Compared to their living expenses back home, both African and non-African students considered Jinhua to be an affordable city in general. The CSC scholarship recipients received 3,000RMB per month in addition to free dormitory accommodation and health insurance. The stipend was almost 30% higher than for the local Chinese students who were pursuing a master’s degree at ZJNU. In other words, the CSC scholarships provided higher monthly stipends to international students than Chinese Masters students; the Chinese government gives more money to international students compared to its domestic students.

5.4.2 Othering and belonging

While living conditions were not a problem for the African students, many of them complained of sometimes feeling isolated on campus.

Some African students said that one reason they felt isolated was because of their different appearance. African students usually gathered together with their peers. They would only go out a few times with non-Africans, including Chinese and other non-African international students. One male interviewee from Liberia said,

“There are times we hang out with other non-African students, but... I don’t think the problem is on us; the problems are created by the others of different colors… You see Africans are more open and receptive.”

\(^{46}\) 1,500-2,000RMB was equivalent to $223.4-297.87 on April 2, 2019.
Some interviewees shared negative experiences of feeling different when they walked down the streets or traveled to other Chinese cities; people tried to touch their hair, stared at them, or followed them to take pictures. Responding to this kind of situation, one female interviewee from Botswana said,

“It would be better if they tell me they want to take a picture of me!”

Another female African student from Tanzania also shared her feelings. She said,

“You wake up and going outside, when you meet people then you knew that you are different because everyone is looking at you… Maybe they are just curious, but I don’t feel like I was part of the community.”

Although living in China seems tough for many African students in general, some interviewees further explained that these types of situations occurred more frequently in smaller cities rather than larger cities in China. Many of them who experienced these issues were very tolerant. They perceived Chinese people as very shy and therefore not purposefully discriminating against them; they just did not know much about African countries and their cultures. However, insufficient knowledge and subsequent situations created were changing. As one interviewee from Zimbabwe said,

“Before, if I wanted to ask some questions, people here would try to avoid me. But nowadays, it is better, and I think there is a small shift now that Chinese people are more familiar with us.”
Being identified as different or “other” was also something that students from the Middle East and Central Asian countries experienced, except in those cases where the students resembled Chinese people. For example, students from Southeast Asia. Although these students did not feel particularly isolated on campus, they experienced several uncomfortable moments.

One female interviewee from Kazakhstan told me that Chinese people would look at her sometimes when she was riding her electric bike on campus; people passing her would look back to get another glimpse. Another female interviewee from Pakistan said that one day she had to ask for directions on campus; when she tried to approach one of the Chinese students, the student ran away. She was very confused and did not understand what was happening. She also said that, several times, Chinese students would look at her from head to toe when they passed by, making her uncomfortable.

A male student from Pakistan also told me that students would stop him when he was walking on campus to ask where he was from. He said,

“Maybe because of my look? Chinese people do not know where I came from; they think maybe I came from somewhere like India! [laugh]”

5.4.3 Cultural and language barriers
International students did not only stand out at a Chinese university because of their appearances, they also stood out due to their language and cultural differences. Many times, the international students had to find ways to deal with these unpleasant moments by themselves. This generated cultural misunderstandings and negative feelings towards Chinese people. As one male interviewee from Zimbabwe told me about his first-day experience in ZJNU. He said,
“I think Chinese are willing to help, but if they don’t know how to help they will just [walk away]… maybe because of the language barrier. I mean, when you are abroad as a foreigner, people around you would at least come and ask you if you need any help, and you tell them and they will tell you or lead you there. But Chinese are not like that; I was standing in front of the school gate, and there was one group of Chinese students passing by, I said, ‘Hello’ but they could not understand my English. I stood at the gate for 45 minutes, and then I saw a woman there looking like she was from Africa, I showed her the letter and then she took me to the department office to register.”

Many interviewees had to learn some basic Chinese to ask for directions, take a taxi, purchase tickets and to better communicate with local Chinese people in general. When interviewees ran into problems, they would use their cell phones to translate and communicate with Chinese people. They were surprised that so few Chinese people spoke English. As mentioned before, at least half of the African students said that before they arrived in China, they had expected everyone in China to be able to speak English since China was considered more developed than their home countries. Their misunderstanding is of great significance since many interviewees from both groups said that if the IMBA program in the CAIBS had not offered degree courses in English, they would not have chosen to study in China. When considered alongside the students’ frustrations with some professors who were not fluent enough in English to properly answer questions, it is clear that the language barrier could compromise enrollment in some of the university’s future programs.

Language and culture problems did not only occur in the classroom or off campus on the streets in a chance encounter; both African and non-African students experienced difficulties engaging with Chinese university students and local residents. For example, if the university sponsored a festival
open to all students but advertised the event only in Chinese; the international students who could not read Chinese would most likely remain unaware of the event and miss the chance to interact with Chinese students on campus.

As the number of international students choosing to study and live in China continued to grow over the last few years, more and more restaurants and supermarkets that started to cater to international students’ eating habits appeared in the university campus’ surrounding neighborhoods. For instance, there were many more halal certified products sold not only for the Chinese Muslim population but also for Muslim populations from other countries. Even though commercial interests recognized and supplied a demand, which brought them more Muslim customers; culturally and religiously, some Muslim and Christian students complained that there was no place for them to pray. One female interviewee from Botswana commented that it was inconvenient for Muslim students like her to pray when necessary since there was no place for them to do so on campus.

While the living environment satisfied most of the international students at the CAIBS, many of them pointed out that the Chinese university has to be more inclusive and open to welcome more students. Both African and non-African students expressed wishes to be part of the university community and expectations to make some Chinese friends. However, many times, students experienced being othered by local Chinese residents and Chinese students on campus due to language, culture, and external differences. To cope with these issues, students had to adjust psychologically, and improve their language skills and cultural understanding in a short period of time. In the next section, this research looks into the ways in which students dealt with these challenges.
5.5 Ways to Overcome Challenges and Difficulties

All international students face challenges in a new country during their program studies. In the interviews, I listened to stories about the different ways students overcame their difficulties. Some of the interviewees were quite positive, while quite a few of them were feeling frustrated. Most of the time, these students chose to “go with the flow”, demonstrating a high tolerance for and understanding of a new environment.

In a focus group, there was one female student from Botswana said,

“[ZJNU-CAIBS] is a good place to be even though we have challenges. Most of the courses are delivered in English [in this program], and if the teacher doesn’t know how to say a specific word in English when he or she was giving a lesson, the students will be like ‘Laoshi (teacher), just say it and write it in Chinese’. Although our Chinese is not perfect, we will continue the class like that. But it is still great.”

As has been reported, however, not all students had the patience to deal with these academic difficulties. Instead of attending classes and figuring out theories from textbooks, some students decided to skip classes to start up their own businesses or look for job opportunities. One male interviewee, also from Botswana, explained,

“At the beginning, I studied very hard until I realized that the teacher just needs us to memorize the textbook knowledge for the tests. If I can memorize the textbook knowledge, I will easily get a high grade… I decided to find a job to practice, and I actually found one in Shanghai. However, my student visa doesn’t allow me to work here.”
Another interviewee from the Netherlands shared something similar,

“Actually in the first month, I was greatly motivated and involved, and I tried to learn more. Then when I realize there are so many problems [in terms of the language barriers, and the class contents were too theoretical]… I knew that my work would not be very good, so I decided to work [and put less focus on study], start my own business, and talk to people. And I learned a lot from there; I learned many things outside of the classroom.”

While most of the students attempted to address their learning difficulties with language, teaching style, and curricula, a few of them gave up studying to start making money. As business majors, most students believed that textbook theories need to be examined and practiced in real life. As many of them already had a bachelor’s degree or previous work experience in business, they thought skipping a few classes was harmless as long as they finished their degree paper and graduated on time.

Both African and non-African students also complained about university management. Students did not receive direct answers for many questions they asked personnel in the international student office; instead, the staff redirected them to another person or place, where their questions still were not answered. In this manner, many students’ problems never got solved. Moreover, some of the interviewees also told me that the university asked the international students to be fingerprinted twice a week to track their attendance at the university. As one female interviewee from Kazakhstan stated,

“The university [ZJNU] asks us to do it [fingerprints] per week, but I think I forgot last week [laugh]. If I don’t do it, maybe the university will not give me scholarship? Well, I am paying
myself, so I don’t care. But here, everything you do is related to your scholarship. I still try to
do the fingerprints; if I don’t do it too many times, maybe next year they will tell me that they
don’t give me my diploma.”

Although some students were uncomfortable with and found this policy intrusive, they felt that since they were studying at a foreign university they should comply with the rules. According to scholarship recipients like the female student from Kazakhstan, attendance rate is a big deciding factor for whether one receives a scholarship for the second year. Compared to scholarship recipients, those self-funded students tended to be less stressed about this particular university policy.

In contrast, some interviewees saw fingerprinting as an effective method for the school to manage rather than control the large number of international students on campus. In the past, some international students suddenly changed their cell phone numbers and left the university without any notice; tracking fingerprints to manage student attendance could actually help ensure students’ safety on and off campus to some degree. Although CAIBS’ current management of international students seems harsh, due to a lack of experience in dealing with a larger-than-expected number of incoming international students over the past several years, CAIBS had to find a way to cope. How to better serve and manage international students became a thorny problem for the university. Administrators had to consider and learn from other Chinese universities with similar experiences.

With all the experiences, positive or negative, that the students had shared in the interviews, it was obvious that they had developed new ways to respond to unfamiliar situations. When I asked them questions about personal changes, they replied with words like “confidence,” “independence,” and “understanding.” For instance, several interviewees from each group had never traveled outside of
their home country before going to China; they had to learn to adapt a new environment, how to communicate with different people, and how to manage their finances and so on. Learning new skills over the year or two in China had made students more confident and independent. As one male student from Liberia said,

“When I first came here, the world around me was very challenging. But we can achieve anything as long as we put in more of an extraordinary effort than the other people. Chinese people have this kind of mindset [as they always put in a lot of effort to achieve their goals]. I came here to see the how they [Chinese people] put in effort, which was very different from what I saw and what I thought back in Africa. I had never got the opportunity to imagine that I want to be successful, but after coming to China, I started to put in effort.”

These students came into understanding in two spheres: how to understand themselves and how to understand the rest of the world by navigating between their “old” and “new” identities. Being stand out because of appearance created somewhat of a new identity for most of the students in both groups was. Many interviewees said that if Chinese people had been staring at them on street a couple of years before the interview took place, they would have felt irritated and angry. However, by interacting more with Chinese people they began to realize that although Chinese people may demonstrate curiosity about people from different countries, as a whole, the Chinese people and culture promote harmony—once they know you better, they will treat you as a friend. As a result, most of the students had come to understand that residents of China’s smaller cities (in this case, the Jinhua city) and towns do not have many chances to see foreigners in general, not to mention ones who have very different skin colors and cultural habits. As one female interviewee from Tanzania stated,
“Many Chinese people heard about black people but never saw a real one before, and we don't understand and thought it was racist. Now I live in China, and I also got the experience that most Chinese people are shy; maybe they want to be friends with you, but they don't know how [laugh].”

Some African students were even making jokes about their own skin color; as one student from Malawi said,

“If I met Chinese on the streets who are curious about my dark skin, I would tell them that because I received too much tan back in Africa, and my skin got sunburned!”

5.6 Expectations
The vast majority of the African students interviewed hoped to find an internship or a long-term training experience to practice business in China since many of them did not have any business-related work experience before. They believed that this was the only way that their Chinese education could successfully fulfill its mission to promote human capacity building. By participating in some business training programs along with the academic instruction, international students could either establish their own businesses between China and their home countries or bring their newfound skills and knowledge back to their home countries. The African students had high expectations of learning new skills from China and its developmental success.

In a focus group interview, one male interviewee from Cameroon said,

“Many people who come to China want to start a business, but I don’t think I had enough experience to do so. If I try to start something on my own, I have to work for someone at
least to get the experience. I have been here and have learned a little bit [in terms of language and culture] in China, so I can communicate with people in the country and make connections, but it is very hard to get a job here, and the biggest headache is getting a job now.”

Another interviewee from Zimbabwe said,

“If I have a chance to work in the government back home, or even just work in my future company, I am not going to waste a lot of time to design a new [business] model; If I see some [business] models worked [in some Chinese companies that can also be potentially used in Zimbabwe government and my future company], I will take it and just adjust a little bit, and see whether it works or not.”

Similar to this Zimbabwe student’s thought, a female interviewee from Botswana further explained,

“If I see something [in terms of business models particularly] I can borrow from China and use in my country, I will have to [take them back] and practice them. By doing business, I can not only change my fate but also change everyone [’s life in my country] and [promote] the economy of my country.”

In addition, a male interviewee from Lesotho had an idea about combining his business model with Chinese culture because he was expecting to work with Chinese companies or businessmen in the future,
“I think most of the culture I learned here can be applied to my business skills because I will work with Chinese investors when they come to Lesotho.”

Besides looking for applicable business models in China, most African students saw China not only as a study destination but also as a place to make money. China’s reform employment policy for international students was still in its initial stages during the time of this dissertation fieldwork. It is a positive sign that China has permitted international students to take part-time jobs during their studies (however, making a good living in China did not seem as easily attainable as many students hoped)\(^\text{47}\). Before coming to China, they had imagined that China would be a wonderland and that making money there would be easy. However, many of them were disappointed to find that their business was limited to only small procurement services. For example, if a friend back home asked the student to get him a laptop, the student would check the price and ask the friend to send money. With the money in hand, the student would then buy the laptop and send it back through either the post office or an express service. One male interviewee from Senegal said,

“To be honest, I came here because we knew some people in Guangzhou, and they are doing business and making good money; that’s why I was like I also wanted to learn the skills.”

Half of the African interviewees said that they expected to learn more of the Chinese language and culture. Since many of them wanted to establish connections with local Chinese companies and businesses, being able to speak Chinese and having a deeper understanding of the culture would help

\(^{47}\) According to China Daily’s report on August 7, 2018, the Ministry of Education of China has changed its policy for allowing international students at Chinese universities nationwide to take part-time jobs during their studies. For more detailed information, please visit http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201808/07/W55b68e48fa3100d951b8c8ed2.html
them. A few African students also realized that they would have to put in effort to compete with the Chinese students to find jobs in China that they coveted.

Compared to the African students, a vast majority of the non-African students at CAIBS said that their expectations for their Chinese education were based not only on how many business skills they could acquire upon graduation, but also on learning the Chinese language and increasing their understanding of the culture. These students traveled to China to expand their worldview and to witness China’s current economic success. However, none of the non-African students mentioned that they would like to learn from China’s model and take what they had learned back to their own country. They added that if, during their studies in China, they found a potential job (such as teaching languages) or a business opportunity, they would take it. Some of the interviewees planned on continuing their academic studies in China by getting another master’s degree or a PhD in the near future; they wanted more research opportunities than were being offered. As one interviewee from Pakistan said,

“I am planning to do my PhD and find a job in China.”

In the interviews, some African students had found that both location of the university and the number of years its teachers and administrators had worked with foreign students could determine the quality of an international student’s academic experience in China. However, since these students had realized before they arrived in China that choosing to study and live abroad would be an experience full of uncertainties, they had prepared themselves in advance. Many of them indicated that before they had left home, they had decided that regardless of which Chinese university they attended and in which city, as long as they made a sustained effort, they would eventually find a way
to reach their goals. And in general, many of them appreciated what they had learned while at CAIBS, both in and out of the classroom.

5.7 Plans after Graduation
Almost all students expected to begin their careers or to attain another academic degree after graduation. They had to determine their next destination to achieve their goals after spending years at CAIBS. The students’ responses included three possible scenarios: remain in China, return to the student’s home country, or go to another country.

More than 80% of the interviewed students said that they would not go back to their home countries immediately after finishing their education in China. Many male African students planned to remain in China to secure a permanent job which would require a Chinese work visa. More than half of the interviewees who planned to get a job would prefer to work for a Chinese company located anywhere in China or in other countries. If there were good opportunities back in Africa, they would also pursue work with a China-based company there. They are more confident working with Chinese people elsewhere after their experiences living in China. If they had trouble getting a job, several students’ back-up plan is to try and establish a private import/export company for business between China and their home countries. Unlike the male African students, most of the female African students who did not intend to return home immediately after graduation planned on getting a PhD in China instead.

The remaining interviewees whose plans did not include an immediate return to their home country were either looking for opportunities in China or planning to go to other countries, including Australia, the U.S., and the UK. Only three African interviewees said that they were definitely returning to their home countries; two out of the three were leaving China because they were worried about encountering issues with securing a visa, the third was hoping to expand connections with individuals
and companies in China. Unfortunately, he (the third one) lacks the required social capital and access to resources, therefore, he would return home first for potential business connections and good venture ideas.

Of those who considered attaining a PhD, 10 African students and eight students of other nationalities would choose a Chinese university again. Only one male student from Tanzania said that he did not care where he went for his doctoral studies as long as the university offered him a scholarship. Twelve African students said that if they did decide to pursue a doctoral degree in China, they would also seize the time and opportunity to practice their business skills. One female interviewee from Ethiopia said that she had already applied to several Chinese universities as a PhD candidate; if she was accepted, she would return to China not only to continue her studies but also to open a restaurant that introduced injera (Amharic, one of the Ethiopian Semitic languages, meaning sourdough bread) to the Chinese.

In comparison to the African students, at least half of the students of other nationalities said that they would like to stay in China after graduation by establishing some kind of small business rather than getting an advanced degree. Some of them, during their studies, had established their own companies including a language school, a wine company, and some online stores. One female interviewee from Kazakhstan said that she wanted to open a café in China with hopes that the income she earns allows her to travel the world. A male student from Russia who had a Chinese girlfriend said that he would like to start a business and settle down in China.
5.8 Visa Issues
As seen from the interviewees’ responses cited above, most of the interviewees at CAIBS hoped to extend their stay in China. One of their biggest challenges was getting a Chinese work permit, which allows them to both work and live in China. In January 2017, the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security of the PRC announced a new policy concerning a one-year work visa for international students who had earned a masters’ degree or above at a Chinese university. After one year, the work visa could be extended to five years depending on the workplace’s needs and the student’s job performance as reported by the management. Therefore, for those interviewees at CAIBS who had graduated in May 2017, the new policy opened a door for them to practice their business skills in China without worrying about having to leave after only one year; the first step was to secure the one-year work visa.

As is the case in many countries, the first step in securing a work permit is to find a company that is willing to hire you. In China, an international student must obtain an employment permit from a workplace (e.g. a Chinese company) in a field that matches their degree. Once attained, international students have a 30-day period to apply for and receive a Temporary Residence Permit (TRP). Since most private Chinese companies have certain requirements for their foreign employees’ Chinese language abilities, proficiency in Chinese speaking and writing greatly enhances an international student’s chances of successfully landing a job. While recent changes in securing a visa or work permit did not guarantee an immediately successful transition from international student to resident business owner or worker, they did make it more possible to imagine a future in China. As one interviewee from Ethiopia explained,
“In fact, it is your choice to stay here or go back to your country. So some of them go back to their countries, and some stay in China. I heard my country mates go back to Ethiopia then come back, but they can’t stay here forever. The Chinese policy is, you can work after graduation, you can get a work visa. Although I don’t know any of us got a job offer here [in China], but I know many [of my friends] are planning to stay and find a full-time job.”

Another aspect of China’s new work policy extends to international students who want to work while going to school, which was an issue that was problematic for many of the partially-funded and self-funded students at CAIBS who had complained that life in China had been difficult because the country’s policy had not allowed them to work while studying. According to the new policy, international students can now work either part-time during academic semesters or the holidays while studying in China. This is especially helpful for international students who are majoring in business. According to many interviewees, even their limited trade show experiences gave them a sense that engaging in a business while at school was a great way to gain needed skills that increase the possibility of them finding jobs or other business opportunities after graduating. Comparatively, before 2013, based on the Exit and Entry Administration Law of the PRC, international students were not permitted to work in China. This included internships. The new policy allows students to have internships and part-time jobs as long as they receive permission from the university.

All these policy changes seemed straightforward. But according to students who were immediately affected after the new policy was instated, the required paperwork made the application process frustrating and sometimes unsuccessful. As one female student from Botswana stated,
“The thing is, if we go to the immigration office, we need forms from the school. The school is the one who determines us [school manages all students’ academic, medical, travel, and other important records] and tells the immigration office about all the information I gave.”

Some interviewees at CAIBS also complained of student visa issues; for example, the university offered visas for 10 months instead of 12 months. As a female interviewee from Ethiopia explained,

“If you are in China, you pay your tuition for a year but they give you a visa for 10 months; a visa should be also for 12 months. They tell us if you want to extend your visa, you need to pay your fees. Parents back home know that we are paying school fees in September, so they need to raise money before September. But the visa they gave to us now will be ended in July, so we have to pay extra fees to fill the gap.”

Regarding this issue, another female student from Botswana who received the CSC scholarship explained the problem in more detail. She said,

“The visa is according to how long you pay your school fees for. Because I paid by the CSC scholarship, my school fees are paid by China for my entire education here. So my visa is for two years. But for people who pay themselves, if they pay school fees for six months, their visa also last for six months. When you apply for the visa, you need a letter from the school, and the school will say that you paid your school fees from this date to that date, so you can only apply for your visa for that period of time.”
In the interviews, many African students displayed anxieties about employment. Compared to students of other nationalities, African students expressed greater desires for getting a Chinese work visa because many of them wished to stay longer to explore job and business opportunities. Despite the fact that applying for a Chinese work visa is difficult for all foreign students in China, it seemed to be even more difficult for many African students. As one female student from Botswana commented,

“It is very, very hard to get a job in China. When I was looking for a marketing manager position, they wanted someone who is a native English speaker. It is interesting because my country was colonized by British, we also speak English. But in China, they want people from native English-speaking countries. People from South Africa don’t speak English, but Chinese companies also like to recruit them. I think it might be because China and South Africa have BRICS partnership.”

Both African and non-African students experienced difficulties when applying for a Chinese work visa. Previous policy enacted more restrictions on foreigners working in China. With deepening reform and opening-up (e.g. China’s Africa policy and the One Belt One Road Initiative), the Chinese government started to develop new policies for foreign students pursuing employment to address the recent and continued influx of the international student population. Besides, it seemed to be more difficult for some African interviewees to land a good job in China due to language and ethnic differences compared to their peers at CAIBS. They hoped that in the future, Chinese companies will provide equal opportunities to all international students by focusing on acquired skills instead of language and ethnic backgrounds.
5.9 Opinions on China-Africa Higher Education Cooperation

In the fieldwork interviews, African interviewees were not asked directly about their opinions on Chinese-African relationships. Instead, they were asked, “How would you define and understand these two words—‘cooperation’ and ‘development’—when you think of the relationship between China and Africa, especially in the field of education?” African students had a number of comments and opinions about the current cooperation.

Three overriding perceptions of Chinese university and Chinese society emerged from the responses: 1) we came to learn so we have to adapt to China; 2) China should become more globalized; for example, we hope more Chinese people can speak English to make communication easier. Since more international students are coming to China, Chinese society and people should adapt accordingly; 3) No matter who goes to which country, people always need to learn from each other, it is significant to making better connections as human beings.

African students who held the first perception usually greatly value a degree from China. Their friends’ or family’s positive experiences traveling, studying, or business experiences majorly influenced their first impression of China. They aimed to learn how Chinese people do things and to familiarize themselves with Chinese culture to take this knowledge back to their home countries or improve their ability to conduct businesses with Chinese people in the future. As one female interviewee from Cameroon said,

“Our president is learning from China, and he is also learning the Chinese language, so I think it is also important for me to learn about China as well.”
African students who hold the second perception had various complaints about their studying and living experiences that were caused by cross-cultural misunderstandings and language barriers. They chose to study in China because they believed that China’s globalization had been walking hand-in-hand with its economic development. However, many of them were disappointed after arriving in China. They claimed that both the Chinese society and university system were not ready to welcome that many international students. African students who held the third perception tended to be more rational towards the current education exchange and cooperation between China and their home countries. They believed that this example of higher education cooperation is not a “one-way” process; when African students studied at Chinese universities, they also tried to promote their own cultures and share their opinions with Chinese students. They felt that China and African countries’ cooperation was influencing the world, and that China’s One Belt One Road initiatives set an even better example for other countries in the global South to become an active participant of the “global village.” In this sense, they hoped that the China-Africa higher education cooperation could also benefit African countries’ human capacity building and sustainability at large.

The next point the interviewees made about China-African countries’ cooperation was that China was truly helping Africa; there had been visible effects in their countries. Of the 32 African interviewees at CAIBS, 26 had positive feelings about China-Africa relationships and their current cooperation. When referring to collaborative projects in fields such as infrastructure, agriculture, and engineering, African students hoped that cooperative efforts could also be extended to the social sciences and education. As one male student from Tanzania said,

“Actually, we have been cooperating in many areas, such as policies and infrastructure and so on, but not much in education.”
Another female interviewee from Lesotho addressed the connections between higher education and human capacity building, and their positive influence on local (as in the home country) economy. She said,

“I hope there are more higher education connections between two countries, so people in my country can do their own business independently, and they can support themselves.”

Many African students said people “back home” valued a Chinese degree because they believed that China was more developed than their home countries. African students said that securing a master’s degree in China would help them gain greater social capital for their home country’s local job market. Although many African countries face the growing unemployment challenge, African students still believed that studying in China was a valuable experience that might give them unexpected opportunities in the future. According to some African interviewees, even if that was not the case, China-Africa’s higher education cooperation programs were going to continue to benefit Africa in a way that Africa’s own education system was not. According to some of the African interviewees, many previously colonialized African countries are still largely following traditional Western educational systems; many subjects taught in schools are not given enough skills that will help build African college graduates’ capability of helping their countries develop. One male student from Tanzania said,

“We have many musicians and artists back in my country, and they choose to study these majors. But these majors are not very useful. People don’t have enough skills such as technology and construction to change the economy in the country; but you see in China, people have all these skills.”
In many African students’ eyes, acquiring skills that contribute to and improve their home countries’ economic growth is most important; with these skills, African countries can cultivate more skilled workforce and specialized expertise that will help them develop in the long run. As one male interviewee from Zimbabwe commented,

“I think there are two things we can learn from China: one is the education, another is [China’s development]. When one country’s economy is better than yours, you can learn what they do in the country and take things back, like why they are and what they are. I learned the good education part, such as why China is like this, what people do for their education system, why it is the way it is, why people do these certain things... Then you start to understand why certain countries are moving forward and why the other countries are left behind. For example, Chinese students are trained in what the country requires [economically]. If China wants the teachers to learn certain type of skills, that’s what they are taught in school; it is professional, and it is persistent. It is interesting, if you ask a question to different Chinese students, they will all give you the same answer. This means the Chinese students are trained in the same way, and when they go to work, they make the country better, because the country is training people they require [for the job market].”

When I asked him whether this type of skill-based training is good or not good to a society’s long-term development, he responded,

“It is a good thing. Because when the students leave the school, they are going to fit into the society as it required, it is a well-organized system. As far as I see, China seems to plan what
they require and they do it; for example, if you want the student to be a translator then you teach them English in the university, you teach them from college, so they study what workforce requires and introduce them to the system. So it created a very organized and efficient flow of workforce and human capital, which is well trained and organized. Now you can see that they are building their own place, something that we don’t have. We are told [by some employers back in Zimbabwe] that your skills are not required [for them]… So as I believed, we don’t create the workforce and human capital as required, and we don’t introduce the effective system to both students and teachers.”

Besides giving opinions on China’s current higher education model and how it relates to the nation’s development, many African students also shared their views on how Chinese culture influenced China’s Africa policy, especially in the area of higher education cooperation. Through interactions with Chinese graduate students on campus, several African students made some Chinese friends. Several interviewees shared their personal experiences. One student from Zimbabwe stated,

“Sometimes I don’t understand why Chinese people treat foreigners even better than themselves, and they put foreigners’ needs as their first priority. They [Chinese] make us feel too comfortable sometimes, but they don’t need to. We think you should just treat us as the way you treat your Chinese friends. So some of my Chinese friends, they are ok to express themselves now, but in the beginning, whatever we say, they would be like ‘okay, okay.’ So you see, Chinese people are also learning our culture.”
China-Africa’s education cooperation provided opportunities for Chinese and African people to learn about each other’s culture. At least, the willingness for both sides to understand their differences marks the first step towards a successful partnership. As another interviewee from Tanzania said,

“Chinese culture is about respect, like self-awareness and self-administration. If China gives you aid and money, they allow you to do what you want to do, then China will just watch but will not tell you what to do next. I am not sure, but that’s my perception about Chinese political culture—to respect the others; like I am not stepping into your house and telling you how to do things, but I will help you. Of course, the aids are not administered efficiently now, so we have to learn how to do things and use the money wisely.”

When the students discussed and defined “one-way” and “win-win” in groups, there were two different opinions. One group of African students claimed that the current education cooperation is going to lead to a “win-win,” because education exchange is about people-to-people interaction; even in their position as international students studying at a Chinese university, the Chinese students and faculty are also learning from them.

Another group of African students took a slightly different view. They said that although China made it easy for them to come and learn there (e.g. scholarships and visa policy), not many Chinese people study at African universities. So the education exchange and cooperation looked like “one-way” aid. However, they continued, if China had not initiated its education cooperation with African countries, African students would have had less scholarships and academic opportunities to study abroad and learn new skills. One male student from Lesotho said,
“Although it [China-Africa higher education cooperation] is like a ‘one-way’ cooperation, but maybe because we [African countries] are still very difficult to develop just by ourselves… We consider China a big country, for us China is more developed.”

Regarding the latter opinion, a few African students also stated their concerns about future cooperation. While most of them were glad to see that China and Africa had established close partnership relations, which has been benefiting many areas at home and in China, including higher education. However, they were uncertain about the future because they believed that nothing comes for free such as the scholarships.

Some African students added that the Chinese government did not yet offer enough scholarships for the MBA major; many African students who realized the advantages of a Chinese higher education shouldered the burden of funding themselves. Therefore, in this study, Chinese scholarships for certain majors such as MBA were only benefiting a small number of African students each year.

5.10 Chinese faculty and students’ opinions
The number of international students (especially African students) attending ZJNU has increased dramatically over the past several years. For the growing number of African students on campus, Chinese faculty and graduate students from the business school and comparative education program shared their understandings and opinions regarding this trend.

Many Chinese students believed that the growth of the international student population on campus reflects the modernization and globalization of Chinese society. Although ZJNU is a regional university located in a small city, it still attracts many foreign students. In the interviews, “internationalization,” “globalization,” and “multiculturalism” were the words used mostly by Chinese
students when they described current developments in Chinese higher education. As one male Chinese student from the Comparative Education Program said,

“It [Chinese university attracts international students] is a phenomenon of education globalization. When I was an undergraduate student, I didn’t see that many foreign students in my university. But now in ZJNU, this university has many exchange programs with universities in the developing countries, such as Southeast Asia and Africa, so we see students from other Asian countries and African countries here. It is a phenomenon of multiculturalism as well. I visited the African Museum on campus, and the exhibition was great; African culture is diverse but also unique. As Chinese, we also have our culture, and we respect the diversity of culture, each one is unique. In Chinese traditional culture, we respect, and we always seek common ground while reserve differences. Now China has become the second economy of the world, and it is China’s responsibility to help the others, and became a part in the process of globalization.”

A second point made by members of this group referred to the issue raised by some of the study’s African students concerning their feelings of being isolated from the Chinese community. One female Chinese student from CAIBS said,

“Most times, we feel curious when we see people from different countries, but we need time to adapt. We see the cultural differences, such as how we greet each other and how we communicate; there are always something different, like our ideologies and concepts toward many things. However, because of these differences, we are learning from each other. For example, I had a good African friend. She was from DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo)
and she was a very cheerful person. Every time we talk, she would tell me many things about herself and her country. Now I don’t need to go outside the country to know these things.”

Another female Chinese student from CAIBS further explained,

“It is not like we wanted to isolate the African students. Many Chinese are afraid of foreigners in general [laugh], and we are afraid to make mistakes when we speak English. Because our English is not that good, and sometimes we do not even know what language do they speak, so how can we communicate? Even we both speak some English, I do not know how to say [sic] and what to say to them. The differences regarding language and culture probably caused the biggest communication barrier, and they do impact our relationships.”

In a different view from that of some of the female Chinese students, one of the male Chinese students offered an opinion shared by other male students:

“It is normal to see African students here because this university gets more international students to come to study; people from a variety of countries. We play with both African students and other international students sometimes if we are in the same class. Because there are Chinese MBA programs for Chinese students and IMBA program for international students; we do not know each other if we don’t take the same class.”

The faculty member who is in charge of the international student affairs at CAIBS also agreed with this:
“African students feel isolated maybe because this program is taught in English; these students do not speak Chinese and they don’t take the same class with the Chinese students. And another issue is the language; we do not have many Chinese students who can speak good English. Maybe Chinese people are also shy. The Chinese MBA class have several African students who can speak Chinese, and they hang out with Chinese students a lot. Before, we only accepted international students who can speak Chinese to study in the program, but now many programs are taught in English.”

Five Chinese students from CAIBS shared their thoughts on African students’ motivations. Three of them mentioned China’s recent economic development, especially its growing trade relations with African countries. As one female student said,

“The world is developing, so is China. Especially in the business and trade area, China has close relations with African countries.”

Another female student continued,

“To African students, they think China has great economic potentials; if they are interested in Chinese culture and business, the learning experience in China will bring opportunities to them in the future.”

Two other Chinese students also mentioned the scholarship opportunities the Chinese government provided to the African students. One of the female students said,
“Many international students choose China because of the scholarship opportunities; it covers almost all expenses in China. If they don’t receive any scholarship, they probably won’t come back for school any longer. The Chinese scholarship brought them back to school and gave them a chance to stay in China.”

Regarding the university’s management policy towards international students, including requirements for international students to get fingerprinted twice a week to prove their attendance at the school, one Chinese graduate student said,

“The school just launched this policy this year. Because we heard that there were a few international students changed their cell phone numbers and lost in contact with the school after one semester or one year, the school decided to take some actions. We know that many African students come to look for business opportunities rather than studying, and the student visa can make their life more stable here in China if they want to stay a bit longer. It is sad to say these things, but some of them don’t take the scholarship and the learning opportunity seriously.”

Coincidentally, when I finished one group interview with five Chinese students, I visited a faculty member at the business school student office and saw one of the African students asking questions regarding his dissertation and entering the visa process after graduation. About five minutes later, the faculty member sat down with me and said,

“These students [both African and non-African students studying in the IMBA program] usually come to ask policies in terms of their internship opportunities in China. On the
university level, we can't really help them to extend their visa; many international students wanted to do internship outside, but the policy doesn’t allow it. It is frustrating that many times we see their desires to make money or do internships but we are also in dilemma. The school can only arrange some activities for them to accumulate business experiences, such as host business planning competition and take them to visit some factories and companies. We try to combine these activities as part of their practicum so they can understand better. Although many African students went back to their home countries finally, if they want to stay in China after graduating, there are many business opportunities for them, especially in this area. They can either establish a company or find a company to sponsor their work visa. I talked to some of our graduates before, they told me that they have either found jobs in Chinese companies, such as Alibaba, or were sent back to work in China by the African companies back home. Business was their major, it should be easy for them to stay in the business cities, such as Yiwu and Guangzhou” (my own translation; as the language for this interview was Chinese).

When I asked how the school usually helps international students solve problems, such as language barriers, community engagement, and the quality of courses, the faculty member said,

“We have an international student union the international students themselves are actually helping us develop (see example in Appendix Q). They initiated the union; the school was very supportive because we want the international students to feel like home and do something they feel like to do. If we host events for them, not many students would be interested in participating. For problems with language and courses, because the school is still new, some senior teachers in CAIBS may have language barriers because they only taught Chinese
students before. These recent years we have been hiring teachers who have overseas experiences. They should have no problem teaching and communicating with the foreign students” (my own translation; as the language for this interview was Chinese).

In general, Chinese faculty members and students at CAIBS and the comparative education program stated that it was a great challenge for a regional university to welcome so many foreign students in such a short period of time, especially when the number of foreign students is increasing each year. In addition, the China-African international business school does not yet have sufficient experience in managing and teaching foreign students, especially when more non-African international students are simultaneously going to study. In these group interviews, the Chinese faculty and students shared their perspectives on issues raised by the African students. They also raised some concerns for future cooperation, such as the mechanism of enrollment and the foreign student population’s continuous expansion on campus. Many of them believed that because of China’s economic development, this trend will continue as there will be an increasing number of international students who choose to study at Chinese universities. In order to get ahead of this trend, Chinese universities, including ZJNU, need to prepare themselves in many areas, such as international student management and curriculum design.

5.11 Suggestions and Conclusions
Academically, Chinese teachers’ poor English skills caused communication barriers. Many international students had to study with their peers to understand the content of the class due to their advisors’ busy schedules and limited English skills. The students also claimed that the courses focus too much on theories rather than opportunities for practice. Although the school took the students to do field work and participate in workshops to connect with local enterprises, the activities the school arranged for them did not meet student expectations. Many students who had come to study
in China planned to do either short-term or long-term internships. In response to this concern, I learned during the field research, the school created some opportunities to practice business for the international students at CAIBS. These included a market survey contest, which required students to leave campus and explore Chinese business markets to make strategic plans for their future business (see pictures in Appendix R).

Although many students who came to CAIBS had no background in business, those students who did have business backgrounds complained about the enrollment policy. They felt that because so many admitted students did not have a solid background in basic business courses, the level of course offerings suffered. A few African students also mentioned the selection of textbooks; since the African students came to study business at a Chinese university that aimed to teach the Chinese way of doing business, they expected to be studying materials written by Chinese scholars that would explain China’s business strategies. However, most instructors selected course materials originally written by Western scholars; the examples given in the textbooks could not be fully applied in a Chinese context.

Many international students complained about the complexity and inflexibility of the school’s general policies and management. A few African students shared their challenging times when they needed the school to help them with some paperwork, such as a letter for sponsoring their internship or for extending their visa status. They also explained that the university’s international student office often could not help them solve problems efficiently; they described many times that they had to go to several offices to get things done or that their problems were left unsolved.

In response to international students having to have their fingerprints scanned, several Chinese graduate students who were working as office assistants in the CAIBS administrative office explained
that there had been occasions when several international students suddenly changed their contact information after one or two semesters, and the school could not find them. To make sure that these students were attending school as well as ensuring their safety on and off campus, the administration initiated a policy that required the international students to scan their fingerprint twice a week.

Many African students went back to their home countries after they had completed their degree programs in China but eventually returned; these students came back either to reconnecting their business relations or to pursue another degree (master’s or a doctoral degree) at Chinese universities. Chinese faculty in CAIBS also said that while a few African students had found jobs in Chinese companies in the past few years, more recently, some large African companies have created overseas branches and are interested in recruiting African students with a Chinese education background to help the company expand its business in China. Therefore, it seemed like there were some new job opportunities available for African students to be able to remain in China while working for their home countries.

Culturally, international students have a good impression of Chinese students and teachers; some African students shared their positive experiences when they received assistance from their Chinese friends. However, some international students (including both African and non-African students) talked about their negative experiences in some small cities in China where the residents often stared at them on the streets, even trailing after them to try to take their pictures. Moreover, they discussed the problems that arose from the language barrier; many international students felt isolated from the Chinese community from time to time because of their limited ability to communicate in Chinese. As a result, they mostly studied and spent their free time with their country mates or with those who shared similar cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Although international students have experienced a
variety of culture shocks in China, including the food, eating habits, social manners, and so on, the sheer number of students arriving in China has encouraged stores and eating establishments located near the campuses to include food and other products that cater to the needs of a more culturally diverse customer base. Many Muslim students said in the interviews that they can easily find supermarkets and restaurants selling halal food around the university. The African students also told me that they could even find their country’s specialties through Taobao (a Chinese online Amazon type site) and at some of the local markets. In this way, life in China nowadays has become more convenient for foreign population.

As we all know, being a pioneer in any field is not easy. Founded in 2010 as the first and the only higher education program that actively promotes economic and trade cooperation between China and African countries, the ZJNU-CAIBS is still young and faces challenges brought by a rapid growth. However, during these past seven years, the school has been developing new ideas and innovating improvements to its programs. Although the school has been taking steps to provide better learning experiences for its students, China’s quick development and its welcome policy towards foreign students has created an invisible but very real pressure on China’s international education programs, which require higher educational institutions (such as ZJNU in this case) to take bigger steps and find more suitable education policies (e.g. curriculum, management, etc.) to incorporate China’s rapid globalization processes and other development needs. Many international students, especially those from African countries, had high expectations before coming to China, wanting to become part of the community that they wished to emulate. However, what many of them discovered, to their dismay, is that not many Chinese students are “brave” enough to speak English or cannot speak English very well.
As a researcher, I always feel a need to hear different voices to balance my views. In the field research, although the African students raised issues and complained about many things about the school and Chinese society in general, they also showed great understanding. Similarly, although the Chinese students tried to explain the reasons for these issues from a cultural perspective, they also recognized that the school could improve on several aspects in the future. Both Chinese students and African students agreed that despite conflicts, they had a shared goal, which was to improve cooperation between China and African countries. This concept of education exchanges and cooperation is a learning process in many aspects of both sides, whatever else happens there should be more constructive communication in the future.

According to interviews, the International Student Union (ISU), which is run by international students at CAIBS, has been planning to include more Chinese students in the upcoming semesters. It will create several new committees to meet different needs, such as a living committee that offers orientation meetings for new international students’ arrivals, and an education committee to help solve learning difficulties. They also proposed a multimedia committee, an activity committee, and a secretarial committee that would provide extra support to student services on campus. Moreover, in order to connect with Chinese students and promote mutual understanding, the ISU created an English and Chinese Club for language and cultural exchange purposes.

To close this chapter, I will quote one African student’s words: “If I came five years earlier, the school [wouldn’t] look like what we see right now; and if I come after five years, the school will be different again. The school is developing and China is developing. I am happy to be here, and I think everything is going to be better.”
CHAPTER 6
INQUIRIES AND THOUGHTS ON CHINA’S MODEL AND CHINA-AFRICA HIGHER EDUCATION COOPERATION

In returning to the research questions and discussing China’s developmental model and African policies, it is necessary to review what both China and African countries gain from this new model of higher education exchange and cooperation? As discussed in chapter two, China’s higher education engagement with Africa is based on mutuality and respect that goes beyond the traditional framework of foreign aid and a zero-sum viewpoint. Education as a complementary approach for a nation’s sustainable development should be understood in a broader context. Its examination should be based on the real-time experiences of educational initiatives’ stakeholders, including participants and the recipients.

In the past 20 years, one major debate in the development field centered on how scholars view China’s cultural exchange and higher education engagement with Africa as a prominent part of China’s larger soft power strategies, implying that China and Africa have not actually engaged in an equal “win-win” situation. Almost 20 years have passed since the establishment of the FOCAC, and the number of African students in Chinese universities is still increasing year after year. Regardless of whether scholars using “Soft power” as a term to describe China’s education engagement with African countries, this study reminds academics they should not neglect to listen to the voices of the main participants of the cooperation—the voices of the African students. What valuable information garnered from the students’ voices has been neglected in the past and what areas of their engagement in this discussion should be incorporated into China-African countries’ higher education partnership in the future? This chapter attempts to deconstruct the findings gleaned from those voices in the field research and suggest new ways of thinking and insights into future policy adjustment.
This chapter will also discuss the dissertation research’s economic and political implications, furthering an analysis of China’s new role in international education and development. In reviewing this dissertation’s research questions that intend to illuminate African students’ motivations and perceptions of studying in China, and the impact that China-Africa’s higher education cooperation will have on Africa’s human resources development, the following conclusions were drawn and are linked to the hypotheses stated at the beginning of the study:

1) African students’ motivations for studying in China are largely driven by China’s global influence, its growing economy, and its educational opportunities, the latter being especially valued by African students and their families. Since the Chinese government offers generous financial support to African students, many Africans see China as their new study-abroad destination whose university programs guarantee an increase in their social capital, extra financial benefits, and development of personal capabilities. This belief has grown so strong that even though the large demand for higher education degrees and professional skills from African students has exceeded the Chinese government’s supply of available scholarships; approximately 90% of African students enrolling in Chinese universities are self-funded (see Appendix O). Major reasons include affordable tuition, better campus facilities and equipment, and business opportunities. Many of these self-funded students were either recommended by a growing number of African study abroad agencies or by their friends and relatives who have business ties or have personally travelled in China.

2) Many African students come to study in China not only to pursue an advanced degree but also to seek out potential business and immigration opportunities. Their plans after graduation mirror their earlier ideas as many of them plan to pursue another degree in China or elsewhere, or try to extend
their stay in China by starting businesses of their own. A large number of interviewees said that they will not return to their home countries immediately after completing their studies but might do so in the long-term. This finding suggests that higher education exchanges bring social mobility that potentially creates brain drain from African countries in the short-term but a “brain circulation” in the long-term.

3) African students have some difficulties adjusting to the cultural climate of Chinese universities and Chinese society. Many study participants, especially those who did not have any Chinese language background, were used to Western educational systems; they experienced difficulties adapting to the language (challenges mostly arose from interacting with local Chinese residents) and academic environment (Chinese learning methods). For example, many African students complained that they were always busy taking class notes (like what Chinese students would do) leaving very little time for classroom discussion that might have given them an opportunity to seek help during the class. African students also raised the issues of CAIBS’ Chinese teachers lacking the English proficiency required to teach effectively and greatly relying on Western textbooks. Therefore, the language barriers not only made it difficult for students to communicate their needs to teachers, but additionally forced students to spend hours outside of class to figure out the problems. These repeated problems induced stress for many students.

4) Some of the students faced additional stress due to misunderstandings occurring off campus caused by language issues, cultural differences, or how local Chinese residents expressed their curiosity towards the students. In these cases, the African students had to summon cultural tolerance to reconcile misunderstandings caused by African students’ and local Chinese people’s differences in appearance and identity. Importantly, this dissertation attempts to distinguish between the concepts
of “racism\textsuperscript{48}” and “othering\textsuperscript{49}”, and “race\textsuperscript{50}” and “ethnicity\textsuperscript{51}” in their sociological uses and from a Chinese point of view.

At a policy level, since the start of China’s reform and opening up in late 1970s, Chinese universities and society had not received many students from African countries until the establishment of FOCAC in the 2000s. At a cultural level, Western media, such as Hollywood movies, greatly influenced Chinese society since the late 1980s. According to Olander and van Staden’s report in 2016, they found that when Western movies were first introduced to Chinese society, many Chinese people received the impression that in almost every movie, black people are violent, bloodthirsty bad guys who hurt people. Theoretically, according to Staszak (2008), “the system of races, although very recent and Western, has imposed everywhere as a framework to conceive of human diversity” (p.3). As a country which proclaims that it has no racial diversity but only different ethnic groups, most Chinese have never even been explained the concept of “racism”. In contemporary Chinese society, due to geographic and cultural identity differences, China divided its ethnic groups into 56, and the Chinese Han people are considered the dominating group. Similar to all other nations, it is possible of the dominating group to “create the self and the other with their own set of categories” (p.3) as ethnocentrism\textsuperscript{52} has been

\textsuperscript{48} Racism, according to Clair and Denis (2015), is one or more racial groups used to justify or prescribe the inferior treatment or social position(s) of other racial groups. Racism is distinct from racial discrimination and racial inequality. Racial discrimination concerns the unequal treatment of races, whereas racial inequality concerns unequal outcomes (in income, education, health, etc). In social science, racism is a social structure.
\textsuperscript{49} Othering, according to Staszak (2008), is transforming a difference into characteristic of the other so as to create an in-group and an out-group.
\textsuperscript{50} Race, according to Clair and Denis (2015), is a biological, or natural, categorization system of the human species. Races are usually distinguished by perceived common physical characteristics.
\textsuperscript{51} Ethnicity, according to Clair and Denis (2015), is distinct from “ethnicity” in sociology. Ethnicity is defined by perceived common ancestry, history, and cultural practices. For example, Asian is considered a “race”, whereas Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Bengalis are considered ethnicities.
\textsuperscript{52} Ethnocentrism, according to Staszak (2008), is the propensity of a group (in-group) to consider its members and values as superior to the members and values of other groups (out-group).
“constructed by discourse and practice throughout [human] history” (Staszak, 2008, p.3). Therefore, it is far-fetched to use “racism” to explain African students’ negative experiences in China.

Based on the research findings, issues related to concepts of “race,” “ethnicity,” “othering” and “racism” require further exploration.

6.1 Studying in China: A Pathway to Realize the “Chinese Dream”? 
Prior to their arrival in China, students expected a Chinese degree to be more affordable than degrees offered in the Western universities. A Chinese degree would also give them an advantage in international labor markets and help them explore more business opportunities in China. Students who received Chinese government scholarships and made monthly spending budgets even saved some money while studying in China. For most self-funded students, moderate tuition fees, affordable living costs, and a welcoming visa policy were major attractions.

Yiwu is known as the capital of the world’s small commodities industry. Every year, nearly half a million foreign businessmen come to Yiwu to purchase commodities—80,000 of them come from African countries and thousands of Africans are residents of Yiwu. Yiwu’s commercial industry has hugely influenced many African countries (The Fifth Meeting of the China-Africa Think-tank Forum, May 6, 2016). Chinese President Xi Jinping once described Yiwu as an example of China-Africa trade—it plays an important role in China-Africa exchanges and is also a broader example of South-South cooperation (The Fifth Meeting of the China-Africa Think-tank Forum, May 6, 2016). According to IMBA student lists provided by CAIBS during my fieldwork in 2017, the number of enrolled international students majoring in international business increased thirteen-fold within a three-year period; 58% of the international students who enrolled at the CAIBS between the years of 2015 and 2016 was from African countries. Most of the African students interviewed were partially
funded by ZJNU. Although only a few of them had their own business ties in China, many of their decisions to study at CAIBS were influenced by friends or family members who had already established import/export and other businesses with China. Based on these factors, even if ZJNU stopped actively promoting its unique location and its scholarship opportunities, the number of interested African students is still likely to increase in the coming years.

Prior to 2013, before the remarkable growth of African students enrolled at CAIBS' IMBA program, quite a few of them had family members already settled in China; these students and their families were part of the sizeable population of African traders living in Jinhua or Guangzhou who exported goods to African countries. According to Haugen (2013), many Africans “[came] to China as students and [left] the country as traders in Chinese goods” (p. 331); findings from this dissertation research aligned with Haugen’s argument. For example, one male student from Cameroon stated in the interview,

“My family has some business background, and I hope I can stay here and do some business after my graduation … I visited Yiwu twice before I came to study MBA in ZJNU. The stationary we exported to African countries all sold well, so I’d like to expand this business to other African countries”. (Extracted from my pilot study in ZJNU, 2014)

This scenario, however, seems to have changed greatly over the past three years: a large number of African student interviewees enrolled in ZJNU’s IMBA program had no direct family business ties in China but had still paid either full tuition fees, living expenses, or both to study in China. One reason

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53 It depends the African student’s scholarship status; 26.1% African students in this study was fully self-funded and those who received university scholarships still had to pay their living expenses.
for this is that study abroad agencies in African countries have been actively promoting CAIBS by sharing the advantages of its proximity to Yiwu. These study abroad agencies also misled these African students, who anticipated in the research that they would easily find a job and make good money while pursuing their degrees in China. Things did not turn out the way most African students expected; many of them were disappointed to discover that China’s employment policies do not allow foreign students to work while attending school. This policy particularly affected the partially-funded African students. Instead of giving up their degree opportunities and returning to their home countries, they either asked their families to send them money or covertly developed some small business (e.g. procurement services) that would provide them with enough money to remain in school as well as stay in China. As another Cameroonian male student said,

“Many of my African friends come to China to study because they want to find a better job and make good money.”

Another female student from Ghana further explained,

“We are not allowed to work here [in China], but I have some African friends who are currently doing business; although it’s not legal, they are making a lot of money.”

Although it’s difficult to make money while studying, do many of the newly graduated Africans find the jobs that they went to China for? In the interviews, several African students said that Chinese

54 Her friends have been doing legal businesses in China. However, their student visa does not allow them to do any business while attending school. She said that because she was not doing any business but was envying her friends who were willing to take the risk to make money in China.
universities usually do not prohibit international students from starting their own businesses in China after graduation. However, the procedures for approval can be quite complex for foreigners.

It is worth noting that although many African students showed a strong interest in making money in China, we cannot conclude that all African students come to study in Chinese universities primarily to get visas to work in businesses rather than for the academic benefits. However, China’s recent economic growth has seemingly made many African students aspire to study and live in China with the hopes of getting jobs or business opportunities afterwards. In this particular dissertation research, a growing number of African students chose to study at the CAIBS due to the school’s geographic location to the commodities capital Yiwu.

Moreover, based on the dissertation research findings, there are three direct reasons for the surge of African students studying in China. First, China’s extraversion, such as the “going out” strategy, and the development of a welcome policy. Second, many multinational corporations nowadays seek workers with overseas experience to fulfill their expansion needs. African students who hold Chinese degrees and have knowledge of Chinese culture can potentially benefit Chinese or African companies. Third, China’s growing international higher education industry has birthed new businesses in the global South, such as the emergence of study abroad agencies in African countries in recent years. Many study abroad agencies not only charge a substantial amount to help students send applications to foreign universities but also provide follow-up services (for an additional fee) including local airport pick-up and help with scholarship applications. These newly established study abroad agencies in African countries are a byproduct of the current development of China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation. However, unfortunately, due to intense competition between agencies to attract more customers, some are not strictly honest with prospective student clients; they sometimes
even give false hopes (e.g., claiming business connection or personal connection in China) to their clients in order to earn personal credits and trust. One male student from Tanzania shared her experience with one of the study abroad agencies; she said,

“They told me it will be easy to find a job in China and I don’t need to worry about money, but the [Chinese employment] policy doesn’t even let us work here.”

A male student from Liberia added,

“The agency said China has work, we can make money for paying our living expenses, but it is not true. Now I have to ask my parents to send me money.”

According to the data, in spite of the recent increase in expenditures required to attend schools in China, African students are still going to study in Chinese universities in ever-increasing numbers, mostly to improve their job prospects after graduating. While China may be a new destination for African students to pursue both academic and economic benefits, achieving student mobility for these gains is not a new concept or practice. Many other international students who study in foreign countries also hope to extend their stay and obtain a work visa. This has caused us to re-examine African students’ particular motivations. As explained in chapter five, family and friends’ influence, China’s economic growth and global influence, exploring business opportunities, the desire to earn overseas experience, and learning the Chinese language in order to make oneself more marketable were the top five reasons for African students at ZJNU-CAIBS to pursue a MBA degree in China. All of these reasons are linked to improving career prospects. At the time of this study, students who had decided to stay in China found that the challenging process of obtaining a long-term work permit
made it difficult to improve career prospects. After early 2017, the Chinese government lift previous restrictions in its policies for foreigners finding employment. However, even with this change, future students will still be required to produce documentation to receive the extended work permit and safeguard their jobs or businesses without guarantee of success. As one male student from Egypt stated in the interview,

“To be honest, it is not easy to make big money in China, and there are risks losing my [established procurement] business and customers [also include his business networks] if I don’t get a long-term work visa [after my graduation]. You know, I have to renew my visa every year, if one day I don’t have a visa, I can’t come back and my business will be gone. I have some friends [who] gave up their businesses already... They lost money and moved to another place.”

Africans are not the only foreign student population in ZJNU-CAIBS. Because of the growing relationship between China and the countries along the OBOR, there are also quite a few students from countries in the Middle East and South and Central Asia such as Yemen, Pakistan, and Afghanistan who come to study at ZJNU. They’ve come to see Jinhua or Yiwu as their “second home” of the future. As a female student from Pakistan said,

“I like China. I’d like to stay here and do business or teach. Back home, it is impossible for a woman to do business independently, the society is not very stable.”

Presently, although China does not have laws recognizing refugees, it grants visas to people from war-torn countries as long as they can afford to live in China and pay for language courses, tuition fees, or
business taxes from their own pockets (Chen, 2017). Compared to some Western countries, a Chinese student visa is easier to obtain for students coming from these countries. Compared to African students, some of the students from countries in conflict (e.g., Pakistan and Yemen) have shown even stronger willingness to stay in China because the country can provide them with a stable social environment and a wealth of opportunities in the import/export business, neither of which is as easy to come by in their home countries.

This raises another area of challenges for the students who wish to live in China. Despite China having relaxed its immigration laws since 2015, eligibility for permanent residency has been very specific and challenging requirements including a continuous presence in China for four consecutive years, an annual income of 600,000RMB\textsuperscript{55} or above, and a payment of 120,000RMB\textsuperscript{56} in yearly income tax (Zhou, 2015). According to a report in \textit{Global Times}, an English language Chinese newspaper, the number of permanent residence applications in China increased 426\% from that of 2015 with China approving 1,576 Chinese “green cards” in 2016, an increase of 163 \% from the previous year; by 2016, there were approximately 600,000 foreigners living in China (Cao, 2017).

In a nutshell, many international students recognize that the “Chinese dream” of coming to China and getting rich is a myth shortly after arriving. In addition to the work visa issue, some interviewees at CAIBS also mentioned that lacking knowledge of Chinese laws and regulations that govern healthcare, housing, children’s education, etc., as well as expensive housing in big cities, can cause further difficulties to stay in China. However, those African students who do come are often highly educated and perhaps better able to find solutions to these issues. According to a CNN report, 40\% of Africans

\textsuperscript{55}600,000RMB was equivalent to $89,360.18 on April 2, 2019.
\textsuperscript{56}120,000RMB was equivalent to $17,872.04 on April 2, 2019.
who come to China have received at least a college level education (Marsh, 2016), and many Africans go to China to get their second or third master’s degree, some even hold a doctoral degree.

In spite of all these potential problems, many of the African students are ready to apply their recently gained knowledge to business ventures. In the past, this entrepreneurial spirit included African businessmen who came to China to buy fake luxury brands that they then sold for the same price as the real ones—the profits were huge. However today, with a maturing economy and China’s increasing legal protection of intellectual property rights of global brands, factory costs have increased while profits have decreased. During the field research, I noted that some African students were selling these imitation products to their peers back in Africa by WeChat, one of the most widely used Chinese chat app (perhaps also popular in some African countries nowadays). With only a few hundred Yuan as their monthly profit, these students were, in the words of one student, barely making “pocket money for our afternoon teas in China.” Although these business deals would come under the category of entrepreneurial activities, it is clear that their Chinese dream will not be realized from only earning enough to drink more afternoon tea.

6.2 Brain Drain? Brain Waste? or Brain Circulation?
Successfully determining whether the higher education cooperation between China and Africa will achieve its desired result of human capacity building requires two major premises. One is based on the quality of the higher education institutions and the other on the students’ decisions as to whether return to their home countries after graduation. In other words, if the university did indeed provide its African students with an excellent education and if, upon graduation, they all went back home to contribute to their home countries’ development, the China-Africa higher education exchange programs would be playing an important role in building human capacity in Africa. Conversely, if
most of the African students choose to remain in China or go to another country after graduating, there was the likelihood that down the road, Africa would suffer a brain drain.

Since many of the African students interviewed indicated that after graduation they wanted to stay in China for either academic or business purposes, or go to other developed countries to pursue another degree; it seems unlikely that many of them would return to their home countries in the short term. However, many of these students had to keep their options open. For example, in one of the interviews, one language major student mentioned that she wanted to work as a translator for a Chinese company. If she could not find a job like that, she would consider a related job in her home country (she was aware that she might not be able to find such a job in China). Nowadays, there are many Chinese companies in African countries that need translators who can master both Chinese and the local language, and she would be a likely candidate for them. In some cases, African students come to ZJNU knowing that they will be going back home after graduation. This is the case with many of the Cameroonian students who had received government scholarships due to the university’s partnership with the Université de Yaoundé I and Université de Yaoundé II of Cameroon. In return, they had signed a contract with China and promised to return to Cameroon after graduation. Most of these students were either language or education majors. If they had to return home, it is arguable that this type of scholarship agreement focuses not only on strengthening Chinese-African cultural and economic ties and enhancing mutual understanding, but also on furthering human capacity building in the African countries by guaranteeing students’ return.

When China first began to offer scholarships to African countries, African students faced a limited choice of majors and courses due to the language requirement (Chinese was the only language for academic use). China also had limited educational resources and inexperience working with foreign
students. Nowadays, although Chinese universities still face shortages in educational resources and lack effective tools for foreign student management, at least African students who go to study in China have more options in course language and degrees. They also have more options for job opportunities and personal development; for example, more and more African companies have begun to hire African students with a Chinese education background in order to extend their overseas services. However, while the number of these companies is growing, most African students who came to study in ZJNU-CAIBS had no plans to go back to their home countries. Even the ones who did have plans to go back eventually felt that it might take them years to do so.

One big challenge for this younger generation of Africans returning home after they complete their Chinese education is related to African countries’ employment situation and social environment. Many of them went to China with high expectations and great ambitions to “make a change” when they decide to go back. What they discovered is that two years’ overseas is far from enough for them to have the capacity to make a great “change” to their communities. This led to a lot of self-doubts. A male student from Cameroon who spoke fluent Chinese said that he was worried about his personal ability to “change” if he decided to go back. He said that he would prefer to have some work experience in China before he went back, but he also worried that if he stayed in China for too long, he might not want to go back at all. During my field research in ZJNU, several students expressed views similar to these; even though some African students already had plans to return to their home countries, many of them were still not sure if they had accumulated enough capabilities or confidence to deal with issues back home. As one female student from Lesotho stated,
“I think I will go back eventually, but you know back home, if we tell people we went to school in China, I mean because it is China… people will think you know everything, you can solve all problems! [But we are actually not…]”

In spite of understanding their future planning’s limitations, many student participants of this research expected to observe and learn from China’s developmental strategies. They were hoping for opportunities to work with Chinese scholars and practitioners. On the one hand, African students enrolled in the IMBA program believed that mastering knowledge and skills in business management would be the key for realizing Africa’s human resource development, which would enable potential for economic growth in the long run. By establishing their own companies one day, they could use their knowledge to manage and train local people and create job opportunities for them. On the other hand, they also believed that engaging in international trade and contributing to the fast-growing export of Chinese products to African markets would be a dominant force for realizing a rapid economic transformation and improvement in an individual’s life. In the interviews, many African students noted that they believed in China’s development model; China’s economic success was influencing the world, and they wanted to see the same thing happen in African countries. A few interviewees even said that they chose to study business because they wanted to be the “pioneers” of African economy. This ideology reflects the sentiments behind Deng Xiaoping’s famous saying “Let some people get rich first”. Reflecting Deng, one male student from Cameroon said,

“If I go back to my country, I want to make those poor become rich first.”

In his eyes, “poor” refers to those who cannot afford basic living back home; and he believed that it is very important for those people to achieve the average per capita living standard in Cameroon first.
The human capital theory argues that if skilled people return home, eventually they will add value to their countries of origin (Stark & Fan, 2007). In other words, if foreign students’ choices of a major are based on the needs of their home countries rather than the needs of the host countries, the choices are made from their social surroundings and observations of home countries’ job markets. If that is the case, presumably China’s higher education engagement with Africa may eventually help to strengthen Africa’s human capacity building in the long run, as long as the African students decide to return in a reasonable time frame with accumulated business experience that gives them the confidence to be able to make changes.

Thus, what do these African students do with the time in between graduation and returning to their home countries? According to the research data, ideally, many of the African students hoped to receive good business opportunities immediately upon graduation. If not, some planned to stay and pursue post-graduate degrees. Many of them felt that either way, they had at least gained an overseas experience and learned to see things from multiple perspectives, both of which would help increase their confidence in themselves no matter where they went.

In this sense, “brain drain” and “brain circulation” (or “brain exchange”) are a pair of multifaceted concepts. Some interviewees referred to their scenario as an example of “brain circulation” rather than brain drain. Based on them, African students staying or going to a country elsewhere might initially lead to brain drain in African countries. As some of these students eventually will return to their original countries, the situation will change; more African younger generations with broader views will bring in new ideas and innovations to their home countries for long-term development. Future research about the whereabouts of these African graduates in five or ten years to evaluate China’s
current educational cooperation with African countries would add valuable insights on this related issue.

Another important issue in international higher education is the asymmetry between the acquisition of higher levels of education and job position that can be secured—rather than leading to a “brain drain,” the term being used to describe this uncanny phenomenon is “brain waste.” Many African students pursuing a master’s degree in China had already received one or two masters’ degrees back home or from other countries. They constantly change majors in order to explore opportunities in the destination countries and on the global job market; however, the degrees they earned are not landing them good jobs. The devaluation of higher education degree worldwide has resulted in the waste of educational resources and education commercialization. Many universities only pay attention to the number of students enrolled while neglecting the quality of the education they provide.

Last but not least, social mobility and talent flow brought about by higher education exchange and cooperation have become more common with the growing interactions between the North and South, and South and South. In the era of education globalization, therefore, human capacity building is not the duty of any single country or an agreement that can be reached between two countries, rather it is a responsibility shared by all nations.

6.3 Where You Stand? —A Discussion of China’s Role in International Education
Since the opening up policy in 1978, higher education in China has experienced several reforms. These reforms changed China’s domestic education policies and its policies involving international education. One of the first changes occurred after China’s welcome policy, which invited foreign students to study at Chinese universities. That policy was a success as the number of international students in Chinese universities has been increasing dramatically over the past ten years; more than 440,000
foreign students came to China to study in 2016 compared with 55,000 in 2006 (Frolovskiy, 2017). A second change came about through the establishment of a large number of joint educational programs between Chinese universities and foreign universities, such as the previously mentioned “20+20” China-Africa University Cooperation Program. A third step was the creation of many Confucius Institutes in collaboration with foreign universities and other non-governmental organizations around the world (Hayhoe, 2015). With the influx of a large number of foreign students and the increasing academic and cultural exchanges between Chinese universities and foreign universities, the campus culture of Chinese universities has become undoubtedly more diverse during the past two decades. Now host to almost 37 million domestic and international students, Chinese universities educate one out of five students in the world—China is undergoing one of the most dramatic shifts in education in international modern history (Frolovsky, 2017).

In sync with China’s extraversion, national educational reforms, and determination to participate in the growing imperative of the globalized knowledge economy, the Chinese government proposed to establish more world-class universities. During the Chinese Communist Party’s 19th National Congress in October 2017, President Xi stressed the role of education as a driving force for the development of the nation’s knowledge economy. The Chinese government seeks to boosts higher education to transform the country into an “innovative society” by 2020 (Xu, 2017). It also envisions at least 40 world-class universities in China by 2050 (The Charlesworth Group, 2017). While the numbers are impressive, the question remains as to whether this growth can be accomplished and how these numbers might actually contribute to reshaping the structure of a global intellectual culture. The trend of an increasing number of international students (in this research, especially African students) studying at Chinese universities by paying for full tuitions and living expenses on their own indicates the commercialization of China’s public universities. Chinese higher education institutions opened
their doors to international students much later than Western universities because its opening policy is relatively recent. On the one hand, much of the success it has had in capturing the attention of students in Africa and other parts of the world has not yet been replicated in other parts of its society. On the other hand, economic inequality lead to continued suffering from a shortage of domestic educational resources in some regions. If all issues stated above reflect the current state of education in Chinese society, we ask: Are Chinese universities and China’s societal members ready to welcome more international students? How much more can a Chinese university offer to international students than what it is offering now? And are international students also ready to make use of what China can offer them?

It is impossible for this dissertation research to present a whole picture of the current development of Chinese international higher education due to the large size of the nation. However, it is well worth illustrating implications from the findings of this particular case of a China-Africa’s higher education exchange and cooperation.

In ZJNU-CAIBS, almost all of the African students interviewed said that they were glad they chose this university. Although some of them complained about issues regarding school management and visa policies, they felt satisfied that the university had a wide range of academic and social facilities; it was easy for them to access all the resources they needed, including a newly renovated library and several large cafeterias. Some scholarship recipients indicated that the financial support was providing them with the possibility of an overseas educational and social experience and would help them gain more social capital and job opportunities. In addition, several students expressed the fact that they had learned many new customs and ways of thinking during their stay in Jinhua city. Some of these were quite similar to aspects of traditional African cultures that had been lost to modernity, like the
very central tenet of China’s Confucius culture to respect one’s elders. The students like most of what they learnt and intend to bring these new and not so new philosophies of life back to their own countries.

Motivations to come to study in China given by the students—a welcome policy, better educational facilities, advanced thinking with a more pragmatic consideration of preparing themselves for employment in a global job market—sound quite similar to those of the Chinese students and scholars who pursued higher education in Western institutions in the 1980s and 1990s. And in fact, lately, many returning Western-trained Chinese scholars have started to teach in Chinese universities, which should bode well for the future. It is worth noting that in this research, many students indicated that younger, Western-trained Chinese teachers who can speak English well are most favored by foreign students. On this same topic, some students complained that their academic advisors who could not speak “good” English were also “too Chinese.” As one female student from Ghana said,

“My advisor’s English isn’t that good, it is okay... I can learn by myself. But I know some of my friends, their advisors’ English are good, they are not very Chinese… China should have more people [teachers] who can speak English.”

According to Altbach (as cited in Hayhoe, 2015, p. 169), the world system theory, which is about center and periphery spheres, claims that it is “the dilemmas of domination and dependency that [face] higher education in Asia” (Altbach & Selvaratnam, 1989). Further explaining Altbach’s idea, Hayhoe stated that “given the exigencies of colonialism or the pressures to adopt Western science for self-strengthening, most countries [in the global South] had little choice but to adopt a Western model of university, whether under colonial influence, or in their efforts to resist colonialism through projects
of self-strengthening” (Hayhoe, 2015, p. 169). China’s model might fit into the second scenario. As a country in the periphery where English is not a native language but has opened doors to international students, how and where to place languages (Chinese and English) and cultures (domestic and foreign) are inevitable dilemmas that keep challenging the Chinese university system and society. For example, in the first ten years of China-Africa’s higher education cooperation, most partnership programs were taught in Chinese; African students had to learn Chinese first to join the degree programs. After 2014, many programs abandoned the Chinese language requirement and instead offered English as a degree language and required international students of non-native speakers to submit TOEFL (Test of English as Foreign Language) and IELTS (International English Language Testing System) scores for admission. The inclusion of English has even touched some Chinese universities’ policy practices, as the case mentioned in chapter five: if a Chinese student passes a certain English level, the student is eligible and encouraged to choose English as the course language.

According to Vaira (as cited in Hayhoe, 2015, p. 172), some of the literature on globalization discusses the controversial debates over “whether nation-states are losing control over their universities and education systems in the face of global economic forces or whether economic globalization has become a rationale for them to assert even greater control.” With this in mind, while China is determined to build more world-class universities to increase the nation’s economic competitiveness, it remains important for Chinese universities to “nurture a strong sense of independent identity” (Hayhoe, 2015, p. 172). One example of this issue is the selection of textbooks and course materials used in the IMBA program. The international students who attempted to study the Chinese way of doing business and China’s model were disappointed to find that almost all teaching materials had been adopted from the West. As Chinese universities try to keep pace with their country’s fast-developing economy and its move from the periphery towards the center, they must determine how
to retain the country’s own unique values in their classrooms but in a manner that will mesh with their needs. As Hayhoe (2015) suggested, “rather than seeking to become a new center and re-shape center-periphery relations, we suggest that East Asian universities [in this study, Chinese universities] will wish to stimulate a dialogue among civilizations that recognizes and values difference, and does not impose their own knowledge standards as universal” (p. 173). This view should be developed along with China’s international education, which also echoes China’s model—“cross the river by feeling the stones”—and echoes China’s core cultural value—“inclusiveness and harmony.”

Taking all of this into account, as China’s university system and society continuously host African students (as well as students from other countries), it would be advantageous for the Chinese government to create a periodic evaluation system that gives international students the opportunity to provide feedback to both the university and related government departments. In this way, the universities can provide better education and services to international students. Chinese universities also need its international education scholars to design compatible curriculums that better serve the learning needs of international students. At present, China “exports” large numbers of Chinese students to study overseas and “imports” international students worldwide to study at Chinese universities; both the Chinese government and universities have the responsibility to promote cultural diversity in the South-South cooperation model.

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57 “Cross the river by feeling the stones” (摸着石头过河) refers to Deng Xiaoping’s pragmatic and pioneering policies for China’s domestic economic development in 1978. The saying means that even though China is moving in new directions, it needs to stay grounded and feel its way forward, even amidst uncertainty (Zhan & Turner, 2011)
6.4 Conclusion: Revisit “Soft Power” and “Win-Win”

In chapter two, I discussed “soft power” and “win-win” from various perspectives to present a better understanding of China’s model, and in chapter five, I referred to these two terms in the Chinese context by analyzing African students’ experiences in a Chinese university (ZJNU). The conclusion revisits some of the key words that comprise China’s developmental discourse and relates them to African students’ experiences and opinions studying in China. These two sets of sources will help provide an evaluative framework from which to reflect upon the current China-Africa higher education cooperation under the mechanism of South-South cooperation within the structure of globalization.

6.4.1 Key Words in China’s Discourse

As stated in chapter one, China-Africa’s relations experienced four phases. From the Chinese Han Dynasty to the 21st century, China and African countries have had more than 2,000 years of interactions. When examining China’s foreign policies towards African countries throughout modern Chinese history, the word “cooperation” is consistently used in Chinese leaders’ speeches or government documents.

In April 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping re-emphasized the importance of inheriting the “spirit of Bandung Conference” at the opening ceremony of the Asian-African Summit in Jakarta. As he stated, 60 years ago, the foundations of the China-Africa partnership were built on “solidarity, friendship, and cooperation”; sixty years later the new basis is composed of “peace, cooperation, and development.” Beijing re-interpreted “win-win” under China’s discourse by emphasizing cultural similarities and common values found to be important by both China and African countries. In the same speech, President Xi also quoted an old Chinese proverb and compared it with an African one—“The going is difficult when doing it alone; the going is easier when doing it with many others”, and
in African culture, they say, “One single pillar is not sufficient to build a house” or “If you want to go fast, go alone; if you want to go far, go together” (China.org, January 25, 2017). Both proverbs addressed the importance of cooperation; China and African countries should work together for common development goals.

As stated in Chapter two, China’s developmental model is not a “one size fits all”. By drawing on China and African countries’ strengths through exchange and mutual learning, Beijing has delivered a clear message that the nation seeks common ground while shelving differences (a “win-win”); it intends its cooperation to be both open and inclusive. Similar interpretation to this idea can be linked to President Xi’s personal story about the multifunctionality of a Swiss Army knife when he gave a speech at the United Nations office in Geneva in 2017. He said, “When I first got one [Swiss Army knife], I was amazed that it has so many functions. I cannot help thinking how wonderful it would be if an exquisite Swiss Army knife could be made for our world. When there is a problem, we can use one of the tools on the knife to fix it. I believe that with unremitting efforts of the international community, such a knife can be made” (China.org, January 25, 2017).

In light of President Xi Jinping’s wishes, Beijing moves ahead to share the vision of establishing “a community of shared future for mankind.” This concept was first proposed by President Xi at the Chinese Communist Party’s 18th National Congress in 2012, then again in his speech at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 2013, and then shared broadly in Xi’s later speeches, the most well-known of these was given at the United Nations Office at Geneva in 2017 (Zhang, 2017). In that speech, President Xi Jinping extended the meaning of “win-win”, stressing “partnership building” as a new pathway for future cooperation. The concept contains five major aspects: building partnerships, realizing security for all, win-win cooperation, promoting inter-civilization exchanges,
and promoting sustainability development. The ideas of the concept include: equality, peace, mutual consultation and mutual understanding, fairness and justice, joint contribution and shared benefits, innovation, openness and inclusiveness, harmony, respect for differences, and green development. “Win-win” cooperation has remained a key element in China’s model, representing a new type of international relations, in which partnerships move towards multilateralism and seek beneficial outcomes for all. Following this model, world development would no longer follow the rules of a zero-sum game in which one’s gain means the other’s loss or that the winner takes all. Instead, this new “game” is one of a cooperative effort in which all players are winners.

Under the new cooperative framework, the new discourse put forward by China in South-South relations is also reflected in North-South cooperation. In response to earlier questions raised by scholars as to whether China’s OBOR initiatives were a strategy or an action plan, this dissertation research claimed that the initiatives attempt to improve the connectivity and trade exchanges between Eurasian countries and make more stable political and diplomatic relations among these countries. Therefore, the initiatives act more like a conceptual advocate for global peace-building and sustainable development, which do not have a direct relationship with the more covert outcomes of a soft power policy. China’s initiatives also have been built on the basis of complementary advantages and friendly relations, sharing similarities with the “1+6” model—China’s engagement with Central and Eastern Europe (11 EU member countries and five Balkan countries). The “1” represents a firm establishment of a partnership relation and “6” refers to the six major areas of cooperation: investments, transport, finance, science, education, and culture (Cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European Countries Official Website, 2019).
Higher education cooperation and cultural exchanges are two important collaborative aspects of the same discourse, which is to strengthen China’s partnership ties with countries in both the global South and the global North. Due to China’s reform and opening in the late 1980s, the country is still in a relatively early learning stage of its understanding of the outside world; lessons and experiences accumulate as time goes by. Many earlier collaborative programs between China and other developed countries were examples of assistance that flowed only “one-way”—China had to receive many “one-way” foreign aids from countries such as Japan and the United Stated in the early stages of its development. African students received China’s scholarships that offer them possibilities to access better educational resources and enhancing human capacity building back in Africa. The African students received an education that did not completely resemble an older model of foreign aid; this model seemed to be more people-centered and sustainable. As the exchange deepened further over the years, many more African students went to China to choose their own majors and study at their own expense, there are also more Chinese students going to African universities to attend academic meetings and exchange programs. With this change, China-Africa’s higher education cooperation will gradually turn into a two-way street.

6.4.2 Students’ voices and evaluation
In re-examining students’ voices in terms of their experience at ZJNU and their opinions on China-Africa higher education cooperation, the dissertation research demonstrates some positive cooperative outcomes but also suggests areas for improvement.

People-to-people interaction can help eliminate cultural gaps and promote inclusiveness. For example, as examples given in chapter five, several African students who went to study at the university felt confused about Chinese people’s hospitality because it was the opposite of some of the others’
experiences where Chinese students would walk away when they had to ask questions on campus.

Two different situations revealed students’ unfamiliarity with Chinese people and their culture. On the one hand, Chinese like to treat their friends who visit them from far away in a good manner. It echoes another Chinese proverb from the Confucius: “Is it not a delight after all to have friends come from afar?” (《论语》: 有朋自远方来，不亦悦乎?) (Analects, Warring States period, 475–221 BC). In other words, Chinese people do not usually ask or expect something from the others (in this case, the African students) in return if they give something or complete a favor for a friend. As one girl from Botswana said,

“My Chinese friends in the university always give me snacks; they are kind and very friendly. But if I give them something back, they don’t want it, it was kind of hurting my feelings. They just give something to us... I felt annoyed at the first time, why they don’t want my treat? Then one day another Chinese friend told me that in Chinese culture, they think foreigners are guests; it’s like the guest don’t need to give something back to the host...”

Conversely, sometimes, due to language barriers, many Chinese people do not like to say anything when they encounter foreigners on the street. The African students feel that the Chinese people were very “mysterious” sometimes and hard to understand.

The achievements of China-Africa’s higher education cooperation also reflect an increase of skills-based training and massive exposure to innovations. For example, many African students saw new technological advances in China such as portable water filters and widely used pollution-free electrical motor-bikes. They also noted that many of these inventions and innovations could be transferred and
used to solve similar pollution and transportation challenges back home. The uniqueness of South-South cooperation is the fact that countries in the global South usually face similar problems. The higher education exchange and cooperation provide an opportunity for countries that share similar problems to put forward some solutions with more effective approaches.

For future improvement, the most commonly raised issues by African students were those surrounding a lack of openness to change. From the African students’ perspectives, first, the university staff’s lack of proficiency in English demonstrates that the level of internationalization in some Chinese cities needs to be improved. Second, higher education cooperation’s subjects for training should be extended to skilled-based areas and not remain only limited to Chinese language programs. One reason for this concern, King (2014) explained, is that so far, China’s higher education cooperation with African countries is seen by the Chinese government as just one sector among several others, such as infrastructure and health care, that is contributing to Africa’s development. However, education is a stand-alone sector and as such does not receive enough attention. Third, the purpose of getting an overseas education is not only to gain knowledge from textbooks but also to learn new ways of thinking. In this research, African students went to study in China expecting to learn Chinese business theories and engage with local communities; unfortunately, the reality did not quite fit their expectations. One important element of openness is that it asks us to think critically; and the selection of teaching materials and the manner in which knowledge is delivered are crucial for cultivating this ability.

Explained from the Chinese students’ and teachers’ perspectives, the current degree of openness in the Chinese society still needs to be improved. Although they believed that China’s higher education engagement with Africa would eventually bring long-term development to both sides, they are also
concerned that the present developmental pace of international education in China’s universities is far too demanding to be achieved in a relatively short period of time. In other words, China recognized that developing international education programs within university systems would help enhance its internationalization level on the whole, however, it must also understand that a feasible timetable is needed to improve the realities of the current Chinese higher education system.

Perhaps it is possible for a speedy transition from the more rigid Chinese-only spoken instruction to the openness of a multiple-language approach. However, language instruction is just one aspect of globalization as it pertains to education in China. It is clear from the research results that the field of higher education in China has been responsible for leading the way in demonstrating what can be accomplished through China’s new paradigm of cooperative development, as seen in particular in its partnership with Africa countries. However, it would be naïve to assume the challenges of Africa’s human resources development can be successfully overcome by solely relying on China’s side; Chinese universities cannot fundamentally solve the problem of human resource development in African countries by expanding the number of Chinese scholarships and enlarging the enrollment of African students in Chinese universities.

To conclude, it is acknowledgeable that the current China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation has provided a well-lit pathway for China to better understand African countries, and for African countries to better understand China. China’s rapid domestic development has given economic and technological exposure to African students who have innovative business mindset; they will put all of it to good use. All of this can potentially boost Africa’s economy and enhance mutual understanding.
6.4.3 A Few Personal Thoughts

In view of the above analysis, this research asks a new question: Where is the point-of-interest for future China-Africa higher education cooperation under China’s new discourse such as the previously mentioned concept of “building community of common destiny”, and in what ways will African students’ needs be addressed? At the institutional level, there are four types of stakeholders who must work together to create dialogues to exchange ideas and thoughts: the university administration, the college administration, the teachers, and the students. At the policy level, the Chinese government needs to adjust laws and regulations to offer international students with more employment opportunities. The government should also encourage local enterprises to provide job and internship opportunities for international students during their studies in China to help them practice skills based on what they have learned in the classroom. At the societal level, both the government and the higher educational institutions need to work collaboratively to create cultural events to enhance intra-inter civilizational dialogue and inter-ethnic understanding. For example, Chinese communities can host culture-based lectures for foreign students to share their experiences in China or to showcase their home countries to local Chinese.

Although there are many aspects mentioned above awaiting to be improved in the near future, Africans’ “Chinese dream” is getting harder to realize due to domestic challenges facing the Chinese society. First, China has 1.4 billion people, and employment in China has always been an issue. Second, the openness of some small cities in China is still relatively low; African students sometimes feel annoyed by Chinese people’s “curiosity”. However, it does not mean that people who live in small cities are xenophobic. This situation can change over time when more African students go to study in China. Third, with other new initiatives launched by Chinese government, such as the OBOR initiative, the Chinese society was pushed hard by the new policies to speed up its globalization. Besides African
students, there are also a large number of other international students came to study or work from countries along the new Chinese Silk Road; these newcomers therefore, may make local business and employment more competitive for African students.

Moreover, it is worth to mention that understanding discourse is important because even the same word can have dissimilar meanings in different times or contexts. All nations and regions have different histories, cultures, systems, and values, and how to better convey the meaning in a specific context is the premise of building mutual understanding and trust. China’s discourse contains many Chinese cultural elements or characteristics, and Chinese proverbs are frequently used in China’s policy papers or quoted in leaders’ speeches. China’s foreign policy is carrying and based on long-established culture of Chinese society, and those proverbs used in policy papers and leaders’ speeches carry the essence of Chinese culture. Therefore, the concept of “soft power” formulated based on the Western ideology under a specific historical background is more suitable for the Western society; whereas the word “cultural diplomacy” may suit better China’s discourse, where education and culture exchanges are the intermediary for bringing in mutual understanding and peaceful development. Solely using the term “soft power” to understand China’s discourse in the political field may be too limited, however, the concept and its theoretical values remain significant in the academic field.

Changes in the world pattern push globalization into a new era. There is no doubt that the rise of China’s discourse starts to provide various collaborative opportunities for the world’s sustainable development, and China’s model and developmental experiences set up an example for countries in the global South to seek the most suitable models for themselves. Moreover, China’s proposal to establish “a community of shared future for mankind” is far-sighted, whereas there is still a long way for the nation to implement this new concept in the face of the international challenges. This requires
the global community to fully understand and support China’s discourse in order to achieve the nation’s aspiration.

6.5 Research Limitations and Contributions

6.5.1 Limitations

The dissertation field research includes more than 75 interviewees. Although the African student population is considering the largest among all student and faculty groups, due to summer schedule of the university and personal availability, 32 students participated in forms of either individual or focus group interviews. Since the summer break at my current university in the United States starts in mid-May and the Chinese university I used as my research site starts in early July, I only had 6 weeks that I could fully use for conducting all interviews, class observations, and data collection from different university offices and school administrators. There were several individual interviews completed after the summer break started because these interviewees decided to remain on campus for various reasons. Hence, there were some limitations as to access to interviewees.

Moreover, as the university is located in Jinhua, an economic center on eastern China, the values and social circumstances that this university passes on to its foreign students might differ from those of higher education institutions located in other cities and provinces in China. In the 1970s, African students Emmanuel John Hevi came to study at a university in Beijing observed political upheavals at that time; his book *An African Student in China* became a historical resource that greatly influenced the views of scholars in China-Africa relations. The stories in Hevi’s book left a lasting impression about African students’ lives in China, which impacted the global North’s views of Chinese society. Based on the literature review for this dissertation there have only been a few first-hand case studies in the past twenty years. In this regard, it would be valuable to conduct more field research and case studies.
in terms of African students’ experiences in China in the future for re-evaluating those students’ motivations and perceptions of studying in different Chinese cities.

As the first and the only China-African international business school in China, ZJNU-CAIBS attracts great attention from not only businessmen who are interested in China-Africa trading opportunities but also from scholars in related fields. During my visit in 2017, some teachers in the business school were attempting to avoid being interviewed. Based on the school administrators I interviewed, they told me that there were many visitors (e.g. scholars, journalist, and local authorities) who came to observe and ask questions in the past several years; the teachers did not want to be part of any further studies or news reports. As I observed, due to my identity and positionality, the Chinese teachers were more cautious about what they said and how they behaved during my visit compared to the school administrators and the student groups. For future research, it would be valuable to examine those Chinese teachers’ opinions on China-Africa higher education cooperation as this group interacts with most of the African students frequently and directly.

In reviewing human capacity building for African countries via China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation in the long term, it is important for scholars to continue longitudinal research and to find useful tools to continuously interact with the interviewees. In the past, many case studies in related topics were completed after data collection; those studies only touched the surface of the “real” story. After data collection, I used a social networking application to continuously interact with and follow up some of my interviewees’ lives in China.

**6.5.2 Unique contributions of the research**

Over the last two decades, the growing relationship between China and Africa has mostly focused on public and private investments, bilateral trade, infrastructure building, and China’s interaction with
Africa security. When reviewing current research, it is apparent that researchers have paid relatively little attention to the influential role that the China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation program has played in South-South relations. There have been few case studies that extensively address African students’ daily life and academic experiences in China. These studies would help to examine the successful future expansion of the China-Africa higher education cooperation program and by extension, South-South relations in general.

This dissertation research is significant because it examines the South-South relationship from the perspective of higher education and considers South-South cooperation as a viable, alternate pathway to human capacity building, knowledge sharing, and poverty reduction in developing countries. In particular, the field research was designed to explore current China-Africa higher education cooperation through its role in promoting South-South relations as a challenge to the current ideology that human capacity building is solely the domain of the global North. At the same time, it highlights China’s growing presence in the field of international higher education, which suggests that understanding China’s education engagement with Africa is a key component for and a crucial perspective in understanding China’s development model.

China-Africa cooperation as an example of South-South Cooperation is of great significance for the development of China and African countries, the development of other developing countries, and the development of the rest of the world. In reviewing China-African relations, this dissertation challenged scholars who are interested in interdisciplinary studies to build new intellectual and cross-knowledge networks, trans-regional projects, and to develop new frameworks, theories, and approaches to better understand and respond to the changing dynamic of China and African countries in the global context.
Lastly, the concerns and issues raised in this dissertation, and any reflections on the interviewees’ feedback and perceptions will be valuable resources for China and Africa’s higher education institutions, policy makers, and scholars in related fields to take into account for continuous improvements in educational policy, public policy, and beyond.
FINAL COMMENTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

In Reagan’s era, conservative neoliberal economic policies were propagated to the Global South through Western development initiatives; with neoliberal policies widely accepted and attracting followers from all around the world. In the arena of world politics, the Western countries imposed their own discourses as the basis and a standard for all world cultures, which formed an intertwined system of hegemonic discourse across the world. During the past two decades, Western culture and ideology spread into third world countries and became the dominant discourse (Liu, 2013). Ironically, at the beginning of the 21st century, globalization was gradually accepted by the global South; in the West, however, it has set off a wave of anti-globalization. Perhaps it is superficial to only focus on examining the impact of economy on politics or the influence of politics on the economy in terms of the main causes behind the changes of the world's pattern; however, in China’s case, the rapid economic development in the country has indeed accelerated the process of its globalization.

Since Deng Xiaoping launched the opening-up policy in 1978, China used its higher education programs as a tool for strengthening China’s knowledge economy and has prioritized it. China’s extraversion has not only brought its domestic economic reform but it also created an opportunity for China to develop international exchange and education cooperation with other countries. China is the largest developing country in the world, and Africa is the largest continent with the highest number of developing countries. Therefore, China-Africa cooperation as an example of South-South Cooperation is of great significance for the development of China and African countries, the development of other developing countries, and the development of the rest of the world. China’s discourse was rooted in its traditional culture, making the original intention for establishing cooperation between China and Africa different from that of the Western countries. As a developing country, in the 1980s, China’s definition of “international aid” was based on China’s understanding of
its domestic development then and its position in the international context; therefore, China never defined itself as a traditional donor and tried not to use the word “aid” to describe its partnership relations with African countries. In China’s discourse, South-South Cooperation, in fact, is a “poor helps the poor” model (He, 2013).

Higher education cooperation provides opportunities but also faces challenges for both “exporting” and “receiving” countries in the global South. In this research, most international students’ choice to study at the Chinese university as their destination was driven by employment, business or immigration consideration. Although they believed that China was a new study destination full of opportunities, many of them were also disappointed when they had to face unexpected challenges to achieve their goals. On a personal level, studying in China has become one of the most valuable life experiences for most of them. According to the statistics of the 2016 China Association for International Education (CAFSA) (see Appendix O), between 1999 and 2015, more than 23 million African students came to China for short- and long-term trainings; accounting for 6.81% of the total number of foreign students in China, and with an average growth of 1-2 percentage points per year. Moreover, there was also an increased number of foreign students coming from countries of the One Belt One Road Initiatives. Among all foreign student populations, the biggest increases were students from Africa, Europe, and Central Asia. These changes indicate that higher education in South-South cooperation has become more widespread and increasingly important. Besides, as the numbers of students from the United States, France, and Germany have been increasing over years, it also showed that the SSC is influencing the future trends of North-South relations. It is also significant to point out that, although the number of scholarship recipients continues to expand each year, only approximately 10% of the total international student population can receive a Chinese scholarship. This fact shows that China’s
scholarship policy cannot be understood as the main approach for the nation’s “soft power” as related to a Western ideological framework.

For a long time, a vast majority of higher education institutions in African countries have been influenced by a Western ideology and system; in particular, most of their curriculum constructions and training modules were adopted from Western universities. The model of “borrowing” did not always fit the needs of African countries’ economic and social development but instead created discrepancies between theory and practice and inhibited the development of academic institutions in African countries and their social independence. China, as a non-colonized country in the global South with higher education institutions, has maintained their independence in many aspects, such as the examination system and the course structure. Therefore, the Chinese universities hold “the potential to partake in this opportunity and make a significant contribution to an alternative pedagogy and an alternative rethinking of international knowledge transfer” (Gillespie, 2001, p.226). Having said that, however, my research found that the Chinese universities tended to be Westernized in the wave of education globalization; especially in the selection of teaching materials and course language.

In addition, Chinese society has to make changes in order to cope with an increasing influx of foreign students coming to study in Chinese universities. Since the 1990s, language barriers and a lack of cultural integration seemed to be the two major problems facing African students in China. On the one hand, due to a relatively low social openness, Chinese society knows little about African countries and Africans; the absence of social support aggravated the adaptive barriers between African students and local communities, and many African students complained that it was difficult for them to blend in. On the other hand, caused by these barriers, African students started to become more sensitive to the issue of discrimination and began to exclude themselves from the Chinese communities—
discrepancies and misunderstandings created more discrepancies and misunderstanding. In addition, the research demonstrated that the Chinese universities lack experience managing foreign students; the universities sometimes had to be attentive to these students’ opinions and suggestions to improve the quality of their management. Thus, although the Chinese universities have experienced two decades of development, it still largely takes on a more supportive role than transformative role in international education than Western universities in power relations (Hayhoe, 1986b; 1989, Gillespie, 2001). For future international education development in China, in particular to China-Africa’s higher education cooperation, Chinese universities should focus more on quality over quantity. At the same time, Chinese universities should raise the bar regarding the admission process, as well as adjust the cooperation directions in order to cultivate more research-based talents in Africa.

In chapter six, I inquired where would be the point-of-interest for future higher education cooperation between China and Africa? By comparing and analyzing both African students and students of other nationalities’ conceptions and experiences in a Chinese university, I demonstrated that China, with its South-South Cooperation has set up a tentative framework for North-South Cooperation, and the human capacity building should be a shared responsibility for all countries in the global South and the global North to take. In the academic field, we expect to see longitudinal case studies regarding China-Africa higher education exchange and cooperation. One direction for future research is to follow African graduates over a number of years so as to evaluate the effectiveness of the China-Africa higher education cooperation by examining students’ employability, actual employment rate, and plans for career development. Besides, regarding the employment discrimination mentioned in chapter five, future studies can be conducted in the Chinese enterprises. For example, the interviews can be conducted with former international students who have been employed in Chinese companies,
regarding their work experiences in China, or the interview questions can be related to these enterprises’ willingness and standards on hiring international students.

In addition, future researches can also incorporate media theories and practices. So far, a few documentaries about Africans in China have been made and played in major media channels in China and African countries. For instance, a recent one, *Africans in Yiwu* (Chinese name: 我从非洲来) was filmed in Yiwu in 2016, and the film is currently playing through China Central Television channels and the national television TBC of Tanzania. Through a year-long timespan the film is following 18 characters from different African countries. The film is divided into 6 episodes, each tackling different aspects of Africans’ lives including work, family, education, public engagement, food culture, music and art. Another similar documentary film is *Guangzhou Dream Factory*, co-produced by Christiane Badgley, Erica Marcus and their team in 2017. Featuring a dynamic cast of men and women from Cameroon, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda, *Guangzhou Dream Factory* weaves the stories of Africans chasing alluring, yet elusive, “Made in China” dreams in Guangzhou city. Moreover, African students in ZJNU have also filmed several short videos regarding their own experiences in the university. An analysis of these documentaries played an important role in studying Africans’ lives in China and beyond; in the context of China’s development and integration into the process of globalization. Lastly, “religious acclimatization” was another problem facing African students in Chinese universities, and we also expect to see future studies in the context of international students’ religious practice and higher education in China.

To conclude, China-Africa higher education cooperation started in the 1950s and 1960s, stalled in the 1970s, resumed in the 1980s, and increased massively in the 2000s. Since the establishment of FOCAC, the relationship between China and African countries has dramatically strengthened. In October 2011,
sponsored by the Ministry of Education of PRC, the “UNESCO-China-Africa University Leaders Meeting” brought together 44 university presidents from China and African countries. Their discussions focused on how to further improve inter-university cooperation and the common challenge of employability of higher education graduates. As an agreement, leaders of Chinese and African universities believed that the establishment of cooperation in the area of business education is of particular importance for the future economic development of Africa. And in March 2014, “Business backs Education Campaign” launched in the “Global Education and Skills Forum” in Dubai, encouraging the private sector to commit at least 20% of their social impact and sustainability budgets towards education initiative by 2020 (UNESCO, 2014). This campaign once again stressed that the education was not a stand-alone object and the importance of business, government and NGOs took in part for the development of the education sector.

In the end, I hope this research not only provides useful data and analysis for current higher education cooperation between China and African countries, but also encourages the stakeholders in China's international higher education such as the instructors and administrators to consistently sum up experiences learned from challenges and continuously carry forward the spirit of equality and “win-win” in future cooperation in order to make a more positive contribution to the promotion of South-South cooperation and North-South cooperation in the field of global human resource development.
APPENDIX A

ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

Institute of African Studies
College of Economics and Management
College of Law and Political Science
Hangzhou College of Preschool Teacher Education
College of Physical Education and Health Science
College of Humanities
College of Foreign Languages
College of Geography and Environmental Science
College of Engineering
College of Music
College of International Culture and Education
College of Chemistry and Life Science
College of Teacher Education
College of Fine Arts
College of Mathematics Physics and Information Technology
College of Communication and Creative Culture
College of Vocational and Technical Education
Xingzhi College (an independent college affiliated to Zhejiang Normal University)

Source: Zhejiang Normal University [http://www.zjnu.edu.cn/eng/](http://www.zjnu.edu.cn/eng/)
APPENDIX B

DEGREES AND MAJORS TAUGHT IN ENGLISH
AT ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Tuition (CNY per year)</th>
<th>Study Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental Science and Engineering</td>
<td>16,800&lt;sup&gt;58&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanical Design, Manufacturing and Automation</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biotechnology</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applied chemistry</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electronic Business</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Economics and Trade</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Material Science and Engineering</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electronic and Information Engineering</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Software Engineering</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>30,400&lt;sup&gt;59&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geographical Environment and Pollution Control</td>
<td>18,800&lt;sup&gt;60&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental Engineering</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Intelligent and Electromechanical Engineering</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparative Education</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>58</sup> 16,800RMB was equivalent to $2502.08 on April 2, 2019.
<sup>59</sup> 30,400RMB was equivalent to $4527.58 on April 2, 2019.
<sup>60</sup> 18,800RMB was equivalent to $2799.95 on April 2, 2019.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Fee</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>Software Engineering</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>Early Childhood Education</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fundamental Mathematics</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applied Mathematics</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Operational Research and Cybernetics</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparative Education</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Education</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61 22,800 RMB was equivalent to $3395.69 on April 2, 2019.
APPENDIX C

CHINESE GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS OFFERED TO
AFRICAN COUNTRIES BETWEEN 2000 AND 2010

APPENDIX D
CLASSIFICATION OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN CHINA SPONSORED BY CHINESE GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS IN 2010

### APPENDIX E

**UNIVERSITIES IN “20+20” CHINA-AFRICA HIGHER EDUCATION COLLABORATION PROGRAM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Universities</th>
<th>African Universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peking University</td>
<td>Cairo University, Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing Language and Culture University</td>
<td>Suez Canal University, Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan University</td>
<td>University of Stellenbosch, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast Normal University</td>
<td>University of Pretoria, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjing Agricultural University</td>
<td>Egerton University, Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donghua University</td>
<td>Moi University, Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Agricultural University</td>
<td>Higher Learning Institute of Agronomy and Veterinary Surgery of Faranah, Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai Normal University</td>
<td>University of Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin University of Technology and Education</td>
<td>Ethio-China Polytechnical College, Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang Normal University</td>
<td>University of Yaounde I, Cameroon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East China Normal University</td>
<td>University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of International Business and Economics</td>
<td>Tunis University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast University</td>
<td>University of Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin University of Traditional Chinese Medicine</td>
<td>University of Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin University</td>
<td>University of Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing International Studies University</td>
<td>University of Mohammed V University, Agdal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China University of Geosciences</td>
<td>University of Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangzhou University</td>
<td>University of Khartoum, Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiangtan University</td>
<td>Makerere University, Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzhou University</td>
<td>University of Lagos, Nigeria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF CHINA'S FOREIGN AID TO AFRICA

APPENDIX G
APPLICATION FORM FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY

外国留学生入学申请表
Application Form for International Students

- 请用中文或英文填写此表/Please complete the form in Chinese or English.
- 请用黑色或蓝色签字笔填写此表/Please complete the form in marker pens.

1. 申请人情况/Personal Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>姓名 Name</th>
<th>英文姓名（以护照用名为准） In English (Name in passport)</th>
<th>姓/Family name:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>中文姓名（不超过6个汉字） In Chinese (no more than 6 characters)</td>
<td>名/Given name:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>照片 Photo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>性别 Gender</th>
<th>□男/Male</th>
<th>国籍 Nationality</th>
<th>婚姻状况 Marital Status</th>
<th>□未婚/Single □已婚/Married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 护照号码 Passport No. | 有效期至/Valid Until │ Yr. | Mon. | Date |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----|------|------|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>出生日期 Date of Birth</th>
<th>Yr.</th>
<th>Mon.</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>出生地 Place of Birth</th>
<th>国家 Country</th>
<th>城市 City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>最后学历/Education Level</th>
<th>宗教信仰/Religion</th>
<th>母语/Native Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>职业/Occupation</th>
<th>目前所在学校或机构/Place of Study or Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>录取通知书邮寄地址/ Mailing Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

263
家庭住址 /Permanent Home Address

传真/FAX  电话/TELEPHONE  电子邮件/E-MAIL

2. 语言能力/Language Proficiency

汉语/Chinese:  □很好/Excellent  □好/Good  □较好/Fair  □差/Poor  □不会/None

HSK 考试等级（如果有请填写）/Level of HSK Test (If appropriate):

英语/English:  □很好/Excellent  □好/Good  □较好/Fair  □差/Poor  □不会/None

其它语言/Other Languages:

3. 学习计划/Plan of Study

(1) 申请学习时间 /Duration of Study: 自/From______年/Year____月/Month 至/To______年/Year____月/Month

(2) 申请类别/Program of Study: □博士/Doctorate □硕士/Master □本科/Bachelor
     □进修/General Scholar

(3) 申请专业/Intended Subject of Study:

(4) 授课语言/Language of Instruction: □中文/Chinese □英语/English

4. 申请人亲属情况/Family Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>姓名/Name</th>
<th>年龄/Age</th>
<th>职业/Occupation</th>
<th>联系电话/Tel</th>
<th>E-mail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>父亲/Father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>母亲/Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>配偶/Spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. 在华事务担保人或机构/Person or agency to act on your behalf in China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>姓名/Name</th>
<th>联系电话/Telephone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6. 申请人保证/I hereby affirm that

（1）上述各项中所提供的情况是真实无误的/All the information I provided above is true and correct;
（2）在校学习期间遵守中国政府的法规和学校的规章和制度/I shall abide by the laws of the Chinese Government and the regulations of Zhejiang Normal University.

日期/Date_________________________ 申请人签字/Applicant's signature_________________________
APPENDIX H

INTRODUCTION TO MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

(ENGLISH)

Master of International Business Management Taught in English [全英文授课专业：工商管理硕士国际商务管理方向]

Program Highlights

This program enables you to understand the complexities of global culture and recognize their impact on business’ success. Studying in this program will also help you develop the essential skills needed to enhance your effectiveness in managerial and professional positions in the global economy.

The International business management major will take advantage of the academic recourses of business administration discipline and African study in our university to establish a highly internationalized major compared to similar majors in China based on this discipline’s connotation, characteristics and scope.

Program Description

The International Business Management major is an internationalized new major which meets the need of the economic globalization on trend and open economy system construction. The major aims to cultivate high quality professional talents who are applied-research base and possess strong ability of managing international business, creatively undertaking the international business management. The major studies and puts into practice the business strategies, tactics and management in international economy and trade context applying theories in international economy and trade, modern management, marketing, international enterprise management and international commerce law and etc from an internationalized perspective.

Postgraduate courses guide (the core courses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Special subjects on management theories</th>
<th>Intermediate Econometrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International business</td>
<td>International Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methods in Management</td>
<td>Management Economics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Opportunities after graduation

After graduation, you will have the ability to conduct international business administration, project operation and ministration, to explore new market channels, they can also be engaged in outsourcing business, vertical production and separation, international marketing strategy management, and can administrating overseas investing enterprises and have negotiation ability.

Sources: Zhejiang Normal University China-Africa International Business School:
http://caibs.zjnu.edu.cn/caibsen/main.htm
## APPENDIX I

CURRICULUM REQUIREMENTS FOR IMBA STUDENTS

AT ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY IN 2013

---

### VII. Curriculum Structure for MBA program (Taught in English)

#### Compulsory Courses

Students must complete the following courses (25 Credit Points).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Credit Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1034502157</td>
<td>Chinese I 综合汉语 I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1023402156</td>
<td>Chinese Culture 中国文化</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1034502155</td>
<td>General Situation of Chinese Society 中国社会概况</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1034502158</td>
<td>Chinese II 综合汉语 II</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Required courses for degree (12 credits) 必修课 (12 学分)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Credit Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1251012201</td>
<td>Marketing 市场营销</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1251012202</td>
<td>Human Resource Management 人力资源管理</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1251012203</td>
<td>Managerial Economics 管理经济学</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1251012204</td>
<td>Financial Accounting 财务会计</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1251012205</td>
<td>Financial Management 财务管理</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1251012206</td>
<td>International Trade 国际贸易</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Practical courses for degree 实践课

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Credit Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1251012803</td>
<td>Investigation and Research of Real Business[3] 企业调研</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1251012801</td>
<td>Team Training 团队协作</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,2,3,4</td>
<td>1251012802</td>
<td>MBA Association Activities[4] MBA 活动</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Elective Courses

Public Elective Courses (must get 8 credits at least) 公共选修课 (8 学分)
### Specialisation Courses 方向课

**Human Resource Management 人力资源管理**

*Students must complete 8 credit points from the following courses 学生必须至少完成8学分*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Credit Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1251012501</td>
<td>HRM Strategy 人力资源战略</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012502</td>
<td>Reward Management 薪酬管理</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012503</td>
<td>Performance Management 绩效管理</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012504</td>
<td>Advanced HR Development 高级人力资源开发</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012505</td>
<td>Cross-Cultural Management 跨文化管理</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012506</td>
<td>Globalization and Corporate Social Responsibility 全球化与企业社会责任</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marketing Management  营销管理

Students must complete 8 credit points from the following courses 学生必须至少完成 8 学分

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semester</th>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Credit Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1251012520</td>
<td>Consumer Behavior 消费者行为学</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1251012521</td>
<td>International Commercial Law 国际商务法</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012522</td>
<td>Branding 品牌营销</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012523</td>
<td>Market Research 市场调研</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012524</td>
<td>International Negotiation 国际谈判</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1251012525</td>
<td>International Investment and Transnational Business 国际投资与跨国贸易</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total required credits  41 credits at least

Note:
[1] Students are not required to complete in their first year of study, those courses marked with (Sem 1,2,3,4) can be completed any time throughout the whole 4 semesters.
[2] Business practice and seminars: Student gets 2 credits if he/she has cumulatively 10 times at least in participating in seminars, forums, management competitions, and field trips etc.;
[3] Investigation and research of real business: Students should form a group of 3-5 members, and submit the research topic and plan at the beginning of the work. The topic should be in the area of the MBA study, better if the related work can be used in the MBA research essay. Supervisor(s) will be assigned to help students in the investigation and research. A written report is required upon completion.
[4] MBA association activities: Student gets 1 credit when he/she organizes successfully or participates in the planning of MBA association activities twice. The activity plan should include names of all students who participate in the planning, and their responsibilities. A written summary is required for each activity upon completion.
VIII. Practical Operation

During the years of study, foreign students have the opportunity to investigate varieties of enterprise, financial and department of government units. It will be organized during Semester 4, and is designed to help students to gain insights in local businesses around Zhejiang province. Also, students will experience various practical lectures and seminars that invites successful entrepreneurs to demonstrate hand on hand experiences, show their own precious practical experiences and expertise across the relative student research areas, later with the decent individual guide from qualified professors, therefore to help them to study and grow with the root and core information on hand, and become unique shining and competitive when heading back to their home countries to deal with Chinese businesses.

IX. Research and Thesis

Each student will be assigned two supervisors at the end of Semester 3, one professor and an associate professor. The professor is the one who is experienced and has decent qualification, but may be lack of fluent English. The associate professor is a teacher with fluent English and has general knowledge about the research topic and area. In this case, the associate professor will act as a bridge between professor and student, and students can be assured to gain sufficient knowledge through efficient and effective communication. All the students are encouraged to actively write and put forward papers on their fields or their related fields in Chinese or foreign academic publications or academic conferences, and should also take active part in research tasks undertaken by their supervisors.

The topic of master’s degree thesis should be of theoretic significance or important application prospects. The combination of theory with practice and quality with quantity should be embodied in academic thesis. The related research situations at home and abroad should be summarized in the thesis, and the reference documents listed at the end of the thesis should be no less than 40 pieces. Topic selection will begin at the time when students have been assigned supervisors.

X. Educational Styles and Methods

The heuristic and deliberative methods of education are to be adopted, and students are required to attend necessary academic lectures, academic reports, seminars, social practice and investigation.

XI. My Opportunities after Graduation

You will develop cross-disciplinary skills that lead to a range of employment opportunities in public or private organizations.
### Master of Business Administration (Specializing in International Trade), College of Economics and Management
Courses include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>International Business Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Accounting</td>
<td>Electronic Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trade</td>
<td>International Negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Behavior Theory</td>
<td>International Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigation and Research of Real Business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Master of Business Administration (Specializing in Human Resource Management), College of Economics and Management
Courses include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>Human Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial Economics</td>
<td>Financial Accounting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>International Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance Management</td>
<td>Advanced HR Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward Management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Science of Business Administration (Specializing in Marketing Management), College of Economics and Management
Courses include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>Human Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial Economics</td>
<td>Financial Accounting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>International Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branding</td>
<td>Market Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Behavior</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Science of Business Administration (Specializing in International Business Management), College of Economics and Management
Courses include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Special Subject on Management Theories</td>
<td>Intermediate Econometrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methods in Management</td>
<td>Managerial Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Business</td>
<td>International Marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trade</td>
<td>Cross-cultural Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Finance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX K


IMBA TEXTBOOK LIST (2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Textbook</td>
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<td>Fundamentals of Corporate Finance, 10th Edition</td>
<td>Textbook</td>
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<td>International Business Practice by Yi Lulu, 2011</td>
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<td>International Economics by Steven Hunted, 2011</td>
<td>Textbook</td>
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<td></td>
<td>International Trade by Robert C. Feinstra &amp; Alan M. Taylor</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Elective Courses</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>E-Commerce</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Data Mining: Concepts and Techniques, Third Edition (The Morgan Kaufmann Series in Data)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Management Research Methods</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>Entrepreneurship (9th Edition)</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Strategic Management: Competitiveness and Globalization (Concepts and Cases)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Reward Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Cross-Cultural Management</td>
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Marketing Management

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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Exploring Marketing Research (9 edition)</td>
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<td>International negotiation</td>
<td>essence of negotiation</td>
<td>Textbook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>International Investment &amp; transnational Business</td>
<td>Global business today</td>
<td>Textbook</td>
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## IBM TEXTBOOK LIST (2015)

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<th>Note</th>
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<td>No textbook</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Methodology Research</td>
<td>Management Research Methods</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Global business today</td>
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<td>International Marketing 16 edition</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>International Business Practice by Yi Lulu, 2011</td>
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<td>International Investment &amp; transnational Business</td>
<td>Global business today</td>
<td>Textbook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>Fundamentals of Corporate Finance, 10th Edition</td>
<td>Textbook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Entrepreneurship (9th Edition)</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>special subjects on China-Africa economy and trade</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Case Study on Chinese Enterprises</td>
<td></td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Forefront Lectures in International Business</td>
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(Page continued.)
### IMBA Textbook List (2017)

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<th>出版社</th>
<th>作者</th>
<th>备注</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Management 财务管理（IBM 财务管理）</td>
<td>Fundamentals of Corporate Finance, 10th Edition</td>
<td>机械工业出版社</td>
<td>斯蒂芬 A. 罗斯、伦道夫 W. 威斯特菲尔德</td>
<td>必须购买</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Commercial Law 国际商务法</td>
<td>international business law: text, cases, and readings (5th edition)</td>
<td>机械工业出版社</td>
<td>Ray August, Don Mayer, Michael Bixby</td>
<td>必须购买</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRM Strategy 人力资源战略</td>
<td>material will be given in class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Behavior 消费者行为学</td>
<td>material will be given in class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channel Management 渠道管理</td>
<td>material will be given in class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Finance 国际金融（IBM 国际金融）</td>
<td>PDF material will be sent to you in class by the teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>methodology research 研究方法论（IBM管理研究方法）</td>
<td>material will be given in class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Investigation and Research of Real Business[3] 企业调研</td>
<td>NO TEXT300K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business Practice and Seminars[2] 讲座（IBM 国际商务前沿讲座）</td>
<td>NO TEXT300K</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBA Association Activities[4] MBA活动</td>
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APPENDIX L

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP APPLICATION FORM

ZHEJIANG NORMAL UNIVERSITY

奖学金申请表
Application Form for
Zhejiang Provincial Scholarship & Zhejiang Normal University Scholarship

- 请用中文或英文填写此表/Please complete the form in Chinese or English.
- 请用黑色或蓝色签字笔填写此表/Please complete the form in marker pens.

1. 申请人情况/Personal Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>姓名 Name</th>
<th>姓名（以护照用名为准）Passport Name</th>
<th>姓/Family name:</th>
<th>照片 Photo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>性别 Gender</td>
<td>□男/Male</td>
<td>国籍 Nationality</td>
<td>护照号码 Passport No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□女/Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>名/Given name:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
申请类别：（请在相应的位置打钩√，每个学生仅能申请一项。Please write √ in one of the following □。）

1. 浙江省政府奖学金：Zhejiang Provincial Scholarship
   □ A.研究生、博士生 For Postgraduate Students and Doctoral Students
   □ B. 本科生 For Undergraduate Students
   □ C. 在校进修生 For Non-degree Students Studying in Zhejiang

2. 浙江师范大学奖学金：Zhejiang Normal University Scholarship for Outstanding International Students
   1. 本科生/For Undergraduate Students:
      □ A 类 Category A □ B 类 Category B □ C 类 Category C
   2. 硕士生/For Postgraduate Students:
      □ A 类 Category A □ B 类 Category B □ C 类 Category C
   3. 博士生/ For Doctoral Students:
      □ A 类 Category A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>出生日期</th>
<th>出生地</th>
<th>国家</th>
<th>城市</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth</td>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>City</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>最高学历</th>
<th>学习成绩</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest Education</td>
<td>Academic Records (Example: 4/5 or 85/100)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

目前是否享受其他奖学金/Other scholarships you are under currently:
   □ 是/YES______________________
   □ 否/NO

家庭住址 /Permanent Home Address

电话/TELEPHONE

电子邮件/E-MAIL

2. 语言能力/Language Proficiency

汉语/Chinese: □ 很好/Excellent □ 好/Good □ 较好/Fair □ 差/Poor □ 不会/None

HSK 考试等级（如果有请填写）/Level of HSK Test (If appropriate):
3. **学习计划/Plan of Study**

| (1) 申请学习时间 /Duration of Study: | 从/From______年/Year____月/Month 至/To______年/Year____月/Month |
|-------------------------------------|
| (2) 申请类别 /Program of Study: | 博士/Doctor □ 硕士/Master □ 本科/Bachelor □ 进修/General Scholar |
| (3) 申请专业 /Intended Subject of Study: | |

4. **申请人保证/I hereby affirm that**

（1）上述各项中所提供的情况是真实无误的/All the information I provided above is true and correct;
（2）在校期间遵守中国政府的法规和学校的规章和制度/I shall abide by the laws of the Chinese Government and the regulations of Zhejiang Normal University.

日期/Date___________________ 申请人签字/Applicant's signature__________________________________

**Application Documents for Zhejiang Normal University Scholarship:**

a. Digital copy of Application Form for Zhejiang Normal University Scholarship (Word version).
b. Digital copy of Personal Information of Zhejiang Normal University Scholarship Applicants (Word version).
c. Photocopy of passport photo page.
d. Foreigner Physical Examination Form completed in English (The form designed by the Chinese quarantine authority can be downloaded from http://www.csc.edu.cn/laihua or http://www.campuschina.org). The physical examinations must cover all the items listed in the Foreigner Physical Examination Form. Incomplete records or those without the signature of the attending physician, the official stamp of the hospital or a sealed photograph of the applicants are invalid.
e. Notarized highest education diplomas attained, proof of study and transcripts (need to be translated into Chinese or English, and confirmation of your former school or local department).
f. Studying plans and goals.

g. Two letters of recommendation from your teachers
### APPENDIX M (TABLE 4.4)

#### 2015-2016 CAIBS AFRICAN IMBA STUDENTS’ BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION AND THEIR SCHOLARSHIP STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nations</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
<th>Self-funded</th>
<th>Scholarship types and Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Ghana</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23 (16.9)</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Cameroon</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>15 (11.0)</td>
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<td>Tanzania</td>
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<td>Zimbabwe</td>
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<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 (3.7)</td>
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<td>Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>5 (3.7)</td>
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<td>Madagascar</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>5 (3.7)</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Senegal</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4 (2.9)</td>
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<td>Somalia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (2.2)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Malawi</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3 (2.2)</td>
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<td>Burundi</td>
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<td>3 (2.2)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3 (2.2)</td>
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<td>1 (.74)</td>
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<td>1 (.74)</td>
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<td>Liberia</td>
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<td>1 (.74)</td>
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<td>1 (.74)</td>
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<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>138</strong></td>
<td><strong>36 (26.1%)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>G<em>28 (20.3%), B</em>74 (53.6%)</strong></td>
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</tr>
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</table>

To distinguish the types of scholarships, “G” is marked for the Chinese government scholarship and “B” is for the ZJNU scholarship. The number after “G” or “B” indicates the number of scholarship recipients for each type. If it is “None”, means the students are self-funded.

---

62 To distinguish the types of scholarships, “G” is marked for the Chinese government scholarship and “B” is for the ZJNU scholarship. The number after “G” or “B” indicates the number of scholarship recipients for each type. If it is “None”, means the students are self-funded.
## 2015-2016 CAIBS NON-AFRICAN IMBA STUDENTS’ BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION AND THEIR SCHOLARSHIP STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nations</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
<th>Self-funded</th>
<th>Scholarship types and Frequency</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10 (11.8)</td>
<td>5 G<em>4, Exchange</em>1 (Not sure if the student has scholarship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8 (9.4)</td>
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<td>Russia</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>7 (8.2)</td>
<td>0 G<em>4, A</em>1, B*2</td>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5 (5.9)</td>
<td>0 G*5</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 (5.9)</td>
<td>4 B*1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4 (4.7)</td>
<td>3 G*1</td>
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<td>3 (3.5)</td>
<td>0 G<em>2, B</em>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 (3.5)</td>
<td>1 G*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3 (3.5)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2 (2.4)</td>
<td>0 G*2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2 (2.4)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2 (2.4)</td>
<td>0 A<em>1, B</em>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1 None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.2)</td>
<td>0 G*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0 G*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0 G*1</td>
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<td>Libya</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.2)</td>
<td>0 G*1</td>
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<td>0 G*1</td>
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<td>0 G*1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.2)</td>
<td>0 G*1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

63 To distinguish the types of scholarships, “G” is marked for the CSC scholarship, “B” is for the ZJNU scholarship, “A” is for the provincial scholarship, and “None” for self-funded ones. The number after “G” or “A” or “B” indicates the number of scholarship recipients for each type.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Exchange</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Hungary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1  (1.2)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
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<td>Bulgaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1  (1.2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td><strong>25 (29.4%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>G<em>49 (57.6%), B</em>7 (8.2%), A<em>3 (3.5%), Exchange</em>1 (1.2%)</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>
# APPENDIX O

## STATISTICS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT IN CHINA (1999-2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Foreign Student Number</th>
<th>Degree/ Non-degree</th>
<th>Scholarship/ Self-funded</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Europe (including North and South)</th>
<th>America</th>
<th>Oceania</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>44,711</td>
<td>11,479/33,232</td>
<td>5,211/39,500</td>
<td>1,384</td>
<td>31,914</td>
<td>5,621</td>
<td>4,938</td>
<td>854</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(34.54%)</td>
<td>(13.19%)</td>
<td>(3.10%)</td>
<td>(71.38%)</td>
<td>(12.57%)</td>
<td>(11.04%)</td>
<td>(1.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>52,150</td>
<td>13,703/38,447</td>
<td>5,362/46,788</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>39,034</td>
<td>5,818</td>
<td>5,144</td>
<td>766</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.64%)</td>
<td>(11.46%)</td>
<td>(2.66%)</td>
<td>(74.85%)</td>
<td>(11.16%)</td>
<td>(9.86%)</td>
<td>(1.47%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>61,869</td>
<td>16,650/45,219</td>
<td>5,841/56,028</td>
<td>1,526</td>
<td>46,142</td>
<td>6,717</td>
<td>6,411</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(36.82%)</td>
<td>(10.42%)</td>
<td>(2.47%)</td>
<td>(74.85%)</td>
<td>(10.86%)</td>
<td>(10.36%)</td>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>85,829</td>
<td>21,055/64,774</td>
<td>6,074/79,755</td>
<td>1,646</td>
<td>66,040</td>
<td>8,127</td>
<td>8,892</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(32.50%)</td>
<td>(7.61%)</td>
<td>(1.92%)</td>
<td>(76.94%)</td>
<td>(9.47%)</td>
<td>(10.36%)</td>
<td>(1.31%)</td>
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<td>1,793</td>
<td>63,672</td>
<td>6,462</td>
<td>4,703</td>
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<td>(46.36%)</td>
<td>(8.60%)</td>
<td>(2.31%)</td>
<td>(81.93%)</td>
<td>(6.05%)</td>
<td>(1.40%)</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>110,844</td>
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<td>2,186</td>
<td>85,112</td>
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<td>(39.90%)</td>
<td>(6.45%)</td>
<td>(1.97%)</td>
<td>(76.78%)</td>
<td>(10.40%)</td>
<td>(9.65%)</td>
<td>(1.20%)</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>141,087</td>
<td>44,851/96,236</td>
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<td>106,840</td>
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<td>13,221</td>
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<td>(46.61%)</td>
<td>(5.39%)</td>
<td>(1.95%)</td>
<td>(75.73%)</td>
<td>(11.67%)</td>
<td>(9.37%)</td>
<td>(1.28%)</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>162,695</td>
<td>54,859/107,836</td>
<td>8,484/154,211</td>
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<td>120,930</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(50.87%)</td>
<td>(5.50%)</td>
<td>(2.30%)</td>
<td>(74.33%)</td>
<td>(12.71%)</td>
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<td>(1.07%)</td>
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<td>10,151/185,352</td>
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<td>141,689</td>
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<td>80,005/143,494</td>
<td>13,516/209,983</td>
<td>8,799</td>
<td>152,931</td>
<td>32,461</td>
<td>26,559</td>
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<td>(55.75%)</td>
<td>(6.44%)</td>
<td>(3.94%)</td>
<td>(68.43%)</td>
<td>(14.52%)</td>
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<td>(1.23%)</td>
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<td>2009</td>
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283
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<th>2011</th>
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<th>2013</th>
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<th>2015</th>
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<td>207,555</td>
<td>54,453</td>
<td>34,882</td>
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<td>356,499</td>
<td>147,890/208,609</td>
<td>33,322/323,177</td>
<td>33,359</td>
<td>219,808</td>
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<td>377,054</td>
<td>164,394/212,660</td>
<td>36,943/340,111</td>
<td>41,677</td>
<td>225,490</td>
<td>67,475</td>
<td>36,140</td>
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<td>232,594</td>
<td>2272,952</td>
<td>488,965</td>
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</table>

Source: China Association for International Education (CAFSA)
APPENDIX P

DORMITORY BUILDINGS AND SETTINGS IN ZJNU
Building entrance

Kitchen on each floor

Laundry room
APPENDIX Q

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS PROVIDE SERVICES FOR

NEW INTERNATIONAL COMERS
APPENDIX R

BUSINESS PRACTICES FOR IMBA STUDENTS

The First Session of African Students in China Entrepreneurship and Innovation Competition (ASCEIC)

The Second ZJNU Market Survey Contest for International Graduate Students

64 Other pictures from the CAIBS international student union are not listed here for privacy purposes.
APPENDIX S

AFRICAN STUDENTS-LIFE IN ZJNU

Playing football

Having class

Asking for direction
APPENDIX T

YIWU SMALL COMMODITY MARKET IN ZHEJIANG PROVINCE

From the top

Entrance
African products exhibition area

South Africa Hall
Wooden sculptures are being sold
APPENDIX U

INTERVIEW APPROVAL LETTER FROM

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST AND CONSENT FORM

University of Massachusetts Amherst
Research Compliance
108 Research Administration Bldg.
70 Batterfield Terrace
Amherst, MA 01003-9242
Human Research Protection Office (HRPO)
Telephone: (413) 545-3428
FAX: (413) 577-1728

Certification of Human Subjects Approval

Date: April 5, 2017
To: Yi Sun, Educ Policy, Research & Admin
Other Investigator: Bjorn Nordveit, Educ Policy, Research & Admin
From: Lynnette Leidy Sievert, Chair, UMASS IRB

Protocol Title: Understanding China’s discourse on South-South Cooperation and Africa’s human resource flows in a time of unprecedented globalization: A case study of Zhejiang Normal University’s China-Africa International Business School
Protocol ID: 2017-3750
Review Type: EXPEDITED - NEW
Paragraph ID:
Approval Date: 04/05/2017
Expiration Date: 04/04/2018
OGCA #:

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Massachusetts Amherst IRB, Federal Wide Assurance # 00003909. Approval is granted with the understanding that investigator(s) are responsible for:

Modifications - All changes to the study (e.g. protocol, recruitment materials, consent form, additional key personnel), must be submitted for approval in e-protocol before instituting the changes. New personnel must have completed CITI training.

Consent forms - A copy of the approved, validated, consent form (with the IRB stamp) must be used to consent each subject. Investigators must retain copies of signed consent documents for six (6) years after close of the grant, or three (3) years if unfunded.

Adverse Event Reporting - Adverse events occurring in the course of the protocol must be reported in e-protocol as soon as possible, but no later than five (5) working days.

Continuing Review - Studies that received Full Board or Expedited approval must be reviewed three weeks prior to expiration, or six weeks for Full Board. Renewal Reports are submitted through e-protocol.

Completion Reports - Notify the IRB when your study is complete by submitting a Final Report Form in e-protocol.

Consent form (when applicable) will be stamped and sent in a separate e-mail. Use only IRB approved copies of the consent forms, questionnaires, letters, advertisements etc. in your research.

Please contact the Human Research Protection Office if you have any further questions. Best wishes for a successful project.
SUBJECT STATEMENT OF VOLUNTARY CONSENT

When signing this form, I am agreeing to voluntarily enter this research. I have had a chance to read this consent form, and it was explained to me in a language which I use and understand. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have received satisfactory answers. I understand that I can withdraw at any time. A copy of this signed Informed Consent Form has been given to me.

I understand that this research also involves video recordings,

I agree that segments of the recordings made of my participation in this research may be used for conference presentations, as well as education, training and publication of future researchers/practitioners.

I agree to have my recordings archived for future research in the fields of international development and higher education.

I do not agree to allow segments of recordings of my participation in this research to be used for conference presentations or education and academic publication purposes.

Participant Signature: ___________________________ Print Name: ___________________________ Date: ______________

By signing below I indicate that the participant has read and, to the best of my knowledge, understands the details contained in this document and has been given a copy.

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: ___________________________ Print Name: ___________________________ Date: ______________
APPENDIX V
PRE-INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire

Your Name:

Questions:

1. 你为什么选择来中国留学？你的家庭支持你来中国留学吗？
   (Why did you choose China as the country for getting your MBA degree? Did your family members support your decision?)

2. 你谈谈在中国和在非洲学校学习有什么不同的地方吗？
   (Could you talk about the differences between the university in China and the university in your country? Please give some examples.)

3. 你认为在中国商学院的学习将给你未来的工作与生活带来什么的收获？
   (What are your expectations after getting your MBA degree in ZNU? Especially for your future careers and lives.)

4. 你认为为什么会有那么多非洲留学生选择在中国上大学或者读研究生？
   (Why are there getting more African students choose to receive their advanced degrees in Chinese universities? Please state your opinions.)

1 谢谢你！Thank you for your time!
5. Have you ever travelled to the other countries before China? For what purposes? Do you think Chinese culture influenced you a lot? Such as your thoughts, your personalities, and your life styles and so on?

6. Please give one or more interesting/meaningful story(ies) which impressed you the most during your studies in China.

7. What are your own definitions for these two words— "cooperation" and "development"? Please give examples if necessary.

8. What's your point of view on the future relationship between China and your home country? You could talk about the political relations, economic relations, cultural relations and so on based on your background knowledges.

Thank you for your time!
APPENDIX W

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR DIFFERENT GROUPS

• Question List 1: For African Student Group in ZJNU-CAIBS

1. How did you choose to come to China (ZJNU) for getting your degree (with/ without a scholarship)?

2. Did you think about studying in a country other than China (or a Chinese university other than ZJNU)?

3. Do you have friends from your home country who are also pursuing degrees in China? What do they study?

4. How long have you been here (or in China)? Can you speak Chinese?

5. What is your major? Why did you choose this major?

6. Do you live on campus? By yourself or with roommate(s)? Is he/she Chinese or other nationalities?

7. How much per month do you normally spend on living in China? Is it more expensive or less expensive compared to your home country?

8. Before you came to China, what did you think China would be like? Where did you get these opinions? What about now?

9. Have you ever spent any time away from home? If yes, where did you go and for how long?

10. What is your family’s opinion about you coming to study in China? Did they support your decision?

11. Do you have family ties in China? If yes, can you introduce them simply?

1. What are the biggest differences you see between the university experience here and in your home country? What do you think of the textbooks that are offering here?

12. Can you describe a situation in which gave you “cultural shock” when you first came to China?

13. So far, what do you like the most about living in China? What was the hardest thing for you to adjust to?

14. Since being in China, have you returned home for visit? Do you have responsibilities at home? If so, what are they?

15. How would you go about meeting new friends in a new country (in this case, China)? Do people in China (and student/teacher in ZJNU) offer you help when needed?

16. Has your experience here helped you learn to understand and respect cultural differences? If so, can you share your story?

17. What is your plan after receiving your degree? Do you have any expectations for future career development? Where do you see yourself in next five years?
18. Describe three issues that are facing your country currently. If you are going back to your country, how would you address these issues?

19. Has your experience in China helped you gain an appreciation for how the world is interconnected on all levels (environmental, socio-cultural, economic and political, etc.)? If so, can you cite specific examples?

20. Can you please define “cooperation” and “development”? What is your view towards the future partnership relations between China and your home country?

21. Tell one more thing that you hope China can do for your home country in the future.

- **Question List 2: For European Student Group in ZJNU-CAIBS**

  1. As an intentional student from Eastern Europe, how did you choose to come to China (ZJNU) for getting your degree (with/without a scholarship) in China-Africa International Business?
  2. What is your major? Why did you choose this major?
  3. What attracted you the most about coming to study in China (or in this specific program at ZJNU)?
  4. Did you think about studying in a country other than China (or a Chinese university other than ZJNU)?
  5. Do you have friends from your home country who are also pursuing a business degrees in China? What are their fields? If they are graduated, what do they do?
  6. How long have you been here (or in China)? Can you speak Chinese?
  7. Do you live on campus? By yourself or with roommate(s)? Is he/she Chinese or other nationalities?
  8. How much per month do you normally spend on living in China? Is it more expensive or less expensive compared to your home country?
  9. Before came to China, what did you think China would be like? Where did you get these opinions? What about now?
  10. Have you ever spent any time away from home? If yes, where did you go and for how long?
  11. What is your family’s opinion about you coming to study in China? Did they support your decision?
  12. Do you have family ties in China? If yes, can you introduce them simply?
  13. What are the biggest differences you see between the university experience here and in your home country? What do you think of the textbooks that are offering here?
  14. Can you describe a situation in which give you “cultural shock” when you first came to China? How did you deal with it?
  15. So far, what do you like the most about living in China? What was the hardest thing for you to adjust to?
16. How would you go about meeting new friends in a new country (in this case, China)? Have you had a chance to interact with any people outside of the campus? If you are on campus, do students and teachers offer you help when needed?

17. Has your experience here helped you learn to understand and respect cultural differences? If so, can you share your story?

18. What is your plan after receiving your degree? Do you have any expectations for future career development? Where do you see yourself in next five years?

19. Describe three issues that are facing your country currently. If you are going back to your country, how would you address these issues?

20. Has your experience in China helped you gain an appreciation for how the world is interconnected on all levels (environmental, socio-cultural, economic and political, etc.)? If so, can you cite specific examples?

21. Can you please define “cooperation” and “development”? What is your view towards the future partnership relations between China and your home country (and African countries)?

22. Tell one more thing that you hope China can do for promoting its relationship with Africa in the future based on your knowledge.

**Question List 3: For Chinese Student Group in ZJNU-CAIBS**

1. What is your major? Why did you choose this major?

2. (For CAIBS Chinese student) As a native Chinese student, what attracted you the most for being part of the business of China and Africa?

3. Do you have friends from China also pursuing degrees in China-African business? Or in any the other fields of China-Africa cooperation?

4. Have you ever travelled to any other countries? Have you been to Africa? If yes, what country(ies) in Africa? What is your general opinion towards it?

5. If you never been to Africa, can you picture how would Africa look like? How did you hold this opinion?

6. What do you like the most about this MBA program? What are your expectations after graduate?

7. Have you ever engaged in China-Africa business before? Do you have family members/ friends work/live in Africa? If yes, what do they do?

8. What is your family’s opinion about you choosing this topic/study/work?

9. Where do you see yourself in next five years?

10. If you find a job in Africa, will you go? Will your family support you to go and work there?

11. Did you make any friends from Africa and Europe in the business school? If yes, please describe what activities do you usually do together with them? If no, please explain what are the barriers of making friends with them.
12. Since ZJNU has been enrolling international students from different countries, do you see any cultural changes on campus? What is your opinion about it?

13. Has this multicultural experience on campus helped you learn to understand and respect cultural differences? If so, please share your story and experience.

14. Describe three issues that are facing or causing by international students (such as students from Africa and Europe) at ZJNU. Please share your opinions.

15. Since many Chinese universities like ZJNU are embracing cultural diversity by enrolling more international students, has your experience here as a native Chinese helped you gain an appreciation for how the world is interconnected on all levels (environmental, socio-cultural, economic and political, etc.)? If so, can you cite specific examples?

16. Can you please define “cooperation” and “development”? What is your view towards China’s engagement in the global South? Especially the business-oriented cooperation with Africa?

17. What is your opinion on China’s initiative about establishing more “world-class” level universities? How will this help China improve its educational quality for both domestic and international students in general?

18. Tell one more thing that you hope China can do for improving the efficiency of participation in international affairs, especially its engagement with Africa.

• **Question List 4: For Chinese Faculty Members and Administrators in ZJNU-CAIBS**

  1. How long have you been working here?
  2. What is your role in ZJNU? Do you teach (what class do you teach)? Or do you work with international students? Especially African students? How often do you work with them?
  3. Give an example of a time when you have delivered excellent instruction or student service, and why is this important in this role?
  4. What motivated to apply for this role as an instructor/administrator? Do you have similar work experience before?
  5. Give an example of a time when you have been faced with a challenging situation deal with international students (African or European) on campus. How did you overcome this? What did you learn from it?
  6. Since China has been trying to establish “world-class” level universities by embracing cultural diversity, what are the pros and cons as you see as an instructor/administrator so far? What is your opinion towards China’s higher education globalization in general?
  7. In your opinion, what are the most important things for African students to learn in their study experiences in China? As a faculty member, do you have or does the school has any expectations for them? What are the training plans that the school prepared for these students?
8. What textbooks do you offer to the students in ZJNU-CAIBS? Are they originally written by Chinese scholars or Western scholars? How do you find the teaching materials useful/not useful for students in CAIBS?

9. As an instructor/administrator work with African students every day, how do you posit yourself in China-Africa’s higher education cooperation? Why is this important/not important for you?

10. How do you understand China’s developmental model (especially the policy towards developing countries in the global South) in accordance with China-Africa’s higher education cooperation?

11. Tell more things that you hope Chinese government can do to improve teacher quality in higher education institutions: what can Chinese universities do in order to meet needs of diverse student groups in terms of curriculum design, instructional language, campus culture, work policy and so on? What else can Chinese society do base upon China’s developmental needs for establishing more “world-class” level universities as well as enrolling more African students (and students from other developing countries) in general?
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