

Université de Montréal

**An Alternative Development Model in Africa Inspired by China?**

Par

Lijuan Chen

Département de Science Politique

Faculté des Arts & des Sciences

Thèse présentée à la Faculté des études supérieures en vue de l'obtention du grade de  
Philosophiae Doctor (Ph.D.) en science politique

Octobre 2020

©Lijuan Chen, 2020

Université de Montréal

Faculté des études supérieures

Cette thèse est intitulée:

**An Alternative Development Model in Africa Inspired by China?**

Présentée par :

Lijuan Chen

a été évaluée par un jury composé des personnes suivantes :

Simon Thibault

.....  
président-rapporteur

Mamoudou Gazibo

.....  
directeur de recherche

Vincent Arel-Bundock

.....  
membre du jury

Marie-Eve Desrosiers

.....  
examinatrice externe

.....  
représentant du doyen de la FES

## **Abstract**

This Ph.D. dissertation seeks to verify if an alternative development model inspired by China is emerging in Africa and if so, how and why it is diffused in some countries. This dissertation helps to fill a gap in the literature on the effect that China's engagement in Africa has had regarding development model. I argue that countries with a developmental state, Marxist legacies and relatively weak colonial heritages tend to embrace more the alternative development model because the state, often authoritarian, is able to devise autonomous development, with special emphasis on infrastructure and industrialization. I theorize that the neoliberal state still under control of the former colonial master somehow is less apt to take the model.

I assess my arguments on the intrinsic and external conditions facilitating the diffusion of the alternative development model through a comparison of Ethiopia and Senegal. Ethiopia is a country on the path of this development model in a voluntary and comprehensive way while Senegal adopts it in a moderate, if not minimal way. Later, the hypotheses are tested with more cases of African countries. This research is mainly based on the comparative method and process-tracing.

The first chapter is my theoretical framework and methodology. I present the alternative development model based on my observations and literature review in the second chapter. I expose two main case studies in chapter 3, followed by my explanation of the different situations of the two cases in chapter 4. In chapter 5, I make several more cases studies briefly with a regional vision and finally synthesize my research findings.

**Key words:** Development model, Developmental authoritarianism, Infrastructure, Africa, Ethiopia, Senegal, Chinese model, Neoliberalism, Marxist legacies, Colonial influence.

## Résumé

Cette thèse de doctorat cherche à savoir s'il existe un modèle de développement alternatif inspiré par la Chine en Afrique, et dans l'affirmative, comment et pourquoi il est diffusé dans certains pays et moins dans d'autres. Cette recherche contribue à combler une lacune dans la littérature sur l'effet des engagements de la Chine en Afrique en matière de modèle de développement. Mon argument principal qu'un tel modèle a plus de chances d'émerger dans un État autoritaire disposant de la marge de manœuvre permettant de mettre un accent particulier sur les infrastructures et l'industrialisation.

Je suppose que les pays avec un État développemental, des héritages marxistes et une influence coloniale relativement faible ont tendance à adopter davantage le modèle de développement alternatif, alors que les États néolibéraux sur lesquels l'ancienne puissance coloniale a toujours la mainmise est moins à même de prendre le modèle.

J'éclaire mes hypothèses à travers une comparaison entre l'Éthiopie et le Sénégal. L'Éthiopie est un pays qui produit ce modèle de développement de manière volontaire et globale, tandis que le Sénégal l'adopte de manière modérée, voire minimale. Les hypothèses sont finalement testées avec plusieurs autres cas de pays africains. Cette recherche est principalement basée sur la méthode comparative et le traçage des processus.

Le premier chapitre comporte mon cadre théorique et ma méthodologie. Je présente les caractéristiques de ce modèle de développement alternatif sur la base de mes observations et la revue de littérature dans le deuxième chapitre. J'expose deux études de cas principales au chapitre trois, suivi de mes explications de leurs situations différentes au chapitre quatre. Le chapitre cinq propose brièvement plusieurs autres études de cas tests et finalement synthétise les résultats de mes recherches, tout en rappelant le contexte international et les contraintes de la diffusion du modèle en question.

**Mots clés:** Modèle de développement, État développemental, Infrastructure, Afrique, Éthiopie, Sénégal, Modèle chinois, Néolibéralisme, Influence coloniale, Héritage marxiste.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	i
<b>Résumé</b> .....	ii
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	iv
<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	ix
<b>Remerciements</b> .....	xii
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
1. A brief overview of Africa’s orthodox development models .....	5
2. China and the international cooperation revolution .....	7
3. Regarding the Chinese model and its influence .....	12
<b>Chapter 1: Theories and methodology</b> .....	15
1.1 Understanding what is going on in Africa: debates and hypotheses .....	15
1.2 Theorizing about what is going on in Africa and the diffusion of the alternative model	19
1.2.1 Interlocking central place diffusion .....	19
1.2.2 Demonstration-emulation as an approach of the leading country for diffusing its behavior principles .....	22
1.2.3 The flying geese pattern .....	37
1.3 Methodology .....	42
1.3.1 Case study .....	43
1.3.2 Comparative method .....	44
1.3.3 Process-tracing .....	46
1.3.4 Field work .....	47
1.3.5 Document analysis .....	51
<b>Chapter 2: Identifying the elements of an alternative development model in Africa</b> .....	53

2.1	The separation between economic development and the nature of political regimes	53
2.2	The strong emphasis on infrastructure and the industrialization based on it .....	56
2.2.1	The infrastructure .....	56
2.2.2	African special economic zones --- a physical miniature of the alternative development model .....	58
2.3	The autonomy of development vis-à-vis foreign actors owing to the plurality of partners .....	72
2.4	The exertion of a greater role of the state .....	75
<b>Chapter 3:</b>	<b>The cases of Ethiopia and Senegal</b> .....	<b>79</b>
3.1	The separation between economic development and the nature of political regimes	79
3.1.1	Ethiopia .....	79
3.1.2	Senegal .....	89
3.2	The infrastructure and industrialization .....	92
3.2.1	Ethiopia .....	94
3.2.2	Senegal .....	111
3.3	The autonomous development owing to a plurality of partners .....	125
3.3.1	Ethiopia .....	125
3.3.2	Senegal .....	127
3.4	The role of the state .....	139
3.4.1	Ethiopia .....	139
3.4.2	Senegal .....	145
3.5	Conclusion.....	149
<b>Chapter 4:</b>	<b>Explaining the differences between the cases</b> .....	<b>150</b>
4.1	Developmental state versus neoliberal state.....	150
4.1.1	The appealing nature of the model: the developmental state .....	151

4.1.2 Neoliberal state.....	165
4.2 Why a mimetic diffusion of the model occurs: post-colonial relations .....	182
4.2.1 Britain-Africa post-colonial relations.....	184
4.2.2 France-Africa post-colonial relations (Françafrique).....	185
4.2.3 Conclusion.....	199
4.3 Marxist legacies.....	200
4.3.1 Marxist legacy and democracy.....	206
4.3.2 Marxist legacy and infrastructure and industrialization .....	208
4.3.3 Marxist legacy and the autonomy of development owing to a plurality of partners .....	209
4.3.4 Marxist legacy and a strong state .....	210
4.4 Explaining the deviations of the cases observed in the interviews of the field work.....	213
4.4.1 The democracy of Ethiopia .....	214
4.4.2 The infrastructure of Senegal .....	215
<b>Chapter 5: Testing the external validity of results, discussion and synthesis .....</b>	<b>216</b>
5.1 Additional brief case studies .....	216
5.1.1 Djibouti.....	216
5.1.2 Uganda .....	217
5.1.3 Tanzania.....	219
5.1.4 Mozambique.....	221
5.1.5 Rwanda.....	223
5.1.6 Republic of Congo .....	225
5.1.7 Kenya and Nigeria.....	225
5.2 The synthesis .....	229
5.2.1 Democracy and development.....	230



5.2.2 Infrastructure and industrialization .....	235
5.2.3 Autonomous development due to various partners .....	245
5.2.4 Increased engagement of the state.....	246
5.2.5 Conclusion.....	248
5.3 Competing hypotheses .....	251
5.3.1 The first competing hypothesis .....	251
5.3.2 The second competing hypothesis.....	258
5.4 Impediments for the alternative development model.....	261
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	266
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	i
Appendix A: Training seminar or study tour aimed at experience sharing from China organized by the International Department of CPC between July 2018 and July 2020.....	xxix
Appendix B: Top 25 African countries visited by CPC delegations (1998-2014).....	xxxvi
Appendix C: Top 28 African countries sending party delegations to visit CPC (1998-2014)..	xl
Appendix D: Ruling parties of African countries that have dispatched joint delegations to China .....	xlvi
Appendix E: Total value of projects Awarded to Local and Foreign Contractor and Ownforce (1998-2012).....	xlviii
Appendix F: The countries/Regions of origin of the companies in the Bole Lemi industrial park (phase 1).....	xlix
Appendix G: The countries/Regions of origin of the companies in Hawassa Industrial Park....	l
Appendix H: Interview Report.....	lii
Appendix I: Questionnaire for managers of major Chinese enterprises in Ethiopia and Senegal.....	lviii
Appendix J: Questionnaire of interview for Officials in different government authorities of Ethiopia .....	lix

Appendix K: Questionnaire of interview for Officials in different government authorities of Senegal ..... lxii

## **List of Abbreviations**

Ageroute	Agence des Travaux et de Gestion des Routes
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa)
APIX	Agence Nationale chargée de la Promotion de l'Investissement et des grands Travaux
APPI	Agreements for the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments
APROSI	L'Agence d'Aménagement et de Promotion de Sites Industriels
IPDC	Industrial Parks Development Corporation of Ethiopia
CAFIC	China-Africa Fund for Industrial Cooperation
CCCC	China Communications Construction Company Limited
CCECC	China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CPC	Communist Party of China
CEMAC	Communauté économique des États de l'Afrique centrale
CGCOG	China Geo-Engineering Corporation Overseas Construction Group Co., Ltd.
CGGC	China Gezhouba Group Co., Ltd.
CFCO	Congo–Ocean Railway
CHEC	China Harbor Engineering Company Ltd
CHICO	China Henan International Cooperation Group Co.Ltd.
CRBC	China Road and Bridge Corporation
CREC	China Railway Engineering Corporation
CSCEC	China State Construction Engineering Corporation
CWE	China International Water & Electric Corporation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
EIC	Ethiopian Investment Commission
EPC	Engineering, Procurement and Construction
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

Eximbank	The Export-Import Bank of China
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FDI	Foreign direct investment
FOCAC	Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
Franc CFA	franc de la Communauté financière africaine
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
ICT	Information and communications technology
IDCPC	International Department of the Central Committee of CPC
IEA	International Energy Agency
IFI	International financial institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Industrial park
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce of the People’s Republic of China
MOU	Memorandum of understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIC	Newly industrialized country
NRM	National Resistance Movement
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ODP	Oromo Democratic Party
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAP	Plan d’Action des projets prioritaires
PCT	Congolese Labor Party
PPP	Public-private partnership
PREAC	Business Environment and Competitiveness Reform Program
PSE	Plan Sénégal émergent
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEZ	Special Economic Zone

SINOHYDRO	Sinohydro Corporation Ltd.
SOE	State-owned Enterprise
TEDA	Tianjin Economic-Technological Development Area
TER	Train Express Regional
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UEMOA	Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine
UIA	Uganda Investment Authority
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

## Remerciements

Dans le cadre de la rédaction de cette thèse, je tiens tout d'abord à remercier mon superviseur, Mamoudou Gazibo, qui a approuvé les idées qui me sont venues en tête et puis se sont mises dans cette recherche. Il m'a beaucoup encouragée, corrigé et inspirée avec ses connaissances incroyables sur toute l'Afrique. Parmi les autres professeurs du département qui m'ont enseignée, je voudrais aussi remercier: Françoise Montambeault pour son cours, les théories du développement qui était très bien préparé et organisé; Vincent Arel-Bundock pour son cours d'économie politique internationale qui est excellent et enrichissant. Il m'a initiée à étudier et critiquer la littérature sur l'aide au développement et le commerce international, les relations entre les régimes et l'économie etc. Je remercie aussi Jean-Philippe Thérien, un professeur inclusif et compréhensif, pour son cours, les relations internationales. Sans la base académique jetée par ces professeurs pour moi, je n'aurais pas pu mener à bien cette thèse. En fait, je remercie tout le personnel du département qui m'a aidée, y compris les assistantes du directeur du département.

Je voudrais remercier les institutions qui m'ont invitée dans leur cadre académique. Le séjour dans le Centre français des études éthiopiennes m'a permis d'aller à l'Université Addis Abeba et à certains ministères. A l'Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Monsieur Diop, chef du département de science politique, et son doyen m'ont aidée à tisser des liens locaux pour faire des interviews de la part du Sénégal. Je remercie aussi les gens ordinaires à Addis Ababa qui étaient très gentils avec moi et m'ont fait sentir à la maison. Je tiens une gratitude spéciale à tous mes interviewés, les officiels Africains qui ont partagé leurs travaux et leurs idées avec moi, et également les gérants et le personnel chinois qui m'ont reçue et aidée pour ma recherche et mon séjour en Afrique. L'accueil à tout moment de la communauté chinoise et leurs échanges avec moi étaient un soutien indispensable pour la réalisation du travail de terrain en Éthiopie et au Sénégal.

Je voudrais aussi exprimer ma reconnaissance à mon collègue et ma moitié Xiyuan Tang, qui était toujours la première personne à écouter mes réflexions. C'est ma chance de travailler avec lui pour le développement de l'Afrique.

Cette dissertation n'aurait pas pu être complétée sans les soutiens financiers du département de science politique de l'Université de Montréal; de la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales pour la bourse de fin d'études du Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur, et enfin de la Recherche & de la Science à travers la Maison Internationale de l'Université pour la bourse de travail de terrain.

## Introduction

China has been the largest trade partner of Africa since 2009. Chinese stock of direct investments in the continent exceeded US \$ 32.4 billion in 2018, and the last 20 years have witnessed a ten-fold increase in its African assistance. Therefore, the increase in China's engagement with Africa is obvious. Interactions between both parties are within the framework of South-South Cooperation, the comprehensive strategic partnership of cooperation<sup>1</sup> recapitulated under the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), the Belt and Road Initiative, and a host of others.

There are many debates as to what is happening in Africa in terms of development. On the one hand, optimists pay attention to changes occurring on the entire African continent. The optimists see the average annual GDP growth of 5.4% that the continent achieved between 2000 and 2010 (Leke et al. 2016). A MacKinsey report thinks African economies are “lions on the move” and calls on the realization of their potential (Roxburgh et al. 2010). In the same vein, Robert Rotberg (2013) dwells on “Africa emerges”. After the year 2000, Many African countries have given more focus to their growth rate and launched an economic development plan to achieve emergence. The NEPAD and the Agenda 2063 have witnessed the vision of emergence of Africa as a whole (Gazibo and Mbabia 2019). It may be premature to be too confident about an African renaissance, but without doubt the African situation has changed dramatically in the last fifteen to twenty years. On the other hand, afro-pessimists think that Africa is still in unfavourable conditions and old frameworks. For them, growth having been achieved since the year 2000, owing largely to China, is just a veneer and doesn't make a case for anything. Some doubt the sustainability of African growth. Though optimists

---

<sup>1</sup> Chinese African policy has been transformed from political and ideological before 1978 to both political and economic till 1990s and comprehensive and institutional in the 21st century. With the time, the nature of the Sino-African relationship has become comprehensive strategic (Miao 2015). The renewed nature was elevated by Chinese President Xi at the Johannesburg Summit of FOCAC in 2015.



suggest that Africa has stepped into an overall good situation, pessimists see a bleak future for Africa, there are also some scholars in the middle ground. Go and Page (2012, 79) demonstrate with statistics that Africa is at a turning point. There is indeed an accelerated growth in sub-Saharan Africa, even though its sustainability is fragile.

With the rapid development of China and close economic and political relations with Africa, as well as the evolution of the world order, China seems to indirectly be one of the main shapers of a new development model in many countries on the continent.

This development model has emerged, due to setbacks of the Washington Consensus<sup>2</sup> and partial negation of orthodox development theories. These failures are making way for alternatives African countries search to meet their development needs. It was within this context that the increasingly intensified trade, investment and foreign aid relations between China and Africa come into play. China, together with other emerging countries, are changing foreign aid, bilateral trade and FDI paradigms, while giving rise, involuntarily, to an alternative development model. There is seemingly a transition from the “Washington Consensus,” to a “Beijing Consensus”<sup>3</sup>, in some African countries. It can be said in this regard that Africa’s development landscape is being altered and reshaped.

The Washington Consensus was coined by John Williamson in 1989. It refers to free market economic policies proposed to relief developing countries from economic crises. The Consensus is connected to ten-point reforms including the adoption of the following points: free trade, fiscal deficits reduction, market-determined interest rates and competitive exchange rates, privatizing state enterprises, market deregulation and public subsidies reduction. There are debates on the influence of the Consensus. Proponents argue that the Consensus mainly carries the ideas of “market economy, openness to the world and

---

<sup>2</sup> See literature review below

<sup>3</sup> “Beijing Consensus” was coined by Joshua Cooper Ramo to bring up China’s economic development model as an alternative to the Washington Consensus for developing countries. It also sometimes called the China Model.

macroeconomic discipline” (Williamson 2002), and that market liberalisation can stimulate competition and thus growth.

The prescriptions of liberalization, privatization and deregulation in the Washington Consensus make people think that it is neoliberal, but Williamson thinks that this is an over-interpretation of the Washington Consensus (Williamson 2002). He doesn't identify with the neoliberal policies including the liberalization of capital account and a minimal state, rather, he just argued for “macroeconomic discipline, a market economy and openness to the world” (Williamson 2002). Stiglitz is one of the most renowned critics of the Washington Consensus.

The opponents think that it was “imposed on hapless countries by the Washington-based international financial institutions” (Williamson 2002), as the World Bank, IMF and donor countries often attach conditionalities for developing countries. The opponents also prove that “in the countries that followed Washington Consensus policies, economic growth was limited at best, and disproportionately benefited those at the top ” (Serra and Stiglitz 2008).

The creator of the term Washington Consensus, Williamson himself just admitted in 2002 that the outcomes of the Washington consensus are disappointing, especially if we look at the growth, poverty reduction and employment in the countries having implemented it. Despite its spectacular failures, the orthodox development discourse remains seductive (Smith 2006). Given the problems following the adoption of the Washington Consensus, although there are merits of it, this thesis presents an alternative model which is a far cry from the Washington Consensus and may be a remedy for some of the inefficiencies of it.

Following China's active involvement in Africa, an emerging Beijing Consensus on international development was named and talked about, in the West and deemed as a counter-paradigm to the Washington Consensus (Stiglitz 2008). According to Beijing, China's policy is characterized by “the principles of mutual benefits and non-interference in a nation's

internal politics, dialogue based on equal partnership, effectiveness and efficiency of aid without conditionalities”<sup>4</sup>. This policy is attractive to “many African leaders who resist Western actions aimed at economic or political reform of their regimes” (Alden 2008, 105). For these reasons, the Beijing Consensus is also regarded as an authoritarian state-capitalist model (Ortmann 2012).

China takes Africa as a strategic partner and Africa is indispensable for China both in seeking political support and economic and trade cooperation. The Rand Report 2017 on Chinese engagement in Africa also points out China’s four strategic interests in Africa as “access to natural resources, particularly oil and gas; markets for Chinese exports; political legitimacy; and sufficient security and stability to continue its commercial activities.” (Hanauer and Morris 2014) China’s engagement in Africa has generally turning from natural resources to human resources (Dollar 2016). In 2018, Chinese companies control “less than 7% of the value of total African mine production” (Ericsson, Löf, and Löf 2020). China’s domestic increase of the cost of labor force tends to make it a foreign investor, moving manufacturing values chains to Africa in the 2010s in contrast to the 2000s when China’s manufacturing industry abundant in cheap labor force and in lack of natural resources led to China’s export of manufactures to Africa and import of natural resources (Dollar 2016). In the same vein, a recent study of Chen et al (2018) also shows that on China’s investment in Africa, “there are few projects in natural resource sectors. Most projects are in services, with a significant number in manufacturing as well.” China aims to gain influence and establish its leadership in the developing world through its aid and peacekeeping engagement in Africa (Butts et al. 2009).

The question of study in this dissertation is about the formation of an alternative development model in Africa, following China’s extensive involvement. We want to assess

---

<sup>4</sup> See China’s White Papers on foreign aid 2014.

the existence and nature of such a model and understand why some African countries are willing to and capable of implementing it while others are not.

### **1. A brief overview of Africa's orthodox development models**

Generally, development theories guiding Africa dramatically shifted from successively valuing infrastructure and the state, to policy reform (structural adjustment) and later political issues, such as good governance and democracy (Williams 2012, 1).

In the 1960s, there was a western-styled development perspective inspired by liberal development theories, according to which the state should follow the various stages of growth (Rostow 1963), liberal market (Smith 1976) and specialization based on comparative advantages (Ricardo 1977).

Most African countries became independent in the 1950s and 1960s when the modernisation theory dominated the development literature. Therefore, developmental policies were also in vogue in Africa. This model emerged against the backdrop of the Cold War. The geopolitical competition in Africa between two superpowers was the international theme and political reform was not on the agenda. So, developmentalism was a model stressing economic development:

The central element in the dominant ideological formation in post-independence Africa has been the ideology of developmentalism. The argument of the ideology is very simple. We are economically backward and we need to develop and develop very fast. In this task of development, we cannot afford the luxury of politics. Therefore, politics are relegated to the background while economics come to occupy the central place on the ideological terrain. The politics are displaced from the dominant ideological terrain (Laxton Biti 1998, 68).

African socialism and nationalism were prevalent in a number of African countries after independence:

After independence, several African countries embarked upon state controlled economic development policies, involving central planning and a large public sector.

Right after independence Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, and later Ethiopia embraced socialist ideologies and adopted centrally planned socialist development strategies ... Nationalist leaders of these countries controlled private and foreign enterprises, which they viewed as agents of exploitation and domination (Kumssa and Jones 2015, 12).

In contrast, the public sector was very important for the state to achieve sustainable development (Kumssa and Jones 2015). These were also inspired by neo-Marxist theories, including unequal exchanges (Emmanuel and Pearce 1972), the criticism of imperialism and domination of multinationals (Amin and Pearce 1976), as well as the dependency theory of developing countries (Cardoso, Urquidi, and Faletto 1979). The industrialization strategies of import substitution were at the core of some African countries' growth and development strategies (Babatunde 2012, 151). But almost two decades of this strategy did not produce the desired results in Africa. It is noted that "roughly from the 1960s to the early 1980s, a significant, interventionist role for the central state was considered essential to overcome the widespread market failures that were believed to characterize developing countries' economies" (Van de Walle 2003, 4).

From the 1980s to 1990s, the neoliberal model of development came into force. It began with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) following the directives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The collapse of the Soviet Union and its model seemed that market liberalism was the only option for Africa. The state-oriented politics of development from the 1960s to 1970s gave way to politics marked by the retreat of the state in the 1980s and all the way up to the 1990s. This was because the economic and development failures by the 1980s had been attributed to excessive state interventions. In the 1990s, economic liberalization and democratization were central themes.

The hegemonic status of the Washington Consensus was such that no alternative to simultaneous liberalization existed for African countries. So, with the changes in the global balance of power, following the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the institution of good

governance and democracy became the prime goals of development in the continent (Abrahamsen 2000). Since the late 1980s, the global development driven by western donors have sought to imposed neoliberalism and democratic reforms to Africa. But later, “good governance agendas” and “civil society capacity building programmes” replaced the neoliberal democracy programmes since western donors found Africa lacked “the essential components for a spontaneous transition to democracy” (Tar 2008). With the development of good governance over time, some roles were restored to the state. Though contested, the neoliberal model still exerts a great deal of influence on Africa’s development paradigm. Having been criticized the most, this model is also what the alternative development model could replace.

## **2. China and the international cooperation revolution**

First, we will deal with the difference that China has made in the realm of international development on account of the particularly important influence of aid.

From 1990s to 2010s, the dominant aid policy of the global donor community “has shifted from macro-oriented structural adjustment to poverty reduction with concrete social sector targets, then to a search for a new source of growth”. (Ohno 2013) The Western consensus on international cooperation was reflected in the High Level Forums organized by OECD to fix the goals and principles of aid in Rome2003, Paris 2005, Accra 2008 and Busan 2011. After the commitments to harmonization and alignment of aid delivery were made at Rome in 2003, the aid effectiveness was highlighted in the 2005 High-Level Forum in Paris, the OECD countries and developing countries discussed effective modalities of aid delivery (OECD 2005). The first principle set in Paris Declaration is to allow the recipient countries to enjoy more power of decision: “developing countries set their own strategies for poverty reduction, improve their institutions and tackle corruption” (Paris Declaration 2005). The

Accra Agenda for Action formulated at the Accra Forum on Aid Effectiveness by strengthening recipient country's ownership of aid programmes, building more inclusive partnerships through closer involvement of "parliaments, central and local governments, civil society organizations, research institutions and the private sector", and ensuring results, accountability and conditionality. The 2011 Forum on Aid Effectiveness stresses "effective development". Participant countries agree on the principles of "Ownership of development priorities by developing countries; Focus on results; Inclusive development partnerships; Transparency and accountability to each other." Along the lines of the Forums, it can be recognized that political attachment like democracy and good governance of the Western donors in international development have been in general downplayed. Although there is still a global struggle over universal values, the global governance tends towards depoliticization after 2000 as the Millennium Development Goals were not elaborated on the political basis (Pouliot and Thérien 2018). In the same vein, Bräutigam summarizes that "the global aid regime is not well-institutionalised regarding democracy and human rights. Neither the IMF or World Bank nor the Chinese apply conditionality in this area. Many bilateral donors do apply such conditions, but relatively inconsistently. Many still lack clear and firm standards."(Bräutigam 2010) Although not "well-institutionalised regarding democracy and human rights", the depoliticization in international cooperation is just relative. The stand on aid to fragile states of the Paris Forum of the OECD still incorporates a wish to improve the political capacity of recipients: "the principles of harmonization, alignment and managing for results are adapted to environments of weak governance and capacity." In fragile states, effective aid was to be delivered so as to "build legitimate, effective and resilient state and other country institutions." As the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation stresses, "the nature, modalities and responsibilities that apply to South-South cooperation differ from those that apply to North-South co-operation". China is still a distinguishable

donor that explicitly and consistently applies to the inconditionality in international cooperation.

Sophie Harman and David Williams (2014) demonstrate that international development is in transition, a process inseparable from the role played by China. China's aid to Africa makes it a competitor and even an “alternative to the OECD aid architecture” (Babaci-Wilhite, Macleans, and Lou 2013). Thus, Christopher M. Dent (2011, 12) reveals there are two contesting development ideologies<sup>5</sup>. Aning and Lecoutre (2008, 47) offer the overview that “the main point here is the ideological battle between the West and China over which economic model is best for Africa”. Ngaire Woods (2008) also points out that China, the leading emerging donor, is making a silent revolution in development aid. The strength of these scholars is that they have taken note of the fact that the aid volume and unconditionality based on an alternative ideology than the western one are bringing changes. It seems that China is apparently making a difference in Africa with regards to the aid model and a certain redefinition of international development. There is a lot of literature on the evolution of the architecture of international aid, however, there is less research on the analysis of the new development model in Africa that accompanies it.

According to Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite et al. (2013):

The distinction between the Washington Consensus and Beijing Consensus with regards to aid architecture lies in the practice that the former delegitimizes the voices of the poor and of nations, by contrast, the latter appreciates the unique and complex development problems which occur as a consequence of donor deafness on limited rights and conditionalities; and empowers governments to govern. The Beijing model shows that it supports rights that “unleash”, empower and protect self-directed development grounded in ownership and the strategic interests of recipients.

Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite et al. finally conclude that “the Beijing Consensus best serves the

---

<sup>5</sup> Aning and Lecoutre offered the overview that “the main point here is the ideological battle between the West and China over which economic model is best for Africa”.



staircase of a nation's pathway to indigenous development when compared with the Washington Consensus". The Chinese alternative model is supposed to allow for a diversity of development pathways rather than one method of economic development imposed with rigorous conditions by western institutions (Hendrickson 2013). China's effect is considered to be shaking the values, principles and standards of the West. Its free-market democratic model has the risk of being replaced by many non-Western leaders (Halper 2010).

Foreign direct investment has a demonstration and diffusion effect on the host country's economic institutions. Once an institution is proved to be effective, it might be transplanted, imitated and innovated in another country. Economic growth will lead to social change, which requires new institutional arrangements (Piao 2015). So China's FDI is also a source of change for African host countries towards a new development manner.

Through bilateral trade, from the perspective of relative factor endowment theory, China exports manufactured products to Africa, while Africa exports fuel and other commodities to China (Eisenman 2012). If Africa just relies on the complementary trade pattern, it can't achieve growth as much as possible because the complementarity is actually limited. Then we need to examine the tendency of the transfer of industry from China towards Africa to see whether Africa can adopt the industrial development path China ever took. In this way, the transition of trade patterns can bring change to Africa's development model. Yifu Lin states that Africa would be the terminus of industrial transfer from China (Zhang and Yang 2014) and he recommends Africa to build industrial parks to receive such flows. He says that Africa can draw from China's experience and introduce its manufacturing industry (Zhang 2015).

Renard (2011) demonstrates that "an economic relationship with China does provide an alternative to dependence on Western countries" and that "the impact of China will depend on the commodity specialization of each country". Countries exporting labour-intensive goods

have reasons to fear competition from China, while those exporting primary commodities or capital-intensive and technologically advanced goods will gain.”(Renard 2011) Also regarding Chinese competition, Jeanneney and Hua (2015) demonstrate that “exports of manufactured goods by China and other countries to African countries mainly exert a negative effect on African manufacturing”. They did not take into account the proliferation of manufacturing industries in Africa under the cooperation of Sino-Africa cooperation, especially in recent years.

There are also negative views with regard to the impact of China’s engagement on Africa’s development. China’s engagement in Africa is criticized by western countries in many areas. The first is that Chinese lessons is detrimental to human rights and democratic governance (Halper 2010). China doesn’t attach political conditionalities like good governance in providing aids to Africa, which means China supports authoritarian regimes and undermines the human rights policy of the OCED states (Hofmann et al. 2007). Secondly, China is not concerned enough about environmental damage and social protection in Africa (Tiboris 2019; Hofmann et al. 2007; Bräutigam 2010). Thirdly, China lacks transparency in its foreign aid data (Hofmann et al. 2007). China puts the debt sustainability of African countries at risk (Tiboris 2019). Finally, in the economic cooperation, China’s focus is narrow: China’s investment in Africa is mainly made to large infrastructure projects especially in the energy and transportation sectors (Tiboris 2019). China sometimes contributed to the construction of African infrastructure projects through Chinese loans (Tiboris 2019). This may become an important source of debt burden of African states. About the impact on Africa’s growth, Busse et al. (2014, 23) find that “FDI flows from China and Chinese economic cooperation and foreign aid seem to play no major role for African countries’ economic development”. But their analysis is only based on the old trade structure which also ignores the evolution that China is helping Africa have more and more manufactured goods

for exports with its investments and support in various forms in African special economic zones which are mainly dedicated to exports. Up to June 2019, the 25 African economic and trade cooperation zones in Africa established with Chinese as the principal investors, have achieved a total output value of US\$18.89 billion (Rednet 2019). These economic and trade cooperation zones engaged in the manufacturing industry are mainly export-oriented and thus increased the exportation of African countries. For the example of Ethiopia, according to Ethiopian Investment Commission, this country has achieved an export revenue of US\$140.6 million in the Ethiopian fiscal year ended on July 7, 2019 mainly with the Hawassa, Bole Lemi, Eastern Industrial Parks, and this amount is a 57% increase compared with the previous year (EIC 2019). With a number more industrial parks to be put into operation, and more enterprises choose to set in the three industrial parks, the exports of manufactured goods are supposed to further grow significantly. With the opportunity of more Chinese FDI, Ethiopia now is able to export good quality leather products to western countries and China rather than just animal skins. The main market for the products from African industrial parks is the United States, European countries and Asia. Remarks vary according to different perspectives and stands of the related parties. Often ideological judgement cannot be transcended in many of the existing literature. This dissertation tries to figure out the evolution in Africa's development model by putting the emphasis not on the good or bad aspects of Chinese policies as such, but on the agentivity of African countries and their new vision of development.

### **3. Regarding the Chinese model and its influence**

Since the alternative model – if it exists - is supposedly largely influenced by China's engagement with Africa, discussing the literature on the “Chinese model” per se is useful.

When the Chinese model is mentioned, it refers either to the context of the development

model of China itself, or to particular Chinese involvement with Africa, which is different from Western or international financial institutions-proposed models.

Firstly, China's reform process is roughly undertaken in the three interrelated and successive stages: economic, social and political reforms (Zheng 2010). The economic reform and the following social reform build the basic modern state institutions, which help to ensure political reform and social stability. So China takes the basic state institution construction as developing country's priority and thinks economic development needs a minimum social and political order. According to Chinese officials, democratization needs certain social and economic infrastructure to be "sustainable" (Zheng 2009).

The Chinese economic model is characterized by the mixed ownership system, export-oriented economy and the important role of the government for the market. The market economy is highly developed, but still one major party rules national politics. Government-leading and market economy are combined (Tang 2010). Besides, China has successfully built several special economic zones which have become poles of domestic growth. Now, it is seeking industrial transformation and upgrade with the evolution of its comparative advantage and ambition to go from the labour-intensive industry to capital and technology-intensive industries. As Yukon Huang introduced, "the China model is a blend between national control and ownership of resources and economic activities, dominated by private entrepreneurs. Although 90% of new jobs are in the private sector, all land is still owned by the state. Energy resources and the financial system are controlled by the state. So this is socialism with Chinese characteristics or socialist market economy" (Yukon Huang, Carnegie Asia Program, Documentary Trump's Trade War).

Secondly, as for the Chinese model in the sense of Chinese involvement in Africa, it is seen as a new brand of developmentalism (Boone and Doshi 2009) with the following

characteristics:

1) the Chinese government is pumping resources into extractive industries and infrastructure development, often relying on state-owned or state-sponsored companies to do the work; 2) China and Chinese firms, often in public-private partnerships, are investing in a diversified range of export-oriented and domestic market-oriented productive activities, from manufacturing to agriculture to aquaculture; and 3) China supports authoritarian rule more or less overtly by renouncing any intention to “improve” or “democratize” African governments, or make it more accountable or transparent.

Therefore, there is a perspective that China is provoking a revolution in Africa’s development policies by revolutionizing international cooperation especially regarding Africa with the institutionalization of its cooperation with Africa through institutions like FOACAC. This perspective is in the same vein as the central questions of this thesis and requires in-depth study. In order to explore the questions of the research: is there a China-inspired development model in Africa, and why some countries adopt it and others not, this thesis is organized as follow: chapter 1 focuses on the theoretical framework and methodology. Chapter 2 discusses the possible development model inspired by China mentioned above. Chapter 3 presents the two main divergent case studies. Based on the empirical studies, chapter 4 proposes the conditions explaining why some countries adopt this model while others do not. In order to further test the external validity of our results, chapter 5 will briefly explore several other African countries.

## **Chapter 1: Theories and methodology**

We have suggested that with the China-Africa cooperation against the new international background, Chinese model is influencing the development of Africa. An alternative development model inspired by China seems to come into being in Africa. To probe into the nature and mechanisms of this model, we will start by presenting theories and methodology of the research.

### **1.1 Understanding what is going on in Africa: debates and hypotheses**

There are debates on the emergence of Africa as mentioned in the pages 1-2 of the introduction. Seen from the statistical perspective, there is indeed growth in Africa. Since the sustainability of the growth depends on many factors, we need a comprehensive analysis to have a more precise idea. There is considered to be an authoritarian resurgence in Africa, exacerbated by China's presence (Magnani and Vircoulon 2019). Infrastructure is being improved across Africa and countries getting connected at an unprecedented pace. El-Baz (2019) thinks Africa will be "the new China" considering the burgeoning manufacturing industry. This way of framing observations and debates is nevertheless, not satisfactory. What we witness in Africa is important variations between countries, with some performing better than others and adopting new development policies more or less inspired by China.

African states don't necessarily speak out directly and exactly that they want to learn from the alternative model as what is defined by the author. But we can see that they express their willingness to get inspired from some aspects of China's development experience, which underlies the formation of the alternative development model in question. The following narratives of African leaders and scholars present some examples. Gaye (2006) argues that "following the Chinese model is an unstoppable logic" and Chinese model presents two options to Africa, one of which is to "copy the Chinese model shamelessly considering it is

globally regarded as a success, at least economically” and the second is that “we return to where we come from when we don’t know where to go”. Fred Jonyo states that “China offers critical lessons for African policymakers in economic development”, and Joseph Onjala also thinks that “China offers numerous lessons for Africa through its economic miracle” (Xinhua 2019a). Nigerian scholars Adeniran and Nkata think that there are important lessons that Nigeria could draw from China, “the roles of market reform, trade openness and state-led development initiatives in this economic miracle”(Adeniran and Nkata 2020). African leaders often express their wish to draw lessons from China, as Nigerian Senate President Ken Nnamini claims that “China has become a good model for Nigeria in its quest for an authentic and stable development ideology” (Shelton and Paruk 2008, 25). Kenyan Cabinet Secretary Rafael Tuju, the Secretary General of the ruling Jubilee Party, says that “Kenya has a chance to emulate China, and achieve what it has attained so far.”(Agade 2020) While establishing the comprehensive cooperative partnership between Kenya and China, president Kenyatta said :“Kenya hopes to learn from China for the experience of success”(Chinese embassy in Kenya 2013). Egypt's Assistant Foreign Minister for Asian Affairs, Selim states that “Egypt has a real and earnest desire to learn from the Chinese model and experiences in the vital fields of governance and sustainable development.”(Xinhua 2020) Based on Uganda’s comprehensive cooperative partnership with China, President Museveni has expressed his “willingness to learn from the Communist Party of China's experience in state governance and administration” (FMPRC 2019).

Poverty reduction is an issue that Africa is particularly interested in and it is not attached with ideology a priori. Lots of African leaders appreciate Chinese achievement in poverty alleviation. According to the People's Daily of China, over 700 millions impoverished people have been lifted out of poverty within 40 years’ time since China’s reform and opening up in 1978, and this contributed to over 70% of the world’s poverty reduction. “Learning from

China's successes in poverty alleviation cannot be overemphasized", said the Zambian Ambassador to China (People's Daily 2020). Apart from the above-mentioned case that "Kenya's scholars urge Africa to embrace China's development model to cut poverty" (Xinhua 2019a), more and more scholars from other African countries also come to express such desires. The acting director general of Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Ubi (2018) also points out that China's "targeted poverty alleviation" can be a model for Africa. South African scholar Mubecua thinks that "South Africa can perform better if it can learn and follow the strategies used by China" for poverty reduction. His study reveals that since China's support of SoEs is a main contribution to China's economic growth and poverty alleviation, South Africa needs to establish more SOEs to realize the goal of poverty eradication (Mubecua 2018). There are also scholars in support of policy-making of the state in some other African countries establishing links for poverty alleviation inspiration from China.

Rapid growth and industrialization can be taken as the most outstanding appeal of China model for African countries. Officials involved in the planning, development, management and operations of SEZs of several countries like South Africa and Ethiopia were trained in China. A lot of African states have expressed their will to adopt China's industrial park model. When the Pearl River Special Economic Zone of Kenya was launched, the Vice President William Ruto said that "China has set a successful example in pushing forward industrialization by setting up SEZs and Kenya needs to borrow from that experience." (Lifeofguangzhou.com 2017) The ambassador of Cote d'Ivoire said that the "Wenzhou model" of China is the advanced experience that Cote d'Ivoire desiderates to learn from and the Ivorian officials are committed to bringing the successful experience of SEZ construction back to their country (Wenzhou Investment Promotion Bureau 2017). Scholars think that "Mozambique has the necessary conditions to successfully adopt the Chinese model



of Special Economic Zones, which helped to boost the Chinese economy” (macaudailytimes 2015).

We need to take a view of the sub-regional, country specific and class or sector specific level to see to what extent the growth and inspired development do or not exist. Therefore, the two following hypotheses are proposed for this study:

Hypothesis 1: There is a China-inspired development model in Africa which is one of authoritarian and state-led development, with emphasis on infrastructure-based industrialization. In this model the state is more autonomous due to the multiplicity of partners, China in particular.

Hypothesis 2: This model is embraced to a larger extent by certain African countries than others due to several factors, including post-colonial relations, the socialist legacy, and implementation of the developmental state strategy in contrast to the neoliberalism-dominated one.

As there is little literature on the systemic influence of China has made on Africa’s development path or what Africa has learned from China, this thesis explores the possibility of an alternative development path of Africa. The thesis is founded on diverse perspectives since it combines data, literature and theories from the West, Africa and China. The thesis is composed of a systemic overview of Africa as a whole, the subdivision of Africa by some common features and a micro-level analysis within countries. The easy access of the author to the important Chinese enterprises in Africa and Ethiopian government departments allows the collection of many latest first-hand data of the real situation and the bilateral cooperation in Africa.

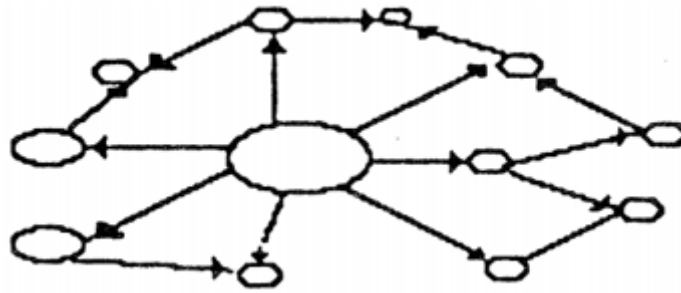
## **1.2 Theorizing about what is going on in Africa and the diffusion of the alternative model**

As suggested above, few African countries are today in a status quo when it comes to development issues. In fact, some have thoroughly revolutionized their policies and feature strong Chinese influence in contrast to others. The cases we have chosen, Ethiopia and Senegal (see below) offer good samples. In order to explore our hypotheses, we argue that this is mainly not due to a premeditated plan, but rather a diffusion process due to the demonstration effect of the Chinese model and an alternative important funding source in an era of a new developmental state ideology. This diffusion process is facilitated or hindered by the contextual factors mentioned in hypothesis 2 and discussed thoroughly in chapter 4. This chapter will briefly outline that the diffusion process for the theoretical core of this thesis is presented and confronted to empirical facts throughout the dissertation, especially in chapters 3 and 4.

### **1.2.1 Interlocking central place diffusion**

Smith (1976, 316–17) proposes four general models of diffusion processes: dyadic, serial, dendritic and interlocking central place diffusion. The diffusion of the alternative development model under our discussion fits into the fourth type as represented in figure 1.1. This diffusion is not simply dyadic or serial, nor dendritic of center-periphery dynamics; rather, it is multi-linear, and follows more than one path to each node. The interaction with China in the center is the mechanism of the formation of the alternative development model in some African countries, while the latter ones may inspire each other, too.

**Figure 1.1: Interlocking Central Place Diffusion** <sup>6</sup>



(Source: Smith 1976, 36)

As illustrated in the structure of the figure 1.1, there are countries directly inspired by China; and countries indirectly inspired by China, which means that they are inspired by a country or countries having been inspired by China; finally, there are also countries inspired both by China and fellow African countries having been inspired by China. The alternative development model is not always diffused as a whole, but can be diffused by component. The analysis of the process of diffusion will be just given in terms of the component related to infrastructure and industrialization of the model as the other three components are diffused alike in essence.

Indeed, Chinese loans mainly go to a few African countries, which are representative model of the development result following the bilateral cooperation from China in the process. Ethiopia, South Africa, Uganda are all among countries inspired by China the most if we look at their frequent experience-learning with China and the development projects they launched. Ethiopia is a typical country directly inspired by China. It is the best demonstration of the alternative model. The headquarter of African Union, the Addis light rail, the Addis-Djibouti railway and innumerable other remarkable infrastructure projects as well as the industrial

---

<sup>6</sup> The term interlocking central place diffusion as a model of diffusion process was advanced by Carol Smith in *Regional Analysis*.

parks construction and management in Ethiopia were realized under the cooperation with China. This is a showcase to other African countries of the infrastructure and industrialization achievements and is expected to induce emulation by other African countries. The Ethiopian government states that “African leaders’ visit to the Hawassa industrial park and other infrastructure sites across the country is mainly aimed at sharing Ethiopia's positive experience” (Xinhua 2019b). For example, Kenya’s industrial parks like Pearl River Special Economic Zone is inspired by China (Ma 2017) while the President of Kenya Kenyatta also visited the Ethiopian flagship industrial park in Hawassa for experience. The Mombasa-Nairobi railway impressed the president of Uganda, Museveni made an in-depth visit to the Mombasa-Nairobi railway and learned about its construction from the Chinese engineering company and Kenya government before he put a similar project on Uganda’s agenda (China Daily 2019). In brief, Uganda and Kenya’s development model are inspired both directly and indirectly by China.

Photo 1.1: Uganda President visiting the Mombasa-Nairobi railway from Kenya



(Source: China Daily 2019)

## **1.2.2 Demonstration-emulation as an approach of the leading country for diffusing its behavior principles**

While the foregoing approach gives us an overall view of the diffusion, it is not concrete enough to figure out its nature. Actually, the spread of a development model can in general take place through two mechanisms:

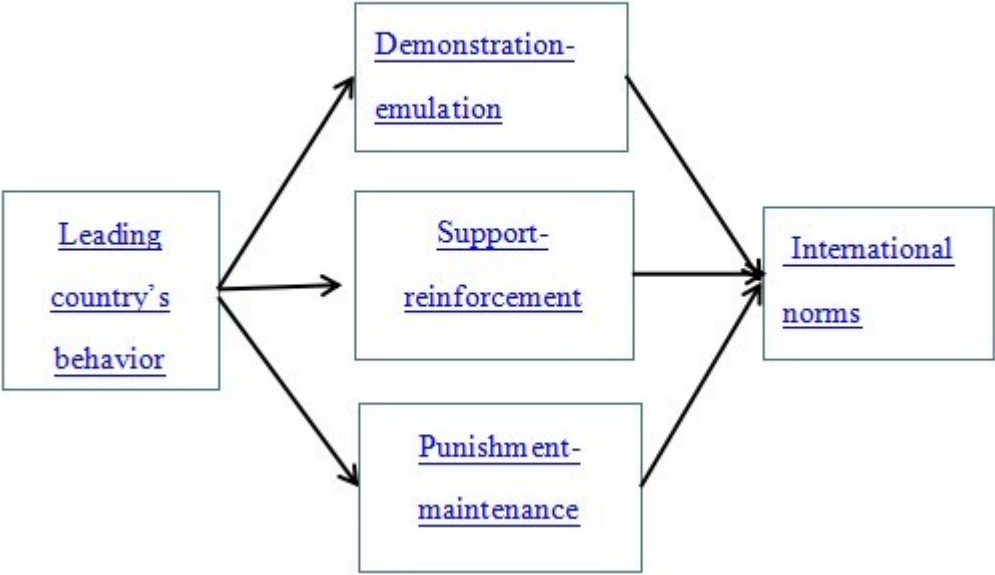
One is imposition with conditionalities. For example, it was under external and domestic pressures that by 1991, most of African regimes had have to adopted multiparty electoral democracy, with peaceful power transfer from the governing party to the opposition. The political conditionalities are put in parallel with economic conditionalities under Structural Adjustment Programmes by means of international financial institutions as well. The political conditionalities involve elements like human rights, democracy and good governance, which are all aimed at reforming and reordering African states, in accordance with external models and controls (Clapham 1996).

The other one is the mimetic adoption, owing to the demonstration effect, which means successful policies often impel other countries or governments toward similar policies in order to emulate that success (Ahmed 2017). Kottis illustrates that “the international demonstration effect (i.e. the imitation of patterns of more advanced countries) is a universal phenomenon that influences most aspects of the economic, social and cultural life of the poorer countries” (Kottis 1971, 455). As what Cristopher M. Dent (2011, 173) points out, “in the broad context of mutual learning, developing countries often seek to emulate the best development practices of others. African delegates have frequently visited China and other industrializing economies as well as other newly industrialising countries in Asia to learn how their impressive economic transformations were achieved”. We think that the appearance of the alternative model is close to the demonstration effect. But the alternative model that we are talking about is not the Chinese model despite some commonalities. The way of

engagement of China is known for non-conditionality and China encourages each country to explore its own path to development.

According to the theories of influence of the leading country on other countries' behaviors of moral realism of Xuetong Yan (2015), the behavior of the leading country influences the behavioral principles adopted by other countries in three ways, namely demonstration-emulation, support-reinforcement or punishment-maintenance. Demonstration-emulation approach refers to the behavior principles of other countries to follow the lead. Owing to the leading country's international status, its principles of behavior are considered one of the reasons of its success, so other countries would follow suit. Support-reinforcement means that the leading country supports and rewards those countries that adopt the principles of behavior it promotes, and strengthens the belief of other countries of abiding by such principles of behavior. Punishment-reinforcement means that the leading country punishes countries that violate the principles of behavior it promotes to encourage these countries to establish beliefs of abiding by such behavior principles. The leading country punishes the countries that violate its norms and principles, which increases the price paid by them for violating the norms and principles. This will encourage the country and other countries to take actions that conform to the norms and principles thereafter. The means of punishment employed by the leading country to the countries violating the principles of behavior it promotes can be economic sanctions, political condemnation, severance of diplomatic relations, military embargoes, and even overturn of other countries' regimes, all of which can prompt these countries to change their original principles of behavior.

**Figure 1.2: the approaches of the influence of the leading country's behaviors on conventional principles**



(Source: Yan 2015)

China can be regarded as a leading country, and its behaviors influence the behavioral principles adopted by African countries. The diffusion of the alternative model is the result of the demonstration of China and emulation of Africa through cooperation. This is an application of Yan's moral realism which originally explains the foreign relations of the United States, to China's relations with Africa. This alternative model is not yet mature and China is not ready to openly promote it. Lest the situation following the inspiration should become a failure, it avoids giving prescriptions to African countries. Nevertheless, China is willing to see African countries learn from Chinese model. In practice, China calls all forms of diffusion exchanges, whether the Chinese or African side is the more active part, and avoids using terms like export, teach, copy... China tries to make two parts equal in the form, and does not want to be put at a place higher than the African part. It also often sends

delegations to Africa to know better about the counterparts. Therefore, the diffusion goes like an imperceptible and unobtrusive influence.

Graham, Shipan, and Volden (2013) have generalized four mechanisms of policy diffusion similar to the theories of Xuetong Yan, which are respectively “learning, competition, coercion and socialization”. They argue that “when a policy is effective and others learn about its success, diffusion naturally follows.” (Graham, Shipan, and Volden 2013) Learning is in line with the demonstration-emulation principle. China’s invitation of various African governmental or professional delegations to China is a channel of learning. Learning will make it more likely for a government to adopt a policy that another government adopts (Graham, Shipan, and Volden 2013). African policy makers gradually internalize what they have learned about in China and identify with it and emulate it. Competition exists among African countries, especially in sub-regions or neighbouring countries. Countries compete to grasp the opportunities to be the first economy of the sub-region. Countries also compete to attract the most foreign investors, to build the most modern industrial parks and the most impressive infrastructure... The competition is a dynamic for African countries to build infrastructure and accelerate industrialization with industrial parks and involve the role of the state more intensively. Socialization is a strategy that change governmental policies by “inducting actors into the norms and rules of a community” (Graham, Shipan, and Volden 2013). China and Africa form a community through FOCAC and other platforms of exchanges and consultations. In this community, there are initiatives that are stressed in the cooperation and become a part of the norms and rules. The infrastructure construction and industrialization development, for example, as important themes in the FOCAC, have tended to become a norm of development in Africa.

The first vector of diffusion is African political parties and officials. Political parties are important institutions of the state. Through the exchanges with China based on Sino-African



cooperation, African political parties, especially the ruling parties or dominant parties are the crucial actors in mobilizing the agency of pushing their states towards authoritarian or democratic nature, or get inspirations from China's way of governance beyond democratic or authoritarian perspective in promoting infrastructure construction and industrialization, making the state more autonomous and plays a more important role in the development. The CPC and African political parties can share development experience and governance approaches and have the condition of shaping a plan of a long perspective. In the exchanges with the ruling party, not only party building was discussed, but also state's involvement in countries' development.

As Sun (2016) points out:

China invites African political party cadres to China to study the Chinese way of governance on issues they are interested in, but whether they eventually adopt the Chinese way is purely at their own discretion. This approach does constitute capacity building, but is perhaps less dictatorial compared to Western capacity-building programs in that China does not assume their experience represents the "ultimate truth." China actively pushes African political party members to personally experience China's economic success and systematically train them on China's paths to such a success. The conscious pursuit of the demonstration effect and efforts to help African political parties to absorb, assimilate, and duplicate the Chinese experience do constitute a different type of ideological push. It is geographically expansive, institutionally systematic, and will have a profound psychological and political impact over the choices and preferences of African political parties, thus over African political landscape.

China transfers this governance experience to Africans mainly through training programmes, official visits, forums, official and unofficial publications, direct government advice, etc. Among the Chinese government institutions, the International Department of the Central Committee of CPC (IDCPC) is responsible for the development of inter-party relations between China and foreign parties. Governance experience exchanges have been

conducted regularly and institutionalized in the FOCAC. It is also IDCPC that is in charge of governance experience exchanges in the FOCAC follow-up.

The term of “experience exchanges of state governance and administration between China and Africa” was first mentioned in 2006 in China’s African Policy Paper. This Paper has put forward that China and Africa can “learn from each other’s experience in state governance and development... China supports the states of Africa in strengthening capacity building and explores together with Africa the sustainable path of development.” The exchanges of state governance and administration “are considered as a comprehensive and systematic governing process which relates to the management of all aspects of state affairs including, but not limited to, the politics, economy, infrastructure, industrialization, education, agriculture, poverty reduction, and rural development (Zeng 2016).” Politically, the governance experience exchanges include development path adoption, institutional building, governance capacity, political party building, etc. (Liu 2019). As China becomes assertive in its development path, theories, institutions and cultures, as what has been widely as “four confidences”, China has been intensifying its exchanges with other developing countries. The nineteenth Congress of CPC in 2017 announced the significance of China’s development itself to other developing countries in the sense of demonstration:

The continuous development of the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics has expanded the way for developing countries to move toward modernization. It has provided new options for countries and nations in the world that both want to accelerate development and maintain their independence, and it has also provided Chinese wisdom and Chinese solutions to human problems.

The FOCAC in 2018 set capacity-building as one of eight major initiative of cooperation. This initiative is supposed to intensify the exchanges of development experience. The frequency of mutual visits of CPC and African parties, including the ruling party and other

important parties is an indicator of the intensity of exchanges, including the interests of the African states.

There are a rapidly increasing number of training seminars for sharing China's experience to government officials and party members of different African countries. Most of the multiple training is organized in China, others also take place in a third African country, which is multilateral platform for further transferring Chinese experience. Appendix A is just a list of African parties' training seminars or study tours conducted with China or CPC's visits to Africa. All of the meetings listed in this table witnessed African parties' governance exchanges with China or African leaders' expression of the willingness to conduct governance exchanges with China. A few more tables in the appendix also show the African countries and political parties frequently conducting exchanges with CPC, which is a representation of their interests in Chinese governance and development experience. These tables include appendix B, the top 25 African countries and their political parties most visited by CPC delegations between 1998 and 2014; appendix C, "the top 28 African countries sending party delegations to visit CPC" in the same period and appendix D, "ruling parties of African countries that have dispatched joint delegations to China".

In the political party training programs, some of the content is related to the authoritarian way of governance, other part of the training and exchanges are about the development of the political party, and improvement of capacity building and state governance beyond ideology. During the programs, there are both lectures held in a university or institution in the form of lectures to make African officials learn about China's experience of economic development and political governance and field trips to the site to get first-hand experience. For example, to show the industrial park, Chinese training programs organize African delegations to visit Chinese industrial parks. Shenzhen and Kunshan are the most frequently visited ones. To show China's experience of infrastructure, the high-speed train is a praised showcase during

the delegations' travel in China. To learn about poverty alleviation, they are invited to visit the poor houses and the new dwellings constructed by local governments that receive displaced poor people.

China also attaches importance to the training of young government and political party members. Young leaders have been regularly invited to China for training. There are also scholarships dedicated to the young elites, such as the MOFCOM Scholarship for Developing Countries. This scholarship offered by Chinese government is offered to “public officials of division level and above (or corresponding level) in government sectors, or senior management staff of organizations and enterprises, or academic backbones of universities and research institutions” (After School Africa 2019). These talents of developing countries can naturally bring the Chinese knowledge and experience back to their own countries. The party school as a form of institution is appreciated by many African states and with such an inspiration, some have started to create a party school in their own country. This will further be a platform for diffuse CPC's party approach and China's development experience.

Many African parties even in democratic countries do not dismiss the lessons of CPC just because it is authoritarian. Democratic parties of Africa find them also have a lot to learn from CPC regardless of ideology. For example, democratic regimes like Ghana, Botswana and Senegal are also active learners of CPC's experience. This also shows that the alternative development model can be adopted with only three elements except the element of an authoritarian regime.

African parties and officials actively put forward the willingness of get inspirations from China on the governance. For example, during a training session for Jubilee Party leaders in China in 2016, the secretary-general of Kenya's ruling Jubilee Party, Raphael Tuju said “Kenya is keen to borrow lessons from CPC not only to develop the party but also grow the economy”(China Daily 2018). Having appreciated the critical role of CPC's Party school in

China's economic development and inspired by CPC, Jubilee is going to establish a party academy to better build the party around ideologies, policies and programs. The party secretary general Tuju expressed again in 2018 that "Kenya's ruling Jubilee Party is pushing ahead with efforts to learn and replicate the successes of CPC" (Morangi 2018). The elimination of poverty in China and party operation capacity are the fields that Jubilee is active to learn from China. This party would like to reinforce its popular base and benefit people with more progress of the country. There are capacity building programs for the Kenya ruling party Jubilee and CPC. Jubilee strengthens political ties with China and sends party officials to China for training on "democracy and party management" in China and the Chinese side provides some scholarships to Jubilee (China Daily 2018). There are mutual visits of the CPC and the Jubilee Party of Kenya to keep the close ties and deepen experience exchanges on party and state governance. The chairman of the ruling party Oyegun openly admits seeking inspiration from Chinese government and CPC on the experience of state governance and deepen the inter-party exchanges and cooperation with CPC (Chinese embassy in Nigeria 2016). Hackenesch (2018, 135) states that "the Ethiopian leadership has sought inspiration from China's economic development trajectory as well as its political institutions. The learning process is facilitated by close cooperation between the Chinese and Ethiopian governments and ruling parties."

African decision-makers interested in Chinese experience over the years have kept conducting exchanges with China in this aspect. In the case of Ethiopia, by the end of 2017, 6121 Ethiopian officials and specialists had been trained in China. In 2017 alone, the number was 1100 (people.cn 2017), and in the first 8 months of 2018, the number surpassed 1200 (MOFCOM 2018a). What's more, with the establishment of the Meles Zenawi Leadership Academy. The teachers of Meles Zenawi Leadership Academy and Ethiopian officials also regularly receive training seminars from of the National Administration Academy of China.

The training covers Chinese administration reform and public service innovation as well as the Belt and Road Initiative. The training is almost all-round, covering many sectors, development thinking and paradigms, telecommunications, environment, education, health care, agriculture, public administration, governance of state-affairs, manufacturing industry, investment and trade, tourism and culture, and many others (MOFCOM 2016; MOFCOM 2018a).

The Special Adviser to the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Dr Arkebe Oqubay is a well-known enthusiast of drawing on Chinese industrial development experience. He thinks that “China’s development experience is exemplary for Africa’s aspiration towards economic transformation (APA 2019). Oqubay points out that “the lessons from China—policy ownership and strategic planning—increasingly inform national development strategies in many African countries”(Arkebe and Lin 2019). The President of Ethiopia Mekonnen said that “Chinese experience in party-building, political administration and governance as well as industrialization is an important source of inspiration and guidance for Ethiopia, and the training in the Meles Leadership Academy is an important opportunity for Ethiopian officials to learn from Chinese development ideas and improve the leadership of Ethiopian officials”(MOFCOM 2018b) .The vice-president of Ethiopian Policy Studies Institute, or the former president of Meles Leadership Academy, got his Ph.D from the South-South Cooperation and Development Institute of Peking University, the dean of which is Yifu Lin. He hoped to find a development path suitable to his country’s conditions through systemic studies on Chinese experience, as his fellow students, and he felt the duty to further diffuse what he learned about China from reading, courses and visiting, to the state and the public of Ethiopia. Ethiopian Ambassador in China has been following courses in Tsinghua University on development studies to learn about Chinese experience.

Almost all of the meetings in appendix A have witnessed the expression of the African part to get inspiration from China. It can be found that African delegations come to China for exchanges much more frequently than Chinese delegations go to China. This shows the African side is really eager to conduct exchanges from China. Even during the COVID 19 which makes it impossible to travel for delegations, the exchanges are conducted online.

China organizes training not only for African parties, but also for the officials and professionals of various sectors, such as industrial development, SEZ and media. There is a big chance of encountering an official or professional trained in China in countries with close cooperation with China. Apart from the existing Chinese universities and organizations that hold training to Africa, China has established some new platforms for training to share development experience to African elites, such as China-Africa Institute and South-South cooperation Institute of Peking University.

The second vector of diffusion is Chinese enterprises. Chinese enterprises in Africa are the core participant of Sino-African economic cooperation. A large part of Chinese important enterprises in Africa participate in the infrastructure and industrial park sectors. They are self-motivated to bring the infrastructure-driven development concept to Africa, actively make concrete infrastructure plans to African governments and get involved into African industrialization. By embarked on more projects in Africa, Chinese enterprises intensify African countries' economic relations with China, thus increasing African states' autonomy in international cooperation and reducing their dependence on former metropolitan states. In their engagement in African projects, through frequent contacts with African government, they introduce to African officials what they get from Chinese government in their operation at home and persuade African governments to play some of the same role, thus increasing involvement of African state. Chinese enterprises in Africa are spokesman of Chinese economic model, for example, the industrial park of Chinese style. They initiate African

governments into the modern industrial parks with related achievements in Africa and in China.

Many Chinese enterprises in Africa are already successful enterprises in China. They are good at certain fields, like infrastructure or manufacturing or industrial park operation and they are familiar with and adapted to Chinese way of development. They conduct activities in the environment of China. When they go to explore market in Africa, they naturally mobilize the Chinese logic. For example, Chinese enterprises try to persuade African government the importance or necessity to construct a certain infrastructure project. In the industrial park operation, they would like to rely on the intervention or care of African governments as they enjoy Chinese government's intervention back home. In fact, concrete cooperation between two countries are implemented by economic actors, most frequently enterprises. Chinese enterprises carry on an internal logic that formed back home. This will have an impact on the lesson-drawing of the African side. Chinese enterprises in Africa and their Chinese staff are controlled and supported by the economic and commercial department of Chinese embassy in the relevant African countries. Some of the Chinese enterprises involved in large-scale activities in Africa are state-owned enterprises. They carry the ideas at home to African governments in the countries where they conduct activities. For example, Chinese construction enterprises are among the actors that persuade to African decision-makers that if a country want to get rich, build roads first. They even make road plans for African governments and tell them the necessity of constructing certain roads for the development of the economy. They are familiar and cooperative with the government control. Chinese enterprises, even private ones, promoting Chinese economic model in Africa, may benefit from support from Chinese government, as what is pointed out in the following chapters. For example, the Eastern industrial park benefits from the financial support of the Chinese



government through the “fund of development for China and Africa”. They rely on the support of African governments as they do in China with Chinese government.

The third vector of diffusion of the alternative model is African military officers. The various forms of military cooperation between China and African countries have intensified the personnel exchanges and visits and allowed African officials to better know about Chinese military and political system, which facilitates the inspiration from China. The military cooperation between China and Africa mainly includes China’s provision of basic military training, the dispatch of military consultants, the provision of military assistance, arms sales to African countries, military visits between the two sides, and military facility construction. It should be noted that even the arm sales involve a lot of personnel engagement and exchanges. Many African countries have begun to rely on Chinese assistance and support to strengthen their defense capabilities. The arm sales and bilateral ties between China and African countries have reinforced each other. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) 2020 report, China has become world’s second largest arms producer (Deen 2020). China is now the top supplier of weapons to sub-Saharan Africa. Between 2013 and 2017, China sold arms to 23 African countries, accounting for 27 percent of the region’s imports, a 55 percent increase over the 2008-2012 period (Tian 2018). Algeria, Angola, Gabon, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda are among African countries that have imported weapons from China in recent years. An increasing number of African countries are Chinese customers of weapons, such as Egypt, Angola, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania and Zimbabwe (Hull and Markov 2012). Most of the types of arms sold by China to Africa are conventional weapons. In recent years, China has sold fighter jets and drones to Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Ghana. For example, Nigeria has purchased Rainbow-3 Chada All-In-One drones; China has also sold to Tanzania, Chad, Gambia, Namibia, Rwanda, Burundi,

Mozambique and Gabon tanks and armored vehicles. For example, Cameroon has imported T-59D tanks; China has also provided missiles and missile launchers to Morocco and Sudan; while Congo, Cameroon, Ghana, Sudan, Tanzania, Niger and Rwanda also imported artillery from China, Ethiopia imported the AR-2 long-range rocket artillery from China (Chen 2018).

China sells arms to dozens of African countries and the sales goes to governments no matter if they are democratic or not. African regimes thus has access to arms and security equipment to prolong their power against the pressure from the international community (Hull and Markov 2012). The military exchanges tend to be institutionalized with the convocation of the first Sino-Africa Defense and Security Forum in 2018. China has become an active partner in African security affairs. The China-Africa Peace and Security Fund committed \$100 million to the operationalization of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises. The fund was used for the African logistics base of the African Standby Force in Cameroon, a logistics depot in Botswana, and military training center in Tanzania, etc (Nantulya 2019). The Rwandan military has long had arms trade and close military exchanges with China. It has purchased small-caliber rifles, howitzers, assault guns, anti-tank missiles, field air defense missile systems and other weapons, and sent a large number of international students and officers to Chinese military academies. The officers bring Chinese military management and organization experience back to their countries. China also conducts training in Africa upon invitation. For example, this is the case for Rwanda and Tanzania. The Rwandan military invited Chinese PLA for military parade instruction.

China facilitates the process for African countries to learn from China. The diffusion of the alternative model carries more or less the export of values. China is willing to diffuse the model because it can cultivate potential ideological allies on the one hand, and expand its market for investment and trade on the other hand. China is a promoter in the process of

alternative model diffusion. However, China would like to see the diffusion without causing any harm to itself. As a promoter, China facilitates the diffusion mainly through demonstration. The first thing China does is to tell its own story well. “Tell China’s story well” has become a slogan or mission for Chinese officials and scholars in recent years. China tries to present to the developing world its development experience in a systemic and inspirational way. It aims to build for itself an image of a successful emerging power. About 30 years after its reform and opening up in 1978, China became the second economy of the world and it has one of the best performances in the world in poverty alleviation, growth rate, infrastructure, industrialization, etc. China has recorded an average GDP growth rate over 10% for more than three decades according to the data of the World Bank. This country with the largest population in the world has completely alleviated poverty by 2020 under the leadership of all levels of officials and the party. China’s industrialization allows it to be equipped with a whole range of industrial categories. It has become the largest manufacturing country with the largest number of industrial parks and is upgrading its industrial structure to produce more sophisticated and high technology products. The infrastructure sector of China is among the most impressive one. It has enabled this country to have the largest railway and road network, including the longest and still rapidly extending high speed train railways and highways. China has the biggest hydropower station and is the country generates the most electricity annually, which is over a quarter of the world (Ember 2020).... Public and private diplomacy and think tanks are also increasingly being mobilized for the exchanges of China and Africa.

The second thing it does is that the CPC and the government of China always organize exchanges of state governance experience between China and Africa. In this way, it has intentionally opened the black box of Chinese politics to show Africans the operation mode and the mechanics of decision-making of the Chinese government.

Thirdly, Chinese government discloses and translates documents and policy materials on China's political and economic development and state governance so that African countries can know about China's goals and development philosophies. For example, the Government Work Reports and the CPC National Congress Reports have a wide readership. The monograph Xi Jinping --- the Governance of China is just a widely issued document that introduces Chinese politics.

### **1.2.3 The flying geese pattern**

The flying geese pattern refers to the model that as countries take up labor-intensive production or capital-intensive activities based on comparative advantages, the less advanced countries receive the industrial transfer of the more advanced industrial countries. The pattern originated from East Asia to describe "how Asian economies developed—in a chain from Japan to the Asian Tigers to China" can be applied to the development of Africa today (Sun 2017). Sun notes that "this movement shifts the bulk of economic activity in the follower country from low-productivity agriculture and informal services to high-productivity manufacturing. The follower country eventually becomes a leading country, spawning companies in search of new production locations" (Sun 2017). Having been engaged in labor-intensive production for decades, China, however, is losing its advantage in labor cost and with the restructure of internal industries. Many Chinese manufacturing enterprises, due to the labour-price hike, choose to invest in African countries, which can be seen as at the follower position compared to China at the leading position in the pattern. Yifu Lin (2011) points out that "by following carefully selected leading countries, latecomers can emulate the leader-follower, flying-geese pattern that has served all successfully catching-up economies well since the 18th century. Developing countries would do well to exploit the latecomer advantages by building up industries that are growing dynamically in more advanced

countries with a endowment structure similar to theirs”. Africa can grasp the industrialization opportunities brought by China’s labour-intensive manufacturing transfer to Africa.

There is a debate over whether China deindustrializes Africa, especially due to the irruption of Chinese products (Chaponnière 2014). Some argue that the trade structure between China and Africa may make “China’s manufactured exports crowd out opportunities for Africa’s industrialization” (Deloitte 2015). The former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria Sanusi Lamido Sanusi thinks that “China is a major contributor to the de-industrialisation of Africa and thus African underdevelopment” and “Africa is voluntarily opening itself to a new imperialism”. His main arguments of this claim are that China takes primary goods from Africa, purchasing crude oil and establishing huge mining operations in Africa while selling or even dumping Chinese manufactured products in return; and “the equipment and labour are imported wholly from China without imparting any meaningful skills to the local community” (Sanusi 2019). The study of Megbowon et al. (2019) suggests that “China’s FDI is not enough to boost industrialization in SSA” since its positive effect on SSA industrialization is insignificant. To better benefit African industrialization, Africa needs to “promote and prioritize Chinese investment in sectors positive linkages with the manufacturing sector and increasing local outsourcing of inputs and intermediate production activities”. Chaponnière (2014) finds in his research that an increase in Chinese imports is not accompanied by a decrease, but a slight increase in African manufacturing value added. In the limited shared part of industrial category of China and Africa, China adopted voluntary export restriction measures to textile and clothing to stop or avoid the disastrous competition to African industry in countries like Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya and South Africa. He also notes that Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, the deputy governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria indicates that African governments have never lodged a complaint against China at the WTO (Chaponnière 2014; Moghalu 2014). What’s more, African countries have taken strictly

restrictive measures to the domestic sales of the products produced in the industrial parks so that Chinese investors in the industrial parks don't compete with indigenous enterprises. In fact, China is not really such a particular importer of Africa's crude oil. In 2012, China imported 22% of Sub-Saharan Africa's crude oil production, compared with 25% for Europe and 13% for the US (EIA 2013). Europe also imports over 70% of the crude oil production of the major producers of North Africa, Libya and Algeria (Brautigam 2014). The allegation that China mainly uses the labor from China is not real. As a survey made by Sautman and Yan (2015) with 400 Chinese companies in Africa shows, more than 85 percent of workforces were local Africans. The author in the field work study in Ethiopia and Senegal find a similar result, over 70% of all the total employees and workers of Chinese projects are Africans (Brautigam 2015). In fact, this is simply logical. Chinese wages have been increased to such a high level that it is not economical to bring Chinese labors to Africa even from the perspective of China. Today, not only Chinese enterprises but also African governments such as Ethiopia mainly invite and allow Chinese management and technical employees to go to work for African projects. As is shown in the introduction, Chinese companies only engaged in less than 7% of African mine production (Ericsson, Löf, and Löf 2020). The technical transfer is often carried out in the cooperation as required by African governments. Therefore, China mainly takes primary goods from Africa and deindustrializes Africa is a myth without evidence. Especially since recent years, by industrial transfer through investment and industrial park establishment in Africa, China is facilitating African industrial development. More and more manufactured products are being exported from Africa to China and the West, others are sold locally to satisfy domestic needs. This industrial evolution takes place through the "flying geese pattern".

The mimetic diffusion of the alternative development model in Africa can be seen as the "flying geese pattern". In line with the flying geese pattern, African countries are undergoing

the process of three phases: from importation to domestic production and finally to exportation. African countries would like to follow Chinese's example of industrialization as late-industrialization countries emulate the early industrialization countries. African countries are still at an early stage of industrialization. Due to their backwardness of economy and technology, these developing countries have opened market to industrial products. As the domestic needs increase, the obtained techniques combined with their advantages in resources and the labour force would enable these countries to produce the products domestically and realize exportation. In reality, it is indeed easy for African countries abundant in labor force and related resources and with a great need of products to be the followers of the flying geese pattern. This theory is only used to explain the diffusion of the industrialization in the alternative model.

Ethiopia is among the top followers of China's industrialization and can be explained by the flying geese pattern with its special conditions. This country's extremely abundant labor force and domestic needs are a big dynamism for introducing manufacturing and realize domestic products. It has been an important importer of Chinese goods. Gradually it has started to receive large amounts of Chinese industrial transfer and is geared to exportation. This is the requirement of the government to many industrial parks. However, the lack of resources is an unfavorable condition for the effect of flying geese pattern in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian Investment Committee is filled with visitors from Asia every day, interested in investing in Ethiopia, just as Asian investments account for a big part of Ethiopia's FDI in recent years. Asian entrepreneurs from China, Japan, South Korea and India have come in large numbers. Operational industrial parks have also witnessed the presence of a good many Asian investors, as can be seen in the Hawassa and Bole Lemi Industrial Parks. Table 1.5 and 1.6 in the appendix show the countries of origin of each company having been installed on the two sites. What's more, in the first industrial park of Ethiopia, Eastern

Industrial Park has attracted 84 enterprises by 2018,<sup>7</sup> and almost all of them are Chinese, with only a few exceptions. Ethiopia has been providing favourable conditions to welcome these investors. Agreements have been reached for strengthening the economic development and investment ties. All these indicate the industry transfer of the flying geese pattern.

In Senegal, in contrast, the state has not been completely geared towards attracting wide investments. When one of the main officials of APROSI was asked the advantages of Senegal in attracting investors compared to Asian countries, he said that he didn't know (Interview, Official #1 of APROSI, August 10, 2018). The interviewed staff of CGCOC working for the construction of the Diamniadio Industrial Park, in his view, thinks that Senegal was not really learning from China, if we take a close look at the operation of the industrial parks and the regimes Senegal has made for it. He reveals that Chinese investors come to visit industrial parks in many groups, but almost all of them leave without taking the decision to invest. The biggest problem is that the incentives are insufficient. The official of APIX from his perspective thinks that Chinese investors ask for too many incentives (Interview, Official of APIX, September 5, 2018). Therefore, the new investors attracted for the newly launched industrialization are still few and the origin of investment has not been diversified from the France-dominated pattern. The manufacturing industrialization is far from being fully put into practice. Asian investors haven't come significantly. Therefore, the reception of industrial transfer and imitation of the Chinese development experience have not been very evident in Senegal.

The question is why this diffusion process takes place here more than there. In order to respond to this question, one needs to address three other variables: the developmental vs neoliberal ideology, postcolonial relations; and Marxist versus non-Marxist legacies to

---

<sup>7</sup> Data from the EIC



explain empirical variances (see chapter 4 for detailed discussion). Thus, the alternative development model is a consequence of the interaction between Chinese impact, intrinsic conditions and history.

### **1.3 Methodology**

Within-case analysis of single cases and comparisons of a small number of cases can be taken both as case study methods, due to the consensus that the “combination of within case analysis and cross-case comparisons within a single study” constitutes “the strongest means of drawing inferences from case studies” (George and Bennett 2005, 6). We will combine typological theories with methods of within-case studies, particularly process-tracing, since this can reduce the limitations of methods of comparison (George and Bennett 2005, 198). After within-case analyses test historical explanations of cases, cross-case comparisons would further contribute to identifying the domains of extension of these explanations (George and Bennett 2005, 124). Case studies can analyze independent variables and causal mechanisms leading to the dependent variable. The case study approach is appropriate since it allows us to develop or test explanations generalizable to other events with the examination of an aspect of a historical episode (George and Bennett 2005, 5). The increase of the variety of observations in the study of the field researcher helps to make informed generalizations (Ruane 2005). In order to collect evidences, we will rely on the following sources: documents, archival records, interviews and direct observations (Yin 2004). Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the two main case study countries with managers and staff of Chinese enterprises, government officials and other stakeholders. Infrastructure, special economic zones and manufacturing investments are important sectors under research. The official policy documents and existing research of other scholars are secondary materials for this thesis.

### 1.3.1 Case study

We will begin our case studies with the within-case study method, since it leads to “more accurate measurements of independent variables”, and “reclassification of some cases” (George and Bennett 2005). By clarifying the independent variables, we can classify the cases.

Within-case analysis, or individual case studies, will be integrated with cross-case studies. Since case-based research is a method for discovering causal mechanisms (Perecman and Curran 2006), it will be applied for three purposes: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. We are going to use multiple-case studies to develop and test hypotheses about the alternative development model. The hypotheses are developed and tested with each case study. Finally, we will examine a bigger sample of cases with more African countries, considering that small-N researchers can examine larger samples of cases in a way to adopt or mimic the large-n approach (Perecman and Curran 2006). According to Perecman & Curran (2006, 173), a case study might be appropriate “when it is combined with a small-n comparative approach to assess necessary causal conditions or conditional theoretical statements” or “when no adequate body of theory exists, and the relevant hypothesis or control group is therefore unclear”. The case studies helped us to realize both in this study.

As directed by Gray (2014), the first case study will constitute a pilot case, and it can “establish the theoretical boundaries and then the data gathering protocol and tools for all the remaining studies”. Ethiopia and Senegal will be our pilot cases for examination. The initial theory is to be confirmed by cross-case data analysis across the main case studies of Ethiopia and Senegal. Yin (2004) also argues that after adopting a particular theoretical position, research goes through a series of case studies to make cross-case comparisons. The provisional hypothesis linked with previous research is developed for further improvement or modification during the process of the study.

In terms of case selections, we avoid choosing cases for study among those that cluster at one end of the outcome to be explained, because that can lead to the wrong answers. More additional cases included makes the estimates more reliable, if only the way of their selection does not bias conclusions, and therefore, cases must be more than variables so that the results can be reliable (Geddes 2003). We test arguments with cases other than those from which hypotheses have been induced. Both positive and negative cases are worth observation, as Vennesson (2008) presents, “the hypothesis-generating and refining case study seeks to generate new hypotheses inductively and/or refine existing hypotheses”.

### **1.3.2 Comparative method**

The comparative method is a preferred approach for dealing with a small number of cases because it allows an in-depth study of historical processes and individual motivations (Della Porta and Keating 2008). The cross-case synthesis can make findings more persuasive. Actually, we combine the case-oriented and variable-oriented approaches. We want both “generalizable knowledge of relations between variables” for generalization, and “dense knowledge of cases.” (Della Porta and Keating 2008) Through comparison, we want to understand and interpret specific cases both for their intrinsic value and causal-analytic purposes (Ragin 2014). Comparative cases refer to the cases that have many important variables as constants, but dissimilar in terms of the variables to be related to each other (Lijphart 1971, 687). The analysis of a small number of cases allows researchers to gather much information on each case and grasp the effects of similarities or differences between cases (Dogan and Pélassy 1982, 129).

We will make two in-depth case studies of Ethiopia and Senegal. These cases with variants on the dependent variable help us to have a concrete idea of how the alternative model is put into practice and what the success and impediments of the alternative model are.

We need to explain the variation. The two countries are chosen as major cases because they are most typical and prove the causal links between the various factors and elements of the alternative model. Ethiopia is selected as the most likely case for the theory, and Senegal, the least likely. Through the two case studies, we could see that the alternative development model exists as Ethiopia represents the whole model while Senegal reflects some of the elements of the model and its adoption is not as deeply rooted as is in Ethiopia. We also foster the second hypothesis that certain African countries embrace to a larger extent the model than others due to several factors, including the post-colonial relations, the socialist legacies and the implementation of the developmental state strategy in contrast to that dominated by neoliberalism.

The representativeness of these cases is not definite. So we need to test the hypotheses on more cases, to examine the causal mechanism. The hypothesis is developed with the case study of the two cases. The hypotheses are further tested with several other selected cases. We will draw a theory from two case studies and go to test it with the study of several more cases to further confirm which kind of state is more prone to its adoption. Since the theory can explain the first two cases, they will be tested to see if the theory can be generalized to the type of cases. The aim is to seek a more exact and circumstanced generalization. The research will be done on more cases in less detail. Theory testing is used to see whether the theory can be supported and strengthened or weakened or proved spurious. The case selection involves the African states interested in the Chinese model and susceptible to China's engagement in Africa, those who keep close cooperation with China. Since many cases of states just represent part of the ideal-type model, we will use the comparative method and process-tracing in the analysis. By probing into more African countries, we can use those methods to evaluate the generalizability of the model. By explaining the outcome of a case and the types

of cases, as well as the causal role of three independent variables across cases, we can assess the causal effects.

Typological theorizing is a pertinent method. As states are classified, some types of states adopt the alternative model more than others due to their variation of their independent variables. With the classification of African countries according to the three independent variables, we can try to see the different situations of African countries by types and attest their causality. The selection of African countries most inspired by the alternative development model allows us to focus on them to think about their commonalities as conditions leading to the result.

Through variable-oriented approaches, we will see “the causal powers of a particular variable by comparing how they perform in different cases” (George and Bennett 2005). We will therefore examine the power of the three variables relevant for the adoption of the alternative model in more cases in the last chapter. The last chapter can be taken as a plausibility probe. George and Bernet (2005) point out that if the outcome of the case is consistent with what the theory predicts, it’s possible that a causal relationship exists.

### **1.3.3 Process-tracing**

Process-tracing will first be used to look for the causality between the independent variables and outcome of the dependent variable. Process-tracing will later be combined with the congruence method for testing the hypothesis for generalization. We further use process tracing to “identify processes linking a set of initial conditions to a particular outcome” (Vennesson 2008). Process-tracing is complementary to comparison, making up for the limitations of the later. Process-tracing is used to “test whether the residual differences between two similar cases were causal or spurious in producing a difference in these cases’ outcomes” (George and Bennett 2005, 6). What’s more, process-tracing can generate “new

variables or hypotheses on the basis of events sequences observed inductively in case studies” and further be used for testing the causal significance of potential causal variables (George and Bennett 2005).

#### **1.3.4 Field work**

In the realization of this research, field work was carried out in Africa, first in Ethiopia, from early May to mid-July 2018, then in Senegal from mid-July to mid-September 2018. During my stay in Ethiopia, I was mostly based in Addis Ababa, except for a four-day trip to Hawassa and two one-day visits to Dukem, Oromia. In Senegal, my stay was solely based in the capital, Dakar. My individual observations were cherished, which is just the advantage of field work study. I have learned about the issues in question, in the field gradually.

A good number of interviews were conducted over the five months in Africa, on the one hand, with officials of different ministries, state agencies, and on the other hand, chief managers of the most active Chinese enterprises in both countries. They are mainly engaged in construction and manufacturing sectors. I also talked with some university professors and students about the development and politics of these countries. Chinese engagements and China-Africa cooperation were discussed around the subject of development in a seminar I organized in Dakar with the participation of master’s students in economics from 11 francophone African countries. Exchanges with African scholars and students allowed me to see the role China plays in Africa’s development from Africans’ perspective.

Field work enabled me to know the exact situation in each of the main cases. Furthermore, the field work was also useful to seek concrete progress and impediments of the model. Granted interviews and visits allowed me to get access to some related data. In Ethiopia, almost all the officials I contacted were willing to accept my request for interview and provided me with the data needed. Due to the intensive cooperation between this country

and China, the officials and other people were always willing and ready to accept and assist me for my research. The solicited data were always kindly and efficiently provided. The public of Ethiopia generally welcomes Chinese nationals in what they do there, especially due to their gratitude for the improved infrastructure by Chinese. In Senegal, rendez-vous were necessary most of the time, but relatively complicated and time-consuming. The access to data was sometimes refused and chargeable.

The interviews with officials of African government departments and Chinese managers were semi-structured: “to have a number of interviewer questions prepared in advance, but such questions are designed to be sufficiently open such that subsequent questions of the interviewer cannot be planned in advance but must be improvised in a careful and theorized way” (Wengraf 2001, 8). The interviewees usually brought about new knowledge to me, be they presentations, individual comments or critiques. The unpredictable nature of received responses resulted in the development of questions towards some unprepared topics. Alongside the questions prepared beforehand, improvised questions were brought up following the responses got from interviewees.

In general, the questions posed to African officials varied with regards to the different ministries or agencies concerned. The visited government authorities and questionnaires are listed in the appendix. For the Chinese part, field work was conducted with many Chinese participants based in Ethiopia and Senegal for bilateral cooperation. The most important group of interviewees consisted of the managers of Chinese enterprises. The reasons for this were multidimensional. First, they know about the affairs of their enterprises in that country best. Secondly, their high positions mean that they have a good knowledge of their work and the history of engagements of their parent companies in Africa as a whole or in the sub-region in particular. Thirdly, having lived and worked for long in African countries, they had witnessed signs of inspiration of African countries from China, if any, although this may be

personal observations. Finally, the managers, especially those of subsidiaries of big Chinese SoEs are often quite clear about China's approach on cooperation and status quo of the bilateral ties.

Hence a survey of chief managers of Chinese largest enterprises in Ethiopia and Senegal was conducted. Semi-structured interviews touched upon the subjective perception of the interviewees after asking questions about the concrete work of the enterprise in the country where it was located. The questions varied from one interviewee to another, but the common basic questions for most of the high-ranking managers in Chinese enterprises are listed in the appendix. For special economic zones specifically, including the industrial parks, I conducted semi-structured interviews in the two countries with the developers, operators and industrial investors, officials of government authorities and other stakeholders.

The questionnaires for Ethiopia and Senegal are partly the same to allow us to know the situation of the democratic governance, the infrastructure and industrialization, the autonomy and the role of the state in the two cases and whether the cooperation with China exerts an important impact on these aspects. But as the two cases represent two contrasting cases: Ethiopia fully embraces the alternative model and Senegal only in a limited way. Since the independent variables explaining the two cases are not the same. Senegal is related to French colonial legacies and the neoliberal state and Ethiopia is related to the developmental state, Marxist legacies and a history without colonization. Therefore, some questions are correspondently different so that we can further know the details of the different cases. Moreover, part of the questions in the questionnaires are prompted and targeted based on the basic situation of the specific country.

So, this dissertation owes to the perspective and personal experiences of Chinese managers and their employees who work on different positions for the cooperation in related



African countries. They shared with me a lot of concrete and precise information not only about their projects, but also the economic, political and social situations of the country concerned. Their work experience was not only able to give me an impression about the China-African cooperation, but also the relationship of the related African countries with other countries than China.

Several means were deployed to triangulate interview materials. First of all, in the interviews, interviewees are often asked about what they did, rather than simply what they think of to avoid too much ideological preoccupations. Secondly, existing electronic and printed official materials related to what is mentioned in the interviews are solicited on the same occasion of the interview in African governments and Chinese enterprises. These data can help to validate the information given in the statements of interviews. Thirdly, interviewees are selected with an eye on their official position. The general managers of Chinese enterprises and African officials are supposed to guarantee the quality of the interviews and responsible for what they disclosed because on the one hand, their high position representing the government department or enterprise where they work to a large extent; and on the other hand, they were at the core of the participation, decision-making and organization of relevant activities that I would like to learn about. They know how things happened more exactly. Fourthly, the interviewees in a relatively big number come from various departments of African governments, which helps to avoid the bias of individual ideological influence. But if many widely representative officials interviewed give the same ideological statements, this embodies the ideology of the government. Lastly, the statements of Chinese and African interviewees of different parties are interviewed on the same thing, their answers can be put together and compared to help to validate the statements of different parts. For example, the statements on the initiation of industrial parks in Ethiopia of Chinese and African interviewees confirm each other.

The alternative perspectives offered by the participants are respected and put into consideration. We would like to see whether they are in contradiction with the perspective in question. Data and interview material not fitting with the argument were kept in the thesis. But such data and materials help to make the arguments more precise. The alternative perspective of the participants led to further examination and explanation of the deviations in the section 4.4.

In this dissertation, all of the interviewees are kept anonymous for confidentiality. Though their names cannot appear, their attached authority or enterprise will be marked in honour of their participation and for the clarification of the context of discourses of interviewees.

### **1.3.5 Document analysis**

I collected a lot of documents on government policies, international cooperation and projects data related to my study, on the occasion of my visit to related government departments and enterprises. Some of these documents were got upon demand in related government departments and enterprises by the opportunity of interviews. Some were found upon recommendations of related persons.

The documents from the Chinese part include China's policy documents about Africa, a series of initiatives and measures announced by Chinese authority, and data on cooperation. The discourses of state leaders published in China and of the main newspapers and magazines of related African countries were also a part of the corpus for this research.

The statements of the government and party in power are worth special attention. The writings and speeches on political and economic development as well as the foreign relations of politicians are also useful sources. I relied on many locally obtained official documents, including: an Annual Statistical Bulletin on Official Development Assistance Flows to

Ethiopia and the Report on the Development Cooperation of Senegal, an Ethiopian Investment Report, an Annual Report of the Promotion of Investments and Major Works of Senegal, the Investment Guide to Ethiopia and an annual report of the Gateway to Investment in Senegal, materials on industrial parks or sites, the Plan of Emergence for Senegal and the Growth and Transformation Plan of Ethiopia as well as documents of overviews and reviews, a year book of Ethiopia published by the Government Communication Affairs Office, etc. The writings and transcription of speeches of important politicians are also primary sources. Newspapers and journals of the relevant period are useful for data gathering. Books on related research written by African scholars and published or sold only locally were also sought on the occasion of field work. I also refer to a lot of statistics in the documents on certain sectors, for example, the document from the Road authority, those from the Investment Commission/Agency, documents from the Corporation/Agency of industrial parks, foreign trade documents from the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Commerce and the aid documents from the Department of Development Aid and Department in charge of international cooperation, like the cooperation with China, France ... of the Ministry of Finance. The documents of the World Bank, IMF and regional organizations are also useful materials for this research. I also tap into secondary sources on cooperation and development model analysis.

## **Chapter 2: Identifying the elements of an alternative development model in Africa**

Here we need to stress that the alternative model is not the (above-mentioned two interpretations of) Chinese model, though the later exerts an influence on it. The setbacks of previous development grand-theories have offered lessons for us to believe that development models are diverse and the future world is for multiple versions of modernity (Kupchan 2013). Escobar (2012) points out that “the imposition of a development paradigm by economists of the First World generally failed because it neglected the traditions, realities, and aspirations of Third World communities”. Hence, the formation of an alternative development model in this thesis is more of a result of Africa-driven and China-supported diffusion<sup>8</sup>.

Following an extensive literature review, four characteristics have emerged to form this alternative model, which as a whole can be seen as an ideal-type. We are going to outline these elements and link them to the Chinese experience.

### **2.1 The separation between economic development and the nature of political regimes**

“Democracy” has experienced a changing fate with regard to development as a kind of discourse (Abrahamsen 2000). Many authors have shown that when they were developing, most of the current rich countries had practically no recourse to democracy (Chang 2003). Indeed, the relationship between democratisation and improving the governance is complex. Rakner et al. (2007, 2) note that “state-building requires, above all, the strengthening of state institutions and the consolidation/centralisation of state power, while democracy promotion calls for the substantial diffusion and redistribution of state power”. In other words, “democratisation often entails diffusing power more evenly across a greater number of actors both within and outside government, whereas strengthening state capacity may call for a greater centralisation of power and autonomy in the decision-making process.” Considering

---

<sup>8</sup> See the theoretical framework below

this as well as the disorder that followed failed democratic experiments in some African countries and the constraining democratic conditionalities imposed by established aid donors, some of these countries use the margin of manoeuvres given by Chinese presence to try to separate economic development from their political regimes. Not only some western donors are “effectively complicit in fostering development without democracy”, many emerging donors are even more supporters of such a model (Hagmann and Reyntjens 2016). Democratization is not always taken as a prerequisite for development. Both authoritarian states and imperfect democracies may develop fast. Countries authoritarian to begin with are more susceptible to try the alternative developmental model with the support of China. Developmental model is a model requiring the state to be oriented to and marked by fast development. There are quite a few African countries with difficulty in democratic transition and consolidation, which has led to a large amount of authoritarian or hybrid regimes in Africa. As the majority of developmental states are authoritarian, authoritarian developmental model seems to become one of the options for African countries in difficulty of democratic transition or consolidation but with a great ambition of development, if the authoritarian status quo in Africa cannot be dismissed. This alternative model may be taken as one way out, with the development put at the place of the priority, and the nature of the regime aside.

As insisted by many political scientists, economic development needs a minimum of political and social order. Mansfield and Snyder’s (1995) study shows that the process of democratization causes political instabilities. The new regime and that between stable authoritarian and consolidated democratic ones are more vulnerable to the outbreak of civil war (Hegre et al. 2001). New democracy often means political fluctuation and reform can lead to political disorder (Bates 2015). Huntington (1968) thinks that for developing countries, political order is crucial for social and economic development, while the latter is not significantly dependent on political development.

China has adopted a step-by-step reform strategy. According to Chinese officials since Deng Xiaoping, the development of democratic politics can neither lag behind economic development and economic reform, nor go ahead of them. According to Alden (2008), “the most significant impact of Chinese engagement on Africa is the reshaping of the contours of the development agenda”, as before “the Chinese alternative” arrived, “Western donors and the institutions they dominated determined the development programmes of Africa”. Institutional monocropping is revealed as a pitfall in development by Evans (2004, 30): “blueprints based on idealized versions of Anglo-American institutions” are imposed to the global South and their applicability “is presumed to transcend national circumstances and culture”. After the end of the Cold War, in particular, liberal markets and multiparty democracy were seen as ideal forms of governance. But “the governance-related conditionalities imposed by international financial institutions” resulted in the lack of efficacy in many cases Evans (2004, 35).

The Chinese practice is actually not completely new. In the 1950s, “the early writings on development economics concentrated, to a great extent, on ways of achieving economic growth, and increasing the gross national product (GNP) and total employment” (Sen 1988, 12). It was later on that the development programming revolved around liberal institutions, human development, living conditions, etc. Halper (2010, 2–3) who calls the China model “market-authoritarian example” points out that China, as opposed to the western version of modernity, allows the new non-Western market converts to learn “how to extract the best from both market capitalism and one-party government”.

Now, attracted by the fast-growing Chinese and other Asian authoritarian economies, a group of African leaders have begun to appreciate such form of government. Today, they can point to “China’s impressive economic transformation” over the past four decades, “arguing that pressures to democratise their political systems may jeopardise economic development

and other important objectives” (Rakner 2007). Among advocates for more focus on economic growth than democracy, the former Ethiopian Premier Meles Zenawi as well as the former President Mulatu Teshome are perhaps the most outspoken. Ethiopia, enjoying a double-digit growth rate, follows a path of authority centralization and progressive economic reform. From the perspective of the political regime, Ethiopia’s central government is relatively efficient in certain sectors for policy implementation. Meles Zenawi resembled Deng Xiaoping in promoting market-economy reforms and even implementing five-year-plans. Some African leaders have openly declared their admiration of the governmental mode of “phenomenal growth under modernizing authoritarian governments” of China (Mekonnen 2015).

## **2.2 The strong emphasis on infrastructure and the industrialization based on it**

### **2.2.1 The infrastructure**

Africa has considerable infrastructure investment needs to achieve national development targets, meet Millennium Development Goals and realize Agenda 2063 which aims at industrialization and modernization. So, infrastructure projects are often generally welcome since they meet the demands of African developing countries themselves. The Senegalese President Macky Sall’s declaration at the United Nations General Assembly in 2016 presented the ambition and vision of African people: “Africa would like to be considered as a continent in construction... it’s an Africa of roads and expressways, of bridges and railroads, of dams and power plants, of industrial parks and modern agricultural farms.” Such demands have been increasingly met with the disbursement of Chinese aid to Africa.

As a saying goes in China, “if a place want to become rich, build the road first”, this shows the fundamental role infrastructure play for transportation and industrialization. Chinese foreign aid prioritizes infrastructure, as shown in the latest White Paper of foreign aid

published in 2014 in which economic infrastructure and social service infrastructure combined made up nearly 3/4 of all its aid input. This is an amount large enough to make a difference on the aid and development landscape in Africa. Therefore, particularly due to China, “there is clear evidence of a shift in donor priorities towards infrastructure” (Harman and Williams 2014, 932). China has contributed to concentrate on the “hardware” of development, rather than the “software” of liberal values. This is also a major difference between the focuses of Chinese and Western aid. China has put less attention on the social field and institutional construction in terms of the use of aid (Zhang 2012).

Right from the beginning of the development issue in LDCs in the 1950s and 1960s, development projects undertaken by states were large industrial infrastructure, such as dams or expressways, designed to have large secondary industrialization-promotion effects (Finnemore 1997, 207). However, from the mid-1980s to early 2000, infrastructure was ignored by international financial institutions. The lack of investment in infrastructure has hindered the economic development of Africa. With the advent of Chinese construction firms and massive aid from its government, the tendency has evolved. Chinese investments are revamping many great railways in Africa. On the one hand, the construction of important infrastructure projects including roads, railways, bridges, ports, airports, power stations and ICT in Africa, by Chinese SoEs or private businesses improves people’s living conditions. On the other hand, it has opened up more opportunities for future production activities, like the industry transfer and cooperation of production capacity between China and Africa. The Belt and Road Initiative is giving rise to a wave of infrastructure construction covering nearly all African countries. Still in this regard, at the Johannesburg Summit of FOCAC in 2015, Chinese President Xi announced ten China-Africa Cooperation Plans with a supporting fund of 60 billion dollars for the coming three years. The Ten Plans covered various fields, including infrastructure, industrialization, agricultural modernization, etc. President Xi also



decided to provide 600 projects in support of developing countries in the UN.

Infrastructure improvement can also lead to increasing supply of African commodities in the global market and raise the global product price hopefully to the benefit of Africa (Mai and Wilhelm 2012, 142). The large-scale improvement of infrastructure across the continent with Chinese assistance is just the first step for Africa to embark on the industrialization and modernization process. China is sharing its experience in various fields of construction. Cooperation on production capacity is being extended to more African countries. China is also prepared to transfer part of its manufacturing industry to Africa. Just as the infrastructure serves as a big driving force for development, an alternative model can build its legitimacy on sustained growth (Mohan 2013, 10).

### **2.2.2 African special economic zones --- a physical miniature of the alternative development model**

SEZs initiated by China and “positioned to become Africa’s new economic growth nodes” (Davis et al. 2008) have become a part of the new developmental model. Since recent years, African industrialization has been boosted by China through SEZs. African SEZs are a miniature of the incarnation of the alternative model because they rely on a more active state, pluralist partners and a much-improved infrastructure. Besides, SEZs of authoritarian states can develop equally well than in democratic ones, if not better. They are the materialization of a state-led market economy. The authoritarian political system can develop SEZs very well. China’s industrialization has been such a success that it has made it the largest manufacturing country. More and more African countries are interested in China’s industrialization experience, because from the perspective of these developing countries, China’s experience is more practical for emulation than that of developed countries. At the same time, China is willing to share its development experience and conduct extensive cooperation on SEZs.

Chinese SEZs have been very important in showcasing modern SEZ model to the world. It has been widely noted that “the concept of the SEZ as part of a national industrial development strategy has been adopted from the Chinese model” (Signé and Johnson 2018, 25).

The African industrialization model boosted by China through SEZs can be summarized as one based on state-led industrialization with a preference for export-oriented and labour-intensive light manufacturing in a relatively well-developed infrastructure environment. This new industrialization model found in a number of African countries reflects their need nowadays. The main features of this model will be subsequently illustrated in detail.

Early Chinese SEZs in Africa were called Chinese official African Economic and Commercial Cooperation Zones or Sino-African Economic Cooperation Zones. Over time, these pilot zones have given much knowledge on how to carry on. There have been a large number of SEZs of various developers and operators in Africa and they are still being rapidly multiplied. The new whole picture is composed of African state-owned SEZs, many more Chinese private SEZs, as well as joint ventures between Chinese investors and African states. We focus on all forms of SEZs developed and operated in Africa based on the inspiration of Chinese SEZs and bilateral cooperation. Since SEZs include industrial parks, free trade zones and export processing zones, with the industrial parks being the most common, the term SEZ will be generally used to represent its concrete forms in this study.

### **The spread of African SEZs inspired by China**

In terms of the inspiration from SEZs of Chinese model, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Angola, Djibouti, Egypt, Zambia, Rwanda, Republic of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania are those African countries that have put them into practice the most. Apart from the seven official cooperation zones, there are a large

number of SEZs in operation, under construction and in the pipeline. One representative SEZ developed in some of these countries are listed in the appendix. The seven well-known official SEZs are not brought up here.

In these countries, besides a few listed examples, many more SEZs are being developed or still under consideration. Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania and South Africa have the biggest number of SEZs. For example, in Ethiopia, over twenty industrial parks are to be accomplished soon. Apart from a few established or upcoming governmental or Chinese industrial parks like Wuyi and Naivasha, Kenya is going to build two grand projects in cooperation with Chinese enterprises, the Friendship City (a SEZ) and Mombasa SEZ. Closely following the steps of two of its neighbours, Kenya and Rwanda, Uganda has been establishing 22 Industrial and Business parks<sup>9</sup>. Quite a few Chinese industrial parks recently built can be found there. The giant project of Enyimba Economic City of Nigeria is to begin, after the fruits of diversification have been won with SEZs like Lekki and Ogun Free Trade Zones in this country highly dependent on oil exports. Chinese SEZ model in Africa has already transcended the pilot stage and is being more widely brought to countries in Africa. Many countries including Tanzania, Senegal, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, Angola have expressed their wish to learn from Shenzhen or build a Shenzhen. More countries like Benin are preparing to have their first SEZ and even invite Chinese to come and build.

### **The comprehensive facilitative factors from the Chinese part**

China's cooperation with Africa has markedly turned to industrialization since 2006, when the Chinese government got determined to promote African industrialization in the framework of Sino-Africa cooperation. China's support to African industrialization is not an isolated policy, rather it is an integral part of comprehensive cooperation plans. The "Ten Key

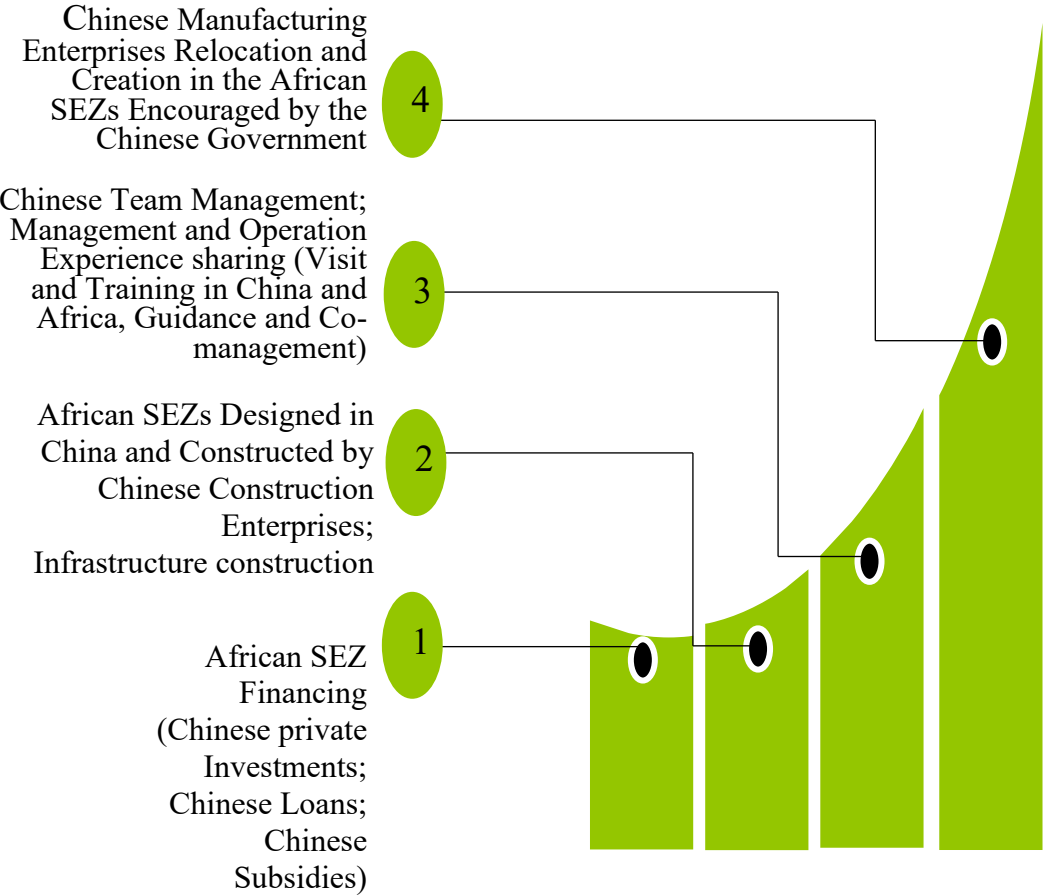
---

<sup>9</sup> data of Uganda Investment Agency

Cooperation Plans” and “Eight Major Initiatives” proclaimed respectively in the 2015 Johannesburg Summit and 2018 Beijing FOCAC Summit both put African industrialization promotion as the top priority in the cooperation programmes. Indeed, cooperation on aspects like production capacity, trade and investment facilitation, infrastructure connectivity, capacity building, financial services, agricultural modernization announced in the “plans” and “initiatives” also reinforce industrialization. Furthermore, since recent years, the transfer of China’s manufacturing industries to Africa has constituted an uncommon opportunity of industrialized development for African countries. To encourage and give impetus to Chinese investments in Africa, China has pledged to step up policy guidance and mobilize all interested parties.

The launching of African SEZs for its industrialization may get impelled by four groups of facilitating factors from the Chinese part during the whole process as is shown in figure 2.1; and the function of the four groups of facilitative factors are interpreted below.

**Figure 2.1: the Chinese impetuses for the launching of SEZs in Africa**



(Source: the author of this dissertation)

**Financing**

A 10 billion dollars funding for production capacity cooperation was announced during the FOCAC 2015 Summit, when the cooperation policy on industrialization was emphasized. At the 2018 Summit, another US\$10 billion special fund for development was set up. The SEZs in Africa invested by Chinese may be eligible to get funding from the China-Africa Development Fund and China-Africa Fund for Industrial Cooperation (CAFIC). The China-Africa Development Fund is dedicated to providing funding by shareholding to Chinese investors who go to Africa for investment or trade. The first industrial park in Ethiopia,

Eastern industrial zone was partly invested by this Fund. Furthermore, China provides loans mainly through the Eximbank for the construction of some SEZs to African governments.

### **SEZ and infrastructure construction**

The construction of African SEZs has often been realized in the form of EPC (Engineering, Procurement and Construction) projects. In these cases, they are designed in China, after communications with the African owner or development partner, and constructed by one or more Chinese enterprises. So the design and functions reflect many of Chinese SEZs at home. In terms of the realization of infrastructure of SEZs for industrialization, many urban, regional or even trans-border projects outside SEZs are put in place in cooperation with China for stable and cheap power and water supply and convenient transportation logistics. The SEZ activities can benefit directly from them. For example, the electricity power transmission and distribution line project of Ethiopia can supply power for up to 16 industrial parks. The Adama industrial park is served by the wind power built earlier by SINOHYDRO, the Adama railway station of Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway, and Addis Ababa–Adama Expressway. There are massive Chinese construction projects across Africa. All modern SEZs benefit from a much-improved infrastructure.

### **Management and operation of African SEZs**

Chinese managers in African SEZs are relatively experienced about the affairs of SEZ management and operation. African officials and personnel in SEZs are often willing to get experience sharing from China or Chinese counterparts. It is common for African states interested in undertaking industrial parks to organize delegations to visit China, and even follow some training in China. Government officials and staff in SEZs of Ethiopia, South Africa, Cote D’Ivoire have been trained in China. The African personnel in charge of SEZ affairs would often like to emulate what they have learned in China in their own countries.

The visits in SEZs and training have been carried on in Africa. Chinese-inspired African SEZs receive delegations of visitors. Such is the case in Ethiopia, where SEZs have been visited by many African heads of states. As for training, the personnel having been trained in China can further train more of their staff back home. The flagship Hawassa Industrial Park of Ethiopia has undertaken the training of staff from other governmental industrial parks in order to spread the knowledge and experience gained in China. Since Africa hopes to attract Chinese investors and receive industrial transfers, it is rewarding for developers to shape African SEZs in more or less Chinese ways. Such SEZs are a place of preference for them, because this is where Chinese investors are more familiar and secured.

A Chinese SEZ in Africa may be operated by a Chinese private or state-owned enterprise, or by a joint venture of Chinese or Chinese and Africans. There are two advantageous situations as to Chinese SEZs in Africa. The first is that the personnel from the governmental SEZ of a certain Chinese municipality, and in some cases, the capital of a Chinese province, are doing the management and operation. This is the case of Lekki Free Zone operated by the personnel of Nanjing Jiangning Economic and Technological Development Zone, the Adama-Hunan Industrial Park operated by Changsha Economic Development Zone, the China-Egypt TEDA Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone, operated by the personnel of Tianjin TEDA SEZ, etc. An apparent advantage with such a Chinese management team is that they are already full of successful experience back home. Table 2.1 gives some examples of China's provincial or municipal level engagement in the operation of African SEZs. The second situation is that certain SEZs cluster the investors from the same places of China, though not exclusively. Not only can African SEZs operated by Chinese provincial/municipal SEZ management attract clusters of Chinese investors from the same hometown, but also SEZs operated by Chinese private enterprise can work towards this. For SEZs in Africa with clusters of Chinese of the same origin, the Chinese local government concerned can provide

assistance of all kinds more easily, especially when it comes to investor attraction and publicity. In Uganda for example, the following industrial parks are all connected to a province or city in China in their background: Liao Shen Industrial Park (Liaoning Province), Uganda-China Guangdong Free Zone (Guangdong Province), Sino-Uganda Mbale Industrial Park (Hebei Province), and Africa Shandong Industrial Park (Shandong Province). The Eastern Industrial Park of Ethiopia has helped to develop good official ties between the city of Lianyungang, where its Chinese park investors hail, and the Dukem municipality, where the Eastern Industrial Park is located. The Guangdong province of China as the avant-garde of the SEZs in China, is actively engaged in industrial cooperation with African countries in this aspect. For example, the Huajian Dongguan light industrial park in Ethiopia and Ogun Guangdong Free Trade Zone in Nigeria have been launched by Guangdong investors. The following table shows some examples of African SEZs developed by investors from different Chinese provinces. To sum up, there are three scenarios as to the management and operation of African SEZs of Chinese style. Firstly, the Chinese SEZs in Africa have to a large extent maintained the management and operation manner of SEZs back home, thus being a showcase to the Africans. Secondly, for the governmental SEZs developed solely by African states, the officials and staff involved visit or even go for training in China. Some may also invite Chinese experts to provide guidance at the initial stage in their SEZ, as was the case of Hawassa Industrial Park having experts from Kunshan Industrial Park of China, the most successful Chinese industrial park. Finally, for the SEZs jointly developed and operated by Chinese and Africans, African staff can learn from the major role the Chinese have played in the cooperation all the way.



**Table 2.1: Examples of China’s local level engagement in the operation of African SEZs**

Name of the SEZ	Location	The Chinese province/City of Cooperation
Ethiopia-China Huajian International Light Industrial Zone	Ethiopia	Guangdong
CGCOC Adama industrial park	Ethiopia	Hunan Province
Lekki Free Trade Zone	Nigeria	Jiangsu Province
Ogun Guangdong Free Trade Zone	Nigeria	Guangdong
Uganda-China Guangdong-free zone	Uganda	Guangdong
Sino-Uganda Mbale Industrial Park	Uganda	Hebei
Liaoshen Industrial Park	Uganda	Liaoning
Africa Shandong Industrial Park	Uganda	Shandong
China-Egypt TEDA Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone	Egypt	Tianjin

(Source: the author of the dissertation)

### **Chinese manufacturing enterprises transfer and creation in African SEZ**

Chinese investors are seeking for investment opportunities in Africa. Some want to create business there, while others may just transfer existing factories from China in consideration of better production factors. In either way, in a developmental state like China where the state plays the leading role in the economy, including the private sector, its

encouragement and support are important favourable conditions for the enticement of Chinese investors into Africa. As an Ethiopian official notes, “China has its own policy from the government (for investors) to get out of China and invest. Other countries don't promote. Promotion means Chinese government offers enterprises many incentives for them to go abroad.”( Interview, official of the EIC, July 10, 2018). Indeed, apart from many incentives for general foreign cooperation and going global, there are many policies and incentives in China for investments in Africa on financing, taxation, foreign currencies and formality simplification to Chinese investors. The Chinese government encourages Chinese financial institutions to give preferential treatment to them. Chinese industrial production investors may also take advantage of the financial support of the funds like the China-Africa Development Fund. According to China’s foreign exchange Administration Agency, Chinese enterprises which what to invest in Africa can go to change the foreign currencies they need there, without amount limitations. The Chinese enterprises benefit from a tax rebate for the equipment, machines, and devices that they bring for their investment in Africa according to the stipulations on foreign aid. More precisely, the export rebate policy applies to export goods of concessional loans, project funding of cooperation or joint ventures of Chinese government.

Chinese industrial investors in turn constitute important actors to the industrialization drive of Africa. Now that Chinese investors in search of investment opportunities in Africa are almost the most important groups adapted to African industrial development stage, the African industrial parks built in the Chinese model can be more attractive to Chinese investors by making them feel at home. In fact, the “Nest and Phoenix” thesis is even more special in Africa because Chinese not only help to construct the “nest” for African countries, but also bring “phoenix” there afterwards. Without the intention of massive Chinese enterprises relocation or creation in those African countries during cooperation negotiations and before

the construction of SEZs, it would be less likely for African developers to be determined to launch SEZ projects. Table 2.2 shows some of the representative SEZs of Chinese model in African countries.

**Table 2.2: Representative SEZs of Chinese model in African countries**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Name of the SEZ</b>	<b>Status as of May 2019</b>	<b>Developer</b>	<b>Operator</b>
Mozambique	Manga-Mungassa Special Economic Zone	In operation	Dingsheng Group (a Chinese enterprise)	Dingsheng Group
Kenya	Pearl River SEZ	In operation	the Company of Africa Economic Zones and China's Guangdong New South Group	the Company of Africa Economic Zones and China's Guangdong New South Group
Rwanda	Kigali Special Economic Zone	In operation	Prime Economic Zone Secretariat	Prime Economic Zones Co.
Republic of Congo	Pointe-Noire SEZ	In the pipeline	Not yet announced	Not yet announced

Djibouti	Djibouti International Free Trade Zone	In operation	Djiboutian government and three Chinese companies, namely: China Merchants Group, Dalian Port Authority, and IZP	Djiboutian government and three Chinese companies, namely: China Merchants Group, Dalian Port Authority, and IZP
Tanzania	Bagamoyo Special Economic Zone	In the pipeline	Tanzania Government, China Merchants Holdings International (CMHI) and Oman's State General Reserve Fund (SGRF)	Tanzania Government, China Merchants Holdings International (CMHI) and Oman's State General Reserve Fund (SGRF)
Cote d'Ivoire	Abidjan-PK24 Industrial Zone	In operation	Ivorian Government	Ivorian Government
Nigeria	Enyimba Economic City	In the pipeline	n/a	n/a
Senegal	International Industrial Park of Diamniadio	In operation	APROSI (a state agency)	APIX (a state agency)

Ethiopia	Hawassa IP	In operation	IPDC ( a public enterprise)	IPDC
Uganda	Uganda- China (Guangdong) Free Zone of International Industrial Cooperation	In operation	Uganda-China (Guangdong) Free Zone of International Industrial Cooperation Co., Ltd. (a subsidiary of Guangzhou Dongsong Energy Group Co., Ltd.)	Uganda-China (Guangdong) Free Zone of International Industrial Cooperation Co., Ltd.

(Source: the author of the dissertation)

### **2.3 The autonomy of development vis-à-vis foreign actors owing to the plurality of partners**

From the policy perspective, aid represents “a particular form of external influence” that “curtails a recipient country’s policy autonomy” (Brown 2013). As Harman and Williams (2014) note, “changing aid relationships have created greater autonomy for developing countries”, and “the challenge for developing countries is to use the growing autonomy some of them have, and the new plurality of aid donors, in ways that are developmentally beneficial”. This characteristic just shows the influence of nowadays diversity of aid donors on the variety of development thinking and models. Chinese aid to Africa, presented as a development-oriented aid (Zhang 2013), features above all non-conditionality and win-win cooperation. Together with the roles played by other emerging donors, China has contributed to a silent revolution in the international architecture of aid (Woods 2008). In principle, financial autonomy has the potential to lead to more autonomy for development. Halper (2010, 3) has noted that “the Chinese have become a critical source of financial autonomy for smaller countries as well as a beacon of ideas and management expertise for capitalism in a less Western, less liberal format”.

In terms of a new paradigm of development, Kaplan (2008) calls on Africans to fix their fragile states, and thinks international assistance should primarily focus on the promotion of local processes, enabling them to foster a cohesive society and widely accepted institutions for an effective functioning of the social governance system.

Having seen the unsatisfying development aid in Africa, some scholars reveal the causes of this failure from the side of the donors and discussed the possibility of some corrective alternatives. Babaci-Wilhite et al. (2013) point to exploitative dependency and absence of economic gains as a result of traditional aid so that they encourage alternative frameworks of aid. In the same vein, Moyo (2010) also warns against aid dependency and points out that neoliberal

prescription made Africa repeat the catastrophic errors of “lost decades”.

Some argue that China’s engagement in Africa is neo-colonialism, only seeking for its own interests (Deych 2019), but other scholars think that this accusation has no basis (Jian and Donata 2014) or that the accusation of “neo-colonialism is just a speculation or sino-phobia” since the African governments are capable of addressing the issues of Sino-African relations (Addis and Zuping 2018). Some are afraid that Africa is “heavily dependent on Chinese financing for their developmental needs” due to the generous financing of China compared with the IMF and the World Bank (Mlambo 2019, 6). Thrall (2015) even argues the easy loans may induce African countries in the debt trap. However, Brautigam finds no evidence to support the “debt trap” narrative or “predatory lending”, which means that “countries are forced to default on the loans and handover key strategic assets to China or be forced to otherwise compromise their sovereignty to satisfy Beijing” after she investigates 3,000 Chinese infrastructure projects worldwide (Olander 2019). In a more profound study on the charge of “debt trap”, Brautigam (Brautigam 2020) finds that the origin of the term as follows:

A Chinese debt-trap diplomacy meme was born in a think tank in northern India and was furthered by a paper written by two Harvard University graduate students who called it Chinese ‘debt book diplomacy’. The student paper was enthusiastically cited by The Guardian and The New York Times and other major media outlets as academic proof of China’s nefarious intentions ...This meme quickly spread through the media, intelligence circles and Western governments.

Therefore, the critique of “debt trap” is neither a well-founded academic discourse nor an accusation from African states or societies. The Sino-African cooperation is always on a stable track for both sides and Africa generally has a positive view on China’s presence and development aid<sup>10</sup>. According to the Afrobarometer released in 2016,

---

<sup>10</sup> Preferential loans that China provided to Africa in large amounts are also a part of development aid.



Almost two-thirds (63%) of Africans say China's influence is "somewhat" or "very" positive, while only 15% see it as somewhat/very negative. A majority (56%) of Africans also see China's development assistance as doing a "somewhat" or "very" good job of meeting their country's needs. The most important factors contributing to a positive image of China in Africa are its infrastructure/development and business investments (Lekorwe et al. 2016).

China is a developing country itself with much experience of receiving foreign aid and investment. Its relations with Africa embody the way China itself would like to be treated (Harman and Williams 2014, 938). China's official approach stresses the need to share its experience of development and respect African countries' independent choice to the road of development (the White Paper of China's foreign Aid, 2014). Obviously, a gap may exist between discourse and practice. But this discourse, which is also used by other emerging countries such as Brazil, Turkey or India, is appealing for many African leaders.

As Harman and Williams (2014, 938) outlined, the unprecedented plurality of aid providers and investors as partners creates more margins for African countries to choose between them, and "it also reduces the leverage that some of the traditional donors have had over development policy in developing countries ... Both of these trends connect up with the changes in development thinking about policy autonomy and flexibility". Concretely,

China's increasing involvement with Africa, and the very different way it relates to developing countries, poses a challenge to states such as the United States, Britain and France that have historically played an important role on the continent. Western donors have been moving to redefine their relationships with aid recipient states. By the mid-2000s the conditionality associated with structural adjustment lending was being replaced by a new language of 'ownership' and partnership. Processes of reflection and learning go some way to explain this, as it was becoming clear that conditionality was not a very effective instrument for inducing and sustaining economic policy reform. But again this shift reflects wider changes. Conditionality

was coming to be seen as increasingly illegitimate and the target of vociferous criticism by NGOs and campaigning groups. In addition, as non-traditional donors became more important, western donors have become less and less able to exercise influence over aid recipient states (Harman and Williams 2014).

So, evidently, the alternative development model is a result of the new equal-footed cooperation model, which is bringing back autonomy and flexibility to developing countries.

## **2.4 The exertion of a greater role of the state**

Many African countries are now eager to strengthen state authority and improve on their governance capacity. The problem that African countries face is how to integrate social resources for economic and social development in view of lag in the construction of national institutions. Sub-Saharan African states are artificial and most of them can rarely perform the functions that modern states have (Clapham 1996). Weak government provides institutional conditions to external intervention, which in turn exacerbates internal division (Zheng 2014).

If “the shift in authority from states to markets is seen as probably the biggest change in the international political economy to take place in the last half of the twentieth century” (Strange 1996), the role of the state for development is now seen as important. An interventionist state is an ingredient in the East Asian development recipe. For some, East Asian forms of capitalism, or East Asian developmental state model, looks increasingly attractive when the neoliberal, Anglo-American alternative looks discredited (Beeson 2004, 8). Many theorists consider there should be an initial state-led phase before opening to the market (Rapley 1996, 124). This also conforms to the idea of the development state. Agaba and Genyi (2013, 52) note that “if the market is to function effectively, it requires elaborate state guidance. If and when any kind of state retreat is made, it should be done gradually”. Today an active and effective state role is critical in Africa

(Rapley 1996, 129).

As Evans compared the political economy of Third World states (1989), he explains the disparity between predatory and developmental apparatuses. He points out that autonomy is the fundamental feature of developmental states and stresses the necessity of embedded autonomy (1995). For almost all the late-development and late-industrialized countries that have achieved economic catch-up, the state plays a remarkable and revolutionary role (Oqubay 2015). The developmental state has been proved to be the most effective dynamic of impulsion for peripheral states to realize industrialization (Oqubay 2015). Kholi shows that in the global periphery, particularly in East Asia, state-directed development is a successful way to industrialization (2004). The fall and rise of the role of the state in the development project correspond to the rise and fall of the Washington Consensus to a large degree. As was said above, the governance ability of African states was relatively poor after independence, and their state capacity was further weakened by the guiding ideology of the Washington Consensus: its recommendations for policy reform, such as the reduction of the degree of state intervention in the economy, the weakening of the fiscal basis of the state, all undermined the legitimacy of the state itself, and had important political implications for the choice of development models. Minimum state was the solution proposed by the IMF for the countries in crisis. The catastrophic consequence was that Africa's development even went backward. The "China model" as a form of state-directed capitalism, can be an antidote to the unbridled capitalism (Halper 2010, 9).

The revalorization of the role of the state in Africa was made possible by the existence of a plurality of financing options, giving African states more autonomy from aid institutions and sources for state-led programmes. Unlike western countries, it's government departments in China that work as major agencies of foreign aid (Zhang 2012). In particular, the aid and

investment projects brought by China often involve contracts signed or conducted by ministries, national banks and large SoEs of Chinese and African governments. The official feature of the Chinese part makes African state counterparts have the power to sign and implement projects. Therefore, with the multiplication of such projects in cooperation, African states now enjoy a bigger role than before.

This dissertation thinks that a strong state plays an important role in the planning, guidance, support for the economic development of the country. The state controls resources, regulates the market and tries to alleviate the possible impact of a purely free market economy. The state can be interventionist and the government has a strong influence to prompt the private sector to make market behaviors that conform to the government's strategic intent. In some cases, important enterprises of strategic sectors are under control or even owned by the state. The strengthening of the state's role is necessary, first of all, given the situation of underdevelopment. Hirschman stresses that "the long delay in industrialization, the lack of entrepreneurship for large ventures, and presence of a host of other inhibiting factors made for the conviction that, in underdeveloped areas, industrialization requires a deliberate, intensive, guided effort" (Hirschman 1981, 10). In this regard, the state is responsible for being an important actor to carry out certain protection, planning, stimulation, etc.

Furthermore, the necessity not only resulted from the development predicament following the Washington Consensus which "makes it increasingly difficult for states to manage or regulate the diversity of their economic and social processes" (Babaci-Wilhite, Macleans, and Lou 2013), but also from the spontaneous study of successful model. As Cristopher M. Dent points out (2011), "the substantial differences in developing levels with developed countries mean that developing countries are often best learning from the best development practice of other

developing countries”, and there is more empathy between developing country partners for development capacity needs.

The Chinese government’s development model is marked by a “strong government”, which means the effectiveness of government capacity. China did not take the way of total westernization and radical reform as required by the western modernization theory and the Washington Consensus. On the one hand, China draws on certain rational elements of the Washington Consensus, such as emphasis on the fundamental role of markets, entrepreneurial spirit, protection of private property rights, and international free trade rules and regulations; on the other hand, China maintains the state’s ability of macro-control for society and allocation of resources, trying to strike a balance between society and state, market and government, private ownership and public ownership. Unlike most late development countries, which have to passively and comprehensively “transplant” western systems and experiences, China has chosen to incorporate Western institutions and ideologies into its own political and social systems on its own initiative, in order to explore a development path adapted to its national conditions (Luo 2012, 107). Maru has noted that “many African leaders and politicians may consider China a model for the state-led delivery of public goods and services through its non-traditional inspirational economic growth and efficient works in Africa” (Maru 2013, 8).

So, in brief, the definition of the alternative development model in Africa is one of relatively more authoritarian state-led autonomous development, with provisional priority on infrastructure-based economic development. To have a concrete idea of the empirical situation of elements of the alternative development model in African countries, we shall proceed to a study of two representative cases, Ethiopia and Senegal.

### **Chapter 3: The cases of Ethiopia and Senegal**

We have chosen Ethiopia and Senegal as our case studies because they offer an excellent ground for undertaking a binary comparison aiming at outlining contrasts in terms of the degree of adoption. Ethiopia is the most “positive” case in point since it openly claims to learn from China and has one of the most fruitful bilateral cooperation with Beijing. Senegal, a democratic country with French imprints, still influenced by the Washington Consensus, has also incited us to think about what the China-inspired development model means to it.

We take the year 2000 as the milestone of Chinese emergence on the international arena, and in Africa in particular, as in our question. Though having existed long before, Chinese presence has significantly magnified in Africa. Its sustaining rapid growth then created a national strength with corresponding international influence. So we are going to identify the development path of the two countries in terms of the four aspects concerning the pillars of the model.

#### **3.1 The separation between economic development and the nature of political regimes**

By the separation between economic development and nature of the political regime, we mean, a country may manage to development under an authoritarian regime, since it is not doomed to be underdeveloped just because of its authoritarian regime.

##### **3.1.1 Ethiopia**

Following the Ethiopian monarchy under Haile Selassie was the one-party communist military government of Derg that ran from 1974 to 1991. Then it was overthrown by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the ruling political coalition which established the Federal Democratic Republic. This happened in the global context of the collapse of the socialist bloc at the end of the Cold War at the turn of 1990. Ethiopia had to accept

the new political and economic reforms that ensued thereof. Revolutionary democracy took the place of Marxism–Leninism, becoming EPRDF’s open ideology under the international situation in the early 1990s. The exposure of the TPLF to Maoism has played a role in the formation of the group’s ideology: “revolutionary democracy”, which is described as founded on “communal collective participation” and “consensus forged through discussions led by the vanguard organization” (Vaughan and Tronvoll 2003, 15). We can see some similarities between this precept and that of Chinese. Meles and Desalegn champion their “democratic developmental state”, whose priority is rapid economic growth and elimination of poverty. Gebremariam even demonstrates that Ethiopia is a better model of emerging developmental state than democratic developmental state (Gebremariam et al. 2017, 10). The TPLF-EPRDF works as the responsible vanguard for the developmental process and Meles used to argue that the state requires autonomy.

The state of Ethiopia, Meles and EPRDF maintain the discourses of democracy. According to the national policy, the country is constitutionally democratic. An official has brought up the statement of Meles: “democracy is not need in Ethiopia, rather it is a must”. He explained, “For a country of ethnic diversity, without democracy, the development results will be destroyed by conflicts.” (Interview, official of the Ministry of Finance, May 26, 2019). Even the strategy of the developmental state of Ethiopia affirmed in 2001 was preceded by the adjective of democratic. Regardless of the problem of synergy between democracy and the developmental state, it seems that on the policy level, democracy is a target of the state. But there are some limits in the reality. Although Ethiopia has always stressed democracy, revolutionary democracy is not what liberal democracy is supposed to be, and Ethiopia has a critical view on liberal democracy. EPRDF thinks liberal democracy is “ill-fit and unsustainable” (Nolawi 2013). The average growth rate over 10% since 2004 is not accompanied by democratic progress.

Authoritarian regimes abounded in Africa even in the 1990s before close Sino-African cooperation. Cooperation with China has led to a strengthened conviction of authoritarian developmental model inspired by China. As Cabestan states, “For Ethiopia, partnership with China mainly serves the internal political and economic purposes of the regime that has been in place since 1991, under Prime Minister Meles Zenawi for 20 years and, since his death in August 2012, under his successor Hailemariam Desalegn.” (Cabestan 2012)

Following close cooperation and exchanges with China, Ethiopia has realized rapid growth in the new century. This is what Ethiopia meant to achieve economically besides the political inspiration as Fourie (2015) reveals, “Ethiopia’s use of China as a model of modernity is the desire for double-digit economic growth”.

Actually, due to China’s always-expoused principles of non-attachment of political condition, non-interference into other country’s development model, and even the non-exportation of its own development model, the exact Chinese influence on African countries’ authoritarian model cannot be triangulated by observing apparently what China does intentionally to the persistence of the authoritarian regime of Africa. However, these don’t stop the inspiration of African countries from China. Therefore, although people can not directly find many clues of correlation between Ethiopia’s authoritarian model to the Chinese one, field work interviews and frequent ruling parties’ exchanges reveal the relevance.

Countries authoritarian to begin with are more susceptible to try the alternative developmental model with the support of China. African countries would like to stay authoritarian may seek inspiration from China. According to Fourie (2015). Ethiopian election 2005 which was meant to be democratic but later its results were manipulated and opposition was cracked down violently so as to avoid the loss of the EPRDF. In reality, after this election, Prime



Minister Meles turned to a model characterized “by rapid economic growth and complete halt in measures to democratise the country” (Fourie 2015). The practice that EPRDF achieved economic growth while consolidating EPRDF’s power is similar to China. Fourie finds that EPRDF elites argue their state emulate China most frequently through his large number of interviews. Prime Minister Meles has visited China many times since 2004 to learn about Chinese economic and political experience, which has led to Ethiopia’s similar state motivation and approach to China. As Hackenesch (2018, 136) points out, “in light of the EPRDF party reforms after 2005 election crisis, for the EPRDF, party-to-party relations with CPC open an important channel to discuss experiences on development, the relationship between the party and the state, strategies on how to organise leadership succession, how to manage intraparty transition from one generation to the next or the role of mass movements.”

Though Ethiopia is a multiparty state, its elections are always disputed for fraud. This regime is a de facto one-party system. Elections are often accused of not being fair and free. The country’s prime minister as the head of government is always elected mainly by the ruling EPRDF. Parliamentary and regional elections are tightly controlled by the EPRDF. Its political pluralism and participation are weak. The opponents of the ruling party have little active space. The dominant EPRDF controls “security apparatus, media, electoral organs and administrative structure”, and “opposition parties are seen as enemies, rather than political rivals” (Asayehgn 2017). The EPRDF dominates the parliament. All the seats in parliament are taken by EPRDF and its allies as the table 3.1 shows. Losing the one seat of the 2010 election, the opposition parties didn’t get any seat and the election was dismissed for unfairness. Among the affiliated organizations are five political parties that are actually not opposition, but allies of the ruling EPRDF. They are the parties in the other five regions and they were established or deeply

imprinted by the EPRDF. For example, the largest affiliated party, Ethiopian Somali People's Democratic Party (ESPDP) is a satellite organization created by the EPRDF. Even its ideology of democratic socialism is similar to EPRDF's.

**Table 3.1: The party distribution of Ethiopian parliament members in the 2015 general election**

Parties	Number of seats
EPRDF	502
Affiliated organizations of EPRDF	45
Opposition parties	0
Private candidate	0

(Source: Ethiopia Year Book 2015/16, p.18)

Meles has carefully avoided the words of authoritarianism in his stand, and seemingly embraced the approach of democracy. For example, he expressed that “in Africa’s ethnically diverse societies, democratic legitimacy was a sine qua non”. But actually both African countries and China don’t take authoritarianism as an open desire in the discourse, rather, democracy is their narrative like anywhere else. Although he insists on the importance of democracy, the significance of it is not the same as when it is supposed to be. First, it is explicitly explained with the revolutionary democracy. Secondly, Prime Minister Meles downplays the meaning of “liberal civil and political rights in a context of abject poverty or political chaos” and he thinks that

development and a strong states should be put in a place before human rights (de Waal 2013, 155). Prime Minister Meles has a distinguished comprehension of liberal democracy's relation with development of poor countries: "Meles condemned liberal formulae as trickle-up democracy and said that, in a poor developing nation, political parties and NGOs would easily become patronage mechanisms, rather than the basis for a true associational political culture and sustainable development"(de Waal 2013, 155).

As Fourie (2015) states,

Democracy became a distant goal to be subordinated to considerations of stability and economic growth. The example of China, a country where 'everyone, instead of politics, actually concentrates on development' was now viewed as vastly preferable to the model, promoted by Western donors, that had forced Ethiopia to liberalise too soon.

Meles is clear that Ethiopian developmental state does not relate to liberal democracy or social democracy, stating that "when the developmental state has done its job, it will undermine its own social base, to be replaced by social democratic or liberal democratic coalition" (Meles 2006).

Ethiopia learns from the "performance legitimacy" for the state. The general improvement in the living standard accompanied by the rapid growth of the country can largely make up the insufficiency in the aspect of democracy. The experience sharing from CPC and Chinese government to EPRDF and the Ethiopian government has been quite frequent and institutionalized. Fourie (2015) also finds that "the strong party-to-party links between the EPRDF and the CPC were mentioned more frequently in interviews than in official documents". Ethiopia as a country faced with different external ideologies, Meles has chosen to not to offend western donors.

Fourie (2015) claims that since the reality of Ethiopia is that it suppresses political pluralism with means drawn from China, such as the Internet and telephone surveillance, there is an intentional self-distancing from China's political situation in the discourses. The diversified sources of donors make it unfavorable for Ethiopia to embrace a regime other than democracy openly. This goes the same for other African countries.

As Hackenesch (2018) points out:

In public speeches, but also in internal party debates, Prime Minister Meles repeatedly emphasized that China's development provides important lessons for Ethiopia. From 2000 onwards, the Ethiopian government's development strategy has been strongly inspired by development trajectories of East Asian countries---particularly China and South Korea". In public speeches and internal party documents directed towards both a domestic and international audience, Prime Minister Meles emphasized the importance of learning from China in order to promote development in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian leadership has sought inspiration from China's economic development trajectory as well as its political institutions. The learning process is facilitated by close cooperation between the Chinese and Ethiopian governments and ruling parties.

As the case of China, Ethiopia has always had a constant ruling party, which makes the administration and ruling party members intertwined. Senior officials of Ethiopia sent to China for the inspiration of development experience also learn from the experience of party organization and rule at the same occasion. The close relationship between CPC and EPRDF has naturally facilitated the inspiration of state governance experience from China. On the agenda of visit and study tours of Ethiopian officials in China are the exchanges with China Central Party School and provincial party organization of high levels.

Ethiopia has sent delegation to China early in 1994 for “China’s advice on Ethiopia’s development” (Sun 2016). The training and exchanges have covered administration, cadre management, poverty alleviation, media etc. have even more greatly multiplied and become frequent after 2010. The close ties with CPC enable EPRDF to learn about a Central Party School and build one following its example. EPRDF learned from CPC “how to manage their own organizational structure, ideological work, propaganda system, cadre education and relations between the central-local relations within the party” (Sun 2016). The study group of EPRDF learn about “how the Chinese government monitors, guides, and manages public opinion, including the organizational setup, technologies used, legislation passed, and relations with the media” (Sun 2016). It was upon the request of the EPRDF that the party-to-party contacts between CPC and the EPRDF have been institutionalized and intensified.

Ethiopia has been considered as an authoritarian state, and the EPRDF has intermittently been in power since the liberation of Ethiopia from the regime of 1991. The opposition is marginalized in the country, so is its political representation in parliament. The seats that opposition parties hold in parliament have been decreasing in the last elections, firstly from 2005 to 2010 and further to none in 2015. There is no opposition party member in regional parliaments either. One of the biggest critiques that Ethiopia receives is the repression of the opposition.

According to the Freedom House, the political rights, civil liberties and press freedom in Ethiopia are defective. The media are not independent and free. The freedom of expression of individuals and assembly, foreign NGOs, professional or labour unions are limited (Freedom House 2018). The Internet can be shut down in need by the government. Opposition leaders are imprisoned. There is a paradox for Ethiopia’s democracy and ethnic diversity. Democracy can be both a buffer and an incitement of ethnic conflicts. Ethiopia is preoccupied with the cohesion of

different ethnic groups. To control the situation and maintain stability, the government sometimes resorts to repression.

Meles has a decisive leadership for EPRDF. His personal appreciation of Chinese development model can be transformed into that of the EPRDF. Ethiopia does not think it is authoritarian and China do not intervene into other countries' politics, an autonomous country do not want to recognize that its politics is influenced by other countries, let alone authoritarian governance. Therefore, whether in official documents or Ethiopian government interviews, it is difficult to find the direct correlation between Ethiopia's authoritarian politics like political repression with that of China.

Derg's foreign policy was very much influenced by the socialist doctrine (Both 2004). Ethiopia is deeply influenced by Maoism in the struggle against the Derg. The struggle of TPLF relying on Mao suggests an early ideological affinity to the Chinese state and further suggests that Ethiopia's contemporary ties to China may be an extension of - or return to- earlier relations (Gadzala 2015). Many of the effects of these authoritarian features remind one of China's case. A close observation of the model of Ethiopian developmental state reveals "the emulation of the Chinese model in that there is a de facto one-party state, which prioritizes economic development over the democratization process" (Jalata 2015). The ethnically based political parties have institutionalized the political representation of the different ethnic groups which reside mainly in specific states or chartered cities. In addition to the two chartered cities of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, there are nine states in Ethiopia. The four constituent political parties of the ruling coalition EPRDF represent the four largest states in the country, covering nearly 85% of the country's population. In addition, the EPRDF has established affiliated parties in five other states. Chanie (2007) points out that "EPRDF has guided, helped and controlled the establishment and

operation of these five parties”, which together account for another 11.7% of Ethiopia's population<sup>11</sup>. The dominance of the EPRDF in power guarantees the minimization of the opposition force of the policies and reforms, which is favourable for the efficiency of policy making and implementation. All the political authorities are mobilized for one cause. The political uncertainty is avoided, and continuity of policies is better guaranteed. This is similar to China’s case, where the ruling CPC and the other eight democratic parties work in a concerted way and the latter is not opposition parties either. The political pluralism and participation in both countries don’t function as what it is expected in the West. From another perspective, these have been affirmed as other forms of democracy than the western liberal democracy. It seems they are trying to show that not only liberal democracy, but also other regimes can foster development. Meles affirms that “whether a developmental state builds such a consensus in the context of a fully democratic order or not does not determine its characteristics as a developmental state” (Meles 2011, 169).

Although Prime Minister Abiy of Ethiopia’s assumption of office in April 2018 has made the country’s steps on this alternative development path a little uncertain, the path has however not changed essentially, at least, not yet in reality after a long time. Prime Minister Abiy’s rise to power has nevertheless restarted Ethiopia’s liberal democratic reforms. In the reset development path, political reform was placed in an important position as much as economic reform. In the political sphere, the Prime Minister reaffirmed the pursuit of multi-party democracy, promised to hold free and fair elections by 2020, improve legal procedures; release political prisoners, lift the ban on and legalize opposition groups and welcome those overseas to return to Ethiopia; discuss electoral reforms with opposition parties; appoint opposition members in the leadership of the

---

<sup>11</sup> Calculated according to the distribution of the population

election committee, highlight the role of opposition parties in the election committee; introduce human rights lawyers in the Supreme Court and release journalists in custody. Prime Minister Abiy's reform plans, including a further transition to democracy, seem to be a major change in the development path set by Prime Minister Meles. But Abiy's reform has been in a dilemma and progresses little. It has encountered both the impediment of entrenched interests, due to the different orientations within the ruling party, and exacerbated security problems caused by different forces. So many factors stand in the way of the democratic reform so that it is almost in suspension. There has not been a real significant change in the democratic reality in the country. What's more, after the primary stage in power, he has gained a clearer perception of both the past and existing development paths of the country in relation to Western and Chinese partners, which may allow him to reconsider the feasibility and necessity of democratization. In sum, Meles embarked on the path of following the alternative development model, while Abiy wants to bring changes to it after the self-adjustment faced with the internal and external balance of power, he may have to think over his reform. Ethiopia has not yet moved away from its path having existed since Meles.

### **3.1.2 Senegal**

As Makcy Sall affirms, the cooperation between Senegal and China is in the economic and cultural dimensions (Sall 2018). The cooperation between China and Senegal has been mainly economically driven although there is some strategic cooperation for the FOCAC and the Belt and Road Initiative, etc. The political relations are not deep and long-tested. Although there are mutual visits and governance experience sharing of PCC and Senegalese major political parties and Senegalese democratic Party and the Alliance for the Republic, and former and current ruling party have sent missions to China for study tour, the experience sharing or governance exchanges



are not related to authoritarian or democratic governance. Senegal has always maintained its own democratic approach of governance and it is a democratic regime in Africa.

Despite its relatively stable democratic political institutions, Senegal's development stagnated over much of the four decades after its independence, with the GDP increasing to \$ 46.92 in 2000 from \$7.94 in 1960. Senegal's democratic pattern was not really accompanied with economic development. Statistics show that "on a per capita basis, Senegal's economy contracted between 1960 and 2000. Real GDP grew at an annual average of 2.9 percent over this period (Ndiaye 2008, 402). Meanwhile, politically, "in the mid-1960s, Senegal became a de facto one-party state under the ruling Union Progressiste Senegalaise (UPS) as all legal opposition was incorporated into it. Though the 1974 constitutional revisions provided for multiparty democratic politics, there was no electoral competition until 1983" (Ndiaye 2008). Finally, the multiparty system, sketched by Senghor, was imposed by Abdou Diouf's generation, though the latter was designed as a successor. Since 1981, the Senegalese regime is credited for its multiparty democracy and freedom of the press. The freedom of expression and choice were guaranteed circumstances deserved to be noted in Africa (Zuccarelli 1988, 181). But the democracy in Senegal was flawed and not consolidated before the year 2000, in the sense that Diouf participated in his reelection for over twice during a period of nearly twenty years, which was contested.

Political opposition is institutionalized Senegal, as Diop (2011, 94) resumes in relation to the history of Senegal from 1960 to the 2000s:

After independence, the political evolution of the country, made of transition from multiparty to de facto monopartism and vice versa, did not eradicate the idea of opposition. The legal recognition of the PDS, the openness of the multiparty integral limit, and the integration of the opposition in the parliamentary elections show the

inking of the opposition in the Senegalese democracy. In recent years, the constitutional recognition of the opposition made after the alternation, as well as the appointment of a leader of the opposition, testify to the will of the political powers to formalize the opposition.

Created in 1974, the Senegalese Democratic Party (SDP) was the main opposition party in Senegal, and was a challenge to the monopoly of the de facto single party system instituted by President Senghor through the Senegalese Progressive Union. This party was named the Socialist Party in 1976 and remained the ruling party from independence in 1960 to 2000 under the first two presidents, Senghor and Diouf. The SDP led by Wade won the presidential election in 2000 and the coalition Sopi was formed by the Senegalese Democratic Party and smaller parties. The socialist party as a majority in the parliament gave place to this coalition in 2001. Later, newly founded Alliance for the Republic (APR-Yaakar) by Macky Sall in 2008 won the Senegalese presidential election of 2012. As Diop (2011, 348) points that: “at a time when most African countries were living under the yoke of the single party, Senegal experienced a multiparty democracy limited to three (1976) and then four parties (1978) to end up as an integral multiparty system”, Senegal has a relatively good democratic tradition. The long-term opposition under Wade didn’t take the coup, but insisted on the respect of legal and democratic institutions of the country. The role played by the legal opposition and its triumph in the campaigns marks the consolidation of democracy in Senegal. The opposition in the country is institutionalized and can function in a stable and peaceful way.

In general, Senegal has been a model of African democracy. The alternation of power has been generally peaceful and coups have been rare. Though it has been criticized for clientalism and degraded into one of the flawed democracies, it is always among the best of several democracies in Africa. Having modeled on the political system of France, just like many other former French colonies, the executive is composed of the president and his cabinet which has a

strong power. Democracy runs relatively well, with regular alternation in Senegal. Unlike many other countries where general elections are very unstable and at times, full of unrest, alternations in Senegal have always been conducted peacefully. Senegal is renowned in Africa for its exceptionally stable situation. The multi-party competition system has been well realized as a sign of democracy consolidation. The electoral process has been considered as fair on the whole. The creation of political parties and its activities are generally free of interference. Opposition candidates don't suffer from political restrictions from the ruling party. There are a wide range of political parties and coalitions active in Senegal. The government is relatively open and transparent. The expression is generally free and the media independent. There is hardly any sign of inspiration from China in the aspect of the democratic regime for Senegal. The bilateral exchanges on the political regime are far from being a key for the two sides.

### **3.2 The infrastructure and industrialization**

Ethiopia and Senegal are both countries that have put more efforts to infrastructure and industrialization through their cooperation with China. Therefore, both countries incarnate this feature of the development model.

The infrastructure is significant for development in the sense that, on the one hand, it provides a good physical environment for socioeconomic activities; and on the other hand, the construction of the infrastructure is in itself an activity creating the GDP. The economic miracle of China was based on the infrastructure to a certain degree. The rapid growth of China is also driven by the construction of infrastructure intentionally decided by the central and local government alike. It is a remedy for the economic slowdown in the form of public investments, stimulating the market. This strategy in one of the largest territories with the largest population, Chinese enterprises have executed some world record projects in China:

the longest mileage of expressway and railway networks, the biggest power generation capacity, the largest dams, the three Gorges... Over half of the large new hydropower stations in Africa are built by Power Construction Corporation of China (Interview, Manager of the Power Construction Corporation of China, July 14, 2018).

The abundant foreign reserves allow China to have the financial condition to lend to African states. The financial support of China for Africa is comparable to that of the World Bank. China can lend to projects in which the World Bank is not interested, such as those operating in dam construction. The World Bank was a “principal financier of large dams in developing countries, by the 1990s, the growing recognition of large hydro’s steep costs to communities and the environment, and the accompanying increase in public pressure, led the World Bank to largely withdraw from the sector” (International Rivers 2015, 1). Chinese loans<sup>12</sup> and enterprises’ performance combined, make Chinese enterprises’ competitiveness extremely strong in the open tendering in the market of developing countries, including Africa.

The Chinese construction sector is advantageous in the world. Since its reform and opening-up, China has encouraged a series of enterprises to go global, including construction enterprises. These enterprises are among the actors. Around the year 2000, the nature of construction projects was transformed into market activity from solely foreign assistance in China’s case. One feature for Chinese infrastructure projects in Africa is that most of them are contracted to Chinese state-owned enterprises. This situation makes that the private economic cooperation has some diplomatic implications. When they deliver a project, they keep in mind the importance for the bilateral ties and try to avoid any negative impact. For both the infrastructure and public industrial parks in Africa in cooperation with China, knowledge transfer is often conducted through a contract of operation after construction, such as the Mombasa-Nairobi SGR

---

<sup>12</sup> most of which are concessional loans

and Hawassa Industrial Park, which can help ensure subsequent success of independent operations by Africans.

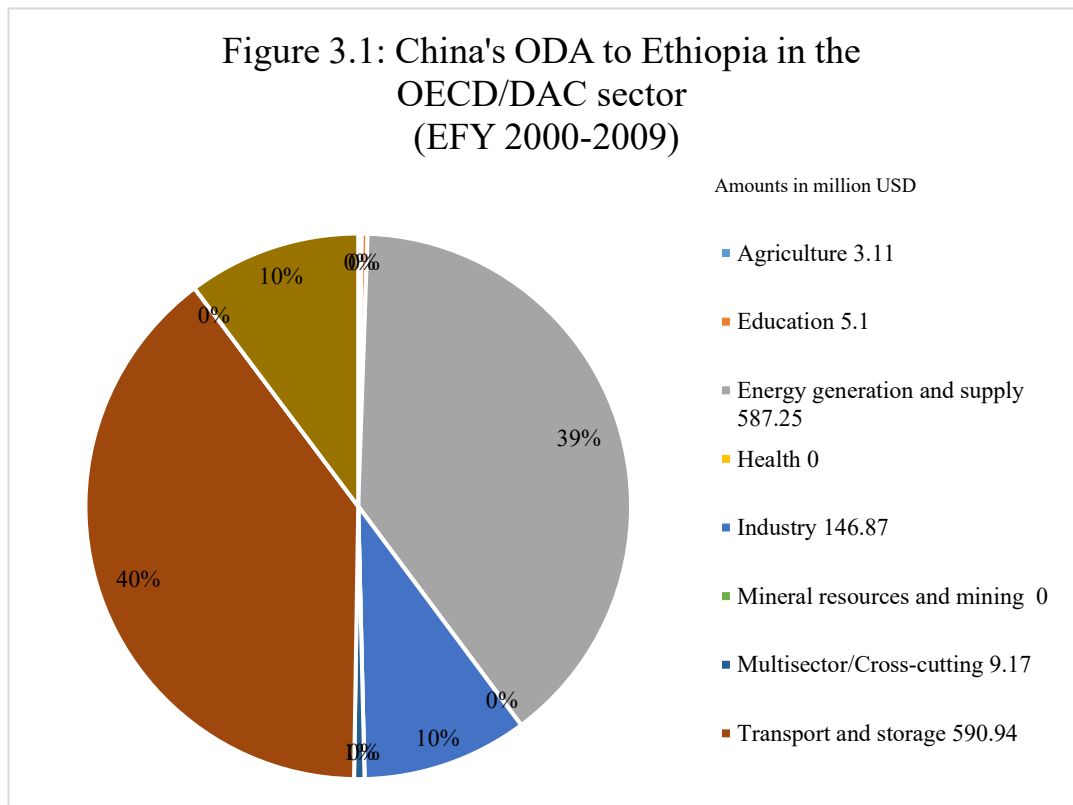
International organizations headed by Chinese helped to put into practice the industrial and infrastructure experience transfer. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) with the mission of the promotion of infrastructure and industrialization, has been headed by Chinese Yong Li since 2013. Justin Yifu Lin was Chief Economist and Senior Vice President of the World Bank during 2008 and 2012. These two leaders of the international organizations have played a positive role in helping African countries interested in Chinese industrial parks and acted as a bridge between their country, China, and the related African countries in the industrial cooperation. Yifu Lin has done a lot of work in facilitating Chinese industrial transfer to Africa, with his theoretical support of new structural economics and practical support as a leader of the World Bank and China. Senegal and Ethiopia are the two countries selected by UNIDO as two pilot countries for African industrialization. President Sall of Senegal awarded the order of chevalier to Yifu Lin, but also an active promoter of industrial development of Senegal, in recognition of his sharing of Chinese experience beneficial to the search of a proper development path of Senegal.

### **3.2.1 Ethiopia**

#### **3.2.1.1 Infrastructure**

Ethiopia is following a very similar path with China's, with heavy investments in infrastructure, planning and construction of national transport network ... Chinese funding, especially concessional loans for infrastructure are helping to satisfy this need since the time around 2000 in Ethiopia. The GTP (Growth and Transformation Plan) of Ethiopia just includes

the infrastructure and industrialization axis. Actually, there are mainly two mechanisms for China to inspire Ethiopia on the importance of infrastructure on development: first, China's experience is a model role, which makes Ethiopia more confident about the model of infrastructure-driven growth. Second, Chinese presence makes the large-scale construction of infrastructure possible: China has played a significant role for the transition of Ethiopia to an important infrastructure developer, through the financing, technical and know-how support, the training and knowledge transfer...



13

(Source: Annual Statistical Bulletin on Official Development Assistance (ODA) Flows to Ethiopia EFY 2009)

<sup>13</sup> The Ethiopian financial year 2000-2009 correspond with the 2008-2017 of the Gregorian calendar.

The crave and pursuit for infrastructure and industrialization is most evident in Ethiopia. Ethiopia has been prioritizing infrastructure development in its national strategy. This country is among the largest recipients of external financing to the infrastructure sector in Sub-Saharan Africa (d'Orey and Prizzon 2017).

The endeavour of industrial parks of Ethiopia is made possible with Chinese cooperation from various sectors. The similar administration system of infrastructure and comprehensive bilateral relations have helped to create industrial parks of the same type in Ethiopia as those in China. Almost all state industrial parks have been contracted to Chinese enterprises<sup>14</sup>, and in each of the parks, different Chinese enterprises further do the subdivided work according to their strengths or specialties, since Chinese enterprises abound in Ethiopia, engaged in different links of infrastructure, like electricity, water, road and housing construction, telecommunications, etc.

The Civil war in Ethiopia ended in 1991 and the conflict with Eritrea revived in 1998, so it took years before peace was consolidated to make room for development as the central task. The situation did not allow the construction of infrastructure to be a focus point for years in the 1990s. Up to 2000, infrastructure was wretched and was far from a centerpiece of development in Ethiopia, as the Country Commercial Guide 2000 published by the United States elaborates:

Ethiopia surface and transport infrastructure is exceedingly poor and underdeveloped. The country has the lowest road density in the world, and only 13.3 percent of all roads were paved (1999 est.). There are few interconnecting links between nearby regions, while large parts of the country are isolated and dependent upon pack animals for transportation. The only railway was the 681-kilometer long segment of the century-old Addis Ababa-Djibouti railroad.

After the turn of the century, the fact that Chinese enterprises undertook many projects was

---

<sup>14</sup> All but the first phase of Bole Lemi Industrial Park

the result of market competition. They won the open tendering. According to officials of Ethiopia, often it is Chinese enterprises that win public bidding, because the costs of construction that they offer is relatively low and the delivery time is short (Interview, Construction manager of IPDC, June 1, 2018), as they often work day and night, without Sunday or holiday. From the Chinese part, Chinese enterprises say that they are also pushed by the Chinese embassy to deliver the project even in unfavourable conditions in order not to impact diplomatic relations between the two countries (Interviews, Project manager of the Fourth Board of the CREC, May 31, 2018; manager of Sinohydro, July 14, 2018). Sometimes, Chinese contracted enterprises have to pay for the project themselves within a certain period, in order not to cause any delay, which the western enterprises would never do (Interview, Project manager of the Fourth Bureau of CREC, May 31, 2018). The Chinese state-owned enterprises overseas as public enterprises are well controlled by the Chinese government, so, the quality is good for Ethiopian officials.

The change that China has made to infrastructure can never be exaggerated in Ethiopia. Infrastructure cooperation projects in Ethiopia can be seen everywhere. A student of Addis Ababa University has witnessed: “China is building our country.” Chinese community constitutes the biggest foreign constructor in the infrastructure construction sector of Ethiopia. There are two kinds of ways for reaching a project.

According to the statistics about all the national road projects from 1993 to 2017 from Ethiopia Road authority, about 50% of Ethiopian roads were constructed by Chinese enterprises (see Appendix E). In the capital, Addis Ababa, the three phases of ring road also named China Road, with the first one began early in 1998 and the third one completed in 2012, the Bole road and the Ethio-China Street built by China, among others, are the most important roads in the capital. The first expressway of six-lane and 87km from Addis to Adama built by China



Communications Construction Company (CCCC) and financed by Chinese concessional loans has cut the travel time from three hours to just one.

For the railway system, the currently operational railway transportation system was all built by Chinese enterprises and financed by the Export-Import Bank of China. Concretely, this refers to the light rail, completed in 2015 and benefiting millions of urban commuters in Addis Ababa, built by China Railway Engineering Corporation (CREC) and the \$4 billion 752 kilometres Ethio-Djibouti electrified railway by China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) and CREC. This railway has linked Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa to the Port of Djibouti. Both projects have also contracted to related Chinese enterprises for the operation and management for years during which the experience and knowledge are transferred to guarantee successful handover. Ethiopia doesn't have any experience on the modern railway system.

The infrastructure on power involves electricity generation, transmission and distribution. China is the country with the biggest scale of hydropower; it is competent to undertake all kinds of giant hydroelectric projects as it does in Africa in general. But it does only a few hydropower stations in Ethiopia just to avoid involvement into the regional cross-border water rights disputes in spite of the abundant water resources in this country (Interview, Manager of Sinohydro in Ethiopia, July 14, 2018). The main power generating projects that China conducted in Ethiopia only accounts for no more than 10% of the installed capacity of Ethiopia (Interview, Manager of Sinohydro in Ethiopia, July 14, 2018).

The wide range of interviews made by Fourie among Ethiopian elites also reveals that they were impressed by China's prioritisation of infrastructure and the contribution of this sector to the success of development and thus draw this lesson to their country (Fourie 2015). A relevant example for the determination of Ethiopia to focus on infrastructure for development is the

projects of “Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam” and the Gibe-III dam. These projects were criticized and accused by Western NGOs due to their high social costs (Fourie 2015). The social costs involve human rights of influenced residents. However, Ethiopia dismisses these critics as the case of the Three Gorges Dam of China. Ethiopia decided to carry forward these projects in view of its contribution as infrastructure to industry, economic growth and state revenues. The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam which is going to provide hydroelectric power to Ethiopia and nearby countries didn’t have Chinese participation for the construction until the China Gezhouba Group Co., Ltd. (CGGC) was finally brought in by the Ethiopian government, to guarantee its efficient completion. Africa’s tallest dam, the Tekezé Arch Dam, with the capacity to generate 300 MW of electricity was constructed by Sinohydro. Furthermore, China still did initiate something special in the power sector: it has built two phases of Adama wind power project, which has been the first one of this kind in East Africa. Sinohydro Corporation initiated this project and convinced Ethiopian government the benefits of it so that the wind power project was installed and became a positive project of renewable energy. Then Sinohydro formed a joint venture with CGCOC to construct the Adama wind power project in the form of EPC with Chinese design, technology and equipment. They help the Ethiopian government to get preferential loans from Chinese national banks for this project, which can supply power for AU Conference Center among other usage. This is the evidence of inspiration from Chinese enterprises as an active actor trying to persuade the significance of certain infrastructure projects, though the aim is also to get contracts from the commercial perspective.

In terms of power transformation and transmission, China is heavily engaged. To name just a few the big projects, the transmission project for power of the Renaissance Dam by State Grid Corporation of China, the power system for the Addis-Djibouti Railway and Addis light rail, the

cross-border power transmission from Ethiopia to Kenya, the upgrading of power networks in the capital, Addis by Power Construction Corporation of China, the power transmission and distribution lines for 16 industrial parks. The Sinohydro has built more than 1,000 kilometres of high-voltage transmission lines, and another over 1,000 kilometres of low voltage in Ethiopia (Interview, Manager of Sinohydro in Ethiopia, July 14, 2018). Potable water project is another well-known field for Chinese activities. To cite just the work of the CGCOC alone, its work accounts for 60% of all water supply projects in Ethiopia, and 60% ~70% of the water plants in Addis Ababa (Interview, Manager of CGCOC, June 30, 2018). It has further implemented the cross-border water supply project to Djibouti, which will solve the drinking water problem for 70% of its population (Interview, Manager of CGCOC, June 30, 2018). Irrigation is a sector in the service of agriculture and has been underdeveloped in Ethiopia. In recent years, Ethiopia has been able to have several large-scale canal irrigation projects in rural Ethiopia, thanks to China's aid in the form of concessional loans and construction contracts, such as the one in Bahir Dar.

Chinese enterprises' participation in the telecommunication infrastructure has also been important. In the early 2000, the Internet coverage in Ethiopia was minimum, the number of telephone subscribers very low and the service very poor. There have been two major telecommunication projects in Ethiopia (Interview, Official of strategic direction of Ethio Telecom, July 13, 2018). The first one was the China-financed US\$1.5 billion Next Generation Network (NGN) executed by Chinese ZTE for a couple of years from 2006. This contract gave ZTE the position of the only supplier of telecommunications equipment for the giant project of telecommunications network expansion in Ethiopia. One advantage for ZTE to get this chance was that it brought the funding of \$1.5 billion lent by the Export-Import Bank of China and the China Development Bank.

Then the second one called Telecom Expansion Program (TEP) aimed at enabling Ethio Telecom to provide Addis Ababa with the fourth-generation network and the rest of the country with efficient 3G network capabilities. The principal part of this task carried out between 2013 and 2017 was done by Chinese Huawei and ZTE and the corresponding majority of the 1.6 billion USD was financed by the Export-Import Bank of China. The two companies are both active in Ethiopia as providers of various telecom infrastructure and related services, for example, related infrastructure in industrial parks and railway system.

The infrastructure sector involves many other projects as well, such as the upgrading and expansion of the Addis airport by the CCCC, construction of Addis Ababa National Stadium by China State Construction Engineering. The elaboration can never be exhausted as new projects and ways of cooperation are being explored.

### **3.2.1.2 Industrialization and SEZs**

The former Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn has said on many occasions that the country was working to bring about industrial development and transformation of its economic structure and become a manufacturing hub in Africa. Industrialization has become a national development strategy. Ethiopia promulgated the “Second Plan for Growth and Transformation” by the end of 2015, focusing on the development of manufacturing and infrastructure. The construction of industrial parks and cooperation in capacity building with China are an important basis for industrialization. The Ethiopian government has learned about China’s practice and hopes to bring about the industrialization of its country by means of industrial parks.

The idea of promoting industrialization with industrial parks in Ethiopia is clearly inspired

by China and this endeavour is right on track. Ethiopia is aimed at becoming a global production center of textile and apparel industry and the regional hub of manufacturers. Industrial parks are constructed across the country. Agricultural and husbandry parks for industrialization are also in the pipeline. This strategic move has made Ethiopia a leading country in terms of industrialization initiative in the Sub-Saharan Africa. The SEZs attract an expanding quantity of Chinese FDI, particularly in the manufacturing and export-oriented industry.

The Chinese private Eastern Industrial Park was the first industrial park in Ethiopia, and started operation in 2007. It was taken as a showcase of Chinese industrial parks to Ethiopia at that time. This industrial park and the knowledge of others more widely have greatly inspired the Ethiopian leadership. With the successful Eastern Industrial Park, Oqubay, the special advisor of Ethiopian Prime Minister, hoped that China could transfer its experience on the development of industrial parks to Ethiopia (Liang 2015). After several times of visits to China and extensive bilateral exchanges, Ethiopia commenced its own industrial park initiative. It's Dr Oqubay, who has been calling on the introduction of industrial parks in a large scale and learning a lot from China. Oqubay is an active promoter in developing the manufacturing industry in Ethiopia, especially the light industry with its advantages in labor and price, which constitutes large cooperation space. He was also the promoter of establishing a model industrial Park in Hawassa inspired by the construction and management of the Kunshan Industrial Park of China. The Hawassa industrial park as the flagship one in this country co-organized by Chinese and Ethiopian is responsible for the diffusion of this model further to a dozen of other industrial parks in Ethiopia. The idea of industrial parks-promoted industrialization was realized in Ethiopia.

The implementation in Ethiopia of a Chinese inspired industrial model based on industrial parks started in 2015, when a number of such governmental projects were contracted to Chinese

enterprises. Industrial parks involve two levels, the construction and operation. Ethiopia has planned to build 14 state owned industrial parks, while encouraging private enterprises to build others. All of the 14, excluding the first phase of the Bole Lemi Industrial Park have been built by Chinese construction companies. This is not just because of their relatively low costs and quick delivery, but also because they know well the concepts of industrial parks back home (Interview, Construction manager in IPDC, June 01, 2018). The construction of these industrial parks has often been placed under EPC projects.<sup>15</sup> So the designs are often entirely made by institutes in China that are certainly based on their knowledge about industrial parks in China.

The contracts given to Chinese ensure the functioning of these industrial parks at the first stage of their inspiration. Though the construction contractors are never obliged to attract manufacturing investors for the industrial parks that they construct, they are pleased to recommend Chinese investors. Chinese EPC contractors are able to subcontract these projects to fellow Chinese engineering enterprises in Ethiopia or invite those in China to handle each of the various sections of the construction of industrial parks, divided into water, power, telecommunication, roads, housing, etc. The Ethiopian government solicited the most important Chinese construction enterprises to invest, build and run their own industrial parks in Ethiopia (Interview, Manager of CGCOE, June 30, 2018). Therefore, the CCCC, CCECC and CGCOE have all been engaged in the investment and operation of private industrial parks or state-owned parks.

The operation and management of Ethiopian state industrial parks are also an emulation of Chinese. Ethiopian officials and staff visited and received training in China in order to train the first group of managers of these industrial parks. According to an official of the IPDC, in 2017,

---

<sup>15</sup> engineering, procurement and construction

41 people from the IPDC (Industrial Park Development Corporation) headquarter and all state industrial parks at the time got trained for a month in two rounds in China. The delegations of participants of the training were composed of personnel from the Hawassa industrial parks most numerous, the Bole Lemi Industrial Park, and that of the IPDC (Interview, Operation manager of IPDC, July 02, 2018). The managers of these industrial parks were given more chances for the training. Apart from the training of these Ethiopian officials, there were also visits and training arranged by the CCECC because it signed an agreement for the operation and management of the flagship Hawassa industrial park. So, CCECC also arranged two rounds of training in Kunshan, China around 2017 (Interview, Operation manager of IPDC, July 02, 2018). The biggest industrial park, Hawassa plays a model role for the other entire one dozen state owned parks. The flagship industrial park of Hawassa was initially operated and managed under the leadership of a Chinese expert team. Part of the team members came from the Kunshan Industrial Park of China, one of the most famous and successful industrial parks in China, while part of it came from the constructor enterprise of Hawassa Industrial Park, CCECC, also experienced in the operation of its own Lekki Free Trade Zone in Nigeria. It was the operation team of CCECC that did the recruitment in the Hawassa IP for the IPDC and government of Ethiopia, to form the national management team from scratch for the Hawassa IP, which ensured that the concepts and ideas of industrial park management would be passed on to Ethiopia in the first stage.

In effect, the Ethiopian team was trained in no other country than China, though they have visited a few. Attached to the contract of operation signed with the CCECC is the wish on the Ethiopian part: “to bring those experiences to our staff here, believing that we will become a very good manager in park operation and management” (Interview, A manager of Hawassa Industrial Park, June 04, 2018). Therefore, the management and operation by the Chinese team at the helm

is meant to train Ethiopian staff through knowledge transfers and capacity building. The Chinese team was responsible for related affairs for the first year and a half during which the transfer of management experience was conducted. Afterwards, the management personnel of the other dozen Ethiopian state parks were trained in the Hawassa IP in order to further expand the management experience that local officials and management in Hawassa had gained from China. “We use Hawassa industrial park, because it is more advanced. It is in operation and management. The operation and management staff will be selected and sent to Hawassa to be trained for 15 days. There’s such kind of setup to expand the experience. One gets lessons from China and transfer to other industrial parks.” (Interview, Operation manager of IPDC, July 02, 2018). So the experience comes fundamentally from China.

There are inevitably different national conditions between China and Africa that don’t allow simply copying the experience. But we can see that at least the basic management ways have been maintained. Apart from the management contract in Hawassa that has been concluded, there are some other channels for continuous Chinese experience sharing in this regard, as is expected by Ethiopian officials. An IPDC official said: “we are ready to work with the Chinese government and have some lessons from their past experience. So for any arrangement (of cooperation), we are ready.” (Interview, Operation manager of IPDC, July 02, 2018). Indeed, The Adama-Hunan Industrial Park is just one pertinent case of management cooperation. This state industrial park is managed and operated by the joint venture composed of IPDC, the Economic Development Zone Management Committee of Changsha (China), CGCOC and the Sany Group.

The CCECC has noted that there could be training of Ethiopian management in its Dire Dawa IP since the Kunshan Development Zone team would stay there for long-term management. The CCECC has in this way continued to be an intermediary between Kunshan and the Ethiopian



IPDC (Interview, The head of CCECC, July 03, 2018). What's more, the Ethiopian government has awarded the management of Jimma Industrial Park to Huajian, a Chinese shoes manufacturing enterprise also having its own IP in Ethiopia. The numerous Chinese private industrial parks in Ethiopia can be a showcase and place for exchanges of experience sharing in management. A senior official said that Chinese industrial parks are more convenient for inspiration because those in Japan and Europe are too advanced to be emulated (in terms of the types of industry and the ways of management) and Ethiopian IPs are still at the start-up stage.

The most appropriate lessons are from China (Interview, Operation manager of IPDC, July 02, 2018). The light manufacturing industries with a large amount of labour force in China and Chinese industrial model interest Ethiopia. The light industry, especially textile industry experience is more practical for Ethiopia. Industrialization in the textile and confection sector as a driving force is carried out thanks to this interstate cooperation. China's top official level is encouraging the displacement of investors in this sector to Africa. Ethiopia is advocating for "made in Africa". The Chinese officials and sector association are promoting Chinese investment to Ethiopia effectively.

Adama-Hunan Industrial Park is the first economic development zone promoted as a model in Africa by the provincial government of China. And it is benefited from the concessional loans of the Eximbank of China. The Changsha Economic Development Zone Management Committee is the main entity in the operation and management of the Adama-Hunan Industrial Park. The park follows the mode "government-guided, enterprise-led and authorized operations" (Huashengzaixian 2019). One of the staff of the CGCOC has presented: "The management is modelled after the Industrial Parks in China. More concretely, it is in accordance with the (management) model of the Changsha Economic Development Zone. CGCOC is a representative

enterprise working on industrial parks in Africa.” (Interview, Marketing staff of CGCOC, June 21, 2018).

The CGCOC not only constructed the Adama-Hunan Industrial Park, but was also a part of the joint venture company for this industrial park, the operation and management of which also involves the IPDC, Changsha Economic Development Zone Management Committee, and Sany Group. She continued with her observations more widely: “We are engaged in the industrial parks through design, infrastructure construction, financial assistance, management, operation and investment attraction. Bole Lemi (second phase) Industrial Park was a tender invited by the Ethiopian government. We looked for a Chinese design institute to do the design. For the industrial parks, the Ethiopian government has generally drawn mostly from Chinese experience. They also visited Southeast Asia. The Ethiopian government lacks the ability to design and manage; therefore, we have different contracting forms, such as D+B and D+B+O<sup>16</sup>.” (Interview, Marketing staff of CGCOC, June 21, 2018) The comprehensive participation of Chinese enterprises like CGCOC makes it easy for them to make a difference.

It is worth pointing out that there is an integrated infrastructure construction layout with the final aim of economic development. The industrial park is not an isolated thing that Ethiopia learns from China. It is only a link of industrialization. The concept of Addis-Djibouti model was proposed by the general manager of CCECC, meaning a railway revitalizing an economic band along the line. In general, most of the 14 industrial parks are positioned along the newly constructed Chinese modern railway which facilitates a lot the transportation of Ethiopian products all the way to the port in Djibouti for export to other parts of the world, besides, the importation of raw materials. The railway and industrial parks are mutually beneficial, thereby

---

<sup>16</sup> D+B: Design–Build; D+B+O: Design–Build–Operate

enabling economic development along the railway. The economic band and special economic zones along railway lines will be developed. The national development strategy of Ethiopia is correspondent with the infrastructure interconnection in the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative. The installation of industrial parks is to contribute to the industrialization ambition of Ethiopia for it to become a middle-income country by 2025. With increasing private industrial parks, the total number has added up to over 20.

Chinese industrial transfer and creation of the manufacturing sector in Ethiopia is an important positive factor for the success of the industrial parks and industrialization in the general environment. China's FDI engagement in Ethiopia involves the most heavily the manufacturing sector. Attracting FDI is a process of opening and liberating the economy, since FDI is private. According to the data from EIC (Ethiopia Investment Commission), among the Licensed Total Chinese Investment Projects from August 27, 1998 to June 14, 2018, manufacturing represents 873 projects among 1267 for all the sectors combined, making up 77.2% of Chinese investment in all sectors.

With the new orientation of Chinese African policies declared in the latest FOCAC, we will see more modern agricultural and transformation projects under the bilateral cooperation in Ethiopia. The CGCOC is planning to invest and build an agricultural park based on the advantages of abundant livestock of Ethiopia (Interview, Manager of CGCOC, June 30, 2018). The infrastructure is a determining factor of modern agriculture and industrialization for the transformation of agricultural products.

The connection with different Chinese provinces for different industrial parks can be seen in the table that follows.

**Table 3.2: The industrial parks of Ethiopia (as of June 2019)**

Public:		Status	Specialization
	Bole Lemi 1 & 2	The first phase in operation, 2 <sup>nd</sup> under construction	Textile and Apparel, Leather and leather products
	Hawassa IP	In operation	Textile and apparel
	Mekelle IP		Textile and apparel, footwear and leather products
	Kombolcha	In operation	Textile and apparel, footwear and leather products
	Dire Dawa IP		N./a.
	Adama IP	In operation	Textile and apparel

	Jimma IP	In operation	
	Debre Birhan		Agro-processing
	Bahir Dar IP		
	Kilinto		Pharmaceutical

Private:			
	Eastern Industrial Park	In operation and In expansion	Mixed
	Huajian Industrial Park	In operation and under construction	Leather and others
	George Shoe Industrial Park	under construction	Leather and leather products
	CCCC Arerti Industrial Park	under construction	Building materials and furniture
	CCECC Industrial Park	under construction	Mixed with export focus

	CGCOC Adama-Hunan Industrial Park	Under construction	Machinery and equipment
	Vogue Industrial Park		Textile and apparel

(Source: Ethiopian Investment Report 2017, from Ethiopian Investment Commission)

### 3.2.2 Senegal

#### 3.2.2.1 Infrastructure

At independence, Senegal benefited from its privileged position because Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, was endowed with relatively sound infrastructure and a good industrial and commercial base. Senegal had one sixth of the AOF total miles of hard-surfaced roads. What's more, over one third of AOF's total railroad mileage and slightly under one and a half the total number of rail stations were in Senegal (Skurnik 1972, 14–15). But later, the infrastructure was not significantly improved. The infrastructure in the decades immediately after independence didn't undergo a great change, "because firstly, investments were not importantly made. We have always remained too much of a consumer, always tied to the consumer market, because the internal economic policy has limited the capacity in innovation, in the development of infrastructure. And also, the orientations of the budgets of the state were those of budgets of equilibrium for consumption, but not of the creation of values or innovation. We only do the consumption."

The structural adjustment program has constrained the investment budget and state capacity for public infrastructure. In 1996, the state stopped all traffic of the railway to give privilege to

roads because the IMF said that the country could not increase its debt, and should privilege roads (Interview, Official of the Railway Agency of Senegal, August 17, 2018). Social programs were the focus for donors after the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994 for fear of popular uprisings (Diop 2002, 76). The infrastructure deficit was a physical constraint that prevents development. The evolution of the Senegalese manufacturing sector was characterized by stagnation (Niang 2013, 302).

The weak performance of the Senegalese manufacturing sector reflects the deficit in public infrastructure generating external economies (Latreille and Varoudakis 1996). Under the structural adjustment programme, privatized enterprises should be responsible for the development of infrastructure, but many of them did not realize this. For example, the telecommunications, electric power enterprise and railway were privatized but the private did not have the motivation to increase its investments. As an official of the Railway Agency of Senegal presented, “After the adjustment programme began, the IMF asked to do some privatization. But unfortunately, when privatization was done, the private did not finance the investment. So the privatization resulted into a failure. The state has renationalized it. The IMF believes that the private sector plays a better role, but ultimately not.” The interviewee has admitted the evolution of the mentality in the state:

Between 1960 and 2000, the roads were neglected. It is from 2000 that we started to do a lot of work on the roads. It's a bit the same case in other countries of the region. Road infrastructure had been neglected for a long time. Now, we have realized that to move forward, we need this road infrastructure. Other countries have also changed their mentality because we are in a competitive environment as well. This was not realized earlier due to the political choices. I strongly believe, strongly, because today it is this mentality (the importance of infrastructure) that has enabled the development of many projects. The infrastructure is neglected for decades anyway. It was really in 2000 that we started to build infrastructure in Senegal, and it accelerated in 2012. The French

focused on two sectors, drinking water, for example, the construction of school and the center/health station. They had also emphasized the social field. In fact, they had invested a lot on that than infrastructure. It is sure that the mentality of recent years is inspired by China. (Interview, Official of Road Agency of Senegal, August 24, 2018)

Apart from the reasons on the mentality level, the lack of infrastructure may also derive from the problem of means, policy orientations and foreign relations. China has improved its financial capacity for the construction of African states, as the official said:

At the budget level, we are too blocked. If we do not create values, we have to borrow. The policies of underdevelopment countries are not autonomous, it is guided by global institutions like those of banking. We want you to ..., but you should be limited to.... The World Bank gives support, it defines the policy, this is a restraint. The budget was limited. With the support of Exim Bank of China, the state has made infrastructure. ... Because we cooperate mainly with the French, the infrastructure was put aside,” noted an official of Ageroute. (Interview, Official #2 of APROSI, August 07, 2018)

The official of the Ageroute noted, “We look at what other countries have done and we have not done to attract investments, to become the first economy of the subregion.” (Interview, Official of Ageroute, August 24, 2018) When the official of the infrastructure like road authority thinks about the aim of investment attraction of the country, the state is really aware of the role of infrastructure for development.

President Abdoulaye Wade was the first Senegalese President who put apparent emphasis on the construction of infrastructure. Senegal has made infrastructure an important aspect for development since President Wade. It was Wade who made the first investments on infrastructure. The construction of Diass airport and the first highway was decided by him. A lot of big projects were launched in his term, some were even historic, to name just a few: the Blaise-Diagne International Airport (AIBD), the Dakar-Diamniadio toll expressway, which is the first



expressway of Senegal, the Museum of Black Civilization<sup>17</sup>... Senegal under Wade's leadership built a lot of new roads.

According to the data of AGEROUTE (Agency for Works and Road Management), during the twelve years of Wade's two terms (2000-2012), Senegal realized 746.4 kilometres of paved roads and 929.3 kilometres of dirt roads. In addition, it accomplished a length of unclassified and improved paths of 1,042 kilometres and expressway of 28 kilometres long (Onanina 2016). Access to water and electricity was also improved, though the rural areas still faced enormous problems of supply. Henan International also mentioned that the improvement of the geopolitical importance of Senegal in the West Africa following the civil war in Côte d'Ivoire was also an opportunity for Senegal to develop its infrastructure to better serve as the center of the sub-region from 2003 (Interview, Manager of CHICO, August 04, 2018).

Senegal has put emphasis on infrastructure since 2000. But this transition was not really inspired by China in view of the severed bilateral relations without significantly deep historic ties. However, since 2011, China has been the first financing source for Senegal in the infrastructure development. Therefore, China plays an important part in Senegal's realization of infrastructure projects mainly since 2011 when the bilateral cooperation was activated.

Senegal's input into public investment has significantly increased like in many other countries of the region<sup>18</sup>. Infrastructure has been a priority in recent years, as can be seen in the country's plan of emergence. Because the first axis of PSE is wealth creation and economic continuation, of which the basis is the creation of infrastructure." Infrastructure was a high priority with Wade. He did a lot of things in the domain of infrastructure and Macky Sall has

---

<sup>17</sup> A project of Chinese aid

<sup>18</sup> data of the BCEAO

continued. Wade had started, and Macky Sall wanted to reinforce.” (Interview, Official #3 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, September 07, 2018). Wade made a structural transition by focusing on infrastructure. “To have production, we need road infrastructure and production infrastructure, so we really have to go for infrastructure.” This was the change brought by the president. The policies were the result of the ambitions of the president and the state. The government expects more infrastructure projects. Wade was ambitious in terms of infrastructure. After the rise to power of Sall in 2012, he put forward the *Plan Sénégal Émergent (PSE)*. Funding partners come to support policies around infrastructure. “What finance infrastructure are the donors who have a lot of resources.” (Interview, Official #3 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, September 07, 2018).

The importance of infrastructure in the development program depends on personal priorities of the different presidents. To explain why Senegal didn’t make infrastructure a focus long time after its independence, an official said that “Senegal was not in a vision of emergence, and its focus was rather on other things like executive training, education, administration and health.” (Interview, Official #2 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, August 30, 2018) Another official said that the country’s budget was not productive (Interview, Official #2 of APROSI, August 07, 2018).

The cooperation between France and Senegal has been consistently a lot. But since France’s funding goes to more varied areas, infrastructure projects are not particularly outstanding. The framework document of partnership has identified three priorities of intervention for the bilateral cooperation between France and Senegal: sustainable development, democratic governance and human development. So the infrastructure falling into the category of sustainable development is only a certain part of the general program of French aid in Senegal. When the market for

infrastructure in Senegal enlarges, France has consolidated its presence and dominance. China's engagement is not too large though it is highly spoken of, in many other African markets, for its exceptional efficiency, good cost and quality.

Macky Sall continued with Wade's vision of infrastructure development with an even greater momentum. His special emphasis on this domain has been integrated into the PSE, an overall national growth plan that Sall has carried out. The infrastructure is a priority in the Action Plan (plan d'action prioritaire). The first phase of the PSE had a PAP (le plan d'Action des projets prioritaires), action plan of priority projects used for unfolding the PSE programme covered the period 2014-2018. The second phase would be conducted during 2019-2023 financial year. For the PSEs, infrastructure construction and industries are both identified as sectors and areas of priority.

According to the Senegal Revitalization Plan (PSE) and the Senegal National Roads and Highways Guidance Programme, Senegal has four five-year plans for road development between 2015 and 2035. The Senegal Emergent Plan (PSE) stresses the development of infrastructure, electricity grid, drinking water, among others, thus helping to attract the FDI. According to the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, "Senegal has its programs and priorities. The ministries have projects to implement, they send us the projects, and we seek the financing. We finance the projects with the state's own resources or look for external financing. Now, every country and funding partner, looks at what interest them and what they can invest in." (Interview, Official #2 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, August 30, 2018).

There were a few attempts of industrialization in Senegal with limited success. The turn to infrastructure since 2000 in Senegal was more of an internal reorientation, rather than promoted by China or France. The elaboration and implementation of the PSE were a domestic initiative.

The foreign relations concretized in the service of this plan were adapted to it because foreign countries listen to what Senegal needs.

This transition was not evidently inspired by China at that time, because bilateral relations were not close enough and there was little bilateral cooperation. The bilateral diplomatic relations were suspended from 1996 to 2005. Senegal instead maintained foreign relations with Taiwan during that period. There were few Chinese enterprises in Senegal before the restoration of diplomatic relations in 2006, so was earlier before the break-off of relations. So there was little cooperation with China then. Only two big Chinese enterprises, namely the China-Africa Fishing Company (Compagnie de pêche Chine-Afrique) and the Henan International Construction Company (CHICO, or la Société des travaux de construction du Henan in French) maintained their activities in Senegal before the reestablishment of foreign relations. Projects of Henan accounted for about 20% percent of the road construction market up to 2010 (Interviews, Official of Road Agency of Senegal, Staff of CHICO, August 20, 2018). It has been such an isolated case for Chinese engagement in Senegal's infrastructure, for a long time that it seems that Chinese actors didn't influence the whole picture of Senegal's infrastructure.

This situation tended to change after 2010, with diplomatic relations having been resumed. More contracts were signed with the upgrading of Sino-African cooperation and further encouragement of Chinese enterprises to go global, after 2013 explicitly in the name of Belt and Road initiative. This offensive move was made with the help of a strong financial support from the Chinese government, which doesn't hesitate to invest in the biggest projects in Africa, thus making a big difference. On the whole, China's engagement in Senegal is marked by projects that are big in scale, but not in number, carried out mostly late in recent years after 2010, focusing on infrastructure and contracted mainly to big Chinese enterprises.

The overview of the cooperation between Senegal and China shows that the infrastructure sphere has been the most favoured sector. Bilateral cooperation was implemented in different forms, supported by preferential loans, grants, and interest-free loans. The infrastructure is the sector where funding has been channeled the most. China has still played a propelling role for the development of infrastructure in Senegal in recent years, i.e., since 2011 with financial and technical support through bilateral cooperation. “The quick completion of the most important expressways of Senegal by Chinese enterprises in just five years is a case in point.” (Interview, Official of Road Agency of Senegal, August 20, 2018) The PSE of President Sall has created many opportunities of cooperation with China. China’s funding and construction play an important role for the realization of the PSE.

The cooperation with China in the field of infrastructure is credited as exemplary by the Senegalese government. Many infrastructure projects are also registered in the Emerging Senegal Plan. The three giant projects are the two expressways and Foundiougne Bridge all financed by concessional loans of the Eximbank. The volume of investments that Senegal received for the projects under construction in the country amounted to 1, 354, 387, 413 US dollars by July 2018, of which 86% came from China (Road Agency of Senegal 2018). These are projects expected to receive economic gain through the toll. These projects will accelerate the socioeconomic development. Senegal is sticking to the infrastructure cooperation with China because, as what M. Abdoulaye, minister of infrastructure, stated in a TV interview: Senegal, like other African countries, will have to work to accelerate the development of road, rail, port, energy and water supply infrastructure to fill the gaps.

These projects require significant funding and innovative mechanisms. Indeed, China has become the first financing source in Senegal as in some other African countries. Among the three

major projects, the Thies-Touba expressway is one that mobilized the most IDE after 1960. It links the 3 main cities of the country, Dakar-Thies-Touba to the other region. It can benefit development by cutting the time of travel and increase connectivity. It allows a good connection of major cities to extend from west to east of Senegal and will be a major asset in the new economic pole center around big cities that are Thies, Touba, Diourbel and Kaolack. It is also a junction between the center and north of the country, tapping into the development potential of all regions. In one word, it helps to extend the national road network. The Foundiougne Bridge, with a length of nearly 1300 metres and eight metres in height was the biggest in Senegal. This toll bridge will open up the Saloum Islands and facilitate access to Gambia. The Foundiougne Bridge, the two expressways and the rural well drilling projects are among the largest in Senegal. In recent years, several dozens of bridges have been built in Senegal.

What is more impressive in terms of scale and significance for the China-Senegal cooperation is often the preferential loan projects. On Chinese loans, it is mainly infrastructure projects: the roads, bridges, or projects on information technology, telecommunication, a well drilling project and projects of energy: electric power distribution lines, a hydro-electric dam project..... (Interview, Official #1 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, August 29, 2018) Concretely, the infrastructure benefited from Chinese preferential loans are also: the 90 kV loop of Dakar, the rehabilitation and extension of power grid in Dakar, Smart Senegal project, E-Government intranet project, security network project (GOTA), wide band project, project of hydroelectric development of Gouina, Thiès-Touba toll expressway, Foundiougne Bridge, well drilling in the rural area, Mbour-Kaolack expressway and eventual second phase of the Diamniadio industrial park (Ministry of Finance of Senegal 2018).

During the Africa Investment Forum of 2017, China proposed a semi-concessional funding of 160 million euros to Senegal, which hoped to use it for sanitation programs in the main cities and trunk road widening and rehabilitation (Ministry of Finance of Senegal 2018). The amount and its use further show infrastructure as an overwhelming preoccupation in the cooperation between the two states. The preferential loans are often given through the China Development Bank and Eximbank.

Grants and interest-free loans have been no small amount, with the purpose of the infrastructure for a large part being evident. The largest stadium has always been the Léopold-Sédar-Senghor Stadium with a capacity of sixty thousand places. Actually, as grants of China for Senegal, its original name was Friendship until Senegal turned to Taiwan. China has also rehabilitated 11 regional stadiums. China built a children's hospital in Diamiadio, Grand National theatre, museum of black civilizations, an arena for fighting and donated dozens of generator groups to SENELEC. China is also rehabilitating the Affiniam Dam in the service of agriculture (Ministry of Finance of Senegal 2018). Senegalese government requested Chinese expertise to construct the infrastructure of the first Bus Rapid Transit and this will be realized by the China Road and Bridge Corporation. Chinese enterprises are also responsible for the construction of sports infrastructure of the 2022 Youth Olympic Games.

Apart from these, Chinese also participate in infrastructure projects of other financial sources, such as Chinese commercial loans and funding by the state of Senegal, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, etc. For example, the AIBD-Mbour-Thiès expressway is a project financed by a Chinese commercial loan. What Chinese enterprises are good at are thinkably what China's own development and growth are based on at home. It can be seen as an outflow effect of Chinese own development. In the going global campaign, the most active and avant-garde

enterprises are those already competitive at home. Among the 40 or so members in Chinese enterprises association in Senegal, about 80% are (civil) engineering oriented (Interview, Manager of CHICO, August 4, 2018). This shows the sector in which Chinese are engaged the most in Senegal.

Therefore, Chinese mental inspiration has just played a role of reinforcing Senegalese's own perception on the infrastructure. What is more critical for the realization of the multiplication of infrastructure in Senegal from the Chinese part is Chinese funding, especially concessional loans in large amounts. When Chinese enterprises suggest to the government of Senegal the construction of a certain road or bridge, for example, Chinese loans are useful for the effective and efficient implementation. The projects are made possible with the financial support of the Chinese government, which has constituted the first financing source provided by foreign countries.

### **3.2.2.2 Industrialization and SEZs**

After learning about Chinese constructed industrial parks in China and Africa from his former colleague at the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, and also an consultant of CGCOC, the Prime Minister of Senegal brought together introduced CGCOC to the Industrial Ministry of Senegal and realized a construction project just through negotiation tendering in the hope of promoting industrialization with the construction of Chinese-style industrial park (Interview, staff of CGCOC, August 24, 2018). After visiting Chinese and Ethiopian SEZs realized by China, Senegal invited Chinese enterprises to design, construct and invest in the SEZ of Senegal. The influence in this aspect is less overwhelming than in Ethiopia as there has been still only one SEZ in Senegal and only limited Chinese investment in the industrial sector.



Industrialization in Senegal has undergone several waves. Industrial sector accounted for 23.7% in the economy in 2016, but the main export products remain fish, groundnuts (peanuts), petroleum products, phosphates and cotton<sup>19</sup>, which shows that the exportation is dominated by mineral and agricultural products. What's more, the main policy of industrialization has been import substitution. Following China's example and through the cooperation, Senegal has also put export promotion on industrialization high on its agenda, by supporting through favourable policies.

France as Senegal's most important partner did do some industrial activities, promoting the development of the industrial sector of the country. For example, France contributed to the dominant IDE to Senegal, which was partly used to establish manufacturing factories. However, whatever has been the foreign investment and assistance, it turns out that the industrial sector has remained around 22% of the economy for a long time and the share of industrial products in exportation is even smaller (World Bank 2019). The gap between the importance of industry in the economic and export structures reflects that the industry of Senegal has been import substitution oriented. The factories established by foreign nationals, above all, French, have been mainly targeting the internal market.

In contrast, China's engagement came late and in a relatively smaller scale. But the different interactions take different forms. China put emphasis on the industrialization of African countries in its cooperation endeavours with them. In addition, such industrialization was initiated in a different way. A remarkable way of cooperation is the construction of industrial parks, while helping African countries attract enterprises to set in and encourage those in Chinese

---

<sup>19</sup> Data of the World Bank,  
<https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/SEN/Year/2017/TradeFlow/Export/Partner/WLD/Product/All-Groups>

parks to come. This time in turn is driven by the will to intentionally create an export promotion industry, for which, the light industry, especially textile and garments are a focus. The economy is witnessing an expansion of the export of manufactured goods to the international, especially western markets.

Senegal signed many MOUs in September 2014 with Chinese companies appointed by the Chinese government to launch its bilateral cooperation during the tenure of office of President Sall. The delegation visited many industrial parks with Chinese during the visit. The Senegalese government invited the CGCOC to set up an industrial park in Senegal to capture the relocation of Chinese companies in Africa. More so, Senegalese officials also visited Chinese industrial parks in Ethiopia. “We visited what China did in Ethiopia. And we really liked the model. We visited C & H in Ethiopia and we have established a partnership. We did the study with a Chinese office to be able to do the first park here.” (Interview, Aprosi official #2, August 07, 2018) Senegal funded the first park beginning in 2015. The first shed was destined for C & H. The labour-intensive industry like the apparel industry particularly appealed to Senegal as follows:

We think the Chinese industrial model, made it that there are a lot of activities. We are attracted by the Chinese model, China shows an example. China shows the model of pragmatism. In trying not to win the market by blocking development, people have opened their eyes, and have well benefited. The change of mentality on the infrastructure is inspired by the Chinese. (Interview, Aprosi official #2, August 07, 2018).

This state-owned industrial park is supposed to be a strategic program for national industrialization with a long-term vision. It is not like a private investment which needs to bring the profits as quickly and as much as possible. To provide an especially favourable environment for enterprises to come and grow, the incentives of tax reduction have been introduced. The state offers subventions and other support in various forms. The first phase of the Diamniadio

Industrial Park was funded by the state. The Chinese government is considering financing its second phase. This is a strategic move of cooperation towards mutual trust. The Diamniadio industrial park is an industrial initiative realized with Chinese's promotion and participation. The Senegalese government has invited Chinese to come and build the first modern industrial park in Diamniadio for them, which is also a special economic zone (SEZ). The first enterprise that decided to settle in was a Chinese company, which produces PVC tubes. The largest one was also Chinese, C&H working in the apparel industry.

As for inspiration from China on the SEZ, an official has revealed as follows:

The establishment of this industrial park is partly inspired by Shenzhen because we have travelled to China. We visited Shenzhen. We said: 'we want that'. We've created something like this at home, because it allows us to attract investors here, and develop jobs, create growth, and boost exports. So, it's particularly inspired by countries like China, also a bit Poland and Ethiopia. We had visited several countries. We took the example of Mauritius, Ethiopia, and Poland... And China is the first. The most giant and most complete example is Shenzhen. This is the model that we often quote. We even did a benchmark study. In any case, SEZs around the world are necessarily inspired by China. The example of Ethiopia is special, because it is practically created by China. Even we are in this dynamic, because in the second phase we will perhaps employ Chinese companies. The developer may be a Chinese enterprise. (Interview, Official of Investment Promotion Ministry of Senegal, August 17, 2018)

The industrial park, which is also called industrial platform of Diamniadio is a flagship project of the Emergent Senegal Plan. The Diamniadio industrial park and the special economic zones are a representative infrastructure program made possible by Chinese actors. This is an unprecedented support of industrialization of Senegal. Senegal has been striving for its industrialization with a renewed approach.

Since 2017, Senegal has built three Special Economic Zones (SEZ), respectively in Diamniadio, Diass and Sandiara. There has been an industrial park in operation in the SEZ of

Diamniadio inaugurated in November 2018. This has provided a good environment for industrialization. Indeed, this new form of industrial base is more favourable for investors than the Domaines industriel (industrial sites) that have existed for a longer time. Though the two forms are both managed by the authority of PROSI, advantages of the SEZ are the well pre-developed infrastructure, preferential fiscal policies and one-stop service. This practice was inspired by foreign countries, of which China has been the most important one. The conference materials within the authorities responsible for this matter show that China is in the first object of study for Senegal government.

### **3.3 The autonomous development owing to a plurality of partners**

#### **3.3.1 Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is the most typical case on this point. Ethiopia has maintained well its policy independence. As Gadzala (2015) notes, “Ethiopian leaders actively choose Chinese financiers and dictate the terms and conditions of their operations”. China’s model role and China’s cooperation with Ethiopia have both helped Ethiopia to remain autonomous in the world. To EPRDF, Chinese model “provided a vivid illustration not just of the desirability, but also of the importance and possibility of greater self-reliance”, and China’s example of building a sovereign national economy in spite of the blockage and condemnation it faced (Fourie 2015). Chinese example shows to Ethiopian elites the internal nature of policy decision and thus encourages them to “take an endogenous view of development” (Fourie 2015).

Decisions had been made by a small group of political elites from the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) within the ruling EPRDF for a long time (Gadzala 2015). The coalition leaves a great legacy as “revolutionary democratic” ideology. Ethiopia has a relatively autonomous tradition and it has been sensitive to its autonomy all the time. Just because Ethiopia

was never colonized, its political and economic development history was made in a fundamentally autonomous way. Unlike all the other African countries, including its neighbouring countries like French-colonized Djibouti and British-colonized Kenya, through its uphill struggle against the Italian occupation, it escaped the destiny of colonialist devastation and influence. Westernization was never imposed or highly influential in Ethiopia. Modernization and westernization are not preached to mean the same thing. It also had the maneuver to choose to take the Ethiopian ways in its political and economic evolution. Ethiopia, the seat of the Organisation of African Unity and later the African Union is a champion of African independence and powerhouse of blackness. It has been a reference for other fellow African countries as they dealt with European colonial masters. Ethiopia doesn't have to refer to a former metropolitan state for policy decisions in return for support and it has withstood multiple international pressures in this regard. It has constituted a feasible proof and dynamic for other African countries to exert autonomous decision-making authority (Oqubay 2015). Even the Emperor Haile Sellassi I acted like a mentor to young African revolutionaries who were committed to liberate the continent from European colonial defilement (Both 2004, 120). During the Cold War, Ethiopia relied for foreign assistance from the USSR. This outside support was indispensable for the socialist Derg to obtain political control and consolidate its power. Though the Soviets have the greatest external influence on Ethiopian development, they were not in command. Even with respect to the West, Ethiopia remained in control (Varnis 1990, 174). As for the United States, if Ethiopia's national existence had come to depend upon its relationship with it, its nationhood would not have survived the severance of U.S. aid after the military revolution, which was an important indicator of the independence of Ethiopian development (Varnis 1990, 175). It had the autonomy to switch donors and sponsors.

As Meles often argued, the state required autonomy (Gadzala 2015, 92). In international negotiations, Ethiopia always keeps in mind that it assures that the Ethiopian state is in control of the state strategy. As an official said in the interview, “we are a poor country, but we are very proud.”(Interview, Official of Ethiopian Railway Corporation, July 12, 2018) With China as an important financial source for foreign aid and China’s support of independent choice of development path of African countries, Ethiopia has procured more means to maintain autonomy compared with the years of 1990s when the aid providers were mainly western... Faced with international pressure of liberalization reform, Ethiopia has generally managed to refuse to over privatize and liberalize the economy. In terms of privatization, many sectors like the telecommunication, air and railway transportation are still dominated by public enterprises. In spite of the pressure of western liberalization, some sectors are still only allowed to be run by nationals, such as the retailing. The law will punish severely those foreigners who are involved in this sector. So in the economic sector and international cooperation, it is easier to make autonomous decisions, and choice without external official or private interference. In the open tendering, it can choose any enterprises just based on the cost and technical levels. The foreign aid and FDI that Ethiopia received have been from various countries and institutions. Ethiopia has quite varied foreign relations, not only with fellow African countries, but also others around the world. Its relations with the United States are important for regional peace. It can establish its foreign relations in a very diversified way, which makes Ethiopia have its autonomy and full-fledged freedom in decision-making.

### **3.3.2 Senegal**

Senegal is still not a very autonomous country despite its engagement with China. It has become relatively more autonomous for the sake of contact with China in the past decade. The

autonomy that Senegal gains through its cooperation with China consists in two manners. Firstly, the development of China, another developing country, shows Senegal and other African countries that a developing country can emerge while maintaining its autonomy. The experience of China is a demonstration to this. Secondly, the partnership with China can help Senegal to have more autonomy due to the effect of diversified cooperation. However, Senegal's change towards autonomy is far from substantial or fundamental.

The constraints of the autonomy of Senegal come from France and some international financial institutions. French influence has always been a factor in play, which has resulted in subdued autonomy of Senegal. It has kept a deep imprint on Senegalese development model. With the extremely long French dominance and presence in Senegal and their intricate relationship, Senegal has always been strongly influenced by France and would refer to the latter on many issues.

Generally, French influence in its former African colonies is much deeper than that of English and other African colonies due to the direct rule of French colonization. Throughout the colonial era, Dakar was the capital of AOF (French West Africa). Political decision-making was from Paris. The African local autonomy had been restricted by the central authority in the metropolitan country. Senegal played a central role in the colonial trade and investments within the French colonial Empire. "In 1946, of the 600 private commercial enterprises in AOF region, 393 had their headquarters in Senegal" (Skurnik 1972, 14). As for the protective framework which constrains the diversification of economic cooperation, Skurnik points out (Skurnik 1972, 100):

Senegal has inherited an economic protective framework from the colonial period which conditioned much of her post-independence foreign economic policy. This framework consisted of 1) monetary arrangements with the former colonial

power, 2) trade arrangements with France and, to a less extent, with France's partners in the European Economic Community, and 3) French ownership and control of much of the modern business sector of Senegal.

In the 1960 and 1966, France provided for 85% of the total aid to Senegal (Skurnik 1972 125). Today Senegal remains one of the largest recipients of French aid in sub-Saharan Africa, since France's aid is generally steered to its former colonies, as a reliable financial source for these African countries. Evidence suggests that the very existence of the colonial protective framework tends to discourage African initiatives to break away from it. It provides important elements of a short-term security that lulls recipients into a false sense of confidence and prevents them from asking questions about the long-range development of economic relations and diversification (Skurnik 1972, 106).

In the current international context of globalization and independent sovereignty, the flux of FDI is supposed to be a market activity. There is no absolute connection between the economic dominance during the colonial era to the dominant market share nowadays. But the conveniences for the current privileged French economic presence in Senegal can be seen.

The convention between France and Senegal for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Establishment of Rules for Reciprocal Assistance in respect of Income Taxes, Estate Taxes, Registration Duties and Stamp Duties<sup>20</sup> has just shown the exceptional partnership between the two countries. France is also among only a few countries that benefit from the Agreements for the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (APPI)<sup>21</sup> of Senegal. This privilege has brought France with the advantageous position in investing in Senegal, not only compared to other countries, but also Senegalese nationals. This favourable position has resulted in its

---

<sup>20</sup> Convention entre la France et le Senegal Tendante à Eviter les Doubles Impositions et à Etablir des Règles d'assistance Réciproque en Matière d'impôt sur le Revenu, d'impôts sur les Successions, de Droits d'enregistrement et de Droits de Timbre

<sup>21</sup> Accords de promotion et de protection réciproque des investissements (APPI)



prevalent presence. France has been the first investor of Senegal. In 2015, the share of the stock of French direct investment in all of the FDI in Senegal was up to 78%, and it increased to 88% in 2017<sup>22</sup>. French companies account for nearly a quarter of the GDP and tax revenues of Senegal<sup>23</sup>. Among the one hundred largest companies in Senegal<sup>24</sup>, Senegalese have a controlling stake only in about 30%, and the most common of these 30% are commercial enterprises, and they are often not the largest in their sectors. The other 70% are all foreign enterprises or foreign-controlled ones, to be exact, French, in most of the cases.

The largest enterprises in most of the sectors are foreign, if not French. The telecommunications, water and oil<sup>25</sup>, banking, construction, logistics, food processing and related raw materials production, retail, import trade, the pharmaceutical sectors, among others, all witness the French as the most important actor. It goes without saying that France dwarfs all the FDI from any other countries. The important businesses of the national economy have been engaged greatly by foreign investors. Almost all of the strategic sectors are controlled by foreign investors. The banking sector is just an example. Without a central bank of Senegal, local banks are all foreign ones. The biggest one is Moroccan and the second and third ones are French. Foreign economic actors in the numerous most important enterprises, especially those in strategic sectors would be able to influence the autonomy of the state of Senegal. As for the most noteworthy of French banks, there seems to be a cycle that, because of the persistent post-colonial links, the French can keep large scale presence in the political and economic life of Senegal, in turn, it is due to the latter that the links are reinforced and well maintained continually.

---

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/senegal/>, [https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/senegal/relations-bilaterales/](https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/senegal/rerelations-bilaterales/)

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/senegal/>

<sup>24</sup> the 100 biggest enterprises of Doing business in Senegal, Edition 2016

<sup>25</sup> related exploitation and distribution

President Wade diversified Senegal's partnerships, especially for economic and diplomatic affairs. He built relations with Middle Eastern countries, the United States and emerging countries like India. He also resumed diplomatic relations with China. As Chafer (Chafer 2013, 16) notes, "Wade opened Senegal to Asian investments and diversified the country's trading relations and its banking sector...the impact of these new linkages on Franco-Senegalese relations is that the latter are now less exclusive in nature ... the impact of this diversification, however, has inevitably been to reduce French leverage." Despite the diversification, France remained the most important partner for Senegal with the closest all-round ties.

As for President Sall, it seems that the diversification of foreign relations receded since the French presence and influence have been more prominent compared to the times of Wade. The market shares of French industries in Senegal are very high and the FDI made by France in Senegal is dominant. National enterprises are generally in an unfavoured position. This is not helpful to the country in its quest for autonomy.

Actually, Chinese construction companies have been renowned in Africa in general, because of their economical cost, high efficiency, guaranteed delivery timeline, project management capacity, construction quality and if needed, the funding in the form of concessional loans in most of the cases, from Chinese government. Having seen Chinese-built historic infrastructure projects and large Chinese presence in countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Nigeria, one may wonder why Chinese projects have been less in some francophone African countries. The cooperation in the infrastructure construction is not only a result of market behaviour. It is also influenced by concepts subject to the path dependence.

The entrenched French standard of construction and tendering standard adopted by Senegalese make French enterprises excel at the competitive bidding. First of all, the rating

standard of tendering was based on the French model. Later, in the open tendering of two-round competition between a lot of enterprises, the appraisal should be made according to the technical and cost proposals. The technical proposal involves the problem of standard again. When their criteria of construction are not European or French, they would just no longer be under consideration by Senegalese. The French hold the power of rule-making for tendering. The different standards of construction and even rules of calls for bid also have an impact on the choice of cooperation partners, though the standards and rules were adopted as a colonial heritage.

The price advantages don't work. The French standard is entrenched and works as an exclusive factor for non-European participants in many cases. This can also work as an artificially imposed standard. A good knowledge of the rules of calling for bids and standards of construction of France gives it an advantage in winning projects. It is a challenge for Chinese enterprises not only to make Africans accept their standards, but also get the contract. "We are accustomed to French standards, but in discussion with Chinese, we also accept their standards provided these are not antagonistic with French standards." (Interview, Official of Ageroute, August 20, 2018) "There were many criteria, to the defined standard, French enterprises had more advantages, more experiences, because their standards are high ... We don't only look at the price, we appreciate their standard, their criteria, though their cost is not the best". (Interview, Official of Railway Agency of the Ministry of infrastructure, August 17, 2018)

Many factors may get involved in the discussion along the tendering, among others, including intervention and personal connections. Apart from the eventual direct political influence from the former colonial metropolis, some criteria keep Chinese companies in unfavourable conditions for competition: the French standard is often required. Francophone African countries would simply be glad to have a project built following French standards; even

when the contractor is not French. They would often dismiss Chinese standards, even when the funding comes from China. Chinese have to prove that their construction criteria surpass French ones if those are different from the latter. If they insist on Chinese standards without much comparability, they would be dismissed and refused just because the standards are different, even if the quality is not less good and the cost is lower.

Secondly, in many tenders, being able to speak French is required at least for the head of the company and project manager. These two additional requirements concerning French elements are not necessarily fundamentally financial or technical. A possible situation is that open tendering is just symbolic. Chinese companies are only used for putting pressures on French companies by Senegal because Chinese are often able to do a project at the lowest costs. These intervening factors happen in Senegal. Therefore, the existing concepts still hinder the diversification of partners. The standard difference is a problem for Chinese enterprises in many cases. So, often Chinese enterprises just cannot win open bidding in Senegal, even though they are strong. This situation is similar to some cases in other Francophone African countries.

Furthermore, during the construction of the TER, “the greatest project in Senegal”<sup>26</sup>, the cost was largely augmented by the French contractor from 568 to 738 billion CFA francs (Seck 2018), which puts in question the project control ability of Senegal in the face of the French enterprises. In other words, the Senegalese government not only gave up selecting the most economical bidding scheme, but also had to accept the massive price change once the contract was signed. “Eiffage had won the contract with a proposal of US \$ 550 million. Just after two years’ work in 2018, when the project was not yet completed, the real cost had risen to US \$1.2 billion because Eiffage had made a lot of claims and contract modifications. The final costs of

---

<sup>26</sup> According to Sall, presented in the Investment Report 2017

this project may end up at US \$1.8 billion. This was not a real increase in the costs, but an increase in the debt of Senegal through its institutions and connections. The French were able to achieve these claims because they knew the rules and standards better than Senegalese: they were indeed the master for them. They had ways to persuade the contract committee.” (Interview, manager of the 7<sup>th</sup> Bureau of CREC in Senegal, July 25, 2018) Whatever the reasons of the cost hike, it is quite abnormal for a project to take a final cost of twice or three times of the price in the offer. The interests of the state of Senegal were harmed. It is viewed by some that the sovereignty of this state is weak from the perspective of the autonomy in the contractor selection and negotiation in international cooperation. The external hindrance for this diversification is in a sense the political pressures as is revealed by another official:

Now developed countries use their funding in a way to get contracts for their enterprises with the spontaneous offers based on discussion. They make more and more spontaneous offers on big projects, on projects where there is a lot of money. The TER is a contract, but sometimes, they find the means for their companies to win. The TER, normally, it's CCEC that should win. But the French have edited their file on funding so that it is the French enterprises that have negotiated. This was because they put pressure in some way, the political pressure. That's how it happened. They have ways to bypass. At least, China is clear. We know that the procedure with China is that. But the other countries are not going to be clear, they do everything so that their enterprises win the contracts in Africa. Enterprises have the state, but the Chinese did not want to (intervene). If China wants to support their enterprises, maybe it's going to happen. The company participated in the tender, but the French government was behind all that. For the TER, there are direct effects in France. It is with this project that they did not close the factories (of Alston, etc.). There are even political aspects in that. Politically, it can be a dead end for the French president if they close the factories in the departments concerned. In comparison, Chinese companies have less political weight. But it is related to the fact that the Chinese enterprises are more competitive, in terms of cost, deadline ... If we call for transparent tenders, French enterprises will not win. If we call for tenders, they will win. They have the means to bypass. A part of the TER is the development aid through the French Development Agency, but they also put the funding of the French Treasury directly. This is the first of this kind. Because normally, in the cases of financing that we have, it is the French Development

Agency that finances. It's cooperation. But for the TER, there is funding from French public Treasury directly to the Senegalese public Treasury. (Interview, official #4 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, September 7, 2018)

It can be seen that the decision-making of Senegal is an extension of French internal affairs. And the international cooperation of Senegal is strongly influenced by the political power of France.

The privatized national enterprises purchased by foreigners have deprived the state of the opportunity to develop a lot of its own enterprises. Foreign investors having acquired malfunctioned national enterprises repatriate their profits, only paying taxes to African states. The small local businesses are vulnerable to the competition of the big multinationals. The deregulation and privatization were paradoxical. The price was so liberalized that the state has almost been unable to control the price. It is inevitable that the state's power is minimized. Its competence of intervention and direction are correspondingly reduced. The state revenue is limited because it doesn't possess many economically rewarding industries. It mainly relies on taxes, without many dividends.

Experience has shown that the railway is not suitable for private operations. It is true that in some western countries like Canada and the US, private individuals or groups can own the most important companies of a sector. However, in African countries like Senegal, the providers of services or producers of products that are the strongest to have the new technologies, high standards, and abundant capitals are often foreign nationals. This is not really a problem economically, but politically speaking, it deprives political control of the host state in related sectors and projects. At the same time, the autonomy of the state is not complete due to such a critical dependence on foreigners.

International organizations may also constrain African states from having a full autonomy. For example, the IMF makes regular reviews and then recommendations to Senegal. Since independence, Senegal has been under programs with the IMF. With the IMF, Senegal has received from the SAP to five-year agreements. Economic and political conditions are attached to IMF aid. As one of a few countries in SSA having "a relatively democratic political system, Senegal benefited from favourable dispositions from the donor community and secured significant levels of foreign aid" (Ndiaye 2008, 423). Reforms were spurred and dictated by

international financial institutions, as “the major impetus was the availability of external financial resources that would help ease payment pressures” (Ndiaye 2008, 421). So, ironically, by increasing the dependency of regimes vis-à-vis the outside, structural adjustment programs have exacerbated social tensions (Diop 2002, 22). Both the crisis and resolutions have made Senegal’s autonomy greatly sacrificed.

It is noted by an official that: “We have been waiting for the guidance of the IMF and World Bank. We have always been asked to do small projects. These are projects that leave us in the same situation. We need to get out of this. They always give instructions that you cannot spend, you cannot take the debt.” (Interview, official of APROSI, August 7, 2018). For example, according to a Senegalese official:

Currently, for the indebtedness, the IMF advises that for the electricity, it is necessary to privatize the national enterprise of the electricity. It further advises that we have made enough investments in the electricity company, and we must give it back to the private, so that the state no longer continues to support the investment of the electricity company. But the government does not agree. The IMF also tells the government to raise the price of gasoline and fuel. The IMF says that government should raise the price of gas, but we refuse. The IMF does not want to impose things on the government, but every time they come here, they ask to. They (IMF) make sure that we privatize them. On investment, a lot of the investment that the electricity company makes, it is the government that finances the investment. The IMF does not want to see that. (Interview, official #4 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal, September 7, 2018)

“When it comes to the tax reductions to investors as incentives, we don’t need to get the consent of the IMF, but it provides recommendations”, said another official (Interview, Official of APIX, September 5, 2018).

China has different priorities for its development partnerships compared to its traditional partner countries and organizations. This has led to more room for maneuvers to the Senegalese government. This has changed Senegal’s conditions within the scope of development partnerships (Gehrold and Tietze 2011, 29).

Since the resumption of diplomatic relationship with China in 2005, the FDI of China in Senegal is relatively insignificant compared to those in many other African countries, but recent years have witnessed a tendency of increase. This can also be proved in some of President Sall's statements in some bilateral occasions. What's more, having jumped from the 24<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> place in the last four years, China is going to be Senegal's first trading partner (Economic and Commercial Office of the Chinese Embassy in Senegal 2016). As for the evolution, a Senegalese official observed:

From the 1960s to now, for fifty years, we have always been with the same metropolis. The infrastructure did not change much. There is much backwardness, in the development of mentalities, in the development of infrastructure, in economic policies as well for many countries. Although there are still interests of the former monopolies, there has been a little balance. But today the monopoly is over. Sall has opened to the countries, especially China. Even at the political level, there were political missions. In fact, Senegal did want to know more models of development and is ready to change the mentality. From his election, the President has travelled to China. It means that there is a clear orientation, a demarcation. (Interview, official 2 of APROSI, August 7, 2018)

Since Sall came to power in 2012, he has been oriented to the development of cooperation with China in several fields. In the economic field, President Sall began with the visit accompanied by an inter-ministerial delegation with many ministries and general managers in 2014 to China, in which he expressed to the Chinese president his desire to strengthen bilateral relations with China.

We are happy with China's cooperation in general because it is a model country, a country that has undergone poverty like us. It made every effort to rise in a very short time. In less than 20 years, China has become one of the world's leading powers. So, that's an example for us. It's a self-made country. It has made its own history by counting on its population. (Interview, Official 2 of Aprosi, August 7, 2018)

The cooperation between China and Senegal has been mainly economic after 2005, when the diplomatic relations with Beijing were re-established. More precisely, of the overall Chinese funding of 1206.7 billion CFA francs between 2005 and 2017, about 963,7 billion was mobilized



in the last several years between April 2012 and December 2017, i.e. 80% of the funding volume since 2005<sup>27</sup>. This trend goes deep, as was witnessed during the 2018 visit of the Chinese president to Senegal leading to the signature of new cooperation agreements. The Beijing Summit of FOCAC not only declared eight major initiatives on Sino-African cooperation, but also designated Senegal as the new co-chair for hosting the next FOCAC. The little cooperation between China and Senegal is expanded to strategic and other areas from the economic, though all happened in recent times. The fact that Senegal has been the first country in West Africa having signed the cooperation documents of the Road and Belt Initiative and its position as the co-host for the FOCAC show an increase of strategic importance that the country has attached to China, which will in turn bring it more autonomy.

Chinese aid and investment in large amounts have constituted another funding source for Senegal. After the decade of relationship disruption, the resumption has led to rapidly increased cooperation. China's presence in Senegal has made a difference. Now China has become the first funding source to Senegal, though it is only the second trade partner after France. The financial dependence of Senegal on France has been relieved, owing to China. Its dependence on France is still however strong. More trade partners and aid mean more autonomy for Senegal to pick and choose in its own interests. There is a seemingly diversification tendency of cooperation, but this is far from any fundamental change, especially when it comes to development paradigm. Senegal is just on its way to gaining more autonomy.

---

<sup>27</sup> Data of the note on cooperation with China from the Ministry of Finance of Senegal

### **3.4 The role of the state**

#### **3.4.1 Ethiopia**

Following China's example, Ethiopia has reinforced the role of the state for the growth, industrialization and poverty alleviation. The development of Ethiopia is increasingly state-led. Concretely, the state plays a more active and capable role in planning, financing, direction, intervention, participation, and implementation.

The state has set up the target of becoming a lower-middle-income country by 2025 and a manufacturing country as China has concrete development targets for 2020 and 2050<sup>28</sup>. Ethiopia implements five consecutive years national growth and transformation plans (GTP) to achieve its 2025 vision and SDGs by 2030. The GTP is like the Chinese five-year plan, which is the successive and systematic plan that tries to make sure both the short and long-term development policies of the state are met. Having implemented the first GTP (Growth and Transformation Plan) during the 2010/11-2014/15 fiscal year, Ethiopia is now in its second GTP period, from 2015/16 to 2019/20. The national planning commission has been charged with establishing the report. The GTP plans adopted in parliament show the strong will of the state for development. The state has a strong capacity of mobilizing domestic resources available for the development of the country.

The state of Ethiopia has been inspired from China's state in the achievement of rapid growth and the related developmental state strategy which allows the state to play an important role. As the remarkable GDP growth rates of China for decades, Ethiopia has achieved almost one if the most rapid growth rates in Africa for about two decades thanks to the development leadership of the state. What's more, the state of Ethiopia is also one of the best African students

---

<sup>28</sup> China aims to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society by 2020 and a moderately developed country by 2050.

of China in learning about poverty reduction. The practice of state-led poverty alleviation has largely been an inspiration from China. The elaboration of the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) of Ethiopia derives from China's experience for poverty reduction which was shared through exchanges.

Ethiopia has been widely recognized as a developmental state (Woldegiyorgis 2014; Shumuye 2015; Clapham 2018; Müller 2015). The “democratic developmental state” is a policy championed by Meles and Hailemariam. Ethiopia can be taken as an emerging developmental state (Jalata 2015; Gebremariam et al. 2017). The developmental state for which a strong leadership plays an important part is also inspired by China, as Fourie stresses, “Ethiopian elites from the upper echelons downwards were indeed engaged in a conscious and voluntary attempt to emulate aspects of China's perceived developmental successes.” Although Meles intentionally “avoids numerous written references to the Chinese example”, Fourie finds in his elaborative field work that Ethiopian elites of the government are often sure that their state is following Chinese model:

What interviews and the proliferation of China–Ethiopia study visits make clear, however, is that the Chinese model under Meles was more important than elites proclaimed publicly, not less. Certainly, this was the view of some of the EPRDF's most vehement critics: The political model is going to be that of the Chinese model – they don't say that, but that's what we see. If you talk to our Prime Minister, he talks about the South Korean model, the Taiwan model, but he is copying China.

The integration of the state and party in countries like Ethiopia makes the party and administration exchanges with China goes at the same time. The Ethiopian ministers and other officials from different ministries trained in China have been largely multiplied. As Fourie argues, “this top-down approach to government made it possible for Meles to diffuse lessons drawn from a handful of key exemplars such as China to the lowest level of governance, and to mirror the

statist modernism so often associated with the Chinese post-reform development trajectory. Whereas leaders in more pluralist political systems may be daunted by models seen to require a relatively strong level of centralised control, the EPRDF was able to embrace such a model”, the strong leadership and dominant party interested in the Chinese model can be easier to embrace it, especially when one-party dominance is more favorable to realize developmental state according to the existing empirical facts. China helps the capacity building of the Ethiopian government and the ruling party:

China gives some technical assistance to support the capacities of the Ethiopian government. China offers training programmes for various segments of the Ethiopian elite. Representatives from Ethiopian regional and national administrations or the media are sent to China for between 10 days and one month...After a government reshuffle, China may invite all newly appointed senior officials for a study tour. (Hackenesch 2018, 135)

Due to the adoption of orthodox Marxism as China, there were many similarities between Ethiopian socialist revolution and those of the Chinese one. The revolutionary leadership was assigned to the working class and the socialist party kept its grip on the military. In the creation of thousands of urban cooperatives and rural peasant associations, Ethiopian socialism followed the Chinese pattern more closely than other African socialist ideologies (Rosberg and Callaghy 1979, 370). The strong state capacity has a direct relationship with its history of socialist revolutions and the national development policies afterwards under the leadership of the Marxist-socialist political party, the EPRDF. In the revolution, Ethiopia managed to create effective specialized institutions for political decision-making. The tradition of mobilizing masses and relying on their support brought the political party its legitimacy, which in turn can be a factor for the consolidation of state power. The political authority was concentrated and there are mechanisms maintaining power concentration through the coalition of the EPRDF, composed of four-member parties representing different regions of the country. The auxiliary parties in the regions work

closely with the EPRDF, in spite of the decentralization of political power after 1991 as federalism was introduced. Centralism and autonomy are notions in its ideology (Gadzala 2015, 91). In 1991 when the civil war ended, Meles Zenawi became the Prime Minister. He stayed in office as the longest prime minister until his death in 2012. He himself was the head of the TPLF, the leading and dominant party in the coalition of EPRDF. In a socialist society like China, the state plays the pilot role. Due to the historical link between TPLF and socialism and the maintenance of a socialist mentality as China, the state ideology of Ethiopia has persisted to a large extent even though the state is no longer socialist. The following Hailemariam Desalegn in power only for three years between 2012 and 2015 has kept the development policy unchanged in general and keeps on with the direction of his predecessor. The state plays an active role in the economy. Governance is based on a strong coalition party. Abiy Ahmed from ODP (Oromo Democratic Party) as the third Prime Minister took office since 2018 and his reforms haven't induced any evident slackening of the role of the state.

China is a demonstration to Ethiopia as a model of state dominant model for which many industries and economic sectors are still owned or firmly controlled by the state. In the economy of Ethiopia where the state plays a massive role, the state orients and keeps control of the private investment and business on the one hand; on the other hand, state-owned enterprises may be prevalent. This is the same case in China. In the country where the land is owned by the state like Ethiopia and China, even all the private investors should seek for land leases from the state because all land must be leased from the state. The state has the power, coercive in certain circumstances, to relocate indigenous people in certain regions, to make way for infrastructure projects. Regardless of the controversy of the strong means, this guarantees the execution of infrastructure projects in a quick and effective way. In contrast, in democracies, public

infrastructure projects can be very slow and difficult for preparation due to all kinds of objects from individuals or interest groups. A firmer hand avoids the problem to a certain extent.

The state of Ethiopia is supposed to be strong and essential from the perspective of the state-led industrialization and this is evidently inspired by China. In recent years, with the GTP and the boom of industrialization of Ethiopia, foreign investors have come to settle down, not only to develop the agriculture, but also open factories or industrial parks to conduct various production and operation activities. The purpose of different state industrial parks has been decided by the state, be it to pharmaceuticals, building materials or apparel production. So is the orientation of exports promotion. The state has made the overall planning strategically. It has leased large tracts of land to investors after displacing a quantity of local people. It can be seen that all the links of the activities have been coordinated by the state.

As a developmental state, Ethiopia plays a strategic role in harnessing national and international forces to achieve accelerated industrialization. For example, the industrial parks enjoy strong government support and investment policies led by the Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC) chaired by the Prime Minister (EIC report 2018). Except for the Bole Lemi phase 2 and Kilinto financed by the World Bank and Adama-Hunan Industrial Park by Chinese Eximbank, all the other national industrial parks were financed by the state. The IPDC is the developer and administrator of state industrial parks. This shows the intrinsic involvement of the state. The state sets production as well as export targets for enterprises, most of which are foreign ones in industrial parks. Almost all settled enterprises in the industrial parks are private, but the state still follows their activities closely, providing both support and requirements to them.

The emulation of China “has often served as justification and inspiration for policies of selective state intervention in the economy” for Ethiopia (Fourie 2015). The emphasis puts on a

visionary and skillful leadership of Ethiopia is also drawn from China's experience. In fact, this is a part of developmental state. The intervention and subvention of the state are still common in Ethiopia, especially for state-owned enterprises. Ethiopia sometimes still uses executive orders in managing the economic activity. For example, the Ethiopian government requests each of the well-developed Chinese enterprises in Ethiopia to build and run a private industrial park. Following this appeal, traditional constructor companies have begun to put in place their own industrial parks and participate in their operation. Against this background, CCCC has launched the Arerti industrial park in Mekelle, CCECC in Dire Dawa, and CGCOC in Adama. This is not an exhausted list because some others are under study. The state is playing a role in encouraging the multiplication of industrial parks and also placing them in different parts of the country to have a widespread and even effect.

There are legal regulations on the limit of foreign investments and their local employment. Foreigners are not allowed to invest in a large number of sectors. More opportunities are intentionally reserved for nationals. But Senegal has opened up the country more widely. The dominance of the public sector is also a form of state prevalence. Foreigners are not allowed to open restaurants, hotels and shops. To create jobs and solve the problem of high unemployment rate, the state decided to actively develop the labour-intensive industry. Even in projects contracted to foreign construction enterprises, the state has stipulated the maximum percentage of foreign workers in order to encourage local employment. The state has a very strict foreign currency control. The government also offers subsidy and subventions to many sectors, such as the food, electricity price supports to guarantee the life of ordinary people and maintain an easily affordable life for all.

### 3.4.2 Senegal

In the 1960s, state was supposed to be an effective machine for promoting economic and social development. During the early years of its independence, the state of Senegal was rather interventionist as many other African countries. The policies of the structural adjustment programme started at the end of the 1970s. The structural adjustment weakened state institutions in relation to the institutional architecture put in place from the 1960s to the end of the 1980s. The reduced budget has constrained the state from playing its roles. More so, “the SAP depended mainly on the executive and technocratic clientele of donors, so that the role of parliamentary representation in economic policy-making got weakened” (Diop 2002, 66). The disengagement of the Senegalese state has been accentuated with the privatization of several companies since November 1995, a tendency of reinforced economic liberalization (Diop 2002, 67).

A powerful anti-state wave sparked by Senegal’s major fund donors, following the deep economic crisis of the mid-1980s. In the 1980s, structural adjustments were marked by the disengagement of states from market activities and liberalization of the economy. This was inspired by the Washington Consensus, which calls into question the intervention of the state and gives a central place to macroeconomic stability and strengthening of market mechanisms (Niang 2013, 308). Abdou Diouf laid aside the senghorian dirigisme. It was replaced by less state and more private initiative (Zuccarelli 1988, 180). The privatization of para-public sector enterprises was at the heart of the liberal policies of Diouf and Wade governments. It was a translation of the slogan: "less state, better state". The state had expressed its desire to withdraw from the market sector and promote efficiency for production.

The privatization of the Senegalese economy has continued in recent years, which means that some elements of the neoliberal model remain in this country. In 2011, Abdoulaye Wade



manifested his will to privatize the Senegalese chemical enterprise (SENCHEM) by ceding state shares, which was the majority to the private sector. Due to the privatization and liquidation, only 27 companies remained in the state's portfolio in 2007 (Ndiaye 2013, 321).

The rationale that Senegal has adopted is almost in opposite to that of a developmental state. It relies on the private sector explicitly for the economic growth, with a smaller and retrenched state which has relatively stepped back from its intervention. The role of the private sector in production and trade activities has been strengthened. But the ability for the state to regulate the economy is weak. The main beneficiaries of privatization belong to the foreign private sector (Ndiaye 2013, 321).

Recent years have been witnessing the multiplication of the state's participation in economic activities, contrary to the period of the SAP, marked by a liberalization of the markets and retreat of the state. The implementation of PSE and their PAP is a move showing the state's role in planning and leading its development initiatives. The authority plays a more comprehensive part in the structural transformation and economic sustainable development. The plans covering consecutively 2014-2018 and 2019-2023 have involved state intervention and funding and mobilization of other public or private resources, seek for partnership, sharing many similarities with five-year development plans. Besides, a three-year Business Environment and Competitiveness Reform Program (PREAC) was implemented to improve the business climate. The plans serve as a reference framework for development interventions, coordinated by the state. The state under President Sall has assumed the pilot role in development, for leading the rise and fixing orientations.

Chinese engagements have enabled the state of Senegal to play a more important role in the development. Chinese financial and technical support allows the state to have a bigger chance to

be the owner and operators of important industries of the economy and is less susceptible to take privatization. Chinese construction of the important expressway AIBD-Touba by Chinese enterprises and Chinese loans have allowed the state of Senegal to be the proprietor and operator of the expressway. The state has the power to fix a price and collect tolls for it. And the state set the toll of it much cheaper than the first expressway constructed, owned and operated by French enterprise. The relatively economical price allows the state to provide well-fare service and better benefits the economic and social activities. The state's role has been improved through the cooperation with China, without which, Senegal doesn't have a national or public expressway and all the expressways would be foreign owned and operated.

The SEZ and industrial park model inspired by China have oriented the Senegalese state to be the pilot of development. The State did the studies, funding, and management of the three industrial parks. For example, the state decided to finance the first phase of the Industrial Park of Diamniadio because it found it slow to take the private to invest in the Diamniadio industrial park. All the three modern industrial parks are state parks. It is the state that makes laws and regulations, gives orientations and decides favourable policies for investors settled in different industrial parks.

Many of the practices that the state has done in this endeavour had been seldom seen in Senegal, such as paying for the salaries of workers during the training in private Chinese industries, subsidizing their meals and transports, helping to hire workers for private enterprises, and making many more interventions. These practices were inspired by Chinese during the cooperation. The state spares no effort in attracting foreign investors for its industrialization, for which, the industries of export promotion and manufacturing are especially encouraged and well treated. The state prepares good conditions for investors, the accent put on infrastructure and the

industrial fabric is just a case in point that the state did more than it was during the period from the 1980s up to the 2000s in general.

As we have already demonstrated, development paths are shaped through the interaction of African countries and their financial providers. The government relies on public and private financial resources to accomplish its projects. It cannot realize its path if the projects in plans or programs are not supported financially by the outside world, considering financial shortages for most African countries.

The cooperation with China has propelled the state of Senegal to take a bigger role. The intensification of this bilateral cooperation began after 2010. As China become the largest financing source for Senegal, some of the development projects could not have been accomplished without Chinese actors' engagement. Even Chinese state-owned enterprises propose some projects to the government of Senegal. There is regularly some training held in China for different sectors aimed at capacity building for African employees in the governments of Africa.

In recent years, cooperation with China has helped Senegal to revalue the role of the state. However, this is not a fundamental change. The neoliberal effect is still prevalent, so that the state is restrained and not very strong, faced with the private sector. The private sector has always been considered more efficient than the public sector. The mainstream mentality in Senegal on the private is like what the official at the Ministry of investment promotion of Senegal says: "the state does not create jobs. It is the enterprises that create jobs. Normally, it is not the state that must construct ... it is the private sector that should invest." (Interview, Official of the Ministry of investment promotion of Senegal, August 17, 2018)

### **3.5 Conclusion**

Through the examination of the current development of Ethiopia and Senegal, it can be found that the two cases are inspired by China to different degrees. Ethiopia is significantly inspired by China and Senegal to a moderate degree, if not minimal. Inspired by China, Ethiopia has followed a development path of rapid growth without democracy, with heavy investments in infrastructure and industrialization, in which, the state, autonomous from the foreign countries or organizations, plays an important role in it. Senegal still follows a path of democracy, China has largely increased Senegal's infrastructure project, initiated industrialization programs with SEZ and helped the state to play more roles in the development, but the inspiration was not overwhelming. The state is still not autonomous enough from its former colonial power and international organizations. The reasons why the two African countries have such distinct degrees in their inspiration from China will be analyzed in chapter 4.

## **Chapter 4: Explaining the differences between the cases**

In this chapter, we are going to explain case study results and particularly, why Ethiopia is closer to the ideal type of the alternative development model than Senegal. Since the alternative development is inspired by China, and African states are the decision-makers of the choice of development model, we try to look at factors that help to form major commonalities and close ties between African states and China. Factors leading to the opposite situation of African states are also noted. The variables proposed for this issue are related to developmental versus neoliberal ideologies, postcolonial relations and Marxist versus non-Marxist legacies. These are respectively strategic, historical and institutional factors that shape the orientations of African states. There is a big quantity of literature on the developmental state of Ethiopia and neoliberalism in Africa. The two type of development strategy respectively fit into the strategy of Ethiopia and Senegal, and China is a developmental state. The colonial heritages is an extremely important factor that determine the internal development and foreign relations of African states with China. Therefore, colonial heritages deserve consideration. Finally, dominant political party is important for the state in choosing its development model. What is noteworthy for Ethiopia is that its ruling party has a strong Marxist tradition and heritages, which is probably a factor making it ideologically close to China and therefore, receptive to China's economic and political inspirations.

### **4.1 Developmental state versus neoliberal state**

Developmental and neoliberal states are two kinds of state structures. Ethiopia and Senegal have different propensities as to the alternative development model because of their different ideological state features. This argument not only involves the two development models: the developmental state versus neoliberalism, but also the relationship between political regimes and

development as the developmental state is often in symbiosis with the authoritarian regime, while neoliberalism flourishes in democracy. Ethiopia tends to take the alternative model more thoroughly, because it's a developmental state while Senegal has adopted doctrines of neoliberalism.

#### **4.1.1 The appealing nature of the model: the developmental state**

The term of developmental state was first brought out by Chalmers Johnson who used it to describe the economic model of Japan. Later, it referred to the feature of a number of East Asian countries and to even also to more countries around the world. The developmental state is a kind of state that builds its legitimacy on economic performance. The developmental state takes economic growth as its priority and primary goal and this for policy making of the government, and derives its legitimacy particularly from rapid growth. The developmental state can maintain the autonomy of the bureaucracy. The developmental state is marked by an efficient and competent bureaucracy (Deen 2011). The bureaucracy is also meritocratic (Evans 1989) and insulated from politicians, civil society and interests groups (Pekkanen 2004), meaning that such bureaucracy is an insulated group of technocrats (Singh and Ovardia 2019). The developmental state of Asian newly industrialized economies were highly autonomous and availed of authoritarian power (Douglass 1994). The developmental state is marked by strong state intervention, active state planning and regulation. The industrial policy of the developmental state is state-led, and the government actively provides support to the industries and makes effective state intervention to the economy (Evans 1989; Pekkanen 2004). The state bureaucracy is capable of controlling the private sector.

According to the definition of Yin-wah Chu (2016, 1), a developmental state is:

One that gives priority to economic growth, productivity, and technological

competitiveness. It is led by a small, elite bureaucracy recruited from the best managerial talents, which provides leadership through the formulation of industrial policies. Furthermore, a pilot agency within the bureaucracy exists to coordinate the policy formulation and implementation. Such industrial policies do not displace the market, but gear to market rationality in the long term. Finally, it is facilitated by a political system that gives sufficient room for the bureaucracy to take initiatives.

African policymakers confronted with limited industrial bases need more of the state power to concentrate resources for development. Certain African states are undergoing a transition from weak to developmental states. There are some African countries with the pretension of a developmental state, but are not yet such. What's more, for neopatrimonial states, the transition is susceptible to be less easy.

For the case of the developmental state of China, Chinese development was achieved to a large degree by the interference of the state in the economy, although in recent years, the country has been conceding the decisive role of the government to the market. China has many similarities as well as differences with other East Asian developmental states (So 2016, 176). Now that the first Asian developmental states like Japan, Korea and Singapore seem to undergo a long-term slowdown, China is becoming one of the most representative contemporary developmental states. The Chinese developmental state can thus be a new principal reference for African countries. As African leaders are motivated by Chinese growth, "the reinvented role of the state in development has been effectively embraced in the developmental state policy of many African countries" (Maru 2013). The Chinese cooperation zones in Africa are just an extension of the successful East Asian developmental state (Bräutigam and Tang 2011).

But "with its prioritisation of stability and development", the Chinese developmental state model is accused of "indirectly depreciating the efforts towards democracy and legitimacy" (Maru 2013). So another problem at issue is the compatibility between the developmental state

and democratic government. Many scholars have the concern that developmental state regimes are necessarily authoritarian (Matfess 2015, 185; Yin-wah Chu 2016, 18). Hilary Matfess (2015) coins the term “developmental authoritarianism” to describe Ethiopia and Rwanda, the leaders of which are convinced by the doctrines of the developmental state.

A developmental state must be marked by rapid economic growth. Most of the developmental states are not democratic, be they in Asia or Africa. It can be seen that their political legitimacy is limited if measured by democracy. This is the case with Ethiopia and China. The developmental state of Ethiopia is well joined up with the “revolutionary democracy” mentality. The political structure model has enabled the federal power concentrated in the hands of the EPRDF to be stronger than common federations, especially when the ruling coalition is made up of ethical representatives of different states throughout the country. The private sector is controlled by the state in contrast to the case of Senegal where the development of the private sector is dominant and more influential. When the state does not enjoy full autonomy from foreign forces, private actors would have less, especially for those dependent on or run by foreign actors. Indeed, the state is the actor most able to be autonomous. Private actors are often small or connected to foreign economic countries or organizations. This may be due to neoliberalism, incomplete decolonization or simply capitalist domination in the globalization of certain multinationals. Especially after the liberalization of the economy and opening-up of the market, the largest enterprises in Africa are often foreign ones. In these cases, the autonomy of the private sector is exposed to threats.

The experience of developmental states shows that it often needs a dominant party to keep on with their developmental state strategy. Even in the democratic country of developmental state, there is often a dominant party. Japan and Botswana are both democracies with a dominant party



in power almost all the time for decades. The only exception of democratic developmental states is Mauritius. Indeed, it's not common for democracies to have a dominant party. In other regimes, if a party wants to remain dominant, it has to resort to undemocratic practices. Since the developmental state is the policy supported by a party or a part of the elites of the party, the mutation in the political arena may derail or put an end to the developmental state strategy.

#### **4.1.1.1 The affinity between the developmental state and the authoritarian regime**

Literature abounds on the discourses that the developmental state is more likely to succeed in autocratic regimes. Some consider that “authoritarian regimes are more capable of launching and advancing ambitious developmental projects” in contrast to “the apparent weakness of democracies in a similar developmental context”, and “advocates of developmental authoritarianism argue that democracies impede the timing and speed of development as a result of the inherent argumentative nature of democracies, which prevents the insulation of the state from particularistic demands” (Sáez and Gallagher 2009, 87).

Meyns and Musamba (2010) shed light on the autocratic feature of Asian developmental states:

The developmental state in East Asia's experience is generally seen as having been autocratic rather than democratic. While not described as a necessary condition, autocratic rule was deemed to have facilitated the strong political leadership and the autonomy of state bureaucracy, both seen as essential features of the developmental state in East Asia.

Autocratic rule today can still work as a factor facilitating “strong political leadership and autonomy of state bureaucracy”, thus promoting a developmental state (Ayee 2013). Rapley (2013, 135) points out that as Third World states have to “thrust painful development policies on their people”, they “must be authoritarian or somehow separate from society, because they will

have to ignore or repress popular opposition.” As developmental states have shown in reality, it’s easier for them to emerge under authoritarian regimes. The contradiction between democracy and the developmental state always exists, and impedes the realization of democratic developmental states, this effect is accentuated today by globalization and other international mechanisms. The neoliberal orthodox makes the developmental state even less easy to emerge. Emergent developmental states are often those relatively reticent to neoliberalism.

Rwanda and Ethiopia, as the only emergent developmental states in Africa are all authoritarian. Edigheji (2005) thinks that “the democratic developmental state is “one that forges broad-based alliances with society and ensures popular participation in the governance and transformation processes”. A democratic developmental state is more difficult to construct than an authoritarian one. Just as democratization is an uphill endeavour, so is the construction of a developmental state. The pursuit of the two objectives of democracy and the developmental state together is susceptible to overload a country than the developmental state of its original version. It would be even more difficult to strive for a democratic developmental state than just promoting democracy, especially in the context of Africa.

Even if there is a normative standard for new developmental states to be democratic, the likelihood is limited. Most of African countries in democratic transitions have difficulty in democratic consolidation. According to Wong (2004), development undertakings are risky, and it often cannot be realized soon”. Indeed, minimal democracy or hybrid regimes are more common in Africa. A common problem with hybrid regimes combining democratic and autocratic traits is that they often perform far better in terms of electoral processes and pluralism than authoritarian regimes, but in general, the functioning of the government is not necessarily correspondingly better, and some of them even worse.

#### **4.1.1.2 The constraints posed to the developmental state by democracy**

In the developmental state, democracy is often relegated to the second place compared to development. “A weak civil society and relative autonomy of the state are important conditions” for a developmental state to emerge, and a developmental state can “implement economic policies faster with less consensus needed” (Leftwich 2000), limiting the room for political participation. Edigheji (2005) also notes that “the repressive nature of the state enhances its developmental capacity”. The developmental state involves labour suppression, weakness of civil society, interest groups, NGO and political participation, which is unacceptable under a democratic regime. “In a pluralistic form of democracy, a multitude of interest groups enjoy broadly equal and unrestricted access to the state” (Leenders 2007).

In the case of East Asia, the lack of autonomy was initially conceived in terms of the state imposing its will over society and suppressing the civil society. Johnson (1999) argues that “the ‘soft authoritarian character’ of the state was the source of its autonomy”. The legitimacy of the developmental state stems from “the state’s achievements and not from the way it came to power” (Johnson 1999, 53). Yin-wah Chu (2016, 17–18) warns that “there seems to be reasons for caution when asserting the compatibility between democratic government and developmental intervention”:

Owing to the need for the ruling elites in democratic government to gain popular support, policy-making and implementation have to address divergent concerns and tend to be more politicized. Groups and individuals may also capture state resources to advance short-term consumption-oriented benefits or other sectarian interests... If “organizational autonomy,” critical for the initiation of developmental support, is hard to come by even in the United States where conflict resolution and consensus building are routine, it would perhaps be even more challenging and time consuming for the new democracies and their institutions of developmental support to adapt to each other.

Chu (2016) notes that “ it requires a stable policy environment to provide continuity to projects and allow efforts to be sustained against adversities and failures in the short term. The democratic government, with its regular change of political power, has difficulties generating this kind of policy continuity and may lead to setbacks in developmental support.” The developmental state, on the contrary has a tendency of creating favourable conditions for policy continuity. Despite the late attempts at democratic legitimacy of states with developmental pretension today, we have to know that “none of the NICs have made much progress in creating democratic structures that would facilitate meaningful political participation by the majority”, when they developed fast (Brohman 1996, 124). Some of the “democratic developmental states” are self-proclaimed and just accept the rhetoric of liberal democracy in appearance at most. The democracy may just be a veil used by the regime to gain legitimacy. There are a great number of African “semi-authoritarian regimes”: “ambiguous systems that combine rhetorical acceptance of liberal democracy, the existence of formal democratic institutions, and respect for a limited sphere of civil and political liberties with essentially illiberal or even authoritarian traits” (Ottaway 2013, 3). This is a kind of system even less disposed to democracy than imperfect democracy. A country is not democratic just because it sets up the goal of democracy or takes the rhetoric of democracy.

Leftwich (2000, 153) suggests that “democracy remains largely incompatible with rapid developmental transformation”: he thinks that the ability of the state rather than democratic governance is determining for development. Leftwich argues “democratic procedures could slow down government’s effectiveness in making decisions and providing directions”, thus the early introduction of democracy may be unfavourable to development (Leftwich 2000, 131). Similarly, Jongejan makes the following statements:

Democratic governance and development are not an ideal combination. Development requires leadership that prioritizes it above short-term goals. It is aimed at state capacity and achieving outcomes whilst democratic governance is aimed at rules and processes in institutions. The developmental state involves the strengthening of state capacity, which may run counter to democratization's requirement of decentralizing power. This tension between development and democratic governance reflects that democracy is no favourable characteristic for developmental states.

Leftwich (2000) points out that “most features of the developmental state are found in the non-democratic state” and the capacity of the state is the cause for the difference in success. According to Leftwich (2005), “there are also very complicated and potentially compromising structural tensions between the institutions required for stable and consolidated democracy and those required for rapid, effective and sustained growth and development”. As democracy is “a conservative system of power, geared to stability, not change”, democratic institutions are not favourable to developmental momentum (Leftwich 2005). The developmental state is result-oriented, while the democratic regime is dependent on procedural legitimacy. The different requirements of development and democracy make it difficult to realize democratic stability and development simultaneously (Leftwich 2005). This tension would make simultaneous progress towards democratic stability and developmental progress very difficult, though this is the ambition of African countries like South Africa. Donors use the concept of “developmental state” to justify their disengagement on democratic reform from Africa and thus the depoliticize development models (Brown and Fisher 2020).

Some scholars think that democratic institutions may efficaciously be combined with the developmental state. Gordon White (1998) points out that democracy is reconcilable with the developmental state. However, this conjunction is rarely achieved in practice. Of the recently democratized states of Africa of the Third Wave, few were developmental. The most distinguished developmental state turned out to be authoritarian. There is much evidence of

democratic countries becoming developmental, yet less of success cases of conducting the simultaneous transformation into a both developmental and democratized state. There is not enough empirical evidence about the “democratic developmental state”. When the two aspects cannot be compatible or given equal priority, it’s normal that some countries put either democracy or development with a strengthened state capacity in the first place while sacrificing the other for a certain period. Therefore, two scenarios often happen: 1) when a state undertakes democratization, it would find itself having trouble building a developmental state in spite of its determination. 2) when a developmental state becomes a democracy, it ceases to be developmental, or at least, its developmental nature gets contested and doubtful<sup>29</sup>.

As the former Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi argues, “the motive and source of legitimacy of developmental States are the single-minded pursuit of accelerated development. Whether a developmental state builds the consensus in the context of a fully democratic order or not does not determine its characteristics as a developmental state” (Meles 2011, 169). This shows that Meles thinks Ethiopia does not have to be democratic in order to be developmental. Gebremariam et al. (2017, 24) note that Ethiopia is not a democratic developmental state in view of the probable incompatibility between the notions of developmental state and democracy. Although the Ethiopian government officially announced that it was taking the democratic developmental state model, to realize this, it would need to address the challenges of weak commitments to the democratization process, corruption, weak civil liberties, political parties’ underrepresentation and ethnic identities essentialization (Jalata 2015). Elections are often disputed for fraud. The dominant EPRDF controls political, social and security structures. It has been contested by the opposition. After the 2015 parliamentary elections, the situation has got

---

<sup>29</sup> This is the case of Japan and South Korea

worse. There has hardly been any opposition MP in the country's parliament.

The literature on the democratic developmental state is not many. In Africa, Botswana and Mauritius are taken as the rare cases of democratic developmental states by some scholars. But it is revealed that the Botswana has authoritarian tendencies and the authoritarian nature is in keeping with its developmental state (Taylor 2012, 467). The Botswana Democratic Party has been in power continuously since the state's independence in 1966. As for Mauritius, another developmental state which is democratic, some unusual historical conditions have favored the emergence of a state with increasing democracy (Sandbrook 2005). In sum, democratic developmental states are more of special cases than the common ones.

The developmental state is not well combined with democracy empirically. Democratic developmental states are rare. The self-claimed democratic developmental states are either undemocratic, like Ethiopia, or undevelopmental, like South Africa. In Asia where the developmental state originated from, developmental states have largely been transformed. Seen from the empirical facts, the developmental states of South Korea and Singapore have turned to neoliberalism after their democratization. Kim argues that the East Asian states have experienced a transition from the developmental state to the post-developmental state or market-oriented state in an environment of political liberalization and economic globalization (Kim 2007). However, (Wade and Storm 2018) do not think the developmental states of East Asia like South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore are dead or have become neoliberal. Rather they argue that "they have adapted and evolved, but still undertake market-steering, 'societal mission' roles well beyond neoliberal limits."

Pirie argues that South Korea is no longer a developmental state, if the developmental state is defined by "a singular focus on maximizing rates of investment and minimizing

consumption; a cautious approach to FDI and the central role the state played in capital allocation”, since South Korea’s policy and growth model have changed (Pirie 2016). Rather, South Korea has become a post-developmental state, although there are still legacies of developmental state (Pirie 2016; Uttam 2019). South Korea has adopted policy prescriptions of neoliberal ideas. South Korea’s post-developmental state is equated with neoliberal state (Uttam 2019). To South Korea, the current neoliberal state of South Korea is not in keeping with democratic development, since labor flexibility and social inequality are exacerbated by neoliberal reforms, which is an undemocratic dynamism to the state (Hyun-Chin and Jin-Ho 2006). Chin and Jang also demonstrate the demise of South Korea’s developmental state as “three institutional actors, the state, banks and chaebols in the old developmental state have largely been transformed”. The developmental state of South Korea existed in the authoritarian past, while the transition to the neoliberal state is seen as a democratic turn (Kapur and Naim 2005). It is widely argued that the developmental state of South Korea begins to be less apparent due to neoliberal influence. The developmental state of South Korea started to be dismantled by the neoliberal reform implemented after 1997 crisis (Um, Lim, and Hwang 2014). Um, Lim, and Hwang (2014) point out there is even an appeal for restoring the developmental state in Korea. Japan is also taken as a country which has experienced “the transition from a developmental state to a post-developmental state” (Weiss and Hobson 2007). Liow (2012) calls Singapore a neoliberal developmental state, which is a hybrid state, since the developmental state of Singapore “has been deregulated, liberalised and privatised to conform more to the neoliberal model”. Pereira (2008) thinks Singapore’s developmental state has not devolved considering the “post-industrial” economic programmes.



#### **4.1.1.3 The infrastructure and industrialization in the developmental state**

The state is an appropriate investor and developer of large-scale public investments, as well as those that generate profits in the long run, like the infrastructure. What's more, infrastructure is a basic sector for such development-oriented states. The rule of the state by one party or the dominant party for a long time strengthens the continuity and consistency of policies. The typical developmental state puts emphasis on the industrialization of the country, as the Asian ones did. The developmental state can adapt the national policies to the industrialization. The state can integrate heavy public investments with the infrastructure and the industrial park development. The investment of the state in the construction of industrial parks is mainly aimed at industrialization rather than profit making.

#### **4.1.1.4 The role of the state in the developmental state**

As Rakner (2007, 2) notes, "state building requires, above all, the strengthening of its institutions and consolidation/centralisation of its power, while democracy promotion calls for the substantial diffusion and redistribution of state power". The developmental state is marked by active state interventions. Through his interviews, Müller (2015) finds that the developmental state model can be considered as a third way between socialism and capitalism, having both state control and market competition. The socialist history and legacy have made the state strong. In socialist countries, the economy is planned and market controlled, and the state is omnipresent. Ethiopia has the similarity with China that there is the cohesion between the party, state, and government and the mode can be called party-state system. The party state system facilitates the adoption of the developmental state.

Ethiopia has since 1996 embarked on the path of building a developmental State of East Asian style. In this style, the state plays an active role in most of the sectors, and industrial

development has been its focus in recent years. It has the means of tapping into all of the available resources in the country and elaborating favourable policies to support development. Large-scale infrastructure is one of the biggest public projects. The country is trying to create a favourable investment environment, with the concerted work of the Ethiopian investment commission, Industrial Park Development Corporation, and others. While inviting private investment, the state has always made a number of interventions, guiding it into some advantageous, significant and promising sectors and locations, for example, in certain regions, to set up production targets in order to make the state successful in reaching national annual targets of GTP and expanding exportation. The country is active in providing incentive policies to the sectors and industries it considers important, among others, the leather and related products. In Ethiopia, important enterprises are largely state-owned and party-affiliated.

While the Wall Street-IMF-Treasury complex “persuaded, cajoled and coerced, with the structural adjustment programmes, developing countries to liberalization” (Harvey 2005, 92), the developmental state is rather a model originated from the East. The state-driven character of Ethiopian development is just an alternative to neoliberalism. The EPRDF’s ideology sees a fundamental difference and opposition between the developmental state and neoliberalism. Meles critiques neoliberalism. The ideology of the EPRDF since 1991 has been revolutionary democracy. Opposite to neoliberalism, it accords with the developmental state. Revolutionary democracy requires a strong and active state, according to which both the public and private sectors should be led and controlled by the state.

The EPRDF had to follow a pragmatic strategy first in the 1990s to guarantee external support for its survival. As Ethiopia affirms the democratic developmental state since 2001, it has had more and more reservations towards neoliberalism, in spite of the demands of liberalization

and privatization from the part of western donors. The state ownership of land is also a foundation for its strong role. Ethiopia has kept grip on many sectors, especially the strategic ones, which have been privatized in many other African countries, such as the financial and the telecommunication sectors. It is sensible to the risk of foreign control. This is a reason why it is reserved to neoliberalism which could give many opportunities to foreigners. Today, its retail industry is still under state control. As shown in table 4.5 below, there is a sharp contrast between the nature of many sectors in Ethiopia and Senegal. The public sector in Ethiopia is still very large. The ruling party EPRDF has justified the intervention of the state in the economy:

The developmental state paradigm which our government subscribes to allow the government to selectively intervene in the economy to fill apparent gaps in the market. That means the government invests in industries where the private sector doesn't dare to engage in or in areas where the profit margins don't attract the private sector but are very vital for the overall economic development. There will also be industries which will still remain under protection from the global market to help flourish local businesses (EPRDF 2019).

**Table 4.5: Economic structures of Ethiopia and Senegal**

<b>Sector</b>	<b>Ethiopia</b>	<b>Senegal</b>
Land	Public	Private
Banking & insurance	State-controlled	privatized
Telecommunication	Public	Privatized
Transportation and Logistics	State-controlled	privatized
Retailing	State controlled	Liberalized
	State-driven economic	Private sector driven economic

	development	development
--	-------------	-------------

#### 4.1.2 Neoliberal state<sup>30</sup>

Neoliberalism is an economic philosophy regarding economic and trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation, reduction of government spending to introduce an austerity policy, increase the role of the private sector, although neoliberalism is subject to debates. Neoliberalism is considered to be supportive of “market and private interests” and oppose state intervention (Duménil and Lévy 2005). The neoliberal scholars generally think “neoliberalism is defined as the extension of competitive markets into all areas of life, including the economy, politics and society (Springer, Birch, and MacLeavy 2016).” The neoliberalism endorses the neoclassical theory in believing that the state is not efficient, and the market is more appropriate for playing dealing with economic development, such as the industrial growth (Saad-Filho 2005, 113). The neoliberalism stresses market competition, the diminution in government intervention and market regulation (Palley 2005, 20). Neoliberalism emerged first in the 1930s aimed at renewal classical liberalism, and was revived with the failure of Keynesian policies in the 1970s. Neoliberalism advocates the decrease of the functions of the state, and thinks that maintaining a minimal state is better. The public sector tends to give way to the private sector, while some of the roles of the state are to be ceded to the market, on which the economy and society’s activities should be based. Thus, the state should reduce expenditure of itself in public works. The privatization of public enterprises and services, economic deregulation, reduce government debt. Thatcher and Reagan undertook neoliberal reform respectively in Great Britain and the United States around

---

<sup>30</sup> The term of the neoliberal state is not widely used. But here, we use it in the sense of a state embracing and influenced by neoliberalism, the dominant economic doctrine put into practice in that country. We refer to it in parallel to the developmental state in this part of the dissertation.

1980 due to the economic crisis. The neoliberalism was soon exported to the Third World to solve similar problems, especially the financial deficit. From the 1980s, the neoliberal paradigm influenced Africa widely. It discontinued post-independent Keynesian policies. Since 1980s, most African countries have taken significant liberalization and deregulation in the spirit of neoliberalism. The Structural Adjustment Programme was generally adopted by African countries. This policy led countries towards a neoliberal model through reforms. One of these radical reforms was the privatization of state-owned assets and the public service. To be sure, it was often foreign corporations and rich nationals that had the financial capacity to purchase. The lack of efficiency and investment was one of the reasons why the financial crisis happened in Africa. However, the enlarged private sector has also created some new problems. The privatization was not a complete success. And the social welfare was equally dampened.

The developmental state of Ethiopia is skeptical of “neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus” and prioritizes “economic growth over political reform” (Sehen and Tsegaye 2012, 8). This is a commonality between Ethiopia and China. The government and the private sector both being economic and development players, while the developmental state has a great role to play in the market, by adhering to interventions and macroeconomic control, the neoliberal state plays little or no role in the market (Gebremariam et al. 2017, 15).

China also undertook the neoliberal reform in the same period, but what distinguished it from other cases was that it has adopted neoliberalism in a moderate manner and more importantly, refused the supposed political regime of neoliberalism, the liberal democracy. Instead, Deng Xiaoping led China on a path of neoliberalism with centralized authoritarianism, while largely preserving socialism in the economy and politics. In 1992, China embarked on the socialist market economy, and as such, its economy has lied in the “socialism with Chinese

characteristics". This political background has resulted in limited permeation of neoliberalism and continuous prominent Keynesianism. Gaye (2006) realizes that China has proved to Africa that a country can escape underdevelopment by breaking the neoliberal constraints.

In contrast, a large number of African states have assimilated the dominant neoliberalism of the time without much resistance. African neoliberal reforms resulted to a large extent from external pressures, embodied in the form of prescriptions of the leading international financial institutions, IMF and World Bank as well as western donor countries. The attached conditions had to be met in order to get the structural adjustment aid. Along with all the reforms, the state's role was circumscribed to make it smaller but better to the benefit of the private sector, in view of the incapability of the state. However, the state was further weakened in this process. Power and resources flew to the private sector and the state retrenched.

The model that Senegal has adopted is literally opposite to the developmental state. It relies essentially on the private sector, which is dominant in the economy and considered as the driving force of growth. The state is smaller and retrenched, making little intervention in the economy. The openness of the market has been achieved through liberalization, though the former period had already witnessed much French presence. In Dakar, a city of an underdeveloped country, the price level is almost comparable to developed countries. This is because it is decided by the market, and the state believes in *laissez-faire*. Against the backdrop of the worldwide dominant doctrine of neoliberalism and liberal democracy, it is less easy for a developmental state to appear today. To be developmental, countries would better adopt neoliberalism in a reserved manner. Since African states don't assimilate neoliberalism in an equally uncritical way, there is still a chance for the emergence of developmental states in Africa.

In contrast to the case of Senegal, in the developmental state of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi

believes that “the neoliberal paradigm is a dead end” (Meles 2006). The EPRDF considers that “it is unthinkable to eradicate poverty from Ethiopia adopting neo-liberalism” and Ethiopia believes in other ways to development than just neo-liberalism from the perspective of the experience of South East Asian countries (Gebremariam et al. 2017, 9). Meles doesn’t like the private sector, in preference of political and economic institutions free from the private sector (Meles 2006). As for Prime Minister Abiy, in spite of all the neoliberal reform outlines, little reform has come into practice in the economic sector.

We present the correlations between the neoliberal state and elements of the alternative development model subsequently.

#### **4.1.2.1 The doctrine of neoliberalism and democratization**

As much of elsewhere in the world, liberal democracy has been promoted in Africa with the neoliberal development orthodoxy. There are debates on the relations between neoliberalism and democracy: “while neoliberalism pulls society away from democracy, its proponents often defend it as an instrument for the promotion of democracy since deregulation can be readily associated with democracy”.(MacEwan 2005, 174) Neoliberalism is “a broad structure of political beliefs founded on ideas about political democracy, individual freedom and the creative potential of unfettered entrepreneurship” (Peet 2001, 329). Alison J. Ayers and Alfredo Saad-Filho (2015). note that “procedural democracy is the political form of neoliberalism, and it dominates political thought and state practice today”. Formal democracy has also reinforced neoliberalism because it makes it harder to reverse neoliberal reforms (Ayers and Saad-Filho 2015, 605).

Liberal democracy has provided a depoliticized framework that nurtures neoliberalism, providing it with a cloak of legitimacy. The historical trajectory of liberal democracy, as a theory and a practice of power, betrays an antidemocratic tendency that leads to depoliticization and has

quelled the democratic politics that once gave credence to it, thus paving the way for the rise of neoliberalism (Vazquez-Arroyo 2008).

Neoliberalism is supposed to be prevalent together with liberal democratic politics and they form contemporary hegemonic discourses. Political liberalization and other political factors bred various non-state actors after 1989 in Africa (Van de Walle 2003, 5). Economic liberalization was thus synchronized with political liberalization. To find alternative development actors to the state, non-state actors were brought to the front. The supporters of NGOs prefer the private sector to the public sector and make NGOs the vehicles for democratization (Van de Walle 2003, 5). The demand for democracy for an active civil society has overlapped the need of non-state actors and private sector clamouring a liberal economy. The civil society is a center of opposition to the state and creator of oppositional politics (Harvey 2005, 78). Thus, state power is challenged by civil society. Neoliberalization attaches importance to the individual's rights and freedoms and is opposed to authoritarianism and arbitrary political, economic and class power (Harvey 2005, 175–76). Thus, neoliberalism has often been accompanied by an imperative of democratization. The economic liberalization in Africa was joined by democratization in the early 1990s as the collapse of the Soviet Union made the rest of external influence the world over almost uniform in promoting the mainstream twin doctrines. However, some claim the negative impact of neoliberalism on democracy. Ayers et al. note that “neoliberalism has bred a (largely constitutional) new authoritarianism, both through its own political development in the ‘heartlands’ and as an alternative to neoliberal democracy in the ‘periphery’”(Ayers and Saad-Filho 2015, 606). The neoliberalism has “severely degraded political freedoms” and neoliberalism is “inimical to economic democracy, and it hollows out political democracy” (Ayers and Saad-Filho 2015). What's more, “the erosion of democracy is a direct product of neoliberalism where it is hegemonic, and it contaminates the alternatives currently in existence”



(Ayers and Saad-Filho 2015, 612). The limitations of neoliberalism consist in “the contradictions between economic and political democracy”, while the expansion of democracy induces many determinations against neoliberalism (Ayers and Saad-Filho 2015). Hickel (2016, 142) claims that “the erosion of democracy has been a necessary political precondition for the implementation of neoliberal economic policy” since radical neoliberal market deregulation dismantles or circumvent democratic mechanisms, so that “neoliberalism tends to undermine democracy and political freedom. Hayek prioritizes economic liberalism over political liberalism and thinks the relationship between neoliberalism and democracy is one fluctuating between the promotion of dictatorships and more direct democracy (Kapeller and Pühringer 2012). Enwere (2013) claims that the economic liberalization, a protocol of neoliberalism, erodes citizen’s confidence in democracy in Africa, where political institutions and elections only constitute sham democracy but not real democracy. The self interests under neoliberalism capture states, which led to the crisis of democracy (Lemke 2002, 6). Palley thinks that globalization can radically diminish the scope and content of democracy. Neoliberal democracy faces lots of critics of anti-democracy, since neoliberalism restricts democracy, tends to replace democratic institutions and processes through market mechanisms or need to be complemented with direct democratic measures (Biebricher 2015, 263). There is also a mild attitude on the relationship: neoliberal globalization accelerates with “the growth of liberal democracy in many states where it was absent” and “neoliberal globalization has undercut traditional liberal democracy and created the need for supplementary democratic mechanisms” (Kukoc 2006, 373). There is an argument claiming that democracy is detrimental to neoliberalism. For example, Ayers and Saad-Filho (2015) conclude that “neoliberalism is incompatible with the expansion of democracy into key areas of social life” and “the expansion of democracy can provide an effective lever for the abolition of neoliberalism”. Rodrick thinks there is a trilemma between globalization, the nation state and

democratic politics and countries can only have two of the three (Rodrik 2017). The principal contradictions of neoliberalism in countries are different. In the Third World, “neoliberalism is compatible with and even productive of authoritarian state forms and agents within civil society”; while in the First World, neoliberalism erodes liberal democratic institutions and practices (Brown 2003).

#### **4.1.2.2 Infrastructure and industrialization in the neoliberal state**

Infrastructure is not a very important task for the neoliberal state itself. The state often relies on the market for the development and operation of infrastructure. Neoliberal scholars tend to pay attention to more underlying issues, rather than the infrastructure. According to neoliberalism, “the main reason why poor countries remain poor is not because they lack machines, infrastructure or money but, rather, because of misconceived state intervention, corruption, inefficiency and misguided economic incentives (Saad-Filho 2005, 114).” During the neoliberal structural adjustment period especially, infrastructure developed very slowly and even deteriorated... The state was in lack of resources to build more infrastructures due to budgetary restraints and expenditure cutbacks. In addition, deprived of many functions, the state also had to neglect and marginalize this sector. In fact, neoliberalism has diverted investments from physical sectors including infrastructure to the financial sector. Anyway, infrastructure projects including roads and railways, water supply and electricity are more suitable for public investment than private ones from the perspective that they are not very profitable at least in the short term, or that they are just not aimed to be profitable themselves, just being a part of overall considerations of development strategies of a country. Most of the privatization of railways in Africa ended up into a failure. The Senegalese railway taken over by Franco-Canadian enterprise was an example. Many public products should be supposed to be provided at low costs. What’s more, the state at

its position has the best management and coordination power for such public projects. This is why privatization attempts in the structural adjustment programmes were often a paradox with mixed results. A common problem with the privatization of the main sectors of the economy is that the private does not make enough investments as its commitment. The model of public-private partnership (PPP) was introduced into Africa for infrastructure projects. Many privatized projects were renationalized later. For those projects that were successfully privatized, the price of the products they provided was generally higher than before, because private investors were profit-seeking, if not single-mindedly. After all, it was not the mission of the private sector to subsidize prices for the benefit of public welfare. What made this worse was that capable private investors and operators were often foreigners, who started to run and control some important infrastructure of certain African countries. This radically conducted privatization was indeed paradoxical and contestable.

In terms of industrialization, although the neoliberal state can also be committed to the industrialization of a country, the neoliberal system has deprived part of the competence of the state to control and lead actors of every sector for the common objective of industrialization. For example, in Ethiopia, the water, telecommunication, and banking sectors are all operated by foreign enterprises, it is thus a challenge for the state to mobilize and coordinate them for the overall benefit of the country towards industrialization, rather than parochial interests. What the state can do to encourage and support manufacturing investors are also relatively limited since part of the role of the state was transferred to the private and the market.

### **4.1.2.3 The relationship between the neoliberal state and the autonomous development with various partners**

Whether a state is neoliberal or not doesn't decide if the country's partnership is diversified or not. But the neoliberal paradigm has a potential influence on the autonomy of the state. The autonomy in this dissertation mainly refers to that of the state vis à vis foreign forces. The dominance of (foreign-controlled) private companies, especially those of former colonial powers could be transformed into political influence, because they will try to influence the decision-making of African leaders. Neoliberalism undermines national sovereignty since "the parliaments of putatively independent nations no longer have power over their own policy decisions, but are governed instead by foreign banks, the US Treasury, trade agreements, and undemocratic international institutions, all of which exercise a kind of invisible, remote-control power" (Hickel 2006, 142). In a neoliberal regime, decision-making may be concerned with opening-up of the market to an enterprise, and preference given to foreign enterprises in the name of trade liberalization and international project tendering for construction and operation, etc. The decision-making of the government should be a strategic choice of the state, free from foreign pressures. Pally (2017) points out the dilemma between globalization and national policy space: globalization reduces policy space. Against the neoliberal background, it is a challenge for state officials to guarantee full autonomy or even sovereignty from the influence of foreign forces.

### **4.1.2.4 The role of the state in a neoliberal state**

It is often considered that the neoliberal reform has reduced the role for the state in Africa (Konings 2011, 4). In contrast to the common wisdom that neoliberalism requires the retreat of the state, Jason Hickel reminds that neoliberalism requires powerful state intervention of the western governments to create a free market globally in order to extent neoliberalism (Hickel

2018). In the same vein, (MacEwan 2005, 172) indicates that “neoliberalism requires a strong state that can ensure the primacy of private property, preserve the dominance of markets over social control, and thus limit the operation of democratic power”. Therefore, the main reason why neoliberalism needs so-called “powerful state intervention” or “a strong state” just lies in its aim of guaranteeing the free markets. In the final analysis, the final role for the neoliberal state is “minimal” and the markets is “maximal” (MacEwan 2005, 172). African countries implemented the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) promoted by the World Bank and IMF. The SAPs were “anchored in the neo-liberal economic thinking under the banner of the Washington Consensus that pose serious challenges to the active participation of the state in economic activities” and refuse the primacy of the state in the development process (Jalata 2015). Partly due to the adjustment programmes, several states collapsed, parliaments were marginalized, with parties and political systems discredited in many countries (Dembélé 2015, 91). The power of the neoliberal state is often transferred to corporations. Harvey (2005, 76–77) points out that in the neoliberal state, “businesses and corporations not only collaborate intimately with state actors but even acquire a strong role in writing legislation, determining public policies, and setting regulatory frameworks”. The state was withdrawn from interventions in the market, believing that they should be minimized while the public sector and government were downsized. There was a widespread retreat of the state in Africa especially from many services. The investment and commercialization of certain public services like electricity and water were separated, with the commercialization becoming a private activity. However, de Walle (2003, 29) stresses that “sustained development requires an interventionist and effective central state to spearhead the development process”. Since Africa suffers from extreme resources scarcity and widespread market failures, “the need for a strong state with the ability and willingness to coordinate and regulate the development process has to be reconciled with the advantages of pluralism and

market capitalism” (Van de Walle 2003, 29). However, it is a challenge to simultaneously reinforce the state while boosting political pluralism, the civil society and market. In most of the cases in Africa, the state’s role was sacrificed to the market. What made matters worse was the already particularly weak nature of the state emanating from its pre- and post-colonial history. African states devolved many of their important functions and tasks to the private sector in line with the requirement of the aid providers. A smaller state only in charge of essential public goods and services was supposed to be more effective. However, it turned out this was not true in Africa. As a result, many African states have never evidently strengthened themselves ever since. The promotion of new development institutions by aid donors “has tended to weaken Africa’s central states” (Van de Walle 2003). Some aid providing countries and international institutions have weakened the state in Africa by funding NGOs and community groups and allocating aid to these non-state actors.

It was not until 1997 that the World Bank recognized that a minimal state of neoclassical economics couldn’t “promote a vigorous marketplace or eradicate widespread poverty in developing countries” (Goldsmith 2003, 183). States should thus “catalyze development by performing so-called core state functions, especially the establishment of groundwork of law, provision of a stable macroeconomic environment, and investment in basic social services and infrastructure” (Goldsmith 2003). Private investors and institutions rely on a fine general environment that only the state can create. The late 1990s’ shift on the vision of African state’s role has already drawn attention to the East Asian successful state-led development stories. China marks a different aid model since it seldom works with NGO, as an extension of its domestic development thinking. Unlike western aid providers, Chinese aid providers usually interact with government agencies in Africa.

Many sectors in Africa have been subject to the neoliberal reform since the 1980s. The influence can be examined through an analysis by sectors.

The electricity sector is representative for the neoliberal change in Sub-Saharan Africa. For a long time, the public enterprise was a monopoly of the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity. The liberal influence of the West in the early 1990s led to the coexistence between state-owned enterprises that retain a dominant or even exclusive role over monopoly activities, and private firms that invest in competitive activities, along with an independent regulator. National companies must separate activities of a natural monopoly (transport and distribution of electricity through networks) and those that can be subject to competition (the production and commercialization of electricity) (Heuraux 2010, 160).

Due to the direct rule of France in its former colonies, France administered telecommunication networks as a means of control. In this sense, it is normal that in today's post-colonial era, some French economic investment and operation activities, be they private or public, are integrated into French state policies for a certain sector vis-a-vis a group of African countries in the region. The historic partnership with France continues to imprint Senegal's national economy, and French subsidiary companies and entities under Senegalese law account for nearly a quarter of the GDP and tax revenues of Senegal.<sup>31</sup> According to Dicken (1998), the main beneficiaries of the liberalization and deregulation processes initiated by the WTO are transnational corporations. The privatization of telecommunications was pushed externally with eventual return of reduced-rate loans, aid in the form of cooperation, public debt reduction, etc. Western multinationals had an imperative to realize their global ambitions. To this end, national operators used the Troie Horse of multinationals to penetrate the markets of underdeveloped

---

<sup>31</sup> France and its partners country by country: trade between France and Senegal in 2013

countries (Kane 2010, 39).

To have an exact idea of the neoliberal influence, the structural adjustment program in Senegal is just a representative case. Senegal has always relied on foreign aid for its government expenditures, such as salaries for civil servants and scholarships for university students. The state could not manage to collect enough revenues on its own. Meanwhile, the effect of the dismissal of government officials and other employees to downsize the public service has not been reversed or eliminated. The personnel team is still not up to the size of a strong state. But over time, the current development with a more ambitious agenda needs a bigger state, so the existing official team seems to be working in an overburdened manner. With the neoliberal reform, the economy of Senegal has been deeply privatized. Almost all of the sectors in Senegal including railways, ports, airports, telecommunications, banking, logistics and water supply were privatized, just with some renationalized due to the failure of privatization.

For over 20 years after independence in 1960, French companies continued owning parts of the electricity system in Senegal before it was fully nationalized in 1983, when SENELEC (Senegalese Electricity Company) became the single state-owned company for the whole power sector.<sup>32</sup> SENELEC was privatized in 1999, with shares sold to the consortium of Hydro-Quebec and Elyo. But it was renationalized just after 18 months. Regarding factors of privatization failures, the main ones were the unwillingness of private shareholders to make large investments, and the pressure of electricity tariff increases from the private part to the detriment of consumers (Gökgür and Jones 2006, 9–10). More generally speaking, Gökgür & Jones (2006, 3) point out that the failure resulted from the “inappropriate and imposed reform model: the reform started in response to the World Bank/IMF conditionalities without being fully embraced by stakeholders.

---

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.psir.org/companies/senelec.html>



The model selected for restructuring and the regulatory/tariff regime were imported from the UK, without sufficient adjustments to the realities on the ground”. After the second unrealized privatization attempt of SENELEC in 2001 as “the Senegalese authorities still remained bound by World Bank/IMF conditionality” (Leftwich 2005, 10), the SENELEC has remained a national enterprise and its sector is one of few sectors not privatized in Senegal.

The telecommunication sector is also among those that have undergone privatization in Senegal. President Abdou Diouf of Senegal affirmed very clearly that telecommunications were the preserve of the state because of their important strategic, military and security implications (Kane 2010, 11). Indeed, such was a widely held perception. However, Senegal’s telecommunication operations were totally privatized under Wade. When colonial control in the telecommunication sector lost ground in Senegal, French official investments came in instead, at the opportunity of the externally initiated privatization, thus creating a new opening for French control. There are three main telecommunication operators in Senegal. Expresso is controlled by Sudatel, a Sudanese telecommunication provider. Tigo was sold in 2018 to a consortium led by the French. And the leading operator has been Sonatel (*la société nationale des télécommunications*, or the National Telecommunications Company in English) created in 1985 and controlled by the state. Sonatel enjoyed monopolistic domination till 1997 when it was privatized. The initial allocation of 30% of shares went to its strategic partner FT (France Telecom). FT’s share was then increased to 42.33% of the Sonatel’s capital by divesting part of its shares. The reasons and conditions for this surprise increase of the participation of the French operator in the capital of Sonatel remain to date unknown to the general public. Anyway, France Telecom as a strategic partner bought the shares. The liberalization began in 2004, with a 7 years’ lag of privatization. But the liberalization was only theoretical for several years and the de facto

monopoly continued until the actual participation of the Sudanese operator Sudatel in early 2009 (Kane 2010, 113). In the capital composition of Sonatel, Orange has been the largest holder. French Telecom (now Orange S.A., of which the state of France is the main shareholder) takes 42.33% of the capital in the first telecommunication provider, Sonatel. The government of Senegal keeps 27.67%, while the public 25% and employees 5%. It can thus be seen that French state-controlled Orange holds the controlling stake in the National Telecommunications Company of Senegal, Sonatel.

The water sector was privatized in the 1990s following the prescription of the World Bank. After the institutional reform of 1996, water production and distribution were divided, with the SONES (National Water Company of Senegal) responsible for investments in infrastructure and equipment while the private enterprise SDE has taken up the operation of the drinking water supply service of Senegal. The SDE is controlled by the SAUR, a subsidiary of the French enterprise Bouygues.

In the construction sector, Eiffage has accentuated its centenary dominance by winning the two biggest construction projects in Senegal, the first expressway and TER (Regional Express Train) and also getting their operation concessions. That is to say that the first expressway and the first modern railway are both constructed and operated by French Eiffage. These decisions were made while any offer from other constructors were dismissed, however economically competitive they were.

For the banking sector, among the three biggest banks in Senegal, two are owned by French, the Société Générale and BICIS. The retailing sector has been strongly impacted by the French supermarkets, Auchan and Casino. Auchan has been installed in almost every neighbourhood of Dakar within just several years, in spite of the vigorous opposition from local merchants. For the

transport sector, apart from Air France and Corsair of air transportation, shipping and logistics are dominated by Bolloré and Necotrans at the Autonomous Port of Dakar. Bolloré is an important enterprise of transport and logistics in Senegal. It was the former operator of the Dakar Autonomous Port, which is currently operated by the Dubai Ports World Group. The airport operated by the company of Limak-Aibd-Summa, mainly composed of two Turkish enterprises.

The railways of Senegal and Mali were privatized in 2003 in line with the structural adjustment programmes. The public railway company of these two countries merged into a company called Transrail to entrust the full railway concession to French and Canadian private partners. The two partners managed the railway from 2003 to 2016. But unluckily, instead of constructing new railways, the private only managed the existing ones. They didn't finance as they had promised. The management ended up in failure so that the state decided to have it renationalized (Interview, Official of Railway Agency of Senegal, August 17 2018). It turned out that the private could not play a better role than the state for the railway sector. The state-run hydrocarbon corporation of Senegal, Petrosen is held by the French Company "Total" for 90%. "Total" is the biggest petrol distributor with 45% market share in Senegal. The mining sector is also seeing French predominance.

Although EPRDF is constitutionally committed to liberal democracy and greater freedom to the society and neoliberalism is also a part of the wider liberal tradition (Feyissa 2011, 795), Ethiopia is not a neoliberal state and the state's autonomy has not been apparently weakened by the neoliberal elements. In contrast to Senegal, the Ethiopia's neoliberal reform has been moderate, though it also adopted the structural adjustment programme. Ethiopia took the privatisation relatively late and its privatisation can be divided into two phases: from 1994 to 1998, 88% of the proceeds were collected and from 1999 to 2004, only 11.93% (Wodajo and

Senbet 2017; Selvam et al. 2005). This means that the privatization lasted for a short time before it slowed down. So, most of the privatisation activities were implemented in the 1990s. There were only a few cases in the second phase. According to Gebeyehu (2000), of the 223 privatized state-owned enterprises from 1994 to 2002 (see table 4.2), only “40 were large or medium enterprises and 133 were small retail/trade outlets”, what’s more, the main sectors subject to privatization were tourists attractions, hotels, mines and agriculture, with the retail trade sector being the major sector among the five involved in the privatization. Finally, foreign investors accounted for just 12.1%. This was a very moderate scale. It shows that foreign investors didn’t have the opportunity to purchase Ethiopian enterprises as many as were the cases in many other African countries like Senegal, during the period of privatization. Ethiopia has kept its core sectors from being privatized, and even further to the foreign capitals. Big enterprises in strategic sectors like telecommunications, banking, electricity and water supply have remained public. As shown in the table 4.2, it was not allowed for foreigners to participate in the retail trade, just as is the case today.

**Table 4.2: Privatised SoEs of Ethiopia 1994-2002**

Sector	Privatized Enterprises		Transferred to		Investors Share %	
	Number	% share	Domestic Investors	Foreign Owners	Domestic	Foreign
Manufacturing	40	17	31	9	77.5	22.5
Agriculture	31	13	15	16	48.4	51.6
Hotel & Tourism	18	8	17	1	94.4	5.6
Retail Trade	133	60	133	0	100.0	0.0
Mining	1	0.4	0	1	0.0	100.0
Total	223	100	196	27	87.9	12.1

(Source: Gebeyehu 2000, 8)

The following table will clearly show how privatization nearly ended around 2001, just a few years after its advent.

**Table 4.3: Privatisation of SoEs of Ethiopia**

Year	No. of Privatisations	Privatisation Proceeds (PP) (USD Millions)	GDP (USD Millions)	PP/GDP (In Percentage)
1994/95	14	29.54	5,779	0.51
1995/96	116	51.46	6,393	0.8
1996/97	26	18.72	6,725	0.28
1997/98	9	193.1	6,647	2.91
1998/99	21	89.12	7,067	1.26
1999/00	16	45.87	7,451	0.61
2000/01	11	2.97	8,106	0.04
2001/02	1	0.76	8,326	0.009
2002/03	3	0.56	6,638	0.008
2003/04	3	1.60	7,408	0.021
Annual Average Total	22	433.7	6,277	0.21

(Source: Jesiah, A, and T 2004, 69)

#### 4.2 Why a mimetic diffusion of the model occurs: post-colonial relations

The mimetic diffusion from the international perspective is a result of post-colonialism. History gives us a clue of the mimetic diffusion, because it impacts traditional policies and foreign relations of a country. Ethiopia was never “colonized” in Africa. This factor has decided that Ethiopia intrinsically has relatively few colonial heritages. However, France and Britain’s colonial imprints have persisted in Africa in different ways. The other important colonizers like Belgium, Portugal and Spain do not have excessive control over their former colonies any more,

either because they are not powerful enough themselves, or because of the manner in which decolonization was achieved. Violent liberation struggles in territories such as Angola and Mozambique dimmed relations between them and their former metropolis. Anyway, it is unlikely that the alternative development model confronts with big obstacles from Belgium, Portugal and Spain. So we will skip further post-colonial discussion on their former African colonies. As far as the influence of United States on the adoption of the alternative model, the international institutions reflect many policies of the United States due to its predominance. Actually the United States policies are not always consistent. During the Cold War, the American strategy towards Africa put emphasis on military and political objectives. Since the mid-1990s, its strategic focus has turned to the economy. After the 9.11, the United States not only reinforced the economic and trade relations with Africa, but also tried to assure the democratic and security interests of the United States. Besides, the United States was not an African colonizer, so we will skip further discussion on its impact in this part of the thesis as well.

This chapter will mainly deal with the influence of France-Africa and Britain-Africa post-colonial relations on the adoption of the alternative development model of related African countries. In some cases, former metropolitan states continued to maintain their interests in African countries, still considering these territories as a part of them, which implies neocolonialism. Among notable post-colonial associations are mainly the Commonwealth and Francophonie, which help immensely in sustaining a continuing sense of obligation. Clapham (1996) notes that “the advantages to be gained from the tacit protection of ex-colonial powers had to be balanced both against forgone opportunities for other relationships, and against the costs of continued colonial involvement or interference in matters which African governments might well regard as falling into the sphere of its own domestic sovereignty”, and “the attempt to broaden

relationships could arouse retaliation, not only from former colonial powers, but from groups within domestic politics that were associated with it". Ex-colonial powers resort to direct military involvements and aid programmes to maintain their influence. Post-colonial relations depend considerably on European states. What's more, the Commonwealth and Franco-African community offer associations in which many states share some common identities and even mutual obligations.

#### **4.2.1 Britain-Africa post-colonial relations**

We should see that the Commonwealth or Anglophone connection is incomparable with its francophone counterpart in terms of depth and intensity. Franco-African interactions sometimes even resemble domestic politics. African leaders in this group face support or overturn and bear pressure for conformity with other members, in particular, France. While the French role is still enormous at many levels: political, economic, military as well as cultural, whereas the British role there is relatively weak.

Britain disengaged itself from its former African colonies after their independence. Therefore, its control on these territories is no longer tight. The French influence has lingered as Fenwick (2009) notes:

England preferred a hands-off approach. It channeled its influence through the Commonwealth of Nations and did not overturn its opinions even when they were contrary to English interests. ... Francophone Africa was limited in its ability to conduct foreign policy. The dominance of France left little space for other states to influence or even interact with former French colonies on a significant level. On the other hand, England encouraged its former colonies to diversify ties. It did not aggressively defend its *pré carré* as France did. ... England was no longer interested in maintaining a monopoly on foreign policy of Commonwealth states. Thus, Anglophone Africa was more capable of pursuing independent foreign relations.

Anglophone Africa has all detached its monetary linkage with Britain. In correspondence to

the CFA zone, some countries in the British Empire, later Commonwealth, constituted the pound zone. They either pegged their currencies to pounds or used pounds as their own currency. However, in the British colonies, protectorates and trust territories in Africa, the British pound has been withdrawn from history for long: the pounds in British West Africa in 1958, by local currencies; the East African shillings circulated until 1969; the Union of South Africa used the pounds till 1961 when they were replaced by the rand; in South Rhodesia and Rhodesia<sup>33</sup> pounds circulated up till 1970.

Therefore, there are more Anglophone African countries turning to China as their first trade partner and receiving a large amount of aid from China. Anglophone African countries have more margins of manoeuvre in making its foreign policies. There is no British diplomatic monopoly over Anglophone African countries. The United States and China are important partners for them and their diplomatic relationships have been more diversified.

#### **4.2.2 France-Africa post-colonial relations (Françafrique)**

Françafrique is a term that implies the special relations between France and its former colonies of Sub-Saharan Africa. It is composed of a complex network of intelligence service, enterprises, military and political intervention of France in these former colonies. Sub-Saharan former French colonies have been France's "pré carré" (Chafer 2005). In the symbiotic relationship of "Françafrique", "Africa is experienced in French representations as a natural extension where the Francophone world and Francophilia merge" (Bourmaud 2000). Those said, Françafrique displays neo-colonial nature, and therefore tends to be pejorative. Since it was popularized by François-Xavier Verschave, the term has been widely used to refer to the special

---

<sup>33</sup> Zimbabwe today



relation (Verschave 2012). The linkage established during the colonial era and nurtured after independence has survived in the francophone world. The Francophonie has been an organization of French-speaking countries with close relations to France. French presence in Senegal dated back to as far as 1659 when Saint-Louis was established. Caplan (2012) point out that firstly, close links were developed between France and both of “the traditional and westernized, French-educated modern elites” of Senegal, who in turn reinforced the special links with France. There is an emotional bond between Senegalese and their colonial power. Secondly, “French and Senegalese political leaders shared certain values and elements of development and modernization, and the normative and ideational structures that social and political actors had assimilated shaped the political behaviour of Senegalese political leaders.”(Caplan 2012) The impairment of autonomy can be noticed through the event that in 1958, Senegal “opted for internal political autonomy within the federation of French West Africa dominated by France, in which France continued to control the key policy areas of foreign affairs, defense, currency, economic and financial policy, justice, strategic raw materials, higher education, and transport” (Caplan 2012, 49). This new type of cooperation established by France was aimed at consolidating its multifarious presence in the territory, through “presence of a great number of its technicians for some time, its army in key strategic locations, control of economic and financial life, guaranteed outlets and sources for certain articles, a huge monetary zone based on the franc and finally a cultural and linguistic hegemony” (Chipman 1989, 109).

The relationship between France and its African colonies have been encapsulated by a series of political structures, ranging from the French colonial empire, to the French union, the French community and then to the confederation. Nowadays, French grip persists mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Francophone North Africa has been more autonomous, owing to the more radical form of

struggle for decolonization. After France lost its North African possessions, much of the France's African power it had attached to Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia was transferred to Sub-Saharan Africa (Chipman 1989, 2).

When independence was obtained, the bilateral collaboration between France and Sub-Saharan Africa were intensified. It is also in Black Africa that France's resources have been directed the most, after decolonization. Fifteen African states signed economic, financial, political, military and technical assistance cooperation agreements with France, which guaranteed the maintenance of special relations between France and the new African states. This was made possible by the form of independence they gained through negotiation. The most common modality of decolonization in Africa was amicable. Thus, institutional changes were neither revolutionary nor thorough. Independence was accorded on condition of these cooperation agreements. In this way, the French imperial power remained largely preserved. France has kept a role in the internal development of these countries.

Dakar and Brazzaville were respectively capitals of French West Africa (Afrique Occidentale Francaise) and French Equatorial Africa (Afrique Equatoriale Francaise). So Senegal and the Republic of Congo were at the center of French colonization. Dakar was one of the earliest French colonies. As the administrative center of France in Africa, Senegal was one of the countries that were influenced by France most. As "France remains a point of reference for many of her Africa ex-colonies in Africa" (Chipman 1989, 6), decisions in many African states are still taken with the possible reaction of France in mind. This shows the entrenched prior model has an effect of closing the door for any other model or makes it difficult for other models to permeate.

#### **4.2.2.1 Political influence**

During the imperial era, imperialist states coopted native elites. Leaders of francophone Sub-Saharan Africa were perceived as ones who could be coopted to enhance France's reputation and carry on its role in Africa. These coopted leaders have an effect of maintaining French power and favourable post-imperial relations through sentimental and juridical ties (Chipman 1989, 87). Many French advisers, administrators and specialists had worked in some African countries for many years after decolonization to the degree of significantly influencing the state apparatus. Imperial rule was transformed to keep its heritages. There is still cooptation of African elites through the channel of French diplomacy. Part of the high-level post-colonial political leadership in Africa has been designed by France. France averts sharing its exclusive power in Africa with other powers, including China, and will try to do everything to stop this from happening. Thus is an obstacle for the expansion of the alternative development model.

There have been strong personal links between French presidents and some African leaders. These links survived decolonization due to mutual interests. African leaders allowed France residual influence in exchange for their personal power and security in their countries and role in the post-imperial French foreign policy. Concerns about personal security, power of governance, maintenance of the position of state leaders, and internal and regional stability all depend on the intervention of France. The compromise made to France was due to their personal interests. On the other hand, their states were really weak at independence. Sub-Saharan African leaders played an important role in shaping the way of decolonization and the following relations with France. Unlike North Africa, Sub-Saharan African states negotiated their independence with France peacefully, without rebellion or violent struggles. Such kind of no-radical decolonization has kept French post-colonial influence. Colonial links have been maintained. France played a significant

role in building every aspect of the new African states, including the political, economic, financial, military, legal and other fields. Regional organizations were also established with important French presence and aid. Therefore, they created the institutions, standards, systems with many similarities to those of France. In this way, the personal, financial and technical links are further strengthened.

#### **4.2.2.2 Military structures**

Most Sub-Saharan African francophone states signed military and defense agreements with France. They could resort to France in case of internal or external instabilities as well as security problems. France has been engaged in many interventions in Africa. These military agreements involved military assistance and stationing military bases and facilities in exchange for French preemptive rights over primary resources and strategic minerals like hydrocarbons to ensure raw materials supply and African states' purchase of certain products exclusively from France rather than from other states to ensure the market. France has obtained the priority for the provision of raw materials or purchase of French products. France has the exclusive priority in certain circumstances. For example, the first export product of Senegal, peanuts were not allowed to be exported to China until 2012 (Interview, Manager of the seventh Board of CREC, July 25, 2018).

The French military presence and power of its intervention in Africa are ensured in several ways: building and helping national armies of African countries, keeping French forces on several bases, provisional or permanent external operations like the Serval Joint Intervention Forces. France had a number of military bases in Africa, though they have been reduced to 6 now. They are situated in Djibouti, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Gabon, besides the two in French overseas territories, Reunion and Mayotte. Military power can significantly reinforce political and economic powers due to its capacity of deterrence and coercion. Military interventions and

actions can be potentially used in facilitating the realization of French strategies in its interests for various purposes, political or economic. The security and stability at regional and domestic levels needed to be guaranteed by French involvement. This was the case for West and Central African Francophone countries. As time went on, the defense agreements became looser, especially for a part of the countries, but France is far from loosening control, because the change is not fundamental. For example, as in the case of Senegal, France still enjoys the military base in Dakar and Senegal needs French military assistance. The military power of France in Africa, as an important “hard power” is still special in maintaining its economic and political powers. This has kept French intervention power over the countries and region.

French military and security influence in the region has been made possible in turn due to its economic and technical assistance to African states. Actually, on the one hand, different influences and control of France in francophone Africa are integrated. On the other hand, the cooperation with individual African countries is incorporated into a group of states, most of which are members of the Franc Zone. The economic linkage is central and serves as a binding force. When the provided economic aid is relatively less, the whole collaboration would become looser.

#### **4.2.2.3 Diplomatic influence**

France relies on Sub-Saharan African power for its economy and power leverage in the world system. In turn, countries of this part of Africa depend on France for aid and security. The annual Franco-African summit meetings are diplomatic platforms for keeping and intensifying the close Franco-African post-colonial connections. The Belgian-colonized Zaire (RDC) also joined it. Guinea-Bissau and Equatorial Guinea can also be regarded as quasi-members of the Francafrique family since they are also in the Franc Zone. Franco-African summit meeting has

continuously faced competition from other cooperation platforms, such as the China-Africa Forum on Cooperation. China's aid has been coming in large amounts in the framework of South-South cooperation. However, the Chinese engagement is mainly at the economic level. The bilateral relations are far from being full-fledged and deep-rooted like France's, which has been Africa's predominant partner in many aspects. Chipman (Chipman 1989, 152) notes that "the penetration of French officers and other specialized personnel into francophone African armies and governments clearly provides France with certain strategic advantages including general intelligence gathering and knowledge of local conditions". In the neopatrimonial African states, French connection with African presidents was very effective in keeping a grip on the states. The decolonization of North Africa from France was more revolutionary and thorough while that of the Sub-Saharan region was negotiated, thereby maintaining various residual influences. Other powers have difficulties to fit into the zone of influence of France, which has inherited "a network of cultural and business links from colonial times" (Chipman 1989, 229). In the case of China, the ties are prominently economic, and therefore not comprehensive enough. However, the current French economy has limited its capacity of aid to its ex-colonies. Foreign relations of these countries are generally getting less exclusive. With the development of the European Union and French leadership within it, Francafrique is also exerted in the framework of the relations between the European Union and Africa. The Francafrique is increasingly susceptible to challenges nowadays, especially from the young generation of Africa. Though the Franco-African summit, the Francophonie Conference and European Union are effective multilateral arenas under the leadership of France, Africans have welcomed alternative forums like the FOCAC, an international cooperation forum between China and the monolith of African countries. China has also been advocating for a common destiny of China and Africa as a whole, though there is less special historical intimacy between China and Francophone Africa. What's more, the

intensification of intra-regional cooperation, whether between Francophone or Anglophone countries, is also encouraging these countries to have a bigger say in their dealings with France.

#### **4.2.2.4 Economic influence**

France has well maintained its power in Sub-Saharan Africa especially through economic involvement, which constitutes the core of French influence in this part of the world. As “the institutionalization of French aid to Black Africa has reinforced loyalties between Black African leaders and France”, “this bilateral relationship has generally helped French leaders to retain influence and, perhaps more importantly, a sense of enduring relevance and power” (Chipman 1989, 191). Africa relies on French economic and financial aid not only for development, but for government expenditures. The trade between the two parties also enjoys preferential treatment. For example, the liberalization of the market in Senegal doesn’t mean that its door is equally open to all other partners. France is the most privileged partner, as specified by the laws of the country. For example, only a few countries including France enjoy the Agreements for the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (APPI) with Senegal.

The Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa cannot enjoy full discretion when it comes to economic partnership. The French monopoly has been reduced, but without a fundamental change. According to the data from the World Integrated Trade Solution of the World Bank, France has always been the biggest trade partner of many of its former colonies, such as Niger, Gabon, the Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Central African Republic, Comoros and Tunisia.

#### **4.2.2.5 The CFA Franc and its influence on trade, FDI, aid and development**

The post-colonial relationship of Françafrique is also maintained with the monetary

instrument: the CFA franc<sup>34</sup>. By means of the CFA franc, France has exerted an important influence on related African economies and regional economic institutions. The CFA franc is the only currency that has survived decolonization, though its preservation is an object of increasingly heated debates in recent years. Franc was the French currency that France imposed on its colonies. The CFA franc was created in Africa in 1945. In the following decades, Guinea, Maghreb countries, Madagascar and Mauritania withdrew from the franc zone and implemented their own currencies. Mali briefly withdrew in 1962 and rejoined the African Franc Zone in 1984. There are currently 15 countries in the African franc zone and a total of 14 of them use the CFA franc (i.e. all franc zone members except Comoros). The CFA franc of West Africa is used in 8 countries of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA): Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Togo and Senegal, as well as Guinea-Bissau, a non-French colony. Six countries of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) use the Central African CFA franc of Central Africa: Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, Chad, the Central African Republic, and the non-French colonized Equatorial Guinea. Their public spending is controlled by France, which always benefits from the privileged position brought by the CFA franc. These countries not only lose the profits of the reserves, but also could not put their foreign reserves into full use for development. This outdated monetary system hinders the industrialization initiative, because the CFA franc, pegged to the euro is relatively strong: it is more favourable for importing manufactured goods, and unfavourable for exports, especially to other regions, than the European Union. Without the obtention of full monetary sovereignty, these countries cannot decide their public spending and development policies autonomously.

---

<sup>34</sup> The full name of the African franc is le franc de la Communauté Financière Africaine (the franc of African Financial Community), and its original name was just le franc des Colonies Françaises d'Afrique (the franc of French Colonies of Africa). Coincidentally, the French abbreviation for both is the CFA franc, so it recalls the colonization.



The CFA franc allows some mechanisms of the colonial era to persist. In recent years, the development of African countries has required policy adjustments to break the bottleneck of development. Moreover, with the evolution of the balance of power, countries such as China have become increasingly important partners to Africa. Other Western countries than France such as Germany have also refocused on countries in the regions. The influence of France tends to be challenged by both other powers and Africa itself. Therefore, the replacement of the African franc is of unprecedented necessity.

The CFA franc is a major obstacle to development in Africa and is not conducive to the formation of its own endogenous development policies. While these countries have to hold to this currency, they are deprived of full autonomy for choosing economic policies and development strategies. The CFA franc has enabled France to maintain an influence and control over the economies of related African countries. Meanwhile, the development of these countries has been incessantly marked by the influence of France. This is a reason why these countries do not have the leeway to get inspired from China in practice.

The economic and trade ties within the French colonial empire are close and even exclusive. Since the establishment of the franc zone in 1939, France used its own currency to pay for resources and raw materials purchased from African colonies, without fear of competition from other countries over French exports to Africa. Trade between the franc zone and outside was prohibited, and France coordinated the management of the franc zone's currency exchange and foreign trade (Fassassi 2013, 92). Importations in the zone were allocated annually based on foreign exchange reserves (Fassassi 2013, 93). Today, countries in the African Franc Zone still need to deposit half of their foreign exchange reserves into the French Treasury. From independence to 1973, it was even required of them to deposit all of their foreign exchange

reserves. In this regard, France has always been playing the role of a trustee. The CFA franc zone was a part of the well-maintained colonial linkage.

The franc zone countries cannot effectively use the macroeconomic management tool of currency to fully promote economic growth due to its negative impact on trade, FDI attraction, industrialization and budget.

From the perspective of foreign trade, the CFA franc, which was originally pegged to the French franc, has been pegged to the euro since 1999 and kept a long-term constant exchange rate to it. This makes the CFA franc strong. So it is difficult for countries using the CFA franc to have competitive prices, which is inconducive to exports, but promotes imports. The exchange rate cannot be used as a tool of flexible regulation, such as exports stimulation. The economic growth of these countries tends to be mainly driven by domestic consumption. Such a system makes African countries disadvantaged in the world economic and trade system, and structural problems are obvious for them. For a long time, France has been the main trading partner to francophone African countries. The euro has an advantage in trade with Africa. This system allows France to purchase raw materials and other commodities from African franc zone countries without foreign exchange. But African countries cannot fully use their foreign reserves as they wish. African countries have a weak say in this monetary system and had to accept its devaluation several times.

Now there are two major changes: the economic structure needs to be diversified with the industrialization of Africa on the agenda. With progress of industrialization, the proportion of commodities in the export structure will gradually decrease. For example, countries such as Senegal are pushing forward the export promotion strategy. To this end, industry will need a more flexible and autonomous monetary policy; economic and trade partners will be more diversified, so France's dominant position among other trading partners will decline. The

increasing and more diversified foreign trade will be carried out more widely with countries and regions other than France and the Euro Zone. The trade with other partners, especially emerging countries such as China is quickly on the rise. The dominant position of the euro in foreign exchanges is to be simultaneously on the decline.

The second impacted aspect is about the attraction of foreign direct investment. The African franc zone maintains a fixed exchange rate with the former French franc and the current euro, which guarantees investors the stability of the exchange rate when converting profits in Africa into euro and avoids the risk of currency exchange with it. However, this fixed exchange rate policy does not conform to market rules. Export-oriented companies cannot thus benefit from flexible monetary policies, such as depreciation to enhance export competitiveness. African countries need to bear the volatility of the European economy and euro. The dominance of the euro is particularly conducive to the investment of EU countries, which do not even need to consume their foreign exchange to invest in African franc countries. The implementation of foreign exchange control in African franc countries limits the use of foreign currency and number of transfers. The free exchange is limited to the euro, and free transfer only to France. This is convenient for French nationals to repatriate profits to France.

With the deepening of China-Africa cooperation, African currencies are becoming crucial for Chinese investors, traders and project contractors. Chinese investors in Africa are constrained by the convertibility and transfer of the CFA franc. In short, on the issue of attracting foreign investments, the CFA franc has created an advantage for France and the European Union at large over others. The monetary inconvenience and disadvantage for Chinese investors to operate in this area have reduced the opportunities of inspiration from China. The French-favoured monetary system always makes it difficult for CFA franc countries to divert from the French

dominant FDI pattern.

Thirdly, it is not conducive to the industrialization of African countries. For a long time, African Franc Zone countries, like many other African countries, have relied on heavy foreign aid and the structure of export products is still in large part composed of agricultural and mineral products. African countries now have a strong desire for industrialization. Although this conservative monetary policy is indeed conducive to maintaining the stability of the monetary economy, the strength of the euro has weakened the competitiveness of CFA franc zone countries for exports, especially outside Europe, and at the same time facilitated the import of manufactured goods at a lower cost. This circumstance is unfavourable for stimulating growth of the manufacturing industry.

As a new type of important partner, China is supporting African countries to embark on the path of industrialization. Chinese companies have constructed dozens of industrial parks in Africa, and China has been encouraging Chinese investors to come to settle down and run factories in Africa. Although China's cooperation in francophone Africa is slightly slower than it is in Anglophone Africa, it has started after all. China has helped Senegal to establish the Diamniadio Industrial Park which went operational in late 2018. The second phase to more than double the size of the park is under aid study and consideration of China. There are also the PK 24 industrial park in Côte d'Ivoire and Pointe-Noire Industrial Zone of Congo constructed by Chinese along with the experience sharing on the management and operation with the African team. More industrial parks in Francophone Africa, realized with or without Chinese are just on the way. For investors (producers) from countries like China, African host governments often require them to export their products and participate in the international market in accordance with export promotion policies. These manufacturing exporters cannot benefit from a favourable monetary

policy for the exportation. So the monetary factor holds back the inspiration from China through industrialization cooperation and takeover of industrial transfer, especially from export-oriented industries.

What's more, the currency system has an impact on the public budget, which weakens the state's planning capacity and autonomy. African leaders have had to deposit large amounts of capital into the French Treasury at a meager interest of 0.75%. Under the monetary system imposed by France, countries of the CFA franc have had to implement an austere budgetary policy for a long time. France has strict controls over public spending of these countries. The operation mechanism of transaction accounts limits their budget, which in turn must be approved by France. African countries cannot have a budget that matches their huge demand for construction and development and cannot fully invest the country's capitals in social and economic development. To a certain extent, related African governments have been deprived of their budgetary tools and lost some of its discretion. It is therefore difficult for franc zone countries to map out and implement an endogenous economic development policy at home. Therefore, a paradoxical situation arises: a large amount of foreign exchange reserves of the African franc Zone countries is not available since they have to put them in the French treasury at a low rate of return. At the same time, they lack funding, and often have to seek loans from international financial institutions and foreign countries, sometimes accepting certain political and economic conditions and higher interest rates. These underdeveloped African countries could have used their precious foreign exchange reserves for productive or more profitable investments.

Over time, fierce competition from the UK, USA and new actors like China and India for access to African resources and emerging markets have forced French presidents to realize the urgent need to supplement the francophone policy (Jacquemin 2013). The declining level of

French economic interests in Africa represents a more serious threat to the relationship, and the clout of the French-African lobby has fallen with the rapid decrease of French businesses on the continent. The reality is both of the tenacity of French connections and occasional deviations from old habits. In brief, if we try to explain the uneven diffusion of the alternative model in Africa, it is the tenacity that still accounts. But in the long term, the deviations are expected to be more frequent than before.

### **4.2.3 Conclusion**

French influence in Africa, especially in its former colonies is comprehensive. The FrancAfrique has resulted in a dependency on French interests, but it has also discouraged African countries to give up the short-term benefits in search of long-term ones. Britain is relatively disengaged in Africa and its influence is not so profound or prevalent. The contrast has led to different degrees of autonomy of the two groups of related African countries.

There is a tendency of disjunction of Africa with France, along with revolting pressures for restructuring cooperation relations and asking for a bigger room of manoeuvre in general, the reforms in African countries have reduced some restrictions, but in other cases, the changes are minimal and slow. The incorporation of previous colonizers in the European Union has made important a multilateral linkage between the European Union and Africa, which is a new form of connection for exerting influence.

China's implication mainly in the economic sector is still no match for French power, though the gap varies with regard to different African countries. Even Chinese aid to and trade with some Francophone African countries are comparable to or more than that of France, the overall influence of France is strongest. There are also English legacies in its former colonies at

many levels. The influence of former metropolis of Britain and France are both relatively on the wane, but at different rhythms. Britain is more disengaged so that the foreign relationships of its colonies are more diversified and policies more autonomous. Different degrees of the disengagement of France and Britain have resulted in different degrees of political and economic autonomy of Francophone and Anglophone African countries and therefore, different basic conditions to adopt the alternative development model. As for Chinese influence in African francophone countries, an African scholar assumes that though in a decade, China has succeeded in implementing in French-speaking Africa in building infrastructure and opening of credit lines. However, Chinese interventions in Africa in general and Francophone Africa in particular are undoubtedly overestimated (Bouzanda 2016):

It appears in the light of the previous developments that this implementation is real insofar as France retreats mainly in the economic field. China is not yet a planetary power capable of undermining western leadership in French-speaking Africa, even though its influence in world trade and finance gives it a notable prestige. Nothing is gained in advance and the game promises to be tough with the players in competition.

In this sense, it seems that in general the alternative model is not widely spread except for the aspect of infrastructure in Africa. The situation is mixed: on the one hand, French influence is entrenched and complicated through networks; on the other hand, France is less a strong power than it was in history. Its capacity of domination has been reduced. If we take a dynamic view, we would see the other side of the story: the effect of “Francafrique” tends to be weathering, though quite slowly. Other partners in the world as new players are increasing their roles. Regional integration of Africa also allows Africans to have a bigger say and autonomy.

### **4.3 Marxist legacies**

The former socialist regime has left a lot of socialist ideology in the new regime. This is normal because the ruling party EPRDF has been in power since 1991. It was a party highly

influenced by socialism since their struggle against Derg. The essential member, TPLF remained the central player till 2018.

Institutionally, it is easier for countries with Marxist legacies to adopt the alternative model. There was a wave of the adoption of scientific socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Unlike “African socialism”, scientific socialism prompted the state to “create effective Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties”, and be more willing to resort to coercion (Rosberg and Callaghy 1979, 9). These new experiments were tried in Somalia, Benin, Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, and three former Portuguese colonies: Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Some of these countries are considered as “afro-Marxist” states. Gazibo (2010, 97) underlines that Marxism and Leninism in Africa were mainly a simple façade for attracting favors from the Soviet Union, and actually, most of the Marxist countries in Africa were Afro-Marxist regimes with the Marxist pretention, rather than Marxist-Leninist states. In this dissertation, we consider “Afro-Marxist” regimes as Marxist at large as well, with the discrepancies among African Marxist regimes in mind. Although countries other than Ethiopia generally underwent a less profound Marxist system transformation, we should still recognize, there are socialist heritages in the mentality and political as well as economic institutions of these countries, though not all of them. Benin is a country with few socialist heritages. But in other cases of former Marxist countries, Marxist legacies are perceptible. Ethiopia is not the only case as a former African Marxist country with a strong left-wing party in power. Such cases will be examined in the last chapter.

All former African Marxist states gave up socialism and turned to multiparty democracy after 1989 with the collapse of the Soviet Union. But in the multi-party system, the former Marxist party has remained the ruling or dominant party in some former socialist countries. This is an important heritage having an impact on the inclination of the development paradigm of



these countries today. Ethiopia, the Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola and Guinea-Bissau fall into this group of countries.

Marxist regimes with typical Marxist features have a propensity for the first and fourth characteristics of the “alternative model,” because they have a tradition of strong state and deep-rooted Marxist single party, due to its social and institutional transformation. The state is strong because of power concentration and other Marxist influences. In a socialist regime, the state controls critical sectors of the economy and keeps in mind the guarantee of the welfare of the masses. The public sector is dominant in the economy as can be perceived subsequently:

Many, if not most, African governments have proclaimed their goals to be “socialist”. In only a few countries, however, have the governing political parties sought to implement the institutional changes required to reduce external dependence and initiate a transition to socialism. A transition to socialism requires the implementation of measures to create the necessary institutions to achieve socialized ownership of the means of production, and their development to meet the needs of the masses of the working people in both urban and rural areas. Inevitably, given the differences in their histories and inherited institutional structures, their leadership, and the particular obstacles confronting them, each African country must trace this path in its own way (Rosberg and Callaghy 1979, 22).

Ethiopia under Mengistu (1974-1991) was the only case of African Marxist country that underwent a profound transformation, if we look at its ideology, institutional architecture as well as economic model. The degree of nationalization of the economy was unique in Ethiopia. Although the regime of Ethiopia is no longer Marxist-Leninist, having experienced a long socialist history between 1974 and 1990, it has been deeply influenced by socialism and the ruling political party has also always maintained a socialist mentality. Till date, the EPRDF has been proclaiming itself as “the vanguard of the Ethiopian Farmers, lower and middle urban dwellers and developmental actors. The core leadership pursues the cause of revolutionary

democracy and represents Ethiopian's advanced productive forces and fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian people<sup>35</sup>." This still gives an impression of the socialist rhetoric. After all, the ruling party all the time in power since 1991, EPRDF, has been a left-wing political party with the ideology of revolutionary democracy, deep-rooted in and shaped by Marxism–Leninism and Maoism. The experience of Ethiopia shows that Meles and his successors have maintained the Marxist-Leninist tradition in the party and state.

The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) had been at the core of the governing coalition up to 2018. In other words, the EPRDF was led by the TPLF, whose leadership was consolidated in the struggle against Derg, a socialist military regime. The TPLF was at the outset, based on Tigray University students' movement of Marxist inclination in the 1970s. TPLF resorted to Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against Derg. It also embraced Maoism in the 1970s during the armed struggle. The mass organization, self-reliance, peasant guerilla movements, protracted warfare and revolution of the party's army were all Maoist thinking, for the Chinese Communist Party that was taken as a guide by the TPLF (Gadzala 2015). Always at the core of the EPRDF, it defines the main nature of the latter. So, the socialist imprint of the EPRDF lies in the TPLF to a great extent. As the EPRDF has always been in power, it is natural that the Ethiopian government has been attached to former socialist ideologies with socialist elements in essence.

The transition to a non-socialist state can be regarded as an expedient in the history context for Ethiopia and some others. The collapse of the Soviet Union has triggered massive abandonment of socialist ideology all over the world. The Cold War ended up in the victory of Western values, such as capitalism and liberal democracy. The international environment at that

---

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.eprdf.org.et/web/en/short-history>

time could not allow the establishment of any new socialist regime, even if the political struggle was won by a socialist party. The political actors of Ethiopia had little space of manoeuvre for taking the socialist path. Around 1990, the insurgent movements led by the TPLF and Mengistu government both abandoned socialist ideologies successively and formally. The Derg regime of Mengistu of Ethiopia fell down. Though the Marxist regime of Mengistu ended up in a failure, the success of the TPLE armed struggle guided by the Marxism-Leninism ideology proved its efficacy. There was therefore not enough internal necessity to relinquish it. From the perspective of the TPLF's practice, the Marxist ideology was not doomed to failure. Therefore, even though the TPLF gave up Marxist ideology formally, it is no wonder that elements in this ideology persisted. The regime established in 1991 by the EPRDF turned to the ideology of revolutionary democracy. There is a lag between the formal transformation and substantial one in Ethiopia in terms of socialist elements (Hagmann T and Abbink J 2011). In this process, many socialist substances have not been ruled out and the spirits of the TPLF have been kept.

For the new regime and newly established EPRDF to survive, EPRDF relied on the international aid, mainly from the West at that time. The economic and political liberalization ensued following the international environment change. The structural adjustment programme attached the neoliberal reforms to the aid. As a newborn ruling party in a war-torn country, the EPRDF had to be adapted to the dominant international model of the time for the sake of aid. So, under this internal and external background including a constrained space of manoeuvres, the EPRDF adopted multiparty electoral politics and also undertook the structural adjustment before it consolidated its position and came up with an assertive development path in the next decade. The ideology of Marxism–Leninism of the party during revolution had to give place to “revolutionary democracy” to adapt to the post-Cold War international environment. This

inheritance was adapted to the liberalism in the new background, involving the market economy, the focus on the private sector, privatization, multiparty elections, etc. The political and economic liberalization programs were conducted by Meles early since the period of the transitional government. It should be noted that the substitution of the dominant party ideology was just a softening, but not break away from the former. This “revolutionary democracy” was inspired by the former socialist ideology. Revolutionary democracy has been the product of synthesized legacies of Leninism, Marxism, Maoism, and also liberalism (Bach 2011). As China shares these four doctrines in the practice of its development, they are a foundation for the similarities between the development models of the two countries. After all, the flag of the Ethiopian ruling party composed of the symbols of working class and peasantry has never changed since 1991. Whatever changes the EPRDF has brought, continuities with the former Derg socialist government and TPLF at the time of the struggle are both obvious. The TPLF and Derg share some similarities. The EPRDF led by the TPLF have continuities with Derg not only because of legacies, but also the natural commonalities that have existed for long.

As China doesn't offer to export its development model according to its consisting policy, what links the development model of Ethiopia to that of Chinese is the leftist parties. The strong role of Meles Zenawi with the party makes his personal ideological inclination important for the party and state. He rejects parliamentary democracy and defends democratic centralism within a vanguard party (Bach 2011, 642). Bach (2011) thinks that the parliamentary system adopted in Ethiopia was internationally “imposed”. Especially Maoism that the TPLF relied on is a source of common mentality for Ethiopia and China. On the one side, the connection between the Marxist-Leninist tradition and its legacies are favourable to the adoption of this alternative development model; on the other hand, the socialist sympathy with China makes it natural and easy for

Ethiopia to adopt a similar development model with China. The ideological affinity between the EPRDF and CPC helps to explain the intimacy between both states and development model proximity. The EPRDF has maintained good relations with most of the former socialist countries.

The strategic partnership between Ethiopia and China can not only find eloquent evidence in the economic field, but also in the political field. An interesting relationship lies in the party diplomacy. The EPRDF and CPC, both of which, long-standing ruling parties, have maintained close exchanges and frequent mutual visits. For example, a delegation of the CPC assisted, at the invitation, the Seventh Organizational Conference of EPRDF and the Eighth Congress in 2010. The cooperation between states has benefited directly from the two ruling parties' intimacy. They still share many visions and views. What's more, the China National People's Congress and Ethiopia's Parliament have also conducted mutual exchanges and visits. The mutual visits are a necessary channel for getting inspiration.

#### **4.3.1 Marxist legacy and democracy**

There are some innate contradictions between Marxist-Leninist legacies and democracy. Though EPRDF has ceased to claim itself Marxist-Leninist, its ideology of "revolutionary democracy is a political concept derived from Lenin, used during his party's struggle for power in the nascent Soviet Union in 1918" (Hagmann and Abbink 2011). Revolutionary democracy is inconsistent with the formal parliamentary democracy. The typical socialist country is characterized by the single-party system. The single party system and strong state are both features of a Marxist country. A vanguard party with Marxist-Leninist tradition plays a dominant role in the politics, economy and society. This apparently does not conform to the multi-party system of liberal democracy. The opposition may be regarded as anti-revolutionary and is not encouraged. The radical campaign like "proletarian dictatorship" of the socialists can be

interpreted as non-democratic in the proper sense. Actually, the definition of democracy is distinct for liberalist and socialist. Another feature of the socialist state is “the co-optation of civil society as much as possible, elections with a strong supervision role of the dominant party, and a political evaluation of public servants and office holders via party-led ‘evaluation sessions’, not elections” (Hagmann and Abbink 2011, 582). This is also incompatible with liberal democracy.

As a matter of fact, the left-wing EPRDF has been the dominant party in Ethiopia. Democratic centralism has been a thesis followed by the EPRDF. Opposition parties in Ethiopia are weak and marginalized. The political pluralism practiced there is far from perfect and the system is like a de facto single party one. Bach points out as follows: “Opposition parties are then defined as anti-democratic forces because of their adoption of ‘liberal principles’”. So there seems to be two understandings of “democracy”. The revolutionary democracy is thinkably detrimental to opposition parties since their understandings of the opposition are different.

The EPRDF gains legitimacy by adopting democratic institutions. Though Ethiopia is constitutionally a multi-party state in its party-state system, there is a contradictory hybridization of revolutionary democracy and parliament liberal democracy. Jean-Nicolas Bach (2011) also points out that the EPRDF has presented revolutionary democracy “as the exact opposite of liberalism and neoliberalism” and that “revolutionary democracy was then used by the USSR to designate one tendency of not-capitalist countries or movements which had nevertheless not achieved their revolution yet”. This is connected to the “Leninist interpretation of Marx’s Proletariat Dictatorship.” (Bach 2011). Since it is apparent that the “proletariat dictatorship” is opposed to “parliamentary democracy”, Ethiopia has been having a hard time entangling between the formal and substantial institutional guidelines. The new reforms like political pluralism and political freedoms are dismissed as formal. In essence, authoritarian politics has always been

there and the political alternation is criticized to be defective.

The contradiction between institutional democracy and the substantial authoritarianism in the politics of Ethiopia led to the attempt of Prime Minister Abiy's reform in 2018. However, in terms of the political culture of Ethiopia, Marxist legacies exceeded those of liberal democracy, and the power of the former socialist party has been entrenched. After finding it difficult to carry out a peaceful transition to a de facto multiparty democracy, Abiy has returned to the development of the economy as the government's top priority. The political reform had faltered before any substantial result was seen. The EPRDF's leadership and ideology have been carried on.

#### **4.3.2 Marxist legacy and infrastructure and industrialization**

The state ownership of land, as an institutional legacy of socialism, facilitates infrastructure construction. In contrast, in countries where land is private, land preparation for public infrastructure is much more difficult and time-consuming, with a more complicated procedure and bigger resistance. The internal structure of the government in a socialist regime has the advantage of efficiency. Public expenditure is an important aspect for the socialist regime as well. The state always plays a leading role in the development process. Infrastructure like the roads, railways, bridges, water and electricity are often of public nature and therefore suitable for the state to be the developer. The motivations for the state and private sector to construct infrastructure are not same. For example, electricity in rural areas and construction of the railway don't attract the private investor, because the first one is not lucrative and the second one requires a massive amount of investment. The state with the socialist propensity takes the infrastructure at large as its task.

Prime Minister Abiy declared at the inauguration ceremony of the Adama industrial park that farmers who have given their lands to make way for this industrial park will have the priority to be employed there. Actually, almost all of the investment to be introduced in the industrial parks would be FDI. The state tried to prepare the infrastructure for investors and looking for workers for them. The Ethiopian government managed to build fourteen industrial parks within about three years. By 2025, 30 more parks will be built, aimed at creating 200,000 jobs. This is an efficient enforcement of the national development policy. The state ownership of land has made it easier to prepare the land for the construction of so many industrial parks in a short time. It would be much more difficult, at least slower in many other countries, for, on the one hand, the private ownership of land makes it more difficult to accomplish the requisition of land; on the other hand, in democratic regimes, the bargaining is more difficult to reach the final results. The state is more autonomous and can better transcend short term and partial benefits than individuals. If the farmers would just don't want to give away their lands, they could not later get better paid jobs and a more modernized life while the country has lost this short-cut of transformation from an agricultural country to an industrialized one.

#### **4.3.3 Marxist legacy and the autonomy of development owing to a plurality of partners**

Being a part of the non-western countries in the Cold War, former African Marxist countries accepted the western countries as important partners of aid and trade after the end of the Cold War. Their dependence on western partners was also less heavy than other African countries before the 1990s. China is a close partner to many of these states as was during the Cold War era. Generally, former African Marxist states have good traditional relations with China today. Therefore, the history of these states has made it open to cooperation with various partners. African countries with Marxist legacies are more prone to be autonomous. Since the African



countries with Marxist legacies often have an authoritarian propensity and cannot or would not rely heavily on the West, they have to be autonomous.

Ethiopia has always had an independent tradition not only with regard to its sovereignty, but also to its decision-making vis à vis outsiders. It has such an innate inclination that its liberalization and privatization went more moderately than in many other African countries due to its own reservation.

#### **4.3.4 Marxist legacy and a strong state**

The Marxist state is relatively strong. Socialism first helps to consolidate and centralize the state, then, it can reinforce its power. This state is relatively efficient due to its decision-making process of democratic centralism. In the liberal democracy, in contrast, the various government institutions, civil society, NGO make it uncertain to reach unanimity. The state-driven economic development model of socialist inheritance is in contrast to the private sector driven one. There is a smooth transition for Ethiopia to a developmental state from a socialist state in the sense that the state is underlined in both kinds of regimes.

Ethiopia is a unique case in the sense that it is the only African country that underwent a socialist revolution: the Marxist-Leninist features had changed its institutions and values profoundly (Rosberg et al. 1979). Scientific socialism was taken in contrast to Afro-Marxism in some other cases. The central authority was highly concentrated in Mengistu's military regime. The state had been strengthened since the Derg period. The state possessed a centralized power, and the socialist party in power controlled the armed forces. This state power has been a basis for the implementation of national policies, not only for his rule, but also for the following regime. As Clapham (1992, 114) notes, "The Derg, and subsequently the Workers' Party of Ethiopia

(WPE), drew on a historical sense of statehood and capacity for large-scale social organization in order to create a level of state power such as Ethiopia had never experienced in the past.” So, former Marxist-Leninist Ethiopia with many remaining natures still has a relatively strong state. Marxism-Leninism has led to a centralized state in Ethiopia. The central control and top-down rule of Ethiopia allow the federal government to have a strong power compared to ordinary federations.

In Ethiopia, the state has a big role in the economy and it is almost the biggest economic player. There is a fusion between the state and the Party. The grip of the party in the economy, fusion of the party and state and the TPLF as a vanguard party are all Leninist heritages (Hagmann and Abbink 2011, 585). The EPRDF has captured virtually all public institutions in Ethiopia (Hagmann and Abbink 2011, 585). The land is always state-owned, which is a continuity of socialist practice. This facilitates the implementation of developmental programs because such plans should transcend short term and parochial interests. The monopoly of the EPRDF as the ruling party in the economy and politics especially after 2005 would be understood as normal if this were in a socialist state. Hagmann and J. Abbink (2011, 587) point out that: “the EPRDF’s economic strategy after 1991 has combined contradictory elements, namely promises to international donors to institute a market economy, condemnation of neo-liberalism, rooted in the TPLF’s Marxist-Leninist origins and creation of multiple private companies, controlled by members of the EPRDF party-state.” The origin of the strong belief in the state’s role can be explained by the socialist legacy. This explains the giant gap between the scale of privatization between Senegal and Ethiopia. The special ideology with socialist elements of the EPRDF stops it from liberalizing the national economy all the way.

Neoliberalism was promoted since 1990s as it was the development model for western

donors prevailing in the funding community. The EPRDF has a paradox of embracing developmental state and neoliberalism. The revolutionary democracy is more adapted to developmental state than neoliberalism. Faced with the contradiction between the two, the EPRDF has been more committed to the developmental state since the 2000s while weakening the neoliberal trend in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian economy is largely state-driven compared to the private-driven Senegal. The revolutionary democracy originated from Leninism requires a strong state. So from this perspective, the socialist legacy lays a foundation for a strong and activist state, which is also a basis for the developmental state. Neoliberalism, in the contrary, advocates for the retreat of the state, if not a minimal state. The international financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF are the main actors pushing for the neoliberal reform. The different approaches of the state to the private sector and privatization in African countries can be seen in Ethiopia and Senegal. In Ethiopia, the private sector has been developed in a protected way, though this seems to be slower. The economy of Ethiopia is dominated by state-owned and party-affiliated enterprises.

“The adaptation of a development model focused not only on the market, but more so on state power, is facilitated by the Ethiopian leaders’ background in the socialist ideology. What is more, the dominant party approach, which characterizes the Ethiopian developmental state, ties in well with earlier concepts of authoritarian rule in the country” (Müller 2015). On the whole, like many other African countries in the 1990s, economic liberalization and political democratization took place in Ethiopia. In principle, Ethiopia needed to transform the central planning economy to the market-oriented one. The cultivation and expansion of the private sector constituted the centrepiece of the reform since the 1990s: removal of market restrictions and price controls, the privatization of state enterprises. This has not fully realized. Neoliberalism reigned for most of

the donors in the international community. The developmental state is also attributed to the remnant nature of a socialist state. For a socialist country, important public enterprises preponderate. Ethiopia has also undertaken the structural adjustment programme prescribed mainly by the IMF. But the influence of the World Bank and IMF on Ethiopia was less overwhelming. The Marxist legacies made it reserved towards the privatization of public enterprises and market liberalization. The EPRDF was engaged in liberal reform since 1991 mainly to win international financial support and get integrated into the international system. Ethiopia has always been moderate in the liberalization reforms and it has been more or less resistant to external reform pressures. Under this circumstance, the private sector has not taken the upper hand in this country, and public assets are still prevalent. This is just like in China, where the private sector is promoted, but in a controlled manner, with the state at the pilot position. Unlike in many highly private-oriented African countries, the strategic sectors, such as telecommunications, banking<sup>36</sup>, power distribution and logistics are state-owned. The development ideology of Ethiopia is also clearly nationalist, with heed to the foreign investment: many sectors are still reserved to nationals, such as the retail and micro-credit industries.

The history of a country counts. The inherent similarities between China and certain African countries with common historical experiences like the socialist history constitute a condition making certain African states more susceptible to adopting the alternative development model.

#### **4.4 Explaining the deviations of the cases observed in the interviews of the field work**

During the field work, two deviations from the second supposition of the thesis are found.

---

<sup>36</sup> From the 2019, the banking sector has been open up to the diaspora as well.

They will be analyzed and explained in this part.

#### **4.4.1 The democracy of Ethiopia**

In the interview, an important Ethiopian official of the Ministry of Finance stated that: “democracy is a must, not a need for Ethiopia” regarding the importance of democracy in the vision of Ethiopian leadership (Interview, Official of the Ministry of Finance of Ethiopia, June 26 2018). It seems that this vision of democracy does not conform to the authoritarian situation of Ethiopia demonstrated in 3.1.1 and 4.1.1. Actually what this official said was a repetition of the discourse created by Meles, and often raised by other Ethiopian officials including the foreign minister. But the governance of Ethiopia was largely in contradiction to a real democracy. This contradiction on democracy between discourse and reality happens mainly for two reasons:

Firstly, this is the result of the dissemination of another understanding of the concept of democracy. Each state has its own pattern of discourse and no state thinks would like to be regarded as authoritarian. The domestic dissemination works for cultivating a national political vision of the country. As the Afro Barometer’s survey in 2013 shows, among ordinary citizens, “while no expert assessment comes close to calling Ethiopia a democracy, 81% of Ethiopians consider their country either a complete democracy or a democracy with only minor problems”. What’s more, Ethiopians also highly rated the political and economic developments of their country (Mattes and Teka 2016). Through internal dissemination, Ethiopia forms an idiosyncratic understanding for what democracy means in this country to its leaders and citizens, which is different from what it often means in the western discursive context.

Secondly, since democracy is an ethnically diverse federal state. The leadership knows that without democracy, it is dangerous for development because the achievements of development can be destroyed by violence. Therefore, it is convincing that the officials of Ethiopia have the

democracy in mind, although the practice is far from enough from the perspective of the normative standard.

#### **4.4.2 The infrastructure of Senegal**

All the interviewed officials did not equally acknowledge whether the accent put on the construction of infrastructure was inspired by China. A few African officials mentioned that infrastructure construction is a common sense for any state.

Senegal is not a country with the three favorable factors for adopting the alternative model: a developmental state strategy, socialist legacies, and a detached post-colonial relationship. However, this country has started to stress infrastructure development early since 2000, at which time its foreign relations with China were still suspended. Empirical data collected in the interview and visits show that the infrastructure of Senegal has been one of the country's focuses since 2000. This, besides the interviewees of Ethiopia's opinion that attaching importance to infrastructure is spontaneous and natural for a state, further confirm this common sense. That said, the number of projects were relatively limited and incomparable to Ethiopia over the same period, before China became the first financial source for Senegal in the infrastructure development in 2011<sup>37</sup>. After China became its first financial source of infrastructure, Senegal further greatly increased its infrastructure projects in scale and number. What interviewees provide on Senegal's infrastructure constitutes an alternative explanation, but it did not contradict Senegal's reinforcement of infrastructure-driven growth in the time of cooperation with China as a very important financial and technical partner since 2011.

---

<sup>37</sup> The implemented infrastructure projects of Senegal implemented in this period were presented in 3.2.2.1.

## **Chapter 5: Testing the external validity of results, discussion and synthesis**

In this chapter, we shall probe into the generalization of the alternative development model. Hypotheses shall be further analyzed, with several more comparative case studies of African countries in order to provide a broad-based idea. Extensive cases will often just cover part of the elements of the ideal-type of the alternative development model. However, we can still analyze them to further verify the causal links and examine the success and impediments in the theoretical and practical generalization. Finally, a synthesis will be made to capture the situation in different countries across Africa and the causality of independent variables to the alternative development model.

### **5.1 Additional brief case studies**

In this section, we will examine some general situations in Africa or groups of countries in order to observe and analyze the alternative development model. Cases like Djibouti, Tanzania, Mozambique, Uganda, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Nigeria and Kenya will be briefly analyzed. These countries are selected because they are relatively much inspired by China and they carry the independent variables proposed in the second hypothesis. In these cases, there are developmental or not developmental states but still reticent to neoliberalism, former Marxist/socialist countries and former French/English colonies. All of them have close cooperation with China. They offer a variety of policies vis a vis the model hypothesized in the study and reveal the reasons why the alternative development model is more or less adopted.

#### **5.1.1 Djibouti**

Djibouti has been considered an authoritarian regime. Its President Ismail Omar Guelleh has been in power since 1999. China has become an important partner to Djibouti, 77% of whose

debts consist of Chinese loans (Eom et al. 2018, 3). China is the constructor and financial provider of many of the most important infrastructure projects of Djibouti. In other words, the launch of this infrastructure would not be possible without China's assistance. China's engagement in Djibouti could be recapitulated in the following infrastructure projects: Addis Ababa - Djibouti railway, three ports, two airports, the water transmission project from Ethiopia, well-drilling projects, coal-fired power plants, power transmission and transformation projects, transforming Djibouti into an international logistics hub. Based on the improved infrastructure, manufacturing is developed as well and industrialization is hoped to accelerate with the platform of Djibouti's International Free Trade Zone. China has improved on the Djiboutian state's capacity for planning and directing development programs. The state of Djibouti has implemented some important projects for the country through its cooperation with China. Alongside France and the United States, China has become a new important partner of Djibouti, bringing other focus of cooperation to Djibouti.

### **5.1.2 Uganda**

Uganda has for long been considered an authoritarian state. It is a de facto one-party state. The National Resistance Movement (NRM) has been the ruling party since 1986, with a history of being strong. This was the only party allowed to operate in Uganda up to 2005. Today, it is dominant in the parliament, while independents and the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), an offshoot of the NRM mainly took up the rest of the seats. The President Museveni is accused of cracking down the opposition. In a meeting with Xi, Museveni stated that: "Uganda is willing to learn the experience in state governance and administration from the Communist Party of China."(Chinese embassy in Greece 2019).

The state of Uganda has been geared towards infrastructure construction and



industrialization. The theme of its 2015/16 Financial Year budget was: “Maintaining Infrastructure Investment and Promoting Excellence in Public Service Delivery”<sup>38</sup>, while since the financial year 2017/18, the theme has become: “Industrialization for Job Creation and Shared Prosperity”. According to New Vision, Uganda’s budget for the 2018/19 fiscal year still made infrastructure construction a priority for support. The Ministry of Works in charge of infrastructure received 21% of the annual state budget being the largest part among all the ministries for 10 consecutive years (New Vision 2017).

China is the most engaged partner in the infrastructure sector of Uganda. This covers the road, expressway, airport, ICT, including the wired transmission, mobile communication network and e-government network projects, water supply and drainage projects, etc. The two of the largest power plants in Uganda, the Karuma and Ayago power stations are being constructed by Chinese contractors. Meanwhile, the Karuma power station and the Isimba hydropower plant are constructed with Chinese loans. These hydroelectric projects could enable a great increase in the power generation capacity of the country. The standard gauge railway is to be built, to link Uganda to neighbouring countries. Having been denied the funding of the railway by the World Bank, Uganda expects to get the loan from China. The infrastructure has laid a foundation for investment attraction and industrialization. The flourishing industrial parks of Uganda have been presented at the precedent chapters. The cooperation with China is an indispensable catalyst. Uganda launched its first development plan 2010/11-2014/15 in 2010 and a majority of contracted projects were government-procured. From this perspective, the role of the state has been highlighted.

---

<sup>38</sup> Budget Speech of the Financial Year 2015/16

A reason why Uganda has turned to a closer relationship with China is the fact that China's non-conditionality of foreign aid stands in contrast to western donors' attachment of democracy and human rights and some other political conditions. to the aid. The non-interference and non-conditionality together with easy and generous provision of aid and investment in the form of loans in large amounts from China is an alternative financial source that enlarges the living space of authoritarian regimes.

In the meeting of the President of Uganda and Xi in Beijing in June 2019, an agreement was not only reached on expanding development programs, but also reinforcing political exchanges as an opportunity to establishing a comprehensive cooperative partnership. While Xi emphasized that China firmly supported Uganda in exploring its development path with Uganda's characteristics and willing to strengthen exchanges of experience in governing the country, Museveni expressed his admiration for the tremendous development achievements China has made since the reform and opening up, and was willing to learn from the Chinese Communist Party's state administration experience. He also paid tribute to Mao's hometown, as did President Sassou of Congo.

### **5.1.3 Tanzania**

In Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi has been the ruling party since its establishment in 1977. The dominant party regime is susceptible to be a de facto one-party state. This is the case of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi, especially under the rule of Magufuli, just as is the EPRDF. Press freedom and opposition activities are restricted. Under the state of affairs, traditional western donors tend to reduce their aid, faced with the democratic decline; only cooperation with China has not been subject to any conditions on democracy. President Magufuli is apt to be challenged by the West on human rights and democratic issues, for example, the United States and European

Union may reconsider and suspend their development aid to Tanzania due to this problem. This is the force driving this country to swing to China's assistance. In comparison, Chinese financial support is relatively stable and generous. As a result, Tanzania keeps a close relationship with China, which has financed and implemented many important projects in this country. China is Tanzania's largest investor, followed by Britain and then the United States, though Britain was its most important colonizer. As former socialist countries tend to be more attached to nationalism, the political power of Tanzania is highly concentrated.

Having been the Minister of Works for two terms, President Magufuli, called "bulldozer" has been an important infrastructure developer. Tanzania has put accent on infrastructure for a number of years. President Magufuli has continued in this regard with even greater efforts and has promoted industrialization. There have been apparent improvements of infrastructure in the past years, as can be seen through the constructed roads, the natural gas pipeline and gas-fired power station, stadium, hydropower station, water supply project, the \$10 billion Bagamoyo port, extension of the Dar es Salaam port, rehabilitation of central railway line and ICT projects like the fibre optic installation. Chinese enterprises have undertaken the construction of various projects, including railways, roads, ports, airports, bridges and ICTs in Tanzania. The Dar es Salaam port is being expanded by China Harbor Engineering Company Ltd (CHEC), which is to increase the handling capacity of the port. The \$10 billion Bagamoyo port contract has been signed with Chinese, who will built the Bagamoyo Special Economic Zone based on the port. The Tanzania SGR is a historic project. Though it was not contracted to Chinese enterprises at first, the Tanzanian government is interested in seeing its funding and construction of coming stages, done by Chinese actors. Dr. Augustine Mahiga, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, said that "China's Belt and Road Initiative was an example Tanzania could

follow to develop its infrastructure and pave the way for further economic advancement” (Zacharia 2018).

Magufuli attaches a special importance to the state in the economic development. He is a champion of state-led interventionist strategies. He is considered as a strongman and is not much interested in the private and there are too many interventions of the state in the economy (Interview, Professor of the University of Dar es Salaam, July 13 2019). Tanzania is relatively less influenced by neoliberalism. The SOEs in Tanzania play an important role in the economy, as what has been witnessed:

They are clustered around major sectors of the economy, including power, transportation, water, ICT, land and housing, and financing. Of these entities, the Government has full ownership of 232 enterprises. In total, the investment in SOEs represents about 10% of GDP (Kweka 2019, 3).

Among important SOEs in this country are the Tanzanian Railway Corporation, Tanzanian Electric Supply Company, Tanzanian Ports Authority, Tanzanian National Housing Corporation, Tanzanian Petroleum Development Corporation, Air Tanzania, which demonstrate that the state has a grip on the main sectors of its economy.

#### **5.1.4 Mozambique**

Mozambique has been ruled by the party FRELIMO ever since its independence in 1975. As in many other African countries, the single party before democratization has remained the ruling party. Therefore, the political system is like a party-state “dominant at all levels of power: it controls the presidency, local governance apparatuses, public institutions, investments, aid flows, and has a parliamentary majority” (Cezne 2018). State institutions are controlled by the party of FRELIMO. The elections have been contested by the opposition and there were conflicts between the opposition and government forces.

Chinese enterprises have funded and constructed the Manga-Mungassa (Beira) Special Economic Zone and port of Maputo, Zimpeto national soccer stadium, water supply system, Mphanda Nkuwa hydroelectric dam, oil pipelines, the new Parliament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, High Court, National Conference Centre and a host of others. The Beira Port was maintained by Chinese and it has been integrated with an industrial park.

Mozambique was a socialist country and the legacies persist. At the second Road and Belt Forum, Xi referred to the traditional friendship between China and Mozambique as “comrade plus brother”, a designation originated from the socialist context. The president of Mozambique, Nyusi expresses his country’s wish to carrying out experience exchanges in governance, while strengthening cooperation ties in a wide range of fields with China.

Despite the structural adjustment programme, privatization of public enterprises, and introduction of market economy, the economy is heavily controlled by the party and the state, as Macuane (Macuane 2018, 13) has noted:

The state-owned enterprises dominated the entrepreneurial landscape in the immediate aftermath of the civil war. Even after a massive privatisation programme in the 1980s and 1990s, public enterprises continued to be among the largest companies in the country, with the role of the domestic private sector remaining limited.

Mozambique’s system features the overlap between the state and party. The state controls the private sector and maintains the economy. The influence of the ruling party is strong. The private sector depends on the ruling party. The private sector is dependent on the central government as the Frelimo has gained the position of dominating the highly centralized state owing to its credentials from the historical liberation struggle (Weimer and Carrilho 2017). Macuane (2018) has marked that “the private sector development continues to revolve around

relatively large firms” and particular political settlements in Mozambique and that “all serious private sectors have to rely on connections with the state and party-related individuals in Maputo”. This shares similarities with China: “all the presidents of the national confederation of Business Associations in Mozambique so far have been from the ruling party, and in some cases, were even members of Parliament” (Macuane 2018, 13).

Robinson (2012) has noted that the Chinese engagement presents “a chance to find assistance for development far more effective than forthcoming under previous regimes of western aid and economic reform” and the western values remain at the level of lip service for Mozambican elites. Mozambique has been more autonomous in this process. The neoliberal structural adjustment has resulted in development stagnation that failed to significantly bolster social and economic progress, while China’s presence provides “social and economic benefits in contrast to the programme of neoliberal structural adjustment”, and therefore, Chinese engagement is popular to Mozambican people and they are happy for a change (Robinson 2012). This reflects the dissident attitude of Mozambique towards the neoliberal reform.

### **5.1.5 Rwanda**

Paul Kagame has been playing a leading part in Rwanda since the end of the 1994 Genocide. As president, he puts priority on national development. After seeking advice from experts of emerging and developmental states including China, Singapore and Thailand in Asia, he launched the Vision 2020 Programme for the purpose of transforming Rwanda from a highly impoverished to middle-income country and also re-unite its people. The implementation now is encouraging and the growth rate of Rwanda is among the fastest in Africa. Infrastructure projects, especially Chinese financed and constructed ones, abound in Rwanda as in other East African countries. Chinese partners are deeply involved in Rwanda’s industrialization. Even from the

strategic level, the Chinese research institute Chongyang has been invited by the government of Rwanda to design a basic program for the facilitation of primary industrialization of this country, so that their state can use industrial parks to promote the development of manufacturing based on Chinese experience. Rwanda has a relatively clean business environment. Kigali Special Economic Zone regroups many Chinese investors. More industrial parks are in the pipeline to be invested and built by Chinese.

Rwanda is a developmental state, as has been expounded widely (Mann and Berry 2016; Hasselskog 2017; Harrison 2016; Behuria 2018). The role of the state is relatively important and effective. Apart from the development strategy of President Kagame, we can also look at the diplomatic relations of Rwanda with great powers. Rwanda was colonized by Belgium, who doesn't have an important presence or influence in the country any more. Though Rwanda is a francophone country, it did not have close ties with France because the latter's intervention in the Genocide was hostile to the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) led by Kagame. The bilateral relations have thawed since 2008, but they remain unstable. Rwanda has maintained close relations with English-speaking countries and is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. It enjoyed good relations with the United States and UK and benefited from their aid programmes, though in the last several years, aid may be suspended due to divergences on the Congo issues and Paul Kagame's third term. Rwanda insists on its development autonomy of development. Its development model and foreign relations are autonomous. China is its important partner. Just as Kagame said in the annual economic meeting of Africa: "Africa's political and economic development should be dominated by Africa itself, and African leaders should reshape political and economic thinking patterns to respond to people's demands for development and better respond to external factors."

### **5.1.6 Republic of Congo**

The Republic of Congo is an authoritarian state. The party in power, Congolese Labor Party (PCT) was a former Marxist-Leninist political party and the single party of the Republic of Congo before this regime abandoned the Communist ideology and turned to democratic socialism in the 1990s. The PCT can always remain in power despite the adoption of multiparty elections. The parliament is dominated by members of the PCT. It has always been accused of repression of the opposition. President Denis Sassou Nguesso has been in power only with a discontinuity of several years following the democratization of the country. Now, Sassou has been in his third term after the constitutional amendment through a referendum. His reelection was contested.

Chinese financial support, especially the large number of concessional loans, interest-free loans and grants, has enabled the construction of a large amount of infrastructure in Congo including hydropower stations, Power Transmission and Transformation Project, roads, expressways, ports, airports, telecommunications, hospitals, schools, the parliament, Presidential Palace, stadiums, water plants and water supply... More giant projects are in the pipeline, like a mineral port and the Pointe-Noire Special Economic Zone (SEZ), the rehabilitation of the Congo-Océan Railway (CFCO) and construction of the city of Ngamakosso. The Republic of Congo is holding one of the largest numbers of infrastructure projects being financed and constructed by Chinese. It is suggested that Congo owes China a debt of development assistance of at least US\$7.1 billion (Eom et al. 2018, 3), an indirect demonstration of the broad bilateral cooperation.

### **5.1.7 Kenya and Nigeria**

Countries like Kenya and Nigeria are cases that only incarnate a part of the alternative development model. Both countries have hybrid regimes. Multiparty democracy and elections are



regularly held. However, the states are considered not democracies due to various problems. Both states are deeply influenced by neoliberalism, which has shaped existing economic models. They are nonetheless relatively autonomous. The two states are being geared towards more roles in leading the development of their countries, although there are still pitfalls in their capacity. Infrastructure projects abound in Kenya and Nigeria. Numerous important projects in both countries are financed by China and contracted to Chinese enterprises, like the Abuja-Kaduna railway, urban light railway of Lagos, SEZs, and road networks in the case of Nigeria; and Mombasa-Nairobi SGR, Mombasa Port, SEZs for the case of Kenya.

Nigeria has close relations with countries like the United States and United Kingdom. Its relations with China help to diversify its foreign cooperation. Since different partners carry out different approaches and have different emphasis for cooperation. As the largest foreign investor in Nigeria, the United States attaches importance to democratic elections and security in the country. In general,

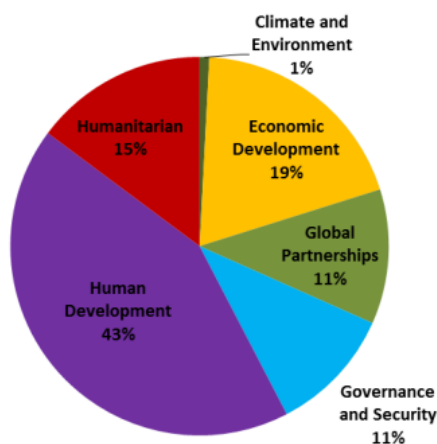
Through U.S. foreign assistance, the U.S. Government is supporting Nigerian efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, promote good governance and counter corruption, and improve security while addressing the factors that drive conflict and providing life-saving assistance to those affected by terrorism. U.S. assistance also aims to build institutional capacity in the provision of health and education services and increase agricultural productivity and food security. (US Department of State 2019)

As its colonial master, the United Kingdom is an ally of Nigeria. The United Kingdom is also preoccupied with the democratic situation, anti-corruption, security and defense, investment and trade promotion, etc. in the bilateral ties with the country. According to the Department for International Development (DFID), the government department in charge of foreign aid of the United Kingdom, English aid to Algeria is distributed as shown in the following figure. Economic development only accounts for 19%. The human development, humanitarian,

governance and security, as well as global partnership make up respectively 43%, 15%, 11% and 11%. This shows that the English approach is much less directly concentrated on infrastructure and economic development than the Chinese one.

**Figure 5.1: Sector breakdown of 2018/19 bilateral plans of the United Kingdom for Nigeria**

**Sector breakdown of 2018/19 bilateral plans**

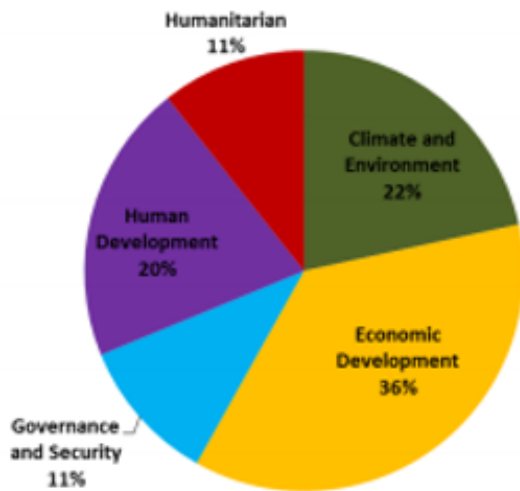


(Source: the Department for International Development of the United Kingdom)

Kenya is a country of intensive cooperation with China especially in the sphere of infrastructure. It is also one of the African countries where China has financed and constructed the most infrastructure. Its president Kenyatta has realized and emphasized the key role of infrastructure in trade and development. The infrastructure construction itself is an activity creating GDP, and its facilitating effect on different industries of the economy will further stimulate growth. The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway has been a great success and its second phase is under construction, before it is connected to the Ugandan railway. The Lapsset corridor programme has reengineered Kenya’s development agenda in which the government is championing the development of seven key infrastructure components.

Kenya’s partnership has been diversified. It is not only an ally of the United Kingdom, its former colonial master and the U.S., but also an important partner to China. British investment plays an important role in Kenya, as the British High Commissioner to Kenya Nic Hailey notes, the top 10 taxpayer companies in Kenya are British (Office of the Deputy President of Kenya 2016). The colonial heritages exist. Kenya is an important recipient of the foreign aid of the United States. According to the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, “the United States seeks to advance its national security and economic prosperity interests by helping strengthen economic stability, security, health, education, environment, rule of law, and democratic governance in Kenya, as well as by countering violent extremism and combating wildlife trafficking.”

**Figure 5.2: Sector breakdown of 2018/19 bilateral plans of the United Kingdom for Kenya**



(Source: the Department for International Development of the United Kingdom)

## 5.2 The synthesis

This study pays attention not only to the impact China has made on Africa as a whole, but also to the variation among different African countries, and tries to find some patterns to this matter. The alternative development model is a consequence of the interaction between Chinese impact and the intrinsic conditions and history of the country.

In general, the increased amount of infrastructure construction projects has been an evidently prevalent phenomenon almost across Africa, following China's intensive engagement in Africa since the year 2000. Therefore, the most common inspiration for African countries from China is the second component of the alternative development model, the infrastructure-driven growth and the industrialization based on a well-prepared infrastructure. The situation of the other aspects of the alternative development is various across Africa. The other features, including the separation between economic development and nature of political regimes can be seen in a number of African countries. A few countries with good development performances remain authoritarian, although China's non-political intervention and respect for the choice of the development path of African countries make it uncertain that there is a definite causality between Chinese and African authoritarian regimes. There is a general improvement of the autonomy of development owing to a plurality of partners and the exertion of a greater role of the state, the degrees vary in different countries. As for industrialization, a few countries have made concrete strategies of it and are on the path of realizing it through cooperation with China. In brief, all the other features of the model except the construction of infrastructure are not significant in the whole Africa.

The following part will be a summary of the situation of different components of the alternative development model with an eye on the variations within Africa.

### 5.2.1 Democracy and development

It seems that Ethiopian leaders from Meles to Hailemariam, from Kagame of Rwanda to Uganda's Yoweri Museveni are among the heads of state that openly cast doubt on the applicability of western democracy. In Africa, there have been only a few democratic states decades after the wave of democratization. Hybrid and authoritarian regimes are more common. For example, Mozambique, Rwanda, the Republic of Congo, Cameroon and Djibouti are all authoritarian regimes, while Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, and Ivory Coast are all hybrid, according to the Democracy index of Economist. These non-democratic African regimes are a basis for inspiration from China if they manage to find a path of accelerated development through cooperation with China.

Chinese economic cooperation helps to stabilise party-based authoritarian regimes. As party-based regimes are more "sensitive to their performance and the popular support they receive, and party regimes have institutionalized channels to redistribute provided goods, they benefit more from Chinese economic assistance" (Bader 2015).

As Bader affirms,

Party-based regimes have higher incentives to engage in performance-based legitimation strategies and are more able to translate China's economic engagement into power preserving societal support than other types of regimes. These existing channels of redistribution enable them to integrate the benefits that accrue from Chinese assistance projects into their existing redistribution networks and to claim credit for the developmental progress that Chinese assistance may entail.(Bader 2015)

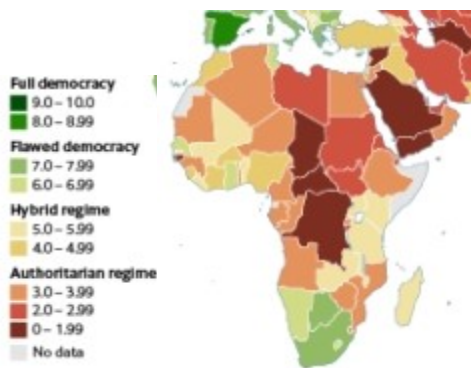
China often finances and constructs big infrastructure projects and buildings, which can help incumbent African leaders to show their good performance and win public support. China's widely engagement in high-profile projects with political significance helps to establish a

developmental image for authoritarian and hybrid regime as for democracies. Chinese projects like stadiums, hospitals, roads, dams, stadiums can improve the performance of the party in power, especially those completed before elections can be beneficial to the reelection.

Bader (2015) shows that “export dependence on China can increase leadership durability in authoritarian countries”. Chinese leaders have been found systematically travel more times to authoritarian African countries than to democracies. China stresses repeatedly that it doesn’t attach any political condition in its aid to Africa. However, as China’s global strategy makes Chinese presence in Africa more widely, inactivity cannot protect its own interests. China wants political stability in African countries. The relations with China can be used for strengthening the power of a certain regime. “Resource rents, financial assistance and development aid can be generated and redistributed among followers”(Smith 2009). Incumbent authoritarian governments can be consolidated with the aid inflows. Now that many African countries have difficulty in democratic transition or consolidation, China’s non-intervention offers an alternative support. As Tull (2006) states: “revenues from trade and taxes, development assistance and other means of support widen the margins of manoeuvre of Africa’s autocrats, and help them to rein in domestic demands for democracy and the respect for human rights.” China’s engagement with incumbent leaders and the existing bilateral relations can strengthen their power vis a vis their competitors in the power struggle. As Tull (2006, 467) states, China is attractive “not only for plainly authoritarian leaders, but also for the great many African governments presiding over hybrid regimes for whom the distribution of patronage remains an exigency of political survival”. The repression can be reinforced with the introduction of Chinese technology of Internet and telephone surveillance.

It is naturally easier for Chinese leaders to deal with regimes of the same type. China as a one-party regime is comfortable to deal with other one-party regimes. China conducts party diplomacy through the CPC's International Department, which is conducive to deepen state relations, especially with one-party regime of Africa. Interparty exchanges<sup>39</sup> are important platforms for state governance exchanges and are also favourable to economic cooperation between China and related African countries. African regimes use Chinese assistance for regime survival and strengthen their autocratic governance and repression.

**Figure 5.3: Democracy index in Africa 2018**



(Source: the Economist Intelligence Unit.)

Africa has a big quantity of authoritarian states (figure 5.3). At least those with close cooperation with China and having expressed their willingness to get inspired from China or CPC's experience in governing the country hold an opportunity for learning from China's political regime. African countries with a Marxist history have mostly remained authoritarian with a dominant political party originated from or being the same as the former single party. Angola was not analyzed in detail as a case study. But it falls into this type of countries. In

---

<sup>39</sup> Which are often important political parties of African countries

Angola, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has been the political party in power since its independence in 1975.

China is not trying to export its development model including the authoritarian feature. Rather, it has been an advocate for developing countries to have a development path in line with their national conditions. Therefore, if there is a convergence with China in Africa, it is an indirect result. On the one hand, there is China's demonstration effect of successful development under the authoritarian system. The demonstration effect means that they are more assertive in having a development model of non-western democracy if they look at the achievements of the role model of China. In other words, they are more assertive in remaining non-liberal-democratic. On the other hand, China's aid, investment and trade provide resources to authoritarian leaders in Africa, though China doesn't do so specifically to authoritarian states. China makes no distinction of political regimes when it comes to partners of international cooperation. China does not mean to spread autocracy, but its aid, loans and investment without discrimination to authoritarian states have an important effect on them. China is criticized for assisting autocracies, but actually, China provides assistance to African countries regardless of the nature of their regime. Since China provides resources to almost all African states, whether democratic, authoritarian or hybrid, the authoritarian, the authoritarian regimes may consolidate its power as well. It is noted that "China's financial alternatives for African states lessen western leverage for democratic reform" (Robinson 2012). Since 1990s, democracy and good governance have been a focus of western countries and organizations when it comes to aid for Africa. If the democratization relies on strong foreign support, both politically and financially, and one of the largest funding providers doesn't make democracy a priority in cooperation, external democratization driving forces would be abated. Authoritarian countries could have not been able



to get so much financial support as western donors like the EU and World Bank still attach democratic conditions when providing aid. When the Western donors withhold funding to African countries, Chinese consistent support seems to be more important. For giant projects, funding is the biggest obstacle. China's support is especially important when western countries or financial organizations refuse to finance. This is the case of infrastructure. Western pressures on democratization and structural adjustment reforms have been mitigated by China's engagement due to the latter's non-interference and non-conditionality nature. Economic liberalization is to be limited and the public sector could regain importance, rather than continuous liberalization to the benefit of the private sector.

It is still a controversy that whether liberal democracy marked by the western parliamentary system and multiparty elections should be universal. If democracy is a universal concept, should it be limited to western democracy? Admin noted that "democracy must be contextualized, since development is a contextualized concept". It is mainly an internal impediment for establishing liberal democracy in many African countries. But the external context plays an important role. Many African countries are confronted with difficulties in consolidating liberal democracy.

Prime Minister Abiy of Ethiopia, taking China as "the most reliable friend of Ethiopia and the most cherished partner", has expressed that he is willing to learn from China's successful development experience and expand bilateral comprehensive exchanges and cooperation in the meeting with the Chinese head of state at the Belt and Road conference of 2019. China is committed to strengthening the coordination of development strategies with Ethiopia and deepening mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields. He affirmed on the same occasion that "China always respects African countries and does not impose its own will on them."

Ethiopia is not much derailed from the alternative development model despite all the liberal reforms launched by Prime Minister Abiy. Apart from the factor of a less strong foreign democratic support, the internal interests of the parties and the ethnic situation do not allow him to pursue his goal easily.

The annual training of the leaders of African political parties in power by the CPC is a channel for inspiration on the experience of country governance. African political parties seek improvement on capacity building through political party training in China held by the CPC. Meanwhile, it is pointed out that “efforts to help African political parties to absorb, assimilate, and duplicate the Chinese experience will have a profound psychological and political impact over the choices and preferences of African political parties, thus over African political landscape (Sun 2016).” In this way, it doesn’t need the imposition to get agreements from the African counterparts. Initially socialist oriented parties are particularly willing to getting this training, such as the EPRDF, Angola's MPLA, Tanzania’s Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) (Party of the Revolution) and Namibia's Swapo. Such training is provided at various levels and is being expanded to more countries.

### **5.2.2 Infrastructure and industrialization**

China’s development and growth are just based on infrastructure. Its public investment into infrastructure represents an important activity for stimulating growth. China has built itself into a country with well-established infrastructure in a few decades. For example, it has become the country generating the most power since 2012. When it comes to going global, its construction enterprises are at the forefront. With the Belt and Road Initiative, it is confident to be able to help in the realization of infrastructure for other countries. Chinese aid and investment projects are driven both by African governments and Chinese enterprises. In fact, the need for infrastructure

by African countries has been dire, with funding, being the principal obstacle for its realization. A common form of cooperation for infrastructure construction between China and Africa is that China provides the loans to African states and Chinese enterprises undertake the construction contracts concerned. Chinese enterprises are willing to get to know the concrete needs of African countries and even make proposals or plans for them. Chinese financial institutions can quickly disburse loans, which are often concessional, for the realization of such projects in coordination. China has initiated a foreign aid model in Africa based on both its advantage and Africa's need, as is the case with the Angola model and Addis Ababa-Djibouti model. It is noteworthy that a large part of the most remarkable Chinese enterprises in Africa are state-owned enterprises in the infrastructure sector. With their advantages in delivery efficiency, cost and techniques, Chinese enterprises also win contracts not financed by China. The situation varies in different African countries, due to the influence of other factors. But in general, infrastructure improvement is prevalent in Africa in view of China's important engagements. In countries in close cooperation with China like Ethiopia, the infrastructure-driven growth is perceivable. The infrastructure in this country has been mainly developed by the state, which belongs to public investments. This is also true with Kenya. The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway alone brings a growth rate of about 1.5% each year (Li 2017).

The roads, expressways, railways, ports, airports, bridges, telecommunications, stadiums, power and water supply in Africa are constantly improved and expanded. Some of the infrastructure projects that Chinese work on in Africa are historical, such as industrial parks, railways and expressways. While the railways are the first modern ones, substituting the nearly abandoned ones built in the colonial era, the expressways and the industrial parks are also the first ones and the bridges are the biggest ones in many African countries.

China has constructed ports in 20 out of 33 African coastal countries (Netease 2018). In some countries, they are related to more than one. Some of them could be potentially integrated into a special economic zone. In fact, China's infrastructure construction in Africa is closely linked to industrial development. China provides experience and planning for ports and industrial development in African countries. The Kribi deep sea Port in Cameroon is just a perfect example. Some African states have asked for Chinese-proposed industrialization development plans. Chinese research institutes and think tanks are often invited to contribute to the industrialization planning of African countries, such as Rwanda, Cote d'Ivoire and the Republic of Congo. In this way, their development plans will naturally be imprinted with Chinese ideas and thinking.

In the energy infrastructure sector of Sub-Saharan Africa, between 2010 and 2015, Chinese contractors were responsible for the construction of 58% of hydroelectric dams, and 30% green field power plants, excluding wind and solar PV (International Energy Agency 2016, 16).

Chinese enterprises have constructed a number of modern SGRs in Africa, which are to be extended to realize regional connectivity. The Addis Ababa - Djibouti Railway of 752.7 kms, Benguela railway of 1,344 kms in Angola, Aka Railway of 186.5 kms in Nigeria, Mombasa-Nairobi SGR of 480 kms and Nairobi-Malaba SGR in Kenya are all financed by the Eximbank and built by Chinese enterprises. With Chinese construction and funding, the railway connectivity has been realized from the Atlantic to Indian Oceans by linking the Tanzania-Zambia railway, the railway of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Benguela railway of Angola since July 2019. The SGR in Kenya is expected to connect Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, South Africa and the Republic of Congo in Western Africa. In the same vein, Chinese engagement is very quickly and extensively connecting African countries with regular roads and expressway networks.

The construction of infrastructure is a two-dimensional issue. It can only be made possible when subjective and objective conditions are met. The subjective one is the willingness to build, while the objective one is that the funding and technical capacity are accessible and enough. In other words, the infrastructure construction needs to be enabled by two factors: mentality and feasibility. On the one hand, the political will is necessary, which means that it is realized that the infrastructure is important for improving people's life, equally, its construction can be taken as a driving force for growth, not only for the GDP it creates, but also for the basis it lays for further development of various sectors, such as the industry. On the other hand, the financial and technical capacities are indispensable. If the infrastructure is an innate need for every country, the required capacities may constitute constraints. The financial constraint is a pervasive problem for African countries. Without funding, any ambitious vision cannot be put into practice. The amount provided in the form of official development assistance for Africa has still not been enough.

While it's a universal knowledge that development needs the improvement of infrastructure, countries still don't realize and spare no efforts to construct it equally. Infrastructure as a driving force of growth is not recognized and carried out as a principle to the same degree. We need to further observe the variation of this mentality and if there is an external inspiration for it.

China has played the role of reinforcing the mentality of growth and development, based on infrastructure. Infrastructure is extremely important for both China's own development model and China-Africa cooperation. China has made African states more deeply realize its importance. Apart from Chinese enterprises, Chinese officials and organizations also promote this mentality. For example, in terms of China's promotion of infrastructure construction in the power sector at the level of mentality, the Global Energy Interconnection Development and Cooperation Organization is a new international organization initiated by the State Grid of China Co., Ltd.

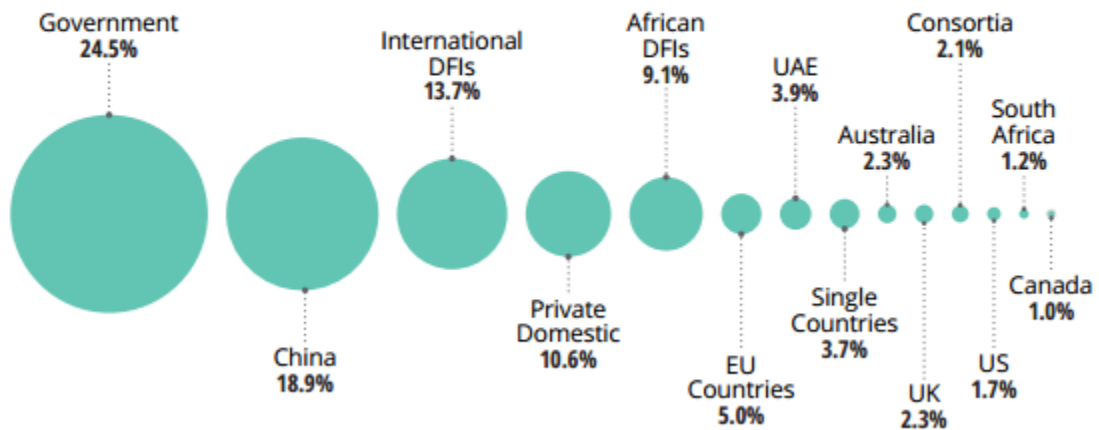
Established in 2016, it is aimed at promoting cooperation and coordination of the global power network. This organization has been actively promoting power megaprojects at the national and international levels. This reflects the leading role China plays in the promotion of power infrastructure in Africa. The backwardness of infrastructure has been an impediment discouraging local and foreign investors, impeding more job opportunities and creating social instabilities. Chinese enterprises are active in proposing infrastructure projects to African governments, and sometimes even make concrete road development proposals to them. Chinese enterprises try to stress on power, blood of industry as a basis for socioeconomic development, so that it is necessary to enhance electricity supply in order to undertake industrialization.

Chinese funding and technical support especially in the past twenty years have been favourable elements for launching more projects in Africa. When Chinese enterprises succeed in helping African governments get Chinese funding, the projects concerned become easy to realize. Chinese State-owned enterprises are the most important contractors in the construction sector. Chinese concessional loan is an advantage for Chinese enterprises to win contracts in Africa. Without China's support, African states would not be able to build so much infrastructure. The 60 billion dollars financial support announced at the 2015 FOCAC and additional 60 billion dollars during the 2018 Beijing Summit have made possible the realization of megaprojects and a large number of small projects. This is even the prerequisite for realizing the vision of African states. Main Chinese banks providing concessional loans are the Eximbank and Development Bank of China. The characteristics of China's Eximbank financed projects are often large in scale and high in amount. So, many historic infrastructure projects have been created through its financing. A Senegalese official expressed, "Because the Chinese Eximbank has the financing. To get finance from the World Bank and others, it takes much time and is very difficult, because they are

not accessible. With Chinese investments, it becomes very accessible and easier to come. That's why most of the road construction are with Chinese. The Ethiopian government is just learning very much from China's development experience." (Interview, Official of APIX, September 5, 2018) The following figures show China among all the countries, is the biggest financial provider for infrastructure to Africa. And it is involved in many infrastructure sectors. Chinese firms claim about 50% of the market of internationally constructed infrastructure (Sun, Jayaram, and Kassiri 2017).

**Figure 5.4: Africa I&CP projects by funding source<sup>40</sup>**

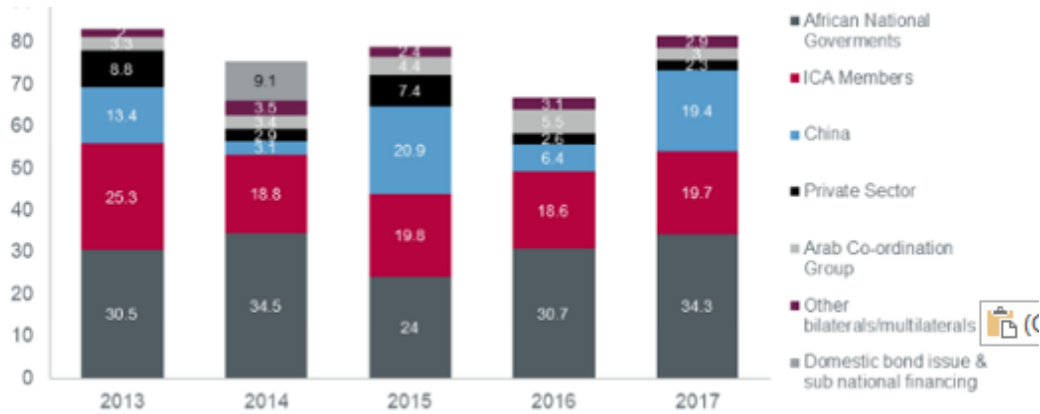
**African I&CP projects by funding source**



(Source: Deloitte Africa Construction Trends, 2018)

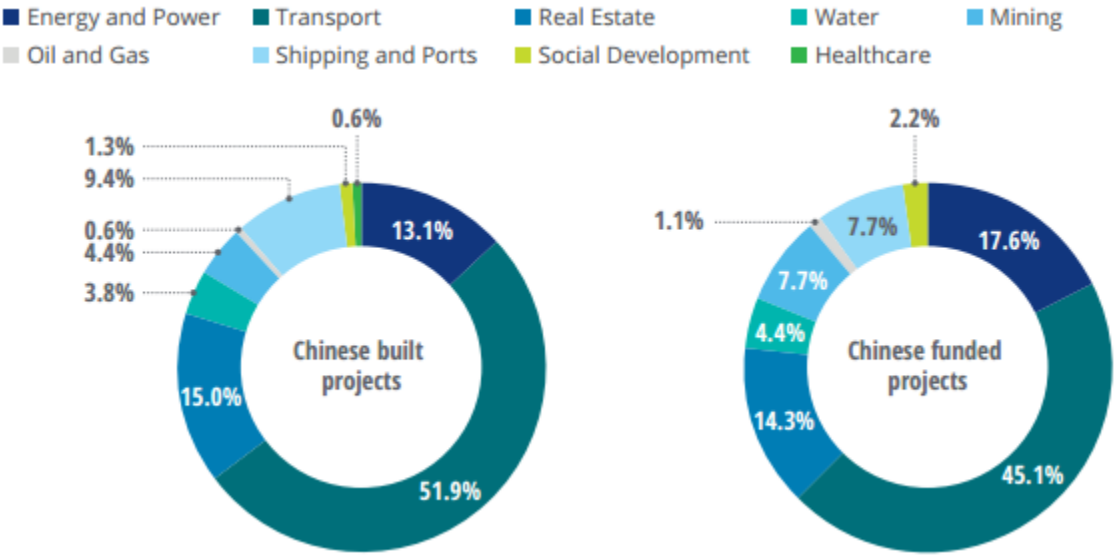
<sup>40</sup> I&CP : infrastructure and capital projects

**Figure 5.5: Infrastructure Funding by source**



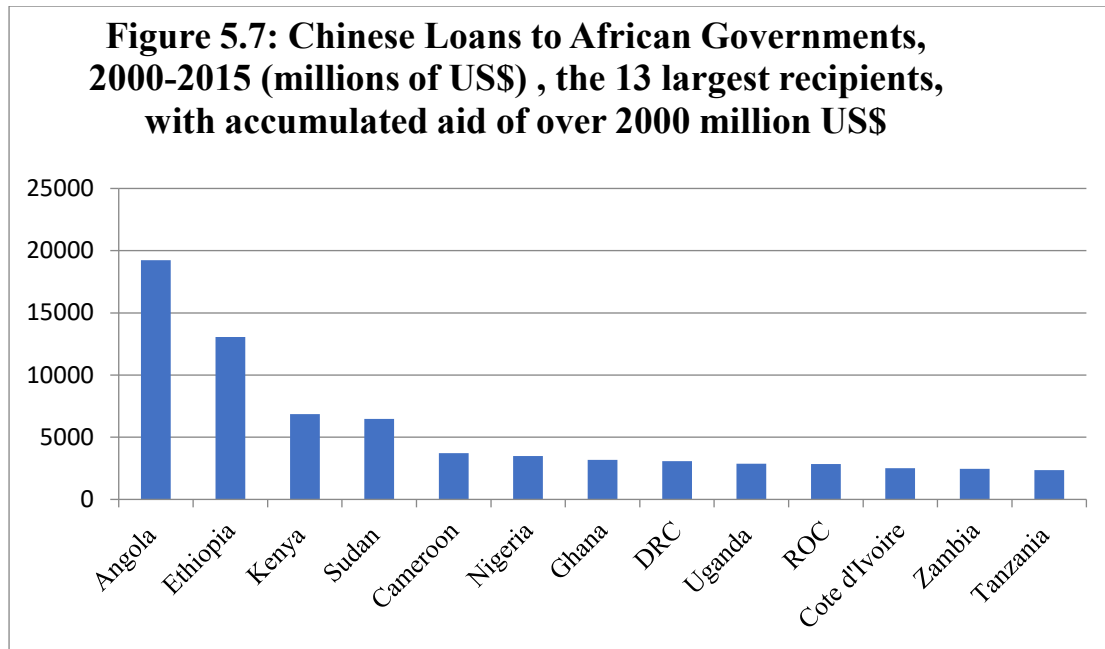
(Source: the Infrastructure Consortium for Africa (ICA), Fitch Ratings)

**Figure 5.6: China’s I&CP financing and building activity in Africa, by sector**



(Source: Deloitte Africa Construction Trends, 2018)



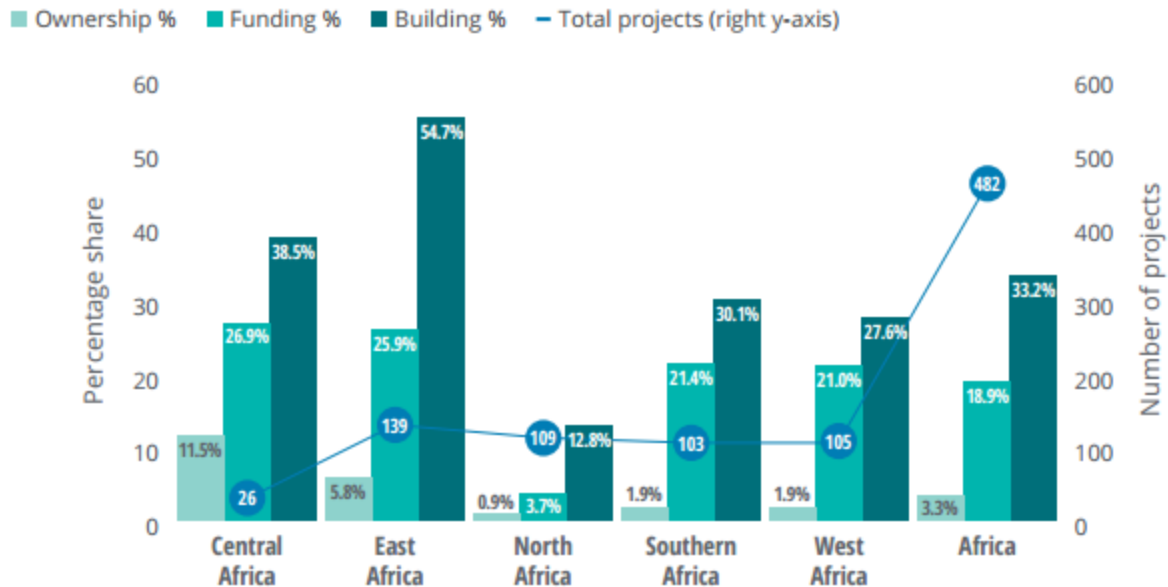


(Source: Figure made according to the CARI loan data)

The thirteen countries combined received 76% of China’s total aid to Africa, according to the CARI data. Among the African countries having received the biggest amounts of Chinese aid, Ethiopia, Kenya, Cameroon, Uganda are not countries rich in natural resources, which shows that China’s cooperation with Africa is far from just being seduced by natural resources. In terms of the use of Chinese loans in Africa from 2000 to 2016, 38171 million dollars, or 30.6% of all the aid went to the transport sector, 30118 dollars, or 24% went to the power sector, 19187 dollars, or 15.4% went to the mining sector, followed by communication and water sectors, which combined made up for 9.6%<sup>41</sup>. Infrastructure and industry have become important sectors of cooperation.

<sup>41</sup> According to the Annual Chinese Loans to Africa, by Sector, US\$ mn. Version 1.1 August 2018, CARI loan data

**Figure 5.8: China’s share of regional and continental project activity**



(Source: Deloitte Africa Construction Trends, 2018)

East Africa has kept the closest cooperation with China in the infrastructure sector. In this sub-region, over half of the projects have been built by Chinese enterprises, as figure 5.8 shows. The discrepancy between the percentages of funding and building means that Chinese enterprises can not only win contracts of China’s funding, but also a large quantity of projects financed by African governments themselves and other international sources, such as the World Bank and African Development Bank. It is in the East Asia that China’s driving force is the strongest in terms of infrastructure construction.

### **Industrialization**

SEZs are aimed at overcoming investment barriers, including inadequate infrastructure. Chinese cooperation in a comprehensive manner is leading to industrialization through SEZs based on a better environment for infrastructure. Industrialization is the priority of ten

cooperation plans between China and Africa. Production capacity cooperation and infrastructure construction, especially SEZs are integrated. Industrial parks or SEZs as an impetus for industrialization are an important reflection of development model. It has been noted that “the concept of SEZ as part of a national industrial development strategy has been adopted from the Chinese model.” (Signé and Johnson 2018, 25). Modern SEZs or industrial parks with the initiation and participation of Chinese governmental or private actors with unprecedented policies and mechanisms are helping to relaunch industrialization in a new way.

In terms of industrialization of Africa, the production capacity cooperation is a strategy that China often mentions. To this end, the Chinese government takes South Africa as the locomotive to lead industrialization of Africa, and lists Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Republic of Congo as the pilot countries, and Egypt, Angola and Mozambique as key objects for strengthening capacity cooperation between China and Africa. These countries will be the first pilots to follow the experience of China’s reform and opening up. They will demonstrate the model more widely to other African countries. It can be realized that most of these countries are former African Marxist countries.

Chinese FDI in Africa has been on the rise rapidly. It is playing an important role in the manufacturing sector. Among the over 10,000 Chinese enterprises in operation in Africa, about one third are engaged in Africa’s manufacturing industry (Sun, Jayaram, and Kassiri 2017, 8). Alongside the infrastructure, manufacturing is expanding late, but quickly. Chinese firms produce 12% of Africa’s manufacturing industrial production annually (Sun, Jayaram, and Kassiri 2017).<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> The data were got in 2017, it is expected to be increasing.

The SEZs that China has built in Africa at the request of African countries show the effect of inspiration of Chinese development model. The idea of the construction of Chinese economic and commercial cooperation zones in Africa was first proposed by African countries. The Egyptian President Mubarak during his visit to China was impressed and invited Chinese to build this in his country. The industrialization model of modern SEZs inspired by China is also linked to the model of Chinese SEZs in China. An important feature is the state support and state led whether it's state-owned or private SEZs. The first SEZs that Chinese has built in Africa have enjoyed governmental support in many aspects. When it comes to modern African SEZs following china's model, African states often choose state-ownership or joint ventures with Chinese. A challenge for the first period is the financial burden. Fellow developing countries support and learn from each other. Industrial parks in developed countries like Japan and in Europe are considered to be too modern for inspiration in terms of industries from the perspective of developing countries in Africa.

### **5.2.3 Autonomous development due to various partners**

When colonization was delegitimated in Africa, neo-colonialism took precedence. But it cannot be ignored that neo-colonialism may actually work under the cloak of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism profits mainly the advanced capitalist countries and the upper class. Liberalized African economies where foreign operators play an omnipresent role are seeing the profits largely repatriated. The economy controlled by foreigners to a certain extent has deprived the state of some of its leading role and decision-making power, hampering the autonomy of African states.

China joined the traditional aid providing countries and international financial organizations before the year 2000 as an economic partner, especially a principal aid provider to Africa. African countries can choose from a variety of aid paradigms and cooperation manners.

Such an expanded margin of manoeuvre and decision-making power constitute some kind of autonomy. China's non-intervention and non-conditionality in particular have added up to the autonomy of African states in international cooperation.

Although gaining autonomy is a common phenomenon for African countries, the cases vary. In terms of colonial legacies, French influence is the most entrenched, compared to other colonizers. This has put a brake on the autonomous development progress of related African countries. In general, the situation found in Senegal, marked by French-dominated foreign investment and various French-controlled sectors of the economy, including the strategic ones through some leading enterprises, like Bouygues, Total, Bolloré, Areva and Orange, exists widely in many other African countries as well.

#### **5.2.4 Increased engagement of the state**

Although it is not easy to make sure to what extent the common national plans of African countries elaborated in recent years derive from the practice of China, at least it can be seen that the Chinese part is an active participant in the projects of such development plans, among others, in the domains of infrastructure, investment and trade.

In China's own system, many strategic sectors, like the power, railways, expressways, telecommunications are state-owned, and in cooperation with Africa, generally it doesn't promote the privatization of such kind of sectors there. Rather, China enterprises often implement infrastructure programs with African governments as the owners. With the financing from China in the form of loans, African countries can rely less on the privatization for investment. The maintenance of the ownership and operation of the state for projects have enabled the state to play more important roles in Africa.

Neoliberalism is still the dominant paradigm and is promoted by the most important international financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF as well as developed countries. Regardless of the economic efficiency of neoliberalism, privatization runs the risk of impairing the political control of the state and even its sovereignty. Some colonial companies that had been nationalized during the first decades of independence were privatized and returned to foreigners in a seemingly reasonable way. The former metropolitan country naturally became the most common acquirer or contractor. This doesn't have to be neocolonialism, but the key sectors of the national economy are operated by those foreign groups in many African countries. Most African countries had weak regulatory capacities and immature enterprises as well as an elementary industrial foundation. The coercion for them to take thorough liberalization has deprived them of a protected environment for growing up. Though still bogged down in neoliberalism after over thirty years, African countries have become aware of the downside of it. While in Ethiopia, a state-driven development is trying to embrace a dose of neoliberalism, the highly neoliberal state of Senegal is returning the role to the state. There is a convergence between the two kinds of countries in which the role of the state is major in one and minimal in the other. The regaining of the role of the state is inspired and assisted by China as has been elaborated in the preceding chapters.

The post-socialist state of Ethiopia is opening its market, while neoliberal Senegal is attributing more roles to the state. Senegal is witnessing a more active engagement of the state in the development, through planning, financing and mobilization of available resources. The implementation of many historical projects, among others, especially infrastructure is a case in point. The PSE gives a kind of developmental impression and the growth rate of 7% annually has been a focal point for the administration and researchers of Senegal.

### **5.2.5 Conclusion**

From the cases of more countries in this chapter, we have confirmed the two hypotheses. There is a China-inspired development model in Africa which is one of authoritarian and state-led development, with emphasis put on infrastructure-based industrialization. In this model the state is more autonomous due to the multiplicity of partners, China in particular. This model is embraced to a larger extent by certain African countries than others due to several factors, including post-colonial relationships, the socialist legacy, and the implementation of the developmental state strategy in contrast to one dominated by neoliberalism.

Djibouti, the Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Uganda, Mozambique, Rwanda, Kenya and Nigeria have been analyzed to test the hypotheses. Rwanda is an authoritarian developmental state. The Republic of Congo, Tanzania and Mozambique are countries with strong socialist legacies as Ethiopia. Uganda was not a socialist country, but its long-term serving President Museveni personally has a socialist background. States with strong socialist legacies have a propensity for the fusion between the ruling party and state, which exerts an impact on the economy of the country. These countries are more apt to the state-led development model and tend to be critical to the neoliberal paradigm. The socialist political culture and institutions in legacies may come in contradiction with the formal parliamentary democracy, which makes these countries have difficulties in consolidating democracy and moving away from authoritarian politics. For the former English colonies of Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda and Tanzania, post-colonial relationships have relatively not been strongly influenced by the colonial past. This goes the same for the colonies of other powers, such as Mozambique, where the Portuguese influence was not so important; in comparison, French colonies' remain strong and entrenched. Djibouti, and the Republic of Congo are former French colonies, and France remains their largest trade partner.

But their partners have tended to become plural, as China has become their biggest aid provider and Chinese enterprises are the most engaged ones in the infrastructure sector of these countries. Therefore, among former French colonies of Africa, there are some variances with regard to the plurality of cooperation partners. For some of them, French political and economic influence remains very important, but not dominant any more. Only in these cases can the countries become more autonomous, conduct intensive cooperation with China and allow the alternative development model to emerge and flourish.

The two principal case studies of Ethiopia and Senegal have been well explained by the second hypothesis. By examining more cases, we find that the three variables are relevant, but the variance of the cases with the same variable should not be neglected. As for the different situation of the adoption of the alternative model or certain components of it, Africa is not monolithic. Horizontally, some African countries adopt the alternative development model across the board, while others less. Each variable may influence the adoption of different countries at various degrees. For example, for former French colonies, French influence remains in different degrees in Cameroon and Senegal. Vertically, for each country, the inspiration changes with time. It is not constant. A country may get little inspiration but later a lot from China over time or vice versa. Senegal, having been chosen as the least likely case, has turned out to be approaching to a certain extent a part of the alternative development model, such as the focus on infrastructure and industrialization, autonomy and increased role of the state. A country deeply inspired can also break away from (some components of) the alternative development model and turn back again after some time as the internal and external conditions evolve, since the model is diffused by demonstration, it is up to the African part to have the agency of emulation. It is not imposed. Ethiopia, the most representative case has not been without uncertainties on its adoption of the



model since there were some tentative strategic adjustments at the leadership level, though it seems to have ended up in the existing path. Therefore, for any African country and period, the inspiration can be changeable in the contemporary context.

Apart from the countries examined in this thesis, China has many other important partners in Africa, such as South Africa, Cameroon and Egypt. Most of the countries not discussed in this thesis do not adopt the alternative development model by all of the four characteristics. In other words, they fit into part of the model to a certain degree. For some countries, there has been not a qualitative, but quantitative change towards the alternative development model. Their situation and evolution can be comprehended with the three variables pointed out in the thesis. The alternative development model is still unstable and in an early age, and still, not many countries have adopted the development model to the full.

We have tested our hypotheses with more cases. The cases analyzed in the dissertation widely representing different types of cases provide a clue for other countries. In contrast to the dynamic adoption of the alternative model in several East African countries, Francophone countries of West and Central Africa seem to be more detached. There is internal variance within the countries with the same variable. The understanding of the situation needs to be nuanced. Mauritius is a fan of the Chinese economic model. It has formulated its expanded Africa Strategy by replicating Chinese economic mode (Cowaloosur 2016). The countries with socialist legacies and those influenced by neocolonialism, having the common features of respective types of cases, are with nuance in the variables to a certain degree and finally in their development model as well.

Among Asia, Africa and Latin America where developing countries are mainly located, Africa gathers the most countries maintaining close political and economic ties with China since Africa's independence. China supported African national liberation movements and African

countries played the principal role in the restoration of the legitimate seat in the UN in early 1970s. In view of China's consistent aid and cooperation and political consultations with many African countries, Africa is at the forefront of getting inspiration from China. There are a few Asian countries like Vietnam, Myanmar and Cambodia are also interested in Chinese experience on economic development and political governance and inspiration from China can be found. They have also received Chinese industrial transfer. Latin America is evidently little inspired by China due to geopolitics. It was not until recent years that China's global initiative of "one belt one road" es worldwide as a whole would be another issue worth study. At least we know that China's role of the promotion of infrastructure development can be seen all along the Road and Belt countries.

### **5.3 Competing hypotheses**

#### **5.3.1 The first competing hypothesis**

The first competing hypothesis is that the alternative development model has existed in the 1990s before China intensified cooperation with Africa in the 2000s. This hypothesis means that the political or economic preferences and choices were already present in Ethiopia prior to the period attributed to Chinese influence (post-1990) so that the alternative model is not a attributed to China.

In the 1990s, there were numerous undemocratic regimes in Africa before China's influence set in. However, these regimes, including Ethiopia, were generally not marked by a rapid growth rate. They are not of the same political approach with China. Although the polities were authoritarian or hybrid regimes, they didn't take on Chinese "performance legitimacy", i.e. political legitimacy based on a rapid growth. In spite of democratization of the 1990s, a number of African regimes remained authoritarian or became hybrid, but generally they haven't become

developmental. The authoritarian regimes were mostly not evidently development-oriented. World Bank data show that the annual growth rate of Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s was just 1.9%<sup>43</sup>. It can be seen that their development model was not geared to growth.

Secondly, the years 1990s is a period of African democratization wave. With the doctrine of “the end of history”, democracy became the only legitimate regime. African countries, including Ethiopia were encouraged or pressed to make democratic transition, whether successful or not. This marked the main change at that time. The main change of Ethiopia in the 1990s compared with 1980s was to build multi-party parliament democracy system and regular elections.

## Infrastructure

In the 1990s, Ethiopia and Senegal didn't have significant infrastructure projects and their focus was not on infrastructure. It was a common problem in Africa that the infrastructure developed very slowly. Ethiopia's railway system was nearly out of function. According to the contracted values of road projects and number of civil works by year over two decades shown in the following two figures provided by Ethiopian Road Agency, the roads were increasingly constructed in large scale as the cooperation with China intensified. More supporting data showing the contrast of infrastructure situation before and after intensified cooperation with China can be found in the chapter 3 on infrastructure.

---

<sup>43</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2000&locations=ZG&start=1990>

**Table 5.1: Values in Million ETB of Road Projects Contracted to Local and Foreign Contractors**

	<b>Local Contractors</b>	<b>Foreign Contractors</b>	<b>Total</b>
1998	00.00	310.98	310.98
1999	180.25	3350.66	3530.92
2000	93.46	00.00	93.46
2001	531.30	513.49	1044.79
2002	252.21	395.58	647.79
2003	659.25	172.53	831.79
2004	514.12	286.37	800.49
2005	1052.96	1460.62	2513.58
2006	3773.91	3356.40	7130.31
2007	3266.81	4751.42	8018.22
2008	7527.30	4952.53	12479.83
2009	3088.32	12660.08	15748.40
2010	6428.22	745.40	7173.61
2011	8607.15	4798.36	13405.51
2012	8470.92	4676.23	13147.15
2013	5593.86	17815.45	23409.32
2014	4941.05	17248.95	22190.00
2015	10039.34	13233.02	23272.36

2016	17719.64	12035.56	29755.20
2017	28351.56	20181.50	48533.06
Total	111091.64	122945.13	234036.77

(Source: Ethiopian Road Agency)

**Table 5.2: Signed Civil Works from July 1997 to July 2016**

Year	No of projects Contracted to local contractors	No of projects Contracted to foreign Contractors	Total
1998		1	1
1999	6	12	18
2000	4		4
2001	4	2	6
2002	11	1	12
2003	18	1	19
2004	17	2	19
2005	19	6	25
2006	19	7	26
2007	21	11	32
2008	29	10	39

2009	15	10	25
2010	29	2	31
2011	32	7	39
2012	32	3	35
2013	23	18	41
2014	58	13	71
2015	39	11	50
2016	80	6	86
2017	71	18	89
Total	456	141	597
%	76	24	

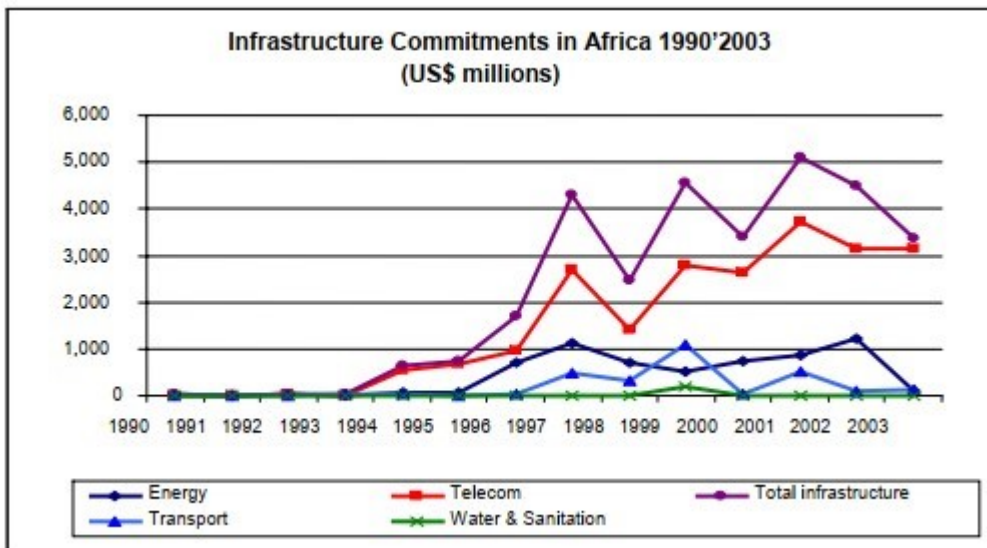
(Source: Ethiopian Road Agency)

**Table 5.3: Access rates to the main infrastructure services in Africa**

	2002 unweighted averages (sample sizes are given in parenthesis)			
	Africa (48)	Low income (65)	Low middle income (52)	Upper middle income (38)
<b>Electricity access rates</b>				
% of total population <sup>(a)</sup>	14.9 (40)	30.7 (59)	81.8 (38)	87.2 (24)
% of rural households <sup>(b)</sup>	8.3 (25)	19.1 (34)	59.1 (11)	n.a.
% of urban households <sup>(b)</sup>	54.0 (25)	63.4 (34)	95.3 (10)	n.a.
<b>Water access rates</b>				
% of total population	64.1 (47)	64.8 (65)	85.4 (48)	92.8 (26)
% of rural population	53.9 (47)	55.9 (65)	76.0 (49)	85.3 (26)
% of urban population	82.6 (47)	82.9 (65)	94.3 (48)	95.6 (29)
<b>Sanitation access rates</b>				
% of total population	36.5 (46)	40.1 (65)	71.7 (48)	85.6 (23)
% of rural population	27.9 (47)	40.4 (65)	57.8 (49)	76.1 (25)
% of urban population	54.3 (46)	60.4 (65)	85.2 (48)	90.5 (26)
<b>Telecoms access rates</b>				
Telephone Subscribers/1000 people	89.7 (48)	50.9 (65)	250.3 (52)	578.3 (36)
Rural ownership of phones (% of households) <sup>(c)</sup>	0.7 (21)	2.4 (29)	9.4 (11)	n.a.
Urban ownership of phones (% of households) <sup>(c)</sup>	9.7 (21)	14.4 (29)	44.8 (11)	n.a.
<b>Transport access rates</b>				
Road km/1000 people <sup>(d)</sup>	3.5 (47)	3.0 (64)	4.96 (50)	9.2 (34)
Road km/1000 square km <sup>(d)</sup>	166 (47)	189 (64)	326.8 (50)	1083 (34)

(Source: Estache 2006)

Figure 5.9:



(Source: World Bank PPI data base cited by Estache 2006)

The 1990s was still a period of structural adjustment programs, infrastructure projects tended to be purchased and operated by the private. The privatization has didn't change the slow development of infrastructure in many cases because the private doesn't want to invest in big projects that bring slow returns. The electricity and railway sectors, for example, often witness this problem. In the private sector, between 1990 and 2003, "Africa has only managed to generate 230 projects in partnership with foreign operators and about 50% of the money has been committed to a single country: South Africa! Even ignoring the South African bias of the data, the total number of projects is small and so is the average size of projects in Africa. The average project size is indeed less than 50% of the average size for developing countries (Estache 2006)."

For Ethiopia and Africa as a whole in the 1990s, industrialization was not high on the agenda. Industrial development was preliminary, especially for the manufacturing industry. African countries including Ethiopia were largely exporters of raw materials. In terms of the



industrial parks, although there were some industrial sites in the 1990s, they were not the modern ones with well-prepared infrastructure and encouraging policies as well as various government support.

The autonomy of African countries did not improve in the 1990s. In the 1990s, China was not an important strategic partner for many African francophone countries like Senegal. Countries like Senegal even took China as a country insignificant and even broke off the foreign relations. France was the major partner of its former African colonies. Due to the persistent post-colonial relations, Senegal had to follow the advice or decision of France in many cases, such as the currency devaluation in 1994 which was highly criticized and opposed in Africa.

Ethiopia had to face international pressures and didn't have many options but to accept the political reform and economic liberalization promoted by the West. This country had to adapt its political and economic system to fit into the democratic and liberal development model. In this way, Ethiopia's autonomy was impaired.

Due to the structural adjustment reforms, the 1990s was a period of encouraging the retreat of the state. That is against the state intervention and control. The privatization and deregulation had been intensified. The price control and financial market has been liberalized. Ethiopia had not become a developmental state. The role of the state was not involved in many activities like what African states do today.

Therefore, African states generally didn't make the same political and economic decisions in the 1990s as those underlying the alternative development model before China's influence set in.

### **5.3.2 The second competing hypothesis**

The second competing hypothesis is that this alternative model was inspired by other Asian

countries, especially Singapore and South Korea because these are countries sometimes mentioned in the media when it comes to the countries that some African countries draw lessons from, and they also receive study tours of some African countries. For example, Ministers of Mauritius, Rwanda, Ghana and Angola made a study visit to Singapore in recent years between 2015 and 2019. They learned about the administration and governance systems or the experience of a certain sector, like energy or finance (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore 2019).

Firstly, although Singapore and South Korea were authoritarian states with successful development, and China's meritocratic authoritarianism or neo-authoritarianism learned from Singapore's experience in industrialization without significant political liberalization and combination of authoritarian rule with good governance (Ortmann and Thompson 2016), these two countries have experienced democratization and they are no longer authoritarian states, and they don't support authoritarian states implicitly. Singapore has become a "flawed democracy" and is no longer a typical case of authoritarian state of good governance. The regular parliamentary elections are considered to be free elections and the opposition tends to be consolidated. Political openness has been enlarged. South Korea is a flawed democracy if not a democracy as well. So the two democratized countries of Singapore and South Korea are not likely to be the main source of inspiration for African countries of a model of development without democracy.

South Korea and Singapore are neither important financial sources nor important contractors for African infrastructure projects. So they cannot be the actors playing a remarkable role in Africa's infrastructure transition. Singapore and South Korea did not take much initiative in the creation of modern industrial parks in Africa. The industrial parks of these countries are considered to be too advanced for African countries to follow, in terms of the management mode

and industrial structure. There are not industrial park construction and operation conducted in the framework of official cooperation between a state of African country and the two countries. They have become too developed for labor-intensive industry. Although the two developed countries have a few enterprises established in African industrial parks, they are in a small number and scale. The construction and operation of modern industrial parks or SEZs in Africa are not mainly from the experience of South Korea and Singapore, and the two countries are not important countries transferring industrial chains adapted to African conditions.

Singapore and South Korea are not important investors, trade partners or aid providers to Africa. Therefore, they haven't do much to diversify African states' traditional partnership with other countries, especially the partnership between African countries and their former metropolitan states, or supplement their relations with international organizations. Therefore, the two countries didn't play an important role in enabling African states to have a greater autonomy.

The importance of the state for development in South Korea and Singapore tends to be weakened and the private has won a large space in the two countries. It is more widely considered that Singapore and South Korea have become post-developmental or neoliberal state as is demonstrated in chapter 4. Harvey (2005, 72) states that "one of the main effects of the Asian financial crisis of 1997-8 ... was to bring developmental states more in line with standard neoliberal practices". The economic policy of South Korea has been shifted from authoritarian developmentalism to neoliberal developmentalism. Singapore and South Korea have incarnated neoliberal developmentalism or neoliberal developmental state (Lee 2018; Liow 2012).

The chaebol in South Korea, large family-owned conglomerates, or important transnational private enterprises were important factor for the industrialization and development. However,

Chaebol tends to be independent from the state and it has become dominant over the national economy (Schwak 2018). Following democratization and the introduction of neoliberal reforms in South Korea, the chaebol has gained important power in policy-making and become less dependent on the state, and the developmental nature of South Korea has been undermined to certain degree. The function of the state-private structure has deviated from its original developmental model (Hofmann et al. 2007).

Previously, the chaebols were subordinated to the government's economic directions. State bureaucrats tightly controlled their access to credit. Firms were only permitted to follow industrial growth strategies that were in accordance with national developmental priorities. ... After democratization and economic liberalization of South Korea, from 1993, state control over the private sector greatly diminished. Thus, chaebols became transnational corporations independent from the South Korean state. As such, they acquired unprecedented political power in the 1990s (Schwak 2018).

Therefore, South Korea is not a state promoting the power of state control over the private. Liow (2012) points out that the form of governmentality of Singapore is influenced by neoliberalism and "the economy of Singapore has been gradually deregulated, liberalised and privatised to conform more to the neoliberal model". As Singapore has made a transition to post-developmental state or neoliberal state, the role of the state has been gradually ceded to the market. Therefore, Singapore is neither a representative country of state intervention in the economy, nor a typical showcase of the development model of an important state to Africa.

Therefore, African countries are not mainly inspired by Singapore or South Korea in the formation of the alternative development model.

#### **5.4 Impediments for the alternative development model**

The impediments of the alternative development model are in some way pitfalls and inadaptability of Chinese experience in Africa. Due to the different local conditions, all of the

experience cannot be transferred into Africa without hitches.

On the point of infrastructure, countries in which Chinese loans take a big share of the debt carry out close cooperation with China. In Chinese aid to Africa, concessionary loans supporting African infrastructure projects constitute a big part. With this financing source, African states have undertaken a larger number of public projects. Meanwhile, this can increase the debt burdens of African states. Debt trap discourses in the media show how important Chinese loans are for the realization of infrastructure. However, this is not the whole picture, because African countries also borrow from other countries or organizations. According to the statistics of “African countries’ debt crisis”, made by the China Africa Research Initiative, among African countries in debt distress, only Djibouti, the Republic of Congo and Zambia hold Chinese loans as the most significant part of their total debt, but they are not in debt distress; for Cameroon, Chinese loans account for less than 1/3 of the total debt, and Ethiopia, 42%, two countries with high risk of debt distress; for the other African countries, Chinese loans do not take up a big part (Eom et al. 2018). Therefore, the “debt trap” discourse is played up. But for some countries, large amounts of investment on infrastructure by loans is indeed problematic, since the revenues gained through the operation cannot meet the cost of construction, for various reasons, such as the operation capability shortage or common time lag of creating significant profits. Infrastructure is often not instantly or highly profitable by itself. The construction of infrastructure with loans has been decelerated in many cases. From the part of China, more long-term forms of engagement with Africa than just being a contractor of construction are to be explored and adopted.

The policy objective of the IMF turned from the Structural Adjustments to the Poverty Reduction and Growth in 1999 when providing the concessional financing (IMF 2004). The term,

“structural adjustment” is no longer recurrent, but its essence persists in reality. Privatization is a common prescription of IMF to African states when it comes to financial problems. African governments are urged to reduce expenditures, further liberalize their markets, etc.<sup>44</sup> But today, with the Chinese financial capacity, countries with close cooperation with China, even when faced with financial crunches, are less obliged to embark on the privatization as in the 1990s. For example, China has canceled the payment of its accumulated interests of Chinese loans to Ethiopia up to the end of 2018. The large item of the loans of the \$4 billion railway has also been restructured from 10 to 30 years. The plan of Ethiopia on the privatization of some state-owned enterprises are to be realized, if at all, in a more moderate and prudent manner.

But in African countries where neoliberalism has been dominant and entrenched, it is not easy to turn to the alternative development model. Deindustrialization was observed in several African countries, following the liberalization of foreign trade policies, and local enterprises unable to compete with multinational enterprises went bankrupt (Dembélé 2015, 94). The state and public institutions were weakened, a large percentage of public and para public companies privatized, and some later renationalized by the state. African countries still face external pressures of privatization today. For example, a Senegalese official has revealed that: “The IMF advises that enough investment has been made by the power company, and it must be given to the private, so that the state no longer continues to support the investment of the power company.” The economic and political consequences of privatization to African Third World countries have been reconsidered in the last decades. When African countries find the privatized sector doesn’t work well, or the privatization is not the best solution, they would want to seek ways of revitalizing the state-owned form of enterprises while trying to reduce their dependence on

---

<sup>44</sup> More concrete and underlying measures of “SAP” that persist can be found in the part of case studies

foreign enterprises, which often get contracts of concession. Such is currently the case with hydroelectric power companies of Gabon and Cameroon.

China's model means something for post-socialist countries in which the socialist mentality persists and leftist parties are strong. China's model has integrated neoliberalism with socialism, with the latter one being the fundamentally dominant ideology. The worldwide abandonment of socialism in the early 1990s not only resulted from the transformation of the leading socialist country, URSS, but also precipitated the malfunction and inefficiency of the economies in many socialist countries. From a long-term perspective, Chinese development model may reinforce socialist legacies in the mentality and institutions of African parties with socialist tradition as they witness the effective socialist market economy and development achievements, thus indirectly shaping the alternative development model. Though China has taken a dose of neoliberalism in its economic sector since the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, it has nevertheless steadily hung on to its socialist path. The capitalist elements encapsulated into socialist regimes pose a challenge to the doctrine of "the end of history" presented by Fukuyama. The subject of the present research should be encapsulated in the development paths of contemporary developing countries. Africa is a land of potentials and a place of the games of powers, traditional and emergent. The comprehension of the historical implication of China's rise should be put into the relations of North-South and East-West. China's experience shows that modernization is not necessarily the equivalent to westernization.

The adoption of development models and values depend on the international context. Entrenched powers and vested interests put a brake on the adoption of the alternative model. The bipolar world structure in the last century had allowed the existence of a variety of development models in Africa, like democratic regimes, single party regimes, regimes of Marxist orientation,

revolutionary “populist” regimes, and so forth. It was since the 1970s when the Soviet Union prevailed over the United States in contention for hegemony that a number of African countries including Benin, Congo, Angola, Madagascar, Ethiopia and Mozambique adopted Marxism. The evolution of the balance of power in the international arena, especially between the East and West, between the two current great powers, the United States and China will decide how much room of manoeuvre developing countries could have in search for alternative development models.



## **Conclusion**

China has been Africa's biggest economic partner. Chinese aid, investment and trade in Africa have had a huge influence in reshaping Africa's economy and in many countries, led to the tentative implementation of an alternative development model in Africa. Due to the demonstration effect and the important alternative funding source, African countries, especially those that have difficulties to fit into the democratic standards, human rights performance and other governance related issues are willing to or have to lean on China to get assistance and investments for their development. China therefore is an important actor featuring a different development model. Chinese enterprises are very active in the infrastructure sector, like roads, railways, dams, telecom networks, ports, airports, power stations and power transmission, water plants and water transmission... Large amounts of Chinese loans, especially concessional ones have enabled Chinese enterprises to win contracts and African states to realize their projects.

The increase in importance of China as a partner and its non-intervention and non-conditionality principle have boosted the autonomy of African states, allowing them to diversify their partners. The role of states has been reemphasized as a result of more cooperation with, and inspiration from China. Many African states tend to resort to national planning and state-led development. This alternative model inspired by the Chinese model is made possible by a revolution in the international development architecture and increased South-South bilateral cooperation. Though Beijing has not expected to export its model, this doesn't mean there would not be self-driven imitators or followers.

Models of development change over time. Some scholars take development as a discourse (Escobar 2012; Abrahamsen 2000). Many African intellectuals want to deconstruct the conventional development theories applied to Africa (Dembélé 2015) and search for an

alternative development model. They usually criticize the neoclassical and neoliberal paradigms and trying to protect Africa from the capitalist risks. They are aware of the disadvantaged position of Africa in the world regarding development issues.

The spread of the alternative development model outlined in the present study is neither a one-size-fits-all model, nor a coherent project proposed by China, but rather an ideal-type of development policy adopted entirely or no by some African countries eager to develop as China did. Although China's own development process and sometimes development aid provides the ingredients, this process is still in the making and is being shaped with the evolution of the global context of the transformations taking place in Africa and the fate of China's development.

The changes regarding development models are often a result of the balance of power and demonstration effect. Just as the collapse of the Soviet Union took away the correspondent development model with it, the emergence of new major actors may inject some new thinking and practices into the international development community. Today, more development models are presented to African countries, due to the burgeoning development cooperation with China, an increasingly important development partner.

Developmental states have opened up debates over the role of the state in the economy in a way that may loosen constraints on African governments that were imposed by neoliberal economic reforms. It is possible for example that the changing power relations in the IFIs will force these institutions to better reflect both developing countries' experiences, such as government policy options as well developing countries' interests, for example, to retain some policy autonomy (Hendrickson 2013). As a comprehensive alternative development meta-narrative, however, the Beijing Consensus is not a complete breakaway from the Washington Consensus. The distinctions and connection between the two constitute the background of the

formation of a new model of development.

Through this thesis, we have tried to work on a different aspect of the impact of Chinese engagement in Africa in the field of development. Instead of participating in the polemic of whether China's presence has positive or negative impact on Africa, we have rather put African agency forward and tried to assess whether and to what condition development issues are revisited by African countries as they interact with China. We have summed up the model as one of relatively more state-led autonomous development, with the provisional priority on infrastructure-based economic development in Africa.

As we said it before, this way of seeing in the making is not imposed by China. However, China is getting more assertive with its own system, and its attitude towards fellow developing countries has been transformed from avoiding talking about the Chinese development model, to the willingness to share its development experience actively. It remains to be seen if the alternative development model inspired by China will become clearer and more widespread in Africa as China's own development path changes.

## Bibliography

- Abrahamsen, Rita. 2000. *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Addis, Amsalu K., and Zhu Zuping. 2018. "Criticism of Neo-Colonialism: Clarification of Sino-African Cooperation and Its Implication to the West." *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies* 16 (4): 357–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14765284.2018.1521593>.
- Adeniran, Adedeji, and Amarachi Nkata. 2020. "Poverty Alleviation via Education in Nigeria: Lessons from China." February 14, 2020. <http://cseaafrica.org/poverty-alleviation-via-education-in-nigeria-lessons-from-china/>.
- After School Africa. 2019. "Government of China MOFCOM Scholarship 2019 for Developing Countries (Masters & PhD)." May 23, 2019. <https://www.afterschoolafrica.com/11355/mofcom-scholarships-in-china-for-developing-countries-masters-phd/>.
- Agaba, J. E., and E. Genyi. 2013. "Chinese Developmental State Model: Alternative Strategy for Africa's Development." *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy* 1 (1): 41–54.
- Agade, Halligan. 2020. "Kenya Learns from China's Experience with Poverty Reduction." May 27, 2020. <https://africa.cgtn.com/2020/05/27/kenya-learns-from-chinas-experience-with-poverty-reduction/>.
- Ahmed, Helal Uddin. 2017. "Impact of Demonstration Effect in Society." November 8, 2017. <https://thefinancialexpress.com.bd/views/impact-of-demonstration-effect-in-society-1510155138>.
- Alden, Chris. 2008. "China and Africa: A New Development Partnership." *Strategic Analysis* 32 (2): 297–304.
- Alison J. Ayers, and Alfredo Saad-Filho. 2015. "Democracy against Neoliberalism: Paradoxes, Limitations, Transcendence." *Critical Sociology* 41 (4–5): 597–618.

- Amin, Samir, and Brian Pearce. 1976. *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Aning, Emmanuel Kwesi, and Delphine Lecoutre. 2008. "China's Ventures in Africa." *African Security Review* 17 (1): 39–50.
- APA. 2019. "Great Lesson from China to Transform African Economy - AU Official - Apanews.Net." December 7, 2019. <http://www.apanews.net/en/news/great-lesson-from-china-to-transform-african-economy-au-official>.
- Arkebe, Oqubay, and Justin Yifu Lin, eds. 2019. *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Asayehgn, Desta. 2017. "Ethiopia Needs a Multi-Party Democracy to End the Crushing Impact of Corruption." April 17, 2017.
- Ayee, Joseph R. A. 2013. "The Developmental State Experiment in Africa: the Experiences of Ghana and South Africa." *The Round Table* 102 (3): 259–80.
- Babaci-Wilhite, Zehlia, A. Geo-JaJa Macleans, and Shizhou Lou. 2013. "China's Aid to Africa: Competitor or Alternative to the OECD Aid Architecture?" *International Journal of Social Economics* 40 (8): 729–43.
- Babatunde, Musibau Adetunji. 2012. "Africa's Growth and Development Strategies: A Critical Review." *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement* 37 (4): 141–78.
- Bach, Jean-Nicolas. 2011. "Abyotawi democracy: Neither revolutionary nor democratic, a critical review of EPRDF's conception of revolutionary democracy in post-1991 Ethiopia." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5 (4): 641–63.
- Bader, J. 2015. "Propping up Dictators? Economic Cooperation from China and Its Impact on Authoritarian Persistence in Party and Non-Party Regimes." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (4): 655–72.
- Bates, Robert H. 2015. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Beeson, Mark. 2004. "Rise and Fall (?) Of the Developmental State: The Vicissitudes and Implications of East Asian Interventionism." In *Developmental States: Relevancy, Redundancy or Reconfiguration?* New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Behuria, Pritish. 2018. "Learning from Role Models in Rwanda: Incoherent Emulation in the Construction of a Neoliberal Developmental State." *New Political Economy* 23 (4): 422–40.
- Biebricher, Thomas. 2015. "Neoliberalism and Democracy." *Constellations* 22 (2).
- Both, Peter Lam. 2004. *International Relations of Ethiopia: The Strategy of a Developing State*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.
- Bourmaud, Daniel. 2000. *French Political Culture and African Policy: From Consensus to Dissensus*.
- Bouzanda, Kiese Diassonama. 2016. "La Dimension Militaire de La Montée En Puissance de La Chine En Afrique Francophone." In *La Présence Chinoise En Afrique Francophone*, edited by Mbabia et al. L'Hay-Les-Roses Cedex.
- Bräutigam, Deborah. 2010. "China, Africa and the International Aid Architecture." African Development Bank Working Paper Series.
- Brautigam, Deborah. 2014. "How Much of Africa's Oil Is Going to China?" China in Africa, the Real Story. November 4, 2014. <http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/2014/11/how-much-of-africas-oil-is-going-to.html>.
- . 2015. "5 Myths About Chinese Investment in Africa." *Foreign Policy*. December 4, 2015. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/04/5-myths-about-chinese-investment-in-africa/>.
- . 2020. "A Critical Look at Chinese 'Debt-Trap Diplomacy': The Rise of a Meme." *Area Development and Policy* 5 (1): 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23792949.2019.1689828>.
- Bräutigam, Deborah, and Tang. 2011. "African Shenzhen: China's Special Economic Zones in Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 49 (1): 27–54.
- Brohman, John. 1996. *Postwar Development in the Asian NICs: Does the Neoliberal Model Fit Reality*.

- Brown, Stephen, and Jonathan Fisher. 2020. "Aid donors, democracy and the developmental state in Ethiopia." *Democratization* 27 (2): 185–203.
- Brown, Wendy. 2003. "Neo-Liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy." *Theory & Event*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 7 (1).
- Brown, William. 2013. "Sovereignty Matters: Africa, Donors, and the Aid Relationship." *African Affairs : The Journal of the Royal African Society* 112 (447): 262–82.
- Bruff. 2014. "The Rise of Authoritarian Neoliberalism." *Rethinking Marxism* 26 (1): 113–29.
- Busse et al., Matthias. 2014. "China's Impact on Africa the Role of Trade, FDI and Aid." IEE Working Papers.
- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. 2012. "China and Ethiopia: Authoritarian Affinities and Economic Cooperation." *China Perspectives* 2012 (4): 53–62.
- Caplan, Richard. 2012. *Exit Strategies and State Building*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, Marjory Mattingly Urquidi, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Catherine Boone, and Dhawal Doshi. 2009. "The China Model in Africa: A New Brand of Developmentalism."
- Cezne, Eric. 2018. "Back to Mozambique 20 Years Later: Is Optimism Overblown?" August 21, 2018. <https://www.newpoliticalgeographies.com/news/2018/8/21/back-to-mozambique-20-years-later-is-optimism-overblown>.
- Chafer, Tony. 2005. "Chirac and "La Francafrique": No Longer a Family Affair." *Modern and Contemporary France* 13 (1): 7–23.
- . 2013. "Franco-Senegalese Relations 2000-2012." In South African Institute of International Affairs.
- Chang, Ha-Joon. 2003. "La bonne gouvernance à l'épreuve de l'histoire." *L'Économie politique* 17 (1): 60.

- Chanie, Paulos. 2007. "Clientelism and Ethiopia's Post-1991 Decentralisation." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 45 (3): 355–84.
- Chaponnière, Jean-Raphaël. 2014. "L'empreinte chinoise en Afrique." *Revue d'économie financière* N° 116 (4): 195–212.
- Chen, Guangwen. 2018. "China Won in Africa? 50 Countries Are Actively Moving Closer to China, Whose Scale of Arms Sales Surpasses the United States and Ranks First." July 11, 2018. [https://www.sohu.com/a/240462301\\_366952?\\_f=index\\_pagerecom\\_7](https://www.sohu.com/a/240462301_366952?_f=index_pagerecom_7).
- China Daily. 2018. "Communist Party of China Shares Tips with Kenya's Jubilee Party." July 16, 2018. <http://ke.china-embassy.org/eng/zkgx/t1577470.htm>.
- . 2019. "Ugandan President Museveni Took the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway for Inspection East African Interconnectivity Is Coming." March 31, 2019.
- Chinese embassy in Greece. 2019. "Xi Jinping Holds Talks with President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda." June 25, 2019. <http://gr.china-embassy.org/eng/zgyw/t1676225.htm>.
- Chinese embassy in Kenya. 2013. "President Xi Jinping Holds Talks with President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya Announcing Establishment of China-Kenya Comprehensive Cooperative Partnership of Equality, Mutual Trust, Mutual Benefit and Win-Win Outcome." August 19, 2013. <http://ke.china-embassy.org/eng/ztbd/knyztfh/t1067910.htm>.
- Chinese embassy in Nigeria. 2016. "Ambassador Gu Xiaojie Meets with the National Chairman of Nigeria's Ruling Party Oyegon." May 9, 2016. <http://nigeria.mofcom.gov.cn/article/e/f/201605/20160501313479.shtml>.
- Chipman, John. 1989. *French Power in Africa*. London: B. Blackwell.
- Chu, Yin-wah. 2016. *The Asian Developmental State Reexaminations and New Departures*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clapham, Christopher. 2018. "The Ethiopian Developmental State." *Third World Quarterly* 39 (6): 1151–65.
- Clapham, Christopher S. 1992. "The Socialist Experience in Ethiopia and Its Demise." *Journal of Communist Studies*, 105–25.



- . 1996. *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowaloosur, Honita. 2016. “Mauritius Replicates the Chinese Economic Model.” In *La Présence Chinoise En Afrique Francophone*, edited by Olivier Mbabia and et al. L’Hay-Les-Roses Cedex.
- Davis, Martyn, Hannah Edinger, Nastasya Tay, and Sanusha Naidu. 2008. “How China Delivers Development Assistance to Africa.” *Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Stellenbosch*, February.
- Deen, Ebrahim Shabbir. 2011. “The Developmental State: An Illusion in Contemporary Times.” *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 5 (9): 424–36.
- Deen, Thalif. 2020. “China Ranked World’s Second Largest Arms Producer Trailing Behind US.” January 27, 2020. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/01/china-ranked-worlds-second-largest-arms-producer-trailing-behind-us/>.
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Michael Keating. 2008. *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deloitte. 2015. “Structural Transformation Is China Bad for Africa’s Industrialisation?” *Frontier Advisory*.
- Dembélé, Demba Moussa. 2015. *Contribution à La Déconstruction Des Théories Conventionnelles Sur Le Développement de l’Afrique*. l’Harmattan.
- Dent, Christopher M. 2011. *China and Africa Development Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Deych, Tat’yana L. 2019. “China in Africa: A Case of Neo-Colonialism or a Win-Win Strategy?” *Контуры Глобальных Трансформаций: Политика, Экономика, Право 0 (Special Issue)*: 63–82.
- Dicken, Peter. 1998. “Global Shift: Transforming the World Economy.” London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
- Diop, Hadji Omar. 2011. *Partis Politiques Democratie et Realités Sociales Au Sénégal*. Credila.

- Diop, Momar-Coumba. 2002. “Réformes économiques et recompositions sociales.” In *La construction de l’Etat au Sénégal*, edited by Donal Cruise O’Brien, Momar-Coumba Diop, and Mamadou Diouf. Paris: Karthala.
- Dogan, Mattei, and Dominique Pélassy. 1982. *Sociologie politique comparative: problèmes et perspectives*. Paris: Economica.
- Douglass. 1994. “The ‘Developmental State’ and the Newly Industrialised Economies of Asia.” *Environment and Planning A* 26 (4): 543–66.
- Dollar, David. 2016. “China’s Engagement with Africa: From Natural Resources to Human Resources.” John L. Thornton China Center at Brookings.
- Duménil, Gérard, and Dominique Lévy. 2005. “The Neoliberal (Counter-)Revolution.” In *Neoliberalism, a Critical Reader*. Pluto Press.
- Economic and Commercial Office of the Chinese Embassy in Senegal. 2016. “China Will Become Senegal’s Largest Trading Partner.” September 13, 2016. <http://senegal.mofcom.gov.cn/article/jmxw/201609/20160901392821.shtml>.
- Edigheji, Omano. 2005. *A Democratic Developmental State in Africa? A Concept Paper*. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies.
- EIA. 2013. “Oil and Natural Gas in Sub-Saharan Africa.” U.S. Energy Information Administration.
- EIC. 2019. “Ethiopia Secures Over \$ 140 Million USD Export Revenue from Industrial Parks.” October 3, 2019. [http://www.investethiopia.gov.et/index.php/news-resources/news-and-events/868-ethiopia-secures-over-\\$-140-million-usd-export-revenue-from-industrial-parks.html](http://www.investethiopia.gov.et/index.php/news-resources/news-and-events/868-ethiopia-secures-over-$-140-million-usd-export-revenue-from-industrial-parks.html).
- Eisenman, Joshua. 2012. “China-Africa Trade Patterns: causes and consequences.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 21 (77): 793–810.
- El-Baz, Basil. 2019. “Africa Will Be the New China?” April 30, 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/8ead516a-6b3e-11e9-a9a5-351eeaef6d84>.
- Ember. 2020. “Global Electricity Review 2020.”

- Emmanuel, Arghiri, and Brian Pearce. 1972. *Unequal Exchange a Study of the Imperialism of Trade: With Additional Comments Oy Charles Bettelheim*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Enwere, Chigozie. 2013. “The Challenges of Democracy and Neo-Liberalism and Its Implications to the Politico- Economic Development of Developing Countries.” *Global Journal of Human Social Science Political Science* 13 (4).
- Eom et al. 2018. “The Path Ahead: The 7th Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.” China Africa Research Initiative.
- EPRDF. 2019. “EPRDF Deep Renewal: A New Dawn, A New Day.” 2019. <http://www.eprdf.org.et>.
- Ericsson, Magnus, Olof Löf, and Anton Löf. 2020. “Chinese Control over African and Global Mining—Past, Present and Future.” *Mineral Economics* 33 (1): 153–81. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13563-020-00233-4>.
- Escobar, Arturo. 2012. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Estache, Antonio. 2006. “Africa’s Infrastructure: Challenges and Opportunities.” In . Tunisia.
- Evans, Peter. 2004. “Development as Institutional Change: The Pitfalls of Monocropping and the Potentials of Deliberation.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38 (4): 30–52.
- Evans, Peter B. 1989. “Predatory, Developmental and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State.” *Sociological Forum* 4 (4): 561–587.
- Fassassi, Yacouba. 2013. *Le Franc CFA Ou La Monnaie Des Pays PMA (Les Pays Pas Moyens d’Avancer)*. Paris: l’Harmattan.
- Fenwick, Laura. 2009. “British and French Styles of Influence in Colonial and Independent Africa.” Honors Capstone.

- Feyissa, Dereje. 2011. "Aid Negotiation: The Uneasy 'Partnership' between EPRDF and the Donors." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5 (4): 788–817.
- Finnemore, Martha. 1997. "Redefining Development at the World Bank." In *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard, 203–27. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- FMPRC. 2019. "Xi Jinping Holds Talks with President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda." June 25, 2019. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/zxxx\\_662805/t1676225.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1676225.shtml).
- Fourie, Elsje. 2015. "China's Example for Meles' Ethiopia: When Development 'Models' Land." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 53 (3): 289–316.
- Freedom House. 2018. "Freedom in the World 2018." <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/ethiopia>.
- Gadzala, Aleksandra W. 2015. "Ethiopia: Toward a Foreign Funded 'Revolutionary Democracy.'" In *Africa and China: How Africans and Their Governments Are Shaping Relations with China*, edited by Aleksandra W. Gadzala. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gaye, Adama. 2006. *Chine - Afrique: le dragon et l'autruche*. Editions L'Harmattan.
- Gazibo, Mamoudou. 2010. *Introduction à La Politique Africaine*. Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- Gazibo, Mamoudou, and Olivier Mbabia. 2019. *Index de l'émergence en Afrique 2019*. Université de Montréal: Groupe interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches sur les sociétés africaines (GIERSA). [http://www.giersa.ulaval.ca/sites/giersa.ulaval.ca/files/index\\_de\\_lemergence\\_en\\_afrique\\_2019.pdf](http://www.giersa.ulaval.ca/sites/giersa.ulaval.ca/files/index_de_lemergence_en_afrique_2019.pdf).
- Gebeyehu, Worku. 2000. "Has Privatisation Promoted Efficiency in Ethiopia?: A Comparative Analysis of Privatised Industries vis-avis State Owned and Other Private Industrial Establishments." *Ethiopian Journal of Economics* 9 (2): 109–33.
- Gebremariam et al. 2017. "Ethiopia: A Democratic Developmental State?" *ILIRIA International Review* 7 (2).

- Geddes, Barbara. 2003. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics (Analytical Perspectives on Politics)*. University of Michigan Press.
- Gehrold, Stefan, and Lena Tietze. 2011. "Far from Altruistic: China's Presence in Senegal." KAS International Reports.
- George, Alexander L, and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA, USA: MIT Press. <http://sbiproxy.uqac.ca/login?url=http://international.scholarvox.com/book/88805775>.
- Go, Delfin S, and Rotberg Page. 2012. *Africa at a Turning Point? Growth, Aid, and External Shocks*. Washington, DC: World Bank. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/6421>.
- Gökgür, and Jones. 2006. "Privatization of Senegal Electricity." In *Assessing the Impact of Privatization in Africa*. Boston: Boston Institute for Developing Economies.
- Goldsmith, Arthur A. 2003. "Foreign aid and state administrative capability in Africa." In *Beyond structural adjustment : the institutional context of African development*, edited by Van De Walle et al., 183. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Graham, Erin R, Charles R Shipan, and Craig Volden. 2013. "The Diffusion of Policy Diffusion Research in Political Science." *British Journal of Political Science* 43 (3): 673–701.
- Gray, David E. 2014. *Doing Research in the Real World*. SAGE Publications.
- Guillaumont Jeanneney, Sylviane, and Ping Hua. 2015. *The Impact of Chinese Competition on Africa's Manufacturing*. Clermont-Ferrand: CERDI. <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01179283v1>.
- Hackenesch, Christine. 2018. *The EU and China in African Authoritarian Regimes : Domestic Politics and Governance Reforms*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hagmann T, and Abbink J. 2011. "Twenty Years of Revolutionary Democratic Ethiopia, 1991 to 2011." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5 (4): 579–95.
- Hagmann, Tobias, and Filip Reyntjens. 2016. *Aid and Authoritarianism in Africa Development without Democracy*. London: Zed Books.

- Halper, Stefan. 2010. *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hanauer, Larry, and Lyle J. Morris. 2014. "Chinese Engagement in Africa: Drivers, Reactions, and Implications for U.S. Policy." [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR521.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR521.html).
- Harman, Sophie, and David Williams. 2014. "International Development in Transition." *International Affairs* 90 (4): 925–41.
- Harrison, Graham. 2016. "Rwanda: an agrarian developmental state?" *Third World Quarterly* 37 (2): 354–70.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hasselskog, Malin. 2017. "Rwandan 'Home Grown Initiatives': Illustrating Inherent Contradictions of the Democratic Developmental State." *Dev Policy Rev Development Policy Review*.
- Hegre, H, T Ellingsen, S Gates, and N. P Gleditsch. 2001. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *American Political Science Review* 95: 33–48.
- Hendrickson, Roshen. 2013. "The Impact of Changing Global Power Relations on African Governance of Foreign Direct Investment." In *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment in Africa*, edited by Toyin Falola and Jessica Achberger. New York: Routledge.
- Heuraux, Christine. 2010. *L'électricité Au Coeur Des Défis Africains*. Karthala.
- Hickel, Jason. 2006. "Neoliberalism and the End of Democracy." In *The Handbook of Neoliberalism*, edited by Simon Springer, Kean Birch, and Julie MacLeavy. Oxon: Routledge.
- Hickel, Jason. 2018. *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions*. London: Windmill Books.

- Hirschman, Albert O. 1981. *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hofmann et al., Katharina. 2007. “Contrasting Perceptions: Chinese, African, and European Perspectives on the China-Africa Summit.” *Internationale Politik Und Gesellschaft* 2007.
- Huashengzaixian. 2019. “China (Changsha) Ethiopian Industrial and Economic Management Seminar Launched in Hunan.” June 24, 2019. [https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1637213680787658027&wfr=spider&for=pc,%E2%80%9Cvoice%20of%20China%20online%20---%20Ethiopian%20Industrial%20Economic%20Management%20Seminar%20started%20in%20\(Changsha\)%20Hunan,%20China%E2%80%9D](https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1637213680787658027&wfr=spider&for=pc,%E2%80%9Cvoice%20of%20China%20online%20---%20Ethiopian%20Industrial%20Economic%20Management%20Seminar%20started%20in%20(Changsha)%20Hunan,%20China%E2%80%9D).
- Hull, Andrew, and David Markov. 2012. “Chinese Arms Sales to Africa.” [www.ida.org](http://www.ida.org).
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hyun-Chin, Lim, and Jang Jin-Ho. 2006. “Between Neoliberalism and Democracy: The Transformation of the Developmental State in South Korea.” *Development and Society*. 351: 1–28.
- IMF. 2004. “Financements Concessionnels Du FMI Dans Le Cadre de La FASR.” avril 2004. <https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/fre/esaff.htm>.
- International Energy Agency. 2016. “Boosting the Power Sector in Sub-Saharan Africa, China’s Involvement.”
- International Rivers. 2015. “The World Bank and Dams.” [internationalrivers.org](http://internationalrivers.org).
- Jacquemin, Celine A. 2013. “French Foreign Policy in Rwanda: Language, Personal Networks, and Changing Contexts.” In *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment in Africa*, edited by Falola and et al. Taylor & Francis.
- Jalata, Gedion G. 2015. “An African Developmental State: Ethiopia’s Emergent Experience.” In . Pretoria, South Africa.

- Jesiah, Selvam, Meenakshi A, and Iyappan T. 2004. "Privatization and Capital Accumulation: Empirical Evidences from Ethiopia" 12: 61–88.
- Jian, Junbo, and Frasher Donata. 2014. "Neo-colonialism or De-colonialism? Chinas economic engagement in Africa and the implications for world order." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 8 (7): 185–201.
- Johnson. 1999. "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept." In *The Developmental State*, edited by Woo-Cuming. Cornell University Press.
- Joseph E. Stiglitz. 2008. "Is There a Post-Washington Consensus Consensus?" In *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance*, edited by Narcís Serra and Joseph E. Stiglitz, 41–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kane, Oumar. 2010. *L'organisation Des Télécommunications Au Sénégal, Entre Gouvernance et Régulation*. AfriMAP-Karthala-Crepos.
- Kapeller, Jakob, and Stephan Pühringer. 2012. *Democracy in Liberalism and Neoliberalism: The Case of Popper and Hayek*. Linz: Johannes Kepler University Linz, Institute for Comprehensive Analysis of the Economy (ICAE). <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/171388>.
- Kaplan, Seth D. 2008. *Fixing Fragile States a New Paradigm for Development*. Westport, Conn.; London: Praeger Security International.
- Kapur, D, and M Naim. 2005. "The IMF and Democratic Governance." *Journal of Democracy* 16 (1): 89–102.
- Kim, Yun Tae. 2007. "The Transformation of the East Asian States: From the Developmental State to the Market-Oriented State." *Korean Social Science Journal* XXXIV (2): 31-60.
- Kohli, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Konings, Piet. 2011. *The Politics of Neoliberal Reforms in Africa. State and Civil Society in Cameroon*. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG.



- Kottis, George Chr. 1971. "The International Demonstration Effect as a Factor Affecting Economic Development." *Kyklos* 24: 455–71.
- Kukoc, M. 2006. "Democracy and Neo-Liberal Globalization." *Synthesis Philosophica* 21: 373–84.
- Kumssa, Asfaw, and John F. Jones. 2015. "Post-Independence African Policy: African Socialism and the Organization of African Unity." *Canadian Center of Science and Education* 4 (1).
- Kupchan, Charles A. 2013. *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Kweka, Josaphat. 2019. "The Role of State-Owned Enterprises in Industrialization in Tanzania: Lessons from East Asian Economies." UONGOZI Institute.
- Latreille, Thierry, and Aristomène Varoudakis. 1996. "Croissance et compétitivité de l'industrie manufacturière au Sénégal."
- Laxton Biti, Tendai. 1998. "The Judiciary, the Executive and the Rule of Law in Zimbabwe." *Towards a New Partnership with Africa / Edited by Steve Kayizzi-Mugerwa, Adebayo O. Olukoshi, Lennart Wohlgemuth*.
- Lee, Joo-Young. 2018. "Neoliberal Developmentalism in South Korea and the Unfulfilled Promise of Economic and Social Rights," 261–82.
- Leenders. 2007. "The East Asian Miracle and the Developmental State, Is It Possible to Replicate the Developmental Model, and Is It Desirable to Replicate the Developmental State Model?" *Politics of Development*, Brendan Da Costa, , 6–7.
- Leftwich, Adrian. 2000. *States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- . 2005. "Democracy and Development: Is There Institutional Incompatibility?" *Democratization* 12 (5): 686-703.
- Leke, Acha, and et al. 2016. "3 Reasons Things Are Looking up for African Economies." World Economic Forum on Africa. May 6, 2016. <https://www.weforum.org>.

- Lekorwe et al. 2016. "China's Growing Presence in Africa Wins Largely Positive Popular Reviews---Afrobarometer Round 6, New Data From 36 African Countries." No.122. Afrobarometer Dispatch.
- Lemke, Thomas. 2002. "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique." *Rethinking Marxism* 14 (3): 49–64.
- Li, Xinfeng. 2017. "China-Africa Friendship Is Advancing along the Track of 'Authentic Sincerity.'" June 2017. <http://theory.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0601/c40531-29310328.html>.
- Liang, Shanggan. 2015. "China's Industrial Park Development Model Is Worth Learning for African Countries." November 25, 2015. <http://www.qiaowang.org/cn/shss/wlrw/5187.html>.
- Lifeofguangzhou.com. 2017. "Pearl River SEZ under Construction in Kenya." August 4, 2017. <https://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/wap/knowGZ/content.do?contextId=6378&frontParentCatalogId=199&frontCatalogId=201>.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1971. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *The American Political Science Review* 65 (3): 682–93.
- Lin, Justin Yifu. 2011. "Flying Geese, Leading Dragons and Africa's Potential." May 23, 2011. <http://blogs.worldbank.org>.
- Liow E.D. 2012. "The Neoliberal-Developmental State: Singapore as Case Study." *Crit. Sociol. Critical Sociology* 38 (2): 241–64.
- Liu, Jianbo. 2019. "The Exchange of Experience in State Governance between China and Other Developing Countries: History, Theory and Significance to the World." *West Asia and Africa (Xi Ya Fei Zhou)*, no. 4.
- Luo, Jianbo. 2012. "China's Development Experience and the Experience Exchanges between China and Africa on State Governance and Political Administration." *African Studies* 1.
- Ma, Huan. 2017. "Inspired by China, Kenya Wants to Build 'Pearl River Special Economic Zone.'" August 1, 2017. <http://www.time-weekly.com/post/38371>.

- macaudailytimes. 2015. "Mozambique Could Adopt Chinese Model of Special Economic Zones." February 11, 2015. <https://macaudailytimes.com.mo/mozambique-adopt-chinese-model-special-economic-zones.html>.
- MacEwan, Arthur. 2005. "Neoliberalism and Democracy: Market Power versus Democratic Power." In *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, edited by Saad-Filho et al. Pluto Press.
- Macuane, José Jaime. 2018. "Mozambique's Private Sector in the Context of Conflict." International Growth Center.
- Magnani, Victor, and Thierry Vircoulon. 2019. "Will There Be an Authoritarian Resurgence in Africa?" *Politique Étrangère* 84 (2). <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/politique-etrangere/articles-de-politique-etrangere/will-there-be-authoritarian>.
- Mai, Xinyue, and Paul G Wilhelm. 2012. "Evidence of China's Aid to Africa and the Outlook on Sino-African Development." *Competition Forum* 10 (2).
- Mann, Laura, and Marie Berry. 2016. "Understanding the Political Motivations That Shape Rwanda's Emergent Developmental State." *New Political Economy* 21 (1): 119–44.
- Mansfield, Edward D, and Jack Snyder. 1995. "Democratization and War." *Foreign Affairs* 743: 79–97.
- Maru, Mehari Taddele. 2013. "China-Africa Relations: Democracy and Delivery." Aljazeera Center for Studies.
- Mattes, Robert, and Mulu Teka. 2016. "Ethiopians' Views of Democratic Government: Fear, Ignorance, or Unique Understanding of Democracy?" 164. Afrobarometer Working Papers.
- Matfess, Hilary. 2015. "Rwanda and Ethiopia: Developmental Authoritarianism and the New Politics of African Strong Men." *African Studies Review* 58 (2): 181–204.
- Megbowon, Ebenezer, Courage Mlambo, Babatunde Adegunle, and Christian Nsiah. 2019. "Impact of China's Outward Fdi on Sub-Saharan Africa's Industrialization: Evidence from 26 Countries." *Cogent Economics & Finance* 7 (1).
- Mekonnen, Alemayehu. 2015. *The West and China in Africa: Civilization without Justice*. Wipf and Stock Publishers.

- Meles, Zenawi. 2006. *African Development: Dead Ends and New Beginnings. Preliminary Draft for Discussion Comprises Selected Extracts of a Monograph under Preparation*.
- . 2011. “States and Markets: Neoliberal Limitations and the Case for a Developmental State.” In *Good Growth and Governance in Africa: Rethinking Development Strategies*, edited by Akbar Norman, Kwesi Botchwey, Howard Stein, and Joseph E. Stiglitz, 140–74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meyns, Peter, and Charity Musamba. 2010. *The Developmental State in Africa: Problems and Prospects*. Duisburg: INEF.
- Miao, Ji. 2015. *Interests & Values: A Comparative Study of China and America’s Policy towards Africa*. Beijing: World Affairs Press.
- Ministry of Finance of Senegal. 2018. *Note on cooperation between Senegal and China*.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore. 2019. “Foreign Policy to Sub-Saharan Africa.” 2019. <https://www.mfa.gov.sg/SINGAPORES-FOREIGN-POLICY/Countries-and-Regions/Africa/Sub-Saharan-Africa>.
- Mlambo, Victor. 2019. “Exploitation Dressed in a Suit, Shining Shoes, and Carrying a Suitcase Full of Dollars: What Does China Want in Africa?” *Journal of Public Affairs* 19 (1).
- MOFCOM. 2016. “The Ethiopian Meles Leadership Academy Overseas Seminar of 2016 Started.” October 25, 2016. <http://et.mofcom.gov.cn/article/zxhz/px/201611/20161101678051.shtml>.
- . 2018a. “Ethiopian Prime Minister Highly Praised China’s Foreign Aid Training Results.” August 25, 2018. <http://et.mofcom.gov.cn/article/hd/201809/20180902783478.shtml>.
- . 2018b. “The 2018 Ethiopian Meles Leadership Academy Public Management Overseas Seminar Was Successfully Held in Addis.” May 28, 2018. <http://et.mofcom.gov.cn/article/todayheader/201808/20180802781787.shtml>.
- Moghalu, Kingsley Chiedu. 2014. *Emerging Africa: How the Global Economy’s “last Frontier” Can Prosper and Matter*. London: Penguin Books.
- Mohan, Giles. 2013. “‘The Chinese just come and do it’: China in Africa and the prospects for development planning.” *idpr International Development Planning Review* 35 (3): v–xii.

- Morangi, Lucie. 2018. "China-Kenya Intensify Political Cooperation through Capacity Building Programs." February 28, 2018. <http://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201802/28/WS5a95da5fa3106e7dcc13e74b.html>.
- Moyo, Dambisa. 2010. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. London: Penguin Books.
- Mubecua, Mandla Abednico. 2018. "China's Progress in Poverty Reduction: What Can South Africa Learn from China to Attain the Poverty Eradication Goal in the Sustainable Development Goals?" *Journal of Economics and Behavioral Studies* 10 (6): 91–98.
- Müller, Felix. 2015. "Model Transfer in the Making: Changing Development Strategies of, and Expectations towards, the State in Ethiopia and Ghana." Working Papers of the Priority Programme 1448. German Research Foundation.
- Nantulya, Paul. 2019. "Chinese Hard Power Supports Its Growing Strategic Interests in Africa." January 17, 2019. <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/chinese-hard-power-supports-its-growing-strategic-interests-in-africa/>.
- Narcís Serra, and Joseph E. Stiglitz. 2008. *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ndiaye, Alfred Inis. 2013. "Le Partenariat Social Dans Les Années 2000: Une Décennie Perdue? ." In *Sénégal (2000-2012) 1*, edited by M. C. DIOP and J. COPANS. Paris: Karthala.
- Ndiaye, Mansour. 2008. "State Control and Poor Economic Growth Performance in Senegal." In *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000. Volume 2*, edited by B. J. Ndulu and et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Netease. 2018. "One Belt One Road, China's Version of Globalization! China's Port Project in Africa!" January 9, 2018. <http://dy.163.com/v2/article/detail/D7O02DKF0519M41L.html>.
- New Vision. 2017. "Uganda's New Fiscal Year Budget Will Still Give Priority to Infrastructure," December 29, 2017. <https://www.newvision.co.ug/>.

- Niang, Birahim Bouna. 2013. "Politique Industrielle et Développement Économique: Le Cas Du Sénégal." In *Sénégal (2000-2012) 1*, edited by M. C. DIOP and J. COPANS. Paris: Karthala.
- Nolawi, Melakedingel. 2013. "The Oddities of 'Revolutionary Democracy.'" May 10, 2013. <http://addisstandard.com/the-oddities-of-revolutionary-democracy/>.
- Office of the Deputy President of Kenya. 2016. "Kenya, UK Relations to Hinge on Trade." 2016. <https://www.deputypresident.go.ke/index.php/kenya-united-kingdom-relations-to-hinge-on-trade>.
- Ohno, Izumi. 2013. "An Overview Diversity and Complementarity in Development Efforts." In *Eastern and Western Ideas for African Growth: Diversity and Complementarity in Development Aid*, edited by Kenichi Ohno and Izumi Ohno. Routledge.
- Olander, Eric. 2019. "Deborah Brautigam: No Evidence of Chinese Debt Traps in Africa." The China Africa Project. July 30, 2019. <https://chinaafricaproject.com/podcasts/podcast-china-debt-trap-africa-deborah-brautigam/>.
- Onanina, Hyppolite Valdez. 2016. "Macky Sall A-t-Il Fait «200 Fois plus de Routes» Qu'Abdoulaye Wade?" September 6, 2016. <https://fr.africacheck.org/reports/macky-sall-a-t-il-fait-200-fois-plus-de-routes-quabdoulaye-wade/#comments>.
- Oqubay, Arkebe. 2015. *Made in Africa Industrial Policy in Ethiopia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2005. *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Ortmann, Stephan. 2012. "The 'Beijing consensus' and the 'Singapore model': unmasking the myth of an alternative authoritarian state-capitalist model." *Journal of Chinese Economics and Business Studies* 10 (4): 337–59.
- Ortmann, Stephan, and Mark R Thompson. 2016. "China and the 'Singapore Model.'" *Journal of Democracy* 27 (1): 39–48.

- Ottaway, Marina. 2013. *Democracy Challenged The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. New York, NY: Brookings Institution Press.
- Palley, Thomas. 2005. "From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics." In *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. Vol. 2. Pluto Press.
- Palley, Thomas. 2017. "The Fallacy of the Globalization Trilemma: Reframing the Political Economy of Globalization and Implications for Democracy," FMM-WORKING PAPER, , July.
- Peet, Richard. 2001. "Reviewed Work: Neoliberalism or Democracy? Economic Strategy, Markets, and Alternatives for the 21st Century by Arthur MacEwan." *Review of International Political Economy* 8 (2): 329–43.
- Pekkanen, Robert. 2004. "After the Developmental State: Civil Society in Japan." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4 (3): 363–88. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800006019>.
- People's Daily. 2020. "Way Forward on Poverty Alleviation Expected from 'Two Sessions': Zambian Ambassador." May 24, 2020. <http://en.people.cn/n3/2020/0524/c90000-9693785.html>.
- people.cn. 2017. "Over 1000 Ethiopians Came to China for Training This Year." August 24, 2017. <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0824/c1002-29491598.html>.
- Perecman, Ellen, and Sara R Curran. 2006. *A Handbook for Social Science Field Research: Essays & Bibliographic Sources on Research Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Pereira A.A. 2008. "Whither the Developmental State? Explaining Singapore's Continued Developmentalism." *Third World Quarterly* 29 (6): 1189–1203.
- Piao, Yingji. 2015. *FDI and Economic Transformation in Africa*. Beijing: China Social Science Academic Press.
- Pirie, Lain. 2016. "South Korea after the Developmental State." In *The Asian Developmental State: Reexaminations and New Departures*, edited by Yin-wah Chu.
- Pouliot, Vincent, and Jean-Philippe Thérien. 2018. "Global Governance: A Struggle over Universal Values." *International Studies Review* 20 (1): 55–73.

- Ragin, Charles C. 2014. *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies : With a New Introduction*. University of California Press.
- Rakner, Lise, Alina Rochal Menocal, and Verena Fritz. 2007. “Democratisation’s Third Wave and the Challenges of Democratic Deepening: Assessing International Democracy Assistance and Lessons Learned.” Advisory Board for Irish Aid.
- Rapley, John. 1996. *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice In the Third World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. [http://www.123library.org/book\\_details/?id=63652](http://www.123library.org/book_details/?id=63652).
- Rapley, John. 2013. *Understanding Development: Theory And Practice In The Third World*. Routledge.
- Rednet. 2019. “Chinese as the Main Investors Have Built 25 Economic and Trade Cooperation Zones in Africa, with a Total Output Value of US\$18.89 Billion.” June 27, 2019. <https://gov.rednet.cn/content/2019/06/28/5619691.html>.
- Renard, Mary-Françoise. 2011. “China’s Trade and FDI in Africa.” *African Development Bank Group*, no. Working Paper No. 126.
- Ricardo, David. 1977. *Des principes de l’économie politique et de l’impôt*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Road Agency of Senegal. 2018. *Interview protocol of Mr.Aboulaye Daouda Diallo, Minister of Infrastructure and Land Transport*.
- Robinson, David Alexander. 2012. “Chinese Engagement With Africa: The Case Of Mozambique – Analysis.” *Portuguese Journal of Foreign Affairs*, no. Number 6 (Spring/Summer).
- Rodrik, Dani. 2017. *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*.
- Rosberg, Carl Gustav, and Thomas M. Callaghy. 1979. *Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa : A New Assessment*. Institute of International Studies, University of California.
- Rostow, Walt Whitman. 1963. *Les Étapes de La Croissance Économique*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.



- Rotberg, Robert I. 2013. “Africa Emerges Consummate Challenges, Abundant Opportunities.” Polity.
- Roxburgh et al. 2010. “Lions on the Move: The Progress and Potential of African Economies.” McKinsey Global Institute.
- Ruane, Janet M. 2005. *Essentials of Research Methods: A Guide to Social Science Research*. Malden, Mas.: Blackwell.
- Sáez, Lawrence, and Julia Gallagher. 2009. “Authoritarianism and Development in the Third World.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 152: 87–101.
- Sall, Macky. 2018. “CHINE-SENEGAL : Une Histoire d’amitié.” June 29, 2018. [http://www.chinafrique.com/Afrique/201806/t20180629\\_800134006.html](http://www.chinafrique.com/Afrique/201806/t20180629_800134006.html).
- Sandbrook, Richard. 2005. “Origins of the Democratic Developmental State: Interrogating Mauritius.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39 (3): 549–81.
- Sanusi, Lamido Sanusi. 2019. “Development or De-Industrialisation? Chinese Engagement with Africa.” Institute of the Black World 21st Century. January 5, 2019. <https://ibw21.org/commentary/development-or-de-industrialisation-a-new-look-at-chinese-engagement-with-africa/>.
- Schwak, Juliette. 2018. “When Public and Private Merge: South Korea and the Chaebol.” November 22, 2018. <https://www.asiaglobalonline.hku.hk/south-korea-chaebol-public-private>.
- Seck, Cheikh Yerim. 2018. “TER: Un Coût Beaucoup plus Salé Que Prévu.” 2018. <https://www.yerimpost.com/ter-un-cout-beaucoup-plus-sale-que-prevu/>.
- Sehen, Bekele, and Regassa Tsegaye. 2012. “Democratization in a Developmental State: The Case of Ethiopia, Issues, Challenges, and Prospects.” Ethiopia: UNDP Ethiopia.
- Sen, Amartya. 1988. “The Concept of Development.” In *Handbook of Development Economics*, edited by Hollis Burnley Chenery and T. N Srinivasan. New York: Elsevier Science.

- Senbet, Dawit, and Tadesse Wodajo. 2017. "Double Digit Economic Growth vs. Social Wellbeing in Ethiopia: A Cross-Country Comparison." *African Journal of Economic Review* 5 (2): 55–74.
- Shelton, Garth, and Farhana Paruk. 2008. *The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation: A Strategic Opportunity*. Tshwane (Pretoria), South Africa: Institute for Security Studies.
- Shumuye, Muleta Yirga. 2015. "The Role of Developmental State in Development: The Case of Ethiopia." *International Journal of African and Asian Studies* 14.
- Signé, Landry, and Chelsea Johnson. 2018. "The Potential of Manufacturing and Industrialization in Africa -Trends, Opportunities, and Strategies." Brookings Institution.
- Singh, Jewellord Nem, and Jesse Salah Ovidia, eds. 2019. *Developmental States beyond East Asia*. Routledge.
- Skurnik, W. A. E. 1972. *The Foreign Policy of Senegal*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Smith, Alastair. 2009. "Political Groups, Leader Change, and the Pattern of International Cooperation." *Jconfreso The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (6): 853–77.
- Smith, Carol A. 1976. *Regional Analysis. Volume 1, Volume 1*. New York: Academic Press. <http://public.ebib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1882746>.
- Smith, M. S. 2006. "Discourses on development: beyond the African Tragedy." *Beyond the 'African tragedy': discourses on development and the global economy*, 1.
- So, Alvin Y. 2016. "The Post-Socialist Path of the Developmental State in China." In *The Asian Developmental State*, edited by Y. Chu. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Springer, Simon, Kean Birch, and Julie MacLeavy. 2016. "An Introduction to Neoliberalism." In *The Handbook of Neoliberalism*. Routledge.
- Strange, Susan. 1996. *The retreat of the state: the diffusion of power in the world economy*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Sun, Irene Yuan, Kartik Jayaram, and Omid Kassiri. 2017. "Dance of the Lions and Dragons: How Are Africa and China Engaging, and How Will the Partnership Evolve?" McKinsey.

- Sun, Yun. 2016. "Political Party Training: China's Ideological Push in Africa?" July 5, 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2016/07/05/political-party-training-chinas-ideological-push-in-africa/>.
- Sun, Irene Yuan. 2017. "The World's Next Great Manufacturing Center---China's Investment in Africa and the Flying Geese Paradigm." *Harvard Business Review*.
- Tang, Xiao. 2010. "The Evaluation of 'China Model' by European and American Media and Its Enlightenment." *Foreign Affairs Review* 1.
- Tar, Usman A. 2008. *The Politics of Neoliberal Democracy in Africa: State and Civil Society in Nigeria*. London: Tauris Acad. Studies.
- Taylor, Ian. 2012. "Botswana as A 'Development-Oriented Gate-Keeping state': A Response." *African Affairs* 111 (444): 466–76.
- Thrall, Lloyd. 2015. "China's Expanding African Relations Implications for U.S. National Security." RAND Corporation. [www.rand.org](http://www.rand.org).
- Tian, Nan. 2018. "China's Arms Trade: A Rival for Global Influence?" September 17, 2018. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/chinas-arms-trade-rival-global-influence>.
- Tiboris, Michael. 2019. "Addressing China's Rising Influence in Africa." Chicago Council on Global Affairs. [https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/report\\_addressing-chinas-rising-influence-africa\\_20190521.pdf](https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/report_addressing-chinas-rising-influence-africa_20190521.pdf).
- Tull, Denis M. 2006. "China's Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences." *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 443: 459–79.
- Ubi, Efem Nkam. 2018. "China's 'Targeted Poverty Alleviation' as a Model for Africa." December 15, 2018. <http://www.financialnigeria.com/china-s-targeted-poverty-alleviation-as-a-model-for-africa-blog-399.html>.
- Um, K, H.-C Lim, and S.-M Hwang. 2014. "South Korea's Developmental State at a Crossroads: Disintegration or Re-Emergence." *Korea Observer*. 45 (2): 211–54.

- US Department of State. 2019. "U.S. Relations With Nigeria Bilateral Relations Fact Sheet Bureau of African Affairs." December 19, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-nigeria/>.
- Uttam, Jitendra. 2019. "Beyond Neo-liberalism: Analyzing the 'Post-Developmental State' in South Korea." *International Studies* 56 (4): 236–54.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2003. "Beyond Structural Adjustment; The Institutional Context of African Development." 2003.
- Varnis, Steven L. 1990. *Reluctant Aid or Aiding the Reluctant?: US Food Aid Policy and Ethiopian Famine Relief*. New Brunswick, NJ [u.a.: Transaction Publ.
- Vaughan, Sarah, and Kjetil Tronvoll. 2003. *The Culture of Power in Contemporary Ethiopian Political Life*. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.
- Vazquez-Arroyo, A. 2008. "Liberal Democracy and Neoliberalism: A Critical Juxtaposition." *New Political Science* 30 (2): 127–59.
- Vennesson, Pascal. 2008. "Case Study and Process Tracing: Theories and Practices." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, 223–39.
- Verschave, François-Xavier. 2012. *La Françafrique: le plus long scandale de la République*. Paris: Stock.
- Waal, Alex de. 2013. "The theory and practice of Meles Zenawi." *African Affairs* 112 (446): 148–55.
- Wade, Robert H, and Servaas Storm. 2018. *The Developmental State: Dead or Alive?*. [https://nls.ldls.org.uk/welcome.html?ark:/81055/vdc\\_100058627290.0x000047](https://nls.ldls.org.uk/welcome.html?ark:/81055/vdc_100058627290.0x000047).
- Weimer, Bernhard, and João Carrilho. 2017. *Political Economy of Decentralisation in Mozambique --- Dynamics, Outcomes, Challenges*. Institute for Social and Economic Studies (IESE).
- Weiss, Linda, and John M Hobson. 2007. *States and Economic Development: A Comparative Historical Analysis*. Cambridge; Malden: Polity Press.

- Wengraf, T. 2001. *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and SemiStructured Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wenzhou Investment Promotion Bureau. 2017. “Ambassador of Côte d’Ivoire to China: Learn from Wenzhou Model and Seek Cooperation and Development.” September 22, 2017. [https://www.sohu.com/a/193817866\\_467861](https://www.sohu.com/a/193817866_467861).
- White, Gordon. 1998. “Constructing a Democratic Developmental State.” *Democratic Development State: Political and Institutional Design / Edited by Mark Robinson and Gordon White*.
- Williams, David. 2012. *International Development and Global Politics: History, Theory and Practice*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Williamson, John. 2002. “Did the Washington Consensus Fail?” Outline of speech at the Center for Strategic & International Studies Washington, DC. Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Woldegiyorgis, Ayenachew Aseffa. 2014. “The Ethiopian Developmental State and Its Challenges.” *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Wong, Joseph. 2004. “The Adaptive Developmental State in East Asia.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4 (3): 345–62.
- Woods, Ngaire. 2008. “Whose Aid?: Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance.” *International Affairs* 84 (6): 1204–21.
- World Bank. 2019. “The Percent of Industry to the GDP.” 2019. <https://donnees.banquemondiale.org/indicateur/NV.IND.TOTL.ZS?locations=SN>.
- Xinhua. 2019a. “Kenya’s Scholars Urge Africa to Embrace China’s Development Model to Cut Poverty.” October 18, 2019. [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-10/18/c\\_138483572.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-10/18/c_138483572.htm).
- . 2019b. “Ethiopian, Kenyan Leaders Visit Chinese-Built Flagship Industrial Park.” March 2, 2019. [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2019-03/02/c\\_137861389.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2019-03/02/c_137861389.htm).

- . 2020. “Egypt, China Officials Hold Forum on Governance, Sustainable Development.” January 9, 2020. [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-01/09/c\\_138691339.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-01/09/c_138691339.htm).
- Yan, Xuetong. 2015. *The Transfer of World Power: Political Leadership and Strategic Competition*. Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Yin, Robert K. 2004. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks; London; New Delhi: Sage.
- Zacharia, Alfred. 2018. “Tanzania Mulls China Example on Infrastructure Development.” April 6, 2018. <https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/news/Tanzania-mulls-China-example-on-infrastructure-development/1840340-4374400-n9vakgz/index.html>.
- Zeng, Aiping. 2015. “China-Africa Governance Exchanges and Experiences.” China Institute of International Studies. [http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715\\_2719.html](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715_2719.html), access date: August 6, 2020
- Zhang, Erchi. 2015. December 21, 2015. <http://pit.ifeng.com>.
- Zhang, Fei. 2013. “Research on the Construction Model and Sustainable Development of China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone.” *Guo Ji Mao Yi (International Trade)*, no. 3.
- Zhang, Xu, and Jianfeng Yang. 2014. April 29, 2014. <http://finance.ifeng.com>.
- Zhang, Yongpeng. 2012. *International Development Cooperation and Africa, a Comparative Study on Chinese and Western Aid to Africa*. Beijing: China Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Zheng, Yongnian. 2009. “Chinese Model in the International Development Pattern.” *Social Sciences in China*, no. 2: 20–28.
- . 2010. *Chinese Model, Experience and Predicament*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People’s Publishing House.
- . 2014. “World Politics and ‘Divisive Democracy.’” March 4, 2014. [http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion\\_world/2014-03/4875493.html](http://opinion.huanqiu.com/opinion_world/2014-03/4875493.html).

Zuccarelli, François. 1988. *La vie politique sénégalaise 1940-1988*. Paris: CHEAM.

**Appendix A: Training seminar or study tour aimed at experience sharing from China organized by the International Department of CPC between July 2018 and July 2020**

Country name	Party Name	Time	Location	Aim
Burkina Faso	People's Movement for Progress	July 2020	China	Training seminar
		October 2018	(Online) China	Exchanges
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone People's Party	July 2020	China	Training seminar
		November 2018	(Online) China	Study tour
Senegal	Alliance for the Republic	June 2020	China (Online)	Training seminar
Gabon	Gabonese Democratic Party	May 2020	China	Training seminar
		October 2019	(Online) China	Study tour
Ethiopia	Prosperity Party (EPRDF)	May 2020	China	Training seminar
		December 2018	(Online) China	Study tour



South Africa	Communist Party of South Africa	April 2020	China	Training seminar
		October 2019	(Online) China	Study tour
		December 2018	China	Study tour
South Africa	African National Congress	December 2019	China	Training seminar
		July 2019	China	Study tour
		November 2018	China	Study tour
		October		Study tour
Morocco	National Rally of Independents	December 2019	China	Study tour
Mozambique	Mozambique Liberation Front	December 2019	China	Study tour
		January 2019	China	Exchanges
Nigeria	All Progressives	December	China	Exchanges

	Congress	2019		
Egypt	Nation's Future Party	November 2019	China	Study tour
Madagascar	the ruling coalition of parties	November 2019	China	Exchanges
Côte d'Ivoire	Rally of the Houphouetists for Democracy and Peace	November 2019  December 2018	China  China	Exchanges  Study tour
Comoros	The Convention for the Renewal of the Comoros	November 2019	China	Exchanges
Ghana	New Patriotic Party	November 2019  February 2019	China  China	Exchanges  Study tour
Egypt	Free Egyptians Party	November 2019	China	Study tour
China	CPC	October	Angola	Exchanges

		2019		
China	CPC	October 2019	Rwanda	Exchanges
Tanzania	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	September 2019	China	Study tour
Angola	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola	September 2019 April 2019 October 2018	China China China	Study tour Exchanges Study tour
Niger	the Democratic and Socialist Party of Niger	September 2019	China	Exchanges
South Sudan	Sudan People's Liberation Movement	August 2019 May 2019 February 2019 December	China China China	Study tour Study tour Exchanges

		2018	China	Study tour
Uganda	National Resistance Movement	August 2019	China	Study tour
Kenya	Jubilee Party	July 2019 September 2018	China China	Study tour Exchanges
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe African National Union	May 2019	China	Exchanges
China	CPC	April 2019	Botswana	Exchanges
China	CPC	April 2019	Uganda	Exchanges
China	CPC	April 2019 September 2018	Egypt Egypt	Exchanges Exchanges
China	CPC	March 2019	Tunisia	Exchanges
China	CPC	March 2019	Morocco	Exchanges

China	CPC	March 2019	Burkina Faso	Exchanges
China	CPC	March 2019	Djibouti	Exchanges
Sudan	National Congress Party	February 2019	China	Exchanges
		October 2018	China	Study Tour
		August 2018	China	Exchanges
Algeria	National Liberation Front	January 2019	China	Study tour
China	CPC	December 2018	Niger	Exchanges
China	CPC	October 2018	Namibia	Exchanges
China	CPC	September 2018	Kenya	Exchanges

China	CPC	September 2018	Malawi	Exchanges
Namibia	National Assembly of Namibia	September 2018	China	Exchanges
Burundi	Front for Democracy in Burundi	September 2018	China	Study tour
Republic of the Congo	the Congolese Party of Labour	September 2018	China	Exchanges
China	CPC	September 2018	Mauritius	Exchanges
Botswana	Botswana Democratic Party	August 2018	China	Exchanges
Djibouti	People's Rally for Progress	July 2018	China	Exchanges
China	CPC	July 2018	Botswana	Exchanges
China	CPC	July 2018	Ghana	Exchanges

(Source: the public data on the website of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the CPC,

<https://www.idcpc.org.cn/lldt/index.html>, access date: September 5, 2020)

**Appendix B: Top 25 African countries visited by CPC delegations (1998-2014)**

No.	Country Name	Party Name	Number of CPC delegation	Total
1	South Africa	African National Congress	15	21
		Communist Party	6	
2	Zimbabwe	African National Union-Patriotic Front	14	14
3	Sudan	National Congress Party	13	13
4	Ethiopia	People's Revolutionary Democratic Front	13	13
5	Tunisia	Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique	13	13

6	Tanzania	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	12	12
7	Kenya	African National Union	3	10
		Party of National Unity; Orange Democratic Movement; Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya	7	
8	Egypt	National Democratic Party	9	10
		New Wafd Party	1	
9	Namibia	South West African People's Organization	9	9
10	Morocco	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaire	5	9
		Parti de l'Istiqlal	3	
		Parti de la Justice et du Développement	1	
11	Mauritius	Labour Party	9	9



12	Zambia	The Movement for Multi-Party Democracy	6	8
		The Patriotic Front	2	
13	Algeria	Front de Libération Nationale; Rassemblement National Démocratique; Mouvement de la Société pour la Paix	7	7
14	Angola	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola	7	7
15	Seychelles	The People's Progressive Front; People's Party	7	7
16	Mozambique	Partido Frelimo	6	6
17	Uganda	The National Resistance Movement Organization	6	6
18	Rwanda	Patriotic Front	5	5

19	Cape Verde	Partido Africano da Independência	4	5
		Movimento para a Democracia	1	
20	Gabon	Le Parti Démocratique	4	4
21	Mali	Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali- Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice	4	4
22	Botswana	Democratic Party	4	4
23	Congo (Democratic)	Le Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie	4	4
24	South Sudan	Sudan People's Liberation Movement	4	4
25	Senegal	Parti Démocratique Sénégalais	2	4
		Alliance Pour la République	2	

(Source: the official website of the International Department of Central Committee of CPC cited by Aiping Zeng in 2015 on [http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715\\_2719.html](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715_2719.html), access date: August 6, 2020)

**Appendix C: Top 28 African countries sending party delegations to visit CPC (1998-2014)**

No.	African Country	African Parties	Number of Delegations to China	Total
1	South Africa	African National Congress	13	27
		Communist Party	14	
2	Sudan	National Congress Party	19	19
3	Tanzania	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	10	10
4	Zimbabwe	African National Union-Patriotic Front	10	10
5	Namibia	South West African People's Organization	9	9
6	Morocco	Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme	3	9
		Parti de l'Istiqlal	3	

		Union Socialiste des Forces Populaire	2	
		Governing coalition multi-party delegation	1	
7	Ethiopia	The People's Revolutionary Democratic Front	9	9
8	Mozambique	Partido Frelimo	8	8
9	Burundi	Comité National pour la Défense de la Démocratie-Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie	6	8
		Le Parti de l'Unité pour le Progrès National	1	
		Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi	1	

10	Rwanda	Rwandan Patriotic Front	6	6
11	Cape Verde	Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde	5	6
		Movimento para a Democracia	1	
12	Senegal	Parti Démocratique Sénégalais	3	6
		Parti Africain pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme	1	
		Alliance Pour la République	2	
13	Lesotho	Lesotho Congress for Democracy	5	5
14	Angola	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola	5	5
15	Niger	Mouvement National pour la	3	5

		Société de Développement-Nassara		
		Parti Nigérien pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme-Tarayya	1	
		Parti Nigérien pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme	1	
16	Kenya	Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya	2	5
		Orange Democratic Movement	1	
		Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya	1	
		Jubilee Coalition Alliance(consisting of the National Alliance Party, United Republican Party, National Rainbow Coalition, and Republic Congress Party)	1	

17	South Sudan	Sudan People's Liberation Movement	5	5
18	Nigeria	People's Democratic Party	4	4
19	Congo (Democratic)	Le Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie	4	4
20	Guinea Equatorial	Partido Democratico De Guinea Ecuatorial	4	4
21	Uganda	The National Resistance Movement Organization	4	4
22	Djibouti	Rassemblement Populaire pour le Progrès	4	4
23	Gabon	Parti Démocratique Gabonais	4	4
24	Togo	The Rally of the Togolese People	4	4
25	Zambia	The Movement for Multi-Party	2	4

		Democracy		
		The Patriotic Front	2	
26	Tunisia	Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique	3	4
		Mouvement Ennahdha	1	
27	Mauritania	Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social	3	4
		Union des Forces du Progrès	1	
28	Mali	Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali-Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice	2	4
		Union Malienne Pour la République et la Démocratie	1	



		Le Rassemblement pour le Mali	1	
--	--	-------------------------------	---	--

(Source: the official website of the International Department of Central Committee of CPC cited by Aiping Zeng in 2015 on [http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715\\_2719.html](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715_2719.html), access date: August 6, 2020)

#### **Appendix D: Ruling parties of African countries that have dispatched joint delegations to China**

Time of visit	Number of Ruling Parties	Participating Countries
October- November1998	5	Côte d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Guinea, Equatorial Guinea
May 2001	11	Cameroon, Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Rwanda
May 2002	12	Guinea-Bissau,Cameroon,Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, Congo,Gabon, Guinea,EquatorialGuinea, Mali,Niger,Rwanda,Togo

September 2003	Unknown	The head of the joint delegation was from The Democratic Party of Gabon, but other participating countries are unknown.
November 2004	5	Congo, Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, Togo
June 2005	9	Cameroon, Djibouti, Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Madagascar, Niger, Rwanda, Seychelles, Togo
June 2006	11	Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Djibouti, Guinea, Mauritius, Niger, Rwanda, Togo, Gabon, Chad
July 2007	4	Djibouti, Niger, Chad, Togo
July 2007	2	The representatives of the party newspaper of the ruling party of Namibia and Tanzania
January 2008	9	Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Gabon, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Tunisia, Togo
June 2009	3	The representatives of the party newspaper of the ruling party of Namibia, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone

(Source: the official website of the International Department of Central Committee of CPC, and other online materials cited by Aiping Zeng in 2015 on [http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715\\_2719.html](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715_2719.html), access date: August 6, 2020)

### Appendix E: Total value of projects Awarded to Local and Foreign Contractor and Ownforce (1998-2012)

Year	Local		Ownforce		ERCC		EU		China		Others
	Value	% share	Value	% share			Value	% share	Value	% share	Value
1998							310.98	100			
1999	180.25	5					405.97	11	1099.53	31	1845.16
2000	93.46	100									
2001	161.40	15	369.90	35			289.84	28	223.65	21	
2002	141.86	22	110.36	17					395.58	61	
2003	569.14	68	90.11	11					172.53	21	
2004	501.28	63	12.84	2					286.37	36	
2005	1019.00	41	33.96	1					978.75	39	481.87
2006	3248.18	46	525.73	7					3356.40	47	
2007	1699.13	21	1567.68	20					3903.71	49	847.71
2008	7462.55	60	64.75	1					3063.19	25	1889.35
2009	2776.09	32	312.23	4					4414.28	50	1278.67
2010	4060.20	63	1660.06	26					745.40	12	
2011	8607.15	64							3438.68	26	1359.68
2012	5962.90	63			1592.72	17			1940.22	20	00.00
<b>2013</b>	<b>10.21</b>				<b>03.73</b>				<b>13231.22</b>	<b>74607</b>	<b>-13227.43</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>36492.8</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>4747.6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1596.45</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1006.8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>37249.5</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>-5525.0</b>

Note: Excluding Addis - Adama Road Project

*Note: Others (Egypt, Yemen ,Korea,Turkish,India,Japan,South Africa,Bulgaria )*

(Source: Ethiopian Road Agency)

**Appendix F: The countries/Regions of origin of the companies in the Bole Lemi industrial park (phase 1)**

No	Company Information	
	Company name	Country
1	New wide Garment Ethiopia Branch Company	Taiwan
2	George Shoe Ethiopia Plc	Hong Kong
3	Shints ETP Garment PLC	S.Korea
4	KEI Industrial Engineering Consultancy PLC	S.Korea
5	Vestis Garment production PLC	India
6	JAY JAY Mills GARMENT PLC	India

7	C&H Garments PLC	China
8	Ashton Apparel Manufacturing PLC	India
9	SUMEC	China
11	LYU Shoutao Factory PLC.	China
12	Arvind Lifestyle Apparel Mfg. PLC	India
13	Evertop Sportswear	S.Korea

(Source: Ethiopian Investment Commission)

**Appendix G: The countries/Regions of origin of the companies in Hawassa Industrial Park**

N	Company Information
---	---------------------

o	Company name	Country
1	Hela Indochine Apparel PLC	Sri Lanka and Dubai
2	Quadrant Apparel Group	Spain & Ethiopia JV
3	Golden Island	China
4	Everest Apparel Ethiopia Share Company	Taiwan and Hong Kong
5	Hirdaramani Garment PLC	Sri Lankan
6	PVH Arvind Manufacturing PLC	USA and India
7	Indochine Apparel PLC	Hong Kong and Dubai
8	EPIC Apparel PLC	Hong Kong and Chinese Mainland
9	TAL Garments Manufacturing PLC	Singapore
10	ONTEX Hygienic Disposables PLC	Belgium
11	Arvind Lifestyle Apparel Manufacturing PLC	Indian
12	Raymond/Silver Spark Apparel Ethiopia PLC	UAE & Indian

13	Century Garments PLC	Indonesia and Singapore
14	Isabella Socks Manufacturing PLC	Sri Lankan
15	Chargeurs Fashion Technologies PLC	France
16	JP textile Ethiopia PLC	Cayman Islands
17	Best International Garments PLC	India and Singapore
18	ITL: cycle 1	Bangladesh
19	Sumbiri Intimate Apparels PLC (PT Sumber)	Indonesia
20	Aster Getachew Construction	Ethiopia

(Source: Ethiopian Investment Commission)

#### **Appendix H: Interview Report**

Interview Date	Name	Location
May 5 2018	Professor of the Colledge of of Development Studies of the University of Addis	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

	Ababa	
May 6 2018	Head of the Confucius Institute of the University of Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 11 2018	Manager of Jiangsu Provincial Construction Engineering Group Co. Ltd	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 11 2018	Engineer of the first Division of China State Construction Engineering Corporation	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 17 2018	Manager of the owner part of Bole Lemi Industrial Park 2nd phase project	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 18 2018	Project manager of CGCOC in Bole Lemi Industrial Park	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 18 2018	Manager of LYU Shoutao Factory in Bole Lemi Industrial Park	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 22 2018	Manager of George Shoe Ethiopia Plc	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 22 2018	Manager of SUMEC factory in Bole Lemi Industrial Park	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 23 2018	The manager of the Bole Lemi Industrial Park	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
May 25 2018	Deputy Manager of the Eastern Industrial Park	Dukem, Oromio, Ethiopia



May 25 2018	Manager of Lifan Motor factory	Dukem, Oromio, Ethiopia
May 25 2018	Chinese employee in Huajian factory in the Eastern Industrial Park	Dukem, Oromio, Ethiopia
May 31 2018	Project manager of the Fourth Board of CREC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 01 2018	Construction manager in IPDC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 04 2018	A construction manager of CCECC for Hawassa Industrial Park	Hawassa, Ethiopia
June 04 2018	A manager of Hawassa Industrial Park	Hawassa, Ethiopia
June 05 2018	Manager of the Golden Island in Hawassa Industrial Park	Hawassa, Ethiopia
June 06 2018	Former manager of JP textile Ethiopia PLC in Hawassa Industrial Park	Hawassa, Ethiopia
June 14 2018	Project manager of CCCC at the Bole Airport	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 15 2018	Former manager of the Chinese part of Hawassa Industrial Park	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 15 2018	Manager of CCCC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 15 2018	Manager of CWE	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

June 19 2018	Manager of State Grid Corporation of China	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 21 2018	Marketing Staff of CGCOC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 26 2018	Official of Ethio-China Development Cooperation Directorate, Ministry of Finance	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 30 2018	A manager of Huajian Industrial Park	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
June 30 2018	Manager of CGCOC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 01 2018	A manager of the Second Board of the CREC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 02 2018	Operation manager of IPDC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 02 2018	Official #1 of Ethiopian Investment Commission	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 03 2018	The head of CCECC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 04 2018	The managers and Chinese employees of several factories in the Eastern Industrial Park	Dukem, Oromio, Ethiopia
July 08 2018	Official #2 of Ethiopian Investment Commission	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 09 2018	A manager of Ethiopian Road Agency	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 10 2018	Two managers of Ethiopian Investment Commission	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 11 2018	A Manager of Ethiopian	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

	Railway Corporation	
July 12 2018	Official of Ethiopian Railway Corporation (ERC)	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 12 2018	Official of Economic and Commercial Counsellor's office of the Embassy of China in Ethiopia	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 13 2018	Official of strategic direction of Ethio Telecom	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 14 2018	Manager of the Power Construction Corporation of China/Sinohydro	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 25 2018	Manager of the seventh Board of CREC	Dakar, Senegal
July 31 2018	Official #1 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 04 2018	Manager of CHICO	Dakar, Senegal
August 06 2018	Manager of the C&H factory	Diamniadio, Senegal
August 06 2018	Official #1 of APROSI (the first time)	Diamniadio, Senegal
August 07 2018	Official #2 of APROSI	Diamniadio, Senegal
August 07 2018	Official of National Agency for Territorial Development at the Pole of Diamniadio	Diamniadio, Senegal
August 10 2018	Manager of PCV tube factory in Diamniadio	Diamniadio, Senegal

	Industrial Park	
August 10 2018	Official #1 of APROSI (the second time)	Diamniadio, Senegal
August 10 2018	Employee of APROSI	Diamniadio, Senegal
August 17 2018	Official of Railway Agency of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 17 2018	Official of Investment Promotion Ministry	Dakar, Senegal
August 18 2018	Manager #1 of CGCOC	Dakar, Senegal
August 20 2018	Manager of CWE	Dakar, Senegal
August 20 2018	Official of Road Agency of Senegal/Ageroute (the first time)	Dakar, Senegal
August 22 2018	Manager of Gezhouba Group	Dakar, Senegal
August 22 2018	Agent of Eximbank, Branch in Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 24 2018	Manager of CRBC	Dakar, Senegal
August 24 2018	Staff of CGCOC	Dakar, Senegal
August 24 2018	Official of Road Agency of Senegal/Ageroute (the second time)	Dakar, Senegal
August 25 2018	Manager #2 of CGCOC	Dakar, Senegal
August 27 2018	Official #2 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 27 2018	Official of the Ministry of	Dakar, Senegal

	the Digital Economy and Telecommunications of Senegal	
August 29 2018	Official #2 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 30 2018	Official #3 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 31 2018	Official of IMF based in Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
August 31 2018	Official #1 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
September 05 2018	Official of the Agency of Investment and Big Work (APIX)	Dakar, Senegal
September 05 2018	Manager of CCECC	Dakar, Senegal
September 07 2018	Official of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
September 07 2018	Official #4 of the Ministry of Finance of Senegal	Dakar, Senegal
September 08 2018	Staff of the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO)	Dakar, Senegal

### **Appendix I: Questionnaire for managers of major Chinese enterprises in Ethiopia and Senegal**

1. What is the development course of your company in this country and in Africa, including the occasion for your company to enter

this country, the current situation of your company in this country and the region, the principal activities (accomplished projects) in this country and Africa, the development plan of your company?

2. Do you think there is an evolution in this African state's mentality for the importance of infrastructure? Why? It is inspired by China? Has China played a role in this transition?

3. How was the engagement of other countries or the cooperation between this African country and other partners before China's intensive engagement in this country? How about now?

4. What is the form of financing of the projects that you have worked for?

5. How do you think the state capacity of this country? Is the role of state big and strong?

6. What do you think are the factors leading to more or less engagement of your company in different African countries? Is the colonial influence a factor?

7. Does the strategic turn to industrialization has something to do with China?

8. Is the industrial park in this country following Chinese model?

9. What's Chinese role in the design and management of the industrial parks? Were the industrial parks designed in China?

10. What is the situation of privatization of this country?

#### **Appendix J: Questionnaire of interview for Officials in different government authorities of Ethiopia**

1. What is the engagement of Chinese companies in the main construction sectors, such as the roads, railways, hydroelectric power,

ICT, housing, etc.? Why does Ethiopia choose to cooperate with so many Chinese construction companies?

2. To which period does the accent put on infrastructure in your country date back? Is it partly inspired and promoted by China?

3. What are the strengths and weakness in terms of the role of the state?

4. Among the partners of Ethiopia, has China become the most important one? How to explain the large quantity of cooperation and trade between the two countries and the evolution of the bilateral ties?

5. Do you think Ethiopia's development gets inspiration from China? If so, in which aspects?

6. Which are the other main foreign partners of Ethiopia? Is there any evolution for them after Chinese extensive engagement in this country?

7. Most of the developmental states experience democratization after development. Is Ethiopia pursuing the two simultaneously? Its revolutionary democracy is different from western liberal democracy? Do you think there is a contradiction between democracy and development? What's your take on China model?

8. Where do the dynamics of privatization come from? Does this trend has something to do with the World Bank and IMF as a sign of accepting neoliberalism? What was/ is the attitude of the government towards neoliberalism? What is the plan for privatization?

9. Does Ethiopia still face some pressures from international financial institutions and some countries in receiving aid and investment? What are the related conditionalities, are they related to internal affairs on the political, economic or financial level? Does China's presence has an effect of reducing such pressures?

10. What are the strengths and relative weakness of the state of Ethiopia in the implementation of its development programs?

11. Are the construction and operation of industrial parks inspired by China/ Chinese model?

12. Why did Chinese construction companies win many projects tenders of industrial parks in Ethiopia?

13. What are the differences between governmental and private industrial parks? What's the role of the state for the industrial parks?

What are the incentives for the investors in the industrial parks? What's the requirements for the investors inside the industrial parks?

What is the financial status and planning for the industrial parks?

14. Have the projects increased the debt pressure for Ethiopia?



## **Appendix K: Questionnaire of interview for Officials in different government authorities of Senegal**

1. When did Senegal begin to put emphasis on infrastructure? Why did Senegal make this transition? Was this inspired by China? Why Senegal did not attach importance to infrastructure earlier?
2. What are the forms of foreign aid that Senegal receives? Is there any political and economic conditions attached to the development aid? If yes, what are they? What is Chinese aid mainly devoted to?
3. What's the role of the state in the establishment and operation of the industrial parks? Is there intervention, subvention, and direction of the state?
4. Are there still constraints to the role of the state?
5. How did Senegal come up with the idea of constructing special economic zones/ industrial parks? Was it inspired by somewhere?
6. What are the incentives for attracting investors in the industrial parks?
7. Has the privatization constrained the role of the state in the promotion of industrialization? Following the privatisation, is it a difficulty for the state to coordinate various private actors?
8. What are the programmes that IMF have had with Senegal? Do you need the agreement of IMF to implement some policies?  
  
Are the management and administration of industrial parks inspired by China?
9. Has Senegal been detached from the former metropolis? Which president has diversified the foreign relations of Senegal?

10. Were there other industrialization attempts of Senegal before the development of industrial parks?